

The Role and Function of Lydia as a Rhetorical Construct in Acts: A
Sociorhetorical and Theological Interpretation

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Abstract

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This thesis investigates whether Lydia of Thyatira functions as a figure that has a particular rhetorical and theological function and force in Acts 16:9-40. There are a number of factors that would suggest that Lydia was of interest to the author of Acts. These include Lydia's placement at both the opening and closing to the Philippi visit, and the fact that the sole case of explicit divine initiative in the rhetorical unit is directed at Lydia. Given that Acts is a product of the rhetorical communicative culture of antiquity, it is highly probable that the author intended Lydia to contribute to the overall rhetorical movement and unity of the passage. Yet, discussions about Lydia in the history of interpretation have drawn upon an image of "Lydia the hostess," a high-status woman of propriety who supports the Christian mission by sharing her material, and other resources. In presenting Lydia the hostess as an exemplar of resource-sharing, biblical commentary has not been able to suggest how she might contribute to the rhetorical development of the text. Ultimately, too many questions regarding Lydia's prominent profile in the text have remained unanswered.

The uninvestigated questions raised by Lydia called for an interpretive approach that was equipped to explore rhetorical figures. In response, this project employed socio-rhetorical interpretation (SRI), an exegetical approach that understands the cultural and social embeddedness of a rhetorical text. By means of a systematic SRI analysis that comprehensively examined the text's inner lexical, narrative, and argumentative patterns and structures, and the relevant social, cultural, historical, sacred, and oral-scribal elements located in the text's first-century Mediterranean environment, it was possible to identify the salient *topoi* of Acts 16:9-40, and to suggest how the author had used these ideologically in developing the rhetorical movement of the text.

This project's SRI analysis of Acts 16:9-40 shows that Lydia functions as a highly rhetorical figure in the text. In stark contrast to "Lydia the hostess," a culturally-contextualized profile of Lydia, based on SRI analysis, presents the image of an immoral, degenerate, Lydian purple-selling "huckster." Historical evidence demonstrates that Lydia's social and economic status is indeterminate, social modelling displays how Lydia's pressing offer of "hospitality" to a group of men would have been perceived as socially shameless, and an investigation of ancient physiognomy reveals that Lydian cultural ethnography evoked *topoi* of impropriety and huckstering. Strikingly, however, Lydia's inner heart is warranted by God, and her fidelity to God is argumentatively affirmed by the Pauline group's final visit to her home. Moreover, materiality of any kind is particularly absent in Lydia's depiction, while inner faculties of discernment and judgment are raised to prominence by the author.

In presenting Lydia as a divinely, and humanly endorsed member of the emerging Christ-movement, yet introducing her through a cultural profile that would suggest a potential contaminant to a salvific "place of prayer," the author sought to invert cultural stereotype-centered socio-religious logic. This project reveals that Lydia functions as a figure of judgement in the rhetorical unit that contributes to the argumentative structure of a series of comparative cases, from within which the author illustrates the nature and quality of authentic faith in God. For ultimately, the author presents those who can perceive Paul's God, and accordingly, respond in faith and fidelity, as displaying the only true criteria of belonging to a salvifically-mediative "place of prayer." Most significantly, the author sought to invert precisely the type of cultural codes of material triumphalism that are embodied in the history of interpretation's construct of high-status "Lydia the hostess," by portraying the disciples' encounter with Lydia within a socio-cultural framework of shame and dishonour.

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Abbreviations

- BDAG** Danker, F.W., W. Bauer, W.F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 3d ed. Chicago, 2000.
- BNP** *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*. Antiquity Volumes. Edited by H. Cancik and H. Schneider. Managing Editor C. F. Salazar, assistant editor D. E. Orton. Leiden, 2002–
- LSJ** Liddell, H. G., R. Scott, H.S. Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford, 1996.
- MM** Moulton, J.H., and G. Milligan. *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*. London, 1930. Reprint, London, 1952.
- NewDocs** *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*. Edited by G.H.R. Horsley and S. Llewelyn. North Ryde, N.S.W., 1981–
- ODCW** *Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World*. Edited by J. Roberts. Oxford Reference Online. 2007
http://www.oxfordreference.com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/views/BOOK_SEARCH.html?book=t180.
- TDNT** *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Translated by G. W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids, 1964–1976.
- TLG** *Thesaurus linguae graecae: Canon of Greek Authors and Works*. Edited by L. Berkowitz and K. A. Squitier. 3d ed. Oxford, 1990.

Introduction

The hostess, the purple-selling “well-to-do textile merchant,” “the ‘most illustrious convert of Philippi,” and “representative of feminine propriety” has become the prevailing image of Lydia of Thyatira of Acts 16:14-15, 40 in contemporary biblical scholarship.¹ So understood, Lydia’s role in the narrative of the Pauline group’s visit to Philippi, almost universally has been reduced to that of a supplier of material resources, a role that is either praised as a model of generous hospitality, or critiqued as another example of “Luke’s” having exclusively restricted the role of women to that of resource suppliers.² More recently, it has been suggested that Lydia’s “high status” was deployed as a rhetorical tool by the author in order to promote an agenda of Christian propaganda.³ Although there is nothing inherently problematic with advocating for generous giving, nor with critiques of ecclesial ideologies that restrict women from developing the fullness of their competency, nor again with colonizing agendas, anchoring these interpretations in scholarship’s image of Lydia takes up a profile formed by the history of interpretation rather than reflecting the implications of an image that would have been seen in the minds of first-century Mediterranean audiences.

¹ Wayne A. Meeks, “The Image of the Androgyne: Some Uses of a Symbol in Earliest Christianity,” *Religions* 13, no. 3 (1974): 198; David Lertis Matson, *Household Conversion Narratives in Acts: Pattern and Interpretation* (ed. Stanley E. Porter; Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 123; Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 136; quoting Robert T. O’Toole, *The Unity of Luke’s Theology: An Luke-Acts* (Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier, 1984), 124; Jeffrey L. Staley, “Changing Woman: Toward a Postcolonial Postfeminist Interpretation of Acts 16:6–40,” in *A Feminist Companion to the Acts of the* Amy-Jill Levine and Marianne Blickenstaff; Cleveland, Ohio: Pilgrim Press, 2004), 186.

² Halvor Moxnes, “Patron-Client Relations and the New Community in Luke-Acts,” in *The Social World of Acts: Models for Interpretation* (ed. Jerome H. Neyrey; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1991), 241–68; Gail O’Day, “Acts,” in *Women’s Bible Commentary, Expanded Edition* (ed. Carol A. Newsom and Sharon H. 1992; repr., Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998), 394–402.

³ Shelly Matthews, *First Converts: Rich Pagan Women and the Rhetoric of Mission in Early Judaism and Christianity* (Contraversions: Jews and Other Differences; Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2001).

Just as significantly, the contemporary image of Lydia seems to leave scholarship at a loss as to why the author would have introduced this figure into the narrative of Philippi in the first place. The following quote aptly sums up the current state of scholarship on Lydia:

The story of the conversion of Lydia and her household is a brief story (primarily vv. 13-15) that has not attracted much scholarly attention. It is hard to find any remarks in the literature of scholarship concerning the function of this story in Luke-Acts. Even Haenchen fails to comment on what Luke was trying to do with this story.⁴

The presentation of Lydia in Acts 16 does not seem to contribute much to the overall development of the Philippi episode. For example, R. Hillier observed the curiosity that Arator, an early commentator on Acts, omitted any mention of Lydia's baptism, this despite his interest in baptisms in Acts. Offering a rationale as to why that may have been the case, Hillier suggests:

His reasons for doing so can only be surmised. Lydia occurs only briefly in the narrative of Acts and is of little interest for Arator: she is not of the significance of, say, Cornelius, nor does her name provide him with an excuse for a digression in which to exercise his ingenuity.⁵

In turn, a narrative-critical approach, which is especially attuned to the flow of narrative unity, hits an obstacle when it attempts to ascribe purpose to Lydia's role in the overall structure of the narrative. Literary critic Luke Timothy Johnson writes: "the entire episode with Lydia and the women can be seen as a narrative interlude."⁶ Yet while biblical narrative might contain rhetorical digressions that contribute to a text's rhetorical impact, it is difficult to find occasions of narrative "pauses" as intended by Johnson.⁷ Rather, biblical

⁴ Robert Allen Black, "The Conversion Stories in the Acts of the Apostles: A Study of Their Forms and Functions" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, Atlanta, 1985), 166–67; Matson, *Household Conversion*, 136, 149. Black's suggestions regarding the function of Lydia are twofold: "the story of Lydia's conversion functions primarily as the story of the first convert in Macedonia. It marks the beginning of an important new geographical step in the Christian mission"; and, "another function of Lydia's story is to give an example of the conversion of a woman of some standing." Black, "The Conversion Stories," 169. For Matson's suggestions see page 28 below. More recently, a monograph dedicated to Lydia has been published by Richard Ascough, see pages 25 to 27 below.

⁵ Richard Hillier, *Arator on the Acts of the Apostles: A Baptismal Commentary* (Oxford Early Christian Studies; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 23; for more on Arator and Lydia see page 214.

⁶ Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles* (ed. Daniel J. Harrington; Sacra Pagina 5; Collegeville, Minn.: The Liturgical Press, 1992), 293.

⁷ For the rhetorical role of digressions, cf. Peter S. Perry, *The Rhetoric of Digressions Revelation 7:1–17*

prose is marked by its economy of narration to such an extent that literary theories have been constructed around it.⁸ If indeed the Lydia episode is a narrative interlude, then it would be a rare example of one in biblical discourse, and moreover, it would be superfluous to the logic of the narrative. In turn, Robert Tannehill observes that Lydia somehow “bridges” with the ensuing episode of the slave-woman with a Python spirit since Paul encounters each woman on the way to a “place of prayer”; but, Tannehill is also hindered by narrative criticism’s dependence upon a “causal link” as an intelligible basis for unity. For, he writes, “Although there is no causal connection with the conversion of Lydia, v.16a forms a bridge to the preceding scene.”⁹ Absent a causal connection, narrative criticism is unable to suggest how two bridged episodes might contribute to the narrative’s logic. Such unanswered questions call for an approach that can bring new questions to the role played by the figure of Lydia in the narrative.

A fragmented, episodic approach to the text has not yielded much insight into what the author of Acts may have intended to bring to the narrative by introducing Lydia and portraying her as a Lydian purple-seller. Yet, even the surface-level structure of the text signals that the author did have something in mind. In texts written in a rhetorical communicative milieu, as was Acts, structure was an important component in meaning-making. When, in his now legendary presidential address, James Muilenburg called the academy to rhetorical criticism, he stressed that,

a major concern of the rhetorical critic is to recognize the structure of a composition and to discern the configuration of its component parts, to delineate the warp and woof out of which the literary fabric is woven.¹⁰

and 10:1–11:13 and Ancient Communication (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009).

⁸ E.g., Erich Auerbach, Willard R. Trask, trans., *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (1968; repr., Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1974).

⁹ Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation: Volume 2: The Acts of the Apostles* (1990; repr., Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 197.

¹⁰ James Muilenburg, “Form Criticism and Beyond,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 88 (1969): 10 The Presidential Address delivered at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature on December 18, 1968, at the University of California, Berkeley, California.

In the case of Lydia, it is highly significant that the Philippi visit both opens and closes with Lydia (Acts 16:14-15, 40). Moreover, the opening and closing “Lydia passages” share common lexica with each other as well as other passages in the Philippi episode.¹¹ In other words, the Lydia verses point to an *inclusio* at work, a framing device that does not simply delimit boundaries but also imbues meaning to the discourse found within its limits.¹² It would be difficult to find other instances of “free-floating” framing constructions where the contents of the frame are not somehow in dialogue with the narrative situated within.

While the enigmatic role of the Lydia passages presents an interesting interpretative puzzle, given Lydia’s prominent opening positioning within a narrative context of high anticipation (“immediately we sought to go on into Macedonia, concluding that God had called us,” Acts 16:10), the question of the function of these passages has possible ideological implications as well. The Pauline group’s crossing to Macedonia has typically been understood as the launch of a new phase of the Pauline mission. Moreover, this new initiative is understood by the disciples as a response to a divine commission. If the encounter with Lydia is a point of departure for this apparently divinely sanctioned new phase of the Pauline mission, then the function of the Lydia-passages warrants a closer investigation in order more fully to discern the ideological perspective represented by the Philippi episode.

Although ideological implications for the passages have been suggested, such as that Lydia “the illustrious first convert on European soil” evidences the triumphant spread of Christianity, or that Lydia functions apologetically to demonstrate the superiority of the Pauline religion,¹³ and/or that through her presumed status, she helps to raise the public perception of the mission, the ideological perspective that might result from the interplay of Acts 16:14-15, 40 and the surrounding text has rarely been investigated. The few attempts

¹¹ See Progressive Texture and Pattern beginning on page 70.

¹² For *inclusio* see Muilenburg, “Form Criticism and Beyond,” 9–10.

¹³ Dennis R. MacDonald, “Lydia and Her Sisters as Lukan Fictions,” in *A Feminist Companion to the Acts of the Apostles* (ed. Amy-Jill Levine and Marianne Blickenstaff; Feminist Companion to the New Testament and Early Christian Writings 9; Cleveland, Ohio: Pilgrim Press, 2004), 105–10.

at connecting Lydia with the events that follow continue to be constrained by the influence of prior constructions of the Lydia figure.¹⁴ As a result of the pervasive influence of historical-critical interpretations on the figure of Lydia, these rare attempts at integrating the Lydia passages within the broader narrative ultimately result in truncated investigations.

If Lydia does function as a rhetorical figure, then the ideological effect of this figure would both influence and be influenced by the surrounding text of Acts 16. In order to explore whether Lydia is rhetorically operative within Acts 16, this investigation seeks to expand the data-field and to ask questions of the Lydia passages beyond socio-economically derived historical reconstructions. Ideally suited to this task is socio-rhetorical interpretation (SRI), which programmatically explores the rhetorical movement of a text informed by social, cultural, economic, religious, political, and literary elements that shape and configure this movement. As a result of SRI's focus on the multi-textured nature of a text's rhetorical discourse, the questions brought to the Lydia passages can be expanded to explore what, if any, rhetorical function the figure of Lydia performs within the rhetorical context of Acts 16:9-40 specifically, and Luke-Acts generally.¹⁵

Although I had entered this project convinced of the benefits that SRI could bring to the analysis of the figure of Lydia, frustratingly my early attempts at its application did not yield much new, if any, exegetical insight. Coming to biblical studies from a business background in international banking, I found myself drawn to Lydia "the businesswoman." She seemed to call to me from the pages of Acts, a kindred sister removed through time and space but not through occupational affinity. I read voraciously on the topic of Graeco-Roman voluntary associations and *collegia*, on theories of ancient economic trade, and on the purple-dyeing guilds of Thyatira. Armed with knowledge of ancient economics, I

¹⁴ For example, Staley, "Changing Woman" is able to re-animate the dynamic between Lydia and the slave-woman only through recourse to contemporary literature, despite astutely recognizing that Philippi functions as some form of "borderland."

¹⁵ For the unit's delimitation, see pages 63, 75.

presented my first paper on the role of Lydia at a conference on rhetorics at the University of Redlands, California, chaired by Drs. James D. and J. David Hester.¹⁶ The polite verdict: at best a marginally interesting socio-historical investigation, but without any rhetorical-critically derived insight. This I had dishearteningly already come to realize between submitting a proposal and the sleepless night before presentation day. What I had not yet managed to discover was the entryway into a rhetorical analysis of the role of Lydia.

My early inability to move from the socio-historical into the rhetorical stemmed from two main impediments: I was insufficiently self-aware of the way in which the history of interpretation of Lydia was guiding my choice and perception of the elements associated with her, and I had not come to appreciate that *topoi* are formed dynamically, and, moreover, that it is this very *dynamis* of their formation that animates the rhetorics of a passage. What I was confident of, however, was that Lydia's prominent opening and ending placement in the narrative was strategically intentional, as was the symbolism of her name.

An entry way into the Lydia puzzle came to me one day from my director, Prof. L. Gregory Bloomquist, who, as fortune or grace would have it, has been a front-runner in refining socio-rhetorical interpretation's understanding of the key function of the *topos* in rhetoric. Responding to my frustration over the enigma of Lydia's name, he suggested I look to see what *Der Neue Pauly* had to say about Lydian ethnography. There it was: within a distinguished tome of German historical scholarship, lay the doorway to Lydia's rhetorically constructed Lydian profile, waiting for a socio-rhetorical-sensitive lens to perceive its import.¹⁷ Throughout this project, a postcard of the University of Redlands pinned up in front of my computer monitor has reminded me to keep to the task of rhetorical criticism. More specifically, as a socio-rhetorical critic, I have had to examine my own pre-

¹⁶ Alexandra Gruca-Macaulay, "Disrupting the *Polis*: Greco-Roman Voluntary Associations and the Conversion of Lydia of Thyatira in Acts 16:14–15, 40," conference presentation (Rhetorics of Social Formation; University of Redlands, Calif., 2007).

¹⁷ Hans Kaletsch, "Lydia," in *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World Antiquity, Antiquity Volume 8, LYD-MIN* (vol. 8; ed. Hubert Cancik, et al.; Antiquity Volumes; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 2–11.

sumptions and ideological perspective in order to become aware of my relation to the history of interpretation.¹⁸ It has been a transformative experience, in ways that I could not have foreseen in those early days of searching for “Lydia the businesswoman.”

The development of the contemporary image of Lydia within the history of interpretation will be traced in Chapter 1: “History of Interpretation.” Then, Chapter 2: “Method,” will detail the rationale for the choice of socio-rhetorical interpretation (SRI) as the optimal approach to bring new questions to the figure of Lydia; and it will also outline the constituent attributes of this analytical approach. The ensuing three phases of analysis—Innertextural, Intertextural and Ideological Textures (Chapters 3, 4, and 5)—follow the programmatic interpretative approach of SRI. Finally, Chapter 6: “Conclusion and Theological Implications,” will suggest implications to the findings of the analysis. These findings will recognize the broader progressive pattern that links Lydia with the call of the Macedonian man, the slave-woman’s owners, and the jailer, and will suggest how a culturally contextualized rhetorical profile of a female Lydian purple-seller, a figure of sexual immorality and “hucksterism,” significantly contributes to the rhetorical movement of the text.

¹⁸ “Socio-rhetorical criticism calls for interpretative practices that include minute attention to the ideologies that guide interpreters’ selection, analysis and interpretation of data.” Vernon K. Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse: Rhetoric, Society and Ideology* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 201; cf. Vernon K. Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts: A Guide to Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation* (Valley Forge, Penn.: Trinity Press International, 1996), 4.

Chapter 1: History of Interpretation

1.1. *History of Interpretation of the Lydia Passages*

Today's image of Lydia as a pious, resource-sharing, wealthy patroness of the Pauline mission is so ubiquitous that it might seem that even the earliest audiences would have pictured "Lydia the hostess" when hearing the text of Acts 16.¹⁹ Yet, a survey of the history of interpretation will evidence signs that key elements of Lydia's profile have been suppressed in subsequent commentary, while at the same time others have been reconfigured. This thesis will argue that such shifts in Lydia's portrayal gradually reshaped the first-century profile of Lydia of Acts 16 to the point that the Lydia of the history of interpretation clashes dramatically with the figure that would have been evoked in the minds of Acts' first audiences.²⁰ Support for this claim will unfold principally through the ensuing intertextual and ideological phases of analysis. First, a number of representative works will be surveyed in order to highlight how the history of interpretation produced the template for today's discussions of Lydia.

¹⁹ The focus of this thesis is on investigating how the rhetorical role of Lydia of Thyatira contributes to the overall development of the message of the rhetorical unit, Acts 16:9–40 (for the rhetorical unit's boundaries see discussion beginning on pages 63, 75), and therefore the concern of this chapter is with the history of interpretation of the figure of Lydia. For the history of interpretation of episodes that fall outside of the Lydia passages, but that are within the rhetorical unit, the reader is directed to John B. Faulkenberry Miller's, *Convinced That God Had Called Us: Dreams, Visions and the Perception of God's Will in Luke-Acts* (Biblical Interpretation Series, Vol. 85; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 65–90, for a survey of criticism of Paul's dream vision at Troas; William Sanger Campbell's, *The "We" Passages in the Acts of the Apostles: The Narrator as Narrative Character* (Studies in Biblical Literature 14; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007), 1–12, regarding the shift of narrative voice to first-person plural in Acts 16:10; and to John B. Weaver's, *Plots of Epiphany: Prison-Escape in Acts of the Apostles* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 131; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 11–22, for scholarship's approaches to Paul's and Silas's "prison-escape."

²⁰ Initial arguments for the "re-imagining" function of the history of interpretation were presented in Alexandra Gruca-Macaulay, "Reading 'Lydia' in Acts 16: A Figure in Rhetoric or a Rhetorical Figure?" (Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature; San Diego, Calif., 2007).

1.1.1 Patristic.

As W. Gasque observed in his survey of the history of interpretation of Acts, “very little information has come down to us concerning the study of the Book of Acts during the fifteen centuries prior to the reformation.”²¹ Even less did early commentators show interest in Lydia. However, during this period five commentaries on Acts signalled the possibility of an underlying issue with Lydia and the women by the river.

In the late fourth century John Chrysostom’s portrayal of Lydia launched a key trajectory of interpretation. In only one work does Chrysostom call Lydia by her name; in nine others he refers instead to a “purple-seller” or “purple-selling woman.”²² Chrysostom casts the “purple-seller” as a “lowly” or “humble” woman on account of her profession who, despite her lowly occupation, displays an inner nature that is “philosophic,” and full of “wisdom”:

Look again at the lack of arrogance [of the Pauline group]. A lowly/humble woman, as is evident from her trade/craft, but look at the philosophic [heart] of her (ὄρα τὸ φιλόσοφον αὐτῆς)...Furthermore, look at her insight, how she importunes/shames the apostles, how full of humility her phrase [Acts 16:15b] is, how full of wisdom.²³

²¹ W. Ward Gasque, *A History of the Interpretation of the Acts of the Apostles* (Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 1975; repr., Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2000), 7.

²² Chrysostom refers to Lydia by name in *Homiliae in Acta apostolorum* 36 (twice in reference to her house, i.e., “house of Lydia”). Chrysostom refers to the “purple-seller,” “purple-selling woman,” “seller of purple” in *Homiliae in Acta apostolorum* 35, *Homiliae in Acta apostolorum* 36; *Epistula ad Cyriacum*, Letter 125; *Homiliae in epistulam i ad Corinthios* 15, Homily 15, *Hom. 1 Cor.* 24 ; *Homiliae in Matthaëum*, Homily 73; *Expositiones in Psalmos*, Psalm 113; *Homiliae in epistulam ad Philippenses. Epistulae ad Olympiadem* uses the plural “female sellers of purple.” Augustine (354–430 C.E.) also referred to Lydia only as “that seller of purple” in his argument on predestination. He wrote: “This gift of heavenly grace had descended to that seller of purple for whom, as Scripture says in the Acts of the Apostles, ‘The Lord opened her heart, and she gave heed (*intendebat*) unto the things which were said by Paul; for she was so called that she might believe. Because God does what He will in the hearts of men, either by assistance or by judgment; so that, even through their means may be fulfilled what His hand and counsel have predestined to be done” (*De Praedestinatione Sanctorum* 41 [Holmes and Wallis]). Augustine’s characterization of Lydia’s heart as a passive receptor both of divine intervention, and Paul’s teaching will be further developed under Hugo Grotius, see page 15 below.

²³ “Ὁρα τὸ ἄτυφον πάλιν. Γυνὴ καὶ ταπεινὴ αὐτῆ, καὶ δῆλον ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης· ἀλλ’ ὄρα τὸ φιλόσοφον αὐτῆς...εἶτα βλέπε σύνεσιν, πῶς δυσωπεῖ τοὺς ἀποστόλους, πόσης ταπεινότητος γέμει τὰ ῥήματα, πόσης σοφίας. (*Homiliae in Acta apostolorum* 35)

He elaborates on the specific quality of this “philosophic” inner heart :

And in the apostles’ time also both men and women were together. Because the men were men, and the women women, but now altogether the contrary; the women have urged themselves into the habits of courtesans, but the men are in no better state than frantic horses. Had you not heard, that the men and women were gathered together in the upper room, and that congregation was worthy of the heavens? And very reasonably. For then women were philosophically (φιλοσοφίαν ἤσκουν) formed, and the men in dignity and moderation (σεμνότητα καὶ σωφροσύνην). Hear, for instance, the seller of purple saying, “If you have judged me worthy of the Lord, come in, and abide with me.”²⁴

In the homily, Chrysostom raises the *topos* of courtesans and presents Lydia as its paradigmatic antithesis. Chrysostom argues that while women of the apostolic age practiced φιλοσοφία—when “men were men and women were women”—in contrast, the degenerate women of Chrysostom’s time have abandoned themselves into the customs of courtesans and the men have assumed the nature of wild beasts. In this argument the feminine nature of φιλοσοφία stands in direct opposition to the practices of courtesans, and accordingly, infers socially normative feminine modesty and moral rectitude.²⁵ Lydia’s words demonstrate her “philosophic” attribute: chaste modesty.

In this way Chrysostom presents the “modest purple-seller” as a biblical example of feminine propriety. Although Lydia may be a purple-seller and therefore is “lowly” in terms of status, she is not base in terms of moral character. After Chrysostom’s treatment, the audience is assured that if the Pauline disciples were to stay in the home of a female purple-seller, a home without evident male presence, it would be a proper and modest home, headed by a humble and virtuous woman.

²⁴ Καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων δὲ ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες ἦσαν. Καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἄνδρες, ἄνδρες ἦσαν, καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες, γυναῖκες· νῦν δὲ πᾶν τοῦναντίον, αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες εἰς τὰ τῶν ἐταιρίδων ἐαυτὰς ἐξώθησαν ἤθη· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες ἵππων μαινομένων οὐδὲν ἄμεινον διάκεινται. Οὐκ ἠκούσατε, ὅτι ἦσαν συνηγμένοι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες ἐν τῷ ὑπερώῳ, καὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐκεῖνος ὁ σύλλογος ἄξιός ἦν; Καὶ μάλα εἰκότως. Πολλὴν γὰρ καὶ γυναῖκες τότε φιλοσοφίαν ἤσκουν, καὶ ἄνδρες σεμνότητα καὶ σωφροσύνην. Ἀκούσατε γοῦν τῆς πορφυροπώλιδος λεγούσης· Εἰ κεκρίκατέ με ἄξιαν τῷ Κυρίῳ, εἰσελθόντες μείνατε παρ’ ἐμοί. (*Homiliae in Matthaeum* 73)

²⁵ To illustrate the modesty of the women of days gone by Chrysostom cites the words of “the purple-seller” of Acts 16:15 and modifies them by replacing πιστός with ἄξιος so that “if you have judged me faithful/loyal, to the Lord” is reconfigured into the language of honour/shame: “if you have judged me worthy of the Lord.” For the social system of honour/shame, see page 56.

In addition to shaping the “purple-seller” into a model of feminine virtue, Chrysostom also introduced another element that has endured in interpretations of Lydia: resource sharing suggested by an offer of hospitality. Chrysostom writes:

And throughout the world all houses were open to them [the disciples], and they who offered them took coming as a favour, and they came to them as to friends and kindred. For so they came to the woman who was a seller of purple (πορφυροπώλιδα), and she, like a handmaid, set before them what she had. And to the keeper of the prison; and he opened to them all his house. (*Hom. 1 Cor. 15* [Parker])²⁶

Despite the fact that the text of Acts is silent on Lydia having set anything before the disciples, Chrysostom groups the jailer’s meal-sharing with Lydia’s offer. Inferentially, Lydia becomes a modest meal provider under Chrysostom’s hand. Explicitly, in *Hom. Act. 36* Chrysostom refers to Lydia as a “hostess” (ξενοδόχον), launching the prevailing trajectory of interpretation of Lydia.

In contrast, three pre-Reformation commentaries on Acts— Ephrem (306–373 C.E.), Arator (6th cent. C.E.), and Venerable Bede (672/3–735 C.E.)—simply bypass Lydia, and move directly from Paul’s vision of the Macedonian man to Paul’s encounter with the slave-woman with the Python spirit; in addition, Isho’dad of Merv (c. 850 C.E.) skips from Timothy’s circumcision to the slave-woman, omitting the Macedonian man as well as Lydia.²⁷ Although it is certainly possible to adduce from these omissions that the writers simply found Lydia inconsequential to their discussion, Arator and Bede do comment

²⁶ “καὶ γὰρ αἱ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην αὐτοῖς οἰκίαι ἦσαν ἀνεωγμένας πᾶσαι, καὶ χάριν εἶχον οἱ παρέχοντες, καὶ ὡς πρὸς φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς ἤρχοντο. Καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν πορφυροπώλιδα ἦλθον, καὶ ἐκεῖνη καθάπερ θεραπαινὶς τὰ ἑαυτῆς προὔθηκε· καὶ πρὸς τὸν δεσμοφύλακα, κάκεινος τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῖς ἀνέφξεν ἅπασαν” *Homiliae in epistulam i ad Corinthios 15*

²⁷ For these lacunae see Ephrem, “The Commentary of Ephrem on Acts,” trans. Frederick C. Conybeare, in *Part 1: The Acts of the Apostles*, vol. 3 (ed. F.J. Foakes-Jackson, Kirsopp Lake, and James Hardy Ropes; The Beginnings of Christianity 3; London: Macmillan, 1926), 429–31; Arator, *Arator’s On the Acts of the Apostles (De Actibus Apostolorum)* (ed. and trans. Richard J. Schrader; trans. Joseph L. Roberts and John F. Makowski; Classics in Religious Studies 6; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 68–70; Venerable Bede, *The Venerable Bede: Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (ed. and trans. Lawrence T. Martin; Cistercian Studies; Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1989), 136; Isho’dad of Merv, *The Commentaries of Isho’dad of Merv, Bishop of Hadatha (c. 850 A.D.) in Syriac and English* (vol. 4; trans. Margaret Dunlop Gibson; Horae Semiticae 10; Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1913), 26.

obliquely within the very sections where discussion about Lydia would rightfully be located. The nature of these comments, discussed in ideological texture, point to the presence of an issue far greater than the omissions might first indicate.²⁸

1.1.2 *Reformation.*

When we turn to the material on Acts from the Reformation, we find that Chrysostom's characterization of Lydia's feminine modesty begins to take on a more targeted profile of feminine Jewish religious piety. Also, Lydia's occupation, that under Chrysostom simply suggested "humble modesty," becomes a growing point of interest. In addition, the Reformation commentators show an increasing focus on Lydia's place of origin, her name, and the possible connection between these.

For example, John Calvin's commentary on Acts (1554 C.E.) introduced two elements related to Lydia: reference to the women by the river as a Jewish ritual gathering, and situating the geographic location of her city of origin, Thyatira, within Lydia. In addition, much of Calvin's remarks related to the role played by Lydia's heart in the narrative, an aspect of Lydia's portrayal that has all but disappeared from subsequent discussion, yet one that further analysis will show is key to the rhetorical development of the text.

Calvin suggested that the mention of the Sabbath suggests that "Luke is speaking about Jews," and moreover that since the author "commends the piety of Lydia, she must have been a Jewess" (John Calvin, *In Acta Apostolorum* 16.13 [Fraser]). Furthermore, Calvin conforms the text's presentation of a gathering of women into a more conventional synagogue configuration by assuming the presence of men:

since it is likely to me that prayer was shared by men and women in that place, I think that Luke made no mention of men, because either they were unwilling to listen, or they got no benefit out of what they heard (*In Acta Apost.* 16.13 [Fraser]).

²⁸ For Arator's and Venerable Bede's comments see page 214 in Chapter 5: "Ideological Texture."

Whereas John Chrysostom had referred to Lydia through her occupational epithet, Calvin does not refer to her purple-selling at all, and shows no compunction about using the name Lydia. In his remarks on Acts 16:14 he points out a key detail—“Geographers teach that *Thyatira* is a city of Lydia”—but makes no comment on the correlation between Lydia’s name and ethnic origin. Instead, much of Calvin’s discussion deals with the role played by Lydia’s heart:

By the word *heart* Scripture sometimes means the mind, as when Moses says (Deut. 29.4), “until now the Lord has not given you a heart to understand.” So also in this verse Luke means not only that Lydia was moved by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit to embrace the Gospel with a feeling of the heart, but that her mind was illuminated to understand...If the mind of Lydia had not been opened, the preaching of Paul would have been mere words (*literalis*); yet God inspires her not only with mere revelations but with reverence for His Word, so that the voice of a man, which otherwise would have vanished into thin air, penetrates a mind that has received the gift of heavenly light (John Calvin, *In Acta Apostolorum* 16.15 [Fraser]; brackets and emphasis in trans.)

Introduced as a pious Jewish woman, Lydia is also profiled by Calvin as someone who has been endowed with a capacity that allows her to engage cognitively with Paul’s teaching. While the Jewish element will be retained in later commentary, the presentation of Lydia as one who receives the intellectual capacity to comprehend Paul’s teaching on a par with the most perspicacious disciples will all but disappear.

In his influential 1644 C.E. commentary on Acts, Hugo Grotius made abundant use of patristic sources including the works of Chrysostom.²⁹ According to G. Reventlow, Grotius was fully versed in Greek and Latin literature and considered one of his most important tasks “to be the explanation of the historical background of [biblical] names and events that are mentioned,” using a wide range of Greek and Latin sources, including Herodotus.³⁰

Whereas Chrysostom avoided using the name “Lydia,” Grotius, in his commentary on Acts

²⁹ Henning Graf Reventlow, “Humanistic Exegesis: The Famous Hugo Grotius,” in *Creative Biblical Exegesis: Christian and Jewish Hermeneutics Through the Centuries* (ed. Henning Graf Reventlow and Benjamin Uffenheimer; Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 59; Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1988), 176.

³⁰ Reventlow, “Humanistic Exegesis,” 179–81.

16:14, made explicit the link already suggested by Calvin's comment on Thyatira's Lydian location:

14. *named Lydia*. It is said that the name is derived from her birth place (*Ita dicta à solo natali*): for Thyatira is in Lydia wrote Stephanus. The women of Lydia were noble by the weaving of garments. (Hugo Grotius, *Ad Acta Apostolorum* 16.14)

The added gloss—"the women of Lydia were noble by the weaving of garments"—introduced an unstated premise that Lydia, the Lydian woman, was a noble weaver. Although weaving was indisputably a common female domestic pursuit, Acts itself does not characterize Lydia in terms of weaving, or indeed any form of textile production. In fact, as we shall see, the uncommon designation πορφυρόπωλις squarely situates her in the realm of sellers and the marketplace, rather than the looms of domestic space. Moreover, there is no literary evidence of any kind to support a portrayal of Lydian women as illustrious weavers.³¹ Nonetheless, Grotius's is an enduring image: in 1992 Ivoni Richter Reimer claimed that Lydian women were "celebrated in poetry for their textile work and dyeing."³² The three cited supporting sources are less than definitive: 1. Homer's *Iliad* (4.141) has ivory cheek-pieces for horses dyed scarlet by Lydian women; 2. Claudian's *Rape of Proserpine* (1.275) again refers to the ivory-dyeing Lydian women; as well as, 3. Valerius Flaccus's sexually suggestive reference in the *Argonautica* (4.369) to a "Lydian bride who bespeckles her 'web' or 'warp' (*tela*) with flecks of purple."

Grotius's conjecture is, however, not surprising. In the seventeenth century the prevailing image of the ideal woman was deeply rooted in the trope of the ideal wife of Proverbs 31 who "puts her hands to the distaff and...spindle" (31:19). Indeed, the essence of feminine high moral character, which since classical times had been located metaphorically in the distaff and spindle, by the Renaissance had developed into a commonplace, prolifically

³¹ There is some ancient support for presenting the people of Lydia as dyers but not for depicting Lydian women as noble weavers, Pliny writes: "The Egyptians invented weaving; the Lydians of Sardis the art of dyeing wool" (*Natural History* 7.57).

³² Ivoni Richter Reimer, *Women in the Acts of the Apostles: A Feminist Liberation Perspective* (trans. Linda M. Maloney; 1992; repr., Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1995), 139, n. 161.

recurring in the literature and personal correspondence of the day. Not only was the “distaff and spindle or needle” an emblem of feminine virtuosity, but also, importantly, this trope was particularly incompatible with typical symbols of masculine intellectual pursuits. When Dutch scholar Anna Maria van Schurman³³ argued for access to education for women in a letter written to André Rivet, coincidentally, also a correspondent of Hugo Grotius’s, she decried the view that “pulling the needle and distaff is an ample enough school for women”³⁴ The Jesuit Pierre Le Moyne argued that women are indeed capable of “true philosophy,” as long as they do not convert their “needles and distaffs” into “astrolabes and spheres,” that is, the tools of navigators, geographers and astronomers. Rather, female minds are illuminated with the philosophy of “decency in manners” and “stability in life.”³⁵

By re-casting Lydia as a woman of the loom, Grotius also re-charted Calvin’s suggestion that the opening of Lydia’s heart involved her cognitive faculties as active participants in a divine-human collaboration:

“The Lord opened her heart”: “‘God opened’, by her permitting to be opened, but not by an opening in her own way, as it appears in Rev. 3.20. So, ‘to be drawn’ is said of one who willingly follows the drawer. So ‘to be given’ of what is received.” (Hugo Grotius, *Ad Acta Apostolorum* 16.15)³⁶

The Lord’s opening of Lydia’s heart in Acts 16 is thus contextualized by Grotius as Lydia’s suppliant willingness “to be drawn by God so that she might receive what is given.” Following Grotius, moderns were left with a Lydian woman as a gender-appropriate, virtuous, passive receptor of Paul’s teaching. Lydia was framed by an entire network of images connected to seventeenth-century notions of femininity. Chrysostom had begun with present-

³³ Anna Maria van Schurman, *Whether a Christian Woman Should Be Educated and Other Writings from Her Intellectual Circle* (ed. and trans. Joyce L. Irwin; *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe*; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

³⁴ Schurman, *Whether a Christian*, 43–44.

³⁵ Pierre Le Moyne, *The Gallery of Heroick Women* (trans. John Paulet Winchester; London: R. Norton for Henry Seile, 1652), 73–77, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:55122.

³⁶ Translation courtesy of L. G. Bloomquist.

ing a “purple-seller” as a model of feminine modesty; Grotius completed the picture by drawing this modesty into an ethnographic profile of Lydia as a seventeenth-century weaver.

1.1.3 *Modern Historical-Critical.*

With Heinrich Meyer’s commentary on Acts (1835 C.E.) we move to modern commentary.³⁷ During this period Lydia’s occupation will become increasingly linked with epigraphic evidence of Thyatiran dyers. At the same time, Lydia’s elevated moral profile will develop into socio-economic high status.

Chrysostom’s and Grotius’s characterization of Lydia’s feminine virtue remained operative in Meyer’s account but, with the advent of the historical-critical lens of his time, Meyer implicitly reshaped Lydia’s occupation by overmapping it with archeological data related to a different purple-related profession. Whereas Grotius linked Thyatira both with Lydia’s name and with weaving in general, Meyer attempted to divorce the name from its corresponding Lydian location, and instead shifted the focus to Thyatira as a centre of cloth dyeing, thereby, converting Lydia’s occupation of “purple-seller” into “dyer”:

πορφυρόπωλις¹ ἢ τὰ πορφυρά, fabrics and clothes dyed purple, πωλούσα. The dyeing of purple was actively carried on, especially in Lydia, to which *Thyatira* belonged, and an inscription found at Thyatira particularly mentions the guild of dyers of that place.³⁸

In his comments on the use of παραβιάζομαι to describe Lydia’s urging of the disciples (Acts 16:15), Meyer also converted Grotius’s presentation of Lydia’s heart into a demonstration of the intensity of Lydia’s gratitude. Lydia is not a forceful woman, but rather an extremely grateful one. In casting παραβιάζομαι as an expression of gratitude, Meyer also

³⁷ Heinrich August Wilhelm Meyer, *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to The Acts of the Apostles* (4th ed.; trans. Paton J. Gloag; ed. William P. Dickson; Meyer Commentary Series; New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1883).

³⁸ Meyer, *Critical and Exegetical*, 311.

removed any suggestion of resistance to the offer on the part of the disciples. The narrative no longer leaves off with Lydia's unratified invitation, but instead the audience can assume that the Pauline group went on to stay with Lydia before the narrative moves on to the episode with the slave-woman with a Python spirit:

That Paul and his companions accepted this pressing invitation of Lydia, and chose her house for their abode, Luke leaves the reader to infer from καὶ παρεβιάσατο ἡμᾶς.³⁹

With Meyer, Lydia now becomes increasingly associated with Thyatira's dyeing industry.⁴⁰

Some years later (1926), Eugène Jacquier continued the exploration of Lydia's name and concluded that her name was intentionally ethnic, but to create a contrast with other Lydias of the day he wrote:

Λυδία: cette femme était de la ville de Thyatires, en Lydie. On en a conclu qu'elle avait reçu son nom de son pays d'origine comme ce fut le cas pour d'autres femmes, Λυχίη, Μιλησία, Ῥοδία, Φρυγία. Ces noms tirés du nom de leur pays étaient portés surtout par des hétaires, des esclaves ou des affranchies. Il faudrait donc conclure que Lydia était une esclave affranchie, peut-être juive de naissance. Mais ce nom de Lydia se rencontre fréquemment chez les Romains comme nom de courtisanes, Horace, *Odes*, 1.8, 1; 13, 1; 25, 8; 3, 9, 6; Martial, *Epigr.* 11.21.—Zahn conjecture que Paul ne nomme pas Lydia dans son épître aux Philippiens, à côté de Evodie et de Syntiche, 4, 2, parce que λυδία n'était pas son nom, mais un surnom: la Lydienne.⁴¹

In this manner Lydia of Thyatira gains some distance from the potential tarnish found in the Lydias of literature, who were all courtesans. Jacquier's work strikingly made clear how the formed image of Lydia of Thyatira's propriety rendered impossible any connection with the courtesans and prostitutes who command the same name.

Jacquier also associates Thyatira with purple-dyeing, and then takes an inferential step that will be found in most future interpretations of Lydia: "Lydia devait posséder un capital considérable pour faire le commerce de ces marchandises de prix élevé."⁴² In other words,

³⁹ Meyer, *Critical and Exegetical*, 312.

⁴⁰ Meyer also raised a tangential trajectory of interpretation that used the baptism of Lydia's household as a point of departure for doctrinal debates about infant baptism, Meyer rightfully observes: "Of what members her family consisted, cannot be determined." Meyer, *Critical and Exegetical*, 311.

⁴¹ Eugène Jacquier, *Les Actes Des Apôtres* (Études Bibliques; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1926), 489.

⁴² Jacquier, *Les Actes*, 489.

because a seller of a good such as purple would need considerable capital to keep up an inventory of an expensive good, Lydia was wealthy, including, as a householder having servants.⁴³ Lydia the woman of means was clearly taking shape, as was a growing focus on her economic status. Jacquier concluded:

Il est probable que Lydia, à laquelle son état de fortune permettait des libéralités, contribua pour une bonne part à ces dons. Elle fut une de ces femmes chrétiennes qui aidèrent la propagande du christianisme et dont la race s'est propagée.⁴⁴

Lydia, still honourable, takes on the role of a hospitable financier economically enabling the expansion of the Christian church.

The historical-critical trajectory for Lydia, the prominent, wealthy noblewoman, reaches its apex with the 1956 authoritative commentary on Acts by Ernest Haenchen. Haenchen also begins with the issue of Lydia's name but immediately curtails any speculation about a connection between Lydia and the Lydias of literature by invoking Lydia's honour:

[The personal name Lydia] is frequently found in Horace, e.g. Odes 1.8, 13, 25. Since there courtesans are meant, but Lydia here is an honourable woman, Zahn conjectures that she was called "the Lydian" to distinguish her from other merchants of purple.⁴⁵

Haenchen effectively closed down any future speculation that Horace's Lydias may have been closer to what Luke had in mind.⁴⁶ Haenchen also placed a finer point on Jacquier's

⁴³ Jacquier, *Les Actes*, 489. Jean-Pierre Sterck-Degueldre extrapolates Lydia's access to capital even further by suggesting the possible need for transport animals, carts, tools etc.; Jean-Pierre Sterck-Degueldre, *Eine Frau namens Lydia: zu Geschichte und Komposition in Apostelgeschichte 16, 11–15.40* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 237.

⁴⁴ Jacquier, *Les Actes*, 491.

⁴⁵ Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (14th revised; trans. Bernard Noble and Gerald Shinn, translation revised and brought up to date by Robert McL. Wilson; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1965; repr., Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), 494, n. 8.

⁴⁶ Haenchen omits Horace Ode 3.9. The Roman poet Martial too wrote an ode to Lydia, see page 144 below. Although he does not give credence to it, Haenchen continues on with E. Renan's proposal that Lydia was actually married to Paul. Renan suggested that Lydia became Paul's wife: "La pureté absolue des mœurs chrétiennes écartait tout soupçon. Peut-être, d'ailleurs, n'est-il pas trop hardi de supposer que c'est Lydie que Paul, dans son épître aux Philippiens appelle «ma chère épouse». Cette expression sera, si l'on veut; une simple métaphore. Est-il cependant absolument impossible que Paul ait contracté avec cette sœur une union plus intime? On ne saurait l'affirmer. La seule chose qui soit sûre, c'est que Paul ne menait pas avec lui de sœur dans ses voyages. Toute une branche de la tradition ecclésiastique a prétendu, nonobstant cela, qu'il était marié." Ernest Renan, *Saint Paul* (Histoire des Origines du Christianisme 3; Paris: Michel Lévy Frères,

claim of Lydia's economic status. Whereas Jacquier made a pragmatic argument for Lydia's wealth, arguing for access to capital, Haenchen subtly shifts the argument. Instead of capital, purple's symbolism as a luxury good is brought to the fore, and concurrently, so, too, are the implied purchasers of purple goods—"rich people": "purple goods were a markedly luxury item for rich people; Lydia will have been wealthy herself."⁴⁷ Lydia increasingly becomes associated with wealth, and now too, with high status by means of her relation to other wealthy people.

Haenchen also shows how the wealth and its materials is put at Paul's disposal. Haenchen suggests that prior to Lydia's offer to the Pauline group, the disciples "had probably up to this time lived in an inn at their own expense,"⁴⁸ and concludes:

In Thyatira, a centre for the manufacture of purple dye which lies south-east of Pergamum in Asia Minor in the Lydian district, she has grown up as a pagan child. Now she lives here as a well-to-do lady known as "Lydia" or "the Lydian." She has joined the small Jewish congregation as a listener. Now she dares to cross over into the new community and lets herself be baptized. Her "house," relatives and slaves, follows her. Her faith is linked with action. She will not tolerate that the missionaries should stay in just any quarters. They must move to her house, and living there they now assemble the brethren who are gradually won.⁴⁹

Haenchen's work thus completed the historical-critical construction of the image of Lydia as a high-standing, wife-like woman whose principal role in Philippi would be to provide material resources to the Pauline mission. This image has pervaded most of the subsequent historical-critical discourse on Lydia.

1.1.4 *Feminist Approaches.*

When feminist biblical criticism emerged, it began to ask new questions of how the

1869), 148–49. Renan's speculation about Paul and Lydia rests in part on Clement of Alexandria's claim that the "yokefellow" (γνήσιε σύζυγε) addressed by Paul in Philippians 4:3 is a metaphor for "spouse" (Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 3.53.1–3).

⁴⁷ Haenchen, *Acts*, 494.

⁴⁸ Haenchen, *Acts*, 495, n. 3.

⁴⁹ Haenchen, *Acts*, 499.

history of interpretation had presented female figures. Yet despite the advent of a new critical lens, the figure of Lydia remained an unyielding construct. Lydia, now commonly represented as a “businesswoman,” retained the essential attributes developed by historical criticism.

For example, in *The Women’s Bible Commentary* Gail O’Day writes:

Lydia is a businesswoman who sells purple cloth, which was a luxury item for the wealthy (cf. Luke 16:9). Her business therefore put her in contact with the elite of Philippi. Her offer of her home as a missionary center and the information that she was the head of her household (16:15) suggests that Lydia is wealthy herself. Once again Luke draws attention to a wealthy woman who acts as benefactor to a growing Christian community. Lydia embodies Luke’s ideal of women’s contribution to the church: to provide housing and economic resources.⁵⁰

A new twist, however, is created by finding fault with the author of Acts precisely for this presentation, which is critiqued for limiting the role of women to that of providing economic resources.⁵¹

In contrast, Ivoni Richter Reimer’s liberationist approach to Lydia retained historical-criticism’s focus on Lydia’s status but inverted it in order to re-frame Lydia as non-elite, hard-working woman involved in cloth production, and especially, purple-dyeing.⁵² In her extensive discussion on types of purple dyes and dyeing processes, Reimer drew attention to the wide variety of purples available in antiquity, and to the widespread use of purple, even by slaves. For Reimer, however, this spectrum in grades of purple, and in clientele for its products, did not, in the end, lead her to conclude that Lydia’s income and status were indeterminate, but rather to invert the argument raised by Haenchen and his predecessors:

The common notion that Lydia’s house was very large and that her business had “brought her a substantial fortune,” that is, that she had enjoyed “economic success,” is unpersuasive for two reasons: On the one hand, at that time there was no large-scale textile production. On the other hand, it cannot be demonstrated that people who worked in the production and sale of purple goods ever played an im-

⁵⁰ Gail R. O’Day, “Acts,” in *Women’s Bible Commentary, Expanded Edition* (ed. Carol A. Newsom and Sharon H. Ringe; 1992; repr., Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998), 400.

⁵¹ For another similar example cf. Clarice J. Martin, “The Acts of the Apostles,” in *Searching the Scriptures* (ed. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza; New York: Crossroad, 1993), 784.

⁵² Ivoni Richter Reimer, “Lydia and Her House,” in *Women in the Acts of the Apostles: A Feminist Liberation Perspective* (trans. Linda M. Maloney; 1992; repr., Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 71–149.

portant economic role in Philippi; there is only one *purpuraia(ii)* inscription at Philippi. From what has been said thus far, we are more inclined to conclude that Lydia's work was a subsistence occupation for herself and her house.⁵³

Nevertheless, the pull of the historical-critical model's high-income-Lydia remained strong even for Reimer. When discussing Lydia's social status, Reimer subtly upgrades Lydia's income level by suggesting that "it is possible there were slaves in Lydia's house." In this way, Reimer retained an echo of the history of interpretation's high-income Lydia, but offset this economic status with the low social status of textile workers:

Craftspeople and small merchants were also part of the *plebs urbana*. Even when they had a "better" economic status (in comparison, say, to beggars), so that they even employed a few slaves or freed people, they were socially despised by the upper classes. In the eyes of the upper class their economic position was insignificant.⁵⁴

Having astutely raised the historic reality of a wide variety of types of purple being produced and sold in antiquity, Reimer does not move to the logical conclusion that it is not possible to form an opinion either on Lydia's economic or social status; instead, from a liberationist lens, she reframes Lydia as a socially oppressed textile worker whose offer of hospitality to the disciples enacts a form of resistance to Roman imperial rule.⁵⁵ Though Reimer's arguments had little impact on the mainstream presentation of Lydia as a woman of means, they did destabilize the argument upon which future interpreters could present high-income, high-status Lydia.

Shelly Matthews, in the monograph *First Converts*, argued that Lydia's high status was used by the author of Acts to help legitimize the new Christian movement.⁵⁶ Matthews acknowledged Reimer's portrayal of Lydia's low status; however, she did not find it convincing since, according to Matthews, the author of Acts employed "the conversion of prominent women" as a rhetorical strategy "in support of a propagandistic agenda."⁵⁷ Im-

⁵³ Ivoni Richter Reimer, "Lydia and Her House," in *Women in the Acts of the Apostles: A Feminist Liberation Perspective* (trans. Linda M. Maloney; 1992; repr., Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 112.

⁵⁴ Reimer, "Lydia and Her House," 112.

⁵⁵ Reimer, "Lydia and Her House," 114.

⁵⁶ Matthews, *First Converts*.

⁵⁷ Matthews, *First Converts*, 75, 87.

plicitly for Matthews, the image of historical-criticism's high-standing Lydia provided the point of departure for her argument regarding the author's rhetorical strategy.

The findings of Reimer and others that the status of female purple workers and purple sellers would likely be found at the lower end of the social scale did not alter Matthews's claim that Lydia was a tool of propaganda, but rather served to narrow the audience for Acts. Matthews argued:

The audience for whom Luke writes is more appropriately identified as a group of people with some wealth and education into which persons of low status with wealth were also included. Such an audience would view a character involved in trade, who has also achieved a measure of respectability, as mirroring their own social and economic aspirations. Lydia's status markers—a dealer in purple who is also a householder—thus positions her at least among the ranks of this “quasi-elite” class.⁵⁸

In this manner Lydia retains a high-status profile, but within a smaller sphere of influence.

Matthews suggested that new cults, such as the one introduced by Dionysus, frequently “drew on the topos of high-standing women as one means of mediating between their adherents and the larger culture.”⁵⁹ Citing long-acknowledged similarities between Euripides' *Bacchae* and Acts 16, Matthews argued that the author of Acts used Lydia towards a similar propagandistic goal.⁶⁰ In the end, Matthews presented the prevailing image of Lydia: “Lydia is a well-to-do Christian convert and patroness of Paul, who extends hospitality to the missionaries in her house,” and concluded with a critique of Lydia's “portrayal only as a convert accommodating Paul and his mission, and not as a Christian missionary/leader in her own right.”⁶¹ Although Matthews did acknowledge a “symbolic richness” in Lydia's name, she did not delve into this symbolism, but instead considered the name's symbolism a sign that she is a “character created by Luke.”⁶² The character of

⁵⁸ Matthews, *First Converts*, 88.

⁵⁹ Matthews, *First Converts*, 72.

⁶⁰ Matthews, *First Converts*, 73. On common points between the *Bacchae* and Acts 16 see page 194 below.

⁶¹ Matthews, *First Converts*, 94.

⁶² Matthews, *First Converts*, 93.

Lydia, concluded Matthews, was a rhetorical device intended to bolster the perceived status of early Christianity.

1.1.5 *Most Recent Interpretations.*

Though utilizing the name “socio-rhetorical,” Ben Witherington’s interpretation simply confirms most of the insights derived from historical criticism.⁶³ Returning to the question of Lydia’s name that had long vexed past interpreters, Witherington claims:

While it is possible that the Greek means “the Lydian woman,” there is now clear evidence for Lydia as a proper name (e.g. Julia Lydia from Sardis), and that is the most natural way to read the Greek here—she was named Lydia.⁶⁴

Missing the paradox of his warrant regarding Lydia’s name, since Sardis was interchangeable with Lydia and first-century audiences would therefore naturally have understood “Julia Lydia from Sardis” as “Julia Lydia from Lydia,”⁶⁵ Witherington carries on:

That she is mentioned by name may be quite significant. Roman women were normally called by their family’s cognomen, not by a personal name or nickname. That Lydia is called by her personal name suggests she is of Greek extraction, and it probably also indicates she is a person of some status, since it was normal in such a Greco-Roman setting *not* to mention women by personal name in public unless they were either notable or notorious.⁶⁶

Lest any reader turn to the possibility of “notorious,” Witherington immediately asserts that Lydia’s occupation situated her in the “notable” category by speculating on a connection between Lydia’s occupation and a conjured imperial monopoly on purple. Witherington argues:

The term πορφυροπωλις refers to someone who is a seller of purple cloth. It is clear enough from the reference to Lydia’s house and household that she should not be seen as someone of servile status, and the term πορφυροπωλις also suggests the opposite. There is evidence that dealing in this color was an imperial monopoly, though it may date from later than this period, in fact those involved in this trade were members of “Caesar’s household.” This would not be patricians but the

⁶³ Ben Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998).

⁶⁴ Witherington, *Acts of the Apostles*, 491.

⁶⁵ See page 139 below.

⁶⁶ Witherington, *Acts of the Apostles*, 492.

elite among the freedmen and freedwomen (and some slaves) who were in the imperial service...she is clearly being portrayed here as a person of some social importance and means, and as we have already seen Luke has an interest in recording the conversion of this kind of folk perhaps because they were of a similar station to Luke's audience.⁶⁷

At this point, Witherington's use of purported historical data signals an ideological agenda rather than a historically grounded argument, since, while certain emperors had occasionally attempted to limit the broader public's access to purple with limited degrees of success, there did not exist an imperial monopoly in purple cloth or dye in antiquity.⁶⁸ Nonetheless, Witherington found recourse in earlier speculation that had linked Lydia to the imperial household. In *New Docs 1977*, Richard Horsley had mused:

One further tantalizing question may be raised here. *AE* 800 reports a fragmentary inscription from Miletos: [...Τιβ]ερίου [Κ]λαυδίου Νέρω[νος] Καίσαρος ἐπάνω τῶν πορφύρεων. The importance of this brief wording is that it shows that the imperial monopoly on purple goes back at least to Nero.⁶⁹ The person whose name is lost must have been a slave or freedman, whose function is described in Greek by the equivalent of the Latin *a purpuris*. The implication flowing from this is that those involved in the purple trade—who appear to be of freed status, as noted above—are members of the *familia Caesaris*. If this imperial monopoly were initiated prior to Nero—by Claudius, perhaps, since he is often claimed to be the great innovator in centralized administration?—we might just be able to identify Lydia more exactly, as being a member of “Caesar's household.”...it must be emphasized, however, that this particular suggestion about Lydia is no more than an intriguing possibility.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Witherington, *Acts of the Apostles*, 492.

⁶⁸ “As early as the Fourth Century B.C., and continuing through the Hellenistic period and the Roman Empire, there existed many industries engaged in producing inexpensive substitutes that simulated all sorts of costly products for individuals desiring to imitate the status symbols of richer strata of the population...It was these imitation purples that made possible the widespread arrogation by middle and lower classes of the elite color everywhere. Thus, despite incipient efforts in the First Century A.D. to restrict some uses of purple for official purposes, the Second Century would appear to be the period when the general use of purple, both the most expensive qualities and the various substitutes, was at its highest intensity in the ancient world.” Meyer Reinhold, *History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity* (Latomus Revue d'Études Latines 116; Brussels: Latomus, 1970), 53–54. Cf. *History of Purple*, 58.

⁶⁹ Horsley's recourse to any form of “imperial monopoly” seems to be derived from an implied link between Eusebius's account of a eunuch being granted charge over a purple-dye works at Tyre (*Hist. Eccl.* 7.32.4) and an inscription that reads: φίσε μνήμα μαρμάρινον Καθηκουμένων, διαφέρον Θεοκτίστου κογχυλοπλυτοῦ τοῦ εἰεροτάτου βαρίου. Both this and the “Nero” inscription can be understood any number of ways including an honorific acknowledgement of a patron; Eusebius speaks of a dye works not a dye monopoly. G.H.R Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity: A Review of Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Published in 1977*, vol. 2 (North Ryde, N.S.W.: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, 1982), 26.

⁷⁰ G.H.R Horsley, *New Docs 1977*, 28.

But, in the next issue of *NewDocs 1978*, Horsley qualified his prior comments about the connection between Lydia and Caesar:

The account of the purple-trade in *New Docs 1977*, does not raise the possibility that the purple in which Lydia dealt was not the Tyrian murex but a less expensive dye...Shifts of perspective here could affect our conception of Lydia's social status. If in fact her trade was separate from the imperial monopoly in the expensive marine dye, it does not support the attractive suggestion that she was a freed-woman of the imperial household. The possibility is of course not excluded (cf. Phil. 4.22).⁷¹

For Witherington, however, neither a historical lack of evidence supporting any imperial monopoly on purple, nor Horsley's retraction had any impact on his framing Lydia as a socially "appropriate" convert to the Christian mission. As Haenchen had earlier curtailed any suggestion of courtesan-Lydias with his authoritative warrant that "Lydia here is an honourable woman," so, too, did Witherington with his claim that Lydia's name signaled that she was a "notable" woman of the highest status. Moreover, not only did Lydia enjoy high social status, but:

It was money and social status that procured women or men important roles in such religious settings, and it is no accident that higher-status women played important roles in early Christianity as well, in this case providing a venue for the church to meet and be nurtured.⁷²

Lydia remains a woman of substantial financial means. Her role in the narrative is to show paradigmatically how "Luke connects spiritual dispositions to the disposition of possessions."⁷³ Ultimately, under Witherington's treatment Lydia is the "right" kind of convert who has the financial wherewithal to provide the right kind of home for the expanding church.⁷⁴

Both the degree to which the history of interpretation has etched Lydia's profile into the imaginations of interpreters, as well as the limitations of historical-criticism to tackle

⁷¹ G.H.R Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity: A Review of Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Published in 1978*, vol. 3 (North Ryde, N.S.W.: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, 1983), 53–54.

⁷² Witherington III, *Acts of the Apostles*, 492–93.

⁷³ Witherington, *Acts of the Apostles*, 493 quoting Johnson, *Acts*, 297.

⁷⁴ Witherington, *Acts of the Apostles*, 499; Ben Witherington III, *Women in the Earliest Churches* (Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 59; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 149.

questions raised by Acts' presentation of Lydia have come to full expression in Richard Ascough's recent monograph on Lydia.⁷⁵ Ascough's point of departure to an investigation of Lydia is the historical-critical *a priori* conclusion: "Luke is portraying Lydia as a woman of means who owns her own house."⁷⁶ Despite Acts not providing any information about the size, physical make-up, economic or social status of Lydia's household, nor narrating any mention of the Pauline group eating at Lydia's, Ascough goes on imaginatively to lay out a dining room and seating plan—complete with a pictograph—for the meals that Lydia would have served Paul in her ample home:

In the case of Lydia, we can again extrapolate from the typical to suggest that as their host she would have entertained Paul and his companions in the proper fashion by having her slaves prepare a triclinium and her cook prepare a meal...The meal would have been tailored to reflect the honor of the guest, while bringing praise and honor to the host. It would certainly have included leafy vegetables and bread, along with *garum* (the ubiquitous highly salted fish sauce of the Roman diet), and perhaps fish or meat if Paul was considered a particularly honored guest. The food would have been accompanied by wine, diluted appropriately with water. The cook might have been cautioned against preparing stuffed dormice—a frequent delicacy—since the most common stuffing involved pork. The final course would have involved dried and fresh fruits and perhaps some pastries.⁷⁷

These types of detailed descriptions clearly bring "Lydia the hostess" before the reader's eyes; however, they also preclude any form of critical engagement with them.

Historical-critical claims, which in some cases are incompatible regarding Lydia's status, are simply blended and quickly followed by a detailed rehearsal of types of purple, its uses, its sources, including the historically speculative "imperial monopoly":

The manufacture and trade of purple dye and purple goods was a well-organized and important industry during the Roman Empire, and it is within this scope of occupations that Acts 16:14 locates Lydia by noting that she was a "purple dealer" (*porphyropōlis*). The trade of purple dye became an imperial monopoly, controlled by various emperors over time, perhaps from as early as the time of Claudius. If Lydia dealt with true purple she would have been under imperial control and may even have been a member of "the emperor's household" (Phil 4:22). The slaves and freed persons that belonged to the imperial household were probably the most

⁷⁵ Richard S. Ascough, *Lydia: Paul's Cosmopolitan Hostess* (Paul's Social Network: Brothers and Sisters in Faith; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2009). Similarly, Jean-Pierre Sterck-Degueudre, *Eine Frau namens Lydia: zu Geschichte und Komposition in Apostelgeschichte 16, 11–15.40* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004).

⁷⁶ Ascough, *Lydia*, 32.

⁷⁷ Ascough, *Lydia*, 48–50.

mobile group in Roman society, and thus it would have been no surprise to find one of them in Philippi. Against this suggestion, however, is the existence of the manufacture of cheaper quality (non-imperial) purple in Thyatira and the use of the name Lydia for freeborn women (as opposed to it being a slave name meaning “the Lydian”). Thus, a direct connection cannot be assumed between Lydia of Acts and the household of Caesar.⁷⁸

Following his discussion of the varied sources of, and uses for, purple, Ascough summarizes:

Again, we find in the social world of Paul’s day evidence for the type of person Lydia would have been—an independent woman working in the trade of a luxury good and supporting others, perhaps even being a benefactor to an elective social formation through her income.⁷⁹

While questions regarding Lydia’s religious background, economic and social status continue to produce incompatible assertions, what does remain fixed in Ascough’s descriptive details is moneyed-Lydia—the product of the history of interpretation. Ascough writes:

In the end, I imagine Lydia as a Romanized immigrant living in Philippi, well-off, but not elite, involved in ritual piety and expressing all the typical patterns of householder hospitality one would expect in antiquity.⁸⁰

In spite of his use of social-scientific modeling, Ascough does not raise questions such as how it is that in a highly gendered honour-shame society, an “un-manned” female of indeterminate status could publicly “press” a group of men to come into her home, or, if Lydia might have been engaged in the widespread use of inexpensive low-quality purples, how she could be seen as woman of financial means.⁸¹

1.2. Conclusion to History of Interpretation of the Figure of Lydia

The contemporary image of Lydia was launched when John Chrysostom featured the “purple-seller” of Acts 16 as a model of modesty and feminine propriety. Within the social honour codes of the ancient world, gendered moral qualities such as modesty would have

⁷⁸ Ascough, *Lydia*, 76.

⁷⁹ Ascough, *Lydia*, 80.

⁸⁰ Ascough, *Lydia*, 99.

⁸¹ Ascough, *Lydia*, 99.

conferred elevated status to a woman. Hugo Grotius's recasting of Lydia as a weaver solidified her gender-appropriate status but also opened the way for future connections between Lydia and textile production. The historical-critical period moved Lydia into the realm of the purple-dyeing industry, while it retained her feminine honour. Purple's symbolic elite status linked with Lydia's elevated feminine status leading socio-historical critics to shade Lydia's purple with wealth. What began with Chrysostom as gender-appropriate, morally-derived status transformed over the centuries into socio-economic status. Moreover, Chrysostom's casting of Lydia as a hostess has worked alongside the developing image of a woman of means to create today's profile of a generous "patroness."

Any number of critics' comments could be cited to illustrate how the prevailing image of Lydia almost exclusively focuses on her perceived economic means and restricts her role to providing resources to the Pauline mission:

As a God-fearer loosely connected to the synagogue, her conversion represents the winning of one on the margins of Judaism to the messianic community centered in the house. As a Gentile of some status and economic means, she represents the type of convert that creates jealousy on the part of "the Jews." By offering her house to Paul, she uses her resources to advance the mission, resulting in the separation of the community from the synagogue. As the first convert on European soil, Lydia provides a proper example of the use of wealth by foreshadowing the conversion of other prominent women.⁸²

In such interpretations the financially endowed Lydia is moved by the spirit to finance the church's expansion in her well-appointed home. Increasingly, feminist interpretations have critiqued Lydia's limited economically-sourced role, but have understood this role to have been advanced through the interests of the author of Acts. The image itself, with the possible exception of Reimer's work, has not, since the historical-critical period, been in question.

Against this solidly entrenched, authoritatively-warranted figure, argumentative inconsistencies are swiftly overlooked and questions that should be raised remain invisible, outside of the interpretative reach of commentators. Yet, throughout the history of interpreta-

⁸² Matson, *Household Conversion*, 150.

tion there have been consistent signs that on the other side of the coin lies an alternate image of Lydia. For example, the possible implications of Lydia's name, remarked upon and swiftly overwritten by a number of authorities, suggests that they bear closer examination. Unearthing this alternate image, the image most closely shared by the first audiences of Acts, will be the objective of this thesis.

Chapter 2: Method

2.1. Choice of Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation to Address the Role of Lydia in Acts 16

The goal of this thesis is to bring socio-rhetorically framed questions to the figure of Lydia in Acts 16. By narrating Lydia as the first point of contact with an important new step in the disciples' mission, the text of Acts 16 emphasized that Lydia was of interest to the author. In addition, the author focused heightened attention on Lydia by opening and closing the Philippi episode with Lydia (Acts 16:14-15, 40); by detailing God's explicit interest in Lydia's heart; and by according Lydia a narrative speaking voice. Given these indicators of Lydia's narrative prominence, it is necessary to re-examine the prevalent scholarly suggestions concerning the Lydia episode. These include the suggestion that the Lydia episode plays no role other than being an "interlude" in a seemingly isolated passage, and the conclusion that Lydia enjoys high status and wealth despite an absence in the narrative of any clear indication of these attributes. Such inconsistencies raise questions about the suggestion that Lydia is introduced as a figure solely to showcase appropriate status and wealth sharing. Perhaps of greater importance though, is the need to explore further the tantalizing enigma of the role of Lydia's name. A full, rhetorical analysis of the material here seems to require dealing with these several matters. Socio-rhetorical interpretation is ideally suited to begin to bring new light to bear on the Lydia texts of Acts 16.

2.1.1 *Rhetoric and the Rhetorical Communicative Culture of the First-Century Mediterranean Environment.*

Socio-rhetorical interpretation (SRI), a multi-disciplinary approach to the rhetorical analysis of texts, conceived and inaugurated by Vernon K. Robbins,⁸³ arguably is the contemporary interpretative approach most sensitive to the rhetorical communicative culture from within which the NT texts were created. Robbins has rightfully contended that biblical interpretation has been shaped by inherent assumptions of a scribal communicative culture, that is, communication that is sourced in scribal reproduction and recitation. From these assumptions stemmed a form-critical perspective that is biased towards viewing NT compositions primarily as reproductions of preceding texts or events, even when allowing that these reproductions may have been slightly reshaped through redaction. This “reproductive” view of NT texts has been further augmented by the dominant print culture of modernity. The result, according to Robbins, has been a confusion between “the relation of oral to written speech” in antiquity, a confusion that arises “through a failure to recognize the pervasiveness of rhetorical culture throughout Mediterranean society during the Hellenistic period.”⁸⁴

In contrast to the scribal view of culture, in a rhetorical culture “oral and written speech interact closely with one another.”⁸⁵ While rhetorical culture may suggest to most people rhetorical oration, and specifically the types of speeches orators delivered in the traditional rhetorical venues of the courtroom (judicial), public assembly (deliberative) or public event (epideictic), Robbins recognized that by the first century, a rhetorical culture implied a fusion between oral and written communication. This fusion was materially

⁸³ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts; The Tapestry*.

⁸⁴ Vernon K. Robbins, “Writing as a Rhetorical Act in Plutarch and the Gospels,” in *Persuasive Artistry: Studies in New Testament Rhetoric in Honor of George A. Kennedy* (ed. Duane F. Watson; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 144.

⁸⁵ Robbins, “Writing as a Rhetorical Act,” 145.

illustrated within the education system of the time through the *progymnasmata*, handbooks of written rhetorical exercises taught and practiced in grammar schools.⁸⁶

The *progymnasmata* trained students to write “traditional materials...persuasively” as a means of teaching students how to redeploy the material towards new persuasive ends. In this way a student was taught to move “away from verbatim reproduction of an oral or written text” and instead shift the materials into a reconfigured argument.⁸⁷ An important implication from Robbins’ insights into the rhetorical culture of the *progymnasmata* is that the building blocks of rhetoric came not only from the common topics of elite civic oratory, but also from popular anecdotes, stories, and oral traditions imbued in cultural memory.

The most comprehensive articulation to date of the constitutive characteristics of writing produced within a classically influenced rhetorical communicative culture is found in Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca’s *The New Rhetoric*.⁸⁸ Using the insights of *The New Rhetoric* it is possible to identify four key assumptions that undergirded writing within a rhetorical culture in texts such as those found in the NT:

1. Broadly, the goal of rhetorical argumentation is “to create or increase the adherence of minds to the theses presented for their assent”;⁸⁹
2. Rhetorical texts respond to a perceived exigence within an author’s environment.⁹⁰ As a result, rhetorical argumentation is oriented towards human decision-making, and as Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca claim, it is “oriented towards the future, it sets out to bring

⁸⁶ For examples see George A. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric; Translated with Introductions and Notes by George A. Kennedy* (Writings from the Greco-Roman World 10; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003); Libanius, *Libanius’s Progymnasmata Model Exercises in Greek Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (translated with introduction by Craig A. Gibson; Writings from the Greco-Roman World 27; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008).

⁸⁷ Robbins, “Writing as a Rhetorical Act,” 145–47.

⁸⁸ Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* (10th, 2006 ed.; trans. John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver; 1958: Presses Universitaires de France; repr., Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969).

⁸⁹ Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 45.

⁹⁰ For a discussion of “rhetorical situation” and exigence see Lloyd F. Bitzer, “The Rhetorical Situation,” *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 1 (1968): 1–14; Keith Grant-Davie, “Rhetorical Situations and Their Constituents,” *Rhetoric Review* 15, no. 2 (Spring 1997): 264–79.

about some action or to prepare for it by acting, by discursive methods, on the minds of the hearers”;⁹¹

3. In contrast to the type of argumentation found in mathematical logical proofs which rely upon the “rational self-evidence” of their premises, rhetorical argumentation relies upon social logic:

If judgments of reality are to provide an indisputable object of common understanding, the terms they contain must be free of all ambiguity, either because it is possible to know their true meaning, or because a unanimously accepted convention does away with all controversy on the subject. These two possibilities, which are respectively the approaches of realism and nominalism in the linguistic field, are both untenable, as they regard language either as a reflection of reality or as an arbitrary creation of an individual, and forget an essential element, the social aspect of language, which is an instrument of communication and influence on others.

All language is the language of community, be this a community bound by biological ties, or by the practice of a common discipline or technique. The terms used, their meanings, by definition, can only be understood in the context of the habits, ways of thought, methods, external circumstances, and traditions known to the users of those terms.⁹²

4. Although, at times, rhetorical figures have become associated in the popular imagination with stylistic embellishment, such as certain cases of alliteration, when used in argumentation that is intended to function rhetorically (i.e., influence human decision-making) figures can be considered “rhetorical” to the extent they contribute to a change of perspective in the audience:

Forms which seem at first to be used in an unusual manner may come to appear normal if their use is justified by the speech taken as a whole. We consider a figure to be *argumentative*, if it brings about a change of perspective, and its use seems normal in relation to this new situation.⁹³

⁹¹ Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 47. “tourné vers l’avenir, elle se propose de provoquer une action ou d’y préparer, en agissant par des moyens discursifs sur l’esprit des auditeurs.” Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *Traité de l’Argumentation: La Nouvelle Rhétorique* (5th ed.; Michel Myer; 1958; repr., Brussels: Editions de l’Université de Bruxelles, 1988), 62. “L’esprit” was translated as “mind,” but the sense conveyed by the biblical heart, i.e., the seat of the inner human encompassing thought, emotions, and volition, would be closer to Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca’s intent: “rhetoric gives first place to the influence which a speech has on the entire personality of the hearers.” Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 54.

⁹² Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 513.

⁹³ Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 169.

The following succinct summary of Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's presentation of the function and means of rhetoric essentially summarises this project's understanding of rhetoric:

The speaker gains adherence of any audience by attempting to transfer existing adherence from premises that the audience presumably already accepts to conclusions drawn from those premises. Furthermore, the speaker wins adherence by creating "presence" for the main premise of the proposition. Presence, or foregrounding, is created using the topics. The different types of argument create 'liaisons'—not necessarily [formal] logical connections—between premises and conclusions.⁹⁴

From Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's insights into rhetorical communicative culture, it is possible to identify a number of key attributes of rhetorical texts that can help guide a rhetorically-oriented approach to analysis:

1. At all times, rhetoric is culturally and socially contextualized and, therefore, the premises of a rhetorical argument are located in the communion of conventions and values shared between the rhetor and his or her audience;
2. Through what Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca term "presence," rhetoric consciously foregrounds the *topoi* it has chosen to employ and develop in argumentation; and
3. The argument moves towards its conclusion through linkages ("liaisons") argumentatively developed (deductively and/or inductively) between the salient topics.

2.1.2 Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation as a Means of Identifying Rhetorical Topoi and Their Rhetorical Role in the Text.

Ancient writings present two major obstacles to their contemporary rhetorical interpretation. The first is that modern interpreters are not only removed by history from their texts, they are also removed by cultural and social norms, conventions and practices. The gap of history is normally recognized, such that significant attention and resources have

⁹⁴ "Chaïm Perelman," in *The Rhetorical Tradition: Readings from Classical Times to the Present* (2nd ed.; ed. Patricia Bizzell and Bruce Herzberg; New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2001), 1373–74.

been dedicated for at least the past two centuries to researching the historical background of ancient texts of various eras and genres. Interpreters are not as readily self-aware, however, of the concurrent distance in social and cultural norms that also separate a text from its interpretation. As a result, interpretations may be able to represent a relatively accurate image of a historical environment, providing details such as architecture, geography, or political conflicts, but at the same time either introduce social and cultural anachronisms, or overlook key elements altogether.

A second, and far more potentially damaging, obstacle to the rhetorical interpretation of earlier writings is a lack of awareness of how *topoi* have been reconfigured and reshaped by centuries of past interpretations. Particularly problematic is the way in which re-imaged elements may have triggered imaginative elaborations and thereby seeded new *topoi* into interpretative discourse. If these subsequent *topoi* reappeared with sufficient frequency, they may have eventually entrenched themselves under the guise of the rhetoric of the subject text. This thesis argues that the *topoi* associated with Lydia have indeed been reconfigured over the course of Acts' reception history, together with others in the rhetorical unit, such that key aspects of the text's rhetoric have been either expurgated or radically recast.

SRI seeks to redress both obstacles, that of social, cultural, and historical distance and that of a text's *topoi* having been recalibrated by the history of interpretation. It does so by focusing on a constitutive role of a *topos*—its dynamic quality of bringing forth a “constellation of networks of meaning”⁹⁵—rather than representing a discrete value. In rhetorical discourse, a portion of any given constellation of elements associated with a *topos* will be found “on the page” by nature of their being strategically semantically clustered, but a portion will also be located “off the page” in an audience's “long-term schematic knowledge.”⁹⁶ For rhetorician Carolyn Miller, an essential attribute of a *topos* is that it is

⁹⁵ L. Gregory Bloomquist, “Paul's Inclusive Language: The Ideological Texture of Romans 1,” in *Fabrics of Discourse: Essays in Honor of Vernon K. Robbins* (ed. David B. Gowler, L. Gregory Bloomquist, and Duane F. Watson; Harrisburg, Penn.: Trinity Press, 2003), 174. For quote see page 37 below.

⁹⁶ Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden*

found at “a point in semantic space that is particularly rich in connectivity to other significant or highly connected points.”⁹⁷ The two axes of connectivity—liaisons found between textual elements and through mental elaborations—become more visible to an interpreter when social, cultural, political, economic, sacred, and historical details inform the understanding of elements located in the text. Having identified a text’s *topoi*, the interpreter is then equipped to investigate the ideological texture of the text, that is, to examine how the author of the text has used these *topoi* argumentatively in order to advance his or her message.

Recognized as “one of the foremost practitioners of socio-rhetorical criticism as developed in the many writings of Vernon Robbins,”⁹⁸ Bloomquist has continued to refine and extend the application of SRI, initially conceived as a textural analysis, into a *topos*-centered analytic.

The interpreter, in investigating a text’s inner-, and inter-, textures, is led to discover the prominent *topoi* of interest evidenced by the text itself, and the social and cultural environment that gives shape and meaning to the *topoi*. The goal of SRI is not merely to identify those *topoi* that are operative in the text, however, but ultimately to investigate how those *topoi* have been deployed by the author to advance his or her communicative objective.

The *topos*, it should be clarified, is not entirely synonymous with a modern understanding of “topic,” since a rhetorical communicative culture understood *topoi* as predictable clusters of elements, where it is the linkages, the connectivity between elements, that is the salient feature that shapes and determines the *topos*. Out of a vast resource pool of social and cultural topics, certain elements, when joined together in the discourse, take on the distinctive shape of a *topos*. For this reason *topoi* are both formed interactively and

Complexities (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 40.

⁹⁷ Carolyn R. Miller, “The Aristotelian Topos: Hunting for Novelty,” in *Rereading Aristotle’s Rhetoric* (ed. Alan G. Gross and Arthur E. Walzer; Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 142.

⁹⁸ James D. Hester, “Rhetorics in and for the New Millennium,” in *Rhetorics in the New Millennium: Promise and Fulfillment* (ed. James D. Hester and J. David Hester; Studies in Antiquity & Christianity; New York: T & T Clark, 2010), 13.

function interactively. As we shall see, a significant example of this dynamic nature of a *topos* will be illustrated by the way the colour purple becomes part of a distinctive *topos* when it is linked to Lydia's ethnic and occupational profile.

Predicated upon "the Aristotelian notion that a *topos* is," in the words of Miller, "a place to which an arguer (or problem solver or thinker) may mentally go to find arguments,"⁹⁹ Bloomquist defined *topoi* as follows:

Topoi... can be understood as those landmarks on the mental geography of thought, which themselves evoke a constellation of networks of meanings as a result of social, cultural, or ideological use—and the argumentative embedding of these *topoi* in the presentation of the argument(s) of the text.¹⁰⁰

SRI's primary goal is to seek out *topoi* and examine how they are "argumentatively embedded" in the rhetorical argumentation of the text. The key components of this investigative process—inner-, inter-, and ideological textural analyses will be discussed in the following sections.

2.1.3 *The World of the Text: Innertextural Analysis.*

Innertextural analysis involves a thorough investigation of the lexically-derived patterns, narrational elements and argumentative structure of the text. This first programmatic step of analysis is the foundation and point of departure for SRI. The challenge of innertextural analysis is for an interpreter to suspend all of his or her presumptions about "what the text is about," and instead allow the text itself to show its topics of concern to the interpreter in the form of lexical indicators, narrative characters, forms of action, temporal and spatial settings, etc. Robbins writes: "this is a stage of analysis prior to the analysis of 'meanings,' that is, prior to 'real interpretation' of the text."¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Carolyn R. Miller, "The Aristotelian Topos: Hunting for Novelty," in *Rereading Aristotle's Rhetoric* (ed. Alan G. Gross and Arthur E. Walzer; Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 130–46 as referenced by Bloomquist, "Paul's Inclusive Language," 174.

¹⁰⁰ Bloomquist, "Paul's Inclusive Language," 174.

¹⁰¹ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts*, 7.

Innertextural analysis investigates at least five textures: 1. repetitive texture and pattern, 2. progressive texture and pattern, 3. rhetorical boundaries texture and pattern, 4. narrational and sensory-aesthetic texture and pattern, and 5. argumentative texture and pattern.¹⁰² Innertextural analysis establishes a blueprint of a text's rhetorical framework. We will discuss each of these innertextural components in turn.

Repetitive texture and pattern examines the text for repeated lexical, as well as "grammatical, syntactical, verbal, or topical phenomena."¹⁰³ Repetitive elements are the first signal to possible *topoi* that function rhetorically in the text. For example, in our analysis of repetitive texture, we will discover a number of repetitive distinguishing features of Acts 16:9-40, such as an abundance of ἔρχομαι-prefixed terms, pervasive instances of the plural form, and varied uses of terms often associated with the sacred.

We will also look for repetition in our analysis of progressive texture. Whereas in repetitive texture we simply aggregate repetitive elements, in progressive texture we begin to look for clusters of elements that are found repetitively, as well as any progressions or sequences that seem to unfold along the repetitive elements. In progressive texture we will look closely at progressive or sequential patterns, and we will begin to notice how repetitive elements are structured in the text. Progressive textural analysis will be our first indicator of the rhetorical structure of the text. For example, our analysis of progressive texture will show that the repetitive term παρακαλέω is found in the unit's first and final verse and participates in a major progressive pattern.

¹⁰² Following Bloomquist, this project treats sensory-aesthetic texture and pattern as a component of narrational texture and pattern; L. Gregory Bloomquist, "The Rhetoric of Suffering in Paul's Letter to the Philippians: Socio-Rhetorical Reflections and Further Thoughts on a Post-Colonial Contribution to the Discussion," *Theoforum* 35 (2004): 203; "First-Century Models of Bodily Healing and Their Socio-Rhetorical Transformation in Some NT Traditions," *Queen: A Journal of Rhetoric and Power*, Special Issue: The Rhetorics of Healing 2002, 3, [Http://www.ars-rhetorica.net/Queen/VolumeSpecialIssue/Articles/Bloomquist.html](http://www.ars-rhetorica.net/Queen/VolumeSpecialIssue/Articles/Bloomquist.html). Robbins treats sensory-aesthetic texture as a distinct texture; Cf. Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts*, 29–36.

¹⁰³ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts*, 8.

Within narrative, we need to be aware of an additional form of progression, called “qualitative progression” by Kenneth Burke. In qualitative progression, “the presence of one quality prepares us for the introduction of another.”¹⁰⁴ Robbins’ description of the Gospel of Mark’s account of Jesus’ crucifixion provides a good example of qualitative progression:

The next scene (15:33-39) begins with another reference to time. It took three hours for the door to close on any hope for Jesus’ release. During this time, Jesus’ speech stopped, his body was beaten and mocked, and his body was led off to be hung on a cross...At the end of this time period, according to the narrator, the universe itself responded. The response was not a flash of light, a roar of thunder, a miraculous release of the body from the cross, and a glorious ascent of the body into heaven. Rather, the light that the earth gives forth during the day to give life to the world suddenly became darkness. In other words, the universe itself became passive, much as Jesus’ body became passive during the scene with Pilate. Not only did all people forsake him, but the universe itself—with God as its inward center of emotion, thought, and will—withdrawed into passivity. And the universe remained in this passive state for three hours, the same length of time as the opening series of events and the same length of time during which Jesus’ body hung on the cross in ridicule and shame.¹⁰⁵

As Robbins connects the passivity of Jesus’ body, beginning with his silence, followed by his crucifixion to the withdrawal of the earth into darkness, then with Jesus’ death scene and the earth’s darkness framed by the three hour time frame, a key feature of qualitative progression is foregrounded: “we are put in a state of mind which another state of mind can appropriately follow.”¹⁰⁶

The distinguishing feature of qualitative progression is that it functions through amplification and aggregation. Qualitative progression can amplify an element’s presence such as in the preceding example of the cumulative effect of the role of silence in the events surrounding Jesus’ crucifixion. But also, qualitative progression can help to develop a new understanding of a notion. In such a role, qualitative progression works with progressive texture to develop and expand the meaning of certain repetitive elements in the text. However,

¹⁰⁴ Kenneth Burke, “Lexicon Rhetoricae,” in *Counter-Statement* (2nd edition; repr., Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1968), 125.

¹⁰⁵ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts*, 33.

¹⁰⁶ Burke, “Lexicon Rhetoricae,” 125.

unlike repetitive and progressive textures which are concerned with repeated lexically-centered patterns, the emphasis in qualitative progression is not as directly on the lexica (although it can include these) as on any narrative element which repeats and progresses throughout the discourse. One of the examples used by Robbins to illustrate qualitative progression is when “new attributes and new titles emerge in the portrayal of Jesus.”¹⁰⁷ While these may or may not be lexically repetitive, their aggregation helps to develop an understanding of the text’s unfolding of Jesus’ identity.

In innertextural analysis, we also establish the initial boundaries for the unit, loosely corresponding to what Robbins calls “opening-middle-closing texture and pattern.”¹⁰⁸ In the case of a narrative this might correspond to the opening, middle and closing of a story’s plot, or the opening, middle, closing of a speech given by a narrative character. However, rhetorical units are not necessarily the same as episodic story units, nor bounded by a narrated speech. For example, the story of the wasteful steward (Luke 16:1-8a) is a story component that leads to the rhetorical message “You cannot serve God and mammon” (Luke 16:13). In similar manner, while Stephen’s speech in Acts is limited by Acts 7:2-53, the rhetorical unit goes beyond the speech boundaries (Acts 7:51), for no sooner does Stephen indict the “stiff-necked people, uncircumcised in heart and ears” in his speech than does his audience “stop their ears” (Acts 7:57) as they rush to stone the speaker; the rhetorical message moves beyond the speech unit. Rhetorical units are determined by rhetorical, rather than narrative-driven, criteria.

Rhetorical units can only truly be established from the findings of repetitive and progressive textural analyses. However, somewhat circuitously, these analyses cannot be commenced without some type of initial boundaries. Therefore, the Philippi visit (Acts 16:11-40) acted as a proxy for the rhetorical unit proper until we completed our repetitive and progressive analyses. Once the repetitive and progressive textures were investigated, it was

¹⁰⁷ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts*, 23.

¹⁰⁸ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts*, 19–21.

then possible to look for shifts in clusters of elements and changes in progressive sequences around the borders of the proxy unit, so that, ultimately, the temporary boundaries were slightly modified to encompass the final rhetorical unit of Acts 16:9-40.¹⁰⁹

Our analysis of narrational, repetitive, and progressive textures will participate in what is essentially an exercise in “presence.” Presence, to paraphrase Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, is created by selecting and presenting certain elements as important and pertinent to the discussion.¹¹⁰ From a large field of potential elements, the author foregrounds those of concern to the argument and attempts to make these “present to the consciousness” of the audience. Repetitive and progressive analyses mainly seek to bring to the interpreter’s consciousness those elements and patterns that the author made prominent in structuring the discourse.

Narrational texture brings out a text’s prominent narrative elements including characters and their actions, spatial and temporal settings, and events. As originally formulated, narrational texture was primarily focused on voices in the narrative, perhaps showing the abiding influence of oratory on rhetorical criticism.¹¹¹ However, as Robbins also recognized, not only speaking voices but also the wider range of bodily actions and who (or what) is performing them contributes to rhetorical development. For this reason he introduced sensory-aesthetic texture, which in *Exploring* was a distinct component of innertexture, but which since has been assimilated into narrational texture in Bloomquist’s recent work, and will be in this analysis as well.¹¹²

Sensory-aesthetic texture is based upon Bernard de Gérardon’s tri-partite model of the body as it was later appropriated by cultural-anthropologist Bruce Malina. In his 1958 work, de Gérardon contended that the Bible portrays the human as an acting subject com-

¹⁰⁹ See pages 63–65; 75–80.

¹¹⁰ Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 116.

¹¹¹ “Narrational texture resides in voices (often not identified with a specific character) through which the words in texts speak,” Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts*, 15.

¹¹² Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts*, 29–36.

posed of three integrated *loci* of activity: thought, speech, and action-motion. According to de Gérardon, biblical anthropology saw the human being primarily as an agent of vital activity who acted upon, and reacted to, his or her environment. As a result, “a human being is endowed with a heart for thinking, a mouth for speaking and hands and feet for acting and moving.”¹¹³ The Bible rarely describes human organs and limbs statically, but rather as dynamic acting agents. So, we see a hand introduced because it acts, a mouth because it speaks, and a heart because it thinks and perceives. In addition to bringing an anthropological awareness to biblical interpretation, de Gérardon’s model helped to sharpen focus on the ways that biblical actors engage with their environment and situations by broadening the notion of action to include speech, thought and perception.

Malina further developed de Gérardon’s initial categories into a model composed of three body-zones: 1. the zone of emotion-fused thought, which includes “eyes, heart, eyelids, pupils...: to see,... understand, think,...choose, feel [etc.]...In [North American] culture, this zone would cover the areas we refer to as intellect, will, judgment, conscience, personality thrust..affection, and so on”; 2. the zone of self-expressive speech which includes “mouth, tongue, lips, throat, teeth, jaws...: to speak, hear, say, call, question” [etc.]...where “this zone would cover the area we refer to as self-revelation through speech;” and 3. the zone of purposeful action which includes “hands, feet, arms, fingers, legs...in our culture this zone would cover...all external activity.”¹¹⁴

Since much is conveyed in the biblical narrative through bodies and how they act, narrational texture is interested in who acts and how they act, including actions of self-

¹¹³ “l’homme est doté d’un coeur pour penser, d’une bouche pour parler, de mains et de pieds pour agir et se mouvoir” Bernard de Gérardon, “L’Homme à l’Image de Dieu,” *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 80, no. 7 (1958): 683

The role of De Gérardon’s model in socio-rhetorical analysis was recently presented in Alexandra Gruca-Macaulay, “De Gérardon’s Body-Zone Model and Greco-Roman Physiognomy: The Role of Socio-Culturally Encoded Bodily Actions in Socio-Rhetorical Analysis” (Paper Presented at The Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting; San Francisco, Calif., 2011).

¹¹⁴ Bruce J. Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (3rd revised and expanded ed.; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 69.

expression such as speaking, inner acts of thinking, perceiving and feeling, and the physical actions of external body parts. The agent who acts, the part of the body involved in the action, and the body-zone of the action all contribute to the rhetoric of the text. For example, later analysis will contend that the Pauline group's act of sitting down with the women by the river (Acts 16:13) is rhetorically significant, and that emotion-fused acts of interpreting, supposing, and concluding move the plot forward. Narrational texture identifies the foregrounded acting agents through actions and body-zones, spatial and temporal settings.

2.1.3.1 Argumentative Texture and Pattern.

Argumentative texture forms the final phase of innertextural analysis and, like the other textures, it is concerned with "presence" rather than the fully developed rhetorical argument. As noted above, rhetorical argumentation relies upon social logic, and until the relevant elements of this logic are discovered in intertextural analysis, it will be possible to examine only the surface level argumentative structure of the text rather than its full argumentative force.¹¹⁵ But even here, we can note that a rhetorical argument functions through either deductive, or inductive argumentation, and is delivered through either the explicit words of the text (rhetology), or through cognitive linkages formed through those mental images that have been evoked by the text (rhetography). Often, rhetorical arguments integrate both methods of argumentation and means of delivery.

¹¹⁵ As an example of the embedded nature of social logic in argumentation, consider the following popular riddle that circulated in the early 1970s: "A man and his son are driving in a car one day, when they get into a fatal accident. The man is killed instantly. The boy is knocked unconscious, but he is still alive. He is rushed to hospital, and will need immediate surgery. The doctor enters the emergency room, looks at the boy, and says... "I can't operate on this boy, he is my son." How can this be?" "Can't Operate on My Son Riddle," [Http://everything2.com/e2node/1%2520can%2527t%2520operate%2520on%2520this%2520boy%253B%2520he%2520is%2520my%2520son](http://everything2.com/e2node/1%2520can%2527t%2520operate%2520on%2520this%2520boy%253B%2520he%2520is%2520my%2520son). The riddle seemed insoluble to most of us at the time it first circulated, yet my own children had no difficulty providing the answer that the doctor was the boy's mother. The riddle functions on the assumption that the mental image of "doctor" would contain a male. With today's changed social reality regarding women in medicine, the riddle's inner logic, while unchanged at the structural level, has been dramatically to the point whereby the riddle's argumentation can no longer function effectively for many contemporary North American hearers.

2.1.3.1.1 Modes of rhetorical argumentation: deductive and inductive.

Deductive rhetorical argumentation bears some similarity to formal argumentation, where the underlying assumptions could be accepted as scientifically self-evident by any rational human:

Formal reasoning results from a process of simplification which is possible only under special conditions, within isolated and limited systems. But, since there are formal proofs of recognized validity, quasi-logical arguments derive their persuasive strength from their similarity with these well-established modes of reasoning.¹¹⁶

For Aristotle, a formal rhetorical reasoning structure was best illustrated through the enthymeme (Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1.2.1356b.8). Aristotle suggested that the enthymeme be considered the rhetorical equivalent of a syllogism involving an argument with a premise (which requires the audience to fill in implicit elements or premises from its social knowledge) and a conclusion. He gives as one example: “There is no one of men who is free. For he is a slave of money or of chance” (Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 2.211349b [Kennedy]). An example of deductive rhetorical argumentation from Luke 16:13 is the claim (similar to Aristotle’s):

Premise: “No servant can serve two masters;”

Rationale: “for either he will hate the one and love the other, or he will be devoted to the one and despise the other.”

Conclusion: “You cannot serve God and mammon” (Luke 16:13).

The argumentative mode is deductive in Luke because it argues through mutual exclusivity: what is “false” cannot at the same time be considered “true.” Nevertheless, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca maintain that, by its very nature, rhetoric lies outside of the closed system of formal logic.

Inductive rhetorical argumentation draws inferences through linkages other than those found in quasi-logical argumentation. Aristotle associates rhetorical induction with argumentation through “paradigm,” which essentially means arguing by illustration or example

¹¹⁶ Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 193.

(Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1.2.1356b.10). Aristotle suggests two forms of paradigm: examples from history or fables (the dividing line between these was not strictly drawn in practice). Each of these could be used to suggest an analogous relationship between the paradigm and the premise that a rhetor was seeking assent on.¹¹⁷

Moreover, “historical example” and “fable” encompass a broad range of data that can also include social wisdom or common sense. Analogy through common sense undergirds Aristotle’s mention of Socratic sayings as a form of induction:

Socratic sayings are an instance of comparison: for example, if someone were to say that officials should not be chosen by lot (for that would be as if someone were to choose athletes randomly—not those able to compete, but those on whom the lot fell); or [as if] choosing by lot any one of the sailors to act as pilot rather than the one who knew how. (Aristotle, *Rhetoric* [2.20.1393b.4 [Kennedy]])

As such, Aristotle’s understanding of inductive argumentation is a subset of the type of inductive argumentation that Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca characterize as “arguments based on the structure of the real”:¹¹⁸

Whereas quasi-logical arguments lay claim to a certain validity owing to their rational appearance, which derives from their more-or-less close relation with certain logical or mathematical formulae, the arguments based on the structure of reality make use of this structure to establish solidarity between accepted judgments and others which one wishes to promote.¹¹⁹

An example of inductive argumentation can be found in Acts 19, when Paul confronts a group of disciples in Ephesus about their baptism:

And he said to them, “Did you receive the Holy Spirit when you believed?” And they said, “No, we have never even heard that there is a Holy Spirit.” And he said, “Into what then were you baptized?” They said, “Into John’s baptism.” And Paul

¹¹⁷ The rhetorical concept of argumentation through induction cannot be conflated with scientific induction, as D. W. Hamlyn points out: “[Aristotelian induction] has nothing very much in common with what has come in modern times to be called ‘ampliative induction’—generalizing from observed instances; rather it is a form of argument from analogy, in the sense that the other party to the debate is got to see the analogy between cases and that analogy is used to get a further conclusion.” D.W. Hamlyn, “Aristotelian *Epagogue*,” *Phronesis* 21, no. 2 (1976): 168.

¹¹⁸ Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 228.

¹¹⁹ Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 261. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca emphasize that arguments based on the structure of reality do not necessarily reflect objective reality: “What we are interested in here is not an objective description of reality, but the manner in which opinions concerning it are presented. These can, moreover, be treated as facts, truths, or presumptions.” Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 262.

said, “John baptized with the baptism of repentance, telling the people to believe in the one who was to come after him, that is, Jesus.” On hearing this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus (Acts 19:2-5).

Paul uses an “ends and means” inductive argument that argues that John’s baptism was a means intended to facilitate the “end” of baptism “in the name of Jesus Christ.”¹²⁰ Spotting the inductive nature of Paul’s argumentation helps to prevent inaccurate readings that might unwittingly recast the inductive argument into a deductive attempt at discrediting John’s baptism as “false” in contrast with Paul’s “true” baptism. By understanding the method of argumentation, an interpreter is guided to an author’s argumentative goals.

2.1.3.1.2 Narrative plot-line logical progression.

Exploring the Texture of Texts suggested a form of narrative progression, “logical progression” (called “syllogistic progression” by Burke), that through narrative form supports an inductive argument.¹²¹ Logical progression functions through the causal links that move a narrative’s plot along. When Burke defines syllogistic progression as a “perfectly conducted argument, advancing step by step,” he does not intend the structure of formal logic but rather the inner logic of a plot’s development.

Burke describes syllogistic progression as when:

the arrows of our desires are turned in a certain direction, and the plot follows the direction of the arrows.¹²²

In narrative, this plot direction forms along what Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca call “the causal link,” and although called “syllogistic” by Burke and “logical” by Robbins, argumentatively this type of progression is a form of inductive argumentation that develops sequential relations between events. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca suggest three types of argumentation through the causal link:

¹²⁰ For “ends and means” in argumentation see Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 270–78.

¹²¹ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts*, 23.

¹²² Burke, “Lexicon Rhetoricae,” 124.

- a. argumentation tending to attach two given successive events to each other by means of a causal link;
- b. argumentation tending to reveal the existence of a cause which could have determined a given event;
- c. argumentation tending to show the effect which must result from a given event.¹²³

Logical progression permits new events to reverse expectation raised by prior causal linkages. However, the “logical” component of the logical progression requires that any reversals cannot appear to result purely from chance or random events but rather from the plot’s design. In *Poetics* Aristotle cites plot reversals as one of the key features of plot, but these reversals must occur either through “necessity or probability.”¹²⁴ Aristotle stresses that events which occur “contrary to expectation” still need to be narrated in a way that they seem not to occur by chance but rather “on account of one another” (*Poetics* 1452a.1-10). The more sophisticated type of plot, according to Aristotle, will demonstrate reversal in combination with “recognition,” that is when there is a change “from ignorance to knowledge” that coincides with, or is the cause of, the realignment of a plot’s arrows to an opposite direction.¹²⁵ When, for example, Peter, in his new theological understanding, baptizes Gentiles for the first time in Acts 10:48, reversing his presumptions of what categorizes people as clean or unclean, the event linkages of the preceding plot lead to the “rightness of the conclusion.”¹²⁶ From an analytical perspective, logical progression is helpful in locating such reversals which often point to those areas of intense rhetorical interest.

2.1.3.1.3 Means of rhetorical argumentation: rhetology and rhetography.

Aristotle seemed to recognize that both deductive and inductive methods of argumentation can be delivered explicitly through words, or by argumentation that

¹²³ Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 263.

¹²⁴ Aristotle, *Poetics* 11.1452a.21–29.

¹²⁵ Aristotle, *Poetics* 1452a.11.26-32.

¹²⁶ “In so far as the audience, from its acquaintance with the premises, feels the rightness of the conclusion, the work is formal,” [i.e. displays the form of syllogistic progression]. Burke, “Lexicon Rhetoricae,” 124.

functions “through the rhetoric”:

some rhetorical utterances are paradigmatic, some enthymematic, and similarly, some orators are paradigmatic, some enthymematic (Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1.2.1356b.10 [Kennedy]).

In SRI this difference in the “delivery platforms” of rhetoric is termed rhetology and rhetography.

The definitional difference between rhetology and rhetography has caused no end of discussion in the regular meetings of the Rhetoric of Religious Antiquity (RRA) working group. However, despite the debate there has been a common understanding that rhetorical argumentation has two different, although frequently interlinked, means of delivery: surface-level words (*logos*), and cognitive mental images evoked by the words (*graphē*) and their argumentative configuration.¹²⁷ It seems, however, that Aristotle, as well as the RRA discussions around rhetology and rhetography, both intend to distinguish between mode and manner of argumentation. For that reason the term rhetology will be understood in this project as “conveying rhetorical argumentation primarily by the explicit words of the text,” while rhetography will be understood as “conveying rhetorical argumentation primarily through cognitive mental images evoked by the words of the text.”¹²⁸

In many cases, deductive argumentation, which tends to resemble the statements of formal logic, is delivered primarily by rhetology and inductive by rhetography. However, the deductive and inductive argumentative modes are not synonymous with the rhetorical and rhetographical means, or platforms, of delivery of the modes. For example, although the mode of argumentation that expresses the means of John’s baptism as an end to baptism

¹²⁷ *Graphē* intends the visual depiction of some concept, i.e. graphic. Its meaning originated in the visual depiction of words through writing. Because of the “pictorial” nature of the graphic, the notion of rhetography, which intends argumentation through cognitive mental imagery, has at times been confused with descriptive elements of texts that “paint a picture” in the mind of the audience. Descriptive prose can play a rhetorical role but should not be confused with rhetography.

¹²⁸ These definitions affirm Bloomquist’s understanding that a *topos* can also be found explicitly articulated by the words (*topology*) or in a mental elaboration evoked by the words (*topography*). L. Gregory Bloomquist, “Rhetoric, Culture, and Ideology: Socio-Rhetorical Analysis in the Reading of New Testament Texts,” in *Rhetorics in the New Millennium: Promise and Fulfillment* (ed. James D. Hester and J. David Hester; Studies in Antiquity and Christianity; New York: T & T Clark, 2010), 137.

in Jesus (Acts 19:2-5) is inductive,¹²⁹ its platform for delivery is rhetological; the argument comes to the audience directly from the words of the text.

Another example, Luke 21:1-4, shows how a deductive argument is conveyed first by rhetography and then explicitly articulated by rhetology:

He looked up and saw the rich putting their gifts into the treasury; and he saw a poor widow put in two copper coins. And he said, “Truly I tell you, this poor widow has put in more than all of them; for they all contributed out of their abundance, but she out of her poverty put in all the living that she had” (Luke 21:1-4).

The argument uses “the idea of measure, which underlies arguments by comparison”¹³⁰ together with “argumentation by sacrifice”¹³¹ in order to recast the notion of “worth.”

Whereas conventional wisdom would ascribe higher value to the higher nominal value of the gifts of the rich, the text inverts the scales of value by substituting degree of sacrifice for nominal value. The significant personal sacrifice involved in the widow’s gift (essentially all of her livelihood) results in her gift being affirmed as the one of higher worth in comparison with the (aggregated!) gifts of the rich.

To some members of the audience the deductive argument might have been adequately conveyed rhetographically by Luke 21:1-2 alone, by its having evoked a mental picture of the gifts of the rich and another of the widow’s coins and, by evoking a mental scale that would “weigh” these gifts alongside each other on a scale of personal sacrifice. The rhetographical delivery of the argument is then re-iterated rhetologically in Luke 21:3, through the explicit words “this poor widow has put in more than all of them.” In reality, rhetorical arguments, including the examples cited above, are delivered through a blend of rhetology and rhetography. Nonetheless, distinguishing between modes and manner of argumentation helps to bring the argumentative texture into sharper relief. Most especially,

¹²⁹ Acts 19:2–5 also employs an “argument of direction” in which one stage—John’s baptism—is to lead to the next stage—baptism in Jesus. For “argument of direction” see Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 281–83.

¹³⁰ Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 242.

¹³¹ Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 248.

since the argumentative force of rhetography depends on cognitive mental images, spotting rhetographical argumentation can help to bring this argumentation to light.

2.1.4 *The World Alongside the Text: Intertextural Analysis.*

To the extent that innertextural analysis helps an interpreter become aware of rhetorical elements, it also calls for the next step of interpretation: a socially and culturally informed investigation of these elements and how they would have been perceived in the first-century “thought-world of Mediterranean culture.”¹³² After all, rhetoric is predicated on such shared and common social and cultural textures. Intertexture examines the social, cultural, oral-scribal, historical, and sacred textures of the world behind the text.¹³³ As Bloomquist notes, the world of the text

intersects a larger world, a world that, through historical reconstruction we can know. This world has its own social and cultural features, some of which can be known historically or deduced through models. Part of the goal of SR is to provide a configuration of the world around the text, partly on the basis of social phenomena (what humans do) and partly on the basis of cultural phenomena (what humans do or did in the local cultural whence the text has come to us). SR then proceeds to ask how the text and its world intersects this social and cultural world, that is, what social and cultural realities figure in the text.¹³⁴

Social texture involves the use of social topics, like the role of virtue in Roman society; cultural texture involves the use of culturally-specific topics, such as the way Greeks and Romans used Lydian ethnography to speak of Lydians as luxury-loving and effeminate; historical intertexture provides historical background, whether in the material world, such as locations of ancient synagogues, or events such as Alexander the Great’s conquests; oral-scribal texture involves recitations, reconfigurations, and allusions to other written and material texts, such as the common elements between Euripides, *Bacchae*, and the Philippi

¹³² Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts*, 30.

¹³³ Excellent descriptions of the components of intertexture are available elsewhere and there is no need to rehearse these in detail. Cf. Bloomquist, “Rhetoric, Culture and Ideology,” 118–23; Bloomquist, “Rhetoric of Suffering,” 203–5; Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts*, 40–94; Robbins, *The Tapestry*, 96–191.

¹³⁴ Bloomquist, “First-Century Models,” 4–5.

episode of Acts 16;¹³⁵ sacred texture involves topics concerning deities, spiritual beings, symbolically-derived notions such as holiness, as well as religious communities such as the role of the enigmatic “place of prayer” (Acts 16:13, 16) in the rhetorical unit.

The goal of intertexture is to investigate those intertextural elements that either contribute to or form the text’s rhetorical *topoi* as they would have been used and heard in a first-century environment. Thus, the intertextural enterprise is not concerned with “painting a picture” of the first-century world but rather, under the guidance of innertextural results, delving into the world that gave rise to the text in order to flesh-out that world’s *topoi* as they relate to the rhetorical unit under study. Bloomquist writes:

In terms of its intertexture,...the text is a rhetorical subset of social, cultural, oral-scribal, historical, and sacred possibilities drawn from that world, rather than some artificially exhaustive representation of the real world of the author’s day (as historical-critical study used to argue) or even a faithful one (as positivistic approaches to historical-critical study still argue).¹³⁶

Intertexture looks to see which social, cultural, oral-scribal, historical, and sacred elements the author invoked in constructing the text’s rhetorical argument. As remarked upon in the discussion of *topoi* above, *topoi* are constituted by liaisons of elements found in the text as well as in the long-term schematic knowledge of the audience. As a result of this interplay of linkages, intertextural analysis performs its role by unearthing the relevant intertextural elements based upon the points of connectivity between a unit’s elements, both those explicitly found in the text, as well as those implicitly evoked by the text.

2.1.4.1 The Role of Physiognomy in Intertextural Analysis.

One important facet of social and cultural texture that will be covered for the interpretation of our text is that of physiognomy. Ancient authors drew upon commonly

¹³⁵ Oral-scribal texture would be what many associate with “intertexture.” This project follows Bloomquist in using term “intertextural” rather than “intertextual” so as not to confuse oral-scribal texture with the full intertextural enterprise; see Bloomquist, “Rhetoric, Culture and Ideology,” 123, n. 34.

¹³⁶ Bloomquist, “Rhetoric, Culture and Ideology,” 122–23.

held social and cultural identity stereotypes that were based upon a person's physical appearance, ethnicity, gender, occupation and/or social status. These stereotypes were given "scientific" credence through the study of "physiognomy," or "the study of the relation of the features of a [person] to his [or her] inner character,"¹³⁷ which held that a person's character could be inferred on the basis of his or her physical appearance. For example, from Hippocrates comes the following physiognomic characterization:

Those with ruddy complexion, flat nose, large eyes, are good.
If the head is large and the eyes small, if they are stammerers, they are quick to anger.
Those with large head, large dark eyes, thick, blunt nose, are good.
Those with small head, thin neck, narrow chest, are equable.¹³⁸

Character stereotyping, however, was not confined to a person's physique, for other external attributes also contributed to stereotyped classifications of a person's character. Any external marker of a person, whether physical or social, could regularly supply a "ready-made" *topos* of conventional character traits. Highly pervasive were stereotypes based on gender, occupation, status, and ethnicity. While some stereotypes operated in narrower cultural locations, others functioned trans-culturally throughout the first-century Mediterranean environment of antiquity.

Ethnography, or "rhetorical profiling,"¹³⁹ comprised a major element of characterization in a variety of literatures and was the source of the broader enterprise of physiognomy. One of the earliest examples of the explicit connection between a people's geographic environment and their inherent nature is found in *Airs, Waters, Places*

¹³⁷ Elizabeth C. Evans, "Physiognomics in the Ancient World," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series* 59, no. 5 (1969): 5.

¹³⁸ Hippocrates, *Epidemics* 2.5.1; 2.6.1 (Smith, LCL) as quoted in Mladen Popović, *Reading the Human Body: Physiognomics and Astrology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hellenistic-Early Roman Period Judaism* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 91.

¹³⁹ An apt descriptor for ethnography suggested by L. Gregory Bloomquist, conversation with the author ("rhetorical profiling"; Ottawa, 2007). For a similar form of rhetorical profiling based on affinity to a philosophical school, cf. L. Gregory Bloomquist, "The Epicurean Tag in Plutarch: Implications for New Testament Study," conference presentation (American Academy of Religion, Eastern International Region Meeting, UQAM; Montreal, Quebec, 1995).

traditionally ascribed to Hippocrates.¹⁴⁰ As B. Isaac explains, this treatise introduced the notion of “bipolarity between Europe and Asia”:¹⁴¹

“For everything in Asia is far more beautiful and grows to far greater size; the region is more cultured than the other, the character of the inhabitants is more tractable and gentle. The cause of this is the moderate climate, because it lies further east in the middle between the risings of the sun, and farther away from the cold.” The best part of it has good water, is not too hot or too dry. Food is plentiful. “People are well nourished, of very fine physique and very tall, and hardly differ from each other in shape or length...Courage, tenacity, energy and will-power could not develop under such natural conditions...either among the locals or among the immigrants, but pleasure must dominate.”¹⁴²

A proliferation of other examples attest to the pervasiveness of ethnographic characterizations. For instance, Plato asserts:

Some districts are naturally superior to others for the breeding of men of a good or bad type...Some districts are ill-conditioned or well-conditioned owing to a variety of winds or to sunshine... others owing simply to the produce of the soil, which offers produce either good or bad for their bodies, and equally able to effect similar results in their souls as well. (Plato, *Laws* 5.747d-e [Bury, LCL])

A similar sentiment is echoed by Cicero:

it may be observed that the inhabitants of those countries in which the air is pure and rarefied have keener wits and greater powers of understanding than persons who live in a dense and heavy climate; moreover the substance employed as food is also believed to have some influence on mental acuteness. (Cicero, *De Natura Decorum* 2.16.42 [Rackham, LCL])

The argumentative undercurrent that structured physiognomic logic held that geography determined a people’s character, as well as contributed to a people’s distinguishing physical characteristics that would then signal their inner character.¹⁴³

Of particular interest for our current analysis was the inculcated concept of “environmental determinism” which implicitly held that

entire nations are believed to have common characteristics determined wholly by factors outside themselves, which are, by implication, unchangeable.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Benjamin Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004), 60–69.

¹⁴¹ Isaac, *The Invention of Racism*, 61.

¹⁴² Isaac, *The Invention of Racism*, 62; quotations from Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places* 12.

¹⁴³ E.g., “those living in the north are brave and stiff-haired, and those in the south are cowardly and have soft hair.” Isaac, *The Invention of Racism*, 151; quoting Anonymous, *De Physiognomonica* 806b (André).

¹⁴⁴ Isaac, *The Invention of Racism*, 163–64.

What we rightly call “racism” was standard practice of making sense of others in the first-century world. As Elizabeth Evans reminded us, “[w]e do it—so did the Greeks and Romans, but they made an organized science of it.”¹⁴⁵

While handbooks of physiognomy were written as a form of scientific/medical manuals, B. Malina and J. Neyrey contend that the broader practice of “thinking in stereotypes” characterizes all group-oriented societies that “[made] sense of other people by assessing them ‘sociologically’ rather than ‘psychologically.’”¹⁴⁶ In the first-century Mediterranean world, the self-understanding of the human being was not located in the modern Western concept of individualism, but rather in a group-orientation that Malina calls “collectivism.” A collectivist personality, Malina writes,

is essentially a group-embedded and group-oriented person (some call such a person ‘collectively-oriented’). Such a group-embedded, collectivistic personality is one who simply needs another continually in order to know who he or she really is.¹⁴⁷

One impact of the highly normative structure of group identity was that actions of the human body reflected on the social body within which it was embedded. For this reason, the initial observations related to sensory-aesthetic texture in innertextural analysis “take on flesh” when examined in light of the social-cultural encoding of bodies and their actions.

While physiognomy is clearly a form of racism, and, when made explicit, is understood today primarily within such a paradigm, the role physiognomy performed in the ancient world was far more nuanced. Maud Gleason, in particular, has recognized that a person’s ability to assess character played a crucial role in his or her future success, and that this imperative for discernment played an important role in motivating physiognomic thinking. Gleason writes:

¹⁴⁵ Elizabeth C. Evans, “Physiognomics in the Roman Empire,” *The Classical Journal* 45, no. 6 (1950): 277.

¹⁴⁶ Bruce J. Malina and Jerome H. Neyrey, *Portraits of Paul: An Archaeology of Ancient Personality* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 169.

¹⁴⁷ Malina, *The New Testament World*, 62.

To follow the thought-patterns of the physiognomist is to enter the forest of eyes that made up what we lightly call today ‘the face-to-face society’ of the ancient Mediterranean city. This was a world in which the scrutiny of faces was not an idle pastime but an essential survival skill. In this world, the practice of divination, in many forms and at various levels of formality, was a ubiquitous reflex in response to uncertainty. Everyone who had to choose a son-in-law or a traveling companion, deposit valuables before a journey, buy slaves, or make a business loan became perforce an amateur physiognomist: he made risky inferences from human surfaces to human depths.¹⁴⁸

Ancient audiences, almost assuredly, would have been acutely attuned to any physiognomic markers of identity displayed by narrative characters. By definition, in physiognomic profiling a person’s external label infers character, and this presumed correlation between the external and the internal often found its way into rhetorical argumentation. As Evans observed, “as a quasi-science [physiognomy] always bore a close relationship to the science of medicine; as an art, to the practice of rhetoric.”¹⁴⁹

One example of physiognomic thinking provided by Evans gives an excellent example of how an author could assume a physiognomic appraisal system in his or her audience. Evans profiles Xenophon’s personified depiction of the antithetical figures of Virtue and Vice. Xenophon writes:

And there appeared two women of great stature making toward him. The one was fair to see and of high bearing;...her limbs were adorned with purity, her eyes with modesty; sober was her figure...The other was plump and soft with high feeding...Open-eyed was she...¹⁵⁰

While Vice’s plump figure signalled a sumptuous lifestyle, her “open eyes,” as Evans remarked, were a sign of her shamelessness.¹⁵¹

One of the key cultural determinants of status in Mediterranean first-century antiquity functioned through the social system of honour and shame. A predominantly male value, honour “is a claim to worth *and* the social acknowledgement of that worth”¹⁵² that

¹⁴⁸ Maud W. Gleason, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995), 55.

¹⁴⁹ Evans, “Physiognomics in the Roman Empire,” 5.

¹⁵⁰ Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.1.22 (Marchant, LCL) as quoted in Evans, “Physiognomics,” 46.

¹⁵¹ Evans, “Physiognomics,” 46.

¹⁵² Malina, *The New Testament World*, 30.

“expresses one’s public standing.”¹⁵³ The complementary feminine value of “shame” referred to the first-century understanding that a woman’s role was to protect the honour of the male within which she was socially embedded; that is, her concern was for the reputation of her male-defined kinship group. The honour/shame social system was bodily engendered in ancient Mediterranean culture, as Malina explains:

male honor is symbolized in the testicles and covers typically male behavior, running from the ethically neutral to the ethically valued: manliness, courage (the willingness to challenge and affront another male), authority, defense of the family’s honor, concern for prestige, and social eminence—all this is honorable behavior for the male. Female shame, on the other hand, is symbolized in the maidenhead and likewise covers a range running from the ethically neutral to the ethically valued: feelings of sensitivity of ‘shame’ to reveal nakedness, modesty, shyness, blushing, timidity, restraint, sexual exclusiveness—all this is positive shame for the female and makes her honorable.¹⁵⁴

An understanding of the honour/shame value system thereby informs the “open-eyed” physiognomic characterization of Vice as “shameless” wherein “a shameless person...is one who does not recognize the rules of human interaction.”¹⁵⁵ As Evans’ study of physiognomy in the ancient world demonstrated, the works of ancient authors, “representing such diverse literary forms as epic, elegy and lyric, history and biography, drama, philosophy, satire and fiction,” displayed a “physiognomic consciousness” which served “to illumine the effects of physiognomic thinking upon the art of characterization.”¹⁵⁶

An understanding of first-century physiognomic thinking will lead us to ask questions of the figure of Lydia that have not been asked before. As intertextual analysis will show, each of the descriptors in Lydia’s profile—gender, ethnicity, occupation, and “worshiper of God”—would have evoked particular images from within the social logic of physiognomy. Therefore, an appreciation for the role of physiognomy in rhetoric will lead us to search for

¹⁵³ Jerome H. Neyrey, “Loss of Wealth, Loss of Family, Loss of Honor; the Cultural Context of the Original Makarisms in Q,” in *The Social World of the New Testament: Insights and Models* (ed. Jerome H. Neyrey and Eric C. Stewart; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2008), 88.

¹⁵⁴ Malina, *The New Testament World*, 49.

¹⁵⁵ Malina, *The New Testament World*, 49.

¹⁵⁶ Evans, “Physiognomics,” 6; Cf. Isaac, *The Invention of Racism*, 151.

those intertextual elements that are most relevant to investigating the role and function of Lydia in Acts 16.

2.1.5 *The World Before the Text: Ideological Textural Analysis.*

Inner-, and intertextual analyses bring to light those historically, socially and culturally-contextualized *topoi* that play a role in a given text's rhetorical discourse. These earlier phases of the socio-rhetorical project seek to uncover the topics of interest to the author, as well as the socio-cultural understanding of these topics shared between author and audience. They comprise the world of the text and the world behind the text. As Bloomquist has recently contended, these, in a sense, remain "descriptive" phases of analysis that provide a comprehensive look at the text and its environment but still leave short an understanding of the rhetorical force of the work. Moving an analysis from the "socio" to that of truly *rhetorical* ultimately requires that an interpreter investigate how and for what purpose the author has deployed the *topoi*. This, therefore, becomes our concern in analysing the ideological texture of the text: discovering the world before the text.¹⁵⁷

"Ideology" is understood variously, and it needs to be clarified how this thesis understands the relationship of ideology to ideological texture. Perhaps the fullest investigation of the role of ideology in SRI has been undertaken by Bloomquist in a number of recent works.¹⁵⁸ While ideology is at times "associated pejoratively with distortion,"¹⁵⁹

Bloomquist's approach, also adopted by this project, understands ideology to refer not to a

¹⁵⁷ Bloomquist, "Rhetoric, Culture and Ideology," 123–24; "Paul's Inclusive Language," 172–76.

¹⁵⁸ See Bloomquist, "Paul's Inclusive Language"; "Rhetoric, Culture and Ideology"; "The Role of the Audience in the Determination of Argumentation: The Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles," in *Rhetorical Argumentation in Biblical Texts: Essays from the Lund 2000 Conference* (ed. Anders Eriksson, Thomas H. Olbricht, and Walter Übelacker; Emory Studies in Early Christianity; Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press, 2002), 157–73; "The Role of Argumentation in the Miracle Stories of Luke-Acts: Towards a Fuller Identification of Miracle Discourse for Use in Socio-Rhetorical Analysis," in *The Role of Miracle Discourse in the Argumentation of the New Testament* (ed. Duane F. Watson; Symposium; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, Forthcoming).

¹⁵⁹ Bloomquist, "Paul's Inclusive Language," 174.

rhetoric of guile, but rather, more analytically, to the manner by which the text attempts to reconfigure a localized cultural understanding.

The rhetorically-focused enterprise of ideological texture, however, does not deal with static cultural positions but rather, as Bloomquist has expressed: “that ‘movement’ by which peoples and cultures and forms of people in culture change from one way of being or looking at the world to another.”¹⁶⁰ Ideological textural analysis “discerns the text’s attempt to move an audience to new static positions in which people find themselves, or the text’s putative movement in which people are reconfirmed in a place which they have not left.”¹⁶¹ The aim of ideological texture is to display how a moment of “culture in movement” is captured by the text through its rhetorical deployment of *topoi*. More specifically, Bloomquist has suggested that

ideological texture deals with what authors do with preexisting *topoi*: alter, confirm, nuance, reshape, etc. Rhetorically, authors employ them in ways that reconfigure them (changing them from a static identity to another) or what is done with them (changing how they have been employed or could otherwise be used in argumentation to that point).¹⁶²

While *topoi* can sometimes be confirmed or strengthened in rhetorical discourse, what analysis of ideological texture often discerns is an author’s attempts to transform conventional *topoi*.¹⁶³

Bloomquist’s insights into how *topoi* function argumentatively have led him to suggest that some of the recent findings of cognitive science, particularly as formulated by Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, can inform ideological textural analysis.¹⁶⁴ Fauconnier and Turner explain how cognitive linguistic modelling displays the way in which forms, such as stereotypes and conventions, “prompt largely unconscious and unnoticed constructions of

¹⁶⁰ Bloomquist, “The Role of the Audience,” 166.

¹⁶¹ Bloomquist, “Paul’s Inclusive Language,” 172. He notes that: “what the analysis of ideological texture should enable us to get at is how rhetors seek to move audiences away from or in variance to or even to confirm existing cultural practices.” Bloomquist, “Rhetoric, Culture and Ideology,” 124.

¹⁶² Bloomquist, “Paul’s Inclusive Language,” 175.

¹⁶³ Bloomquist, “Rhetoric, Culture and Ideology,” 139–40.

¹⁶⁴ L. Gregory Bloomquist, “Rhetography and *topoi*” (E-mail correspondence to the Rhetoric of Religious Antiquity Context Group; 6 September 2007).

the imagination” used by humans in their process of finding meaning.¹⁶⁵ These convention-triggered constructions of the imagination draw upon “mental spaces,” defined as

small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action. They are very partial assemblies containing elements, structured by frames and cognitive models....Spaces have elements and, often, relations between them. When these elements and relations are organized as a package that we already know about, we say that a mental space is *framed* and we call that organization a “frame.” So, for example, a mental space in which Julie purchases coffee at Peet’s coffee shop has individual elements that are framed by *commercial transaction*, as well as by the subframe—highly important for Julie—of *buying coffee at Peet’s*.¹⁶⁶

As Bloomquist astutely recognized, the formation and function of mental spaces closely resembles an SRI understanding of *topoi*, which in essence are “rhetorical packets” recruited by a rhetor for communication.¹⁶⁷

An essential feature of a *topos*, as Bloomquist’s work has underscored, is its ability to evoke “a constellation of networks of meanings as a result of social, cultural, or ideological use.”¹⁶⁸ A *topos* automatically incorporates a network of conventional associations, the configuration of which depends in part on how the *topos* is “framed,” where a “frame” structures the *topoi* gathered within it.¹⁶⁹ Fauconnier and Turner explain that an event such as “buying a cup of coffee” might be framed as a “commercial transaction,” or alternatively, “taking a break from work, going to a public place for entertainment, or adherence to a daily routine.”¹⁷⁰ The basis for the connectivity between elements and *topoi*, usually

¹⁶⁵ Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind’s Hidden Complexities* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 11.

¹⁶⁶ Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*, 102.

¹⁶⁷ Bloomquist, “Rhetography and *topoi*”.

¹⁶⁸ Bloomquist, “Paul’s Inclusive Language,” 174.

¹⁶⁹ Fauconnier and Turner define “frame” as “long-term schematic knowledge;” Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*, 40. Since Fauconnier and Turner’s interest is human cognition, they also define a second type of frame that reflects personal experience relating to “long-term specific knowledge... such as the memory of the time you climbed Mount Rainier in 2001;” *The Way We Think*, 40. Rhetoric, by definition, is a communal enterprise and is mainly concerned with the first type of frame, that of “long-term schematic knowledge” which incorporates social and cultural knowledge shared by a community.

¹⁷⁰ Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*, 103.

situated in the argumentative structure, determines the appropriate frame, and, by corollary, a frame arises from inter-elemental linkages.¹⁷¹

Cognitive science suggests that meaning develops from blends of mental spaces, where the blend produces a new space that does not simply replicate the input spaces, but instead imaginatively produces an “emergent structure.” Mental spaces blend within different configurations of “integration networks” in which common elements connect with each other as the blends are formed. An emergent structure results in a “new construal of the situation.”¹⁷² As an example of an integration network, Fauconnier and Turner imagine a scenario where competition between two corporate executives is described in terms of a boxing match:

We say that one CEO landed a blow but the other one recovered, one of them tripped and the other took advantage, one of them knocked the other out cold. This construal of the situation builds up a conceptual integration network.¹⁷³

Any audience reading such an account of the competition between two executives would not read the account literally and imagine that two executives actually stepped into a boxing ring. Instead, a situation of competition between these two competitors is framed as a boxing match that blends a competitive business dynamic with the form of sporting competition that takes place within a boxing ring. The resulting blend does not duplicate a boxing ring proper; rather the emergent blend has the executives boxing for dominance in an economic environment that has been transposed into a boxing ring. The example here is banal and reflects the type of communication that is regularly found in daily life; however, the process of developing a “new construal of situation” is closely related to how ideological texture attempts to move an audience from one static position to a new way of looking at the world. In this manner ideological textural analysis embarks on a form of culturally-

¹⁷¹ “An organizing frame provides a topology for the space it organizes; that is, it provides a set of organizing relations among the elements in the space.” Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*, 123.

¹⁷² Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*, 227.

¹⁷³ Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*, 126.

localized “cognitive rhetorical analysis.”¹⁷⁴

As a *topos*-centered analytic, SRI is concerned not only with the *topoi* found in a text’s original environment but also how those *topoi* have been appropriated and reconfigured by a text’s reception history. SRI “calls for interpretative practices that include minute attention to the ideologies that guide interpreters’ selection, analysis and interpretation of data.”¹⁷⁵ As cognitive sociologist Eviatar Zerubavel’s work has demonstrated: “not only does our social environment affect how we perceive the world; it also helps determine what actually ‘enters’ our minds in the first place.”¹⁷⁶

The *topoi* that are prominent in contemporary discussions of Lydia have been incrementally shaped by the ideological frameworks of interpreters over the ages, as the history of interpretation of the Lydia passages suggests, and further analysis will demonstrate. For example, despite the fact that Lydia is identified as a seller of purple, and *not* a producer of cloth, from Hugo Grotius on to today discussions about Lydia have tended to focus on the production of purple cloth. The ideological bent towards purple cloth began with a *topos* of weaving as a metonym for feminine propriety, developed into historical-critical descriptions of cloth production, dyeing and guilds in Thyatira, and then blended with contemporary feminist concerns into the current image of Lydia: a businesswoman of the textile industry who hosts the Pauline group. Within this blend, the element of propriety, pointedly introduced through John Chrysostom’s work, remained a crucial influence that framed the image of “Lydia the Hostess.”

Not only has ideology reshaped interpreters’ perceptions of Lydia; it has also largely removed from view crucial elements, such as the rhetorical role of Lydia’s name, except where this has had value in confirming the ideological *a priori*. As a result, significant

¹⁷⁴ The descriptor “cognitive rhetorical analysis” is ascribed to the work of Seana Coulson in Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*, 221.

¹⁷⁵ Robbins, *The Tapestry*, 221.

¹⁷⁶ Eviatar Zerubavel, *Social Mindscapes: An Invitation to Cognitive Sociology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), 35. The implications of Zerubavel’s work on SRI were proposed by Bloomquist to the RRA group at the 2006 RRA Summer Session, Ottawa, Canada.

topoi that would have been self-evident to a first-century audience have disappeared entirely, while others have been overmapped onto the text and continue to redirect exegetical inquiry. One of our foundational goals in ideological texture will be to uncover those *topoi* that animate the rhetorical development of the text, but which have been erased through the history of interpretation, and also to raise to awareness how others have been inserted, and have thereby redirected the author of Acts' ideological goals.

2.2. Conclusion: Method

SRI will bring a new set of questions to the figure of Lydia, questions that either have not been asked at all, or at least not systematically, by other methodological approaches. Although only three verses in the rhetorical unit are directly related to Lydia, SRI will investigate whether Lydia participates in any repetitive or progressive patterns beyond these verses. Argumentative and then ideological texture will probe into the curious placement of Lydia at the beginning and ending of the events at Philippi. Intertextural analysis will investigate the yet unexplored physiognomic questions raised by the correlation between Lydia's name and ethnic origin. By bringing these and other questions to the role of Lydia in Acts 16 within a programmatic analytical approach, it will become possible for us to see whether the author's portrayal of Lydia does indeed point to a "culture in movement."

Chapter 3: Innertextural Analysis

Most exegetical analyses of biblical texts begin with delimiting the boundaries of the text under investigation. Recognizing both the need for, but also the problems of delimitation in rhetorical analysis, James Muilenburg writes:

The delimitation of the passage is essential if we are to learn how its major motif, usually stated at the beginning, is resolved. The latter point is of special importance because no rhetorical feature is more conspicuous and frequent among the poets and narrators of ancient Israel [and antiquity] than the proclivity to bring the successive predications to their culmination. One must admit that the problem is not always simple because within a single literary unit we may have and often do have several points of climax. But to construe each of these as conclusion to the poem [or rhetorical unit] is to disregard its structure, to resolve it into fragments, and to obscure the relation of the successive strophes to each other. This mistaken procedure has been followed by many scholars, with unfortunate consequences.¹⁷⁷

However, as George Kennedy admits, defining rhetorical units can be difficult, particularly in “longer works which are not immediately evident self-contained units.”¹⁷⁸

While critics tend to delimit passages from the perspective of narrative “episodes,” a rhetorical unit often unfolds its argumentation by way of a number of paratactically positioned episodes.¹⁷⁹ It is possible for a rhetorical unit and a narrative unit to overlap, but they are not necessarily equivalent, yet what distinguishes these has rarely been discussed. It is therefore not surprising that little has been offered in terms of concrete criteria that can help to delimit a rhetorical unit within a broader narrative. Kennedy’s suggestion that

¹⁷⁷ Muilenburg, “Form Criticism and Beyond,” 9.

¹⁷⁸ George A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation Through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 34.

¹⁷⁹ Many interpretations of Acts use the visit to Philippi as the delimiting criterion, thereby locating the interpretative unit at Acts 16:11-40: Tannehill, *Narrative Unity: Acts*, 196; Mikeal C. Parsons, *Acts* (ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ Paideia Commentaries on the New Testament; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2008), 229; Bruce J. Malina and John J. Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary on the Book of Acts* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2008), 115; Haenchen, *Acts*, 492; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (ed. William Foxwell Albright and David Noel Freedman; The Anchor Bible 31; Toronto: Doubleday, 1998), 581. Charles Talbert is one exception to the trend who treats Acts 16:6-40 as one unit composed of the commission (16:6-10), and visit to Philippi (16:11-40), Charles H. Talbert, *Reading Acts: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (Reading the New Testament; New York: Crossroad, 1997), 146.

delimitation requires an experimental approach “by seeking signs of opening and closure”¹⁸⁰ falls short of establishing clear boundary-distinguishing guidelines, since rhetorical units do not necessarily follow the “opening/closing” principles of a narrative plot-centered focus.¹⁸¹

Given the challenges presented by delimitation, it may first be helpful to identify the defining characteristics of a rhetorical unit, and then to suggest criteria for identifying its boundaries. Insofar as the purpose of rhetoric is to “create or increase the adherence of minds to the theses presented for their assent,”¹⁸² a rhetorical unit may be considered any closely-knit pattern of *topoi* brought together for the purpose of creating or increasing this adherence. While this definition of a rhetorical unit may be helpful in distinguishing between a narrative story and rhetorical unit, at the same time it introduces a number of new challenges to the problem of delimitation. One immediate challenge to establishing the boundaries of a rhetorical unit is that a text’s rhetorical *topoi* are not known in advance of the analysis, in as much as one of the principal objectives of SRI is identifying the *topoi* that are rhetorically employed. Another challenge is that the proposition of an argument, that which constitutes the “these(s) presented for their assent,” are seldom explicitly articulated in a narrative text, especially where inductive, rhetographical argumentation often predominates. Another obstacle to distinguishing the limits of any rhetorical unit in biblical narrative is that biblical texts typically employ transitions that bridge one rhetorical unit to the next. These transitional verses, which continue to use lexica and topics found in the main rhetorical unit, blur the boundary markers between the end of one rhetorical unit and the beginning of another.¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, 34.

¹⁸¹ Robbins’ suggestion that “opening-middle-closing texture resides in the nature of the beginning, body, and conclusion of a section of discourse” implicitly also assumes either a narrative episode or a rhetorical speech. Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts*, 19.

¹⁸² Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 45.

¹⁸³ For the role of transitional verses see page 79.

In this project, prior to the execution of innertextural analysis, we assumed a narratively situated episodic unit as a point of departure for analysis; however, since the rhetorical unit's boundaries might not necessarily be identical with those suggested by the story's narrative, in our repetitive and progressive textural analyses we looked beyond these initial parameters in order to locate more clearly the rhetorical unit's boundaries. Once we identified clusters of repetitive textual patterns, words, sequences and initial topics, it was then possible to refine the delimitation exercise along rhetorically defined boundaries. In this manner, delimitation followed two steps: one prior to, and the second following, the repetitive and progressive textural analyses. The refined post-analysis step of delimitation will be presented following repetitive and progressive textural analyses, which in their presentation will reflect only the final rhetorical unit: Acts 16:9-40.

Innertextural analysis identifies which textual elements and topics are of primary concern to the author of the rhetorical unit in question (Acts 16:9-40), and then investigates how these operate within the text's argumentative structure. The two initial textures of innertextural analysis, repetitive and progressive, are concerned with flagging recurrent elements and examining how these progress through the unit. Narrational textural analysis contributes to the repetitive/progressive analyses by investigating which elements are given narrative prominence and observing how they are contextualized within the narrative. In the final portion of innertextural analysis, argumentative texture, we will examine how the textual-level argumentative framework of the unit connects the elements and shapes their rhetorical function. Together these textures allow for a comprehensive investigation of what elements the text itself proffers as rhetorically significant.

3.1. Repetitive Texture and Pattern

In repetitive textural analysis we will look for lexica, grammatical and syntactical for-

mations, and lexically-identifiable topics that recur in the rhetorical unit.¹⁸⁴ This stage of analysis is concerned with identifying any repeated elements, including even seemingly inconsequential ones, so as not to overlook those that may be rhetorically significant. Along with locating repeated elements, repetitive textural analysis seeks out patterns and groupings of these.

An initial scan of the rhetorical unit shows that Paul continues to figure prominently in this second portion of Acts and, not surprisingly, his name is the most frequently occurring noun in this unit (Acts 16:9, 14, 17, 18, 19, 25, 28, 29, 36, 37).¹⁸⁵ What is less expected, however, is that the narrative voice moves into the first-person plural in Acts 16:10, beginning the first of four “we-sections” in Acts, and thereby, at times, assimilating Paul within a Pauline “we-group.”¹⁸⁶ While the uncommon first-person plural narrative voice is an important repetitive element, a closer examination of this unit shows that the plural form generally, and as it refers to groups of people particularly, is one of the distinguishing features of this passage. For example, while κύριος occurs 107 times in Acts, only in this rhetorical unit is it found in the plural (Acts 16:16, 19, 30; in the singular, 16:14, 15, 31, 32). Indeed, the plural form pervades this passage, identifying a wide variety of possible groupings of people—based on gender, ethnicity, occupation, and/or religious affiliation— including: αἱ γυναῖκες (Acts 16:13), οἱ ἄνθρωποι (16:17, 20, 35, 37), οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι (16:20), οἱ ἄρχοντες (16:19)/ οἱ στρατηγοί (16:20, 22, 35, 36, 38), οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι (16:21, 37, 38), οἱ δέσμοι (16:25, 27), οἱ ῥαβδοῦχοι (16:35, 38; *hapax legomena*) and οἱ ἀδελφοί (16:40).¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴ For repetition of lexica, see Appendix 2, Repetition: Acts 16:9-40.

¹⁸⁵ Repeated names of other secular characters are Silas (Acts 16:19, 25, 29) and Lydia (Acts 16:14, 40).

¹⁸⁶ The “we-sections” in Acts: Acts 16:10-17; 20:5-15; 21:1-18; 27:1-29; 28:1-16.

¹⁸⁷ Also an implicit “us [Macedonians]” in the Macedonian man’s plea, “help us by coming over to Macedonia” (Acts 16:9). The pervasive use of the plural in this unit also includes the somewhat unusual reference to Sabbath in the plural “τῇ τε ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων” (Acts 16:13). According to Parsons and Culy, “There does not appear to be any difference in meaning between the plural ([Acts 13:14] also at 16:13; Luke 4:16) and the singular (Luke 13:14, 16; 14:5) form of σάββατον in this construction...” Mikeal C. Parsons and Martin M. Culy, *Acts: A Handbook on the Greek Text* (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2003), 251.

This unit is also marked by forms of speech such as proclamation, command, and preaching which are demonstrated by “αγγελ-” derived verbs and nouns (Acts 16:10, 17, 18, 21, 23, 24, 36, 38).¹⁸⁸ The speech acts of this passage are distinguished by a recurrent direct discourse form (introduced by λέγω/εἶπον: Acts 16:9, 15, 17, 18, 20, 28, 31, 35 φημί: 16:30, 37) which at times result from individuals speaking, but as well can involve several people speaking as one (Macedonian man: Acts 16:9; Lydia 16:15, slave-woman 16:17; Paul: 16:18, 28, 37; Paul and Silas: 16:31; slave-owners 16:20-21; jailer: 16:30, 36; lictors: 16:35). Whereas it might be expected that Paul, as the prominent figure of this narrative, would speak most frequently, he speaks alone only in three instances. The range and number of speaking voices that are found, including two females, is rare. In addition to the numerous speaking voices, another feature of the direct discourse is the use of the imperative mood (Acts 16:9, 15, 31, 35, 36, 37) which last occurred in Acts 15:13 (excluding the “farewell”/ἔρρωσθε sign-off to the Jerusalem letter in 15:29)¹⁸⁹ and is not seen again until Acts 18:9.¹⁹⁰

This passage also contains a number of requests or orders to come or go, and its characters (mostly Paul, or members of the Pauline group) come, go, and/or are dragged into, and expelled out of locations. As will be discussed in progressive texture below, the verb παρακαλέω (16:9, 15, 39, 40) forms a repetitive backbone to this unit as it appears with characters who plead with Paul and the disciples either to come (Macedonian man Acts 16:9; Lydia 16:15) or, in the case of the magistrates, to leave (16:39).

Together with requests to come and go, recurrent acts of going to places, and coming out (ἔξω Acts 16:13, 30) of them are displayed by an abundance of ἔρχομαι prefixed verbs

¹⁸⁸ See Appendix 3: Compound Verbs, Acts 16:9-40.

¹⁸⁹ This imperative is excluded because it is classified as a “stereotypical imperative,” “Sometimes the imperative is used in a stereotyped manner in which it has suppressed its original injunctive force. The imperative is reduced to an exclamation. This occurs especially in greetings.” Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament with Scripture, Subject, and Greek Word Indexes* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1996), 493.

¹⁹⁰ When again a vision appears to Paul (next and final occurrence of ὄραμα after Acts 16:9).

(Acts 16:10, 13x2, 15, 18x2, 19, 36, 37, 39x2, 40x3). Found repetitively as well are verbs associated with bringing forward, seizing, and casting out such as ἄγω- (Acts 16:11, 20, 30, 34, 37, 39), λαμβάνω- (16:19, 24, 33), and βάλλω- (16:23, 24, 37x2) prefixed verbs as Paul and other disciples are brought in and out of a variety of spaces through the force of others.¹⁹¹

Functioning repetitively is the term ὁράω (Acts 16:9, 10, 19, 27, 40) which both opens and closes the rhetorical unit. As will be discussed in progressive texture, the term's use varies as it refers to different perceptive functions. Perceptivity also plays a repetitive role in displays of “concluding/supposing” in this unit, including συμβιβάζω (Acts 16:10)—an interpretation which catalyses the ensuing events—and νομίζω (16:13, 27).

The πόλις (Acts 16:11, 12 x2, 14, 20, 39) not only is a repetitive element, but also functions as a referent for situating the location of key events in this unit. The women by the river are encountered outside of Philippi's gates (Acts 16:13), Paul and Silas are dragged by the slave-owners into the heart of the city to its public square (ἀγορά, 16:19), interned in its prison (16:23), and asked by its authorities to leave (16:39), with the departure out of Philippi closing the unit. While the “city” is an important repetitive term, somewhat paradoxically, so, too, is house and household, οἶκος/οἰκία (Acts 16: 15x2, 31, 32, 34; πανουκεί 16:34, *hapax legomen*). Overlapping both πόλις and οἶκος/οἰκία is Philippi's prison which figures prominently in this passage represented by a host of lexica referring both to the people associated with the prison system such as magistrates (οἱ ἄρχοντες Acts 16:19/ οἱ στρατηγοί 16:20, 22, 35, 36, 38), lictors (οἱ ῥαβδοῦχοι 16:35, 38), jailer (ὁ δεσμοφύλαξ 16:23, 27, 36), prisoners (οἱ δέσμοι 16:25, 27), as well as the prison itself (ἡ φυλακή 16:23, 24, 27, 37, 40). At the same time, embedded within the prison compound are repeated occurrences of house and household as the jailer and his household are baptized and receive Paul and Silas into his house. Both the events occurring outside of the city

¹⁹¹ See Appendix 3: Compound Verbs, Acts 16:9-40.

and those inside are introduced within the context of the Pauline group's going to a place of prayer (προσευχή Acts 16:13, 16).

A number of lexica typically associated with sacred elements repeat in this passage. However, as we will discuss further, their meanings frequently vary or are ambiguous. Already mentioned in this category is κύριος (Acts 16:14, 15, 16, 19, 30, 31, 32), as well as Ἰησοῦς (16:18, 31), πνεῦμα (16:16, 18), and θεός (16:10, 14, 17, 25, 34). In fact, this rhetorical unit is characterized by both ambiguous and multivalent meanings to terms that typically would be understood in Luke-Acts as referring to sacred elements and/or pertaining to the Jewish-Christian God. These terms are highly repetitive in the passage, are often altered into a variety of word-forms, or display the related rhetorical practice of *traductio*, which “comprises the repetition of only apparently equivalent word-forms with quite different meanings.”¹⁹²

3.1.1 *Conclusion: Repetitive Texture and Pattern.*

Our initial survey of this rhetorical unit's repetitive patterns illuminates a number of textual landmarks that warrant deeper exploration. The uncommon shift of the narrative voice into the first-person plural in Acts 16:10 participates in a pattern of groups and groupings of people found throughout this passage. People's actions in this unit are characterized by three functions: 1. speaking, with a number of individuals engaging in direct discourse, including two juxtaposed female figures, as well as speech in general, both direct and indirect, which includes several occurrences of requests to the Pauline group to either come or to go; 2. acts of coming and going, as well as being physically forced into, or out of, various locations; and 3. seeing/perceiving including repetitive cases of characters being

¹⁹² Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric: A Foundation for Literary Study* (translation of *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*; translated and edited by David E. Orton, ed. R. Dean Anderson; forward by George A. Kennedy, trans. Matthew T. Bliss and Annemiek Jansen; 1973; repr., Leiden: Brill, 1998), 295, par. 658.

motivated to act on the basis of what they “conclude” or “suppose.” The city, prison, house/household and “place of prayer” are key locative terms which occur repetitively in this passage. A number of terms which typically refer to divine or sacred figures in the NT repeat here, with varying meanings.

3.2. *Progressive Texture and Pattern*

Although an exercise in locating textual repetitive elements may suggest an interest in similarity and likeness, as Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca point out, repetition “really aim[s] at suggesting distinctions.”¹⁹³ In contrast to reiterating sameness, within a rhetorical unit each repetitive element interacts with other repetitive elements in order to help develop and intensify the rhetorical meaning of a text. Progressive repetition is a component of a building process that rhetorically moves the audience along:

The verbal linking of clauses by means of a repetition of terms suggests an increase of intensity. Repetition gives a feeling of presence, but it does more than this. As Quintilian says, ‘Before proceeding to the next step, one stops on those below.’¹⁹⁴

Therefore, one rhetorical function of progressive repetition is an intensification and development of the meaning of repeated elements. Another function of progressive texture, which is more pertinent to this stage of the analysis, is described by Robbins as demonstrating “stepping stones to other phenomena in the text.”¹⁹⁵ While repetitive texture was concerned with identifying initial markers of a text’s rhetorical landscape, progressive texture begins to unveil how, and where, those markers may, in some way, connect with each other. A primary objective of progressive texture is to display possible rhetorical linkages emanating from repetitive elements.

¹⁹³ Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 175.

¹⁹⁴ Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 504.

¹⁹⁵ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts*, 10.

A text such as Luke-Acts, which is characterized not only by repeated lexica but parallelism generally, offers the potential to discover virtually endless sequential possibilities. In order to narrow these choices to those constructive for analysis, we used the following selective criteria in our analysis:

1. The sequence of repetitive elements progresses through a wide range of the rhetorical unit: it is not narrowly localized;
2. The sequence manifests progression rather than being solely repetitive;
3. Yet, at the same time the sequence builds on a platform of repetition; and
4. The sequence displays clusters of repetitive elements.

One term in particular— παρακαλέω—functions as a rhetorical pegboard for a key progressive sequence in this passage:

Acts 16:9: Και ὄραμα διὰ [τῆς] νυκτὸς τῷ Παύλῳ ὄφθη, ἀνὴρ Μακεδῶν τις ἦν ἐστὼς καὶ παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγων· διαβὰς εἰς Μακεδονίαν βοήθησον ἡμῖν.

Acts 16:15: ὡς δὲ ἐβαπτίσθη καὶ ὁ οἶκος αὐτῆς, παρεκάλεσεν λέγουσα· εἰ κεκρίκατέ με πιστὴν τῷ κυρίῳ εἶναι, εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου μένετε· καὶ παρεβιάσατο ἡμᾶς.

Acts 16:39: καὶ ἐλθόντες παρεκάλεσαν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξαγαγόντες ἡρώτων ἀπελθεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως.

Acts 16:40: ἐξεληθόντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς φυλακῆς εἰσῆλθον πρὸς τὴν Λυδίαν καὶ ἰδόντες παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ ἐξῆλθαν.

The term παρακαλέω spans the rhetorical unit, frames both Lydia's as well as the Macedonian man's direct discourse and denotes the Pauline group's final act at Lydia's prior to leaving Philippi. Through the patterns that synthesize around παρακαλέω a number of key rhetorical elements emerge. In Acts 16:9 and 16:15, παρακαλέω frames two requests to come. In Acts 16:9, Paul is asked by a Macedonian man to cross over into Macedonia in a vision, and in 16:15 Paul and his co-workers are asked by Lydia to come into her home. Acts 16:39 reverses the context for παρακαλέω, from summoning to expelling, as the magistrates (as representatives of a Roman πόλις) seek Paul's and Silas's cooperation in leaving the city.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁶ The meaning of παρακαλέω in Acts 16:39 should probably be read according to Joseph Fitzmyer's translation as "to placate." Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 582. Also supported by Danker: "in several places παρ. appears to mean simply **treat someone in an inviting or congenial manner**, someth. like our 'be open to the other, have an open door' ... **Ac 16:39** (the officials are conciliatory, but 'apologize to' may be overinterpretation)." BDAG, s.v. "παρακαλέω". Emphasis original.

Although the final occurrence of παρακαλέω in Acts 16:40 occurs in a phrase that echoes the syntax of 16:39,¹⁹⁷ the meaning and context of its occurrence in 16:40 shifts considerably. For the first time in Acts 16:40, Paul (and his group) becomes the acting subject delivering its effects. For the first time as well, παρακαλέω is neither associated with a request to come or to depart, but rather with some form of encouragement.

Lydia's "παρακαλέω request" to the Pauline group is expressed conditionally: "εἰ κεκρίκατέ με πιστὴν τῷ κυρίῳ εἶναι" (Acts 16:15). The adjective πιστός occurs only four times in Acts, with the penultimate instance occurring in Acts 16:1 (one of the rhetorical unit's transitional verses),¹⁹⁸ and the final in 16:15. The repetitive aspect of πιστός is emphasized by the subsequent occurrences of the verbal form πιστεύω in Acts 16:31, 34. In Acts 16:15 Lydia asks the Pauline group to assess the quality of her "faithfulness to the Lord" ("πιστὴν τῷ κυρίῳ") in a conditional request, whereas in 16:31 the jailer is exhorted with the verbal πιστεύω to "Πίστευσον ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν" in response to the question "what must I do to be saved?" (Acts 16:30). This sequence, clustered around a grammatical alteration from the adjective πιστός in Acts 16:15 to the verb πιστεύω in 16:31, 34 is embedded in another broader progressive sequence which displays a rhetorical connection between Lydia and the jailer.

The repetitive connection between Lydia and the jailer is most evident in the term οἶκος, which in this passage involves either Lydia (Acts 16:15x2, as well as implicitly in 16:40) or the jailer (16:31, 34; as well as the modified word-form, οἰκία, 16:32 and the adverb πανουκί, 16:34), where the meaning of the οἶκος terms vacillate between "household" and "house."

Acts 16:15 ὡς δὲ ἐβαπτίσθη καὶ ὁ οἶκος αὐτῆς, παρεκάλεσεν λέγουσα· εἰ κεκρίκατέ με πιστὴν τῷ κυρίῳ εἶναι, εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου μένετε· καὶ παρεβιάσατο ἡμᾶς.

Acts 16:31 οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· πιστευσον ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν καὶ σωθήσῃ σὺ καὶ ὁ οἶκός σου.

Acts 16:32 καὶ ἐλάλησαν αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου σὺν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

¹⁹⁷ Acts 16:39: καὶ ἐλθόντες παρεκάλεσαν αὐτούς...

Acts 16:40: ...καὶ ἰδόντες παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἀδελφούς...

¹⁹⁸ For transitional verses see page 79 below.

Acts 16:33 καὶ παραλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς νυκτὸς ἔλουσεν ἀπὸ τῶν πληγῶν, καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη αὐτὸς καὶ **οἱ αὐτοῦ πάντες** παραχρήμα

Acts 16:34 ἀναγαγὼν τε αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν οἶκον παρέθηκεν τράπεζαν καὶ ἠγαλλιάσατο πανοικεῖ πεπιστευκῶς τῷ θεῷ.

Acts 16:40 ἐξελθόντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς φυλακῆς εἰσῆλθον πρὸς τὴν Λυδίαν καὶ ἰδόντες παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ ἐξήλθαν.

Along with the recurrent use of οἶκος, other repetitive elements clustered in these verses display their progressive nature. Just as in Acts 16:13, where Paul and his group spoke (λαλέω) to the women who were gathered by the river outside, in Acts 16:32 Paul and Silas speak to a gathering (composed of the jailer and “all who were in his house”), also in an outdoor setting. In each case the listening audience is not clearly defined; however, both cases involve Paul and others speaking to a group where one particular member of the group (i.e., Lydia, jailer) participates in direct discourse and is baptized. The description of the jailer’s baptism in Acts 16:33 closely follows the language of Acts 16:15a, except that an explicit reference to the jailer’s οἶκος is absent, replaced by “and all of his” (οἱ αὐτοῦ πάντες). A progressive sub-unit is also displayed from baptism in Acts 16:15 to washing in 16:33a to baptism in 16:33b, where both βαπτίζω and λούω can mean wash, cleanse or purify. The οἶκος centred progression ends with a notable absence of οἶκος where, in 16:40 b, the Pauline group goes to Lydia’s but without explicit reference to her οἶκος (“εἰσῆλθον πρὸς τὴν Λυδίαν”); rather, those at Lydia’s are identified with the familial ἀδελφός.

Lydia is also connected lexically to the female slave with the Python spirit, as both have their direct discourse introduced by the feminine participle λέγουσα (Acts 16:15, 17), a lexical connection that is emphasized by its occurring only in these two instances in Acts. These two cases of λέγουσα are located in a progressive sequence connected to the terms προσευχή/προσεύχομαι where, looking for a place of prayer, the Pauline group encounters a woman who listens to them (Acts 16:13-15), immediately followed by the Pauline group’s going to a place of prayer and being encountered by a woman who yells after them (16:16-17), followed by Paul and Silas praying and singing hymns in prison while prisoners listen on (16:25).

The mission to Macedonia is catalyzed by a group interpretation—“concluding that God had summoned us”—of a vision seen by Paul (Acts 16:9-10). This inaugural interpretation participates in a pattern where key events are repeatedly motivated by the perceptive emotion-fused quality of sight intermingling with the interpretative functions of concluding/supposing:

Acts 16:9 Καὶ ὄραμα διὰ [τῆς] νυκτὸς τῷ Παύλῳ ὄφθη...

Acts 16:10 ὡς δὲ τὸ ὄραμα εἶδεν, εὐθέως ἐζητήσαμεν ἐξελθεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν **συμβιβάζοντες** ὅτι προσκέκληται ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς εὐαγγελίσασθαι αὐτούς.

Acts 16:13 τῇ τε ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων ἐξήλθομεν ἔξω τῆς πύλης παρὰ ποταμὸν οὗ **ἐνομίζομεν** προσευχὴν εἶναι,...

Acts 16:19 **ιδόντες** δὲ οἱ κύριοι αὐτῆς ὅτι ἐξήλθεν ἡ ἐλπίς τῆς ἐργασίας αὐτῶν, ἐπιλαβόμενοι τὸν Παῦλον καὶ τὸν Σιλᾶν εἰλκυσαν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας

Acts 16:27 ἔξυπνος δὲ γενόμενος ὁ δεσμοφύλαξ καὶ **ιδὼν** ἀνεωγμένας τὰς θύρας τῆς φυλακῆς, σπασάμενος [τὴν] μάχαιραν ἠμελλεν ἑαυτὸν ἀναιρεῖν **νομίζων** ἐκπεφευγέναι τοὺς δεσμίους.

Acts 16:40: ...εἰσήλθον πρὸς τὴν Λυδίαν καὶ **ιδόντες** παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ ἐξήλθον.”

The quality of sight is stressed in Acts 16:9-10 by a concentration of two occurrences of ὄραω, together with two of ὄραμα, followed by the interpretive function of συμβιβάζω. Later, an assumption regarding the location of a place of prayer precipitates the Pauline group’s encounter with the women by the river (16:13);¹⁹⁹ the “sight” of the loss of hope of gain motivates the slave-owners to prosecute Paul and Silas (16:19); the sight of open prison doors leads the jailer to suppose that the prisoners had escaped, motivating a suicide attempt (16:27); and the final act of παρακαλέω in this passage is precipitated by the sight of those gathered at Lydia’s (16:40).

¹⁹⁹ While the UBS/NA reading of “ἐνομίζομεν προσευχὴν εἶναι” is supported by three major witnesses: A², C and Ψ, there is a great deal of diversity supporting other readings. Of issue for this analysis are readings of the passive impersonal form ἐνομίζετο προσευχὴν εἶναι which in the King James version has been translated as “where prayer was wont to be made,” that is, “it was the custom for there to be prayer”; Parsons and Culy, *Acts: A Handbook*, 312. This analysis favours the reading of “we supposed/assumed” since this is the context for νομίζω in all other occurrences in Luke-Acts and the Bible in general; Acts 17:2 employs εἴωθα to convey “custom” (also Luke 4:16); and “supposing” is consistent with a progressive pattern which begins with the group’s “concluding” in Acts 16:10 and which continues on throughout the passage.

3.2.1 *Conclusion: Progressive Texture and Pattern.*

The primary purpose of our progressive textural analysis was to identify key linkages between recurrent elements of the text. The use of παρακαλέω appears to indicate a number of features connecting Lydia to the Macedonian man. Both of these individuals are described in terms of their ethnic identity, both participate in direct discourse, and both request Paul's (or the Pauline group's) presence. Lydia is also connected progressively to the jailer through the term οἶκος, where both are members of a larger "listening-group" who hear Paul's words, both participate in direct discourse with Paul that introduces the quality of πιστός/πιστεύω, both are baptized, together with their households, both receive Paul and other disciples in their homes. Other progressions overmap the rhetoric of the overall unit. These include requests to come, or to go, together with forcible confining or expelling, in which not only the Pauline group, the Macedonian man, Lydia and the jailer participate, but so, too, do the slave-woman with the Python spirit, her owners, the crowd, magistrates and lictors.

3.3. *Rhetorical Boundaries Texture and Pattern: Refined Delimitation*

By locating the clusters and patterns of repetitive terms in this passage, it became possible for us to further delimit the "Philippi" episode in order to reflect its rhetorical boundaries. Although the initial interpretative unit was chosen on the basis of a geographically located narrative episode, our findings from the repetitive and progressive textural analyses guided delimitation towards a sharper rhetorical focus. This project's primary concern lies in examining the rhetorical role of the figure of Lydia, and therefore the relevant rhetorical unit for the analysis is the one operative for the Lydia passages. Direct reference to Lydia is limited to three verses: Acts 16:14-15, 40, but 16:13 which

opens the Lydia episode could arguably be included in the “Lydia passages.” From a narrational perspective the story moves on and away from Lydia after Acts 16:15, and it would appear that Acts 16:13-15 functions as a micro-unit at best. As such these three verses, at most four (if Acts 16:13 be included), cannot credibly function as a rhetorical unit on their own. According to Kennedy:

In rhetorical criticism it is important that the rhetorical unit chosen have some magnitude. It has to have within itself a discernible beginning and ending, connected by some action or argument. Five or six verses probably constitute the minimum text which can be subjected to rhetorical criticism as a distinct unit, but most will be longer, extending for the better part of a chapter or for several chapters.²⁰⁰

Since, clearly, the Lydia passages are not directly connected beyond themselves through “some action,” the question becomes whether other patterns might exist that could suggest that the Lydia passages are somehow rhetorically linked to a larger span of verses.

It is also clear that the Lydia verses do not argumentatively provide a proposition which is then argued deductively through the verses which follow. Yet, as will be discussed in argumentative texture, Lydia’s conditional request to the Pauline group in Acts 16:15 is argumentatively structured, and, since it implicitly contains the interrogative form, it implies an argumentative opening that seeks an answer of some type.²⁰¹ At the same time, since the immediately following narrative leaves Lydia’s request unanswered, and instead moves to the episode of the slave-woman with the Python spirit, the potentially argumentative opening of Acts 16:15 most certainly does not continue with either a deductively argued development or a logical plot progression.

We can see strong repetitive connections between the first two verses referring to Lydia, (Acts 16:14-15) and the final one (16:40): the name Lydia is repeated, as are key repetitive verbs *εἰσέρχομαι* and *παρακαλέω*; moreover, where 16:15 ends with Lydia’s urging the Pauline group to come to her house, in 16:40 they do go to Lydia’s. While on the basis of repetition a case could be made for linkages between Acts 16:14-15 and 16:40,

²⁰⁰ Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, 35.

²⁰¹ See page 98 below.

from the perspective of defining a rhetorical unit the question remains whether the Lydia passages participate in textual patterns beyond themselves into surrounding text.

When we examine the text surrounding Acts 16:14-15, we immediately see one evident connection: Lydia's direct discourse, introduced by the participle λέγουσα, is followed by the direct discourse of another female, namely, the slave-woman with the Python spirit, whose speech is introduced by the same participle in Acts 16:17. These two occasions constitute the only two occurrences of λέγουσα in Acts.²⁰² Moreover, the two encounters between the Pauline group and the speaking women occur in the context of the group's intention to find a "place of prayer"; the noun προσευχή occurs only in Acts 16:13, 16. In addition, the quality of profit-taking is present both with Lydia, who is a seller of purple (Acts 16:14), as well as with the slave-woman's owners, since they receive "much profit" from the mantic's activities (16:16).

A close examination of the text revealed a second set of lexical connections, this time between Lydia and the jailer. Another important repetitive term—οἶκος/οἰκία—clusters with these two characters (Acts 16: 15x2, 31, 32, 34; πανοικεῖ 16:34,), as Lydia and the jailer each listens to Paul's preaching and is baptized along with their households. Repetitive connections are therefore present with Lydia, the female-slave, the slave owners, and the jailer. A few verses back another set of lexical connections comes to view between Lydia and the Macedonian man. Both, through the verb παρακαλέω, beseech Paul (or the Pauline group) to "come", using direct discourse that is introduced with the participle λέγων/λέγουσα, and that includes the imperative form.

We might also consider one additional set of possible lexical linkages between the Lydia passages and Acts 16:1-5, a section of text that is typically associated with the distribution of the report from the Jerusalem conference.²⁰³ Acts 16:1 is the first direct reference

²⁰² The only other female character who speaks directly in Acts is Sapphira in Acts 5:8; whose speech is introduced by εἶπεν.

²⁰³ Cf. Parsons, *Acts*, 222–23.

to a woman (Timothy's mother) since 13:50, and this woman is identified as a "believer" by the adjective πιστός (where this adjective occurs only four times in Acts, two of which are in Acts 16), the same quality upon which Lydia will seek favourable judgement in 16:15. Moreover, Acts 16:3 uses the term λαμβάνω as Paul "takes" Timothy to be circumcised, thereby resonating with a pattern described in detail in the narrational and argumentative textures involving the taking, forcing, leading and violating of bodies, a pattern, as will be observed below, that seems to escalate after Lydia's παραβιάζομαι (16:15).²⁰⁴ Moreover, Acts 16:4 introduces the term φυλάσσω, here meaning "observe" but which has a primary meaning of "watch, guard," and which phonetically resonates with the upcoming highly repetitive use of φυλακή (Acts 16:23, 24, 27, 37, 40) in the course of Paul and Silas's imprisonment, as well as κρίνω, a significant term in Lydia's request in 16:15 ("Εἰ κεκρίκατέ με πιστὴν τῷ κυρίῳ εἶναι").²⁰⁵ Finally, Acts 16:5 summarizes on a global basis what happens locally in Acts 16:40: the strengthening in faith of believers. Whereas Acts 16:5 uses the term στερεόω to denote the act of strengthening, Acts 16:40 uses the key progressive term παρακαλέω.²⁰⁶

On the basis of lexical patterns, then, a good case could be made for including Acts 16:1-5 in the rhetorical unit which includes the Lydia passages. However, there are key differences. One is the absence of the direct discourse that characterizes the Philippi passages, particularly that of demands/requests. More importantly, Acts 16:1-5 is part of a different narrative story situated in a different environment and therefore cannot be co-joined narratively with the Philippi unit. At the same time, given the presence of lexical patterns between the two units, it does appear to be connected in some manner to the rhetoric of the

²⁰⁴ See as well, λαμβάνω prefixed verbs in Appendix 3: Compound Verbs, Acts 16:9-40.

²⁰⁵ The closest prior occurrence of φυλάσσω is in Acts 12:4 and next in 21:24; and prior to the φυλακή cluster in Acts 16 its closest occurrence is in Acts 12:17 and next in 22:4. The closest prior occurrence of κρίνω is Acts 15:19 and next in Acts 17:31. The differing meanings of terms found in Acts 16:1-5 and the Philippi text (such as φυλάσσω and κρίνω) is of less concern due to the rhetorical practice of *distinctio*, see page 111.

²⁰⁶ In Acts 14:22 ἐπιστηρίζω (strengthen) is used with παρακαλέω in a similar context.

main unit. The most likely explanation is that Acts 16:1-5 functions as a transitional device that is outside of the main rhetorical unit yet still contributes to the rhetoric of the unit.

Longenecker, in his work on transitional devices, emphasises that their rhetorical role has frequently been undervalued:

A well-constructed transition oils the machinery of rhetorical persuasion, indicating that a new line of thought is beginning and occasionally giving some indication as to the content of the new topic and how it relates to what has gone previously. Transitional units often play a critical role in the process of interpreting a text.²⁰⁷

Another transition appears to be evident in Acts 17:1-4 where the pattern of Paul going to a place of prayer/synagogue on the Sabbath (σάββατον in the plural in both 16:13; 17:2) and teaching and proclaiming repeats. In addition, where the term διανοίγω denotes the Lord's "opening" Lydia's heart to Paul's words in Acts 16:15, in Acts 17:3 it refers to Paul's "explaining" the crux of his message. In 17:4 the participle form of σέβω acts as a qualifier of Greeks, while in 16:14 it qualifies Lydia through the epithet "σεβομένη τὸν θεόν"; moreover, 17:4 includes another reference to women. As the Thessalonica episode progresses, other features also correspond to events at Philippi including an attacking "mob of the marketplace" (Acts 16:22; 17:5), similar sounding accusations in front of city authorities (Acts 16:20-21; 17:6), the prominent featuring of a resident's house (Acts 17:5, see οἶκος/οἰκία above), and a quick departure to a new locale (Acts 16:40; 17:10). In fact the overall similarities between the two episodes suggests that the Thessalonica episode, rather than functioning as a transition, works alongside with the Philippi episode as each informs the other rhetorically.

3.3.1 Conclusion: Rhetorical Boundaries Texture and Pattern.

Given that our primary focus in this analysis is on the rhetorical figure of Lydia, the

²⁰⁷ Bruce W. Longenecker, *Rhetoric at the Boundaries: The Art and Theology of the New Testament Chain-Link Transitions* (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2005), 2–3.

key patterns outlined above suggest that “Lydia’s” main rhetorical unit opens with the plea of the Macedonian man in Acts 16:9 and closes with the group’s visit to Lydia’s in Acts 16:40. This main rhetorical unit is shaped rhetorically by the “opening” transitional verses of Acts 16:1-5 as well as the following Thessalonica episode in Acts 17:1-10a. The rhetorical unit coincides with the major part of the geographically-derived unit (Acts 16:11-40), but also includes 16:9-10 because of the commencement of the παρακαλέω progression found there. Moreover, this rhetorical unit is rhetorically informed by the transitional verses of Acts 16:1-5, and the paradigmatically juxtaposed Thessalonica episode of Acts 17:1-10a. Whereas oral-scribal intertextual elements found in other sections of Luke-Acts also inform this main rhetorical unit, the proximity of Acts 16:1-5 and Acts 17:1-10a places them within an immediate field of influence.

The main rhetorical unit of Acts 16:9-40 incorporates both the geographically based narrative unit in which the Lydia passages reside, as well as the more evident repetitive patterns and sequences that link the Lydia passages to the surrounding discourse. As such, the process of delimitation provides an encouraging sign that the Lydia passages, rather than being peripheral to the Philippi episode, instead are somehow integrated rhetorically into the unit’s rhetorical structure.

3.4. Narrational and Sensory-Aesthetic Texture and Pattern

Through the story’s telling, the repetitive and progressive elements discussed above become narratively contextualized. Moreover, as the narrative unfolds certain aspects of these elements gain prominence or, as we noted in “Method,” their presence is developed. Narrational texture and pattern will help us to contextualize the recurrent elements within the narrative and to situate narratively prominent elements.

The rhetorical unit begins with Paul’s dream-vision in Troas: a Macedonian man pleads with Paul to help “us” by coming over to Macedonia. The we-group subsequently

interprets this plea as a call from God to preach the gospel (Acts 16:9-10).²⁰⁸ Three characters are featured here: the Macedonian man, Paul, and the we-group.²⁰⁹ Although the previous two verses recounted the movements of the Pauline group in the third person plural form, the vision of Acts 16:9 explicitly involves an interaction between two individuals (manifested within a visionary experience), and specifically between two human males (“ἄνθρωπος Μακεδόν” and Paul). By assigning an ethnic designation to the Macedonian man, the text stresses his earthly, rather than heavenly, character (cf. the appearance of two men dressed in dazzling clothes who appear to the women at the empty tomb, Luke 24:4). Moreover, the Macedonian man is associated with a larger earthly group since his plea of help is not solely for himself but rather on behalf of “us” (“διαβάς εἰς Μακεδονίαν βοήθησον ἡμῖν”). In fact, surprisingly absent, given the dream-vision event, is any spiritual-being character.

Immediately following the vision, the narration reverts back to describing not just Paul, but the broader Pauline group when the narrative voice switches to first-person plural narration in Acts 16:10.²¹⁰ Although this is not the first occurrence of first-person plural narration, previous instances were embedded in discourse, such as when the crowd at Pentecost questions, “how is it that we hear (ἀκούομεν), each of us, in our own native language?” (Acts 2:8) or when Peter and John together answer the temple authorities “for we cannot keep from speaking about what we have seen and heard” (4:20). In Acts 16:10-17 the we-group character does not just speak in the first-person plural; it also narrates

²⁰⁸ For the function of dream-visions in antiquity see page 123 in Chapter 4: Intertextural Analysis.

²⁰⁹ The term “character” in narrational texture refers to those plot elements that are represented by human characteristics including human activities of thought, self-expression and motion and action, as guided by Mieke Bal’s definition, “... a character is the effect that occurs when an actor is endowed with distinctive human characteristics.” Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative* (trans. Christine van Boheemen; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 115. The process of “characterization,” or filling in a fuller representation of a character’s distinguishing characteristics, is not a concern of narrational texture. Elements which may be considered as contributing to characterization will be identified in the argumentative, intertextural and ideological texture analyses.

²¹⁰ As observed in repetitive texture above, this initiates the first of the we-sections: Acts 16:10-17; 20:5-15; 21:1-18; 27:1-29; 28:1-16.

events and actions that it participates in as the story unfolds.²¹¹ Other than Paul, the text does not specify who else comprises the we-group in Acts 16:10-17, nor, in fact, whether it is the same “we” members who are consistently represented.

The first person to speak in this passage is the Macedonian man, although his speech is “heard” by Paul through a vision. Although the Macedonian speaks, his words are not heard by Paul’s ears (i.e., within the zone of self-expressive speech), but rather, through the emotion-fused act of “seeing.”²¹² Paul’s visual reception of the Macedonian’s message is emphasized by ὄραμα, (Acts 16:9,10), and by the verb ὁράω (Acts 16:9)/ εἶδον (16:10). When the we-group interprets Paul’s vision as a call from God, they are immediately motivated into action for the journey into Macedonia. In this way, the motivating impetus for crossing from Asia into Europe remains located in the zone of emotion-fused thought, except that it is a group rather than an individual who forms a judgment on the meaning of the vision.²¹³

Following the vision, the we-group immediately sets off for Philippi, with their swift

²¹¹ Historical-critical interpretations have treated the we-passages as some form of first-person account whether derived from “author-as-eyewitness” or “source-as-eyewitness” (Campbell, *The “We” Passages*, 87). More recently narrative critics have suggested reader-response based readings of the use of the first-person plural. One recent example is William Sanger Campbell’s suggestion that the we-character takes over from Barnabas as a trustworthy character who validates Paul’s credibility and authority for the reader; Cf. *The “We” Passages*. Offering a literary-critical perspective on the we-passages, Robbins has observed that ancient narratives often shifted to the first person plural in accounts of sea-voyages and battles. Vernon K. Robbins, “By Land and by Sea: The We-Passages and Ancient Sea Voyages,” in *Perspectives on Luke-Acts* (ed. Charles H. Talbert; Perspectives in Religious Studies. Special Studies Series. 5; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1978), 215–42; Robbins’ theory has been critiqued by interpreters who have questioned how applicable first-person sea-voyage accounts may be to the Acts we-passages which often take place on “land.” There are, however, compelling reasons for continuing to investigate Robbins’ theory, not the least of which is the metaphorical use of “ship” in ancient literature, such as the “ship of state.” Cf. Vernon K. Robbins, *Sea Voyages and Beyond: Emerging Strategies in Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation* (ed. Vernon K. Robbins and David B. Gowler, associate editor Robert von Thaden Jr.; Emory Studies in Early Christianity 14; Blandford Forum, Dorset, UK: Deo, 2010), 82–113.

²¹² The triadic body-zone model composed of emotion-fused thought, self-expressive speech, and purposeful action was discussed on page 42 in Chapter 2: “Method.”

²¹³ Note that in a list of the eight most common NT verbs dealing with perception/communication: δοκέω, ἐρωτάω (Acts 16:39), κελεύω (16:22), κρίνω (16:15), λέγω (16:9, 15, 17,18, 20, 28, 31, 35), νομίζω (16:13, 27), παραγγέλλω (16:18, 23), and παρακαλέω (16:9, 15, 39, 40), seven are found between Acts 16:9-40. See Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics*, 604.

passage marking a stark contrast to the restricted travel of the previous few verses.²¹⁴ They reach Philippi through its port city of Neapolis and stay there “some days” (διατρίβοντες ἡμέρας τινάς, Acts 16:12). The narrative locates the city of Philippi by the phrase “ἥτις ἐστὶν πρώτη[ς] μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις, κολωνία” (Acts 16:12). Some translations, including the NRSV, understand *πρῶτος* as “leading”: “and from there to Philippi, which is the leading city of the district of Macedonia, and a Roman colony.”²¹⁵ The mention of the group’s coming to Neapolis before Philippi is not troubling since it was not uncommon to refer to a city and its port interchangeably.²¹⁶ However, since “first” is the most common meaning of *πρῶτος* in Acts, the text may well intend its more basic meaning of first, as in the initial city of arrival. Regardless of what was intended by “first,” the text does explicitly position Philippi in terms of Macedonia, its being a colony, and of its designation as a *πόλις*. The narrative does not describe what the group did during the early part of their stay in Philippi; it merely informs the reader that the group arrived and stayed some days.

When the Philippi episode proper does commence, narration begins with the we-group leaving Philippi’s gates and looking for a “place of prayer” on a temporally sacred day, namely, Sabbath. Outside Philippi, by the river, the we-group encounters another group, a group of gathered women. The we-group sits down and begins speaking to the women (Acts 16:13); however, the narrative does not specify what the nature of the women’s gathering was. Once again the emotion-fused act of “inferring” or “supposing” propels the plot forward. In Troas it was the interpretation of Paul’s dream that compelled the group to

²¹⁴ “They went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia, having been forbidden by the Holy Spirit to speak the word in Asia. When they had come opposite Mysia, they attempted to go into Bithynia, but the Spirit of Jesus did not allow them” (Acts 16:6-7).

²¹⁵ The difficulty in translating the intended meaning of *πρῶτη* “led the UBS committee to take the drastic step of positing a conjectural reading (*πρώτης μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις*: ‘a city of the first district of Macedonia’) that is supported by only three late Latin manuscripts.” Parsons and Culy, *Acts: A Handbook*, 311.

²¹⁶ For example, Demosthenes in his *Third Philippic* warns of the potential danger of Philip’s attacking Athens in terms of its port, “not even if he [Philip] comes into Attica itself and to the Peiraeus will he admit this” (3 *Philippic*. 10 [Kennedy]), where Peiraeus was the port of Athens. *On Rhetoric*, 281, n. 40. Acts 13:4 has Paul and Barnabas leaving Antioch through its port, Seleucia.

embark on their sea-crossing, and now it was a supposition that a “place of prayer” would be located outside of Philippi.

Strikingly, while the we-group is here because of the appearance of a Macedonian male in Acts 16:9, the first group to whom the we-group speaks in Macedonia is female. One woman of the group, Lydia, stands out. She is profiled in Acts 16:14-15, contributing to the trend of narrating individuals concurrently within a broader group context to which they belong: the Macedonian man and “us,” Paul and the we-group, and now Lydia and the women. Lydia is described as a purple-seller from the city of Thyatira who is “σεβομένη τὸν θεόν” or “one worshipping God” (Acts 16:14). Not only is Lydia named, but the fact that three descriptors are attributed to her suggest some form of deliberate focus on this character.

As Lydia listens to the we-group’s preaching, her heart is opened by the Lord so that she may listen attentively to Paul. This opening of Lydia’s heart constitutes the sole event of explicit divinely-initiated action in this rhetorical unit (Acts 16:14). Although self-expressive speech seems prominent in Acts 16:13-14, the emphasis remains within the zone of emotion-fused thought. The divine enhancement of Lydia’s listening is profiled, yet no discourse either direct or indirect is narrated. Neither do actions or movement distract from emotion-fused thought until Lydia is baptized.

When Lydia and her household are baptized—an event that is narratively presented as almost an incidental backdrop to what follows (suggested by the temporal conjunction ὥς)—she emphatically asks the we-group to come to her home to stay if they evaluate her as being “faithful” to the Lord (“If you have judged me to be faithful to the Lord, come and stay at my home” Acts 16:15). She then “prevails” (παραβιάζομαι) upon the group, presumably to accept her offer. Neither Paul nor the we-group have yet spoken through direct speech in the rhetorical unit (paradoxically, despite the narration of their interpretation of Paul’s dream as a divine call to proclaim), but both the Macedonian man

and Lydia have, in one manner or another, called Paul to themselves through the verb *παρακαλέω* and both have used the imperative in their requests. At this point in the narrative only Lydia has displayed both emotion-fused thought and self-expressive speech, emphasized by divine initiative in the former, and the use of *λέγω* in the latter.

Despite the narrative's having raised an expectation of a response to Lydia's forceful request in Acts 16:15, it does not provide one; rather, a new paratactic episode commences in Acts 16:16, once again opening en route to the place of prayer, except that this time the group appears certain of its intended destination in contrast to the "supposing" of Acts 16:13. Also, in contrast to Acts 16:13, this time the group is encountered *by* (*ὑπαντήσαι ἡμῖν*), rather than itself encountering, a woman (Acts 16:16). This woman, a slave, is described as being endowed with the "spirit of Python" and her mantic proclamations through this spirit bring "much profit" to her owners. Over the course of many days the slave-woman follows Paul and his group around crying out "these men are slaves of the Most High God, who proclaim to you a way of salvation" (Acts 16:17). Once again, a character other than a member of the Pauline group speaks directly, and the slave-woman's direct discourse is preceded, as was the case with Lydia's, by *λέγουσα*. Moreover, while emotion-fused thought was paired with Lydia's speech, here it is the slave-woman's purposeful action of following the group around that pairs with her speech.

The slave-woman's actions continue for many days until Paul, "highly disturbed" (*διαπονέομαι*), turns and commands the spirit, "in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her."²¹⁷ The Python spirit acquiesces to Paul's command and comes out "that very hour" (Acts 16:18). Paul's charge to the spirit is the first instance of his direct speech in this unit, although Paul speaks by the "name of Jesus Christ" and the direct discourse is addressed to a spirit. The narrative does not explain what caused Paul to address or expel the spirit.

²¹⁷ The only other time that *διαπονέομαι* occurs in the NT is in Acts 4:2 when the priests, captain of the temple (called a *στρατηγός*, [Acts 4:1] as are Philippi's magistrates [Acts 16:35, 36, 38]), and the Sadducees are all "greatly disturbed" by Peter and John's teaching about Jesus and the resurrection and try to silence them.

Since the slave-woman had been following the we-group and calling out her proclamation for “many days,” her activity did not present enough of an immediate problem to provoke an earlier response from Paul. If the content of the slave-woman’s proclamation clearly contravened the Pauline group’s theological understanding, then it would not likely have been tolerated over many days. Yet it was, leaving the provocation leading to Paul’s unannounced action unexplained.

Unlike other cases of exorcisms in Luke-Acts, the narrative does not describe the after-effect of the expulsion of the Python spirit on the slave-woman (who drops out of the narrative); rather, the narrative turns to the effect of the spirit’s expulsion on her owners (κύριοι). The narrational dramatization of the slave-woman is through her direct speech; in contrast, the narrational presentation of Paul’s turning to the spirit, and not to the woman, makes it clear that, for Paul, it is actually the spirit who speaks through the medium of the woman.²¹⁸

Moreover, the slave-woman’s intermediary function is stressed by the narrative’s silence on the “exorcism’s” effect on her, and instead, its detailing of the after-effect, not on her, but on her owners. The owners’ first response is in the zone of emotion-fused thought; they “see” that their hope of profit left with the Python spirit. There is no descriptive narration of the slave woman’s being healed or restored.²¹⁹ Luke gives the motivation for the slave-owners’ reaction narratively by writing that, when they perceive their loss of profit, the slave-woman’s owners purposefully seize Paul and Silas and drag them into the public square before Philippi’s leaders (Acts 16:19). The slave-owners react immediately and forcefully; in contrast, Paul’s and Silas’s dragged bodies are presented passively.

²¹⁸ Cf. the demons who speak to Jesus through the “Gerasene demoniac,” Luke 8:28-31.

²¹⁹ Supporting Robert Tannehill’s claim that “the exorcism in 16:16-18 is not the main focus of attention” Tannehill, *Narrative Unity: Acts*, 197.

Once in front of the magistrates, the slave-owners present their charge against Paul and Silas: “these men are disturbing our city; they are Jews and were advocating customs that are not lawful for us as Romans to adopt or observe” (Acts 16:20-21). While the charge itself is ambiguous in presenting a clear, punishable offense, it does contribute to the narrative portrayal of the slave-woman’s owners since they characterize themselves as Romans, continuing the narrative trend of joining characters to a larger social body. Moreover, they also characterize Philippi as a Roman city, bolstering its earlier *κολωνία* designation. In their charge, the slave-owners characterize Paul and Silas as Jews who are promoting “unlawful” customs and practices among Philippi’s inhabitants.

The crowd, and then the magistrates, respond immediately by attacking Paul and Silas, and the magistrates order Paul and Silas stripped and beaten with rods, after which they order them to be imprisoned and securely guarded by the jailer (Acts 16:22-23). The jailer receives his charge from the magistrates and accordingly imprisons Paul and Silas in the innermost prison and fastens their feet in stocks (Acts 16:24). The purposeful action of the slave-owners remains forceful, moving into explicit and extreme violence as their quest for vengeance is joined by the crowd and magistrates. The jailer contributes to the physical abuse of Paul and Silas by fastening their beaten bodies in stocks, a purposeful act that, as will be discussed in intertextual analysis, caused significant pain and suffering to prisoners. Once again, Paul’s and Silas’s bodies are recipients of the violent action of others.

During the night, Paul and Silas pray and sing hymns while the prisoners listen, becoming the second group, following the women by the river, to be depicted as listeners to Paul and his disciples (Acts 16:25). Whereas Paul spoke to the listeners at the river and to the Python spirit (Acts 16:13,18), he now prays and sings hymns to God. In this manner, Paul’s participation in divine communication continues to be emphasized. The section began with a vision being interpreted as a divine commission; it was followed by speech

and divinely enabled listening at the river; that was followed by the command to the Python spirit in the name of Jesus Christ; and now, Paul prays and sings hymns to God. This realm of divine communication is punctuated by these receptive audiences: the women at the river, the Python spirit, and the prisoners.

While Paul and Silas pray, the earth becomes the source of purposeful action as a violent earthquake severely shakes the foundations of the prison, springs open the prison doors as well as the prisoners' fetters and chains (Acts 16:26). The jailer awakes and, seeing the prison doors wide open, readies to kill himself by the sword since he concludes that the prisoners must have escaped. Just as he draws his sword, Paul calls out in a great voice ("ἔφώνησεν μεγάλη φωνῇ", "do not harm yourself, for we are all here" (Acts 16:27-28). While the role of recurrent stories of divinely initiated earthquakes assisting prison releases will be discussed in intertextual analysis, in narrational analysis, the significant factor is that the narrative does not detail any form of divine collusion in the release of fetters. Just as Paul's Troas vision was of a human man, now here, too, events regularly associated with the divine realm are portrayed without the narrative presence of the divine.

The jailer is ready to commit suicide when he sees the open doors; the narrative provides the motive: seeing the doors open, he has concluded that the prisoners have escaped (Acts 16:27). Why this conclusion might lead him to take such a drastic step will be discussed in intertextual analysis, but here again, a narrative pattern is supported, namely, that of conclusions or suppositions that motivate actions which move the plot forward. The strength and rigidity of the jailer's assumption are emphasized by his calling for lights (Acts 16:29), highlighting that it was dark (it is shortly after midnight) and implying that, although his ability to see is limited by the darkness, the very sight of open doors was enough to compel him immediately to try to kill himself.

For the first time in the narrative Paul speaks to a human in direct discourse, as he shouts out his and the prisoners' presence. The jailer prostrates himself in front of Paul and

Silas, brings them outside, and addressing them as κύριοι—the term that previously had referred to the slave-owners—asks “what must I do to be saved?” to which Paul and Silas reply, “believe (or have faith in) the Lord Jesus and you will be saved, you and your household.” They then proceed to speak “the word of the Lord” to the jailer and all that were in his house (which may have included the other prisoners, Acts 16:30-32).

Paul’s and Silas’s bodies continue to be the recipients of the purposeful action of others, but now, in a reversal, their bodies receive healing and nurturing action rather than being subjected to violent, destructive action. The jailer takes Paul and Silas, washes their wounds, and is baptized along with “all of his.” He then takes them into his home and sets out food for them, as “he and his entire household rejoiced that he had believed in God” (Acts 16:33-34).

As was the case with Lydia, the jailer’s baptism is narrated in terms of its reception, where the narrative states that Lydia and the jailer each receives baptism, but the “baptizing action” of those administering the baptism is not narrated. In the case of the jailer the depiction of his receiving baptism juxtaposes with the narration of his purposeful action of bathing Paul’s and Silas’s wounds. Also, as was the case with Lydia, members of their respective households receive baptism along with them. The symbiotic relationship between an individual and a group is once again emphasized when the jailer and his household rejoice because *he* had believed in God.

At the outset of the next scene, self-expressive speech is conveyed through intermediaries. In the morning the magistrates dispatch the lictors to the prison, to instruct the jailer to release Paul and Silas (“let those men go” Acts 16:35). The jailer then conveys this message to Paul and Silas, ending with “therefore come out now and go in peace” (Acts 16:36). Rather than leaving prison, however, Paul responds with a countercharge and a challenge in the longest passage of direct discourse in the rhetorical unit (Acts 16:37). His message is again mediated in reverse via the lictors to the magistrates, who respond in fear at the news that Paul and Silas are Roman citizens.

Motivated by emotion-fused fear, the magistrates do come themselves to the prison, try to conciliate (παρεκάλεσαν αὐτούς) with Paul and Silas, and then take them out of prison and ask them to leave Philippi (Acts 16:38-39). Here, too, implicitly the plot was propelled by a supposition (in this case, incorrect) that Paul and Silas were “Jews” but not “Romans.” A significant portion of plot development in the rhetorical unit is motivated by emotion-fused suppositions.

Despite being asked to leave by Philippi’s leaders, Paul and Silas instead go to the place of Lydia, who has not participated in the narrative since Acts 16:15. Whereas Lydia was originally gathered with women outside Philippi, she is now gathered with men as well, as can be inferred from the masculine ἀδελφούς. As Paul and Silas see the assembly there, they also encourage them (παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἀδελφούς) (Acts 16:40). The entire visit to Lydia’s is framed by emotion-fused thought. Following their “stay” at Lydia’s the disciples leave Philippi.

3.4.1 *Conclusion: Narrational and Sensory-Aesthetic Texture and Pattern.*

Our analysis of narrational textural has contributed to the findings of repetitive and progressive textural analyses by contextualizing some of the repetitive and progressive elements within the rhetorical unit’s narrative presentation of them. In our analysis of repetitive texture we observed that the plural form, and, more specifically, designations of groups of people, is a feature of this unit. We can see in narrational texture that characters are often presented as groups, and significantly, groups speak as one: the we-group to the women by the river; the slave-owners to the people of Philippi; Paul and Silas to the jailer and those gathered in the prison compound; the magistrates to the lictors, the lictors to the jailer, and the lictors to the magistrates; the magistrates to Paul and Silas; and, the Pauline group to those assembled at Lydia’s. Moreover, characters often speak on behalf of others, including

human beings on behalf of spiritual beings: the Macedonian man calls on behalf of “us”; the slave-woman vocalizes the words of the Python spirit; Paul casts the Python spirit out in the name of Jesus Christ; the slave owners accuse Paul and Silas on behalf of “us-Romans”; Paul calls to the jailer on behalf of all the prisoners, and then countercharges the magistrates on his and Silas’s behalf; Paul and Silas speak “the word of the Lord” to the prison assembly; the jailer relays the message of the magistrates that had been delivered by the lictors to Paul and Silas, and then Paul’s message is relayed in reverse through the same parties. The author of Acts also uses direct speech to highlight a representative of a group: the Macedonian man, Lydia, Paul, the slave-owners, the jailer, and the magistrates.

Our analysis of narrational texture has also revealed that the author has helped to focus attention on three characters by nature of their uncommon presentation: the first appearance of a we-group narrational voice, and Lydia and the slave-woman—two juxtaposed women who both speak through direct discourse.²²⁰ Overall, our analysis of narrational texture suggests that the author uses self-expressive speech strategically in order to characterize groups and to highlight their representatives.

Although self-expressive speech plays a strategic role in the rhetorical unit, our analysis of narrational texture provides grounds for suggesting that the author’s principal rhetorical interest is situated within the body zone of emotion-fused thought. More specifically, the plot develops mainly as a consequence of narrative characters forming suppositions or judgements of enigmatic situations, and then acting in response to their interpretations. Some of the clearest examples are the we-group interpreting the call of the Macedonian man in Paul’s vision as a call from God; the men of Philippi assuming that Paul and Silas are outsiders and not Roman citizens; and, the jailer assuming that the prisoners had escaped. Other less self-evident examples, such as the we-group sitting down and preaching to the women by the river and Paul’s discerning a problematic situation associated with the

²²⁰ The only other two women with direct discourse in one unit in Luke-Acts are Mary and Elizabeth (Luke 1:42-55).

slave-woman with the Python spirit, are arguably the more salient rhetorically. Moreover, the sole case of explicit divine initiative in this unit is that of God's acting within Lydia's heart; where the heart is the centre of emotion-fused thought. In addition, the fact that the content of Paul's speech to the women is not narrated, nor, directly, the impact of God's action on Lydia, further suggests to us that acts of emotion-fused thought rather than self-expressive speech are the most rhetorically salient here.

Our analysis of narrational texture has also revealed a striking contrast between the authoritative voice accorded to Paul through self-expressive acts, such as vocally casting out the Python spirit, calling the jailer to salvation, and challenging the magistrates, with that of Paul's purposeful actions, which are either purposeful/passive, such as sitting down with women, or completely passive, to the extent of being physically subject to the violent purposeful actions of other men. In fact, we could make a case for suggesting that violent acts against Paul (and Silas) escalate after Lydia's forceful offer, which culminates with a word most closely associated with severe violence : παραβιάζομαι (Acts 16:15). The author presents a clear dichotomy between the authority of Paul's (and whatever group he is narratively embedded in) self-expressive speech and that of the purposeful acts of the disciples' bodies.

Given that our repetitive and progressive textural analyses revealed a concentration of terms associated with "to come" or "to go," most notably prefixed ἔρχομαι terms, and the παρακαλέω progression, it is not surprising that we see a great deal of coming and going, as well as human beings coming together and separating apart in our analysis of narrational texture. The we-group is called to Macedonia by a Macedonian representative, it crosses over to Philippi, then it leaves the city in search of a place of prayer where it joins with the gathered women; Lydia asks the we-group to join with her in her home; the we-group is joined by the slave-woman and is then dragged to Philippi's marketplace by her owners after Paul sends the Python spirit away; Paul and Silas are taken into prison, call the jailer

to themselves, and then are led out of their cell into the jailer's home, after which they leave prison; the magistrates ask Paul and Silas to leave Philippi; the disciples go to Lydia's and join with the believers that had gathered there; and finally, the Pauline group leaves Philippi. We see a remarkable amount of movement in the unit composed of groups entering and leaving, or being brought into or out of spaces, and, in tandem, groups of people joining together and also separating apart.

Paradoxically, given all the entering and leaving, with the exception of Philippi's prison, we have seen that the classification of spaces performs an enigmatic role in the rhetorical unit. From the outset, spaces are not clearly classified. For example, a man of Macedonia calls Paul to himself, yet the narrative situates Philippi as a Roman colony; the disciples initially spend some time in Philippi but the narrator does not disclose where; within a sacred temporal setting of Sabbath, the disciples search for a synagogue, yet encounter a gathering of women; once again, on the way to a place of prayer the disciples do not seemingly reach one, yet in prison partake in worship; while at the jailer's house the disciples technically remain in the prison compound, yet are portrayed as guests; finally, no information is given about Lydia's house, or household, and in most ambiguous fashion, the narrator simply states that after leaving prison the disciples "went to the Lydian," εἰσῆλθον πρὸς τὴν Λυδίαν (Act 16:40). Through our analysis of narrational texture we can see that the theme of "looking for a place of prayer" frames much of the activity in the unit, yet at no point does the narrator unequivocally tell the audience that this sought-after destination had been reached.

3.5. Argumentative Texture

As we noted in "Method", the fullness of a text's argumentative and rhetorical impact cannot be displayed until relevant social, cultural, historical, and oral-scribal intertextual

elements can be incorporated into the analysis. Accordingly, in the analysis of argumentative texture, we will be concerned only with displaying how the text is structured argumentatively at the textual level. We will also highlight those elements that are linked argumentatively.

With the contrast between Paul's cryptic vision and the immediacy of its apprehension by the Pauline group, we see the first signs that Luke predominantly employs inductive, rhetographical argumentation in the rhetorical unit. At Troas during the night, Paul receives a vision of a Macedonian man (ἄνθρωπος Μακεδόνων) who beseeches him to "help us by crossing over to Macedonia" (Acts 16:9). The text enigmatically does not explain who the man is or what identified him as a Macedonian, nor is there any indication as to what type of "help" (βοηθήω) was being solicited.²²¹ Yet despite the puzzling nature of the vision, it nonetheless catalyzes the we-group into immediate action, impelling them to go to Macedonia, since the disciples infer that the vision is a divine call to announce "good news" (εὐαγγελίζομαι Acts 16:10) to "them."

While the vision functions as a temporal precondition to the Pauline group's reaction ("when he had seen the vision" [Acts 16:10] where the temporal conjunction ὡς δέ could probably be better understood as "after" rather than "when"), the text does not explain how the we-group learned of the vision,²²² nor how it came to interpret the vision, for the vision does not come with an interpretative guide as did other visions referring to human charac-

²²¹ Fitzmyer claims that "Paul recognizes the figure as Macedonian from what he says," but given that the man is identified as Macedonian before he speaks and that Philippi is then characterized as "Roman" more than "Macedonian" where a Lydian is the first one to be baptized, the premise that "us" is what defines the man as Macedonian is not ironclad. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 579. Others have speculated that it was the Macedonian's clothing that identified him as such despite the text's complete absence of any such descriptive detail. See Haenchen, *Acts*, 488, n. 1, 3.

²²² The Western text fills in this gap: "When therefore he had risen up, he related to us the vision, and we perceived that the Lord had called us to preach the gospel to those who were in Macedonia," observes Metzger, "The purpose of the banal addition is clear enough: the reviser wanted to make sure that the reader will understand how it was that Paul's companions knew what he had seen in the vision – Paul told them!" Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament: A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament (Fourth Revised Edition)* (2nd ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), 392. Emphasis original.

ters in Acts.²²³ At the same time, the text stresses the clarity of the vision for the group by the immediacy of their response to the vision (Acts 16:10).

Although the vision is interpreted as a call from God, it is notably absent any markers of divine elements or spiritual beings. Instead the vision features a human male, identified through his earthly, ethnic Macedonian origin. Other than two prior spirit interventions (Acts 16:6, 7) that might suggest, through qualitative progression, a subsequent divine origin to the vision, nothing in Paul's vision itself represents divine presence.²²⁴ Luke inductively fuses the Macedonian man's call (*παρακαλέω* Acts 16:9) with the we-group's interpretation of it as a call from God (*προσκαλέω* 16:10), in part through the lexical connection between (*παρακαλέω* and (*προσκαλέω*).

The vision and its interpretation initiate a logical plot progression. The interpretation of the vision catalyzes the group's crossing into Macedonia, and accordingly provides an inaugurating motive that supplies the cause for the plot's opening movement. Not only does the plot gain its forward movement from the vision's interpretation, but, too, an escalating sense of immediacy is triggered by the vision's source being attributed to divine communication. Through qualitative progression, the narrative supports the growing sense that the we-group was responding to an urgent divine call by describing a swift sea-crossing to Philippi (Acts 16:11-12a), in contrast with earlier, restricted, land-crossing attempts (Acts 16:6-7). In addition, the positioning of Philippi as a "first," together with its being cast as a Roman colony, also contributed to a growing sense of the journey's importance. The "arrows of desire,"²²⁵ triggered by these early elements of qualitative progression that un-

²²³ Previously, for example, God had sent a vision of Ananias to the sightless Saul so that Saul could consequently recognize that Ananias had been divinely sent (Acts 9:11-12, 17). Similarly, Peter was told by the Spirit to go with Cornelius's three servants because they, too, had been sent by God (10:19-20). Yet Paul's vision in Troas seems limited to the Macedonian man's plea.

²²⁴ John Faulkenberry Miller has also remarked upon the absence of explicit divine elements in the vision: "Luke employs dream-visions frequently in his narrative, and characters are sometimes required to interpret these visionary encounters. Nevertheless, it is important that this dream-vision lacks a divine agent and invites interpretation." John B. Faulkenberry Miller, *Convinced That God*, 97.

²²⁵ See page 46.

dergird the “causal” logical plot progression, develop an expectation of an upcoming significant missionary encounter involving the Pauline group and the people of Macedonia.

In Acts 16:12b, however, the plot’s intense movement encounters a curious step. In stark contrast with the immediately preceding fast-paced urgency of the we-group’s move to Macedonia, the disciples, upon reaching their intended destination, at first simply “remained (διατριβοντες) in the city for some days.”²²⁶ When plot development does resume in Acts 16:13, its direction further departs from that inferred by its early plot progression. The temporal setting of the Sabbath, together with the group’s searching for a place of prayer, raises an audience expectation that the group is about to come upon a synagogue.²²⁷ However, in Acts 16:13, rather than encountering another typical synagogue gathering, the Pauline group instead finds an assembly of women. When Lydia is introduced in Acts 16:14, it becomes increasingly clear that the plot’s progression had truly diverted from its presumed course. Beverly Gaventa recalls John Calvin’s observation of the “delicious incongruity” presented by the situation, since, although the vision of the Macedonian man’s plea in Acts 16:9 “creates the expectation that the whole of Macedonia awaits Paul and his colleagues[,] they encounter no men...but a group of women, and the one woman who is converted is not Macedonian.”²²⁸

We can see that by introducing the women by the river, and Lydia, the author upsets two sets of expectations: one based upon plot progression, and the second based upon the

²²⁶ The term διατριβω literally means to “rub away” with a sense of “rubbing away time,” and here means to remain or stay but without any apparent activity or purpose attached to this period, like Peter’s stay with Simon the Tanner, Acts 9:43-10:23.

²²⁷ The opening phrase “τῆ ἡμέρα τῶν σαββάτων” uses the relatively uncommon plural form to refer to one Sabbath day. “Sabbath” is designated by σαββάτων two other times in Luke-Acts, each time within a synagogue context : when Jesus reads the Isaiah scroll in the synagogue in Nazareth (Luke 4:16), and in Antioch (Acts 13:14) when the Pauline group enters the synagogue and, similarly to Acts 16:13, sits down with the people gathered there.

²²⁸ Beverly Roberts Gaventa, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Abingdon New Testament Commentaries; Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 2003), 236. Calvin wrote, “Having entered the principal city they find nobody there to whom to give their services. Therefore they are forced to go out into the open country, to speak in an unfrequented and out-of-the-way spot. There they cannot meet with even a single man, to listen to their teaching. They only obtain one woman as a disciple for Christ, and a foreigner at that.” Calvin, *The Acts of the Apostles 14–18*, 71.

mental image of a synagogue. In the first instance the women are clearly not the Macedonian men that the plot's narrative had led the audience to expect, and in the second, through their female gender, they clash dramatically with a traditional Jewish synagogue setting. Yet, in as much as the gathering of women present a highly ambiguous setting, the we-group and God respond to them as if there were no ambiguity present. The we-group encounters the women, and following a narratively banal καί conjunction, reacts by sitting down with the women and speaking to them. In turn, God performs the only explicit solely-directed divine action in the unit through the act of opening Lydia's heart to understand Paul's words. By portraying the we-group and God as seeing something in the women and Lydia other than what the audience was led to expect, the narrator suggests to us that the author deliberately uses elements of ambiguity in order to begin to develop a rhetographical, inductive argument.

The narrator does not explicitly describe the after-effects of Lydia's heart being opened. Instead, we can infer that since Lydia was already listening to the disciples (ἤκουεν), God's intervention facilitated a different form of listening that privileged Lydia's cognitive, intellectual, and moral centre, over her ears. However, despite this narratively-featured divine action, we can see narrative gaps continue to accumulate. As in the ὡς δέ conjunction of Acts 16:10, where Paul's vision was a precondition to the group's decision to cross to Macedonia, so, too, Lydia's baptism is preceded by a ὡς δέ conjunction in Acts 16:15 and appears as a precondition to her two-fold request of having her faithfulness to the Lord positively evaluated and the Pauline group come to her home. Once again, though, while the ὡς δέ ostensibly marks a logical plot progression, in reality it highlights the presence of a gap: the connection between Lydia's heart being opened and her baptism is unclear since the baptism event is not described, and the role it might play between Lydia's listening and her request to Paul is not explained.

As was the case with the Macedonian man, Lydia's request in Acts 16:15 is introduced

through παρακαλέω and involves an emphatic request to come.²²⁹ However, whereas the Macedonian gives a reason, albeit an enigmatic one, as to why he is calling Paul (“help us”), Lydia’s request does not furnish the reason for the invitation (Paul’s group had already been staying in Philippi). Rather, the request functions as the consequent of a first class conditional phrase.²³⁰ The antecedent (“if you have judged me to be faithful to the Lord” Acts 16:15) begins with εἰ introducing a first class condition where the argumentation is premised on an assumption of truth for argument’s sake and expresses the sentiment, “if—and let us assume that this is true for the sake of argument—then...”²³¹ Paraphrasing Wallace’s formula, Lydia’s request might be expressed argumentatively as: “If you have judged me to be faithful to the Lord, and let us assume that you have, then come into my house and stay.”

For Haenchen, the connection between Lydia’s baptism and being judged faithful to the Lord was so strong that he considered Lydia’s conditional request simply a case of “politeness” since “Lydia is already recognized as a Christian through her baptism.”²³² However, the text itself suggests that the outcome of Lydia’s request is much less self-evident than Haenchen admitted. The conditional offer raises the question of whether the past assessment of Lydia’s faithfulness, as demonstrated by her baptism, still continues and, moreover, as suggested by the nature of the request (come to my house and stay), is expected to remain valid in the future.²³³

²²⁹ Progressive textural analysis identified these two requests as progressively connected, see page 71.

²³⁰ The argumentative basis for Lydia’s offer is described in Wallace’s discussion of conditional sentences:

“The second relation the protasis can have to the apodosis is that of ground, or evidence, to inference. Here the speaker infers something (the apodosis) from some evidence. That is, he makes an induction about the *implications* that a piece of evidence suggests to him. For example, ‘If she has a ring on her left hand, then she’s married.’ Notice that the protasis is not the *cause* of the apodosis. In fact, it is just the opposite: ‘If she gets married, she will wear a ring on her left hand.’ Thus, often though not always, the ground-inference condition will semantically be the *converse* of the cause-effect condition.” Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics*, 683. Emphasis original.

²³¹ Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics*, 690 Emphasis original.

²³² Haenchen, *Acts*, 495.

²³³ The conditional part of Lydia’s request can be distinguished from other conditional requests such as Jesus’s poignant plea in Luke 22:42, (“Father, if you are willing (εἰ βούλει), remove this cup from me; yet, not my will but yours be done”) where βούλομαι appears in the indicative present and carries no presumption

The conditional nature of Lydia's offer is further emphasized by the narrative contrast between the we-group's immediate response to the Macedonian man's request with the narrative absence of a response to Lydia's request. When the narration of Lydia's offer ends with "and she prevailed upon/urged/constrained (παρεβιάσατο) us"(Acts 16:15), it underscores the fact that the offer, with its preceding condition, remains unanswered. The narrative then heightens the uncertainty over the we-group's response when Lydia's storyline is dropped; instead, the narrator switches to the slave-woman episode, followed by the rhetorical unit's sole "hosting" scenario which takes place not at Lydia's, but rather at the Philippian jailer's. When the narrative does rejoin Lydia in Acts 16:40, Paul enters her home, sees and encourages the believers gathered there, and then leaves Philippi. This apparent acceptance of her offer is deferred until virtually the entire Philippi episode had been played out, leaving the outcome of the request in abeyance until the end of the rhetorical unit. The absence of an immediate answer is argumentatively significant, for the author would not have raised the unusual setting by the river, profiled God's action in Lydia's heart, and framed Lydia's offer within a forceful request for an evaluation of her faithfulness only to move abruptly on to another episode. In fact, we will later argue that Luke uses Lydia's request to have her faith evaluated in order to launch a rhetographical argument that unfolds the nature and meaning of "faith in the Lord" throughout the remainder of the rhetorical unit. Lydia's request is a crucial narrative example of an amplification of the qualitative progression that ties requests to come with the need for discernment.

Following Lydia's request, a progressive sequence begins a new sub-unit in Acts 16:16. As was the case when the women by the river were encountered, once again the we-group is enroute to a place of prayer, has its preaching featured, and meets up with a woman who speaks through direct discourse (Acts 16:16-17).²³⁴ Again, progressive differ-

that "removing the cup" had already been willed by God.

²³⁴ "As we were going to the place of prayer, we were met by a slave girl who had a spirit of divination and brought her owners much gain by soothsaying. She followed Paul and us, crying, 'These men are servants of the Most High God, who proclaim to you a way of salvation'" (Acts 16:16-17).

ences give the text its rhetorical direction. The group proceeds to a place of prayer (Acts 16:16), without any apparent uncertainty as to its location (cf. Acts 16:13), yet it will not explicitly reach one. The disciples do not here encounter anyone; rather, they are encountered by a woman (παιδίσκην...ὕπαντῆσαι ἡμῖν (16:16)).²³⁵ In contrast with Lydia's listening to the disciples, this woman yells out the essence of the disciples' preaching ("who proclaim to you a way of salvation"). The Pauline group and their mission are publicly and vocally announced in the streets of Philippi for "many days" by the slave-woman (Acts 16:18). In the progression from the riverside encounter to that of being encountered by the slave-woman, the we-group shifts from being strangers to being publicly recognized.

When Paul eventually sends the Python spirit away in Acts 16:18, the motive for his reaction is enigmatic. If the content of the slave-woman's proclamation were inherently offensive to the missionary enterprise, then the spirit would undoubtedly have been swiftly silenced; yet it was allowed to proclaim for "many days" (Acts 16:18).²³⁶ Even more perplexing, as Malina and Pilch point out, Paul's casting the Python spirit out is the only described account of a disciple performing an exorcism in the NT.²³⁷ The lack of explicit rationale for Paul's actions has led commentators to offer a number of possible suggestions of their own.²³⁸ Some take into account the effect of the exorcism, and suggest that financial

²³⁵ παιδίσκην functions as "the accusative subject of the infinitive [ὕπαντῆσαι]." Parsons and Culy, *Acts: A Handbook*, 314, 4; Parsons and Culy, *Acts: A Handbook*, 314, 4.

²³⁶ The tolerance for this proclamation contrasts with the immediate correction of the Lycaonians' misperception of Paul and Barnabas' divinity in Acts 14:14-15.

²³⁷ Malina and Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary*, 117.

²³⁸ Some think that the continuous noise from the proclamations was the problem: "So why does Paul exorcise the spirit? Nowhere in this story is the 'Python spirit' labeled unclean or evil or demonic. This fact sets the scene apart from other exorcism stories to which this one has been compared, especially Luke 8:26-39. Here her incessant mantic activity, not the misleading nature of her message, so annoys Paul that he exorcises the spirit to get a little peace and quiet." Parsons, *Acts*, 231; cf. Haenchen, *Acts*, 495. While a desire for "peace and quiet" may certainly be a possibility for Paul's reaction, the text suggests that this would not have been a primary factor leading to the exorcism. It is likely that Paul would have spoken to the woman or her owners if all he wished for was quiet rather than challenging the spirit directly. More significantly, when Paul and Silas are consequently beaten and imprisoned they remain quite vocal themselves, singing hymns and praying in the middle of the night despite their undoubtedly being severely physically exhausted at that point. There is little in the text to suggest that a desire for peace and quiet was the motivating factor for the exorcism.

profit-taking from the slave-woman's mantic activities was the reason for Paul's distress.²³⁹ This is plausible, given the motive for the slave-owners' retaliation against Paul and Silas. Moreover, as will be discussed in intertextual analysis, the mantic industry was notorious for profit-taking.²⁴⁰ However, the gain of the slave-woman's owners is not explicitly expressed in financial terms, since ἐργασία (Acts 16:16, 19) does not necessarily mean strictly financial gain, although the slave-woman does clearly bring some form of great benefit to her owners.

Rhetorically, the absence of explicit argumentative rationale allows us to suggest again the presence of another argumentative gap.²⁴¹ At times overlooked, the fact that the slave-woman proceeded with her proclamation for "many days" implies that a problematic aspect to her behaviour was not immediately apparent. As the vision of the Macedonian needed interpretation, and as Lydia's faithfulness required evaluation, so, too, do Paul's actions vis-à-vis the slave-woman's. In contrast, the slave-owners immediately perceive the spirit's departure and immediately react.²⁴² The slave-owners clearly attribute their perceived loss of gain to Paul's exorcism.²⁴³ Again, the slave-owners are able to perceive a spirit-world event, like the we-group did with Paul's vision, although the text does not explain how.

Through the slave-owners' violent reaction of seizing Paul and Silas and dragging them to the public square, Luke rhetographically depicts the rupture of any possible per-

²³⁹ "What is clearly distressing to Luke/Paul is that the girl's owners...were profiting financially from her soothsaying (v. 16)." Malina and Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary*, 118.

²⁴⁰ See page 185.

²⁴¹ Both the term for becoming greatly disturbed, διαπονέομαι, as well as for turning, ἐπιστρέφω, and attendant circumstance participles (διαπονηθεῖς/ἐπιστρέψας), function as "something of a prerequisite" to the finite verb, to speak, λέγω/εἶπον in the phrase "Paul, very much annoyed, turned and said" (Acts 16:18). Parsons and Culy classify these two participles as attendant circumstance: "Given the fact that conjoined participles must share the same function, διαπονηθεῖς cannot be causal since it is conjoined to ἐπιστρέψας, which is clearly not causal." Parsons and Culy, *Acts: A Handbook*, 315. "the [attendant circumstance] participle is something of a prerequisite before the action of the main verb can occur." Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics*, 643.

²⁴² "But when her owners saw that their hope of gain was gone, they seized Paul and Silas and dragged them into the public square before the rulers" (Acts 16:19).

²⁴³ "Luke's sense of humour appears in his choice of ἐξήλθεν here [Acts 16:19] after its use in ver. 18; their 'hope of profit' was in fact the expelled spirit itself." F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary* (2nd ed.; 1951; repr., London: Tyndale Press, 1952), 316.

ceived alliance between themselves and the we-group. As our earlier discussion of physiognomy described, in the first-century a person's identity was closely related to the group(s) others perceived that person as belonging to.²⁴⁴ When the slave-woman repeatedly and publicly proclaimed the essence of the Pauline group's identity and mission while moving through Philippi's streets together with them, it would have suggested to the people of Philippi that the we-group and the Python-group were somehow allied. When the slave-owners take violent action against Paul and Silas, they also visibly rupture any such perceived alliance.

If previously the we-group and the Python-group may have seemed somehow associated with each other, the slave-owners' charge against Paul and Silas clearly separates them into an oppositional "us against them" argumentative stance.²⁴⁵ The slave-owners identify Paul and Silas as "Jews" and, much as the audience is not told how the man in Paul's vision is identified as Macedonian, so here, too, what distinguishes Paul and Silas as Jews to the slave-owners is unknown. The slave-owners' suggestion that Paul and Silas are Jews does not seem to be based on Philippi's deep-rooted experience with a Jewish community and therefore the term "Jew" likely functions argumentatively as simply a designation of "foreigner" and, thereby, "outsider."²⁴⁶ While the charge against Paul and Silas functions as a stock charge against a foreign cult, it is argumentatively significant that prior to Paul's expulsion of the Python spirit, any foreign "cult-like" activities that the disciples may have manifested were not only nonproblematic for the Philippians, but instead were supported by the mantic enterprise of the locally powerful slave-owners. As a result, in the case of the charges against Paul and Silas, historical questions over whether either Christianity or Ju-

²⁴⁴ See page 54.

²⁴⁵ "These men are disturbing our city; they are Jews and are advocating customs that are not lawful for us as Romans to adopt or observe" (Acts 16:20-21).

²⁴⁶ Since the source of the slave-woman's proclamation was Paul's preaching and since this preaching normally referred in some manner to (Jewish) scripture (as will explicitly be the case in the upcoming Thessalonica episode (Acts 17:2)), this may have been sufficient to relate Paul and Silas to Judaism, but as the speech in Athens demonstrates this was not necessarily the case.

diasm was sanctioned by the Romans as a legitimate religion are irrelevant to the argumentative point of the text. Rather, the separation between Paul and Silas and the slave-owners is the author's argumentative concern, conveyed rhetorically.

Much as Luke signalled the connection between the departure of the Python spirit and the departure of the slave-owners' hope of profit by the repetitive use of ἐξήλθεν (Acts 16:18, 19), so, too, the connection between the slave-woman's announcement of the content of the disciples' proclamation and the slave-owners' ironic condemnation of this content is signalled by the repetitive use of καταγγέλλουσιν (Acts 16:17, 21). Where the slave-woman called out that "these men...proclaim (καταγγέλλουσιν) to you a way of salvation" (Acts 16:17), the slave-owners charge "these men...proclaim (καταγγέλλουσιν) customs which it is not lawful for us Romans to accept or practice" (16:20-21). Although the slave-owners saw that the Python spirit had acceded to Paul's authority, the slave-owners' hostile reaction against Paul and Silas displayed remarkable hubris. By seizing and dragging Paul and Silas into the public square (ἀγορά), the slave-owners showed unquestioning faith in their own perceived superior authority. With the ready and violent reaction of both the mob and the magistrates, it is clear that the self-confidence of the slave-owners, who in the text are referred to as κύριοι, was not unfounded.²⁴⁷ As soon as the slave-owners issue their charge, the mob and then the magistrates join in the attack without even a thought of hearing a defence from Paul and Silas. The anger of the slave-owners is sufficient to mobilize the entire city of Philippi. In contrast, when a similar situation erupts in Ephesus, the town clerk calms the crowd and insists on due process (Acts 19:35-41). In Philippi, however, due process, as Paul will later point out, is not remotely considered. The slave-owners appear rightly confident in their local power. As a result, the magistrates charge Philippi's jailer to keep Paul and Silas securely. The jailer, whose mandate is given by the adverb ἀσφαλῶς

²⁴⁷ "The crowd joined in attacking them; and the magistrates tore the garments off them and gave orders to beat them with rods. And when they had inflicted many blows upon them, they threw them into prison, charging the jailer to keep them safely" (Acts 16:22-23).

(Acts 16:23), enacts this order literally as he secures (ἀσφαλιζῶ, 16:24) Paul and Silas in stocks in the innermost cell.

In prison, qualitative progression develops ironic rhetographical argumentation. Although on two previous occasions Paul had been making his way to a place of prayer (Acts 16:13, 16), it is here in Philippi's prison that he is most explicitly described as praying, including singing hymns (Acts 16:25), and soon after expounding on "the word of the Lord" to those gathered in the prison compound (Acts 16:32). Second, as noted above, the Pauline group had not made any local (Macedonian) acquaintances who could bring them to a place of prayer when they first set out in Acts 16:13.²⁴⁸ Now, in dramatic fashion, they were dragged to, and cast into the depths of Macedonian earth by Philippian locals.

Qualitatively relating previous events, the rhetorical unit that began with a night vision reaches a dramatic moment through another event that occurs in the middle of the night. As Paul and Silas pray and sing hymns to God (Acts 16:25), prayers that are heard by the prisoners, their prayers are interrupted by a powerful earthquake which releases all chains and fetters and opens the prison's doors (Acts 16:26). The earthquake may have been divinely initiated, however, no explicit signs of divine presence make an appearance. Instead, a jailer calls for lights and leads the prisoners out of the cell but still within the prison compound. Moreover, while the Philippi earthquake is often classified as another example of a miraculous "prison-escape" scene like those involving the apostles and Peter, it more rightly should be categorized as a miraculous "prison-stay" scene. Argumentatively, if indeed there has been divine intervention, its objective does not appear to be Paul and Silas' escape, but rather the creation of circumstances that will make possible the salvation of the jailer.

The acts of surmising, concluding or discerning have recurrently signalled key events in the rhetorical unit and, following the earthquake, a pivotal case of "concluding" leads to

²⁴⁸ See page 100.

a salvific outcome. When the jailer awakes and sees the prison doors ajar after the earthquake, he immediately prepares to take his life since he presumes that the prisoners have escaped (Acts 16:27). The jailer's assumption is so certain in his own mind that, despite not being able to see the prisoners (only later does he call for lights), and despite not having checked and verified his assumption, the jailer draws his sword and prepares to commit suicide. In reciprocal fashion, Paul also concludes that the jailer would have presumed their escape and, despite not seeing the jailer, he calls out to him in a loud voice and orders him not to harm himself (Acts 16:28). The jailer's virtual certainty over the prisoners' escape, emphasized by his assumption that his life was for all intents and purposes already over, rhetorically underlines the strikingly unexpected nature of a prisoner's act of staying in prison when escape was enabled.

Once again, argumentation functions primarily through rhetography as Paul's and Silas's act of staying in prison leads to their being affirmed as the ones whom the slave-woman had proclaimed. Although the Python spirit had recognized the disciples as "slaves of the most high god who proclaim...a way of salvation," the slave-owners had attempted to displace this identity by publicly humiliating, physically violating, and incarcerating Paul and Silas. The disciples' seeming impotence would have appeared incongruous with their designated identity, much as the crucified Jesus drew ridicule for seemingly not having the power to save himself and thereby demonstrate his divine agency (Luke 23:35-39). Paradoxically, however, by not saving themselves through escaping, Paul and Silas are recognized as divine mediators by the jailer.

As we observed in our analysis of repetitive texture, the term *κύριος* is found in its plural form in Acts only in this rhetorical unit, where it twice refers to the slave-owners (Acts 16:16, 19), and then in 16:30 is used by the jailer to address Paul and Silas. When the jailer, trembling with fear, prostrates himself and addresses Paul and Silas as *κύριοι*, his use of the vocative emphasizes how he has reconceived the prisoners, whom he had witnessed

being dominated by the Philippian power brokers, and by himself personally into persons of some authority. The juxtaposition of the slave-owners with Paul and Silas is argumentatively emphasized by the repeated use of the term κύριοι, referring first to the former, and then to the latter. This shift of referent for the term κύριοι signals the beginnings of a corresponding shift of the jailer's allegiance. The text had been careful to note that the jailer had been ordered by the magistrates to keep Paul and Silas securely, and that he had both received and implemented this charge (Acts 16:23-24). However, following Paul's call to the jailer after the earthquake, the jailer leads Paul and Silas out of their cell (Acts 16:30) signalling a loosening of commitment to the magistrates' orders with a corresponding shift towards Paul and Silas.

The jailer's trembling question to Paul and Silas, "what must I do [in order] to be saved?" has often been understood theologically, but within the context of the narrative it can suggest alternate meanings. Since, as noted by Malina, "'salvation' meant rescue from a difficult situation; it was not a specifically God-oriented word."²⁴⁹ The ambiguous use of σώζω in Acts 16:30 may refer to the jailer's immediate difficult situation of not knowing what to do with prisoners who could still attempt to escape, where the threat of their escape had already proven itself to be a life-or-death matter for the jailer.²⁵⁰ The jailer's life hangs in the balance of the prisoners' hands, and his question to them, which uses the causal conjunction ἵνα, literally asks what must he do in order to secure his rescue from a critical predicament.

Paul's and Silas's response to the jailer, "believe in the Lord Jesus and you will be saved, you and your household" (Acts 16:31), together with their following-on by speaking the "word of the Lord" to the jailer and his household (16:32), expands upon a number of this passage's qualitative progressions. One of these continues to build on the irony of the

²⁴⁹ Malina, *The New Testament World*, 94.

²⁵⁰ In similar manner, the imperative of guards to keep their prisoners secure is emphasized when, after almost losing their lives at sea, the priority of the shipwrecked soldiers is to "kill the prisoners" so that none can escape (Acts 27:42).

slave-owners' charge. Paul and Silas do exactly what the slave-woman had proclaimed them to be doing: they proclaim a way of salvation. Moreover, by remaining imprisoned, and by declaring themselves as subject to their Lord, that is, Jesus, they position themselves as "slaves/servants of the most high God." The charge against Paul and Silas had them "disrupting" Philippi by preaching impermissible customs that Romans were not allowed to receive nor practice. Qualitatively the text shows that "a way of salvation" is advanced by Paul and Silas in stark contrast to the vengeance enacted by the other κύριοι, despite the fact that these prisoners have both grounds and opportunity for extracting vengeance from the jailer.²⁵¹ However, by advancing "a way of salvation," they do in fact disrupt the internal workings of Philippi's power structure, for by showing the jailer a way of salvation, Paul and Silas disrupt Philippi's violence-centered justice system.

Affirming the slave-owners' charges, the jailer does receive Paul's and Silas' proclamation (Acts 16:32) and then puts this proclamation into practice as he turns from functioning as an instrument of brutality to healer and nurturer by washing their wounds and setting food before them in his home (Acts 16:33-34). He both receives and enacts their proclamation, thereby, ironically participating in exactly the sort of "illegitimate" activity promoted by the disciples. The jailer's turnaround, although dramatic, remains ambiguous and is perhaps best understood as a potentiality of "conversion" rather than definitive realization. The jailer does not actually release Paul and Silas since, although they are taken from their cell to the jailer's house, they remain within the prison compound (the text is silent on the fate of the other prisoners who had stayed).²⁵² On one level, the jailer continues to remain obedient to the charge that he had received from his superiors, that is, to keep Paul and Silas secure. Yet by according Paul and Silas authority, listening to their preaching, and tending to their needs the jailer significantly alters his role.

²⁵¹ The physical brutality implicit to their situation will be discussed in intertextual analysis. See pages 184 to 187.

²⁵² That they remain within the prison compound is stressed by the lictors bringing permission for their release in the morning (Acts 16:35).

The jailer is baptized after he washes Paul's and Silas's wounds (Acts 16:33). Once again, an explicitly human action seems to be profiled alongside a similar principle that is associated with the sacred realm. The jailer needs to call for lights in prison so that he can literally see that he has been saved from his presumed fate, and then he bathes the prisoners before he himself is "bathed" through baptism. In bathing the prisoners' wounds the jailer demonstrably shifts away from the force-driven agenda of the slave-owners and magistrates. At daybreak the magistrates will send the lictors with a message of release to the prisoners (Acts 16:35). The Philippian rulers' continued focus on coercively driving Paul and Silas out of Philippi is emphasized by their conveying their message of release by the very rod-bearers who had hours earlier flogged Paul and Silas.²⁵³ The jailer, by taking Paul and Silas out of their cell, cleaning their wounds and then feeding them, undermines his superiors' agenda of brutalizing Paul and Silas into leaving.

Progressive textural analysis suggested close lexical linkages between the jailer and Lydia, and inductive argumentation begins to develop a fuller connection between these two figures. As mentioned, not only are both the jailer and Lydia baptized but so, too, are their households. Both the jailer and Lydia listen to Paul's preaching. Lydia invites Paul into her home. The jailer brings Paul into his. And each of their respective episodes is preceded by the Pauline group's making its way to a place of prayer. The close proximity between the baptisms of the jailer, Lydia, and their respective households, along with their "episodes" sharing common lexical elements, tentatively suggests a deliberate connection between the two figures.

²⁵³ F. F. Bruce is correct in suggesting that the beating, imprisonment and release had been motivated by a desire to expel the disciples coercively: "they [the magistrates] probably considered that Paul and Silas had been taught a sufficient lesson by the stripes and the night in prison. They had exercised the police-right of *coercitio*." Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 322. Certain Western witnesses offer a contrived explanation for the message of release: "In order to explain the sudden change of attitude on the part of the magistrates, who now entreat the apostles to leave, D syr^{hmg} Cassiodorus and Ephraem read...('But when it was day the magistrates assembled together in the market place, and recollecting the earthquake that had taken place, they were afraid; and sent the police, saying...')." Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 398.

One of the lexical points of repetitive connection between Lydia and the jailer is πιστός/πιστεύω, which takes on particular significance given Lydia’s conditional “hanging question”—“if you have judged me to be faithful (πιστήν) to the Lord” (Acts 16:15)—that remains textually unanswered, yet reverberates qualitatively with Paul and Silas’s answer to the jailer: “believe [πίστευσον] in the Lord Jesus” (Acts 16:31). Readings of the verb πιστεύω, noun πίστις, and adjective πιστός tend to be assimilated into centuries of Christian interpretation which understand words related to “faith” as referring to belief in Jesus as the Christ. Moreover, Paul and Silas’s specific words to the jailer do, in fact, refer to “the Lord Jesus” who brings salvation (σώζω Acts 16:31). That their words refer to the Christian *kerygma* is indisputable; however, there are two reasons to suggest that perhaps other meanings of πιστεύω and its variants are simultaneously deployed for rhetorical ends by the author.

One factor is the repeated examples of what appears to be deliberate fluidity between sacred and secular terms and settings in this unit. The second factor involves the context for the jailer’s shift from subordinating himself to the authority of the disciples rather than the magistrates. While Luke presented Lydia’s request to the disciples within the social model of hospitality, and thereby rhetorically evoked the qualities of trustworthiness and fidelity that were found in the meaning of the term πιστός, he simultaneously evoked the notion of salvific faith through Paul’s and Silas’s response to the jailer (Acts 16:31).

It was already noted above that the jailer’s leading Paul and Silas out of their cell and into his home, along with his care of them, almost certainly would have constituted an act of insubordination given that his superiors had directly charged him to keep Paul and Silas secure. When the jailer, thinking the prisoners escaped, immediately moves to kill himself, his drastic action makes a fine point on the fact that he was unconditionally expected to fulfill his job as jailer. Yet upon hearing Paul’s voice, the jailer becomes a disloyal and unreliable jailer. He does not remain faithful to his role or to his superiors. Moreover, by “accept-

ing and practicing” the customs advocated by Paul and Silas, the jailer, from the perspective of the slave-owners’ charges, was also unfaithful to the rules of Roman custom. Thus the jailer’s quality of πιστός, understood as fidelity to his masters, begins to dissolve while, concurrently, he begins to develop faith in Paul and Silas, and through them, in their God.

An analogous relationship develops between “belief in the Lord Jesus” and “trust in Paul and Silas,” as Paul’s and Silas’s staying shows them as “faithful servants” to God by being trustworthy prisoners for the jailer, and thereby saving his earthly and immortal life. Luke inductively demonstrates that by trusting Paul and Silas as men, the jailer becomes open to trusting what they have to say about their divinity. When Paul and Silas stay in prison a second time (Acts 16:37), despite being granted the means for release (this time by the authority of the magistrates 16:35), the jailer sees that his trust has not been misplaced. The author continues to develop an inductive argument by illustrating Paul’s and Silas’s steadfast faith through their courage. The extent of this courage displays itself in full when they challenge the magistrates by way of the lictors, the men who most likely administered Paul and Silas’s flogging.²⁵⁴ Throughout this interplay between faithfulness, fidelity and trustworthiness in prison, Lydia’s call for evaluation, “if you have judged me to be faithful to the Lord, come to my house and stay” (Acts 16:15) remains an unfulfilled conditional offer.

Strikingly, in a unit marked by inductive, rhetographical argumentation, the only two cases of truly rhetorical, deductive argumentation occur within a forensic context. In the first instance, the slave-owners charge Paul and Silas with disturbing the city by trying to persuade the people of Philippi to accept and practice customs that are not permissible to Romans (16:20-21). And in the second, Paul countercharges the magistrates with having transgressed Roman custom and law by beating and incarcerating Roman citizens without

²⁵⁴ “But Paul said to them [the lictors], ‘They have beaten us publicly, uncondemned, men who are Roman citizens, and have thrown us into prison; and do they now cast us out secretly? No! let them come themselves and take us out’” (Acts 16:37).

due legal process. The two rhetorical arguments form a charge and countercharge and evoke forensic, courtroom discourse.²⁵⁵ However, while the charges themselves are rhetorical, their effect is rhetographical. Whereas the goal of the magistrates' maltreatment of Paul and Silas was to frighten them out of Philippi, in yet another ironic twist to this unit's plot, upon learning that Paul and Silas are Romans, it is the magistrates who end up afraid. The only characters that are contextualized in terms of "fear" by the unit's end are the magistrates, and their fear stems from their knowledge that they had acted against Roman custom in denying Paul and Silas due judicial process. Ironically, in accepting and acting upon the words of the "κύριοι" (i.e., slave-owners), the magistrates become the ones who both receive and implement customs that are not lawful for Romans. The fear of the magistrates is not depicted in isolation but instead rhetographically contrasts with the courage that Paul and Silas manifested by "staying."

With the magistrates' final request to Paul and Silas to leave Philippi, the progressive/repetitive term *παρακαλέω* is used once more. As noted previously, while *παρακαλέω* is at times translated as "apologized" in Acts 16:39, its meaning lies closer to "placate."²⁵⁶ Progression often functions rhetorically through *distinctio*, where tension is created between the normal or customary meaning of a word and another particular emphasis of that word's meaning highlighted by means of its repetition. Moreover, this semantic tension between a customary meaning and the meaning emphasized in the particular discourse can either reinforce or disrupt the word's customary meaning.²⁵⁷ The positive emphasis on, or alternative negation of, the meaning of *παρακαλέω* and its iterations in the rhetorical unit is rhetorically significant. The Macedonian man's and Lydia's requests to Paul to come are

²⁵⁵ The fact that it was the slave-owners who made the initial charge against Paul and Silas, and now Paul countercharges the magistrates and not the slave-owners, only serves to emphasize inductively the close-knit social alliance between the slave-owners and the magistrates.

²⁵⁶ See page 71.

²⁵⁷ The semantic tension between normal meaning and the full emphatic meaning can be used positively (by the normal word being reinforced semantically in the emphasis) or negatively (when the normal word in the emphasis is denied its full meaning). Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, 296, par. 660.

consistent with the customary meaning of παρακαλέω, of calling someone to oneself.²⁵⁸

However, although the magistrates attempt to placate or conciliate with Paul and Silas, they do so in order to make them more cooperative to their request to leave. Rather than calling Paul and Silas to themselves, as would be suggested by the normative use of παρακαλέω, in the case of the magistrates the contrasting context for παρακαλέω is found in their desire to expel Paul and Silas from Philippi (Acts 16:39). This reversal of the normal meaning of παρακαλέω suggests that Luke uses *distinctio* strategically within a rhetorical progression. The rhetorical impact of this crucial progression will be explored more comprehensively in ideological texture.

After being asked by the magistrates to leave Philippi, Paul and Silas instead “stay” by visiting Lydia’s (Acts 16:40), and in so doing they literally fulfill Lydia’s request from Acts 16:15. The author leads us to an argumentative inference that Lydia is assessed as being faithful to God by the Pauline group since, as requested, they do go into her home and “stay” (lexically emphasized by the repetition of εἰσερχομαι in 16:15, 40).²⁵⁹ However, in keeping with all of the other gaps found throughout the narrative, the narrator does not account for the basis upon which Lydia is ultimately judged as being faithful. Nor does the narrative describe, or even explicitly mention, a house, nor the profile of those who were gathered at Lydia’s, beyond the masculine form of ἀδελφός pointing to at least one man in the assembly, and the term itself inferring believers. At Lydia’s, Paul and Silas “see” the gathered believers and encourage (παρακαλέω) the assembly (Acts 16:40). This final occurrence in the παρακαλέω progression works closely with both the quality of “fidelity” or “faithfulness,” as well as with courage and salvific faith. What constitutes salvific fidelity (πίστις) is revealed as an argumentative *topos* of significant concern to the author.

²⁵⁸ While the term παρακαλέω can have varied meanings including “to call to one’s side, urge, entreat, encourage, or conciliate,” BDAG s.v. “παρακαλέω.” “We begin by noting that the manifold linguistic use of [παρακαλέω]...goes back to the sense of ‘to call someone to oneself.’” TDNT s.v. παρακαλέω).

²⁵⁹ Technically, the consequent “come into my house and stay” has fulfilled the condition of the antecedent “if you have judged me to be faithful to the Lord” (Acts 16:15).

3.5.1 *Conclusion: Argumentative Texture.*

Our analysis of argumentative texture suggests that the author of Acts structures the rhetoric of Acts 16:9-40 primarily through inductive, rhetographical argumentation that makes deliberate use of ambiguity and argumentative gaps in the text. We can further suggest that these gaps, ambiguous situations, and events function to re-enforce those emotion-fused acts of interpretation and discernment that are used by the author to develop the narrative's plot and concurrently to develop the argumentative texture of the text. For, although argumentative gaps might disrupt argumentative logic and thereby fragment argumentative flow, when used strategically they can also trigger inductive connections that help an audience resolve the gaps and ambiguity.

Our earlier analysis of progressive texture provides grounds for suggesting that despite, or rather as a result of narrative and argumentative gaps in the text, the author leads the audience to make inductive connections throughout the narrative. When we progressively link the Macedonian man's call and Lydia's offer to the disciples, together with the progressive relationship between the we-group's interpretation of Paul's vision as a response of the delivery of "good news" to the Macedonians with Lydia's heart being divinely enabled to "listen" to Paul's preaching of the good news, we can suggest that Luke inductively overmaps the Macedonian man and his group with Lydia and the women. Going forward in the narrative, Lydia will rhetorically replace the role of the Macedonian man.²⁶⁰ The Macedonian man requested "help" from the Pauline group and they had understood that preaching the good news would deliver this help. After Lydia becomes the recipient of the good news she responds by another request to the Pauline group to evaluate her faith in God, and to come to her house and stay. Inductively, this new request extends and elabo-

²⁶⁰ As we will discuss in ideological texture, Lydia does not erase the image of the Macedonian man, but rather, the author blends Lydia's rhetorical profile with the Macedonian's for rhetorical effect.

rates the Macedonian man's. But, concurrently, Lydia's offer is expressed conditionally, and this condition that Lydia's fidelity to God needs first to be affirmed waits for a response throughout the remainder of the narrative. The author follows Lydia's request to the disciples with a series of narrative events that elaborate the meaning of fidelity to/faith in God. These illustrative examples, such as Paul's and Silas's decision to stay in prison, rhetorically develop the criteria for how Lydia's faith is to be evaluated. Through a complex inductive relationship between the Macedonian man and Lydia, the author argues that it is only through a positive affirmation of Lydia's faith that the "Macedonians" can receive their "help."

Although it has been possible for us to discern an argumentative texture to the rhetorical unit, much of our analysis has raised new and puzzling questions. For example, while the argumentative structure allows us to claim that the author has deliberately connected Lydia with the Macedonian man (and, too, with the slave-woman and the jailer), the basis for this connection seems incomprehensible at this point. For that reason, the next two phases of analysis, inter- and ideological textural, are critical. The rhetorical flow and unity of the text can become clear only after we discover, and relate back to the argumentative structure of the text, those intertextural elements and *topoi* that would have been automatically and naturally evoked in the minds of the audience.

3.6. Conclusion: Innertextural Analysis

Our analysis of innertexture has allowed us to situate narrative characters, events, and settings within a textually-based blueprint of the argumentative structure of the text. We can conclude, on the basis of our repetitive, progressive, narrational, and argumentative textural analyses that the author uses groups and their representatives, such as the Macedonian man and his people, Lydia and the women, Paul and the we-group, within a pattern of

calls between them, as evidenced by the παρακαλέω progression, in order to rhetorically define the ambiguously-termed sacred-social space of “place of prayer.” Although much of the narrative events unfold as a consequence of the we-group’s search for a place of prayer, the narrator never explicitly presents any one space, or group of people, as constituting a traditional Jewish prayer-house. Instead, highly ambiguous situations and argumentative gaps contribute to the author’s argument that a place of prayer, and its representative group, need to be discerned based upon a set of rhetorically presented evaluative criteria. Moreover, by inaugurating the rhetorical unit by the we-group’s interpretation of Paul’s vision as a call from God to deliver good news, the author inductively asserts that a place of prayer is a space that mediates the delivery of God’s good news.

As we suggested in our analysis of argumentative texture, through Lydia’s offer to the Pauline group the author fuses Lydia’s call with that of the Macedonian man’s in order to elaborate the implications of the call argumentatively. We saw that the major part of Luke’s argumentative objective is triggered through Lydia’s conditional offer, which calls upon the disciples to affirm that she is faithful to God. Within the series of ensuing paratactic episodes, Luke rhetographically illustrates what faith to God is, and is not, and thereby defines the boundaries for an assembly of those who would be evaluated as “faithful” to God. In ideological texture, we will argue that Luke uses the quality of fidelity/faith to substitute traditional criteria that would have governed culturally normative assessments of who belongs to, and thereby constitutes, a salvific house of prayer.

Chapter 4: Intertextural Analysis

4.1. *Introduction to Intertextural Analysis*

As originally conceived, intertextural analysis systematically worked through the various textures of intertexture (oral-scribal, social, cultural, and historic), and then followed these with two related textures: social and cultural, ideological and sacred.²⁶¹ However, since the time that this earlier template for analysis was formulated, SRI has developed into a *topos*-centered analytic. This shift toward the *topos* as an analytical lens requires a modified analytical approach. A key feature of a *topos* is its dynamism that is manifested through the way that a *topos* both interconnects elements and connects to other clusters of elements. A *topos* is itself a constellation of elements, but, too, it takes on its life as a *topos* by its being situated within a network of elements.²⁶² As a result of this defining feature of dynamic interconnectivity, one *topos* might draw upon several, at times over-lapping, textures. For example, we will see that the social identity of the Philippian slave-owners and magistrates as “Romans” takes on its rhetorical relevance within the culturally-located physiognomic profile of a Roman masculine ideal. Thus, an aspect of social intertexture—a Roman social identity—is relevant to us because of its physiognomic cultural portrayal.

In addition to shifting intertextural analysis’s methodological framework, a *topos*-centered approach presents a new set of challenges. One challenge comes from the variable nature of a *topos*. The ancients recognized that a *topos* can mean “subject matter indicator,” and it can also mean “scheme of argument.”²⁶³ Moreover, as Robbins’ work with “rhetorolects” has demonstrated, rhetoric can also employ localized rhetorical discourse modes, which operate through groupings of *topoi* embedded within argumentation.²⁶⁴ Such

²⁶¹ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts*, 40–94, 120–31.

²⁶² See page 37 above; cf. Bloomquist, “Paul’s Inclusive Language,” 174.

²⁶³ Sara Rubinelli, “The Ancient Argumentative Game: τόποι and *loci* in Action,” *Argumentation* 20 (2006): 253–72.

²⁶⁴ Cf. Vernon K. Robbins, *The Invention of Christian Discourse* (Rhetoric of Religious Antiquity Series 1;

is the case with a form of discourse, here named as “Lydian touchstone *synkrisis*,” that, at present, did not truly fit within the current structure of intertexture, and yet performs a key rhetographical argumentative role in the text. For lack of a more elegant solution, the discussion of Lydian touchstone *synkrisis* is located in Appendix 1.²⁶⁵

A more fundamental challenge to effectively presenting the intertexture of *topoi* stems from the function of a *topos*. A *topos* is a component of rhetorical discourse, therefore its most basic function is argumentative. However, intertextual analysis does not truly take on its rhetorical shape until the findings of intertexture are integrated with ideological texture. Therefore, at times it is difficult to present intertexture within an argumentative flow. The problem of how to present intertexture coherently is only compounded when a text is marked by rhetographical argumentation, which by its very nature operates from a mental elaboration that goes beyond the words found on the pages of the text. As a result, until the illumination of ideological texture, certain intertextual topics might leave a reader scratching her or his head as to why they are being discussed, since they do not appear to be suggested by the words of the text. The rhetographical role of Lydian touchstone *synkrisis* makes for an illustrative example. Undoubtedly, SRI interpreters will find a better solution to the challenge of presenting intertextual data than this current project has managed to do. In the meantime, we will investigate intertexture through the framework of *topoi* in the following sections. In such a framework, oral-scribal, social, cultural, sacred, and historic elements will be discussed when, and only if, they might benefit our understanding of relevant *topoi* and how they are used argumentatively.

First, we will see that Paul’s vision introduces a network of military elements. The vision evokes a cultural understanding of the vision itself; the social identity of the Macedonian man and the cultural echoes it evokes; the literary-historical contextualization of what the man says; and, the cultural understanding of the historic-geographic setting for the

Blandford Forum, England: Deo, 2009).

²⁶⁵ Cf. page 283.

vision. Second, we will explore how Lydia's social identity as a Lydian woman evokes a strong cultural characterization, and how the socio-cultural symbolic meaning ascribed to purple, as well as to "seller," join with Lydia's ethnic identity to develop a clearly defined character frame. As a result of this investigation, we will understand how it is possible to suggest that Lydia's socio-religious descriptive attribute, worshiper of God, clashes with the other elements of her identity. Further, it will become apparent just how incongruent a fit the Sabbath setting of "place of prayer" is with Lydia's profile. Third, we will look at which social and cultural codes were relevant to the social model of hospitality in the particular case of Lydia's offer to the disciples. Fourth, we will see that when the slave-owners frame their accusation as an affront to Roman custom they invoke physiognomic Roman social identity as well as the social code of honour. Within such a competition for honour, Philippi's penal system and its network of social alliances play vital roles. Fifth, we will see that Paul's and Silas's imprisonment evokes other stories of miraculous prison-escapes. Sixth, Paul's and Silas's imprisonment raises the prison *topos* to prominence, which involves the historic conditions of first-century prisons, the cultural depiction of the social role of jailers, and the social role of punishment. Together these, as well as several tangential intertextual elements, will inform our ability to understand the *topoi* that shape the rhetorical development of the text, and consequently to perceive how they function in the ideological texture of the text.

4.2. Paul's Vision of the Macedonian Man: Military Topoi

In the upcoming sections we will see that, first and foremost, Paul's vision would have been located by early audiences within a military discourse frame.²⁶⁶ By military discourse we mean a rhetorical mode of discourse that concerns the motives, strategies and responses

²⁶⁶ The term "frame" is understood as an organizing structure for the elements found within it; cf. page 59.

of leaders, their advisors, and their fighting units to an expectation of violent confrontation between groups of people, as well as the events of these confrontations, e.g, battles, sieges, and their outcomes. We can identify the presence of military discourse when we see a conglomeration of some of the following types of *topoi*: “warriors,” “arms,” “armies/navies,” “military campaigns,” “battles/warfare,” “military supplies,” “victory/defeat,” and “allies/enemies.”

The presence of military discourse is not unexpected; in fact its absence would be suspect in an ancient historiography. As J.E. Lendon put it so accurately: “war eclipses all other subjects in the classical historians.”²⁶⁷ Moreover, war had its own mode of discourse, and as Lendon astutely points out, it was a rhetorical mode that reflected culture as much as, or perhaps more than, it reflected the actual events of the battlefield.²⁶⁸ In fact, as Lendon explains, “the way ancient authors describe the details of battle can tell us about the mental rigging of the societies in which they lived.”²⁶⁹

A subset of military discourse might be considered to be “holy war” discourse. Holy war discourse concerns violent confrontation on a cosmic scale that is expected to lead to eschatological victory between those who are characterized as divinely sanctioned “righteous” and the forces of evil. In addition to those *topoi* that might be found in military discourse generally, holy war discourse is evidenced by the following kinds of *topoi*: “warrior god (directly and/or through agency),” “holiness/righteousness,” “judgment/punishment,” “evil/corruption,” and “eschatological end-times.” By evoking a military discourse frame through the network of elements associated with Paul’s vision, Luke draws upon messianic “holy war” expectations that, evidenced by the disciples’ hopeful question “Lord, will you at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?” (Acts 1:6), have permeated Acts from its opening chapter.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁷ J.E. Lendon, “The Rhetoric of Combat: Greek Military Theory and Roman Culture in Julius Caesar’s Battle Descriptions,” *Classical Antiquity* 18, no. 2 (1999): 273.

²⁶⁸ Lendon, “The Rhetoric of Combat,” 275.

²⁶⁹ Lendon, “The Rhetoric of Combat,” 275.

²⁷⁰ For an investigation of the “holy war” *topos* in Luke-Acts, cf. L. Gregory Bloomquist and Priscilla

As we will discuss further in “Ideological Texture”, it is especially such *topoi* of “expectations” inherently found in holy war discourse that are used rhetorically in Luke-Acts. Luke’s concern for the means of salvific victory is at the heart of the discourse inaugurated by Paul’s vision. It provides the rhetorical force that generates a dialectical tension between victory achieved and victory yet to be realized.²⁷¹ We have seen the author develop this dialectical tension throughout Luke-Acts. In the Gospel for example, Jesus frames the process governing the decision as to whether to commit to discipleship in terms of a king taking stock of his military strength and gauging the chances of his army’s success in battle (Luke 14:31-33). Yet as Jesus argues, strength in discipleship will come from “renouncing all,” and “success” will involve a willingness to follow Jesus to the cross.²⁷² We will see that the episode in Philippi elaborates this contrast between conventionally expected means of battle and benefits of military victory and the means and outcome of God’s salvific victory.

From within this trajectory of anticipated salvific victory we shall see how Luke continues to draw upon a Gentile *topos* in the rhetorical unit, a *topos* that evidences apocalyptic discourse and that has been recurrent throughout Luke-Acts.²⁷³ Although the episode

Geisterfer Nyvlt, “Rhetorical Strategies for ‘Holy War’ in Some Second Temple Texts: Overview, Analysis, and Implications” (Paper Presented at Conference on Rhetorics, Violence, and Evil; University of Redlands, Redlands, Calif., 23–24 January 2004).

²⁷¹ Some commentators have missed the dialectical argumentation that the blend of frames evoked by Paul’s vision puts into motion. For example, John Miller points to the work of Alfred Wikenhauser as representative of interpretations that see Paul’s vision as a call to Alexander-style conquest: “Wikenhauser compares Luke’s description of Paul’s vision to those attributed to a number of key historical figures. He discusses the visionary impetus of Alexander described by Josephus (*Ant.* 11.322–339), and also the apparition that compelled Julius Caesar to cross the Rubicon (Suetonius, *Jul.* 32)...He likens Paul to Alexander and Caesar, and Paul’s vision and its result to those of Alexander and Caesar. In this analysis, Paul’s crossing into Macedonia takes on the monumental importance of Alexander’s conquest of the East and Caesar’s decision to claim power in Rome.” John B. Faulkenberry Miller, *Convinced That God Had Called Us: Dreams, Visions and the Perception of God’s Will in Luke-Acts* (Biblical Interpretation Series, Vol. 85; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 68–69; cf. Alfred Wikenhauser, “Religionsgeschichtliche Parallelen zu Apg 16, 9,” *Biblische Zeitschrift* 23 (1935–1936): 180–186. The rhetorical effect of the blended military frames will be discussed in “Ideological Texture.”

²⁷² On Luke 14:31-33, also cf. page 265.

²⁷³ For Luke’s rhetorical use of Gentile *topoi* in apocalyptic discourse found in Luke-Acts, cf. L. Gregory Bloomquist, “Rhetorical Argumentation and the Culture of Apocalyptic: A Socio-Rhetorical Analysis of Luke 21,” in *The Rhetorical Interpretation of Scripture: Essays from the 1996 Malibu Conference* (ed. Stanley E. Porter and Dennis L. Stamps; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 173–209;

with Cornelius explicitly engages with the role of the Gentile *topos*, Luke 7:1-10 foreshadows the breakthrough with Cornelius and forms part of the trajectory of argumentation involving universal access to salvation that employs Gentile and military *topoi* in Luke-Acts. The Centurion, introduced in the narrative through his relationship to the Jewish community, humbles himself and calls Jesus by the honorific “lord.” In response, Jesus asserts that he has never found such faith “even in Israel.” In this manner Luke inductively frames the Roman military leader as a “faithful Israelite” and hints at what will become explicit in Acts. In Acts 10:1-48 Peter’s encounter with Cornelius punctuates the narrative’s development of the *topos* of universal access to salvation and provides a jarring, visual image of the *topos*. It is in the subsequent chapters, however, including those that take place in Macedonia, that we begin to see evidence of the fuller implications of this universal access. Gentiles will be seen to be not merely recipients of salvation, but also increasingly to be members of the salvific community that *mediates* that very salvation. With the we-group’s entry into Philippi, Luke will emphasize this growing shift to “Gentile” territory through his use of particularly Hellenistic, Greek, and Roman elements in the rhetorical unit.

4.2.1 *Topos of Troas: Military Launching Point.*

The Pauline group’s sweep through a large swath of geographic territory on its approach to Troas, followed by a Hellespont sea crossing resonates with historiographic descriptions of the movement of armies. Troas, the location for Paul’s vision, evoked other legendary Hellespont crossings between East and West within military campaigns. Troas was not only legendary from Homer’s account of the Trojan War, but also significantly it was located at a natural crossing point bridging East and West, where such crossings fea-

“The Intertexture of Lukan Apocalyptic Discourse,” in *The Intertexture of Apocalyptic Discourse in the New Testament* (ed. Duane F. Watson; Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series 14; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), 45–68; “The Role of the Audience”.

tured regularly in expansionary military campaigns.²⁷⁴ For example, Alexander the Great enjoyed his first military success in a battle at Troas after crossing over from Macedonia, gaining his foothold into Asia.²⁷⁵ As a result of its prominence in Homer's epics and its historic, strategic, geographic location, Troas developed a conventional association with military campaigns and was also known as a site of "numerous tombs of heroes."²⁷⁶

4.2.2 *The Macedonian Topos.*

The Macedonian identity of Paul's visionary visitor is highly significant. Discussions about Macedonia in ancient writing most commonly featured "kings and conquests," where two of the most famous Macedonians were Philip II and his son, Alexander the Great.²⁷⁷ Moreover, Alexander continued to loom large in writers' imaginations in early antiquity, and audiences would have naturally associated a militarily configured Macedonian male, if not with Alexander specifically, then at least with that of an Alexander-type warrior.²⁷⁸ The close link between Macedonians and warriors is well illustrated in Josephus's description of a fighting unit that was self-named "the Macedonians" not due to their ethnicity, but rather to how they were "armed and trained in the Macedonian fashion." When this unit was unsuccessful in its affront on Jerusalem, Josephus sardonically con-

²⁷⁴ Herodotus lists the Phrygians, Macedonians, Lydians, Mysians and Bithynians in his catalogue of armies and navies mobilized by Persian king Xerxes in his crossing of the Hellespont (*Histories* 7.73-75).

²⁷⁵ "Troas," *ODCW*

²⁷⁶ Jennifer K. Berenson, "The Allusive Man of Macedonia," paper presented at The Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting (Boston, 2008).

²⁷⁷ Robert Malcolm Errington, "Macedonia, Macedones," *BNP*.

²⁷⁸ Cf. Plutarch, *On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander*; Arrian, *Anabasis*; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 11.304-347. While several commentators have mentioned a possible link between Paul's vision in Acts 16 and Josephus's account of Alexander the Great's at Dium, Bloomquist has more closely focused on the possibility of a correspondence in a work dedicated to the issue. Points of resonance between Alexander's vision and Paul's include Alexander's Macedonian identity, each seeing a man, each vision needing interpretation and each vision being interpreted as a divine commission requiring a sea-crossing between Asia and Macedonia; cf. L. Gregory Bloomquist, "A Parallel to Paul's Vision in Acts 16:9?" working draft (2008) I am indebted to Bloomquist for sharing his insights regarding Paul's vision and Alexander's.

cluded that “even genuine Macedonians, if they are to conquer, must have Alexander’s fortune (τύχης)” (Josephus, *Jewish War* 5.465 [Thackeray, LCL]).

The appearance of a Macedonian man, when framed within military discourse, distinctly evoked powerful warriors. Moreover, the conquering warrior image evoked by the Macedonian further develops through Philippi’s name. The city’s moniker came from Philip II, father of Alexander the Great, after he subsumed the former Crenides under his growing dominion.²⁷⁹ It was the site of two battles in 42 B.C.E. when Octavian and Mark Antony defeated Cassius and Brutus, subsequent to which it was made a Roman colony, and following Octavian’s defeat of Antony in 31 B.C.E. (battle of Actium), renamed *Colonia Julia Augusta Philippensis* after Augustus’s daughter.²⁸⁰

4.2.3 *Topos of Sanctioning Dream-Visions.*

Paul’s dream-vision might fall into one of two common dream-vision categories: salvific and political/military. Salvific dream-visions concerned the rescue of an individual or a people from imminent or potential harm. Such salvific dream-visions, notes Bloomquist, “dramatically narrate divine interventions to save or safeguard holy places.”²⁸¹ More generally, salvific dream-visions concerned the rescue of an individual or a people under divine favour from imminent or potential harm. An example of individual rescue includes a dream-vision warning issued to Themistocles from “the Mother of the Gods” which thwarts a plot against his life.²⁸² In the normal course of events it was the dreamer

²⁷⁹ “This seems to be the first instance of the practice, later so common, of naming cities for a king.” *The Library of History*, in *Diodorus of Sicily in Twelve Volumes* (vol. 7; trans. Charles L. Sherman; 1952; repr., Loeb Classical Library 389; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980), 243, n. 5.

²⁸⁰ Joseph H. Hellerman, *Reconstructing Honor in Roman Philippi: Carmen Christi as Cursus Pudorum* (Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 132; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 65.

²⁸¹ Bloomquist, “A Parallel to Paul’s Vision,” 13.

²⁸² Plutarch, *Themistocles* 30.

“The Mother of the Gods,” refers to “Rhea, Cybele, Magna Mater, called also Dindymené from Mount Dindymon, Phrygia.” *Plutarch, Lives*, 83, n. 1.

who either individually, or along with his or her community benefited from rescue from danger. In Paul's case, however, not only will Paul the dreamer be physically harmed in Philippi, but, as ideological texture will discuss, his prison experience will be marked by "stay" rather than rescue. Salvation will feature in Paul's dream vision, but it will do so by blending with other elements, most notably with the element of εὐαγγέλιον. The element of salvation *will* be introduced through the we-group's interpretation of Paul's dream-vision, but not by the dream-vision itself.

Prior to its interpretation, Paul's dream-vision most closely resembled other similar messenger dream-visions involving a man or woman who stood over a general or political leader and encouraged the dreamer's next decisive steps. Authors such as Herodotus commonly recounted how a general or a statesman was moved to take military action, often comprising the next step in a campaign, on the basis of information conveyed through a dream-vision. For example, the Persian king Xerxes is visited by a vision of "a tall and goodly (εὐειδής) man" who urges an attack on the Greeks (Herodotus, *Histories* 7. 12). Suetonius describes how a vision assuaged Caesar's doubt before he decided to take action against Pompey:

On a sudden there appeared hard by a being of wondrous stature and beauty, who sat and played upon a reed; and when not only the shepherds flocked to hear him, but many of the soldiers left their posts, and among them some of the trumpeters, the apparition snatched a trumpet from one of them, rushed to the river, and sounding the war-note with mighty blast, strode to the opposite bank. Then Caesar cried: 'Take we the course which the signs of the gods and the false dealing of our foes point out. The die is cast,' said he. Accordingly, crossing with his army... (Suetonius, *The Deified Julius* 32–33 [Rolfe, LCL]).

Such dream-visions moved a leader to action expressly because the dreamer anticipated divine support.²⁸³

²⁸³ Dream-visions are covered by Cicero in a list of *topoi* dealing with divine testimony: "The testimony of the gods is covered thoroughly enough by the following: first, utterances, for oracles get their name from the fact that they contain an utterance (*oratio*) of the gods; secondly, things in which are embodied certain works of the gods. First, the heavens themselves and all their order and beauty; secondly, the flight of birds through the air and their songs; thirdly, sounds and flashes of fire from the heavens, and portents given by many objects on earth, as well as the foreshadowing of events which is revealed by the entrails (of sacrificial animals). Many things also are revealed by visions seen in sleep. The testimony of the gods is at times

Visions communicated divine sanction and, as a result of this perceived divine support, strengthened the courage of leaders and/or troops. Alexander, who is usually depicted as receiving visions and/or oracles which simply affirm his own prior decisions, nonetheless is “further persuaded” in his plan to attack Tyre by a dream-vision of Hercules stretching out his right hand and “conducting him into the city” (*Anabasis* 2.18.1 [Brunt, LCL]). Even authors who did not give credence to dream-visions nonetheless related them as a conventional element used by leaders to strengthen the courage and resolve of their warriors. Polybius (who personally scoffed at the credibility of dream-visions; *Fragments* 21) relates that when the Roman general Scipio wished to rally his troops, he first outlined the benefits of success and then promised rewards to those who displayed acts of courage, ending with the assurance:

that it was Neptune [Poseidon] who had first suggested this plan to him, appearing to him in his sleep, and promising that when the time for the action came he would render such conspicuous aid that his intervention would be manifest to the whole army. (*The Histories* 10.11.7-8 [Paton, LCL])

Scipio’s persuasive speech generated the intended effect: “great enthusiasm and ardour” in the troops (*The Histories* 10.11.7). Biblically, we have the example of Judas Maccabeus who encouraged his troops by recounting a vision:

Onias, who had been high priest...was praying with outstretched hands for the whole body of the Jews. Then likewise a man appeared, distinguished by his gray hair and dignity, and of marvelous majesty and authority. And Onias spoke, saying, “This is a man who loves the brethren and prays much for the people and the holy city, Jeremiah, the prophet of God.”
Jeremiah stretched out his right hand and gave to Judas a golden sword, and as he gave it he addressed him thus: “Take this holy sword, a gift from God, with which you will strike down your adversaries.” (2 Maccabees 15:12-16)

As a final example, Plutarch describes a dream-vision that the Roman general Lucullus experienced at Troas that immediately prompted his setting out to sea for battle:

Lucullus, in the first place, entered Cyzicus in triumph, and enjoyed the pleasant welcome which was his due; then he proceeded to the Hellespont, and began to equip a fleet. On visiting the Troad, he pitched his tent in the sacred precinct of Aphrodite, and in the night, after he had fallen asleep, he thought he saw the god-

adduced from these topics *in order to win conviction.*” Cicero, *Topica* 20.77 (Hubbell, LCL); emphasis own.

dess standing over him and saying: ‘Why dost thou sleep, great lion? The fawns are near for the taking.’ Rising up from sleep and calling his friends, he narrated to them his vision, while it was yet night. And lo, there came certain men from Ilium, with tidings that thirteen of the king’s galleys had been seen off the harbour of the Achaeans, making for Lemnos. Accordingly, Lucullus put to sea at once (Plutarch, *Lucullus* 12.1-3 [Perrin, LCL]).

As these examples illustrate, dream-visions in a political/military context all functioned in a similar manner: they inferred divine sanction for the vision, and as a result they helped to fortify the courage of a leader and/or troops and thus moved a leader to take immediate military action.

Judas Maccabeus’s address to his troops in 2 Maccabees 15 provides an excellent biblical illustration of how a military leader could blend good news of past victories with an expectation of divine help, supported by a divine vision, in order to ready his troops for battle. Judas, confident “that he would get help from the Lord,” “exhorted (παρεκάλει) his men not to fear the attack of the Gentiles, but to keep in mind the former times when help (βοηθήματα) had come to them from heaven, and now to look for the victory which the Almighty would give them” (2 Macc 15:7-8). Buoyed by the promise of divine help, the courage of the troops was aroused (2 Macc 15:9). Building on this, Maccabeus moved on to the standard warrant of divine favour accorded to military leaders—the divinely sent dream-vision (2 Macc 15:12-16). Judas’s address to his men garners the expected response:

Encouraged by the words of Judas, so noble and effective in arousing valor and awaking manliness [i.e. courage] in the souls of the young, they determined not to carry on a campaign but to attack bravely, and to decide the matter, by fighting hand to hand with all courage (2 Macc 15:17).

The result of the battle is victory for Judas’s army.

Accounts of divine salvation were as common in Greek and Roman culture, and elements of divine favour and promises of victory worked in similar manner transculturally. Josephus offers an illustrative and fascinating example of how the framework of divine salvation from military conflict functioned panculturally as he interweaves his own version of the account of Jerusalem’s rescue from the Assyrians together with OT accounts, a story

from Herodotus, and an account from Berossus.²⁸⁴ Three accounts in the OT (2 Kings 18-19; 2 Chronicles 32:1-23; Isaiah 36-37) tell of the threat of a looming attack from Assyrian king Sennacherib facing Judah's King Hezekiah. Hezekiah relies on the courage-inducing anticipation of God's salvific intervention:

he set combat commanders over the people, and gathered them together to him in the square at the gate of the city and spoke encouragingly to them,²⁸⁵ saying, 'Be strong and of good courage. Do not be afraid or dismayed before the king of Assyria and all the horde that is with him; for there is one greater with us than with him. With him is an arm of flesh; but with us is the Lord our God, to help us and to fight our battles.' And the people took confidence from the words of Hezekiah king of Judah (2 Chron 32:6-8).

In each version, Sennacherib mocks the ability of God to rescue his people and points out that no one else's gods have managed to stave off the Assyrian advance. Hezekiah prays to God for help (2 Kings 19:14-19; 2 Chr 32:20; Isa 37:14-20) and in response God sends "an angel of the Lord" to rout the Assyrian army leaving Sennacherib to withdraw in defeat.²⁸⁶

Josephus refers to Hezekiah's deliverance in *Jewish Antiquities* but varies the OT accounts. In *Ant.* Sennacherib retreats upon hearing that "Tharsikēs, the king of Ethiopia, was coming to the aid of the Egyptians with a large force and had decided to make the journey through the desert and fall upon the Assyrians suddenly" (*Jewish Antiquities* 10.17 [Marcus, LCL]). According to Josephus, it is the news of auxiliary military aid that delivers the people. However, careful not to supplant the divine element entirely, Josephus blends the OT account with a story told by Herodotus of the deliverance of the Egyptian pharaoh from Assyrian attack, and then follows this with an account from Berossus.

²⁸⁴ "Priest of Bēl/Marduk, contemporary of Alexander the Great's, author of Chaldean history in three volumes for Antiochus I." Pongratz-Leisten, "Berossus," *BNP*.

²⁸⁵ The idiom used in the LXX is literally "spoke into their hearts" (ἐλάλησεν ἐπὶ καρδίαν) and functions as a synonym of παρακαλέω.

²⁸⁶ "That very night the angel of the Lord set out and struck down one hundred eighty-five thousand in the camp of the Assyrians: when morning dawned, they were all dead bodies" (2 Kings 19:35); "And the Lord sent an angel who cut off all the mighty warriors and commanders and officers in the camp of the king of Assyria" (2 Chr 32:21); "Then the angel of the Lord set out and struck down one hundred eighty-five thousand in the camp of the Assyrians; when morning dawned, they were all dead bodies" (Isa 37:36).

In Herodotus's version, the Egyptian pharaoh Sethos had earlier alienated the Egyptian warriors. When Sennacherib marches his army against the Egyptians, the Egyptian warriors refuse to form an army (expressed through language of βοηθέω: οὐκὼν δὴ ἐθέλειν τοὺς μαχίμους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Βοηθέειν). Sethos goes into his temple, cries to the god (Ptah/Hephaestus),²⁸⁷ where, falling asleep, in a vision he sees,

the god standing over him and bidding him take courage (θαρσύνειν), for he should suffer no ill by encountering the host of Arabia: 'Myself,' said the god, 'will send you champions (τιμωροὺς).'²⁸⁸ So he trusted the vision, and encamped at Pelusium with such Egyptians as would follow him, for here is the road into Egypt; and none of the warriors would go with him, but only hucksters (καπήλους) and artificers (χειρώνακτας) and traders (ἀγοραίους). Their enemies too came thither, and one night a multitude of fieldmice swarmed over the Assyrian camp and devoured their quivers and their bows and the handles of their shields likewise, insomuch that they fled the next day unarmed and many fell. And at this day a stone statue of the Egyptian king stands in Hephaestus' temple, with a mouse in his hand, and an inscription to this effect: 'Look on me, and fear the gods (εὐσεβῆς ἔστω).' (*Histories* 2.141).

Josephus situates Herodotus's story within the Assyrian advance on Judah and reconfigures Herodotus's version, which speaks of the Egyptian ruler crying out to Hephaestus/Ptah, and instead has the Pharaoh cry out to God, who then harkens to his prayer by sending the mice (*Jewish Antiquities* 10.18). Herodotus's account is then followed by Berossus's (no extant version remains) which claimed that the one hundred and eighty thousand Assyrians fell due to a "pestilential sickness" that had been visited upon them by God (*Jewish Antiquities* 10.21). Josephus finishes off by noting the requisite thanksgiving for salvation and referring to God as a military ally:

Having been thus wonderfully delivered from the fate which he feared, King Hezekiah together with all the people offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God,

²⁸⁷ The god in question is the Egyptian god Ptah, "an ancient deity of Memphis, creator of the universe, god of artisans, and husband of Sekhmet" ("Ptah" *The Oxford Dictionary of English* (revised edition). Ed. Catherine Soanes and Angus Stevenson. Oxford University Press, 2005. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. University of Ottawa. 12 April 2010 <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t140.e62463>>) who was known by the Greeks as Hephaestus (the name used in Herodotus' account), the Greek god of fire, artisans and blacksmiths (Fritz Graf "Hephaestus" *The Oxford Companion to Classical Civilization*. Ed. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth. Oxford University Press, 1998. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. University of Ottawa. 12 April 2010 <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t133.e308>>).

²⁸⁸ More accurately, 'defenders,' or 'avengers.'

for the destruction of some of the enemy and the removal of the rest from Jerusalem had no other cause than the aid given by their ally God. (*Jewish Antiquities* 10.24–25 [Marcus, LCL])

By telling his own version of the OT accounts along with Herodotus's Sethos story and Berossus's version, Josephus manages to distance the cause of the salvation from a purely miraculous supernatural intervention without removing the divine salvific element entirely.

Paul's dream-vision begins as a military/political dream-vision, and once the we-group characterizes it as a call from God to convey "good news," the element of anticipated divine support becomes more pronounced.²⁸⁹ Without the we-group's interpretation of Paul's dream-vision as a call from God to announce "good news," the visionary experience of a Macedonian man's call lacked the requisite divine element. When the call of the Macedonian is coupled with a perceived call from God through the element of *εὐαγγελίζομαι*, however, the sense of divine involvement expands from a dream-vision's sanctioning agent to a participating warrior-God who intervenes directly. When the Pauline group sets off to Philippi, they do so not only with the expectation of divine favour but also, through the military frame contextualizing *εὐαγγελίζομαι*, of a manifestation of divine victory. When instead Paul and Silas will find themselves beaten and publicly dishonoured, the rather delicate issue of how it is they can claim divine salvation without clear signs of victory, an issue that confronted Christianity from its earliest inception, will become a pressing concern.

²⁸⁹ S. Cohen proposes three means of soteriological divine military intervention: "the gods could personally participate in the battle (e.g., the Dioscuri might temporarily assume human form and join the ranks of the victorious army); natural and supernatural phenomena could be turned against the enemy (e.g., lightning, thunder, rainstorm, boulders from heaven and so forth); or less commonly, the god might appear in a dream either to the pious defenders (with a message of encouragement or advice) or to the insolent aggressors (with a message of warning)." The first two of Cohen's categories can be accepted as proposed, but the third unwittingly slips away from the means through which divine salvation is effected to forms of divine encouragement. Direct salvific divine intervention that was salvific in and of itself needs to be distinguished from divine intervention that acted upon human participants as a motivating force. Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Alexander the Great and Jaddus the High Priest According to Josephus," *Association for Jewish Studies Review* 7/8 (1982/1983): 49 I am indebted to Bloomquist's "A Parallel to Paul's Vision" for directing me to Cohen's work.

4.2.4 *Topos of Military Call for Aid.*

The Macedonian man's plea for "help," βοηθέω, which "starts from the military sense, so common in Greek historians,"²⁹⁰ triggers a swift sea crossing and emphasizes its etymological origin—"to run on a call to help."²⁹¹ In fact, in the narrative of the Macedonian's request to Paul two terms are used: παρακαλέω, "to call to one's side," and βοηθέω, that were exceedingly common to the point of being formulaic, either together or separately, in requests for support of military campaigns. Polybius's account of a number of peoples calling for Philip V of Macedon's military help during the First Macedonian War is representative of many such accounts using these terms:

The Aetolians...were terrorizing and threatening everyone by land while the Romans and Attalus were doing the same by sea. The Achaeans therefore came to Philip to beg (παρακαλοῦντες) for his help (βοηθεῖν), for they were not only in dread of the Aetolians but of Machanidas, as he was hovering with his army on the Argive frontier. The Boeotians, who were afraid of the enemy's fleet, begged (ἤτουν) for a commander and for succour (βοήθειαν), but the inhabitants of Euboea were the most energetic of all in their instances to Philip to take precautions against the enemy. The Acarnanians made the same request... The Aetolians also had occupied the pass of Thermopylae...feeling sure that they thus shut out Philip and prevented him from coming to help (παραβοηθεῖν) his allies beyond the pass. (*The Histories* 10.41.1–6 [Paton LCL]).²⁹²

From this perspective of divinely-assisted military victory, we see Josephus recount 2 Samuel 18:19, 28:

Then Achimas, the son of the high priest Sadok, went to Joab and asked him for permission to go and announce the victory to David and bring him the good news (εὐαγγελίσασθαι) that he had obtained help (τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας) and guidance from God...Achimas appeared and did obeisance to the king, and, in answer to his inquiry about the battle, announced the welcome news of a decisive victory (νίκην εὐαγγελίζεται καὶ κράτος) (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 7.245, 250 [Thackeray and Marcus, LCL])

²⁹⁰ MM s.v. "βοηθέω.

²⁹¹ Bächsel, "βοηθέω," *TDNT* 1:628.

²⁹² A sample of cases where βοηθέω refers to military aid and support includes: Thucydides (c. 455–400 B.C.E.) 5.67.3, 4, 6; 68.2; Plutarch, *Pericles* 29.1, 2, 3; *Aratus* 49.2; Polybius, *The Histories* 2.51.1; Herodotus, *Histories* 5.89 (now at the Thebans' call (ἐπικαλομένων) the Aeginetans came readily to the aid (ἐβοήθειον) of the Boeotians); *Histories* 7.145 ("praying aid for Hellas/κελεύσοντας βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἑλλάδι); Josephus, *The Life* 287–288.

The LXX also includes examples of βοηθέω in requests for military aid:

So King Adoni-bezec king of Jerusalem sent to Elam king of Hebron, and to Phidon king of Jerimuth, and to Jephtha king of Lachis, and to Dabin king of Odollam, saying, ‘Come up and help me (δεῦτε ἀνάβητε πρὸς με καὶ βοηθήσατέ μοι), and let us take Gabaon; for the Gabaonites have gone over to Joshua and to the children of Israel’ (Joshua 10:3-4 LXX).

Due to its military frame, the Macedonian’s call evoked a specific type of request: “send fortifying support for a military campaign.” It was not a general call for “help” or rescue as might come from a drowning person or from a city that has been struck by a natural disaster.

Typically, the requisitioned lack involved material or human resources, such as food, troops, arms, ships, or any other goods, or fighting men that the party involved in the conflict was deficient in.²⁹³ By responding positively to a call, the respondent concurrently entered into alliance with the party calling, so that in most cases a call for aid was also a *de facto* call for alliance. To render “joint aid,” συμβοηθέω, meant to ally in combat, making military “help” synonymous with “alliance.” One such example is found in 1 Kings 21:16 LXX where English translations (1 Kings 20:16) alternately refer to the collective of thirty-two kings who, together with “their horses and chariots,” fought alongside King Ben-hadad of Aram as “those who helped (συμβοηθοί) him” (RSV) or “those who allied with him” (NRSV). Responding in “help” drew the respondent together with the caller into a military alliance.²⁹⁴

Military alliances, even in times of peace, were highly focused on delineating between friend and enemy. Most especially, military calls for aid, being in their essence calls for resources, were acutely concerned with dedicating the sought after resources to friends and

²⁹³ One example is found in the Sicilian Gelon’s response to a Greek call for help: I am ready to send to your aid (βοηθέειν) two hundred triremes [war ships], twenty thousand men-at-arms, two thousand horse, two thousand archers, two thousand slingers, and two thousand light-armed men to run with horsemen; and I undertake that I will furnish provision for the whole Greek army till we have made an end of the war. (Herodotus, *Histories* 7.158 [Godley, LCL])

²⁹⁴ For συμβοηθός; συμβοηθέω; συμβοήθεια, see also Thucydides 2.82.1; Thucydides 3.105.2; Xenophon, *Agesilaus* 1.38.

withholding them from common enemies. For example, according to Josephus, when Alexander calls to the Jewish high priest for fortifying aid in support of his siege of Tyre, his call explicitly also demands a shift of alliance:

And Alexander, coming to Syria, took Damascus, became master of Sidon and besieged Tyre; from there he dispatched a letter to the high priest of the Jews, requesting him to send him assistance (συμμαχίαν) and supply his army with provisions and give him the gifts which they had formerly sent as tribute to Darius, thus choosing the friendship of the Macedonians, for, he said, they would not regret this course. But the high priest replied to the bearers of the letter that he had given his oath to Darius not to take up arms against him and said that he would never violate this oath so long as Darius remained alive. (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 11.317–318 [Marcus, LCL])

In another example, Croesus, in his war with Cyrus, intends to “invite help from the Egyptians (παρακαλέσας μὲν Αἰγυπτίους) in fulfilment of their pledge (for before making an alliance (συμμαχίη) with the Lacedaemonians he had made one also with Amasis king of Egypt)” (Herodotus, *Histories* 1.77 [Godley, LCL]). So tightly clustered were elements of military aid and alliance that the term for alliance—συμμαχέω—could also mean military aid or help, as it does in Alexander’s call above, whereas the noun συμμαχία could even more directly mean “allied or auxiliary force.”²⁹⁵ Military help and military alliance were simply two facets of the same coin.²⁹⁶ Responses to calls for military aid defined who was friend and who was enemy in a conflict, since in delivering aid a party also allied itself with

²⁹⁵ LSJ, s.v. “συμμαχέω,” “συμμαχία.” Two examples from Josephus: “when Jerusalem, our capital, was besieged, and the Temple, which was common to us all, was in danger of falling into the enemy’s hands, they sent no assistance (συμμαχίαν οὐκ ἔπεμψαν), wishing to avoid all suspicion of having borne arms against the Romans” (Josephus, *The Life* 348 [Thackeray, LCL]); “After he [Senacheirimos] had spent a great deal of time on the siege of Pelusium, and the earthworks which he was raising against the walls had already reached a great height, and he was on the point of attacking, he heard that Tharsikēs, the king of Ethiopia, was coming to the aid of the Egyptians with a large force (πολλὴν ἄγοντα δύναμιν ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις) and had decided to make the journey through the desert and fall upon the Assyrians suddenly” (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 10.17 [Marcus, LCL]).

²⁹⁶ Examples of alliance interwoven with military aid can also be found in the OT and LXX: “Your wives, your little ones, and your livestock shall remain in the land that Moses gave you beyond the Jordan. But all the warriors among you shall cross over armed before your kindred and shall help them (συμμαχήσετε αὐτοῖς)” (Joshua 1:14); “They helped (συνεμάχησαν) David against the band of raiders for they were all warriors and commanders in the army” (1 Chronicles 12:22); “Now then you will do well to send me men who will help me (συμμαχήσουσίν μοι), for all my troops have revolted” (1 Maccabees 11:43); “And Simon sent to Antiochus two thousand picked men, to fight for him (συμμαχήσαι), and silver and gold and much military equipment” (1 Maccabees 15:26).

the petitioner. The Macedonian man calls for aid in language reminiscent of numerous calls for help in military and political initiatives.²⁹⁷

4.2.5 *Topos of Strengthening Courage by Expectation of Victory (εὐαγγέλιον).*

Calls for military aid were interested in the physical material stuff of war, and yet, most unconventionally, the we-group makes ready to respond to such a call by supplying self-expressive speech (“proclaim the good news to them” Acts 16:10). This unusual response of a non-material resource will be the subject of ideological texture, but for the purposes of intertexture, it is important to recognize that one form of self-expressive speech, εὐαγγελίζομαι, not only appeared regularly in military discourse, but also performed a military function. Its most common usage in Hebrew, Greek and Hellenistic Jewish texts related to “‘bringing news of victory’ or ‘declaring a victory’” of battle, as, for example, “many...sailed to Cornelia in Lesbos with the glad tidings (εὐαγγελιζόμενοι) that the war was at end” (Plutarch, *Pompey* 66.3).²⁹⁸ From a military understanding, εὐαγγελίζομαι was a term first and foremost associated with news of military victory or, at a minimum, of a fortunate turn of affairs in a conflict involving leaders. As well, εὐαγγελίζομαι frequently concerned the news of either the downfall of an enemy or competitor, the victory of a leader, or other news fortunate to a military campaign,²⁹⁹ and so, too, did the nouns εὐαγγέλιον/εὐαγγελία which could also refer to a thanks-offering to a divinity or a reward given to a messenger of the fortunate news.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁷ Discovering intertextually that fortification and alliance comprise the two key elements of the Macedonian’s call complements the findings of innertextual analysis that the παρακαλέω progressive sequence, which begins with the call in Acts 16:9 is the unit’s foundational progression as well as its unusually high concentration of ἔρχομαι suffixed verbs. Coming together and separating apart describes the narratives main movements.

²⁹⁸ Friedrich, “εὐαγγελίζομαι, εὐαγγέλιον, προεσαγγελίζομαι, εὐαγγελιστής,” *TDNT* 2:707-737. See Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 7.245, 250; Plutarch, *Pompey* 66.3.

²⁹⁹ See Josephus, *Jewish War* 1.607; 3.143, 503; *Jewish Antiquities* 18.228.

³⁰⁰ See Josephus, *Jewish War* 2.420; 4.618, 656. *Jewish Antiquities* 4.229; 18.229; Diodorus of Sicily, *The Library of History* 15.74.2; Plutarch, *Sertorius* 26.3; *Pompey* 41.3; *Phocion* 16.6; 23.4.6, 11; *Cato the*

If the conflict was still ongoing, then the εὐαγγέλιον often helped to fortify the courage of troops, an effect which some leaders exploited to the point of fabricating false accounts of “good news” in order to keep their men in fighting spirits.³⁰¹ For example, when Agesilaus³⁰² learned that one of his naval forces had been defeated at sea, and its leader Peisander killed, he changed the report of defeat to one of victory, reporting that although Peisander had died, the navy had been victorious in its battle. As a result of the fabricated good news, Agesilaus’s troops remained loyal and courageous, “so that when a skirmish with the enemy took place, the troops of Agesilaus won the day in consequence of the report that the Lacedaemonians [Spartans] were victorious in the naval battle” (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 4.3.13–14 [Brownson, LCL]. News of victory functioned to strengthen loyalty and courage, two of a warrior’s most necessary and valued characteristics.³⁰³

Ever present was a risk that news accepted as true would later turn out to be false. Rejoicing in the news of the demise of an enemy could lead to a tragic reversal of fate if the good news turned out to be untrue.³⁰⁴ The authority and credibility of the messenger would be established once the good news was authenticated. Moreover, the credibility of the news account was intimately connected with the credibility of the messenger delivering it.

Younger 51.1; *Lives of the Ten Orators* 846.E; *Demosthenes* 22.2; *Sayings of Kings and Commanders* 184.A; 188.D; *Agesilaus* 33.5; *Demetrius* 17.5; *On the Fame of the Athenians* 347.D.11, 14; *Artaxerxes* 14.3, 4; Philostratus, *Apollonius of Tyana* 8.27.1.

³⁰¹ See Xenophon, *Hellenica* 4.3.14; Plutarch., *Agesilaus* 17.3; *Demetrius* 11.3; *Precepts of Statecraft* 799.F; *Sertorius* 11.1. “Often the news does not correspond to the facts. In time of war especially false stories of victory are circulated to boost the morale of tired soldiers. News comes to be treated with suspicion and the term loses its value, so that it can be consciously used in an ironical inversion. Nero wanted his mother killed and she was able to save herself and thus to send him the good news of her deliverance.” Friedrich, “εὐαγγελίζομαι,” *TDNT* 2:711.

³⁰² King of Sparta from 399 B.C.E. “Agesilaus” *The Concise Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*. Ed. M.C. Howatson and Ian Chilvers. Oxford University Press, 1996. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. University of Ottawa. 15 September 2010 <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t9.e100>>.

³⁰³ “Courage,” “enthusiastic zeal,” and “tactics” are three critical elements in military discourse, see Lendon, “The Rhetoric of Combat”.

³⁰⁴ In 4 Maccabees rejoicing over false “good news” becomes the trigger for Antiochus Epiphanes’ persecution of the Jews: “For when he [Antiochus] was warring against Ptolemy in Egypt, he heard that a rumor of his death had spread and that the people of Jerusalem had rejoiced greatly. He speedily marched against them, and after he had plundered them he issued a decree that if any of them should be found observing the ancestral law they should die” (4 Maccabees 4:22-23).

While self-expressive speech did not readily translate into auxiliary military aid, at the same time there was a particular form of self-expressive speech that, while not typically the object of a military call for aid, was commonly found in military discourse. “Good news” was a specific type of self-expressive speech, and it always carried an element of victory within it. As such, it was a valuable military “resource,” as it were, deployed by leaders to strengthen the courage of their troops. Encouragement of morale and strengthening of courage by displaying and emphasizing victory was seen by ancient writers as one of the strategies that generals employed in order to advance their chances of future victory.³⁰⁵

4.2.6 *Conclusion to the Intertextural Analysis of Paul’s Vision.*

As we have seen in the previous chapter, a call, emphasized by the first παρακαλέω of the unit’s foundational progressive sequence (Acts 16:9), triggers the narrative’s progression. Intertextural analysis situates this call within the context of similar calls for aid found in historiographies where such calls sought auxiliary resources and alliances. The petitioner is explicitly identified as a Macedonian man, suggesting that it is the Macedonian and his group’s initiative that the we-group was being asked to join with. The we-group’s intention to deliver εὐαγγέλιον indirectly discloses what the Macedonian group lacks, namely, the “good news” that could play a key role in fortifying the warriors’ courage and loyalty. As a result, these two qualities—courage and loyalty—constitute the auxiliary aid requested by the Macedonian man.

But, how is what ensues a fulfilment of the call for aid? This is not a surprising question; what *is* surprising is that commentators have not asked this question. Normally, a call for aid would clearly define the resources in question. The Macedonian, in contrast, does not. Instead, as would be expected with dream-visions, which are often paradoxical,³⁰⁶ the

³⁰⁵ Lendon, “The Rhetoric of Combat,” 291–94.

³⁰⁶ See Scott Noegel, *Nocturnal Ciphers: The Allusive Language of Dreams in the Ancient Near East*

we-group must interpret the message of the vision. The unfolding events, and their interpretation, nuanced the vision to be a call from God to deliver good news of divine victory, but a victory that will be delivered through the channels of auxiliary aid. Ideological texture will take up the richness of the ideological blend found in Paul's vision and the we-group's reaction to it. This richness will become shaded with yet greater complexity once the we-group encounters the first recipient of the "good news" proclamation, namely, Lydia.

4.3. Lydia: Topoi of Lydian Physiognomy

Following the Macedonian man, the second narrative character who speaks directly is Lydia (Acts 16:14-15). Moreover, Lydia echoes the Macedonian man in calling the Pauline group to herself in the unit's second occurrence within the παρακαλέω progression. Not only does she speak, she is also endowed with a string of descriptors that rhetorically focus a spotlight on her character.

4.3.1 Lydia's Indeterminate Social Status.

The primary focus of modern scholarship's attention to Lydia has been the question of her social status. Discussions around Lydia's socio-economic status have been fuelled primarily from her occupation of "purple-seller," πορφυρόπωλις (Acts 16:14), by drawing inferences from the colour's presumed high status, for purple was highly valued in antiquity. Indeed, by the first century, the desire for purple as a status symbol spawned an industry devoted to sham purples whose lower cost was accessible to lower classes.³⁰⁷

(American Oriental Series 89; New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 2007); for the famous example of Croesus's misreading of an oracle see page 186.

³⁰⁷ Reinhold, *History of Purple*, 53. The Stockholm Papyrus (third-century C.E.) lists "no fewer than 70 recipes for dyers, most of them concerning the production of sham purples," many of which were passed on from earlier times. Wolfgang Born, "Purple in Classical Antiquity," *Ciba Review* 1, no. 4 (1937): 113. The Stockholm Papyrus is considered a continuation of the earlier Leiden Papyrus, an alchemists manual, which

While these ersatz purples might also generate a profit, the text offers no clues as to what Lydia actually sold (dye, cosmetic, cloth?), what its quality may have been (genuine Tyrian sea-purple, or one of its copiously-varied imitations?), and what level of profit, if any, it generated. As a result of historical evidence for the variety of purples being produced in the first century, along with the lack of textual indicators that might help us to gauge the profitability of Lydia's trade, it is not possible to situate Lydia on an economic status scale from her occupation of purple-seller.

Similarly, Lydia's status as a reputed "householder" has developed in scholarship without the benefit of any description of what the configuration of her house may have been. There is no indication of who comprised her household, nor is there any indication of how many or how few comprised the Pauline group she invited, nor who formed the ἀδελφοί in her house (Acts 16:40). Although the apostle Peter's mother-in-law served many in her house (Luke 4:38-40), Peter has not been characterized by commentary as a wealthy householder but rather a "poor fisherman."³⁰⁸ In the case of Lydia, the inferred high status associated with purple's symbolism has shaded a similar wealthy characterization of her household. But, put simply, there is no evidence in the text of the extent or lack of status that Lydia's purple would have accorded. Not only is Lydia's economic status indeterminate, more significantly, despite being a principal concern of modern scholarship, the question of Lydia's social status is not where the author of Acts' interest has been engaged.³⁰⁹

primarily suggested ways in which gold and silver could be replicated from base stones. Cf. note 68 above.

³⁰⁸ Similarly, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* divine guests Zeus and Hermes are hosted in the home of a very poor aged couple—Philemon and Baucis—who together comprise the whole "household:" "but pious old Baucis and Philemon, of equal age, were in that cottage wedded in their youth, and in that cottage had grown old together; there they made their poverty light by owning it, and by bearing it in a contended spirit. It was of no use to ask for masters or for servants in that house; they two were the whole household, together they served and ruled" (*Metamorphoses* 8.631–636 [Miller, LCL]).

³⁰⁹ Social status or wealth may be incidental or secondary in descriptions of a person or character. A woman of indisputably high status was Roman Philippi's namesake, Augustus's daughter Julia Augusta, yet it was not her status that made her a subject of interest to several authors but rather her various purported adulteries. Seneca writes: "The emperor Augustus banished his daughter and made public the scandals of his House. She had received lovers in droves (*admissos gregatim adulteros*). She had roamed the city in

Rather, what is of fundamental concern and interest is Lydia's ethnographic profile. Since Thyatira was located in the region of Lydia, most commentators have observed the coincidence of Lydia's name with her place of origin (Acts 16:14).³¹⁰ Here again, however, discussion generated by this connection between name and ethnicity has remained side-tracked by the issue of Lydia's status, generating questions such as whether the name suggested that she was a slave, formerly a slave, or a person of high status. Questions over whether Lydia would have been a slave or free-woman stem, in part, from Strabo's remarks that slaves often bore the names of their nations of origin (*Geography* 7.3.12 [Jones, LCL]) and by the support of epigraphic evidence.³¹¹ More recent discussions of Lydia's name

nocturnal revels, choosing for her pleasures the Forum, and the very Rostrum from which her father had proposed his adultery law. Turning from adultery to prostitution, she had stationed herself at the statue of Marsyas, seeking gratification of every kind in the arms of casual lovers." (*Ben.* 6.1-2) as quoted in Richard A. Bauman, *Women and Politics in Ancient Rome* (1992; repr., New York: Routledge, 1994), 113, [Http://site.ebrary.com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/lib/oculottawa/docDetail.action?docID=10058390](http://site.ebrary.com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/lib/oculottawa/docDetail.action?docID=10058390). Interest in Julia Augusta's purported promiscuity endured, Macrobius (c. 400 C.E.) compiled a collection of anecdotes about her, including, "when people expressed surprise that her children looked like Agrippa [her husband], she replied, 'I only take a passenger on board when I have a full cargo'" (2.5.9). Quoted in Bauman, *Women and Politics*, 110.

³¹⁰ For example, "Λυδία lit., 'the Lydian woman' (Thyatira was in Lydia). Perhaps she had another personal name." Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 314. Thyatira was considered a Lydian city and is designated as such by the sixth-century geographic lexicographer, Stephanus of Byzantium (Θυάτειρα, πόλις Λυδίας), *TLG* online: http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/int/browser_4028001; in addition, its name is "native Lydian"; Colin J. Hemer, "Thyatira," in *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia in Their Local Setting* [Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 11; Sheffield: JSOT, 1986], 107). Strabo, however, writes "on the road to Sardeis, one comes to Thyateira, on the left-hand side...which by some is called the farthest city of the Mysians" (*Geography* 13.4.4 [Jones, LCL]). Strabo's writings generally demonstrate how geographic boundaries and ethnic identities were often quite fluid, as a sample: "Sardeis is a great city, and, though of later date than the Trojan times, is nevertheless old, and has a strong citadel. It was the royal city of the Lydians, whom the poet calls Meionians; and later writers call them Maeonians, some identifying them with the Lydians and others representing them as different, but it is better to call them the same people" (*Geography* 13.4.5 [Jones, LCL]). "The parts situated next to this region towards the south as far as the Taurus are so inwoven with one another that the Phrygian and the Carian and the Lydian parts, as also those of the Mysians, since they merge into one another, are hard to distinguish." (Strabo, *Geography* 13.4.12). And from Herodotus, "and they point to the ancient shrine of Carian Zeus at Mylasa, whereto Mysians and Lydians, as brethren of the Carians (for Lydus and Mysus, they say, were brothers of Car), are admitted." (Herodotus, *Histories* 1.171 [Godley, LCL]). See also Robert M. Grant, "Early Christian Geography," *Vigiliae Christianae* 46, no. 2 (1992): 105–11, especially pages 105–106. Overall ancient writing was far more concerned with ethno-graphy than geo-graphy, and in the case of Lydia of Thyatira, her name of Lydia emphasizes the Lydian designation of Thyatira, see discussion of *antonomasia* below.

³¹¹ "For 'Lydia' suggests a servile status, many slaves being accorded a name which reflected their geographical origin (e.g. Thratia, Phryx). The index to *CIL* VI attests only one Lydia, who appears from her son's name to be a slave...Further, closely related names...are possessed (where status can be determined) by either slaves or *liberti/libertae*." G. H. R. Horsley, "The Purple Trade, and the Status of Lydia of Thyatira," in

have added new epigraphic evidence from the first or second century of two women of high status (denoted by the name Julia) whose names contained Lydia—Julia Lydia Laterane of Ephesus and Julia Lydia of Sardis—to counter any suggestions that the self-evidently “high status Lydia” might have been a slave.³¹² Predictably, these discussions around Lydia’s name have continued to revolve around the “straw man” debate over Lydia’s social status, missing the significance of her most important feature, the connection between her name and ethnicity.

A more pertinent feature common to both “higher status Lydias” named above is that, in addition to the elite name of Julia, their names point to their ethnic heritage. Ephesus was settled as a “Greek-Lyidian hybrid city,”³¹³ and Sardis, the historic storehouse of the renowned Lydian treasury, was virtually interchangeable with Lydia.³¹⁴ Therefore, whether slave or high-status, epigraphic evidence suggests that women carrying the name of Lydia did so in reference to their Lydian ethnic backgrounds.³¹⁵

New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity: A Review of the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Published in 1977 (vol. 2; North Ryde, N.S.W.: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre: Macquarie University, 1982), 27.

³¹² G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* (North Ryde, New South Wales, Australia: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre Macquarie University, 1989), 139.

³¹³ Peter Scherrer, “Ephesus, *BNP*.”

³¹⁴ An example of the ready connection between Sardis and Lydia is found in a portion of the dialogue between Dionysus and Pentheus in Euripides’ *Bacchae* where in response to Pentheus’s query “tell me who your family is” Dionysus responds by first naming his place of origin,

Dionysus: I suppose you are familiar with flowery Tmolus.

Pentheus: I know of it; it surrounds the city of Sardis.

Dionysus: I am from there, and Lydia is my fatherland (Euripides, *The Bacchae* 461–463). See also page 186.

³¹⁵ A survey of *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* yields only one case where the name of Lydia is attested outside of Asia Minor, in the 3rd–5th century CE in Sicily. There is also a case of Λυδίας from 170–175 CE in Athens. P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, eds., British Academy, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (Vol. 1 The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica, Vol. 2 Attica, Vol. 3A The Peloponnese Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Graecia, Vol. 3B Central Greece from the Megarid to Thessaly, Vol. 4 Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea; ed. P. M. Fraser; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987). Not only is this personal name of Lydia attested only in coastal Asia Minor prior to the first century, but it is rarely attested in general. Compare, for example, 5 cases of Lydia, with 131 examples of the feminine name Ἀμμων in coastal Asia Minor. Alcorac Alonso Déniz, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names: Coastal Asia Minor: Pontos to Ionia Vol. 5A*, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, 11 January 2011.

In any event, whatever may have been the historical background of other Lydias, the text of Acts 16 squarely presents Lydia as a Lydian woman and, by correlating her name with her origin, profiles her Lydian ethnicity as her most prominent descriptive element. Naming characters by their key characteristics was not an uncommon practice for the author of Luke-Acts, as attested by Peter (πέτρος/rock), Barnabas whose name means “son of encouragement” (Acts 4:36), and Eutychus the “fortunate one” (Acts 20:9), nor was it foreign to ancient authors generally. In fact, one of Aristotle’s catalogued common topics (*topoi*) includes a type of punning device where the meaning of a proper name corresponds to the name itself. For example,

as Herodicus said to Thrasymachus, ‘You are always *thrasymakhos* [‘bold in fight’] and to Polus, ‘You are always a *polus* [‘a colt], and of Dracon the lawgiver that his laws were not those of a human being but of a *drakon* [‘snake’]; for they were harsh. (*Rhetoric* 2.23.29 [Kennedy])³¹⁶

Rhetorically, such plays on names, belonging to the broader category of *antonomasia*,³¹⁷ functioned to draw attention to a particular characteristic of the named person. Much as an epithet or title “results from the visible selection of a quality which is emphasized,”³¹⁸ the *antonomasia* “qualifies,” that is, describes, someone “in a manner that helps the argument.”³¹⁹

From within a first-century collective understanding of personality, an important reference point for determining a person’s identity was place of origin and, second to family background, that place was arguably a key determinant of who a person was understood to be.³²⁰ As studies of physiognomy have shown, these ethnic identity markers were com-

³¹⁶ Brackets in the translation.

³¹⁷ An *antonomasia* is a “kind of a *synecdoche* which consists of using a common name for a proper name, or a proper name for a common name” where a *synecdoche* uses a characteristic aspect of an object to designate it, such as “‘the sail’ for the ship and ‘mortals’ for men.” Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 174, 336.

³¹⁸ Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *New Rhetoric*, 126; Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, 305.

³¹⁹ Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 174; Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, 264–66.

³²⁰ Consistent with this emphasis on ethnography, the man in Paul’s vision is explicitly identified as Macedonian; the Lord first introduces Paul to Ananias as “a man of Tarsus” (Acts 9:11); and Paul identifies himself as coming from “Tarsus in Cilicia” (Acts 21:39; 22:3). Cf. page 54.

monly employed in order to “rhetorically profile” a person’s character.³²¹ The connection between Lydia’s name and ethnic origin has been subsumed by discussions concerning the question of her status, missing the critical question of interest generated by this correlation, that is, the ethnographic profile generated by Lydia the Lydian woman.

4.3.2 *Topos of Ethnography of Lydian Women.*

In as much as Lydia of Thyatira’s social status and wealth has been a red herring for interpreters, there nonetheless resides an important rhetorical link between wealth and Lydians. The ancient Lydian nation and wealth were interchangeable; gold dust was said to have run in its river Pactolus from Mt. Tmolus, and its treasury in Sardis was considered the world’s richest. The wealth of Lydian king Croesus—the “richest man in the world”—was both legendary and proverbial. Authors throughout the ages referred to it, with the simile “rich-as-Croesus” still enjoying contemporary currency.³²² The name Croesus developed into an eponym for “wealthy.” Lydia’s legendary wealth was one reason Lydia and Lydians held such a wide and lingering fascination for authors. Three times the phrase “Lydians rich in gold” recurs in the Sibylline Oracles (*Sib. Or.* 3:170; 5:287, 292). In defending his integrity as one who is immune to bribery and gifts of patronage, Apollonius of Tyana metonymically asserts: “I have no need of Lydia and all of the Pactolus (τὸ γὰρ δεῖσθαι μηδενὸς ἐμοὶ Λυδία καὶ τὸ Πακτωλοῦ πᾶν)” (Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 8.34). Thus by his imperviousness to the allure of “Lydia,” Apollonius argues, he considers himself morally “rich.”³²³ As the following discussion will show, this Lydian

³²¹ See page 52.

³²² E.g., Theocritus, *Idylls* 8.53–54; 10:32.

³²³ The Lydian river Pactolus is also used by Dio Chrysostom in his *First Tarsic* devoted to warning the Tarsians that they have succumbed to luxury’s degenerative influences and therefore, if left unchecked will suffer the same fate as other nations who had fallen to luxury. Chrysostom argues that the Tarsians have deluded themselves into thinking they are naturally blessed because of their fortuitous geographic location which includes a river, since access to luxury leads not to blessing but to ruin, invoking Lydia’s famous Pactolus, Chrysostom writes: “welcome the man who will point out to you some of your faults, and will first

wealth regularly was used in literature to evoke a *topos* of degenerate luxury.

We can see this linkage between Lydian wealth and degeneracy appear in Herodotus's "geographic-historical" description of Lydia. Herodotus begins by stating that Lydia bears little to distinguish it from other countries other than the gold dust that runs from Mt. Tmolus. After the gold reference, Herodotus immediately follows with a description of king Croesus's father's tomb (Alyattes). In what follows, however, Herodotus focuses attention not on the appearance of the tomb but rather on its sponsors. Herodotus claims: "It was built by the men of the market (οἱ ἀγοραῖοι ἄνθρωποι) and the artificers (οἱ χειρῶνακτες) and the prostitutes (αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι παιδίσκαι)" (1.93). Moreover, while a tomb is intended as a monument of remembrance to honour the deceased, it is the prostitutes who instead are memorialized in Herodotus's account:

There remained till my time five corner-stones set on the top of the tomb, and on these was graven the record of the work done by each kind: and measurement showed that the prostitutes' share of the work was the greatest (*Histories* 1.93 [Godley, LCL]).

The prostitutes are introduced by the term ἐνεργάζομαι, and together with other market-people such as the traders and artisans, the "working girls" are contextualized within the sphere of the market-place, not the bedroom. Herodotus continues his focus on the Lydian prostitutes by progressively moving from the remarkable tomb to another noteworthy feature: "all the daughters of the common people of Lydia ply the trade of prostitutes "(αἱ θυγατέρες πορνεύονται)" (*Histories* 1.93 [Godley, LCL]). This they do, according to Herodotus, in order to earn their dowries. Dowries are not provided by the wealth of the fathers but rather through the sexual trade of the daughters. Moreover, inferential logic suggests that since all "maidens" prostitute themselves, all Lydian husbands have former prostitutes as wives.³²⁴ Through his "geo-historical" account, Herodotus deftly frames an

of all, if he can, enable you to think, because such things as I have named do not make you blessed, not even if the mighty Nile itself should flow through your city...not even if Pactolus, appearing here, should bear to you its gold, not grain by grain, as they say it used to do for the Lydians in days gone by, but in a mass like mud (Dio Chrysostom, *First Tarsic Discourse* 23 [Cohoon and Crosby, LCL]).

³²⁴ For implications regarding the honour of the Lydian men in this case see note 342.

inductive argument that infers that the very nucleus of its society, Lydian kinship, was developed through prostitution.

In this third reference to prostitutes, Herodotus links the more common term for prostitution, *πορνεύω*, to the sponsors of Alyattes' tomb. Within a few verses, Herodotus repeats, "The customs of the Lydians are like those of the Greeks, save that they make prostitutes of their female children (*θήλεια τέκνα καταπορνεύουσι*)" (*Histories* 1.94 [Godley, LCL]). He immediately follows with a claim that Lydians were the first to coin gold and silver currency and the first retail-sellers (*κάπηλοι*). In this manner, a unit beginning with a reference to Lydia's gold-flowing river, the ostensible source of Lydia's wealth, ends with a reference to huckstering and gold as a medium of exchange. By framing his account with a gold reference *inclusio*, Herodotus's focus on Lydian prostitutes suggests that the prostitute *topos* functions to characterize Lydia's wealth. The "working girls" link lexically to trading and selling through *πορνεύω*—a term etymologically closely connected with selling.³²⁵ In Herodotus's telling, social exchange in the wealthiest society in the world was constituted by prostitution.³²⁶

Two early stories, one from Herodotus and the other from Nicolaus of Damascus, point us to a broader socio-cultural peculiarity regarding the portrayal of Lydian women. In Herodotus's version of the story Persian King Darius sits in the Lydian city of Sardis and sees a Paeonian woman walking by while plying her distaff (Herodotus, *Histories* 5.12-14), and in a similar version, Lydian King Alyattes sees a Thracian woman walking by, also engaged in gender appropriate spinning and carrying of water (Nicolaus of Damascus, *Fr.* 71). In each version, each king is amazed at the sight of a woman engaged in gender-

³²⁵ See note 375.

³²⁶ L. Kurke has argued that the figure of a prostitute was used metaphorically in critiques of civic systems of economic exchange. Cf. Leslie Kurke, *Coins, Bodies, Games and Gold: The Politics of Meaning in Archaic Greece* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1999); "Pindar and the Prostitutes, or Reading Ancient 'Pornography,'" in *Constructions of the Classical Body* (The Body, in Theory: Histories of Cultural Materialism; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 101–25.

appropriate purposeful activity, since it contrasts markedly with the lifestyle of his own native women.

While the sight of a woman arousing a man's response is an age-old storyline, a key element seems a bit off-kilter in these two renditions. In contrast, for example, to Rachel (Genesis 29:9-18) or Bathsheba (2 Samuel 11:2-4) arousing sexual desire in the men—Jacob, David—who happened to see them, the sight of the Western women aroused a desire in kings Darius and Alyattes for their gender-appropriate industrious activity, evidently absent in Lydian women. Central to the two vignettes is the amazement-inducing gender-appropriate industriousness of the Western women, displayed by spinning wool and fetching water, in contrast to that of the Eastern, in the second account pointedly Lydian, women.³²⁷ In fact, a survey of literature ranging from the classical period into antiquity yields a recurring, and virtually uniform, stereotype of Lydian women that drew upon a prostitute *topos* and formed the background to Herodotus's and Nicolaus of Damascus's stories, as well as to Herodotus's account of Alyattes' tomb.

Testimony to the enduring quality of the Lydian prostitute trajectory can be found in Strabo's recitation of Herodotus's claim regarding the sponsors of Alyattes' tomb along with an addendum: "some call the tomb of Alyattes a monument of prostitution" (*Geography* 13.4.7 [Jones, LCL]).³²⁸

In Latin literature, the poet Horace wrote four Odes to Lydia,³²⁹ where each "Lydia" is

³²⁷ In stark contrast to Hugo Grotius's seventeenth-century portrayal of Lydia as a "weaving woman" evoking the distaff and spindle, the universal trope of feminine industriousness and propriety; see page 14 in Chapter 1: "History of Interpretation."

³²⁸ In another story of a Lydian monument connected with prostitution, Athenaeus, quoting Clearchus [c. 450–401 B.C.E.] recounts that the Lydian king Gyges erects a giant monument in memory of his concubine, "Clearchus, in the first book of his *Love Stories* says: 'Gyges, the king of Lydia, became notorious for his devotion to his mistress, not only during her lifetime, giving himself and his empire entirely into her hands; but more than that, when she died he gathered all the Lydians of the country together and reared the monument which is to this day still named after the 'Companion' (Ἐταίρα), raising it high so that when he made his royal progresses within the region of Mt. Tmolus, wherever he chanced to turn, he could see the monument, and it was visible to all the inhabitants of Lydia'" (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* 13.573a–b [Gulick, LCL]).

³²⁹ Horace, *Carm.* 1.8, 1.13, 1.25, 3.9. "Lydia: the exotic name suggests luxury and voluptuousness" Robin G. M. Nisbet and Margaret Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes, Book 1* (Oxford: Clarendon Press,

primarily characterized as a courtesan.³³⁰ By the next century, Martial wrote a coarse and lewd epigram featuring a sexually promiscuous “Lydia”:

Lydia is as spacious as the arse of a brazen horseman,...as an old shoe soaked in muddy water, as the wide-meshed nets that wait for stray thrushes, and as the ugly throat of a pelican of Ravenna. I am said to have f_____d her in a marine fishpond. I don't know; I think I f_____d the fishpond. (Martial, *Epigrams* 11.21 [Bailey, LCL])³³¹

Athenaeus also wrote of Lydian women in terms of sexual immorality:

The Lydians went so far in wanton luxury that they were the first to sterilize women...Xanthus says in the second book of his *Lydian History* that Adramytes, the king of Lydia, was the first to spay women and employ them in the place of male eunuchs. *Deipnosophists* 12.515.d (Gulick, LCL)³³²

Athenaeus goes on to describe how Lydian queen Omphalē (who, in myth, cross-dressed with Hercules),³³³ forced the daughters of Lydian freemen to “lie with their slaves,” and ends the account with “But it is not merely the women of Lydia who were allowed free range among all comers, but also those...tribes in general which dedicated their daughters to prostitution” (*Deipnosophists* 12.516.a–b [Gulick, LCL]). Perhaps the basest allusion to the Lydian woman stereotype in ancient literature is also the earliest, from a text of Hipponax’s (mid-sixth century B.C.E.) recounted by I. Morris:

The dung-covered hero of fr. 92 found himself in a toilet with a woman who performed an obscure act on his anus while beating his genitals with a fig branch. The fragment ends with a cloud of dung beetles whirring out of the filth. The woman was *Ludizousa*, ‘speaking in a Lydian fashion’ [ἡϋδα δὲ λυδιζουσα].³³⁴

1970), 110.

³³⁰ See also Virgil, *Dirae* 12 (Vince, LCL); *Lydia*. “Was I the first who dared to sully the chaste purity and assail the hallowed fillet [ribbon] of his love [Lydia]” (*Lydia* 53 [Fairclough, LCL]).

³³¹ Expletive present in the original.

³³² Another version from the Suda lexicon (late tenth-century C.E.) implies that the procedure was intended as a youth enhancing measure, “Suidas s. Ξάνθος gives a different account: πρῶτος Γύγης...γυναικας εὐνούχισεν ὅπως αὐταῖς χρῆτο αἰεὶ νεαζούσας.” Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*, 319, n. f.

³³³ “in all the Latin sources he [Hercules] carries out the typical women's work of spinning wool and wears women's clothes; Omphalē on her part appropriates the lion's skin and club (e.g. *Ov. Fast.* 2,319-326; *Ov. Epist.* 9,53-128; *Prop.* 4,9,45 and 3,11,17; *Herc. O.* 371-377; cf. Lucian. *Dialogi deorum* 15,2).” Katharina Waldner, “Omphale,” *BNP*.

³³⁴ Morris, “The Strong Principle,” 35; Hipponax, *Fragmenta* 92: TLG online: <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/inst/browser>. See also, Kurke, *Coins, Bodies, Games and Gold*, 27.

Overall, in a broad spectrum of writings ranging from the classical period to well into antiquity, the ethnography of Lydian woman and “Lydias” features prostitution, sexual licentiousness, and impropriety. Moreover, far from being a localized *topos*, the degenerate Lydian woman was pervasive and enduring throughout different literary genres and across spans of historical periods.

4.3.3 *Topos of “Lydian Disease”*.

The *topos* of immoral Lydian women stems from a broader ethnographic stereotype of Lydians as a luxury-loving, degenerate people whose lifestyle led to a demasculinization of their men. Physiognomically, beginning in the earliest classical period, “Lydian” was a byword for a love of luxury and general “softness.” The *New Pauly* succinctly describes the enduring ethnographic depiction of Lydians:

The Lydians had a reputation for a hedonistic way of life (*tryphḗ*)[τρυφή]; Ionians and Athenians, who imitated them, were accused of being soft (*habrosýnē*)[ἄβροσύνη] or mocked them for suffering from the ‘Lydian disease.’³³⁵

Athenaeus explains that “the Lydians were notorious for luxurious living; in fact the word ‘Lydian-living’ in Anacreon is understood to mean the same as ‘luxurious living’”

(*Deipnosophists* 690.b–c [Gulick, LCL]).³³⁶ The association between Lydians and decadent

³³⁵ Hans Kaletsch, “Lydia,” in *Brill’s New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World Antiquity, Antiquity Volume 8, LYD-MIN* (vol. 8; ed. Hubert Cancik, et al.; Antiquity Volumes; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 8.

³³⁶ See Anacreon (fr. 136), also recited in: “Scholiast on Aeschylus, *Persae* (‘soft-living Lydians’): The Lydians do live softly, whence the expression in Anacreon, people living in Lydian style, nie. in luxurious style” Campbell, *Greek Lyric 2*, LCL, 119. “ἄβροδιαίτων...Λυδῶν...ἄβροδιαίτοι δὲ οὗτοι, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ παρ’ Ἀνακρέοντι

λυδοπαθεῖς τινες ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡδυπαθεῖς.” Oskar Dähnhardt, *Scholia in Aeschyli Persas* (Lipsia: Teubner, 1894), 22 as quoted in Campbell, *Greek Lyric 2*, LCL, 130; “Νῦν δὲ μνηστῆρον ἱστορίας δηλοῦσης ὅτι τε ἡδυπάθειαν οἱ Μήγονες, ταῦτόν δ’ εἰπεῖν οἱ Λυδοί, ἐφίλουν, ὅθεν, φασί, καὶ Ἀνακρέων τὸν ἡδυπαθῆ << Λυδοπαθῆ >> ἔφη” Eustathius (fl. 1175): Eustathius Thessalonicensis, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (ed. M. van der Valk; vol. 4, Leiden: Brill, 1987), 180, lines 16–18; online: <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/inst/browser>.

luxuria was well-established in ancient times and has been attested in both literature and art.³³⁷

Men who succumbed to *luxuria* became “soft” and unmanly. As a result, effeminacy was another element which often co-joined with luxury in depicting its degenerative power on masculinity, as is evident in Athenaeus’s scathing portrayal of Midas, who “in effeminate luxury lay in his purple robes, or helped the women at their looms to work the wool” (*Deipnosophists* 12.516.b [Gulick, LCL]).³³⁸ Clearchus’s version of the Lydians’ decline into effeminacy through luxury is recounted by Athenaeus:

The Lydians in their luxury laid out parks, making them like gardens, and so lived in the shade, because they thought it more luxurious not to have the rays of the sun fall upon them at all. And proceeding further in their insolence they would gather the wives and maiden daughters of other men into the place called, because of this action, the Place of Chastity, and there outrage them. And finally, after becoming

³³⁷ Keith De Vries, “The Nearly Other: The Attic Vision of Phrygians and Lydians,” in *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art* (ed. Beth Cohen; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 338–63; Isaac, *The Invention of Racism*, 263, n. 29. “in earlier times again, there were the rulers of Lydia, Media, and still further back, Assyria; not a single variety of pleasure was left untried by them” (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* 12.545.d [Gulick, LCL]). Tyrants are depicted as having succumbed to the degenerative effects of Lydian luxury: “I think first of Tiberius and how he turned power into something inhuman and cruel; then of his successor Gaius, and the way he acted like one possessed, wore oriental dress [λυδίζων τῆν στολήν; lit. clothed in Lydian fashion], and won nonexistent wars, making a disgusting revel of the whole government of Rome” (Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 5.32.2 [Jones, LCL]). Also, from a physiognomic perspective, the land of Lydia was depicted as being naturally endowed with life’s good things. In trying to motivate his troops to take Lydia, the Persian king Cyrus speaks of Lydia’s natural bounty: “seeing that we are to contend not for Syria only, where there is an abundance of grain and flocks and date-palms, but for Lydia as well; for in that land there is an abundance of wine and figs and olive oil, and its shores are washed by the sea; and over its waters more good things are brought than any one has ever seen” (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 6.2.22 [Miller, LCL]). “in the twenty-first book of his *History of Philip* Theopompus says that the Umbrian nation (who live near the Adriatic) are pretty effeminate and live a life comparable to that of the Lydians, possessing good land which caused their advance in prosperity” (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* 12.526.f–527.a [Gulick, LCL]).

³³⁸ A more subtle connection between the unmaning of warriors and contact with Lydian luxury and purple is found in Virgil’s *Aeneid*, as its hero, Aeneas, diverts from his mission to found a “new Troy” (Rome) when he falls in love with Queen Dido and remains with her in Tyrian Carthage (Tunis) “in wanton ease..enthralled by shameless passion,” where he, “with his eunuch train, a Maeonian band [i.e., Lydian head-band]propping his chin and essenced locks, grasps the spoil.” When Jupiter finally intervenes to recall Aeneas to his original mission, Aeneas is found wearing a cloak “ablaze with Tyrian purple”—a gift from Dido—and is asked whether he has become “a wife’s minion” (Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.191–194, 215–217, 262–263, 266–267 [Fairclough, LCL]. For Philo virtue cannot “take root” in an emasculated soul: “Toil is bitter and stiff and hard, yet from it springs goodness, and therefore there must be no softening. For he who flees from toil flees from the good also, but he who patiently and manfully endures what is hard to bear is pressing on to blessedness. For in the voluptuous livers, whose souls are emasculated and whose bodies run to waste with ceaseless luxury prolonged from day to day, virtue cannot make its lodging.” (Philo, *On the Life of Moses* 2.183–184 [Colson, LCL]).

thoroughly effeminate in their souls, they adopted women's ways of living.
(*Athenaeus, Deipnosophists* 12.515.e–f [Gulick, LCL])

Lydian men, rhetorically depicted as having succumbed to luxury, not surprisingly were also known for their effeminacy.

A different, earlier, aetiology of Lydian effeminacy came from Herodotus. In this version, the Lydians had just been defeated by the Persian King Cyrus, who naively had left a just-conquered Lydian in charge of the renowned Lydian treasury in Sardis while Cyrus left for other battles. Upon Cyrus's return and discovery that the Lydian had attempted an uprising by use of some of the treasury funds, the Lydian King Croesus, fearing that Cyrus might sell the Lydians into slavery and pillage the treasury city, offered him an alternate (ultimately acceptable) proposal:

let the Lydians be pardoned; and lay on them this command, that they may not revolt or be dangerous to you; send, I say, and forbid them to possess weapons of war, and command them to wear tunics [κιθῶνάς] under their cloaks and buskins [κοθόρνους] on their feet, and to teach (παιδεύειν) their sons lyre-playing and song and dance and huckstering (καπηλεύειν). Then, O king, you will soon see them turned to women instead of men; and thus you need not fear lest they revolt...(*Histories* 1.155 [Godley, LCL])³³⁹

In Herodotus's telling, the Lydian men experienced nothing short of a complete inversion of gender, for prior to Croesus' bargain, Herodotus writes:

there was no nation in Asia more valiant or warlike than the Lydian. It was their custom to fight on horseback, carrying long spears, and they were skilled in the management of horses. (*Histories* 1.79 [Godley, LCL])

The process by which warrior Lydians transformed into womanly-Lydians became a universalized template for the potential danger of being contaminated by the "Lydian dis-

³³⁹ Similar versions of Herodotus's account of the effemination of Lydian warriors also appears in two later historical works (Polyaenus of Macedonia, "Strategems of War," 7.6.4.; Justinus, *Epitome historiarum Philippicarum* 1.7.11–13), as well as in a handbook of exercises in rhetorical declamation where it forms a point of departure for a declamation exercise (Choricus of Gaza, *Preliminary Talks and Declamations*, "Declamation 3 [14]: The Lydians,") pointing to the account's enduring nature. "When the Lydians again revolted after the capture of Sardis, Cyrus on the march to Babylon sent Mazares the Mede with orders to destroy the Lydians' arms and horses when he captured the place, to compel them to wear feminine attire and no longer to learn either archery or riding but to weave and sing. He preferred, as it seems to feminize their souls with these amusements. Of course the Lydians, formerly most bellicose, have become the most unmilitary of barbarians." Polyaenus, *Strategems of War* 7.6.4 (Krentz and Wheeler).

ease.”³⁴⁰ A nation could become undone by its contact with Lydians, as portrayed in Athenaeus’s account of the people of Colophon.³⁴¹ The theme of Lydian disease emerged in poetic form in one of Horace’s “Lydia” odes which laments the un-manning of a warrior after he had isolated himself with Lydia at her home:

In the name of all the gods, tell me, Lydia, why thou art bent on ruining Sybaris...why he rides no more among his soldier mates...Why does he shun the wrestling-oil more warily than viper’s blood, nor longer show his arms bruised with weapon practice, he who once was famed for hurling, oft the discus, oft the javelin, beyond the farthest mark?” (Horace, *Odes* 1.8 [Bennett, LCL])

Feminine Lydian men, together with sexually immoral Lydian women (who, by their “shamelessness,” degraded the honour of their husbands and fathers),³⁴² produced an over-all ethnographic image of the decadent, immoral, pleasure-seeking Lydian. The stereotype of soft luxury-seeking Lydians was one of the most prevalent and entrenched in antiquity.

In a survey of Hellenistic proverbs, A. Spaworth lists:

‘A Lydian is keeping shop,’ evoking the attempt by Cyrus to feminize Lydian men by forcing them to dress in womanly garb and be shopkeepers; ‘A Lydian closed the door,’ proverbial for stupid thieves (*mōrokleptai*); the popular proverb (listed in no fewer than four collections) ‘A Lydian (plays) at noon,’ for sexual license, since (according to the paroemiographer’s gloss) ‘the Lydians are represented in

³⁴⁰ A warrior’s key virtue was his courage, and to be courageous, by definition, meant to be a man. S. Moore and J. Anderson explain: “ἀνδρεία derives from ἀνήρ (‘man’), so that its root meaning is ‘manliness.’ Indeed, given that ἀνδρεία and its cognates (ἀνδρεῖος, ἀνρείως, ἀνδρίζομαι, etc.) frequently mean just that—‘manliness’ and its cognates (‘manly,’ ‘manfully,’ ‘To play the man,’ etc.)—in both classical and *koine* Greek, it is not too much to suggest that built into the language itself was the notion that to act courageously was to act as befits a man. Thus, courage was conceived of as essentially a masculine virtue.” Stephen D. Moore and Janice Capel Anderson, “Taking It Like a Man: Masculinity in 4 Maccabees,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 117, no. 2 (1998): 253. “ancient texts often regard a man or group of men as effeminate by definition, when they are reputedly cowardly. Courage is regarded as one of the essential ingredients of masculinity, while cowardice is by definition part of the female nature.” Isaac, *The Invention of Racism*, 154.

³⁴¹ “The people of Colophon, according to Phylarchus, were in the beginning rigid in their discipline, but after they had drifted into luxury they contracted friendship and alliance with the Lydians... they used to walk to the place of assembly clad in robes all of purple...Consequently, by reason of this kind of regimen they became involved in tyranny and party quarrels, and were destroyed, fatherland and all.” (*Deipnosophists* 12.526.a–d [Gulick, LCL]).

³⁴² “a man’s honor is involved in the sexual purity of his mother (although his father has the main obligation in this regard), wife, daughters, and sisters—but not in his own sexual purity. According to this pattern, then, *the sexual purity or exclusiveness of the female is embedded within the honor of some male*. The man is responsible for the maintenance of this sexual exclusiveness; it is delegated to the man.” Malina, *The New Testament World*, 48. Emphasis original.

comedy as gorging on sexual pleasures with their own hands.’³⁴³

Critical elements found in Lydia the purple-seller’s Lydian ethnography have lain dormant, unseen by modern interpretive eyes, as the history of interpretation has remained blinkered by questions of social status. In antiquity, however, the Lydian elements of sexual immorality, decadence, luxury, and effeminacy would have seized an audience’s attention and raised very pertinent questions as to what business this type of woman might have with a “place of prayer.”

4.3.4 *Topos of Purple: Deepening the Topos of Luxuria.*

The preoccupation in commentaries with Lydia’s status has often drawn upon connotations of wealth and royalty symbolized by the colour purple. It is true that the use of purple could symbolize elite status, but also by early antiquity the elite status symbolically encoded in purple often was rhetorically inverted into a code for “degenerate living” resulting from luxurious extravagance.³⁴⁴ A Lydian female evoking degenerate immorality would naturally connect with this underbelly of purple’s symbolism.

³⁴³ Antony Spawforth, “Shades of Greekness: A Lydian Case Study,” in *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* (ed. Irad Malkin; Center for Hellenic Studies Colloquia 5; Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Hellenic Studies Trustees for Harvard University; Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2001), 383. In his physiognomic handbook, Polemo, when relating character to a person’s eyes, describes two Lydian men, the first displaying the ethnographic stereotype of effeminacy and sexual degeneracy, and the second of avarice, “If, then, that red is strong and you see in the eye the like of red dots or yellow or green....[detailed description continues] if, then, you see this eye know that you will not find another eye which is more perfectly evil than that...The owner of this eye takes no rest from interest in evil and from those things which are great sins and the crudities of nature. I have not seen the like of this type, though I did see one man, and he was from Lydia...He had eyes like those I have described to you...He had an effeminate mouth, was boastful in his speech...his stomach was large, protruding, even, and fleshy...He laughed in a high voice, and his spirit seemed ablaze. So I knew that this individual was full of evil, and he was always interested and thinking about plotting and learning vile deeds...He would often speak of fornication, of young men and women, and that he desired no trappings but bastard children” (Polemo, *Physiognomy* A11 [Hoyland]). “I once saw a man who had eyes that were small, red, and goggling like the eyes of a crab. He was from the land called Lydia...So I saw him at his house, and I found that he had neither understanding nor intellect, but was a man of a most cutting tongue, and he was covetous of evil, hardly able to see anything without desiring it for himself. He had eyes that quivered a lot and they were small, and in their redness they did not look like other people’s eyes” (Polemo, *Physiognomy* A13 [Hoyland]).

³⁴⁴ Reinhold, *History of Purple*, 56.

Rhetorical discourse with luxury as its concern often deployed the element of “purple” in developing its argument. For example, in his invective against Verres’s corruption, Cicero joins the *topos* of luxury together with purple in order to display the depths of Verres’s degeneracy:

There is another thing for which he [Verres] had an incredible passion...There was not one wealthy house in Sicily where he did not set up a weaving establishment. At Segesta there is a lady of wealth and rank named Lamia, who for three years had her house full of looms making woven fabrics for him, and the whole of them dyed with purple. There was the wealthy Attalus at Netum, Lyso at Lilybaeum,... —time is too short to give you all their names. ‘He provided the purple himself; his friends supplied the labour only.’ Well, possibly; parts of his misconduct I am willing for the present to pass over; and one would think it enough for me to accuse him of being able to provide all that purple, of planning to take so much out of the country, and finally of doing what he admits he did — making use of his friends’ work—people for such purposes as this. (Cicero, *Against Verres* 2.4.26.58-59)

In another situation, Diodorus of Sicily recounts how a lawmaker strategically deployed purple as a foil against immoral living:

whereas everywhere else wayward wives were required to pay fines, Zaleucus stopped their licentious behaviour by a cunningly devised punishment. That is, he made the following laws: a free-born woman may not be accompanied by more than one female slave, unless she is drunk;... she may not wear gold jewellery or a garment with a purple border, unless she is a courtesan; and a husband may not wear a gold-studded ring or a cloak of Milesian fashion unless he is bent upon prostitution or adultery. Consequently, by the elimination, with its shameful implications, of the penalties he easily turned men aside from harmful luxury and wanton living; for no man wished to incur the sneers of his fellow citizens by acknowledging the disgraceful licentiousness. (*The Library of History* 12.21 [Oldfather, LCL])

In Juvenal, fathers of old passed on traditional maxims to their sons to help ward off the “fierce craving for unbounded wealth” that could lead to corruption, including a maxim that equated purple with this poisonous passion:

The man who is not ashamed to wear high boots in time of frost, and who keeps off the East wind with skins turned inwards, will never wish to do a forbidden thing; it is purple raiment, whatever it be, foreign and unknown to us, that leads to crime and wickedness. (*Satire* 14.173–189 [Ramsay, LCL])

Like the effects of “Lydian disease,” purple could also contaminate a heart with a passion for luxurious living and thereby lead to degenerate, unmanly, and corrupt living.

The dichotomy between the “royal” status of purple and its rhetorical use as sign of immorality is also found in biblical narratives. The high status of purple is particularly recurrent in descriptions of the making of curtains for the tabernacle, e.g., “you shall make the tabernacle with ten curtains of fine twisted linen, and blue, purple, and crimson yarns”(Exodus 26:1). This context of weaving for the tabernacle is incorporated into an account of the annunciation of Mary in the apocryphal *Protoevangelium of James*, where “she took the purple and sat down on her seat and drew out (the thread)” (11.1). J. Neyrey points out that Mary’s working with “purple” elaborates on an earlier portion of the narrative where Mary had been “selected to spin and weave a cloth for the Temple to cover the Holy of Holies.”³⁴⁵ In this configuration of the deployment of the purple element, Mary is depicted “in appropriate female space (house) and proper female labor (cloth production).”³⁴⁶ P.A. van Stempvoort suggests that the emphasis on Mary’s propriety as she spins purple responds to Celsus’s claim that not only was Jesus not born of a virgin but his mother was “a woman that spins for daily hire.” The *Protoevangelium* therefore stresses that Mary “was of royal descent; she spun but only for making the temple-veil.”³⁴⁷

As with other elements and *topoi*, the salient rhetorical features of “purple” are activated by their connection to elements contained within its shared network. When temple purple co-joins with proper feminine activity—weaving—conducted in appropriate space—household—it evokes royal, refined status. So, too, the industrious wife of Proverbs 31:10-31, working day and night for the well-being of her household, dresses her family in scarlet and herself in purple fine linen that she has produced as she “seeks wool and flax, and works with willing hands” (Prov 31:13), and “puts her hands to the distaff, and her hands

³⁴⁵ Referring to *Protoevangelium of James* 10.2; Jerome H. Neyrey, “Maid and Mother in Art and Literature,” *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 20, no. 2 (1990): 66–67.

³⁴⁶ Neyrey, “Maid and Mother,” 66.

³⁴⁷ Pieter A. Van Stempvoort, “The *Protevangelium Jacobi*, the Sources of Its Theme and Style and Their Bearing on Its Date,” in *Studia Evangelica, Vol. 3, Papers Presented to the Second International Congress on New Testament Studies Held at Christ Church, Oxford, 1961, Part 2: The New Testament Message* (ed. F. L. Cross; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964), 414.

hold the spindle” (Prov 31:19). She sells off the abundance of her household production to merchants, as would be appropriate in an agrarian economy (Prov 31:24). Notably, although she sells her excess production to merchants, she herself is not one of the merchants, who in this passage, similarly to Zechariah 14:21, are metaphorically called “Canaanites” because of their reputation as being the world’s first (purple) traders (σινδόνας ἐποίησεν καὶ ἀπέδοτο περιζώματα δὲ τοῖς Χαναναίοις” Prov 31:24).³⁴⁸ In contrast with its use with the “good wife” in Proverbs and with Mary in the *Protoevangelium*, when purple appears in the story of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19), it does so with the familiar first-century evocation of sumptuousness; and, when it clothes the harlot Babylon (Revelation 17:4), it unquestionably exploits the fullness of an immorality *topos*.

Purple not only frequently evoked elements of immorality and *luxuria*, but also by the first century was influenced by the sham purple industry. J. Arieti explains :

So great was the demand that imitation of the Tyrian dye appeared, notably the *fucus* of Tarentum. The word *fucus* comes to be synonymous with deceit and simulation (e.g., *Sat.* 1.2.83) because it is an imitation or faking of the true *purpura*.³⁴⁹

Dyeing as a sign of deception was a common topic in ancient discourse. Moreover, with purple being the prototypical colour of dyes, purple especially featured prominently as a deceptive element. For example, in Plutarch’s attack against Herodotus, he alleges that the purple-dyed clothing of the deceptive Persian spies in one of the *Histories*’ episodes was analogous to Herodotus’s deceptive version of history.³⁵⁰ Purple dye, fakery and deception

³⁴⁸ In the first century the “ethnicon ‘Canaanite’ [had] acquired the connotation ‘merchant’ in Biblical Hebrew because of the renowned commercial activities of the Phoenicians.” Michael C. Astour, “The Origin of the Terms ‘Canaan,’ ‘Phoenician,’ and ‘Purple,’” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24, no. 4 (October 1965): 347.

³⁴⁹ James Arieti, “Horatian Philosophy and the Regulus Ode (Odes 3.5),” *Transactions of the American Philological Association* (1974-) 120 (1990): 214, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/283987>. The term *fucus* was also used to describe artificially enhancing a slave’s pallour at market, see note 371.

³⁵⁰ “Might one not suitably apply to Herodotus himself the remark that he puts in the mouth of the Ethiopian? In reply to the offerings of perfume and purple clothing Herodotus makes him say: ‘Full of guile are the unguents and full of guile are the Persian garments.’ So one might say of him: ‘Full of guile are the statements and full of guile the whole treatment of history in Herodotus’ (Plutarch, *On the Malice of Herodotus* 863.28.d–e [Pearson, LCL])

commonly clustered together in rhetorical discourse.³⁵¹ Lydia’s purple not only suggested decadent luxury, but also elements of deception and false appearances, elements that become foregrounded by joining with the rhetorical profiling of merchants.

4.3.5 *Topos of Seller: “Hucksterism”*.

To date, inscriptions have yielded only one instance of πορφυρόπωλις, in this instance from “what is apparently a husband/wife team” from the island of Cos.³⁵² More common was the Latin *purpuraria* “which could mean ‘purple-dyer’ as well as ‘purple-seller’; but there seems to have been no single Latin word as specific as πορφυρόπωλις.”³⁵³ Since πορφυρόπωλις is all but absent from material and literary artifacts outside of the Cos inscription and Acts 16-related writings,³⁵⁴ and while references to purple-dyers can be found in inscriptional evidence, historical-critical discussions of Lydia’s occupation have typi-

³⁵¹ Other examples where dyed clothing is considered an analogue to deception include: Herodotus, *Histories* 3.22; Plutarch, *Table Talk* 3.1.646; *The Roman Questions* 270.26.f; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 10.48.5; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* 15.686.e–687.a; Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 1.32. M. Bradley describes Pliny’s consternation over Tyrian purple’s being used to obfuscate an object’s true identity, Bradley writes: “Pliny proceeds more generally to attack Rome’s habit of ‘readulterating nature’s adulterations’ (*ipsa adulterare adulteria naturae*) and berate the artificial character of dyes ([9.]139). On the dye ‘*amethystinus*’ he comments that it is not enough simply to have stolen the name of a gem (*non est satis abstulisse gemmae nomen amethystum*): *amethystinus*—‘soberstone’ in Greek—can be “made drunk” (*inebriatur*) with Tyrian purple to produce a twofold luxury (*duplex luxuria*) and the shameless category (*improbum nomen*) ‘*Tyriamethystinus*.’ The contrived nomenclature, alongside the intellectual difficulties posed to perception and understanding by such blends, echoes the parodies on categories (*nomina*) in discussions of cloth-dyes in Plautus’ *Epidicus* and Ovid’s *Ars Amatoria*. The point, though, was a serious one for Pliny: categories (*nomina*) represent our understanding of what we perceive, and all these dye names were contrived and synthetic. He does not let the point drop: the derivation ‘*Tyriamethystinus*’ was accidental, the result of dissatisfaction (*paenitentia*) with an unsatisfying *color* (i.e. *amethystinus*) which the dyer fixed with a further layer of Tyrian purple, so that one colour might be concealed by another (*ut color alius operiretur alio*). With this artificial synthesis, how can one tell what one is seeing?” Mark Bradley, *Colour and Meaning in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge Classical Studies.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 196. For a general discussion of Roman attitudes towards dyeing and cosmetics see Bradley, *Colour and Meaning*, 161–88.

³⁵² G. H. R. Horsley, “Purple Trade,” 27.

³⁵³ G. H. R. Horsley, “Purple Trade,” 27.

³⁵⁴ The term πορφυρόπωλις is only used of Lydia in Acts 16. Later commentaries or homilies on Acts will use the term in reference to Lydia and it will appear in later lexicons. The masculine πορφυροπώλης is also not found in early extant texts. The synonym ἀλουργοπώλης is used by Aristotle (cf. note 374) and also appears in later lexicons. Neither term enjoyed common currency.

cally moved into the arena of purple-dyeing and purple-dyers.³⁵⁵ In addition to “dyer,” Lydia’s occupation has been variously portrayed, including weaver, merchant-trader, or “something of a first-century Avon lady or Mary Kay representative.”³⁵⁶ Yet, the compound term πορφυρόπωλις specifically means purple-selling woman, clearly understood as such in the tenth-century lexicon, *Suda*: “πορφυρόπωλις: ἡ τὰ πορφυρᾶ πωλοῦσα.”³⁵⁷

Strong cultural stereotypes found in πώλης, seller, were consistently operative in antiquity, regardless of gender. The appropriate salient features of the “seller” component of “purple-seller” can be better isolated by first culling other occupational descriptors that commentators have attached to Lydia in the past. Beginning with one of the most common, Lydia is not called a πορφυρόβάφισσα, purple-dyer, a weaver, or indeed any form of cloth-worker or artisan. However, since Lydia has so frequently been associated with cloth production in commentary, it is important for us to first distinguish between the social and cultural understanding of some of these occupational descriptors and that of a πορφυρόπωλις.

From a social status perspective, dyers and others who were required to practice a τέχνη, a handicraft or trade, were on the low end of the social scale, mainly because they needed to work for their subsistence and were therefore not “free.”³⁵⁸ In addition to not being of the leisure-class, tradespeople such as purple-dyers often worked in ungentle environments.³⁵⁹ While the social status of a trade-worker was low, the rhetorical characterization of tradespeople was limited to this low status. That is, while tradespeople could be

³⁵⁵ For example, Haenchen, *Acts*, 494, n. 9; Sterck-Deguedre, *Eine Frau namens Lydia*, 213–30.

³⁵⁶ The quote comes from F. Scott Spencer’s portrayal of Lilian Portefaix’s characterization of Lydia, F. Scott Spencer, “Women of ‘the Cloth’ in Acts: Sewing the Word,” in *A Feminist Companion to the Acts of the Apostles* (ed. Amy-Jill Levine and Marianne Blickenstaff; Cleveland, Ohio: Pilgrim Press, 2004), 148. Lilian Portefaix, *Sisters Rejoice Paul’s Letter to the Philippians and Luke-Acts as Seen by First-Century Philippian Women (Coniectanea Biblica 20)*; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1988).

³⁵⁷ *Suidae Lexicon* 2101; *TLG*.

³⁵⁸ “not to work at a vulgar trade [βάνανσον τέχνην] [is honourable]; for it is characteristic of a free man not to live in dependence on another” (*Rhetoric* 1.9.1367a.27 [Kennedy]). First bracket mine, second in translation.

³⁵⁹ Born, “Purple,” 114. Pliny gives a recipe for purple dye that involves mixing the juices with equal quantities of “human urine” (Pliny, *Natural History* 9.64.138 [Rackham, LCL]).

markers of low social status, as in Celsus's portrayal of Mary,³⁶⁰ their rhetorical profile centered on vulgarity, coarseness and uncouthness associated with this low status, rather than moral character *per se*.

Where past interpretations have cast Lydia as a textile-worker, this low status marker has been used to either support a liberationist reading, or has been "overridden" by the presumed high economic status of the purple she was selling. Whichever the direction of these interpretations, the pivotal element has been social status. As we have argued, status in the case of Lydia is indeterminate and a non-issue rhetorically. By reconfiguring Lydia into a textile-worker, interpretations have destroyed the rhetorical fabric of the text by removing another of her fundamental descriptors: that of "seller."

Formal physiognomic handbooks were primarily occupied with external bodily signs that indicated a person's inner character since their genesis came from a scientific/medical orientation. In rhetoric, any conventional stereotypes, be they ethnically, bodily (gender included), or occupationally based, were regular features of rhetorical compositions.³⁶¹ When a person's occupation played a rhetorical role in an ancient work, her or his occupational category was typically as laden with conventional assumptions and stereotypes as were physical appearance or ethnicity.

In rhetorical depictions, merchants were susceptible to the corrupting influence of money and were particularly prone to deception in its quest. Only in certain isolated cases—those normally dealing with an ἔμπορος, or large-scale merchant—might a rhetorical portrayal be somewhat more nuanced. The ἔμπορος was "a merchant, wholesaler, dealer...distinguished from the retail trader (κάπηλος) by his making voyages and importing goods himself."³⁶² This type of mercantile trader was a socially ambivalent figure, in great

³⁶⁰ See page 152. "vulgar are the means of livelihood of all hired workmen whom we pay for mere manual labour, not for artistic skill; for in their case the very wage they receive is a pledge of their slavery." *De officiis* 1.42.150 (Miller, LCL).

³⁶¹ A good example of a non-scientific handbook of stereotypes is Theophrastus, *Characters* .

³⁶² LSJ, s.v. "ἔμπορος;" also see, Schmitz, Winfried Schmitz, "Kapelos," *BNP*.

part due to the financial and social, mutually-beneficial reciprocal relationships that could exist between wealthy merchants and elites.³⁶³ Lydia’s occupation, described by the compound term πορφηρόπωλις, belongs in the category of “local retail-trader” rather than an ἔμπορος, merchant-trader. However, even merchant-traders, if portrayed positively, still needed the benefit of apologetic rhetoric to help neutralize the universal stereotypes associated with merchants of any category.

Cicero, for example, claims that large-scale trade potentially could be respectable as long as it is conducted without “misrepresentation,” and, ideally, is merely a temporary means to achieving the truly honourable lifestyle of a retired country-estate holder (*De officiis* 1.42.151).³⁶⁴ Whether apologetic or not, rhetorical portrayals of merchants consistently contained elements of guile.

Merchants, whether wealthy import-export traders, vendors at fairs, shopkeepers, or itinerant travellers all shared in common various degrees of a rhetorical stereotype that centered upon greed and deceptiveness. In Theophrastus’s catalogue of various negative character types, the market-vendor is located in a profile of “shamelessness”:

The shameless man is the sort who...ruins his reputation, vilifies the powerful, in his character is like a market-vendor, coarse and ready for anything...He is apt to keep an inn or run a brothel or be a tax collector, and he rejects no disgraceful occupation...He lets his mother starve, is arrested for theft, and spends more time in jail than at home. (*Characters* 6.1–6 [Rusten, LCL]).

When Plato debates the pros and cons of either inland or maritime locations for the ideal Model City, he cautions about the maritime’s vulnerability to moral contamination from the inevitable concentration of merchants that would be attracted by its ports:

³⁶³ Jerome H. Neyrey, “The Social Location of Paul: Education as the Key,” in *Fabrics of Discourse: Essays in Honor of Vernon K. Robbins* (ed. David B. Gowler, L. Gregory Bloomquist, and Duane F. Watson; Harrisburg, Penn.: Trinity Press International, 2003), 127–30.

³⁶⁴ “Trade, if it is on a small scale, is to be considered vulgar (*sordida*); but if wholesale and on a large scale, importing large quantities from all parts of the world and distributing to many without misrepresentation, it is not to be greatly disparaged. Nay, it even seems to deserve the highest respect, if those who are engaged in it, satiated, or rather, I should say, satisfied with the fortunes they have made, make their way from the port to a country estate, as they have often made it from sea into port” *De officiis* 1.42.151 (Miller, LCL).

For if the State was to be on the sea-coast...it would need a mighty saviour and divine lawgivers, if, with such a character, it was to avoid having a variety of luxurious and depraved habits...For the sea is, in very truth, 'a right briny and bitter neighbour,' although there is sweetness in its proximity for the uses of daily life; for by filling the markets of the city with foreign merchandise and retail trading, and breeding in men's souls knavish and tricky ways, it renders the city faithless and loveless, not itself only, but to the rest of the world as well. (*Laws* 4.704.d–705.a [Bury, LCL])

Wealthy merchants, together with all other types of merchants, were profiled as deceptive and immoral due to their desire for profit.³⁶⁵

Deception was a particular characteristic of merchants, in great part because of the knowledge imbalance between a buyer and seller that characterizes what cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz has called a “bazaar economy.” Geertz stressed that while “under whatever skies, men prefer to buy cheap and sell dear,” a bazaar economy operates primarily through knowledge imbalance rather than comparative pricing.³⁶⁶ The disparity between a seller's and a buyer's knowledge about the quality of, and appropriate pricing for, a product, be it wool or a slave, provided sellers with the potential to exploit their “insider information,” at the expense of the buyer. The underlying social relations that govern a bazaar economy are an appropriate analogue for the first-century Greco-Roman economy.³⁶⁷ Moreover, bazaar economy imbalances are exacerbated in a limited goods en-

³⁶⁵ “Vulgar we must consider those also who buy from wholesale merchants to retail immediately; for they would get no profits without a great deal of downright lying.” *De officiis* 1.42.150 (Miller, LCL). Profit is equated to sin in Sirach because of its corrupting influence, “A merchant (ἔμπορος) can hardly keep from wrongdoing, nor is a tradesman (κάπηλος) innocent of sin. Many have committed sin for gain, and those who seek to get rich will avert their eyes. As a stake is driven firmly into a fissure between stones, so sin is wedged in between selling and buying” (Sirach 26:29-27:2). See also Ben-Zion Rosenfeld and Joseph Menirav, “Commerce and Marketers, as Viewed by the Sages,” in *Markets and Marketing in Roman Palestine* (trans. Chava Chassel; Journal for the Study of Judaism 99; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 180–81.

³⁶⁶ “To start with a dictum: in the bazaar information is poor, scarce, maldistributed, inefficiently communicated, and intensely valued...The level of ignorance about everything from product quality and going prices to market possibilities and production costs is very high, and much of the way in which the bazaar functions can be interpreted as an attempt to reduce such ignorance for someone, increase it for someone, or defend someone against it.” Clifford Geertz, “The Bazaar Economy: Information and Search in Peasant Marketing,” *The American Economic Review* 68, no. 2, Papers and Proceedings of the Ninetieth Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association (May 1978): 29.

³⁶⁷ The analogue between the bazaar economy and the Roman economy has also been developed in the work of Peter F. Bang, “Imperial Bazaar: Towards a Comparative Understanding of Markets in the Roman Empire,” in *Ancient Economies, Modern Methodologies: Archaeology, Comparative History, Models and Institutions* (ed. Peter F. Bang, Mamoru Ikeguchi, and Harmut G. Ziche; Pragmateiai 12; Bari, Italy:

vironment, such as in Mediterranean antiquity, where, either in reality or perceptually, “all goods in life exist in finite, limited quantity and are always in short supply,” and therefore one person’s gain is perceived to be another’s loss.³⁶⁸ From the perspective of a limited good society, it is always a sellers’ market, at the buyer’s expense.³⁶⁹

In an economy with limited and uneven access to market information, the potential for dishonestly misrepresenting product quality, and exploitative pricing, resulted in a stereotype of merchants “associated with conniving, cheating, and greed” where the *topos* of “merchant” evoked “thief, swindler and liar.”³⁷⁰ The element of deception evoked by merchants applied to all categories of merchants whether a slave dealer,³⁷¹ or a sausage-seller (ἀλλαντοπώλης), whom Aristophanes sardonically depicts as the new choice for state leader:

How can I, a sausage-selling chap, become a Man (ἄνθρωπος)?

Edipuglia, 2006), 51–88. Also supported by, “One of the ‘accusations’ leveled by the Romans against market vendors was that the vendors’ knowledge was greater than that of their customers and they could use this knowledge to deceive them. Even Diocletian’s Edict branded merchants as scoundrels who were involved in business, who could read the future in the stars (and hence were aware of future price developments).” Rosenfeld and Menirav, “Commerce and Marketers,” 187.

³⁶⁸ Malina, *The New Testament World*, 89.

³⁶⁹ Malina, *The New Testament World*, 95.

³⁷⁰ Rosenfeld and Menirav, “Commerce and Marketers,” 180. Leslie Kurke offers textual support for “the enduring power of the equation of trade with deceit” from the classical period to antiquity; “ΚΑΠΗΛΕΙΑ And Deceit: Theognis 59–60,” *The American Journal of Philology* 110, no. 4 (1989): 537, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/295278>. It is important to note that such stereotypes do not infer that historically this is how all merchants actually behaved, for trust was a key component of sustaining longer term relationships between buyers and sellers. For example, the general cultural perception was that “to deceive with oaths... is general practice in the market place,” although in reality “the proper use of oaths must have outweighed the misuse; otherwise no contract of sale, no alliance...could ever have had any force.” The difference lies between “cultural wisdom” found in rhetorical portrayals and socio-historical practice. On oaths in the marketplace: Walter Burkert, “Chapter 5: Polis and Polytheism,” in *Greek Religion* (trans. John Raffan; 1977; repr., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), 253–54; see also, Nicholas Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce: Religion, Economy, and Trade Society at Hellenistic Roman Delos, 166–87 B.C.* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1993) .

³⁷¹ “the art of a slave-dealer is a flattery of gymnastic, for they produce a false complexion by the use of paint (*qui colorem fuco*) and a false robustness by puffing them out with fat” (Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* 2.15.25 [Butler, LCL]) . “Slave-dealers hide under some sort of finery any defect [of the slave] which may give offence, and for that reason the very trappings arouse the suspicion of the buyer. If you catch sight of a leg or an arm that is bound up in cloths, you demand that it be stripped and that the body itself be revealed to you” (Seneca, *Epistles* 80.9 [Gummere, LCL]). See also Albert J. Harrill, “The Vice of Slave Dealers in Greco-Roman Society: The Use of a Topos in 1 Timothy 1:10,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 118, no. 1 (1999): 106.

Why, that's the very thing will make you great, your roguery (πονηρός), impudence (θρασύς), and agora-training... To be a Demus-leader is not now for lettered men, nor yet for honest men, but for the base and ignorant. (*The Knights* 177-181 [Rogers, LCL]).³⁷²

Trickery was ascribed to wool-sellers, who were accused of wetting their wool in order to increase its weight,³⁷³ as well as to purple-sellers who were known to doctor their scales.³⁷⁴

The rhetorical profile of a Greco-Roman female seller conscripted all of the deceptive hucksterism of the male, augmented by the perceived shamelessness of a female engaged in speech and purposeful action in public space.³⁷⁵ This rhetorical perception of female vendors is succinctly put in E. D'Ambra's interpretation of a relief of a female seller excavated from a Roman marketplace:

What we see is the most public and characteristic activity of the women in their stalls appealing to passersby. This is also the part of the job that made the women appear disreputable and degraded to elite men, who saw them as aggressive, shameless, and surely willing to sell their bodies as easily as they would hand over a head of garlic.³⁷⁶

The Hellenistic proverb referring to a Lydian “keeping shop” pointed to the degree to which Lydia's ethnographic profile was further amplified by the rhetorical profile of her occupation, for it touches on another Lydian stereotype: selling.³⁷⁷ In Herodotus's account of the demilitarization of Lydian men, Croesus also proposed that, along with other effemi-

³⁷² The sausage-seller's name —Agoracritus (Αγοράκριτος)—is an example of *antonomasia*, see page 140 above. Although it literally translates to “Agora-judge” it refers to the type of “market-smarts” needed to distinguish what price one could optimally buy or sell goods for. Agoracritus explains his name by, “an agora-life I lived, and thrived by wrangling” (Aristophanes, *The Knights* 1258 [Rogers, LCL]), where “wrangling” is actually κρινόμενος. The need for “market-smarts” is particularly acute in a Greco-Roman “bazaar economy.”

³⁷³ “His scale sinks down. Why, how came that about? He threw a river in, like some wool-seller (ἐπιποωλικῶς) wetting his wool, to make it weigh the more” (Aristophanes, *The Frogs* 1385-88 [Rogers, LCL]).

³⁷⁴ “This is how sellers of purple (ἀλουργοπωλάι) arrange their weighing machines to deceive, by putting the cord out of the true centre, and pouring lead into one arm of the balance, or by employing wood for the side to which they want it to incline taken from the root or from where there is a knot” Aristotle, *Mechanical Problems* 1.849b.85 (Hett, LCL). The lexical entry for ἀλουργοπωλική: “considered the same as πορφυροπωλική” is found in five archaic lexicons: Harpocration (2nd cent. C.E.), Pseudo-Zonaras (13th cent. C.E.), Photius (9th cent. C.E.), *Suda* (10th cent. C.E.), *Lexica Segueriana*.

³⁷⁵ One of the Greek words for “prostitute” was “πόρνη, from πέρνημι, to sell;” *BNP*, s.v. “Prostitution.”

³⁷⁶ Eve D'Ambra, *Roman Women* (Cambridge Introduction to Roman Civilization; Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 140.

³⁷⁷ Cf. page 149 for the “Lydian shopkeeper” profile.

nating measures, Lydian men should learn retail-trade, *καπηλεύω*. (Herodotus, *Histories* 1.155).³⁷⁸ In fact, as we discussed earlier, Herodotus ascribed the invention of both coin minting and retailing to Lydians.³⁷⁹

The term *κάπηλος*, along with its synonyms, was most closely connected with petty-trades and regularly evoked hucksterism, “petty-roguery,” trickery, and cheating.³⁸⁰ As a result, the element of “seller” contained in Lydia’s profile as a *πορφυρόπωλις* co-joins with general Lydian ethnography. A blend of a huckster *topos* with that of sexual immorality appears in the work of Josephus, who augmented a list from Leviticus 21:7 of the types of “impure” women that priests would be forbidden to marry, namely, prostituted and profaned women, and divorcées, with those who “gain their livelihood by hawking (*καπηλείας*) or innkeeping (*πανδοκεύειν*)” (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 3.2.276 [Thackeray, LCL]).³⁸¹

Even without her Lydian profile, Lydia as a seller would have readily shared in the negative cultural stereotype. While general deceptiveness was a rhetorical attribute of any kind of merchant, ethnographically the Lydians as originators of *καπηλεία* were standard-bearers for this stereotype. When we add Lydia’s Lydian ethnographic profile to the *topoi* of “purple” and seller, it erupts into a full-blown rhetorical profile that embodies hucksterism and deception.

³⁷⁸ See page 148.

³⁷⁹ *Histories* 1.94 (Godley, LCL). Cf. page 143.

³⁸⁰ Leslie Kurke has astutely pointed out that Herodotus contrasts the components of Persian education with those proposed by Croesus for Lydian boys where Persian “truth-telling” corresponds and contrasts with Lydian “retail-trading.” Persian *paideia* is described as follows: “*παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ πενταέτεος ἄρξάμενοι μέχρι εἰκοσαέτεος τρία μόνον, ἵππεύειν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι.*” “They educate their boys from five to twenty years old, and teach them three things only, riding and archery, and truth-telling” (Herodotus, *Histories* 1.136 [Godley, LCL]). As Kurke observes, “Croesus’ advice is clearly intended to stand in contrast to the program of Persian education: each passage uses the phrase *paideuein* (-ousi) *tous paidas* with three bare infinitives. *Kitharizein* contrasts with *hippeuein*, *psallein* ‘to pluck’ replaces *tokseuein*, and *kapêleuein* [huckstering] provides the climatic contrast to *alêthizesthai* [truth-telling].” Kurke, “ΚΑΠΗΛΕΙΑ and Deceit,” 539.

³⁸¹ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 3.2.276 (Thackeray, LCL). Ben-Zion Rosenfeld, “Innkeeping in Jewish Society in Roman Palestine,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41, no. 2 (1998): 142.

4.3.6 Lydia's "Reverence": *Topoi of προσευχή and "σεβομένη τὸν θεόν"*.

Lydia is encountered in the spatial context of the Pauline group's looking for a "place of prayer" (προσευχή), and temporally within a frame of "Sabbath" (Acts 16:13). When the disciples sit down with the women, their purposeful action of sitting with an assembled group on the Sabbath evokes a "temple-dialogue" literary motif³⁸² and echoes two similar Sabbath day settings: Jesus' preaching in the synagogue in Nazareth (Luke 4:16-28), and Paul's preaching in the synagogue in Antioch (Acts 13:14-42). In both of these two preceding synagogue scenes, the term εὐαγγελίζομαι is featured (Luke 4:18; Acts 13:32), helping to support the portrayal of the assembly on the outskirts of Philippi as a re-enactment of prior synagogue assemblies.³⁸³ Contributing to the synagogue-esque sense of the assembly by the river is the epithet "σεβομένη τὸν θεόν" (Acts 16:14) as the final of Lydia's descriptive attributes.

Almost universally, it has been assumed that "worshiper of God" in this passage designates Lydia as a "God-fearer," that is, a proselyte to Judaism. Representative of most commentaries is the suggestion that:

The phrase 'worshiper of God...' is equivalent to the technical term 'fearer of God...' which the Septuagint routinely uses to describe the house of Israel.³⁸⁴

From this understanding, Lydia is *de facto* Jewish, and, like Cornelius in Acts 10 (αφοβούμενος τὸν θεόν 10:2, 22), "converts" to Christianity from Judaism. Implicitly, a religious social identity of "Jewish woman" infers that Lydia's piety is located within a norma-

³⁸² On the temple-dialogue as a literary form see Vernon K. Robbins, *Jesus the Teacher: A Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation of Mark, with a New Introduction* (1984; repr., Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1992), 104–5, 178–79; David E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1983), 399–400, n.93.

³⁸³ A common inference found in scholarship is: "According to Ac. 16:13 ff. there was a synagogue at Philippi which Paul visited with his companions to preach the Gospel there to the Jews." Greeven, "εὐχνομαι," *TDNT* 2:808

³⁸⁴ Malina and Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary*, 117.

tive framework of Jewish customs and values.³⁸⁵ Framed by the Sabbath, it is easy to see how the gathering of women might be understood as fitting an established pattern of synagogue visits and preaching. However, the pattern shatters with the substitution of the uncommon term προσευχή for synagogue, the socially inappropriate purposeful action of first-century Mediterranean men sitting down to talk with women, and most particularly with a women-only gathering represented by Lydia.

From a historical perspective, in addition to there being no firm evidence to date for the existence of a Jewish community in Philippi in the first century, the category of “God-fearers” or “God-worshippers” as a definable class of proselytes remains a matter of debate.³⁸⁶ In addition, while some commentators understand the use of θεός in the singular in Lydia’s epithet as necessarily pointing to the monotheistic God of Israel, the singular θεός was used quite regularly in Greco-Roman literature, where the god’s identity was determined by how it was contextualized. When Herodotus recounted how an Egyptian Pharaoh was delivered by his god, the use of θεός would naturally infer the Egyptian divinity for an Egyptian reader (*Histories* 2.141). However, when Herodotus—a Greek— named the god in question, he used the Greek name Hephaestus rather than the Egyptian Ptah. When Josephus recounted the same story, his use of θεός intended the God of Israel (*Jewish Antiquities* 10.5-17).³⁸⁷ In both Herodotus and Josephus, the god in question was

³⁸⁵ There has been some conjecture that the riverside locale implies a Jewish gathering since “women...had to do ritual ablutions after their monthly period in order to be considered clean and able to attend Jewish worship” (Witherington, *Acts of the Apostles*, 490; see also Malina and Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary*, 116), but these readings ignore the association between water and other cults, such as that of the healing god Asclepius, as well as the somewhat unlikely scenario that the disciples, looking for a place of prayer, sat themselves down amongst a group of women washing their genitalia. “*Asclepieia* are usually located outside settlements, occasionally on river banks or on the sea shore; statements from antiquity justify this by means of practical and religious considerations. Water installations and the incubation room (*enkoimētērion*) are specifically associated with healing. Water plays a major role in this healing cult, all *Asclepieia* have ready access to a source of fresh water, including those located at the sea.” Fritz Graf, “Asclepius,” *BNP*. Apollonius of Tyana claims that like the poet Sappho, another poet, Damophyle, would gather women together in order to compose poems and hymns (Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 30). The constitution of the gathering of women in Acts 16 remains ambiguous.

³⁸⁶ This descriptor is only found in Acts in the NT, (“God-fearer(s)”: 10:2, 22; 13:16, 26; “worshiper of God”: 16:14; 18:7).

³⁸⁷ See pages 128–128.

simply referred to as a singular θεός since the audience would have automatically filled-in the god's identity. When Plutarch wrote of the oracles at Delphi, θεός in the singular is normative throughout the work, since Apollo is self-evidently the god in sight.³⁸⁸ The use of θεός in the singular does not automatically suggest a monotheistic belief but rather that it is clear what god is in view.

Rhetorical factors also prevent a facile substitution of “Jewish-Gentile” for σεβομένη τὸν θεόν. The only place that προσευχή, prayer, is used as a spatial reference to suggest prayer-house in the Bible is in this rhetorical unit (Acts 16:13,16). Yet, this rare use of προσευχή has drawn only passing remarks from commentators, where the gathered women have been regarded as some type of oddity falling outside of the strict bounds of synagogue, but remaining synagogue-esque nonetheless.

While προσευχή is used on its own only in Acts 16:13, 16 to designate a place, it is used with a spatial qualifier in the OT in 1 Maccabees 3:46; 7:37; 3 Maccabees 7:20; and Isaiah 56:7 (x2); 60:7, and in the NT in Luke 19:46 (synoptic parallels Matt 21:13 and Mark 11:17). In 1 Maccabees 3:46 the designation “place of prayer” (τόπος προσευχῆς) is found in a situation of conflict within military discourse describing the battles between the Maccabees and the forces of Antiochus Epiphanies,³⁸⁹ and so, too, in 1 Macc 7:37 the reference to the temple as a “house of prayer and supplication” occurs within Jewish/Gentile conflict. In 3 Maccabees 7:20, the Jews dedicate a “place of prayer” (τόπον προσευχῆς) as a thanksoffering for a triumphant rescue from an enemy as their former Egyptian persecutor radically transforms into their benefactor after God's salvific intervention.

³⁸⁸ Among other numerous examples of references to θεός in the singular see Diodorus of Sicily, *The Library of History* 32.10.2; Xenophon *Oeconomicus* 7.22.

³⁸⁹ “But they said to one another, “Let us repair the destruction of our people, and fight for our people and the sanctuary.” And the congregation assembled to be ready for battle, and to pray and ask for mercy and compassion. Jerusalem was uninhabited like a wilderness; not one of her children went in or out. The sanctuary was trampled down, and the sons of aliens held the citadel; it was a lodging place for the Gentiles. Joy was taken from Jacob; the flute and the harp ceased to play. So they assembled and went to Mizpah, opposite Jerusalem, because Israel formerly had a place of prayer in Mizpah” (1 Maccabees 3:43-46).

In Isaiah 56:7 the “house of prayer” marks the apocalyptic enjoining of all who live in accordance with God’s precepts, including the eunuch and the foreigner, into God’s temple and this apocalyptic theme continues in Isa 60:7 when, at Israel’s promised redemption, God’s “house of prayer” shall be glorified. In Luke 19:46 and parallels, προσευχή is used spatially to designate the temple and is situated within a context of intense conflict. Jesus, while driving out the temple sellers (τοὺς πωλοῦντας), condemns the temple leadership by contrasting what the temple ought to be—a “house of prayer” (οἶκος προσευχῆς)—with what it has become: “a den of robbers”(σπήλαιον ληστῶν).³⁹⁰

The term is not found in non-Jewish Greek literature, but it is used with this meaning by Jewish-Hellenistic writers Philo and Josephus.³⁹¹ Conflicted control over, and classification of, the προσευχή marks Josephus’s depiction of the προσευχή. He calls Apion “a liar” for claiming in his *History of Egypt* that Moses erected “prayer-houses (προσευχάς)... in the various precincts of the city, all facing eastwards, such being the orientation also of

³⁹⁰ Military imagery is not that far removed here either: “ληστής, originally ‘the one who takes booty.’” Rengstorf, “ληστής,” *TDNT* 4:257

³⁹¹ Philo, *Against Flaccus* 41.7; 45.2; 48.1, 4; 49.4; 53.2; 122.3; *On the Embassy to Gaius* 132.6; 134.3; 137.3; 138.3; 148.3; 152.2; 156.2; 157.3; 165.1; 191.1; 346.3; 371.3. Josephus, *The Life* 277.2; 280.5; 293.6; *Jewish Antiquities* 258.3; *Against Apion* 2.10.4. The Roman author Juvenal’s use of the Latin transliteration *proseucha* (*Satire* 3.295) is regularly cited as evidence that a Gentile author uses the term for Jewish prayer-house, however, the term is used in the questioning of a Gentile Roman without any explicit presumption of Jewishness attached to it. Juvenal’s third *Satire* is concerned with the demise of the “honourable Roman of old” who has been replaced by self-serving, political “flatterers” who, through their corrupt behaviour, have become powerful and wealthy at the expense of long-established “true” Romans. Most of this *Satire* contrasts the values and life-style of this “new Roman rich” with the, now poor, authentic Roman. The Roman of old, due to his poverty, has become vulnerable to life’s various indignities from which the rich are insulated. As one example Juvenal describes how this Roman, out at night, is an easy target for a roving bully: “Where are you from?” shouts he [the thug]; ‘whose vinegar, whose beans have blown you out? With what cobbler have you been munching cut leeks and boiled wether’s chaps?—What, sirrah, no answer? Speak out, or take that upon your shins! Say, where is your stand? In what prayer-shop (*proseucha*) shall I find you?’ Whether you venture to say anything, or make off silently...he will thrash you just the same...Such is the liberty of the poor man: having been pounded and cuffed into a jelly, he begs and prays to be allowed to return home with a few teeth in his head!” (*Satire* 3.290–300 [Ramsay, LCL]). The entire passage deals with age-old baiting tactics used by bullies that begin with demands for the victim to identify his or her affiliations. The first question, “Where are you from?” is the key one. Since the first-century personality was defined by one’s social group, the bully’s interrogation is aimed at answering the question, “who are you?” determined by whom the victim associates with. It is possible that, implicitly, Juvenal’s thug is wondering whether the poor Roman is a Jew. When Juvenal does refer to Jews he portrays them as poor (*Satire* 3.13–14; 6.542–547), so it is within the realm of possibility that Juvenal is suggesting that the poor Roman maybe mistaken for a Jew by the fact of his poverty, but such an interpretation is inferential at best, and not the main point of the passage.

Helipolis,” and had them outfitted according to Egyptian customs of piety (Josephus, *Against Apion* 2.10–11 [Thackeray, LCL]). Moreover, an underlying theme of conflict is also present in three of Josephus’s four other references to προσευχή that deal with a struggle for political power between his adversaries and himself.³⁹² In one of these passages Josephus, writing autobiographically in the first person, describes how he entered a prayer-house armed as if for battle:

For my part, on the following day I ordered two of my bodyguard, of the most approved valour and staunch loyalty, to accompany me, with daggers concealed under their dress, for self-defence in the event of an assault on the part of our foes. I wore a breastplate myself and, with a sword so girt on as to be as little conspicuous as possible, entered the Prayer-house (προσευχήν). (*The Life* 293 [Thackeray, LCL])³⁹³

Although both Josephus and Philo designate a prayer-house with προσευχή, it is by far Philo who makes most frequent use of the term. Yet, even Philo uses προσευχή in only two of his thirty-eight extant works, where, in both, the same issue is profiled—growing conflict over whether Gaius’s image and other trappings of the imperial cult would be allowed in Jewish prayer-houses.³⁹⁴ The προσευχή in Philo is contested space over how it will be classified, through the God of Israel or Gaius, and over who will have control of the space: the Jews or their opponents like Flaccus (who was trying to garner Gaius’s favour by persecuting the Jews).

A term rarely used to designate space in Greek literature—προσευχή—is used as such on its own only by two Jewish Hellenistic authors, and in nearly all cases it is used within situations of violence and/or intense conflict. When it appears in the Bible with spatial qualifiers it never does so within a context of peaceful community worship. Rather, in 1 Maccabees it is found in the course of battle sequences and ongoing conflict, in 3

³⁹² Josephus, *The Life* 277.2; 280.5; 293.6.

³⁹³ H.McKay notes: “This account of exciting and violent events in a προσευχή in Tiberias belies any image we may have of a quiet and orderly ‘house of prayer.’” Heather A. McKay, *Sabbath and Synagogue: The Question of Sabbath Worship in Ancient Judaism* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 122; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 81.

³⁹⁴ *The Life, On the Embassy to Gaius*.

Maccabees it is a dedication of victory, in Isaiah it is an apocalyptic image found within a promise of salvation, and in Luke it is the scene of Jesus's most violent purposeful action. Perhaps not surprisingly, given the unit's opening frame of military discourse, the term *προσευχή* echoes Jewish community scenes of military and political conflict. Rhetographically, the term *προσευχή* would evoke Jewish community space, while at the same time this space would be marked by an element of intense conflict.

Socio-scientific modelling suggests that territoriality is concerned with “classification of place, communication of this classification, [and] control of the place so classified.”³⁹⁵ Sellers as an occupational category feature once in Luke and once in Acts. In Luke their presence has contaminated the “house of prayer” and transformed it into den of robbers (Luke 19:46).³⁹⁶ The sole, explicitly designated seller of Acts, Lydia, is closely associated with the space from within which she is encountered. In an implied sacred temporal setting of Sabbath, it is easy to see how an extreme issue of classification would permeate any “place of prayer” that might accommodate Lydia the seller.

Finally, the basic meaning of *σεβομένη τὸν θεόν*, is someone who reveres or worships divinity and can be intended as such in the most general sense.³⁹⁷ There has been a propensity in Judeo-Christian scholarship to ascribe specific Judeo-Christian meaning to terms that might, but do not necessarily, carry these meanings. Abundant Greco-Roman references to reverence for, or worship of, a god or gods using the verb *σέβω* with *θεός* as its object (or the adjective *θεσεβής*, or noun *εὐσεβεία*) clearly show that reverence for divinity

³⁹⁵ Jerome H. Neyrey, “‘Teaching You in Public and from House to House’ (Acts 20:20): Unpacking a Cultural Stereotype,” in *The Social World of the New Testament: Insights and Models* (ed. Jerome H. Neyrey and Eric C. Stewart; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2008), 184.

³⁹⁶ Jesus' charge of “den of robbers” evokes one of the most common character slurs in antiquity: “temple-robber.” “The emotional charge attaching to the offence was sufficient to make ‘temple-robber’ a term of everyday abuse; orators exercised ingenuity in devising ways in which their opponents had deprived the gods of their due and so fell into the abominated category. Disrespect for sacred money was a mark of extreme social decay, the behaviour of a tyrant or barbarian.” Robert Parker, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 170–71.

³⁹⁷ Even Cornelius, who is often identified as a “God-fearer” is first described in the general language of piety, “a devout man who feared God (*εὐσεβής καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν θεόν*) with all his household, gave alms liberally to the people, and prayed constantly to God” (Acts 10:2).

and piety was a preoccupation of the wider first-century world and that the god in view was determined by the context of the text. Piety could range from conventional displays of culturally appropriate worship to deeply held reverence for divinity. Conventional displays of piety were shown by Alexander who, having already independently decided to invade Asia, enacted customary reverential protocols which effectively served to launch his military campaign, making “lavish sacrifices to the gods at Dium in Macedonia and held the dramatic contests in honour of Zeus and the Muses... and put his army in a fine humour” (Diodorus of Sicily, *Library of History* 17.16.3-4 [Welles, LCL]).³⁹⁸ At the other end of the piety spectrum, lawmaker Zaleucus³⁹⁹ proposed that faith in the divine should be the first legislative principle:

that the inhabitants of the city should first of all assume as an article of their creed that gods exist...that they should revere the gods [σέβεσθαι τε τοὺς θεοὺς] as the cause of all that is noble and good in the life of mankind. (*The Library of History* 12.20.2 [Oldfather, LCL])⁴⁰⁰

In the NT, Lydia is the first to be described by the epithet σεβομένη τὸν θεόν, and there are no immediate indicators as to where along the piety spectrum Lydia’s might be located. Rather than affirming the assembly by the river as a Jewish synagogue by placing a

³⁹⁸ A display of piety was a preliminary requisite to any military campaign: “The first duty is to sacrifice to the gods and pray them to grant you the thoughts, words and deeds likely to render your command most pleasing to the gods and to bring yourself, your friends and your city the fullest measure of affection and glory and advantage. Having gained the goodwill of the gods, you have then to recruit a sufficient number of mounted men that you may bring the number up to the total required by law” Xenophon, *The Cavalry Commander* 1.1–2 (LCL, Marchant). See also *Anabasis* 1.11.1–8 (Brunt, LCL). Josephus describes how an adversary attempted to use a show of piety as a ruse to disarm Josephus, he writes: “Now a certain one of them by the name of Ananias, a vile and wretched man, proposed publicly to the masses that a fast before God be appointed for the following day. He directed that, having disarmed themselves, at about the same time and in the same place they should appear openly before God; for they understood that if they should not receive assistance from him, all weaponry would be useless. Yet he was saying these things not out of piety, but for the purpose of taking me and my [people] unarmed. And indeed I complied out of necessity, so that I should not appear to disdain this admonition concerning piety” Josephus, *The Life* 56.290–291 (Mason; brackets of translator).

³⁹⁹ “Legendary 7th/6th cent. BC legislator from Locri in Lower Italy,” s.v. “Zaleucus;” *BNP*.

⁴⁰⁰ That Zaleucus intended authentic rather than superficial piety (at least in Diodorus’s telling) is underscored by: “they [the citizens of Locri] should keep the soul pure from every kind of evil, in the belief that the gods take no pleasure in either the sacrifices or costly gifts of the wicked but in the just and honourable practices of good men.” *The Library of History* 12.20.2 (Oldfather, LCL)

pious Jewish woman into it, the descriptor “worshiper of God” clashes with Lydia’s earlier descriptors and calls into question how the element of piety fits with Lydia’s profile.

While there are no descriptions of women-only gatherings comprising a Jewish synagogue, Philo does describe an idealized ascetic community—the *Therapeutae*—where women regularly joined the men in a “common sanctuary” (κοινὸν σεμνεῖον) meeting every seven days and listening to an elder expound on doctrine (Philo, *On the Contemplative Life* 3.30–32).⁴⁰¹ Although they joined the men, the women were separated from them in their own chamber by a partitioning wall. The separating wall had a gap at the ceiling ensuring that “the modesty becoming the female sex is preserved while the women sitting within ear-shot can easily follow what is said since there is nothing to obstruct the voice of the speaker” (Philo, *On the Contemplative Life* 3.33 [Colson, LCL]). By the river outside of Philippi, contravening any normative Sabbath synagogue practices, the we-group sits down with an assembly of women.

⁴⁰¹ On the basis of inscriptional evidence where women bear titles such as “head of synagogue,” “leader,” “elder,” “mother of the synagogue,” and “priestess,” B. Brooten has argued that women performed leadership roles in synagogue services. Brooten’s argument looks for evidence of the presence of women in *male* synagogue services. At issue is the degree to which women participated in the synagogue. So, for example, Brooten searched for evidence in support of inter-mingled, rather than, segregated, seating. The underlying normative model is a male-constituted synagogue and arguments are sought to establish that women both attended synagogue services and fully participated. For Brooten, the issue is over the degree of women’s participation in synagogue services, but nowhere does Brooten argue for a women-only synagogue assembly. In the case of Acts 16, Brooten simply refutes the suggestions of others that the gathering of women could not have constituted a Jewish synagogue, Brooten writes: “I believe that the real reason for the hesitancy is that the only congregants mentioned are women. One can see that this is a circular argument: on the assumption that women did not attend or only rarely attended synagogue services, a text which speaks of women attending services is taken as not referring to genuine synagogue worship. None of the three reasons is convincing, and this text is therefore a further attestation of women’s presence at Jewish worship services.” Bernadette J. Brooten, *Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue: Inscriptional Evidence and Background Issues* (Brown Judaic Studies 36; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1982), 140. A similar case is found in L. Levine’s comments regarding the role of women in the synagogue, Levine writes: “A number of sources from the first to the seventh centuries C.E. and from Palestine as well as the Diaspora indicate that women were regularly present in the synagogue during worship. Paul traveled throughout much of the Diaspora, and he invariably went to local synagogues, where he often spoke to women...The fact that pagan women in Damascus were especially attracted to Judaism seems to be an almost certain indication that they attended the synagogue regularly; otherwise, it would be hard to imagine how this attraction would have been effected, expressed, and maintained.” Lee I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue the First Thousand Years* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000), 472–73.

In fact, not only is the tone of propriety marking the Sabbath setting of the *Therapeutae* fundamentally different from the one where Lydia is encountered, but the rhetorical profile of the female members of the *Therapeutae* forms a stark contrast to that of Lydia. Avowed life-long virgins,⁴⁰² the *Therapeutae* gather with men on holy feast days, dressed in un-dyed simple garments, singing hymns with uplifted hands, signalling that their hands were “clean from gain-taking and not defiled through any cause of profit-making of any kind” (*On the Contemplative Life* 8.66 [Colson, LCL]). In contrast to the sumptuous “purple-covered couches” found at Greek banquets, the *Therapeutae* recline on “plank beds of the common kinds of wood, covered with quite cheap strewings of native papyrus” sitting “by themselves on the left” while the men sit on the right (*On the Contemplative Life* 9.69 [Colson, LCL]). A female *Therapeutae*’s rhetorical profile formed the stark opposite to Lydia’s. Rather than supporting a view of the women by the river in Acts 16 as a pious Jewish Sabbath gathering, the only narrated example of a group of Jewish women gathered in a synagogue setting (although not without men), by nature of its contrast, emphasizes the social and cultural inappropriateness of the we-group’s joining with the women.

Interpretations have generally assimilated προσευχή with synagogue, and harmonized the events by the river with established narrative patterns. The disciples enter a town, on the Sabbath they find a synagogue gathering and preach to a Jewish assembly, gaining new adherents as a consequence. Such a pattern will explicitly resume in Thessalonica (Acts 17:1-4); Philippi, however, retains expected familiar elements while concurrently altering them. For, a gathering of women outside of the city of Philippi, together with the we-group’s uncertainty over where a place of prayer might be found, the use of the uncommon

⁴⁰² “The feast is shared by women also most of them aged virgins, who have kept their chastity not under compulsion, like some of the Greek priestesses, but of their own free will in their ardent yearning for wisdom. Eager to have her for their life mate they have spurned the pleasures of the body and desire no mortal offspring but those immortal children which only the soul that is dear to God can bring to the birth unaided because the Father has sown in her spiritual rays enabling her to behold the verities of wisdom” (Philo, *On the Contemplative Life* 8.68 [Colson, LCL]).

term προσευχή, as well as this first use of σεβομένη τὸν θεόν, and most especially Lydia's "huckster" profile, provide a less-than-firm foundation for asserting that Lydia is encountered in pious Jewish space and is its appropriate representative member.

4.3.7 *Lydia and the Topos of Hospitality.*

Lydia's offer to the disciples (Acts 16:15) invokes the social model of hospitality. Typically commentators have inferred that the social model affirms Lydia's role of "hostess." However, by this point in intertextual analysis, the problems with inferring a hostess image will have become abundantly clear. Nonetheless, the social model of hospitality *does* play an important role within the rhetorical development of the text, albeit through alternate elements. Rather than introducing an element of hostessing, the emotion-fused actions of recognition and character evaluation are the salient elements of hospitality that connect with the *topoi* associated with Lydia.

As heralds of a divine salvific message, the Pauline group settled into Philippi woefully bereft of any evident stamp of divine sanction. No dazzling clothes, miraculous deeds, shows of physical or rhetorical prowess or any other conventional clues helped to spotlight their connection to the divine. As they made their way to the river, they remained strangers, unknown and unrecognized, uncertain over the location of the place of prayer, and clearly without the benefit of a personal escort. Such cases of strangers visiting new territory, either divinities or agents of a divinity, were regularly depicted in ancient narratives. In these stories, offers of hospitality often functioned as a litmus test by which either the recognition, or rejection, of the divine visitor was displayed.

Narratologists have called such familiar narrative episodes, "type-scenes,"⁴⁰³ but from

⁴⁰³ Expanding on the work of Robert Alter, O. Wesley Allen has suggested the following definition, "Type-scenes are stereotyped scenes which recur within a cultural-literary milieu. The presentations consist of conventional details used to describe a certain narrative event requiring neither verbatim repetition nor a specific formula content." O. Wesley Allen, *The Death of Herod: The Narrative and Theological Function of*

a rhetorical perspective these could be understood as distinguishable clusters of conventional elements found in a culture's recurring stories. Rhetorical type-scenes were essentially a network of *topoi* that could be employed within a variety of rhetorical contexts. Rhetorical type-scenes encompass multiple elements which can help frame events or settings within conventional expectations.

A key point of tension in these divine/human encounters was the question of whether the human would recognize the divine identity of the stranger. A. P. Burnett notes that "gods often wandered on earth incognito,"⁴⁰⁴ and a host's ability to perceive the presence of a divine visitor constituted a mark of "innate piety," since anyone "who has a true sense of the divine will presumably feel, if only dimly, the physical presence of a god."⁴⁰⁵ An offer of hospitality signalled "right-sightedness" while rejection signalled impious blindness.

From the perspective of stranger-god rhetorical type-scenes, Lydia's offer to the disciples suggests that she fits within a pattern of those who recognize divine visitors through hospitality. However, when Lydia calls for an evaluation of her fidelity to God within the form of her offer of hospitality, she introduces an element of reciprocity. For, not only does Lydia's offer of hospitality suggest that she perceives the presence of a divinity (through God's agents), but, too, in return, God's agents are asked to assess whether or not Lydia authentically reveres God.

Oral-scribally, the Lydia passages resonate most closely with Luke 24:13-32, sharing the highest concentration of lexical and contextual similarities. Where in the case of Acts

Retribution in Luke-Acts (vol 158; Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 34–35.

⁴⁰⁴ Anne Pippin Burnett, "Pentheus and Dionysus: Host and Guest," *Classical Philology* 65, no. 1 (January 1970): 24, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/269179>.

⁴⁰⁵ Burnett, "Pentheus and Dionysus," 25 See also Weaver, *Plots of Epiphany*, 32–44. Much as Zeus and Hermes stressed that there was no need for Philemon and his wife Baucis to kill a goose for their supper (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.684-690 [Miller, LCL]); the angel in Judges refuses Manoah's offer of food (Judges 13:15-16); and, in Luke the risen Jesus vanished before any bread had been eaten in Emmaus (Luke 24:30-31), offers of hospitality to divine guests showcases the otherworldly nature of the guest.

16 Lydia’s heart (καρδία) is opened (διανοίγω) by the Lord to Paul’s preaching (Acts 16:14), in Luke 24 Jesus “opens” (διερμηνεύω Luke 24:27) the Scriptures to the disciples on the road to Emmaus after first accusing them of being “slow of heart” (βραδεῖς τῆ καρδία τοῦ πιστεῦν Luke 24:25); later they will recall that their “hearts burned (or were “kindled”) inside them” (“Οὐχὶ ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν κατομένη” Luke 24:32). The parallels between the disciples’ request to Jesus to come and stay at their home and Lydia’s to the we-group are so strong that Acts 16:15 could almost be considered a recitation of Luke 24:29. When the two offers are compared, they both seem to make the same request and using very similar language:

“παρεβιάσαντο αὐτὸν λέγοντες, Μείνον μεθ’ ἡμῶν, ὅτι πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐστὶν καὶ κέκλικεν ἤδη ἡ ἡμέρα. καὶ εἰσήλθεν τοῦ μείναι σὺν αὐτοῖς.” (Luke 24:29);

“παρεκάλεσεν λέγουσα· εἰ κεκρίκατέ με πιστὴν τῷ κυρίῳ εἶναι, εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου μένετε· καὶ παρεβιάσατο ἡμᾶς.” (Acts 16:15).

Both offers are introduced as a strong request (παραβιάζομαι/παρακαλέω), and open their direct discourse with the present active nominative participle of λέγω, and both ask that the “guest(s)” come to their homes and stay (μένω).⁴⁰⁶ Making the connection especially compelling is the use of παραβιάζομαι in both Luke 24:29 and Acts 16:15, the only two occurrences in the NT.

One clear difference, however, marks the two offers of “hospitality.” The offer in Luke conforms to other biblical accounts where travellers enter a new town and upon their arrival are provided with hospitality (e.g. Genesis 18:1-8, 19:1-3; Joshua 2:1; Judges 19:3-4, 20-21; Acts 10:23). The situation in Luke 24 is clearly one of travel, where having reached town the resident disciples worry that their fellow traveller might continue on into the night’s dangers. “Stay with us, because it is almost evening and the day is now nearly over”

⁴⁰⁶ Andrew Arterbury notes that, “The phrase εἰς τὸν οἶκον, often in conjunction with the verbs ἄγω or ἔρχομαι, commonly marks the ratification of the hospitality relationship...μένω and its cognates describe the guest’s decision to stay or remain in a hospitable home.” Andrew E. Arterbury, *Entertaining Angels: Early Christian Hospitality in Its Mediterranean Setting* (New Testament Monographs 8; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2005), 188.

(Luke 24:29) is the clearly expressed rationale for the offer. A “traveller” element explicitly underlies the premise of their offer since the offer is made once they have reached town after journeying there together and results from the disciples’ concern over Jesus’s intentions to travel on (“he appeared to be going further” Luke 24:28).

In contrast, when Lydia’s offer is made, the traveller element is all but absent since the group had previously arrived in Philippi, and had been staying there for “some days,” a situation that is underscored by the we-group’s going outside of, instead of entering, Philippi. There is no rationale provided for why Lydia would have made her offer, no day is drawing to its end, no traveller has journeyed to town without a place to spend the night.⁴⁰⁷ Instead, the salient component of Lydia’s offer becomes her request to have her fidelity to the Lord acclaimed.

The verb *παρεβιάσατο* (*παραβιάζομαι*) has been translated as “prevailed,” and thus these translations suggest that *παραβιάζομαι* means something akin to “invite persistently until the guest capitulates.” Some translations even more explicitly suggest the successful ratification of Lydia’s offer by ending the passage with “and she persuaded us” (CEB, NET, NIV) or “and she would take no refusal” (NJB).⁴⁰⁸ However, *παραβιάζομαι* was, first and foremost, a term associated with violent forcing or constraining, usually appearing in a military context.⁴⁰⁹ When *παραβιάζομαι* was found in cases dealing with the zone of emotion-fused thought, it normally implied a forceful attempt to turn or break someone’s decision,

⁴⁰⁷ Compare Acts 16 with Paul’s being received by Onesiphorus when he and his travelling companions go to Iconium in *The Acts of Paul and Thecla* (2nd century C.E.). Onesiphorus (along with his wife and children) stations himself along the road to Lystra and scans the travellers looking for the Pauline group, going only by a description of Paul given to him by Titus, so that “he might receive him to his house” *The Acts of Paul and Thecla* 1–4 (Wilson).

⁴⁰⁸ Some argue that the aorist of *παρακαλέω* in Acts 16:15 infers success and confuse the call with the ratification of the call, e.g. Sterck-Degueldre, *Eine Frau namens Lydia*, 172. The implicit notion of “would take no refusal” contained within a translation of “prevailed” leads to the following type of comments: “Paul had been very particular not to be a charge to the believers in cities where he went. He was perhaps unreasonably touchy on this point, but here he could not refuse. The stronger will of the well-to-do, peremptory, and hospitable woman [Lydia] prevailed.” Sabine Baring-Gould, *A Study of St. Paul: His Character and Opinions* (London: Ibister, 1897), 213; brackets own.

⁴⁰⁹ “do a thing by force against nature or law; use violence” LSJ, s.v. “*παραβιάζομαι*.”

will, or values.⁴¹⁰ The NT (Matthew 11:12, Luke 16:16) employs the un-compounded βιάζομαι in two Q-derived theological passages dealing with taking or entering the kingdom of heaven by force.⁴¹¹

In a use not known to Graeco-Roman literature, a social type of forcing was found in a few biblical cases where παραβιάζομαι, or its un-compounded form βιάζομαι/βιάζω, concerned the urging of a host upon a guest. A hospitality context for παραβιάζομαι is found in the LXX when Manoah urges the angel of the Lord to stay and have a meal in his home (Judges 13:15, 16 LXX). In the NT παραβιάζομαι occurs only one time other than in Acts 16:15—in Luke 24:29. When the disciples from Emmaus invite Jesus in for the night “they constrained (παρεβιάσαντο) him, saying, ‘Stay with us...’” (Luke 24:29).

Three other OT cases find βιάζομαι or its cognates used by hosts: the doomed and terrified Saul is urged to eat by the witch of Endor and his servants (1 Samuel 28:23 LXX), and the Levite in Judges is urged by his concubine’s father to delay his departure and continue enjoying his father-in-law’s hospitality (Judges 19:7 LXX). Notably, in both of these cases hospitality is a precursor to violence and death. Finally, a stranger-god type scene blends with the violent flavour of βιάζομαι when in Sodom Lot “urges” (κατεβιάζετο) the angels of the Lord to come and stay the night and the town’s men “press hard against” (παρεβιάζοντο) the host, Lot, as they try to force their way into his home and attack his guests (Genesis 19:3, 9 LXX).

⁴¹⁰ “Like βία and its Sanskrit cognates, βιάζομαι always denotes a forced as distinct from a voluntary act. πείθειν is expressly contrasted with it...Whether the reference is to compulsion by higher powers (nature or fate), or whether man compels himself or natural forces, there is always the effective achievement of an act of force or an attempt at such. In the rich use in relation to military action, maltreatment, compulsion of various kinds and even religious constraint, we can see clearly this basic sense of the exercise of hostile force” Schrenk, “βιάζομαι,” *TDNT* 1:609.

⁴¹¹ Matthew also has the noun βιαστής (“the violator, the man of force who achieves his desires by theft,” Schrenk, “βιαστής,” *TDNT* 1:614). Some understand βιάζομαι as a “forceful invitation” into the kingdom of heaven rather than violence against the kingdom, for a summary of views see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke (X-XXIV): Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (ed. William Foxwell Albright and David Noel Freedman; The Anchor Bible 28A; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1985), 1117–18. Given the basic sense of violence contained by βιάζομαι, far likelier is Schrenk’s interpretations that “refers the βιάζεσθαι to the enemies of the divine rule...”; “the meaning indicated by the βία is ‘violently to assault the divine rule, and to rob those who come to it of its blessing.” Schrenk, “βιάζομαι,” *TDNT* 1.613–614.

Lydia's παραβιάζομαι links to the question of whether she will be assessed as being "faithful to the Lord." The form of Lydia's offer is essentially a call for judgement of Lydia's inner character. And it is here that the use of παραβιάζομαι amplifies the relevant element from the social model of hospitality: hospitality implied a mutual evaluation between host and guest.

A. Arterbury's comprehensive study of the convention of hospitality depicted in Graeco-Roman, Jewish, and early Christian literature found that "the Greek stem of ξεν-, due to its association with the stranger, is the most common Greek semantic marker for Mediterranean hospitality."⁴¹² An important social intertextual element of the stranger-host hospitality relationship is that "bystanders repeatedly judged the moral character of the host and the guest to be roughly equivalent,"⁴¹³ and therefore hospitality involved a mutual positive evaluation. As a result, any offer of hospitality required a mutual assessment of *ethos* between potential host and guest. As Malina and Pilch point out, once a stranger becomes the guest of a host, the honour of the stranger becomes "embedded in the honor of the host."⁴¹⁴

One important clarification needs to be raised regarding the social model of hospitality—it assumes that both host and guest are men since hospitality as a social norm functioned between men. If a woman was present, she was not the host proper, but rather a wife or housekeeper who would tend to the men's meals and comforts in a gender-appropriate domestic fashion. A male stranger could not have his honour embedded in the honour of a female host since a woman, by definition, was not vested with her own honour; she could maintain the honour of her household's patriarch in which she herself was embedded only by protecting his honour from any potential shame.⁴¹⁵ Within the social model

⁴¹² Arterbury, *Entertaining Angels*, 187. I am also indebted to Arterbury for sharing with me, "The Case for the Custom of Hospitality in Ancient Narratives" (Paper Presented at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual General Meeting; Washington, D.C., 2006).

⁴¹³ Arterbury, *Entertaining Angels*, 148.

⁴¹⁴ Malina and Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary*, 215.

⁴¹⁵ Malina, *The New Testament World*, 48–51.

of hospitality, any male, by becoming a guest, “places himself in a non-male (actually quasi-female) situation in the household of the host.”⁴¹⁶ If, on the other hand, a male were to become the guest of a female, the model suggests that his own honour would be reduced to one level beyond female, perhaps to that of a slave.

If a high-status woman was a widow, or her husband was away at war, then it might be possible that she could respectfully act as host. But if so, then she implicitly would bear her family’s honour, honour that would remain defined through its lineage of men, where the stranger would still be considered a guest of the, albeit absent, male. For this reason women who did not appear to be embedded in any man’s honour, if they hosted a male guest, were presented as already transgressing social norms, and their “hosting” arrangements were marked not by social but rather alternate systems of exchange.

One example is the medium of Endor who hosts Saul before he goes off to his death. Like Lydia she too “urges” hospitality upon her “guest” denoted by the verb παραβιάζομαι (1 Samuel 28:23 LXX). The medium of Endor illustrates how the social model of hospitality cannot simply be invoked each time a guest or guests enter the house of another. Seeking out the medium, Saul is not a traveller looking for lodging; he is a desperate king looking to procure alternate forms of divine communication to help assuage his anxiety over the prospects of facing an attacking army. Saul is hosted by a woman who is “beyond the pale” because, at that point, he too has been ejected from his community and has accordingly had every vestige of honour stripped from him, as soon, too, will be his life. The underlying system of exchange between Saul and the medium is not the social model of hospitality, but rather a form of economic exchange whereby Saul puts the medium back in business by his visit (he had previously expelled all mediums) and she cements her future credentials by foretelling the death of a king. Both “host” and “guest” are devoid of honour from the perspective of prevailing social norms.

⁴¹⁶ Malina and Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary*, 215.

Another “hostess” is the prostitute Rahab who lodges Joshua’s spies in Jericho (Joshua 2:1-21). Although she does have a father and brothers, from the perspective of the honour/shame model of social status, Rahab is “shameless” and devoid of honour through her role of prostitute, as is her entire family.⁴¹⁷ Once again, when men enter the home of a woman unsupported by a man’s honour, it is not the social model of hospitality that governs the “hosting” arrangement, but rather economic and utilitarian exchange. Men visiting prostitutes are not “guests,” they are customers.

The spies, as outsiders, enter the one house that any man can enter freely. Notwithstanding NT portrayals of Rahab as one who has been “justified by works” (James 2:25) or as an exemplar of faith (Hebrews 11:31), she is depicted in Joshua primarily as someone who perceives that her city’s rout is imminent (Josh 2:9) and accordingly strikes a bargain to ensure her family’s security. Each side keeps its oath and she and her family are relocated to the appropriate space for army prostitutes, on the outskirts of the army’s camp (Josh 6:23). Despite the markers of hospitality—an overnight stay, a hostess protecting the security of her guests—the prevailing system of exchange is based upon economic/military rather than social norms. Accordingly, a mutual assessment of social honour between host and guest does not apply to such a model. In its stead, a different form of mutual evaluation governs these exchanges; rather than gauging each other’s honour, “host” and “guest” discern each other’s capacity to fulfill their sides of the economic bargain.

Lydia, a potential “hostess” devoid of any man’s honour, would present a significant challenge to the social honour of any male guest, even without the other elements of her rhetorical profile. Once again, Lydian ethnography helps to illuminate the depth of the chasm between a man’s honour and a “hostess” like Lydia. Innkeeping too was closely connected with the Lydians,⁴¹⁸ and the term *κάπηλος* could, along with retailer, also mean

⁴¹⁷ “Certain families and institutions (e.g., husbands serving as pimps, first-century tavern and inn owners, actors, prostitutes as a group) are considered irretrievably shameless.” Malina, *The New Testament World*, 51.

⁴¹⁸ *BNP* s.v. “Lydia.”

tavernkeeper or innkeeper. As Theophrastus emphasized in his character profiles, innkeepers were located squarely within the “shameless” category,⁴¹⁹ since inns typically lodged those who could not be hosted through either kinship or hospitality social relations, and were renowned as places of drinking, prostitution, and general debauchery.

When Josephus recited the categories of “impure women” prohibited from marrying priests (Leviticus 21:7), he added women who “gain their livelihood by hawking (καπηλείας) or innkeeping (πανδοκεύειν)” (*Jewish Antiquities* 3.2.276).⁴²⁰ In Josephus’s list of profaned women, “hawking or innkeeping” represent two dimensions of a single category, apparently reflecting an understanding similar to the Targum’s which “commonly translates the Hebrew *zonah* ‘harlot’ by the word *pundokita* (derived from the verb πανδοκεύειν).”⁴²¹ When Josephus retells the story of the prostitute Rahab, he characterizes her home, which houses her whole household, as an inn (καταγώγιον), making Rahab an innkeeper.⁴²² This term for inn (καταγώγιον) is synonymous with πανδοκεῖον, and the πανδοκεύς, or at other times “host,” was literally one who would take “all” into his or her home.⁴²³ As a “hawker,” Lydia’s forceful, and seemingly persistent, offer to the Pauline group of men would have echoed with the type of aggressive behaviour expected from the kind of woman who would take “all” into her house. Indeed, if the curious phrase “εἰσῆλθον πρὸς τὴν Λυδίαν” (Acts 16:40)—literally “they went into the Lydian”—might seem to carry an ironic note of sexual innuendo; it likely does, for in the LXX such phrases do refer to sexual penetration.⁴²⁴ Rather than “hostessing,” Lydia’s invitation to the we-group would far more evoke a frame of sexual “huckstersim.”

⁴¹⁹ See page 157. Recall that “shameless” means the incapacity to have concern for reputation.

⁴²⁰ See page 161 above.

⁴²¹ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, in *Josephus: Jewish Antiquities, Books 1–4* (vol. 4; trans. H. St. J. Thackeray; 1930; repr., Loeb Classical Library 242; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), 450–51, n. b.

⁴²² *Jewish Antiquities* 5.2.8–15; Rosenfeld, “Innkeeping in Jewish Society,” 141–42.

⁴²³ πανδοκεύτρια the term for “hostess” was used metaphorically with φάλαινα for “sea-monster, ready to take all in.” LSJ, s.v. “πανδοκεύτρια.”

⁴²⁴ “In the Septuagint it [εἰσέρχομαι] is used for 19 Heb words. The sexual use is common as well as the local: εἰσέρχεσθαι πρὸς γυναῖκα, πρὸς ἄνδρα (Heb. נָצַב).” Schneider, “εἰσέρχομαι,” *TDNT* 2:676.

4.3.8 Conclusion to the Intertextural Analysis of Lydia.

Our intertextural analysis of Lydia's narrative attributes has uncovered that first-century readers would have seen Lydia through an interplay of elements found in Lydian ethnography, stereotypes of sellers, and purple's "degenerate" symbolism. Lydians were rhetorically depicted as carriers of the "Lydian disease" that led to a desire for sumptuous, immoral living. The profiling of Lydian women carried this stereotype into the sphere of sexual degeneracy and prostitution. Linked to the Lydian *topos*, Lydia's occupation of seller inferred deceptive moral character. Completing this network of elements was purple's symbolic association with corrupting luxury. From this blend we can see that Lydia's cultural profile would have shaped her image into an immoral, huckstering, "harlot-type" figure.

Once the culturally contextualized image of Lydia comes into view, it becomes possible to appreciate just how highly incongruous her final descriptive attribute "worshiper of God" is with her Lydian purple-selling profile. The reader is left to wonder how to make sense of these two clashing, yet juxtaposed, images. Moreover, already a puzzling setting, the gathering of women by the river only grows in ambiguity when Lydia becomes its featured member. The literary echo of *προσευχή* as agonistic space becomes even more pronounced as a result

When Lydia forcefully urges the Pauline group to come to her home, she only adds to her profile of impropriety. Hospitality was a social model between men and involved a mutual assessment of character and honour between host and guest. Here, instead, the audience would see a "shameless" woman pressing a group of men to come into her home. When Lydia asks the Pauline group to judge her fidelity to God within the form of her offer of hospitality, the reader would immediately appreciate the difficulty such a request would

pose. Establishing criteria for assessing fidelity to God becomes the focal point of the ensuing episodes.

Fulfilling Lydia's request for evaluation in Acts 16:15, the Pauline group "stays" at Lydia's and encourages those assembled there to stay in faith (16:40). The Macedonian man's request is fulfilled, a faithful alliance has been struck, and fortifying courage delivered. Strikingly, no reader could have possibly guessed that the type of military alliance that the Macedonian's call for aid would have produced would have been an alliance with a Lydian woman.

4.4. Social Power in Roman Philippi

Relations within a *polis* were structured by social alliances. Notably, when the slave-owners level their accusation against Paul and Silas they make no mention of the harm (loss of profit) that they suffered as a result of Paul's act against their slave. What essentially should be a property damage case instead is presented as a clash between "us-Romans" and "Jews" (Acts 16: 20-21). The slave-owners' unproven, ambiguous, charge was sufficient to move the magistrates and crowds to violent action instantly and, as a result, implicitly shows the network of loyalties that undergirded Philippi's structure of social power. Also implicit to the charge is an appeal to Roman honour, for harm to Roman custom would infer harm to Roman social identity. In an honour/shame society, any affront to honour required a commensurate counter-response. What began as a confrontation between two spiritual beings, the Python spirit and the divine power behind "the name of Jesus Christ" (Acts 16:18), proceeds within the earthly realm of social honour. And in Philippi, the instrument best able to restore honour to a dishonoured Roman Philippian who also was part of the Philippi's social leadership network was its system of punishment.

4.4.1 *Topos of Roman Physiognomy.*

Despite the fact that the Pauline group was summoned by a Macedonian, it is a Roman, and not Macedonian, identity that is key to the slave-owners' charges against Paul and Silas. They frame their charges in the language of ἔθος, the customs and habits of an ethnic people, and thereby invoke social and cultural ethnographic codes. The Roman people were first and foremost a victorious people.⁴²⁵ Vitruvius claimed that “the divine mind has allotted to the Roman state an excellent and temperate region in order to rule the world” (Vitruvius, *On Architecture* 6.1.11 [Granger, LCL]).⁴²⁶ Vitruvius's use of physiognomic warrant supported the prevailing Roman ideology that it had been divinely endowed as “a suitable nucleus for universal rule.”⁴²⁷ This right of hegemonic rule was further supported by an embedded social and cultural ideology that ascribed peace, right order, harmony, and prosperity to its effects. In a survey of literary and material artifacts from the imperial age, Bloomquist cites recurrent rhetorical representations of Augustus as one who was “truly *divi filius* and the great restorer of order.”⁴²⁸ This ideology is clearly illustrated as Plutarch retrojects Augustan thinking into his biography of Alexander, claiming that the truly blessed were the ones fortunate enough to have been conquered by Alexander. Plutarch writes:

Those who were vanquished by Alexander are happier than those who escaped his hand; for these had no one to put an end to the wretchedness of their existence, while the victor compelled those others to lead a happy life. (*On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander* 5.328.e [Babbitt, LCL])

An important aspect of an ideology which saw itself as not only the restorer but also as the future source of order relates to the body-zone model where character and identity were somatically encoded.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁵ “the altar of the *Gens Augusta* from Carthage proclaimed Augustus as the one graced by Victory and before whom the world has poured forth her riches.” Bloomquist, “Rhetoric, Culture and Ideology,” 131.

⁴²⁶ See also, Evans, “Physiognomics,” 20, n. 19.

⁴²⁷ Isaac, *The Invention of Racism*, 85.

⁴²⁸ L. Gregory Bloomquist, “Whose Rhetoric? Whose Empire? The Subversion of Augustan Rhetoric in the

The Roman socio-cultural “body” was morally constituted and, as such, it perceived the contagion of immorality as one of its greatest threats. Thus, while the “essence of Roman identity and the source of its greatest strength was felt to be in the moral contrast between Romans and other peoples,”⁴³⁰ contact with “other peoples” held the possibility of moral contamination and a consequent degeneration of the Roman body. For this reason, literary examples abound of Romans taking care to ensure that they are not exposed to infectious possibilities.

Many of these threats came from the possibility of contact with *luxuria* or carriers of *luxuria* as demonstrated by the Roman poets’ assertions that “the Golden Age did not yet know the wicked art of seafaring (Lucretius, *DRN* 5. 1004-6; Ovid, *Met.* 1.94-6).”⁴³¹ Athenaus, applauding the expulsion of Epicureans who were stereotypically carriers of pleasure-seeking degeneracy, writes:

The Romans, therefore, the most virtuous of men in all things, did a good job when they banished the Epicureans Alcaeus and Philiscus from the city...because of the pleasures they introduced. (*Deipnosophists* 12.547 [Gulick, LCL])⁴³²

It was imperative for Roman men to avoid contact with the “disease of effeminacy” and general “softness” that contact with *luxuria* might inculcate. As our discussion of Lydian ethnography highlighted, the “de-masculinized” body was no longer the body of a warrior, and therefore it could not, or would not, defend its state.⁴³³ Polybius argues that although the Romans were not as skilled as the (trading) nation of Carthage in naval warfare, they readily overcame this disadvantage through their inherent courage and strength which thus “turned the scale in favour of [Roman] victory,” implicitly attributable to not having been

Gospel of Luke,” conference presentation (Augustus: Le Visage d’un Empire; University of Ottawa and Carleton University, 15–16 March 1996), 6–7.

⁴²⁹ See page 42.

⁴³⁰ Isaac, *The Invention of Racism*, 305.

⁴³¹ Isaac, *The Invention of Racism*, 241. For discussion of *luxuria* cf. page 150; for the association between the effects of *luxuria* and maritime trade cf. page 157 above.

⁴³² For the rhetorical profile of Epicureans, Bloomquist, “The Epicurean Tag in Plutarch.”

⁴³³ See page 149.

affected by trading-derived luxury's softening influence.⁴³⁴ Juvenal critiqued the perceived loss of "true Roman" values and satirically suggested that if a Roman "new-age" son was too "soft" for the life of a warrior, he could be counselled to turn instead to money-making:

if you are too lazy to endure the weary labours of the camp, if the sound of horn and trumpet melts your fearful soul within you, buy something that you can sell at half as much again (*Satire* 14.198–201 [Ramsay, LCL])

Using the language of ἔθος, the slave-owners invoke Roman custom and present themselves as standard-bearers of the Roman ideal. This ideal centered on the courageous, victorious, and morally-constituted Roman male.

4.4.2 *The Structure of Power in the Polis of Philippi: Topoi of Mantics, Punishment, and Honour.*

In her investigation into the system of punishment in classical Greece, D. Allen underscored that juries were swayed not only by witness reports, but even more so by the nature of a litigant's social alliances.⁴³⁵ No less so, in Roman times crowds, who essentially could replace a jury in determining the outcome of a claim, would assess a litigant's social networks and the degree to which supporting or opposing those networks would be in the crowd's favour.⁴³⁶ Legal actions not only displayed social alliances but also the very structure of power within a community. Given the slave-owner's immediate, violent response to seeing the effects of Paul's exorcism, we can infer that the profit-generating activities of the slave-woman with the Python spirit were shown to be fully integrated within Philippi's structure of power.

⁴³⁴ *The Histories* 6.52.8–11 (Paton, LCL).

⁴³⁵ "The jurors assessed a litigant's claims on the basis of the nature of his support group and friendship network and thereby assessed not only the content of social memory but also the structure of social relations in the city." Danielle S. Allen, *The World of Prometheus: The Politics of Punishing in Democratic Athens* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), 106.

⁴³⁶ On the power of the crowd in legal actions see, Brian Rapske, *The Book of Acts and Paul in Roman Custody* (ed. Bruce Winter; vol. 3 of *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting*; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1994), 122–23.

The slave-woman's mantic spirit is identified as "Python" (πύθων), who in mythology was a dragon killed by the god Apollo and whose consequently rotting body gave Apollo his name of "Pythian," since πύθω means "cause to rot."⁴³⁷ The most Greek of gods, Apollo was the lord of the oracular temple at Delphi, considered the navel—omphalos—of the Greek speaking world.⁴³⁸ In addition to the specific cultural connection between Python and Delphic Apollo, two general attributes of mantics contribute to our appreciation of the role of the mantic slave-woman in the narrative: the profitability of oracular activities, and the role of mantics as an instrument of political agendas.

In ancient literature the association between mantics and money is prevalent. Euripides tells another version of the story of Apollo killing Python, and then goes on to describe how Earth in revenge sent prophetic dream-visions to humans so that they no longer had need of Apollo's mantic services. When Apollo, who is still a child here, runs off to beg his father Zeus to remove the prophetic visions from humans, Zeus is amused that Apollo had already developed a keen taste for "worship that pays in gold" (πολύχρυσα θέλων λατρεύματα σχεῖν *Iph. taur.* 1275).⁴³⁹ In Euripides' *Bacchae*, the Thebian prince Pentheus accuses the priest Teiresias of acting in self-interest in worshiping the newly arrived

⁴³⁷ LSJ, s.v. "πύθω." Since the slave-woman practices divination (μαντεύομαι), her having the spirit of Python would have implied to an audience that her mantic practice was inspired by Apollo. "And the holy strength of Helios made her rot away there; wherefore, the place is now called Pytho, and men call the lord Apollo by another name, Pythian; because on that spot the power of piercing Helios made the monster rot away" (*Homeric Hymns To Pythian Apollo* 370 [Evelyn-White, LCL]). It is also not outside the realm of possibility that the author of Acts intended to pun on πύθω, rot, when identifying the spirit. Particularly since the message of "salvation" that the slave-woman announces the Pauline group to be proclaiming is one of immortality, which contrasts with "corruption" (in Acts 13:34,35,36,37 through the term διαφθορά.) Moreover, oral-scribally, the passage with the closest lexical connection to that of the mantic slave-woman is the story of the Gerasene demoniac (Luke 8:26-39) who lives in the tombs, a place of decay.

⁴³⁸ "Omphalos," in *Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World* (ed. John Roberts; Oxford Reference Online; Oxford University Press, 2007), <http://www.oxfordreference.com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t180.e1554> Connections between Python, Apollo, and Delphi were so strong that Πύθω could be metonymically substituted for Delphi; LSJ, s.v. "Πύθω." One example of substituting "Pytho" for Delphi comes from Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks* 1.2P.

⁴³⁹ A similar version of this story is also attributed to Aesop see B. E. Perry, "Demetrius of Phalerum and the Aesopic Fables," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 93 (1962): 299–300.

Dionysus: “By introducing a new god, you hope to advance your augurer’s business, to collect more fees for inspecting sacrifices” (Euripides, *Bacchae* 257, Vellacott).

The symbiotic relationship between gods, mantics, and rulers is well illustrated in Herodotus’s description of Lydian king Croesus’s exchanges with the Delphic oracle. Before his attack on the Persians, Croesus made extravagant sacrifices and sent lavish treasure to Delphi in order to “win the favour of the Delphian god.”⁴⁴⁰ Later, Croesus sent messengers to the oracles in order to ask whether he should proceed with an attack against the Persians. When the answer came back “that if he should send an army against the Persians he would destroy a great empire,” Croesus interpreted it as a signal of his assured success and went ahead with his attack (*Histories* 1.53–54 [Godley, LCL]). When it turned out that it was his own great Lydian empire that fell to the Persians, Croesus sent envoys reproaching the god for his “thanklessness.” The priestess emphasized that Apollo had done what he could; although he could not alter destiny, he had apparently forestalled the fall of Sardis (i.e., Lydia) for three years. Whether acting in self-interest or being themselves coerced, mantics were frequently portrayed as intimately integrated with the economic, social and political agendas of human figures of power. In taking action against the Python spirit, Paul

⁴⁴⁰ “He offered up three thousand beasts from each kind fit for sacrifice, and he burnt on a great pyre couches covered with gold and silver, golden goblets, and purple cloaks and tunics; by these means he hoped the better to win the aid of the god, to whom he also commanded that every Lydian should sacrifice what he could. When the sacrifice was over, he melted down a vast store of gold and make of it ignots of which the longer sides were of six and the shorter of three palms’ length, and the height was one palm. These were an hundred and seventeen in number. Four of them were of refined gold, each weighing two talents and a half; the rest were of gold with silver alloy, each of two talents’ weight. He bade also to be made a figure of a lion of refined gold, weighing ten talents...When these offering were made, Croesus sent them to Delphi, with other gifts besides, namely, two very great bowls, one of gold and one of silver. The golden bowl stood to the right, the silvern to the left, of the temple entrance....Moreover, Croesus sent four silver casks, which stand in the treasury of the Corinthians, and dedicated two sprinkling-vessels, one of gold, one of silver. The golden vessel bears the inscription ‘Given by the Lacedaemonians,’ who claim it as their offering. But they are wrong, for this, too, is Croesus’ gift. The inscription was made by a certain Delphian, whose name I know but will not reveal, out of his desire to please the Lacedaemonians...Along with these Croesus sent, besides many other offerings of no great mark, certain round basins of silver, and a golden female figure three cubits high, which the Delphians assert to be the statue of the woman who was Croesus’ baker. Moreover he dedicated his own wife’s necklaces and girdles. (Herodotus, *Histories* 1.50–52 [Godley, LCL])

pressed on the nerve centre of Philippi's structure of power, and in so doing activated one of the principal instruments of power: the penal system.

Following Paul's exorcism, when the slave-owners purposefully dragged the (now publicly reputed) representatives of the "Most High God" through the streets of Philippi, they themselves suffered no repercussion for what in other circumstances would have been perceived as a case of bald hubris. Instead, they were rewarded by the ready acquiescence of the crowd in the agora, and most especially by Philippi's leaders.⁴⁴¹ Having the ability to punish was a crucial marker of power in any Greco-Roman city, one which Aristophanes satirically depicts when his "sausage-seller" in *The Knights* is promised all the trappings of power including the ability to imprison at will:

"You shall be over-lord of all those people,
The Agora, and the Harbours, and the Pnyx.
You'll trim the Generals, trample down the Council,
Fetter, imprison, make the Hall your brothel." (*The Knights* 165 [Rogers, LCL])

Punishment was the handmaiden of power in a city, and the slave-owners clearly had this instrument at their disposal.⁴⁴² Not only were the slave owners instantly able to mobilize the leaders and people of Philippi, but also they managed to do so, not by proving that they had sustained an unjust injury from Paul's actions, but instead through issuing an enigmatic

⁴⁴¹ "There was however a specific offence called 'hubris' in Attic law. Anyone who stuck, pushed or restrained another person might put himself in danger of a prosecution for hubris. This prosecution was not a private lawsuit for damages, but an indictment for an offence against the community as a whole, and it was open to a jury to concur in a prosecutor's demand for the infliction of the death penalty. Indictments for hubris coexisted with private claims for damages arising out of simple assault, but to establish that an act of violence was hubris rather than assault it was necessary to persuade the jury that it proceeded from a certain attitude and disposition on the part of the accused: that is to say, from a wish on his part to establish a dominant position over his victim in the eyes of the community, or from a confidence that by reason of wealth, strength or influence he could afford to laugh at equality of rights under the law and treat other people as if they were chattels at his disposal." Kenneth J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), 35.

⁴⁴² Equally valid in the first century are Allen's remarks on classical Athens: "Punishment established structure of power. In addition, those people who claimed to hold power could only prove that they did by punishing and by forcing their world views on someone who had rejected them." Danielle S. Allen, *The World of Prometheus*, 87. "public violence on selected bodies becomes an instrument of social coercion. More than a deterrent, it effects a *forcible realignment of subjectivity* to identify with the enforcing power." Maud W. Gleason, "Truth Contests and Talking Corpses," in *Constructions of the Classical Body* (ed. James I. Porter; The Body, in Theory: Histories of Cultural Materialism; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 300.

charge against the accused of promulgating undefined “un-Roman” customs. The very arbitrariness of the slave-owners’ charges against Paul and Silas displays their unquestioned access to Philippi’s system of punishment and testifies to the power vested in them.⁴⁴³

In the first-century Mediterranean world, any relations transacted within a framework of power by definition also implicated issues of honour. Punitive competitions, that by their very nature functioned through established power structures, formed a particular type of struggle for honour.⁴⁴⁴ Indeed, the etymological connections between punishment and honour further emphasize the intimate relationship between the two, as Allen remarks:

Greek words for punishment reveal the centrality of honor to the process of punishing. The most common word for ‘punishment’ was *timoria* and for ‘to punish,’ *timoreisthai*, which we might translate as ‘to assess and to distribute honor.’ The words *atimia* and *atimos* (‘dishonor’ and ‘dishonored’) referred to the specific penalty of political disfranchisement and were originally used to describe the exile who had been cast entirely outside the community.⁴⁴⁵

Through a reciprocal act of “casting out,” the slave owners sought to remove Paul’s and Silas’s previous publicly proclaimed status as agents of the “Most High God.” If we consider that “[h]onor expresses one’s public standing,” then we can see that the honour of the Pauline group suffered a precipitous drop following the Python spirit’s exorcism.⁴⁴⁶ This loss of honour, however, was not limited to the men involved but also implicated the God they were proclaiming. By identifying Paul and Silas as “Jews” (Acts 16:20), the slave-owners also gave identity to the “Most High God” as the God of Israel. The exorcism, rather than functioning as a healing miracle in the context of this unit, functioned as a challenge and triggered a competition for public honour. The challenge was met, in true first-century fashion, by a commensurate response.⁴⁴⁷ Where Paul’s exorcism attacked a sensi-

⁴⁴³ “The Roman criminal justice system may have presented to its subjects a face as arbitrary, as inexplicable, even as malign—as Fortuna herself. But its very incomprehensibility comprehended a message. Arbitrariness is an effective way to dramatize power.” Gleason, “Truth Contests,” 299.

⁴⁴⁴ Danielle S. Allen, *The World of Prometheus*, 61.

⁴⁴⁵ Danielle S. Allen, *The World of Prometheus*, 61.

⁴⁴⁶ Neyrey, “Honor and Shame,” 88. A predominantly male value, honour “is a claim to worth *and* the social acknowledgement of that worth;” Malina, *The New Testament World*, 30 . Cf. page 56.

⁴⁴⁷ For the role of challenge-response in contests of honour in the first-century agonistic culture see Malina, *The New Testament World*, 33–36.

tive element of the slave-owners' source of honour—mantic activities which had generated significant profit—the slave owners in turn attacked the honour of Paul's and Silas's God by bodily attacking his agents.

4.4.3 *Conclusion to Social Power in Roman Philippi.*

If, indeed, the Pauline group had expectations that it would evangelize “important cities in the contemporary Roman empire” beginning with Philippi,⁴⁴⁸ then by all appearances their merger with the slave-woman would have testified to the fulfillment of their mission. Mediating a divinity associated with the pre-eminent Greek god Apollo, the slave-woman belonged to some of Philippi's most powerful men. Her public proclamations that the disciples were agents of the Most High God, and were empowered to deliver salvation, situated the disciples and their God in a position of honour within the city of Philippi.

Yet, instead of presenting a successful ongoing alliance with powerful Philippians, Luke portrays break and rupture, as Paul first expels the slave-owners' source of profit and is then himself expelled from Philippian society. The cause of this rupture—profit—comes to the fore. Ethnography too is featured once again. Where previously the threat of Lydian contamination was introduced with Lydia, now the question of the Roman physiognomic standard surfaces in the charges against Paul and Silas.

Topoi of power and honour, and their physical manifestations through a key tool of a city's power structure and its penal system, figure prominently. Punishment served to dishonour the accused and expelled him from society. The emotion-fused element of anger, an element rarely recognized in discussions of this unit, plays a catalytic role as the anger of the slave-owners shows itself sufficient for activating the people, magistrates and lictors

⁴⁴⁸ Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 583.

against Paul and Silas.⁴⁴⁹ Whereas many have approached the exorcism of the Python spirit as a sign of “the triumph of Christianity over pagan Greco-Roman practices,”⁴⁵⁰ ignoring the resultant humiliation and dishonouring of the we-group and their God, the exorcism instead plays a crucial role in unveiling the interconnected links of Philippi’s social structure of power, ranging from a spiritual divinity (by implication Apollo) to Philippi’s earthly chief leaders.

4.5. *Topoi of Prison*

Terms associated with prison form one of the densest conglomerations of repetitive *lexica* in this passage.⁴⁵¹ Although not immediately clear how, innertextual analysis has also shown that Lydia and the jailer are connected progressively, particularly through the repetitive term οἴκος.⁴⁵² In analysing the relationship between suffering and joy developed by Paul in his letter to the Philippians, Bloomquist has emphasized the radical differences between an experience of prison in antiquity and that of a modern North American one. Pointing to the need for an intertextual understanding of this difference, Bloomquist writes:

most of us have no experience of prison. But, even if we did, imprisonment would have been profoundly different from almost any North American experience of prison today. Prison in antiquity was not a ‘holding cell,’ but a place to impose greater suffering on the wrongdoer than the wrongdoing had caused....Moreover, we would be shocked that torture was common...and prison was an opportunity to enable torturers to hurt those accused of hurting others and to do so with increasing savagery and ferocity.⁴⁵³

⁴⁴⁹ Allen’s analysis of the role of anger in classical Greece carries into Greco-Roman cities: “We will discover first of all that in Athens anger and personal interest provided the only truly legitimate basis for an attempt to punish someone. Punishments inspired by anger provided a means of recalibrating status and honor in the city after a wrongdoing. This recalibration especially benefited the punisher.” Danielle S. Allen, *The World of Prometheus*, 35.

⁴⁵⁰ Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 583.

⁴⁵¹ See page 68.

⁴⁵² See page 72.

⁴⁵³ L. Gregory Bloomquist, “Subverted by Joy: Suffering and Joy in Paul’s Letter to the Philippians,” *Interpretation* 61, no. 3 (2007): 274–75.

Paul's exorcism precipitated his and Silas's incarceration.

4.5.1 *Physiognomy of Jailers: Brutalization and Torture.*

The occupational physiognomy of jailers evoked savagery as much as other instruments of the Roman penal system, such as the *fasces*, did.⁴⁵⁴ Philo writes that jailers, endowed with “an uncivilized and unsoftened nature,” become hardened through their daily contact with “thieves, burglars, men of violence and outrage, who commit rape, murder, adultery and sacrilege” thereby forming “a single body of evil, a fusion of every sort of pollution”(On Joseph 15.82–84 [Colson, LCL]). The end result is the brutalizing jailer:

Everyone knows how full of inhumanity and cruelty gaolers are; pitiless by nature and case-hardened by practice, they are brutalized day by day towards savagery, because they never even by chance see or say or do any kindness, but only the extremes of violence and cruelty. (On Joseph 15.81 [Colson, LCL])

Philo's description of a jailer is a case study of physiognomical thinking. It begins with an innate predisposition,⁴⁵⁵ and augments it with the effects of further contaminating contact

⁴⁵⁴ The Roman lictors, the *ῥαβδούχοι* (Acts 16:35, 38), technically the *fasces*-bearers (where the *fasces* were the ancient equivalent to modern batons used by riot police) are found only in Acts 16 in the Bible. The element of the *fasces* is emphasized by the verb *ῥαβδίζω* that describes Paul and Silas's beating by rods in Acts 16:22. “the *fasces* were not merely decorative or symbolic devices carried before magistrates in a parade of idle formalism. Rather, they constituted a portable kit for flogging and decapitation. Since they were so brutally functional, they not only served as ceremonial symbols of office but also carried the potential of violent repression and execution.” Anthony J. Marshall, “Symbols and Showmanship in Roman Public Life: The *Fasces*,” *Phoenix* 38, no. 2 (1984): 129–30, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1088896> ; cf. *BNP*, s.v. “*fasces*.”

⁴⁵⁵ This natural predisposition, in physiognomical terms is best understood as “barbarianism”: “There are occasional suggestions that “Scythian” public slaves were charged with policing and guarding the *polis* in Greco-Roman antiquity. This premise is sourced in the historic use of “Scythian archers” in the late fourth-early fifth century BCE to keep order in Athens and sometimes referred to as a police force. This group was disbanded in the fourth century BCE and there is nothing to suggest a connection between Scythian ethnicity and policing in subsequent years. Nonetheless by the “Byzantine period, the term *Skythai* was used indiscriminately to describe barbarian peoples from the north and east.” Rhodes, Peter J., “Scythians,” *BNP*; It is this element of “barbarianism” which forms the stereotype of prison guards. (“The B[arbarian] image is encapsulated in the terms *feritas*, *immanitas*, *inhumanitas*, *impietas*, *ferocia*, *superbia*, *impotentia*, *furor*, *discordia*, *vanitas*, *perfidia* and *imprudentia*.” Volker Losemann, “Barbarians” *BNP*. 3 and 4 Maccabees characterize Scythians as cruel torturers: “They also led them out with harsh treatment as slaves, or rather as traitors, and, girding themselves with a cruelty more savage than that of Scythian custom, they tried without

“with every sort of pollution,” thereby forming the end-product of a stereotypical hardened jailer.

True to type, the Philippian jailer goes above and beyond his orders to secure Paul and Silas by fastening them “in wood.”⁴⁵⁶ B. Rapske notes that although fastening prisoners in stocks may have formed part of an evening “lockdown” routine in prison, the jailer’s placing Paul and Silas in stocks immediately upon their incarceration suggests that “more than security may have been in mind,” as the use of stocks “could also be a form of torture.”⁴⁵⁷ Evidence that torture rather than security provided the jailer’s most probable motive is further emphasized by the text’s specifying that Paul and Silas were incarcerated in the innermost cell where the possibility of escape would have been highly unlikely.

Through bribery, it was possible to motivate jailers towards greater or lesser degrees of humane treatment. For example, Antiphilus’s friend Demetrius gives a portion of his daily wages to Antiphilus’s jailer, “thus rendering him tractable and peaceful,” whereas previously the jailer had exercised “his authority over Antiphilus with a heavy hand” (Lucian, *Toxaris* 31). In *The Acts of Paul and Thecla*, Thecla gives her bracelets to the prison’s doorkeeper and a silver mirror to the jailer in order to gain access to the imprisoned Paul (*Acts Paul Thec.* 18).⁴⁵⁸ Prisoners were dependent on relatives or friends to bring them food, and bribes were often the avenue by which access to prisoners could be gained.⁴⁵⁹

Although literature portrays jailers as innately brutish, their hardness was all but ensured by a brutal system which showed no leniency to jailers who may have been remiss in

any inquiry or examination to put them to death.” (3 Macc 7:5); “Since they were not able in any way to break his spirit, they abandoned the instruments and scalped him with their fingernails in a Scythian fashion.” (4 Macc 10:7)

⁴⁵⁶ Stocks “often consisted of a long piece of wood pierced at regular intervals with notches or holes and split along the length so that the feet of the prisoner could be set it and secured.” Rapske, *The Book of Acts and Paul in Roman Custody*, 126–27.

⁴⁵⁷ Rapske, *The Book of Acts and Paul in Roman Custody*, 127. Cf. Danielle S. Allen, *The World of Prometheus*, 200–201.

⁴⁵⁸ In Acts 24:26 the hope of receiving a bribe sustains Felix’s continued discussion with the imprisoned Paul.

⁴⁵⁹ Rapske, *The Book of Acts and Paul in Roman Custody*, 209–13. Cf. Matthew 25:36, 39, 43, 44.

their duties. The Philippian jailer did not hesitate in moving towards his own death when he had supposed that the post-earthquake open doors implied that the prisoners had escaped (Acts 16:27), for he understood that to have allowed an escape would likely bring about his own torture and death as it had for Peter's jailers (Acts 12:19). Jailers were not only to ensure that prisoners did not escape; they also were expected to see to the ongoing suffering of their charges. The very thought of friendship between prisoners and jailers would have been beyond belief and ludicrous.

4.5.2 *Space of Prison: Suffering and Death.*

The space of a first-century prison evoked suffering, filth, disease and death. Suffering that resulted from the threat or realization of physical maltreatment at the hands of one's jailer was aggravated by prison's inhumane living conditions.⁴⁶⁰ Diodorus of Sicily writes of the dire conditions of a prison at Alba Fucens:

This prison is a deep underground dungeon, no larger than a nine-coach room, dark, noisome from the large numbers committed to the place, who were men under condemnation on capital charges, for most of this category were incarcerated there at that period. With so many shut up in such close quarters, the poor wretches were reduced to the physical appearance of brutes, and since their food and everything pertaining to their other needs was all foully commingled, a stench so terrible assailed anyone who drew near that it could scarcely be endured (Diodorus of Sicily, *The Library of History* 31.9.2).⁴⁶¹

Lucian portrays similar conditions in his story of Antiphilus's imprisonment:

he [Antiphilus] slept on the ground and at night could not even stretch out his legs, which were confined in the stocks. By day, to be sure, the collar was sufficient, together with the manacles upon one hand; but for the night he had to be fully secured by his bonds. Moreover, the stench of the room and its stifling air (since many were confined in the same place, cramped for room, and scarcely able to draw breath), the clash of iron, the scanty sleep—all these conditions were difficult and intolerable for such a man. (*Toxaris* 30 [Harmon, LCL])

⁴⁶⁰ See Matthew L. Skinner, *Locating Paul: Places of Custody as Narrative Settings in Acts 21–28* (Academia Biblica 13; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 81–84.

⁴⁶¹ Quoted in Rapske, *The Book of Acts and Paul in Roman Custody*, 197–98.

Wretched suffering to the point of death was a prominent element of the first-century prison and the conditions of Philippi's prison would not have been any less so.

Since prisons were spaces of suffering, disease, and death, there was a form of rhetorical type-scene—prison-escape—that showcased a divinity's superior power through the miraculous escape of prisoners under divine favour. Earthquakes, along with other violent natural phenomena such as thunder and lightening, were closely associated with manifestations of divine power in the ancient world.⁴⁶² When serving to “open doors,” earthquakes were subsumed under a broader *topos* of “door-miracles” which involved cases of closed doors opening miraculously.⁴⁶³ Prison-escape rhetorical type-scenes blended door-miracles with the *topos* of imprisonment. They functioned to exhibit the release of divinely-sanctioned prisoners. An illustrative example comes from Artapanus's account of Moses' imprisonment by the Pharaoh:

The king of the Egyptians learned of Moses' presence, summoned him and asked for what purpose he had come. He responded that the master of the universe had ordered him *to release the Jews*. When the king learned this, he confined him in prison. But when night came, all the doors of the prison opened of themselves, and some of the guards died, while others were relaxed by sleep and their weapons were broken. Moses came out and went to the royal chambers. (Artapanus, *Moses* 23–24 [Collins]; italics in translation)⁴⁶⁴

Numerous scholars have remarked upon the similarities between the prison scenes in Acts (5:17-42; 12:1-19; 16:19-40) and those found in Euripides' *Bacchae*.⁴⁶⁵ Elements of the imprisonment in Philippi, in particular, resonate uncannily with the *Bacchae*, and many

⁴⁶² Stefan Maul and Fritz Krafft, “Earthquake.” *BNP*; Richard Seaford, “Thunder, Lightning and Earthquake in the *Bacchae* and The Acts of the Apostles,” in *What is a God? Studies in the Nature of Greek Divinity* (ed. Alan B. Lloyd; London: Duckworth, in association with The Classical Press of Wales, 1997), 139–51.

⁴⁶³ J. Jeremias, ἠθύρα,” *TDNT* 3.175-176.

⁴⁶⁴ As preserved in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9.27.1–37.

⁴⁶⁵ A list compiled by John Weaver includes Otto Weinreich, “Gebet und Wunder,” in *Genethliakon Wilhelm Schmid* (Tübinger Beiträge Zur Altertumswissenschaft 5; Stuttgart: Verlag Von W. Kohlhammer, 1929), 169–464; Richard I. Pervo, “The Literary Genre of Acts of the Apostles” (Th.D. diss., Harvard University, 1979):54–90; Richard I. Pervo, *Profit with Delight: The Literary Genre of the Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 18–24; Reinhard Kratz, *Rettungswunder: Motiv-, traditions- und formkritische Aufarbeitung einer biblischen Gattung* (Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe 23, Theologie; Bd. 123; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1979), 446–99; Wilhelm Nestle, “Anklänge an Euripides in der Apostelgeschichte,” *Philologus* 59 (1900):46-57. Weaver, *Plots of Epiphany*, 12–21, 133.

of these commonalities have been long recognized despite a lack of awareness of further support provided by Lydian ethnography.⁴⁶⁶

When the Thebian prince Pentheus is told that a new god has arrived, he dismisses him as “a juggling sorcerer from Lydia-land” (*Bacchae* 234). Although Pentheus attempts to imprison Dionysus’s Maenads, they become “loosed from bonds...the fetters from their feet self-sundered fell...doors, without mortal hand, unbarred themselves” (*Bacchae* 440-449). Pentheus captures Dionysus by commanding: “track down that effeminate [θηλύμορφον] foreigner,” (*Bacchae* 353-354, Vellacott).⁴⁶⁷ Dionysus, offering no resistance, is easily captured and brought to Pentheus who orders Dionysus’s hands to be untied since he poses no physical threat: “You are no wrestler, I can tell from these long curls cascading most seductively over your cheek. (455-458, Vellacott).⁴⁶⁸ Subsequently, Pentheus does have Dionysus bound and imprisoned in his palace dungeon. In the darkness, displaying his divine power, Dionysus frees himself by an earthquake and fire (*Bacchae* 616-640).

Although most commentators have pointed to the similarities between Paul’s and Silas’s imprisonment and Dionysus’s, Philippi skips out of the groove in a number of key areas. It is precisely these differences that point to areas of intense rhetorical interest. Luke’s reconfiguration of the prison-escape rhetorical type-scene and its rhetorical impact will be discussed in ideological texture.

Whereas miraculous prison-escapes functioned to display divine power, another series of stories associated with the *topos* of prison shifted focus to the prisoner. In these texts, the

⁴⁶⁶ For a table of common narrative elements between Acts 16 and the *Bacchae* cf. Weaver, *Plots of Epiphany*, 270.

⁴⁶⁷ “Just as the *Iliad* calls Paris γυναίμανής [mad for women], so a Homeric hymn uses the same term for Dionysus. In Aeschylus he is called contemptuously ‘the womanly one’ (ὁ γύννις); in Euripides, ‘the womanly stranger’ (θηλύμορφος). At times he is also called ‘man-womanish’ (ἀρσενόθηλος). The Christians sneer at his effeminacy to which the strange story of his encounter with Prosymnus can also bear witness [Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks* 2.30P]. Indeed, there is a tale that Hermes gave the infant Dionysus to Ino with the stipulation that she rear him as a girl.” Walter F. Otto, *Dionysus: Myth and Cult* (trans. Robert B. Palmer; Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1965), 176 Square brackets own.

⁴⁶⁸ Similarly, Edonian king Lycurgus asks about the newly arrived Dionysus, “Ποδαπὸς ὁ γύννις/ Where does this effeminate fellow come from” (Aeschylus, frg. 31; c. 525–c. 456 B.C.E.) quoted in Weaver, *Plots of Epiphany*, 38.

topos of prison functioned as a locus of testing.⁴⁶⁹ Two examples from ancient literature illustrate how imprisonment could test, and consequently display, a person's character. In *Toxaris*, Lucian's anthology of stories of loyal friendship, one story is told of how imprisonment demonstrated model loyalty between friends Antiphilus and Demetrius. When Antiphilus is unjustly incarcerated, he finds himself abandoned by all except for his loyal friend Demetrius. Demetrius searches out the languishing Antiphilus,⁴⁷⁰ and begins to tend to his care:

he bade him have no fear, and tearing his short cloak in two, put on one of the halves and gave the remainder to Antiphilus, after stripping from him the filthy worn-out rags he was wearing. From that time forth, too, he shared his life in every way, attending and cherishing him; for by hiring himself out to the shipmen in the harbour from early morning to noon, he earned a good deal of money as a stevedore. Then, on returning from his work, he would give part of his pay to the keeper, thus rendering him tractable and peaceful, and the rest sufficed well enough for the maintenance of his friend. Each afternoon he remained with Antiphilus, keeping him in heart; and when night overtook him, he slept just in front of the prison door where he had made a place to lie and had put down some leaves. (Lucian, *Toxaris* 30–31 [Harmon, LCL])

When he can no longer bribe his way into prison, Demetrius claims to have been an accomplice to the crime of which Antiphilus had been wrongfully accused, and thus joins Antiphilus, managing to get himself secured in the same set of irons. Despite now falling ill himself, Demetrius continues to try to ease Antiphilus's discomfort: "so they bore their discomforts more easily by sharing them with each other" (*Toxaris* 32). Eventually, several prisoners manage to file through their chains, and all but Demetrius and Antiphilus escape, killing the guards in the process. Demetrius and Antiphilus choose to remain in prison since they are innocent.⁴⁷¹ When, at daybreak, they are discovered as the only remaining prisoners, they are praised for staying and set free. However, "they were not the men...to be content with being released in that way," since the public perception of their guilt would have

⁴⁶⁹ For example, in Revelation the Ephesians are encouraged: "Do not fear what you are about to suffer. Behold, the devil is about to throw some of you into prison, that you may be tested, and for ten days you will have tribulation. Be faithful unto death, and I will give you the crown of life" (Revelation 2:10).

⁴⁷⁰ The wretchedness of Antiphilus's conditions was narrated on page 193 above.

⁴⁷¹ They also seize the actual perpetrator and keep him from escaping.

remained. To clear their names, Demetrius insists on an inquiry. When the investigation affirms their innocence, the magistrate

commended them, expressing very great admiration for Demetrius, and in dismissing them (ἀφίησι) condoled (παράμυνησάμενος) with them over the punishment which they had undergone through their unjust imprisonment and presented each of them with a gift out of his own pocket, Antiphilus with ten thousand drachmas and Demetrius with twice as much. (*Toxaris* 33 [Harmon, LCL])

Demetrius shows himself to be a paragon of loyalty through a prison trial.⁴⁷²

Philo, too, uses prison to highlight exemplary character in his story of Joseph's imprisonment (Genesis 39:20-23). In Genesis, the more succinct version of the account has the Lord coming to the unjustly imprisoned Joseph's aid, resulting in the jailer's turning over the management of the prison to Joseph. In Philo's expanded and modified version, due to Joseph's abundance of virtue, both the prisoners and the jailer have their natures converted, and through the example of Joseph's character the very space of prison is converted as well. After describing the brutish nature of jailers,⁴⁷³ Philo writes:

Nevertheless one of this kind, tamed by the nobility of the youth [Joseph], not only allowed him some security from violence and hardship, but gave him the command of all the prisoners; and thus while he remained nominally and for the sake of appearance the keeper of the goal, he resigned to Joseph the actual office, which thus became the source of no small benefit to those who were in confinement. Thus even the place, as they felt could not rightly be called a prison, but a house of correction (σωφρονιστήριον). For instead of the tortures (βασάνων) and punishments which they used to endure night and day under the lash or in manacles or in every possible affliction, they were rebuked by his wise words and doctrines of philosophy, while the conduct of their teacher effected more than any

⁴⁷² Both Cicero and Diodorus of Sicily retell a different story of laudable loyalty between friends that is demonstrated through the prison *topos*: Cicero writes: "They say that Damon and Phintias, of the Pythagorean school, enjoyed such ideally perfect friendship, that when the tyrant Dionysius had appointed a day for the execution of one of them, and the one who had been condemned to death requested a few days' respite for the purpose of putting his loved ones in the care of friends, the other became surety for his appearance, with the understanding that if his friend did not return, he himself should be put to death. And when the friend returned on the day appointed, the tyrant in admiration for their faithfulness begged that they would enrol him as a third partner in their friendship" (Cicero, *De officiis* 3.10.45 [Miller, LCL]). Relating a similar version Diodorus writes: "while Dionysius was tyrant, and a certain Phintias, a Pythagorean, who had formed a plot against the tyrant, was about to suffer the penalty for it, he asked Dionysius for time in which to make such disposition as he wished of his private affairs; and he said that he would give one of his friends as surety for his death. And when the ruler expressed his wonder whether such a friend was to be found as would take his place in prison, Phintias called upon one of his acquaintances, a Pythagorean philosopher named Damon, who without hesitation came forward at once as surety for his death" (Diodorus of Sicily, *The Library of History* 10.4.3-4 [Oldfather, LCL]).

⁴⁷³ See page 191 above.

words. For by setting before them his life of temperance and every virtue, like an original picture of skilled workmanship, he converted even those who seemed to be quite incurable. (Philo, *On Joseph* 16.85–87 [Colson, LCL])

Through the shining example of his virtuous nature, Joseph converts both the jailer and the prisoners, and transmutes the space of prison into a space of wisdom.

4.5.3 *Conclusion to the Intertextural Analysis of the Topos of Prison.*

The penal system, instrumental to the enforcement of the power structure of a *polis*, functioned by exerting physical violence and extreme hardship. Within this system, the inhumane conditions of prison, enforced by their equally inhumane keepers, made a stay in prison a form of torture even in instances where torture was not formally applied. Prison and jailers evoked elements of torture, suffering and filth.

Forming an ultimate tool of dominance, prisons could appear as a testing ground for differentiating between divine and opposing power in literature. Miracles of independent door-openings enabled the triumphant release of their divinely sanctioned prisoners, and, when they occurred, they heralded the imminent demise or loss of power of impious leaders. In Philippi, however, an earthquake does not facilitate a prison-escape; instead all prisoners stay. Ideological texture will investigate how Paul's and Silas's prison-stay is used rhetorically in the passage.

4.6. *Conclusion to Intertextural Analysis*

Our investigation of intertextural analysis first found that the rhetorical unit opens with *topoi* common to military discourse, including the sweep of territory preceding the vision; the legendary site of Troas that featured in other military Hellespont crossings; the Macedonian identity of the man that suggested conquering heroes; Paul's vision that evoked the

dream-visions of military leaders; and the form of the Macedonian's words as a military call to aid. The call of the Macedonian man resonates with other dream-visions found in military discourse that motivate a leader or general to action. Unlike other calls for auxiliary military aid, however, the Macedonian petitioner does not disclose the nature of his want. It is left to the we-group to perceive that self-expressive speech delivering fortunate news of victory will supply the requisitioned aid. In situations of conflict this type of "good news" regularly served to fortify the courage of troops. Moreover, as with other such calls, the request assumes that some type of alliance will be formed between the petitioner, who is human rather than divine, and the respondent. Our analysis of intertexture provides grounds for suggesting that "fortifying courage" and alliance arise as two key objectives of Paul's vision.

Second, our investigation of the intertextual elements found in Lydia's descriptive attributes has shown that connectivity between elements of Lydia's Lydian ethnography, her purple and her occupation as a seller, brings forth *topoi* of sexual immorality, degenerative luxury, profit-seeking and hucksterism. This is in stark contrast to the narratively framed expectations of a setting of Jewish piety. The rhetorical force of the analysis suggests that Lydia risks contaminating the Pauline group and effeminating them. If indeed she represents the group of women that gather with her on the outskirts of Philippi, then the rhetorical nature of the assembly by the river would be far closer to an actual "den of robbers" than to a "house of prayer" (Luke 19:46).⁴⁷⁴

Third, the social topic of hospitality, long used by commentators to classify Lydia as a "hostess," instead operates rhetorically to profile the need for mutual evaluation between host and guest. Importantly, hospitality functioned through male social codes, for the honour of the guest would be embedded in the honour of the host for the duration of the

⁴⁷⁴ "if an individual who is a member of a group has become a symbol of this group his behavior will be regarded as more important, because it is more representative, than that of other members of the same group." Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 333.

stay. Far from suggesting hostessing, “shameless” Lydia’s offer presents a severe challenge to the *ethos* of the Pauline group, and thereby to their message of good news. Dissonant with her Lydian purple-selling profile, Lydia speaks in the language of fidelity; yet, the possibility of discovering fidelity in a Lydian woman remains a question throughout, and is in fact left unanswered until the unit’s final verse.

Fourth, although the exorcism of the Python spirit from the mantic slave-woman, the rhetorical unit’s second featured woman, might be interpreted as another show of the superior power of Paul’s God over a “pagan” god, the consequent punishment and dishonouring of Paul and Silas argue against such a reading. Instead, the exorcism unveils Philippi’s power-structure as the slave-owners handily mobilize Philippi’s penal system through their anger. This power-structure and penal system are both clearly Roman. Roman ethnography becomes operative through the charges of the slave-owners who present themselves as Roman men, with Paul and Silas as potential contaminants to Roman values.

Fifth, the physiognomic profile of the moral, powerful, and victorious Roman male contrasts with the dishonoured, beaten and incarcerated Paul and Silas, who, though finding themselves in prison—a place of filth, torture and suffering—are given the means of escape, but instead remain along with the other prisoners. This is in contrast to other stories of prison-escapes, particularly those involving Dionysus; the Philippi imprisonment does not follow expected events. Downplaying any explicit reference to divine intervention, the element of “stay” rather than escape evidences steadfast stability through courage, resolve, and solidarity.

Sixth, the physiognomic profiling of jailers suggests that the jailer makes for no more of a welcome, or potentially wholesome, convert and host than did Lydia. Brutishness, savagery, and a nature that understands only the language of bribes form the elements of the rhetorical profile of jailers. Combined with Lydia, the jailer’s conversion suggests that the “growth of the Christian church” resembles more the growth of decays and molds rather than the frequently occurring images of pious house-churches.

As such, there is no place here for a triumphalistic reading of Acts 16. Dissonant elements, such as Lydia's ethnographic profile, have over time been smoothed out and blended in with the normal essentially disappearing from view.⁴⁷⁵ However, to a first-century audience these seemingly inconspicuous elements would have jumped out and demanded attention. Through intertextual analysis we have investigated the background of the "networks of meaning" found in the unit's elements. Our analysis of ideological texture will now suggest how the author has structured these rhetorically in order to develop the unit's rhetorical impact.

⁴⁷⁵ Such interpretations are evidence of what Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca call "psychical and social inertia," the "equivalents in consciousness and society of the inertia of physics;" inertia harmonizes incongruous elements with the normal and habitual. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 105.

Chapter 5: Ideological Texture

5.1. *Introduction to Ideological Texture*

Our investigation of innertexture provided a blueprint of the rhetorical unit's topographical profile through examining key repetitions, progressions, narrational/sensory-aesthetic and argumentative textures. Through intertexture, we fleshed out rhetorically significant elements by situating these in their appropriate literary, social, cultural and historical backgrounds, and by noticing which elements connected with each other and formed into *topoi*, and by noting certain forms of discourse that employed these *topoi*. Identifying the rhetorical landscape, while procedurally a critical feature of SRI, was but a means to reaching the main goal of this analysis, namely, determining how the *topoi* function argumentatively and for what purpose. For function, rather than form, and specifically, rhetorical function, is the main concern of SRI. Using the inventory of *topoi*, elements, and argumentative threads gathered through the two first phases of analysis, we will explore how the author of Acts has deployed these rhetorically in developing the ideological texture of the text.

Earlier discussion in argumentative texture pointed out that since argumentation so frequently relies upon intertextual elements, a full-bodied representation of a text's argumentative flow depends upon the audience having access to "off the page" *topoi* from either its shared knowledge, and/or the benefit of intertextual analysis.⁴⁷⁶ Our analysis of ideological texture can re-engage argumentative texture in order to determine how seemingly disparate *topoi* such as military call for aid, dream-visions, "place of prayer," Lydian woman, purple-seller, hospitality, mantics, and prison, are joined rhetorically.

⁴⁷⁶ See page 43.

Once intertextural *topoi* are linked to the argumentative texture of the text, we will affirm that much of the rhetorical unit's ideological texture is developed through rhetographical argumentation.⁴⁷⁷ Rhetography conscripts mental images for rhetorical purpose, but the argumentation does not unfold as a pastiche of discrete images, but rather rhetography works dynamically, linking, blending, and transforming into new possibilities. Cognitive science's approach to conceptual blending offers a helpful model for investigating how rhetographically-sourced argumentation operates, since its focus is on how humans make meaning through cognitive mental images. Especially beneficial for examining ideological texture is the concept of "framing."

When a frame functions as an organizing structure, it specifies "the nature of the relevant activity, events, and participants."⁴⁷⁸ The perspective of frames allows us to look at discourse and its *topoi* from within these three categories: activity, events, and participants, in order to bring the particular nature of each rhetorical frame into relief.

New understanding emerges from blends of frames, which often produce "emergent structure." Emergent structure, the result of certain blends, develops when audiences mentally fuse elements of frames together, "fill in" background information evoked by the blends, and elaborate further possibilities that arise from the blend.⁴⁷⁹ Fauconnier and Turner point out that "emergent structure arises in the blend that is not copied directly from any input,"⁴⁸⁰ and therefore it opens a new horizon of possibilities for the audience.

The task of charting ideological texture will be accomplished in part by looking for relevant conceptual blends that are evoked by the text and that are guided by one of the rhetorical unit's principal progressive sequences: the *παρακαλέω* progression.⁴⁸¹ As this discussion of ideological texture will maintain, the author has undergirded the rhetorical

⁴⁷⁷ For rhetography see page 48.

⁴⁷⁸ Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*, 123.

⁴⁷⁹ Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*, 48.

⁴⁸⁰ Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*, 48.

⁴⁸¹ For the *παρακαλέω* progression, cf. pages 71–72.

movement of the unit by the παρακαλέω progression, and thereby has formed an argumentative path (underscored by the unit's abundant recurrences of ἔρχομαι, “come, go” prefixed and suffixed terms) that presents the critical criteria for judging the basis for the coming together and separating apart of those who might mediate or obstruct the delivery of salvific “good news.” Along this path, the author will rhetographically argue that the aid requested by the Macedonian man—fortifying loyalty and courage—can be delivered only by the mutual joining together of those who are “authentically” faithful.

An equally important, and parallel, task is protecting the news of salvation from contamination. However, given that appearances can often be deceptive, Luke presents a number of illustrative cases that can help the reader discern the difference between genuine and “counterfeit” faith. Each of these explicit and implicit “παρακαλέω-events” will constitute the structural framework for the investigation of this rhetorical unit's ideological texture, and therefore we will turn to each of these sequentially.

5.2. *The παρακαλέω of the Macedonian Man: Blending Military Frames*

The “military” category situated the rhetorical unit's discourse generally, but when we examine the particular *topoi* that intertextual analysis discovered in Paul's vision, and the we-group's response to it, it is possible to suggest that within a general category of military discourse there are three distinct organizing frames introduced by Paul's vision: military call for aid; sanctioning divine dream-vision; and delivery of “good news” (εὐαγγελίζομαι). Also, a fourth frame of a warrior-god emerges from the we-group's interpretation of the vision as a call from God.

The four frames, while equally at home in military discourse, concern distinct events, activities and participants. These distinctions not only differentiate the organizing principle of the frames but also in some cases are incompatible with elements found in other frames.

The frames are not easily blended, since, for example, how does self-expressive speech—the activity of “announcing good news”—fit together with the expectation of material, auxiliary help evoked within a military call-for-aid frame? Yet the author of Acts does blend the four, and by so doing develops a reconfigured frame that forms the rhetorical backdrop to the unit’s ensuing occasions of παρακαλέω.

Although four military discourse frames can be identified in the opening of the rhetorical unit, they are not presented independently but rather through a blend that privileges certain elements, diminishes or removes others, and ultimately forms a reconfigured frame that draws on its source conventions, all the while moving beyond these into a new framing structure. The blend occurs by bringing together some of the key *topoi* of the frames, like military aid, victory, and divinely-sanctioned initiative, and, too, by incorporating absent or incongruous elements like the nonspecific nature of the call, the absence of divine elements in the vision itself, as well as conceptually resolving clashing elements like the incompatible roles of the main participants of each frame. In examining how the frames are blended, we will highlight incongruities and clashes in order to see how they also influence the formation of a new framing structure. This emergent frame privileges the call for aid frame, from within which successful discernment of the divinely sanctioned good news of victory will provide the sought after resource of steadfast courage and faith.

5.2.1 Blending for Rhetorical Effect: A Call from God to Announce “Good News” comes as a Call for Military Aid from a Macedonian.

If, indeed, the Macedonian man would evoke great conquering heroes—and given the audience’s historical context, he likely would—then the we-group’s rush to assist would have created an image of auxiliary aid to a Macedonian campaign destined for massive conquest. Conquest, that is, Alexander-style. As Bloomquist has pointed out, the rhetorical

impact of Paul's vision would have suggested to an audience that the disciples were involved in "a new war, with new battles and a new people to bring into subjection."⁴⁸² As the we-group runs to help the Macedonian, the audience might almost taste the victory at hand. However, from the beginning, the author undermines a facile reading of the vision's implications by incorporating incompatible elements and omitting anticipated ones.

The Macedonian man is apprehended within the locus of Paul's emotion-fused thought—emphasized by elements of vision and sight (ὄραμα, ὁράω Acts 16:9, 10)—and not, as would be expected, in the external audible world (nor by its material proxy: a letter). In fact, if the man's request were to be situated outside of a dream-vision context, it would fit with regular inter-human communication; a person speaks and the receiver of the speech deduces the speaker's intended meaning. This seeming clash between two communicative channels is resolved by the way that divine dream-visions were understood to operate in the ancient world. Divinely sent messengers regularly communicated in human self-expressive fashion within the dreamer's zone of emotion-fused thought. For, as P. Struck observes, "dreams are perhaps the ancient world's most-traveled bridge between the heavens and the individual."⁴⁸³ The divine dream-vision *topos* normalizes what otherwise would be an abnormal communicative encounter.

Yet the divine dream-vision frame, while normalizing the communication process between the Macedonian man and Paul as a form of divine communication, at the same time finds itself clashing with the profile of the Macedonian man due to his geo/ethno-graphic human, rather than other-worldly, portrayal. Strikingly absent in Paul's dream-vision is any appearance of a spiritual-being character. Divine visions catalyzed action precisely because

⁴⁸² Bloomquist, "A Parallel to Paul's Vision," 17. I am gratefully indebted to L. G. Bloomquist for bringing the possibility of resonance between Josephus's narrative of the encounter between Alexander and the Jewish High Priest and Paul's vision of a Macedonian man (Acts 16:9) to my attention by sharing his draft paper with me.

⁴⁸³ Peter Struck, "Viscera and the Divine: Dreams as the Divinatory Bridge Between the Corporeal and the Incorporeal," in *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World* (ed. Scott Noegel, Joel Walker, and Brannon Wheeler; Magic in History; University Park, Penn.: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 125.

the leaders receiving them understood that a contemplated, or suggested, plan had divine warrant; in this the divine element was crucial. The Macedonian man grounds the divine-vision frame, as it were, and in so doing removes the critical element of assured divine support.

The first effect of dream-visions was not purposeful action, but rather, prior to purposeful action, the basic effect of such visions was to encourage and motivate the emotion-fused heart of a leader. In its unhesitating immediacy, the response of the Pauline group remains fully consistent with other responses to divine dream visions: an enthusiastic emotion-fused decision to act. The setting and event—a vision experienced during the night in Troas—is consistent with the activities triggered by divinely sent dream-visions decisively seeking to move into new geographic territory. However, the content of the vision, a Macedonian man rather than divine being, is out of place with the divine dream-vision frame. Clashes of elements between frames such as those introduced by the Macedonian’s human emphasis in a call-for-aid frame with the expected, yet absent, requisite divine element in the dream-vision frame blend together in a way that synthesizes, and innovatively reconfigures, the clash into a new blend. In their blend, the frames of military call for aid and divine dream-vision bring a geo/ethnically defined human element to prominence while evoking a spiritual-world communicative medium.

The typical roles of participants in divinely sent dream-visions and military calls for aid also introduce incompatibilities with Paul’s vision. For, the role of a person who received a divinely sent dream-vision differed from the role of a person receiving a call for aid. In divinely sent dream-visions, the receiver of the dream was a leader who initiated military action, whereas in calls for aid it was the caller. In the case of Paul’s vision, however, the Macedonian man is the initiator while Paul, who as dreamer would typically be the leader, here instead is the respondent to the Macedonian’s initiative. Moreover, when the author introduces the “we-group” narrational character, another normative shift is intro-

duced. Ordinarily, a leader would experience a vision, and either he or a dream interpreter would infer the meaning of the vision and then relay the meaning—typically direction to action—to his troops. Once again, in Paul’s vision roles are blended: one leader becomes many.

The first action of the we-group is one of interpretation: “concluding (συμβιβάζοντες) that God had called us to proclaim the good news to them” (Acts 16:10), and it is through this act that the we-group first comes into existence as a narrative character in Acts. The term συμβιβάζω, which “means strictly ‘to cause to stride together,’”⁴⁸⁴ is used to describe the first formative act of the we-group—deducting and inferring the meaning of the vision. This first instance of “knitting together”⁴⁸⁵ as a narrational voice comes from the we-group’s hearing (stressed by καλέω in the compound) God’s narratively absent voice as a response to a human’s call for aid emitted from within one person’s dream-vision. The emotion-fused act of hearing within the collective’s emotion-fused heart forms the lever for enabling the delivery of the Macedonian’s sought-after aid. This complex shift from one to several takes place not through working together in purposeful action, nor by self-expressive speech, but rather through the zone of emotion-fused thought. Within a dream-vision frame the we-group’s emotion-fused response subsumes the role regularly reserved for a military leader.

Each of the four military frames introduced by Luke lack normative elements: the dream-vision is absent any explicit divine elements; the call of the Macedonian does not specify the resource requested, nor does it name an enemy, and further, it is conveyed through an emotion-fused dream; the respondents conclude that a non-material resource, εὐαγγέλιον, will supply the auxiliary aid; a group, rather than a single leader interprets the dream; a salvific warrior-god is “heard” through the Macedonian’s request. Through these incongruities, Luke develops a rich cognitive blend by structuring an emergent frame for

⁴⁸⁴ Delling, “συμβιβάζω,” *TDNT* 7:763.

⁴⁸⁵ LSJ, “συμβιβάζω.”

the means of salvation. The participants are Macedonian warriors, the we-group, and God; the event is an earthly/spiritual victory blend; and the activity is delivering auxiliary military aid through preaching.

A closer look at the function of the resource to be delivered, εὐαγγέλιον, is an early indicator that, from the beginning, the author intends to suggest that this victory will take an unanticipated path towards an unconventional outcome. In essence, the Macedonian man requisitions a resource that is expected to bring victory to the Macedonians. Through this element of victory, εὐαγγέλιον, the call from the Macedonian man fuses with the perceived call from God. In this unusual fusion of a παρακαλέω from a militarily-imagined man with the προσκαλέω from God, the element of εὐαγγέλιον as a fortifying resource in military conflict will be used by Luke to present his ideological understanding of the nature of εὐαγγέλιον as divine salvation.

Good news was a form of nourishment of the heart, strengthening inner resolve and eagerness of spirit to take on the enemy. At the same time, within a gospel framework, good news was the news of God's salvation through Jesus. By blending a military call for aid with a response of good news, Luke signals his major ideological claim: faithful courage is the salient fortifying resource that is required for salvation. The author employs a response to a military call for aid to illustrate how the bestowal of divine salvation was to be delivered. Moreover, by requiring the we-group to interpret the meaning of Paul's vision, Luke positions the emotion-fused act of discernment as a critical mode of delivery of salvation. Finally, in their role of responders, the we-group is positioned to assist others, i.e., the "Macedonians," to develop this crucial faculty of discernment that would lead to faithful courage.

5.2.2 *Conclusion to the παρακαλέω of the Macedonian Man.*

A call from a Macedonian man catalyzes a renewed sense of direction in the Pauline group and motivates their crossing into new geographic territory. Almost immediately, the man's call is fused with a perceived call from God, creating an analogous relationship: a call for military aid is as a summons from God to bring "good news." By bringing together four military discourse frames—call for aid, divinely sent dream-vision, announcement of victorious good-news, and warrior-god—Luke both introduces salvific expectations while concurrently planting seeds of incompatibility that will grow in prominence, destabilize cultural presumptions, and reconfigure and create a new image of salvation.

Incompatible elements begin to unsettle an otherwise standard account of divinely directed campaigns. Most importantly, Paul's vision does not contain any elements that might suggest a message from a spiritual being. Instead, the narrative's emphasis on the Macedonian's earth-bound origin removes the crucial element of implied divine sanction for a leader's future actions. The we-group responds, however, as if it had heard the voice of God, despite having heard only the voice of the Macedonian. Moreover, instead of compelling a leader's initiative, the vision compels a response to the initiative of another. The we-group is called to join forces, and from the outset Luke brings the notion of alliance into prominence.

Not only does Paul's vision shift his role from the convention of leader to responder, but the vision's interpretation and response further shifts leadership from a single person to a group, a group that "hears" the voice of their ultimate leader—God—in the zone of their emotion-fused thought. These subtle shifts from normative accounts of dream-visions and calls for aid could be easily overlooked by an audience ready to hear of grand victorious sweeps. Soon, however, mounting incompatibilities will become too jarring and incongruous to ignore. The Macedonian man is a figure of irony that will begin to unravel with the introduction of the women by the river.

5.3. The παρακαλέω of Lydia: Discerning a “Worshiper of God”

The Macedonian man calls the Pauline group to himself and his fellow Macedonians and then, progressively, Lydia calls the we-group to her home. The Macedonian’s call is framed within a military call for aid, whereas Lydia’s is framed within the social model of hospitality (Acts 16:9, 15). Although the two frames do not appear to share any common elements beyond the lexical, Luke blends the frames by fusing elements of the Macedonian’s call with Lydia’s. Through the blend, elements that are found in the emergent military frame blend, such as alliance, fortifying resource of faithful courage, victory, and salvation, emerge in new form as the author develops the notion of who can rightfully be called a “worshiper of God,” and, in the collective sense, form a “house of prayer.”

Framed by military discourse, the we-group’s first move in Philippi invokes a new frame when, instead of heading towards a battlefield or army camp, it goes out in search of a προσευχή “place of prayer” in Acts 16:13. Once the προσευχή frame is introduced and begins to take on prominence in the narrative, it does not simply erase the military opening, but rather the frame blends with the military opening to evoke other cases where military discourse blended with “place of prayer.” Jewish religio-political issues concerned with territoriality is at the heart of these military/ “house of prayer” blends.⁴⁸⁶ The frame of military aid, when blended with προσευχή, would raise expectations that the we-group would find either a Jewish, or perhaps due to the Macedonian element, a Jewish/Gentile community engaged in some form of territorial political/military conflict. The audience would expect that, called by God, the we-group would embolden a socio-religious community in its struggle against a common enemy. Within these expectations raised by

⁴⁸⁶ For discussion of προσευχή and territorial conflict see page 165. For a definition of “territoriality” see page 167.

the blend between the call-for-aid frame and προσευχή, Lydia's profile will introduce further incompatible elements, and consequently will again destabilize the blend.

5.3.1 *Clash of Frames: προσευχή, Lydia, and Fortifying Resource of εὐαγγέλιον .*

Given that the space of “synagogue” was a normative Jewish post-Temple Sabbath setting, it is not surprising that the elements of Sabbath and “place of prayer” have often attached themselves to Lydia's descriptor as a “worshiper of God.” When the phrase “σεβομένη τὸν θεόν” has been linked to conventional Sabbath activity, it has imaginatively transformed the setting by the river into a Jewish synagogue assembly made up of pious Jewish women. The entrenched nature of this type of characterization shows through the NRSV's having shifted σεβομένη τὸν θεόν to first place in Lydia's list of descriptors following her name, despite the fact that it is found last in the Greek text.⁴⁸⁷ The move belies a premise that “worshiper of God” functions as an inaugural framing element in Lydia's profile rather than the incompatible clash that it actually is.

For although at first glance it may seem that the gathering in Philippi implies “business as usual,” for the we-group, as argued in our analysis of intertexture, there exist problems with presuming a Jewish pious identity for the group gathered by the river and for Lydia. The difficulty with facile portraits of Lydia as a pious Gentile who worships the God of Israel is that the assembled women, through their representative member Lydia, are not cast as pious Jewish women resembling Philo's *Therapeutae*,⁴⁸⁸ or as the pious disciple Tabitha (Acts 9:36) whose purposeful action is devoted to works of charity towards widows, or as a Jewish mother of a disciple (16:1), or as a Jewish wife and loyal teacher of the Way such as Priscilla (18:26). If indeed a representative member of a group can illuminate a group's

⁴⁸⁷ “A certain woman named Lydia, a worshiper of God, was listening to us; she was from the city of Thyatira and a dealer in purple cloth” (Acts 16:14 NRSV).

⁴⁸⁸ See page 169.

character, and from a first-century collective understanding of personality it would, then Lydia's rhetorical profile (as a huckstering Lydian profit-seeking woman), would frame the assembly as corrupt space, rather than a synagogue. Since interpretations have not taken into account the physiognomic profile activated by Lydia's preceding descriptors—Lydian purple-seller—the jarringly incongruent ending of “σεβομένη τὸν θεόν” is lost.

A frame of Jewish prayer-house assembly can contain elements such as prayer, Jewish people, pious Gentiles, Scripture, community leaders, God of Israel, and can even quite readily blend in military elements such as Josephus's breast-plate and sword, or Philo's account of increasing hostilities with Gaius,⁴⁸⁹ but it cannot retain its integrity as an organizing structure by incorporating an element such as Lydia. The spatial frame of Prayer-house and character frame of Lydian purple-selling female, using the language of cognitive science, clash as frames—they cannot readily blend together because they contain too many incompatible elements. Especially when character and frame are inextricably linked through a physiognomic profiling such as Lydia's, the prayer-house frame clashes profoundly with Lydia's.

Ambiguous and multivalent meanings of typically unvarying sacred terms have been discovered as one of the repetitive features of the rhetorical unit,⁴⁹⁰ and the river gathering becomes the omphalos of this ambiguity. On an earlier Sabbath in Antioch, in stark contrast with the incongruous setting outside of Philippi, the Pauline group had entered a clearly designated synagogue (τὴν συναγωγὴν, Acts 13:14), sat down, and, after the reading of Scripture, delivered their message (to either all men or a group containing some men, Ἰσραηλῖται καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι, 13:16), a message which was framed within the history of Israel. Within this unequivocally conventional Jewish space, Paul spoke to Jews and to proselytes who were explicitly identified as such (τῶν σεβομένων προσηλύτων), i.e., “pious proselytes.” When σέβω was used again in Antioch, the spatial reference point

⁴⁸⁹ See page 166 above.

⁴⁹⁰ See page 69 above.

shifted from the synagogue to the city where its prominent men (τοὺς πρῶτους τῆς πόλεως) and leading (presumably Gentile) women of propriety (τὰς σεβομένας γυναῖκας τὰς εὐσχήμονας, Acts 13:50) were roused by “the Jews” to expel Paul and Barnabas.⁴⁹¹ The next time σέβω is used, it refers to Lydia. The space in which she is encountered is defined by a gathering of women by the river, which may or may not be the (uncommonly named) προσευχή. Within this ambiguous space, rather than designating women of propriety, σέβω designates a Lydian purple-seller (Acts 16:14).

While the history of interpretation has generally sanitized Lydia’s image, an alternate reaction is found in the works of Ephrem and Isho’dad of Merv who excised any mention of Lydia from their commentaries. Most especially, the comments of Arator and the Venerable Bede display the intense clash with normative piety that is presented by Lydia.⁴⁹² Arator skips from his explicit commentary on the Macedonian man to the slave-woman, but between each of these, in the space where comments Lydia should be located, he indirectly tackles the very issue Lydia’s profile raises.

In suggesting why the disciples were precluded from preaching in Asia, Arator first raises a question regarding the universality of salvation and asks:

If the Almighty filled with bountiful generosity, proclaims, ‘I have not come to destroy mankind but rather to save it,’ what occasion brings it about that this is denied to some and given to others, though the rich mercy of Jesus wills that it come to the aid of everyone jointly?

Arator’s answer seems to be that while some are ready to hear the words of salvation, others, because of their taint, will need to wait until they are more suitably endowed. Singling out the suitability of potential hearers of the salvific word, Arator writes:

The Master who cleanses deep within knows which hearts now bear the word [and] whom evil error is still blocking up inwardly, so that teaching may then serve its function when it comes safely, which He says [thus], ‘Let dogs not undertake to do violence to holy things, and let pigs laden down with mire not turn their contagion against pearls.’

⁴⁹¹ In each of the Antioch cases, σέβω is attributive.

⁴⁹² For dates and references see page 11 in Chapter 1: “History of Interpretation.”

Without explicitly naming Lydia as the potential contaminant, Arator refers obliquely to another remaining “difficult matter” and continues to develop his argument that the word of salvation should be protected from the “contagion” of “pigs” mired in filth.

Connecting purple with sexuality, Arator begins to expound upon how the “holy Chief Priest”... dressed in clothing “ornamented with purple and gold borders” also wears “a similar garment on the thigh, by which he may put a covering upon his private parts when going forth to the temple, and as a priest may strive to approach the mysteries chastely with bound loins.” Lest there be any doubt about which “private parts” are in question, Arator elaborates that these are “those bound members which dark lust possesses,” that should only be “freed for marriage.” The text then moves to develop an analogous relationship between conjugal creativity to sharing the effects of the word: “For Paul also rather often said that offspring can be given the seed of the word, by his mentioning ‘my little children.’” Moving to his conclusion, Arator makes his point clear: just as semen must be reserved for its appropriate role (procreation) with an appropriate woman (a wife), so, too, the words of a (sexually chaste) priest should be reserved for cleansed hearts:

It is pleasing then for procreative eloquence to be subdued for a little while and for the teacher to control his eagerness, moderating the forces of his talent for a time and carrying them bound up, keeping holy things for the cleansed lest the profane wear them away underfoot as they are poured out.⁴⁹³

Having developed and concluded his argument that in essence claims that “pigs” will need to wait to hear the good news, Arator then carries on to the Python spirit episode. Lydia is never named, no mention is made of the we-group sitting down with women and sharing their self-expressive speech. But the invective found in the space between comments on the call of the Macedonian man and the ensuing Python spirit episode are likely the truest representation of how Luke would have imagined the rhetorical impact of Lydia on his audi-

⁴⁹³ All quotes from the translation: Arator, *Arator's On the Acts of the Apostles (De Actibus Apostolorum)*, 69–70; Translators' brackets.

ence.⁴⁹⁴

The Venerable Bede, who “used Arator frequently,”⁴⁹⁵ also excises any mention of Lydia, but, like Arator, brings in an allusion to dogs in reference to the people of Asia (Lydia’s place of origin) as well as to the Syrophoenician woman’s crumbs. Bede writes:

Cornelius, who devoted himself to prayers and almsgiving, was shown the way of salvation as his reward. And God, who knows hearts, on account of his kindness, withdrew [his] teacher from Asia lest, if what is holy were given to dogs, the error of their wicked heart might be judged more reprehensible on account of their disregard of his preaching. On the other hand the Macedonian legate, whom we believe to have been the angel of that people, asked the apostles, who were concerned with other matters, that crumbs of the Lord’s bread might be offered to them.⁴⁹⁶

The pious Cornelius was worthy to receive the aid of salvation, but “dogs” with wicked hearts were not. Faced with Lydia’s ineligibility to receive the message of salvation, excising and indirectly condemning was one response to the conundrum presented by Luke’s account. The alternate response that turned Lydia into a modest hostess was much less vitriolic, but in a way even more distorting of Lydia’s rhetorical impact.

Arator’s comments hit the rhetorical target of Lydia: a contagion will befoul the words of salvation. In doing so, the contagion becomes an enemy in the battle for salvation. Luke’s concern over the *ethos* of the good news and accordingly its messengers does indeed become a major point of focus for the unit. Yet, quick to spot the enemy as a result of their own ideological agendas, commentators such as Arator discounted the Lord’s sanction of Lydia as a chosen recipient of the Macedonian’s call.

⁴⁹⁴ It is not surprising to learn that Arator’s interests were directed toward supporting apostolic succession (motivated by his patron) over the universalization of the gospel, F. Bovon writes: “A l’encontre de l’auteur des Acts, sa préférence va à Pierre plutôt qu’à Paul. Cet intérêt porté aux apôtres n’est du reste pas historique, mais il reflète son affection pour celui qu’il considère comme le successeur de Pierre, Le pape Vigile, auquel il dédie son ouvrage...Toute l’histoire de Corneille démontre, selon lui, l’autorité et le prestige de Pierre: les derniers vers consacrés à notre péricope ne sont pas une louange à Dieu pour avoir appelé les Gentils à l’Evangile, mais un éloge de Pierre, qui, le premier, out conscience de leur élection et, tel un chasseur, partit à leur recherche. Certes, le thème de l’élection des nations n’est pas oublié mail il est subordonné à la personne de Pierre.” François Bovon, *De Vocatione Gentium: Histoire de l’Interprétation d’Act. 10, 1–11, 18 dans les Six Premiers Siècles* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese 8; Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 1967), 14–15.

⁴⁹⁵ Arator, *Arator’s On the Acts of the Apostles (De Actibus Apostolorum)*, 3.

⁴⁹⁶ Venerable Bede, *The Venerable Bede*, 135–36.

5.3.2 *Divine Sanction of Lydia's Heart.*

By having her emotion-fused heart opened by the Lord in order to grasp the meaning of the good news, Lydia becomes the first narrated recipient of the Macedonian's requisitioned aid. As a recipient of military aid, she would have received the lacking fortifying resource and would consider herself allied with the providers of the resource: the we-group. As much as these are the frames, *topoi*, and elements that are argumentatively blended into the narrative, there are a number of socio-cultural difficulties with bringing Lydia into this framework. Not only did her physiognomic profile deem her unsuitable for *προσυεχή* membership, but also, from the perspective of a military call for aid, Lydia would have been equally out of place with the profile of a Macedonian warrior; yet, she is progressively linked with such a figure. In fact, by all accounts Lydia would doubly be excluded from any consideration of warrior-status on account of both her female gender as well as her retail-trading occupation.

In a military call-for-aid frame, women were not only out of place, their presence was antithetical to the very notion of any military configuration. A similarly incongruent element is situated in Lydia's retail-trading occupation. Herodotus's story of how the Egyptian Pharaoh had been abandoned by his warriors, and in desperation could march out to meet the Assyrians only with the market-people including the retailing hucksters, spotlights the stark contrast between warriors and retail-traders. Without the nocturnal appearance of the salvific mice, Sethos would surely have been doomed.⁴⁹⁷ A full-on warrior such as the

⁴⁹⁷ See page 128 in Chapter 4: "Intertextural Analysis." Separately, Herodotus emphasized the distinction between warriors and retail traders when he catalogued Egyptian social classes on the basis of occupation, and included "hucksters" (οἱ κάπηλοι) and warriors. He then elaborates: "those who learn trades and their descendents are held in less esteem than the rest of the people, and those who have nothing to do with artisans' work, especially men who are free to practice the art of war, are highly honoured." This dichotomy between market-people and warriors is, according to Herodotus, an opinion "held by all the Greeks" (Herodotus, *Histories* 2.164–167 [Godley, LCL]). This culturally understood clash between warriors and sellers is also found in playwright Aeschylus's description of a fearsome warrior who has not come "to do

image formed by the Macedonian man would not only be incompatible with the image of a woman or retail-trader, but in the cultural blends of these *topoi* would form their antithesis.

Yet Luke consummates the response to the Macedonian's call by the good news being announced to Lydia. It is not any easy blend. In fact, it is one that many would have considered as humorous a concept as the Egyptian Sethos's army of market-people and, therefore, it might function as a form of satire.⁴⁹⁸ Satire, as L. Olbrechts-Tyteca points out in *Le Comique du Discours*, is a form of indirect argumentation that works through inductive rather than deductive argumentation. Satire introduces incompatibilities with norms and conventions and is a form of the "ridiculous." Olbrechts-Tyteca distinguishes the inductive incompatibilities found in the "ridiculous" from contradictions within formal logic which she calls the "absurd."⁴⁹⁹ From this perspective Lydia is a ridiculous figure, wholly incompatible with the Macedonian man due to socio-cultural conventions governing the profiles of warriors and Lydian retailers, and yet whose call is tied, by its progressive characteristics, with the Macedonian's.⁵⁰⁰

In the stark opposition between a Macedonian warrior and Lydia, Luke begins to turn audience expectations on their head by linking what should be two antithetical figures through a progressive inductive relationship. For although a military call-for-aid frame would have raised expectations in the audience that the we-group would deliver its fortifying resource and form an alliance with Alexander-type warriors, their encounter with Lydia displays a rather different understanding. Argumentative textural analysis had noted that the we-group does not pause, even for a moment, when they discover the women by the river. Instead, in a breach with cultural gender protocols, they unhesitatingly perform a so-

any petty trading in the battle (οὐ καπηλεύσειν μάχην)" (Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes* 545) that, as *LSJ* informs, idiomatically means will not "fight half-heartedly." *LSJ*, s.v. "καπηλεία.

⁴⁹⁸ Herodotus, *Histories* 2.141. See page 128 above.

⁴⁹⁹ Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *Le Comique du Discours* (Sociologie Générale et Philosophie Sociale; Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1974), 159–161, 185.

⁵⁰⁰ "A statement is ridiculous as soon as it conflicts, without justification, with an accepted opinion." Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 206.

cially unnatural act—they sit with the women and begin a Sabbath day discourse with them.⁵⁰¹ In the purposeful act of sitting down with the women and offering them their self-expressive speech, the we-group fulfills their response of delivering the “good news” to the “Macedonians,” yet not even remotely in a manner that would meet audience expectations.

Significantly, it is this particular act of the we-group that receives divine sanction when the Lord opens Lydia’s heart. While an expected element of divine sanction was notably absent from Paul’s vision, sanction instead appears through the Lord’s taking action within Lydia’s heart, validating, but not inciting, the group’s interpretation of the vision. Paul’s vision does evoke divine communication; however, it does not supply the fail-proof seal of divine sanction. Instead, the group hears a Macedonian’s call for aid as if it were a summons from God to deliver good news. The Lord, by joining in with the Pauline group’s initiative with the women by the river through opening Lydia’s heart, affirms that the we-group got it right.

The nature of a Lydian purple-seller’s heart would be viewed through the lens of Graeco-Roman physiognomy as a centre of deceptive, luxury-loving guile. The physiognomic profiling of Lydians invoked a *topos* that perpetuated one of the most durable trans-cultural century-spanning ethnographic stereotypes. In Graeco-Roman thinking, a Lydian purple-seller was a contaminating threat, a degenerative influence on civic society. However, in the case of Lydia of Thyatira, Luke does not direct the threat of contamination at the *polis* of Philippi (which later argumentation will demonstrate had already degenerated),⁵⁰² but rather at the community group rhetorically contextualized as a “prayer-house.” Yet, Lydia’s heart, instead of being purified, is opened by the Lord much as the disciples’ hearts were also opened on the way to Emmaus.⁵⁰³ The Lord’s purposeful action mirrors Jesus’s, except that whereas Jesus both opened the disciples’ eyes and filled their

⁵⁰¹ See page 97.

⁵⁰² See pages 259.

⁵⁰³ The intertextual parallels between the Lydia and the disciples from Emmaus in Luke 24 are discussed on page 172.

hearts with his self-expressive speech (Luke 24:31-32), in the case of Lydia, while the Lord opens (διήνοιξεν) her heart, it is Paul who fills it with his self-expressive speech (Acts 16:14).

Pauline baptism inferred that the baptized would have heard the Christ-content of the “good news.” Baptism ensured that, at a minimum, the newly baptized would have heard through their ears the self-expressive speech of salvation. What was less certain was whether the words delivered by self-expressive speech simply remained superficially-heard words or whether the speech was ultimately processed within the zone of emotion-fused thought and thereby allowed to transform the listener’s heart. With examples such as Simon the Magician, and Ananias and Sapphira, it would seem that many, to paraphrase Philo, kept the good news lodged “just outside the ears” and did not allow it to pass through to their hearts.⁵⁰⁴ When the Pauline group begins speaking to the women by the river, the text remains silent on the content of the speech; however, Lydia’s baptism signals that the group would have been preaching about “Jesus and the resurrection” (Acts 17:17), i.e., the “good news.”

By opening Lydia’s heart, the Lord enables the words that she hears to pass through to her zone of emotion-fused thought so that not only are the “strange things” (Acts 17:20) heard, but also their meaning can come to light. In this way Lydia is treated by God in precisely the same way that Jesus treats the disciples on the road to Emmaus and this, of course, would be an affront to any traditional standard of piety. For, while the Lord treats Lydia as if she were an authentic disciple of Jesus, she is culturally profiled as a contaminant in need of expulsion or purification. Yet, instead of being expelled, Lydia is drawn

⁵⁰⁴ Philo describes how the *Therapeutae* engaged with the teachings of Scripture: “ But every seventh day they meet together as for a general assembly and sit in order according to their age in the proper attitude...Then the senior among them who also has the fullest knowledge of the doctrines which they profess comes forward and with visage and voice alike quiet and composed gives a well-reasoned and wise discourse...., and this does not lodge just outside the ears of the audience but passes through the hearing into the soul and there stays securely.” (Philo, *On the Contemplative Life* 31 [Colson, LCL]).

into the innermost proximity with the Lord through the gold standard of discipleship—a heart equipped to integrate fully the content of Paul’s self-expressive speech.⁵⁰⁵

The unit’s sequence begins with the we-group coming together by hearing the voice of God in the Macedonian’s call. The emotion-fused process of apprehending God’s voice is common to the we-group and Lydia. By having her heart opened by the Lord, Lydia becomes an exemplary community member, but this move, while readily accomplished at the narrative level, socio-culturally remains an unfathomable blend. The cognitive-rhetorical conundrum remains: how can an un-purified woman with Lydia’s profile fit within a community frame of *προσευχή*? Moreover, while Lydia’s profile clashes with that of the *προσευχή*, the problem presented by her profile goes well beyond issues of purity.

Although it might be tempting to suggest that a Lydian woman infers a concern for Jewish purity issues drawn from general categories of “clean” and “unclean,” and points to a discourse of sexual immorality, Graeco-Roman physiognomy helps to refine such an understanding. Lydian disease was spread by person-to-person contact, either by trade or by ingratiating friendship within social networks. Interpersonal relationship was the means through which Lydian disease could take hold, and it is this very risk that Lydia’s offer presents when she presents her invitation to the we-group—“come to my house and stay” (Acts 16:15). If seen as infected, the we-group, as representatives of the Christ-movement, would become suspect of mediating a false divinity. As with any good news of victory brought by messengers, the news was only as credible as its messenger, for the veracity of the news could never be assumed.

⁵⁰⁵ The biblical heart metaphorically referred to the seat of the innermost part of the human being and was the location of thinking, understanding, feeling and volition, encompassing a human’s character and intellect. Since the biblical heart included faculties of reasoning, emotion and will, in some cases biblical versions translate *καρδία* as “mind” instead of “heart.” As is the case in Acts 16:14, a person “hears” the words spoken by another with her or his heart, thinks (Luke 2:19) and also understands (Deuteronomy 29:4/ LXX 29:3) with the heart. The heart was a major “organ” in the zone of emotion-fused thought; it housed the essence of a person’s true character.

Good news, beyond the subject of the news itself, tended to feature an underlying concern with the credibility of its messenger and accordingly of the message. Good news could indeed fortify; in fact, more than that, good news could save; but in order for the news to be efficacious it had to be accepted as true.⁵⁰⁶ Although the we-group clearly understood itself to have divine sanction in its mission to Philippi, thereby rendering its “good news” authentically salvific, Luke will seemingly remove all conventional markers that would typically authenticate the veracity of good news: recognition, reward and honoring of the messenger, victory and celebration and, most importantly, evidence of a defeated enemy.⁵⁰⁷ In upsetting expected elements normally found in discourse dealing with announcements of “good news,” the “good news” itself becomes suspect.

Into this conundrum Luke delivers Lydia—a full-bodied threat to the integrity of the good news—and yet positions her as an emblematic first recipient of the type of aid that the audience might have expected a Macedonian warrior to receive. It was not possible to have a call for aid without a concurrent understanding of who constituted the foe, yet in the Macedonian’s call no enemy is specified. Within Graeco-Roman concerns over *luxuria* and hypocrisy as well as Judeo-Christian concerns over *πορνεία*, a character such a Lydia would make for a natural enemy, yet she is instead set squarely within the we-group’s army camp. As further discussion will show, the question over who constitutes enemy does not simply disappear but its definition, along with who constitutes “friend,” will increasingly be displayed by Luke according to a new set of criteria.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁶ “We often find σωτηρία and εὐτύχημα εὐτυχία combined with εὐαγγελίζομαι. Victory over enemies is the salvation of the city.” Friedrich, “εὐαγγελίζομαι,” *TDNT* 2:711.

⁵⁰⁷ These elements are present in ancient discourse (sometimes in their negation) even when the news turns out to be fabricated or the messenger is punished rather than rewarded.

⁵⁰⁸ In the Gospel narratives, sensitivity to dividing lines between those who could and could not receive salvific good news is acutely expressed in Mark’s Gospel account of Jesus’s initial reaction to the Syrophenician woman’s request for the healing of her daughter (Mark 7:24-30; Matthew 15:21-28). Divinely wrought salvation, constituting the ultimate military resource leading to the ultimate victory, clearly was not intended for the ethnically delineated “dogs.” The story is not found in Luke’s Gospel (it is designated as part of the “great omission” in Luke), but Acts does contain an equally ethnically-designated “shameless” woman, sharing a common link through the element of purple-trading, who also self-expressively tries to force her will on an agent of God. This woman, however, unlike Mark’s Syrophenician,

Given past NT patterns, two solutions would normally present themselves in situations analogous with bringing Lydia into a προσευχή frame: expulsion or purification. In stark contrast to established patterns, Lydia is neither expelled nor purified; instead the Lord “opens” her heart so that she can fully engage herself with Paul’s words. At this point, what may have begun as a humorous blend, a Macedonian warrior’s request fulfilled in a Lydian purple-seller, once blended with the prayer-house and delivery of salvation, quickly moves outside of the comedic and into the scandalous.

5.3.3 The Rhetographical Argumentative Structure of Lydia’s Offer: Worshiper of God is as Loyalty to the Lord.

As discussed in argumentative texture, the argumentation of Lydia’s conditional offer (“If you have judged me to be faithful to the Lord, come to my house and stay” Acts 16:15) is not structured by cause and effect.⁵⁰⁹ That is, Lydia’s being assessed as faithful does not cause the disciples to come to her home but rather the condition is one of evidence-inference. If the disciples do go to Lydia’s, the audience can infer that Lydia has been judged as faithful to the Lord. The evidence-inference structure helps to stress the difference between the context of Lydia’s offer and the semantically similar one put to Jesus by the disciples returning to Emmaus (Luke 24:29). Lydia’s offer frames the remainder of the rhetorical unit since the condition’s affirmation in Acts 16:40 closes the unit. In this manner a complete argument is presented: If the we-group goes into Lydia’s home and stays, then she will have been judged as being faithful to the Lord (Acts 16:15); the we-group, despite being asked to leave Philippi by its leaders, goes into Lydia’s house, therefore Lydia is judged as being faithful to the Lord (Acts 16:40).

automatically receives the means of divine salvation.

⁵⁰⁹ See page 98.

Although the argumentative structure of Lydia's offer could be formulated by an enthymeme, its rhetorical impact comes from rhetography rather than rhetology.⁵¹⁰ The verbal argumentative structure forms a *logos*-grounded platform from which the rhetographical argument supplying the energy for the passage's rhetorical force is launched. The challenge presented by Lydia's offer resides primarily in the rhetographical realm: a Lydian woman who is a purple-seller evokes elements that clash with the conclusion to the verbal argumentative conditional enthymeme.

Physiognomically, a female Lydian purple-seller is an unfaithful woman, and this physiognomical characterization is located in the zone of emotion-fused thought. Lydia, the unfaithful "huckster" (stereotypically speaking) self-expressively speaks the language of faith ("If you have found me to be faithful to the Lord" Acts 16:15) after divine intervention in the nucleus of emotion-fused thought—her heart. Lydia's request to the Pauline group, hinging on a positive evaluation of her faithfulness, remains unanswered until the very end of the Philippi visit when the we-group "stays" after being expelled from Philippi and instead of leaving goes to Lydia's (Acts 16:40). In between Lydia's request and the final visit to her house, the question of the relationship between Lydia's Lydian purple-selling profile and her "fidelity to the Lord" remains in motion.

The element of fidelity, central to Lydia's offer, is not the only element that is dissonant with Lydia's profile. As argued above, the designation "σεβομένη τὸν θεόν" (Acts 16:14), rather than establishing Lydia's character, raises the question as to how can a woman such as Lydia be authentically reverent. The two points of incongruity with Lydia's ethnographic profile, found in two adjacent verses—"worshiper of God" and "faithful to the Lord"—fuse with each other through their divine sacred elements, θεός in the case of verse 14 and κύριος in verse 15, forming the object of Lydia's reverence and faith respect-

⁵¹⁰ For rhetography and rhetology see page 48.

ively. Through an analogous relationship, the process of evaluating Lydia's loyalty also informs the process of determining what constitutes a "worshiper of God."

Luke suggests that if Lydia is judged to be faithful to the Lord, then so too would the quality of her reverence be authenticated, for if genuinely faithful, then she would also be authentic worshiper of God. Moreover, there would be no question as to the God in view, for if Lydia's faithfulness is to be judged by the Pauline group, the Lord of Lydia categorically would need to be the same as the God of Paul. However, there is an argumentative clash presented within the enthymeme, for according to physiognomic logic Lydia must be assessed as not faithful to God. Yet God's divine initiative in this unit is solely focused on enabling Lydia's heart to understand the message of salvation. By presenting a cultural clash within the argumentative framework of Lydia's offer, Luke throws the reader into confusion: on what basis can Lydia be considered to have embodied the good news?

In order to help the audience work their way through a seemingly intractable evaluative challenge, Luke develops the ideological texture of the text within the framework of an inductive analogy that precedes, and is necessary for, the completion of the syllogism invoked by Lydia's offer. The author provides the audience with an argumentative aid in the form of an inductive analogy: a person is a worshiper of God as a person is faithful to the Lord.

Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca divide the structure of analogies into two relations, one being the *phoros* that bears the weight of the analogy, here "faithful to the Lord," and the theme clarified by the *phoros*, "worshiper of God."⁵¹¹ Connecting fidelity with reverence to a divinity was a standard religious principle in OT, NT, and Graeco-Roman understanding, indeed one of the preeminent religious principles.⁵¹² So foundational was this connection

⁵¹¹ Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 373.

⁵¹² Zeba A. Crook, "BTB Readers Guide: Loyalty," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 34, no. 4 (2004): 167–77; Bruce J. Malina and Jerome H. Neyrey, "Ancient Mediterranean Persons in Cultural Perspective: Portrait of Paul," in *The Social World of the New Testament: Insights and Models* (ed. Jerome H. Neyrey and Eric C. Stewart; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2008), 257–75.

between faith and reverence that it would be possible to argue that the relationship “worshiper of God is as faithful to the Lord” functions as an illustrative example since in a proper analogy “it is necessary that the theme and the *phoros* belong to different spheres.”⁵¹³ In the language of cognitive science, the *phoros* and theme would need to belong to different frames but, certainly from an ancient understanding, both faith in the Lord as well as reverence to God would both be framed by a singular notion of piety.⁵¹⁴ Examples of faith and reverence in these cases would “represent two particular cases of a single rule” and would illustrate or clarify an established pre-existing understanding.⁵¹⁵ Analogies, in contrast to illustrative examples, “facilitate the development and extension of thought”;⁵¹⁶ they establish new rules, new emergent blends. And Luke does indeed seek to establish new rules by calling Lydia a worshiper of God. For a worshiper of God, as the history of interpretation of Lydia has affirmed, would imply to the audience a fit with socio-cultural standards of Jewish piety. By suggesting that an “unpurified” Lydia can fit within an worshiper-of-God frame, Luke destabilizes the constitutive elements of the frame. As the rhetorical unit progresses, the author will provide a number of illustrative test cases for what elements can form a reconstituted worshiper-of-God frame. Of these, Luke will offer “steadfast loyalty” as the preeminent criterion.

Not only in divine/human relations, but also in both military alliances and social alliances, like those formed through the social model of hospitality, loyalty was a central value. In fact, discourse dealing with calls for aid and military alliances was preoccupied with the question of fidelity and whether the parties involved would remain loyal to agreed

⁵¹³ Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 373.

⁵¹⁴ “Where Latin has the single term to refer to loyalty, Greek has a range of words. One of these is *eusebeia*. That *eusebeia* is typically translated as ‘piety’ tells us a great deal about the relationship between loyalty and piety, and it reveals in addition that like loyalty, piety too was an action in essence.” Crook, “Loyalty,” 168.

⁵¹⁵ Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 373.

⁵¹⁶ Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 385.

friend/enemy divisions. Lexically, the terms πιστός and πίστις often occurred in military discourse concerned with questions of loyalty in alliances.⁵¹⁷

Fidelity, in contrast to “abstract values, such as justice or truth,” is a “concrete value...attaching to a living being, a specific group, or a particular object, considered as a unique entity.”⁵¹⁸ In military calls for aid, fidelity was an exceptionally concrete value, for staying within the lines of common friends and common enemies was a paramount criterion for military loyalty. As did the Jewish high priest with Alexander, leaders regularly rebuked calls for aid on the grounds that a favourable response would result in disloyalty to a prior ally.⁵¹⁹

As the rift over John Mark illustrated, loyalty continued to be a pressing concern for the author of Acts, and an assessment of loyalty forms the cornerstone of Lydia’s offer of hospitality to the Pauline group. In Acts, the frame of fidelity to God increasingly destabilizes from traditional biblical understanding. Shortly before the events at Philippi, Paul separates from John Mark and Barnabas over the issue of fidelity raised by John Mark’s perceived defection that, from Paul’s perspective, disqualified him from discipleship and yet from Barnabas’s did not. Circumcision, the landmark material sign of Jewish fidelity, becomes a topic of intense debate as it relates to Gentiles (Acts 15:1-29) and yet remains a critical material marker of Timothy’s discipleship in the transitional unit preceding Philippi (Acts 16:3). As fidelity to certain customs and protocols becomes less of a sure marker of reverence, the need for establishing essential markers of fidelity increases. Within this context of growing volatility regarding who qualifies, and who does not, as a Christian “believer,” Lydia is encountered by the we-group. When the Pauline group meets Lydia they are presented with a new challenge: how to assess the authenticity of her loyalty, for only

⁵¹⁷ J. H. Quincey, “Orestes and the Argive Alliance,” *The Classical Quarterly* 14, no. 2 (1964): 191.

⁵¹⁸ Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 77.

⁵¹⁹ See page 132.

upon such an assessment could she be evaluated a worshiper of God and therefore a rightful member of the house of prayer.

5.3.4 *Lydia's παραβιάζομαι: Urging Judgement* .

When Lydia makes her overture to the Pauline group in Acts 16:15, she does so in the classical language of social alliance.⁵²⁰ While Lydia asks to have her claim of loyalty ratified, the narrative offers no immediate signals as to whether or not the we-group moves to further its alliance with her, and instead closes the unit with Lydia's urging: "καὶ παρεβιάσατο ἡμᾶς," (Act 16:15)." As we know from intertextual discussion of divine-stranger rhetorical type-scenes, divine recognition was typically a one-way action in which the host was to recognize the guest.⁵²¹ By adding a reverse call for recognition, Luke develops an inferential argument that a genuine worshiper of God will not only recognize divine presence, but most importantly, the nature of the divinity. Implicitly, if Lydia is found to be faithful to Paul's God, then a process of mutual recognition would have been successfully concluded. For, if Lydia is found to be faithful to Paul's God, then by inference she must genuinely "see" the true nature of Paul's God, since it is only with this "rightsightedness" that genuine faith can be manifested. Reverence takes on its own particular form in the rhetorical unit, as it increasingly features the ability to recognize not simply the presence, but also the nature, of a divinity.

⁵²⁰ "We are so accustomed to translating the word πίστις as 'faith' in terms of religious creed that we tend to miss its basic meaning as 'faithfulness' or 'loyalty.'" Malina and Neyrey, "Ancient Mediterranean Persons," 265. "Ancient Mediterranean people identified and defined themselves as situated in and embedded in various others persons or unities. Such unities were groups held together by the social glue of loyalty or solidarity and were symbolized by blood, birth, or fictive birth. Ancient Mediterraneans considered themselves embedded in a range of in-groups with varying degrees of loyalty: family, fictive family (school, faction, guild, clientele), polis, and the like." "Ancient Mediterranean Persons," 260. See also Zeba A. Crook, *Reconceptualising Conversion: Patronage, Loyalty and Conversion in the Religions of the Ancient Mediterranean* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 130; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), esp. pages 199-250.

⁵²¹ See page 172.

5.3.5 Delineation Between Friend and Enemy: Physiognomy and Character Assessment.

In essence, Lydia's offer calls the we-group to read her emotion-fused heart, while at the same time the author calls upon the audience to resolve the clash of frames introduced by attempts to harmonize Lydia's physiognomic profile with "worshiper of God." The challenge of appraising "human surfaces to human depths"⁵²² is precisely the challenge presented by Lydia, for her profile places her in an "enemy" camp. While Lydia and her household were baptized and were therefore included into the community of the baptized, baptism did not inoculate against unfaithfulness, nor did it prevent newly baptized members from becoming unsuitable for long-term church membership. For Judas, Ananias and Sapphira, Simon, and John Mark, death or separation became the only options for preserving the integrity of the Christ-movement.⁵²³

Unlike the Centurion's or Jairus's requests to Jesus to come to their homes in order to perform a specific task of healing (Luke 7:2-10; 8:41-42), Lydia's request to the Pauline group to come and stay at her home is weighted towards interpersonal relationship, specifically through the social model of hospitality. Moreover, although Lydia's request to "stay" suggests social alliance, she, unlike the Centurion whose reputation is vouched for by the Jewish community or Jairus who is a synagogue leader, does not come with publicly recognized credentials. Her lack of credentials is only amplified when we consider the social impropriety of a woman's pressing invitation of "hospitality" to a group of men.

⁵²² Gleason, *Making Men*, 55; cf. quote on page 55 above.

⁵²³ Paul's rejection of John Mark for future missionary work in Acts 15:37-39 signals the issue, profiled in the narrative, regarding increasingly blurred criteria for assessing who can be considered a loyal believer and on what basis someone is to be assessed as falling outside of the limits of acceptability for discipleship. Judas's actions clearly would have been seen and understood as an act of betrayal. John Mark, on the other hand, was still accepted as a legitimate disciple by Barnabas, yet not by Paul. Through the difference of opinion between Barnabas and Paul, Luke rhetorically demonstrates the growing upheaval to internal socio-cultural logic that marked the transition towards universal access to salvation.

The Book of Revelation will argue that anyone who buys or sells has been marked by the beast of the earth (Rev 13:16-17). What mark, then, would a purple-seller bear? While Timothy can adopt a material mark of belonging for the benefit of public perception (Acts 16:3), Luke challenges the audience to wrestle with the question of how Lydia, a woman, can demonstrate a heart “circumcised by faith.” How to gauge a cleansed heart in a person physiognomically characterized within a *πορνεία* frame presented a dilemma precisely due to the conventions evoked by this figure.

Stereotypes develop by a process of mental compression where, from a wide field of possible elements, certain elements are condensed into “perceivable units” that allow humans to make sense of their world.⁵²⁴ Like any other *topoi* derived from a cluster of elements, stereotypes look for points that are rich in connectivity; they draw together similarities and discard unique features. Malina and Neyrey explain:

Experiencing life in terms of stereotypes means to approach everyday reality with its persons and things by using general conceptions rather than by taking time to construct customized designs...Stereotypes simplify real-world persons and groups, while allowing us to prescind from the rich reality that persons and groups actually have.⁵²⁵

In the language of cognitive science, stereotypes are formed by a cognitive blending process that yields a “human-scale” compression.⁵²⁶ Physiognomy is an exemplar of human-scale compression that takes wide groups of people and condenses their perceived characteristics and behaviours into standard human character types. Paradoxically, however, although physiognomy constructs profiles of human character, it ignores individuality, “submerging any individual features that [people and groups] may actually have.”⁵²⁷ For example, Paul’s need for Timothy to be circumcised was driven by physiognomic logic. Timothy’s already solid, public reputation is subsumed by a traditional stereotypical marker of

⁵²⁴ Malina and Neyrey, *Portraits of Paul*, 169–70. For compression of elements see Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*, 312–28.

⁵²⁵ Malina and Neyrey, *Portraits of Paul*, 170.

⁵²⁶ Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*, 322–24.

⁵²⁷ Malina and Neyrey, *Portraits of Paul*, 170.

group identity—circumcision—thereby maintaining the generic religio-ethnic standard as the salient feature of Timothy’s character. Privileging generalizations over individual character was exacerbated in social environment characterized by group orientation.

Stereotypical “standard mental pictures” function cognitively; they form “reliable cognitive maps of the world” that allow humans to “assess and evaluate the territories involved.” The primary vantage point for assessing characters and events came from a group’s ethnic identity, which itself was sourced from a “geographically oriented label.”⁵²⁸ A group’s own ethnic identity stemmed from a form of geocentrism that located one’s place of origin as the “center of life for oneself and one’s ethnic group.”⁵²⁹ Known as either “the ‘omphalos myth’ or the notion of a ‘mother *polis*,’” a geocentric sensibility involved the view that one’s ethnic group set a standard for human norms and nature. Malina and Neyrey explain:

The view that place is the original center of life for oneself and one’s ethnic group was symbolized by the image of the center as the navel of the social body. This is ‘geocentrism’ replicated in ethnocentrism—the belief that my ethnic group represents normative human nature.⁵³⁰

Since religion was embedded in all aspects of first-century social life, cognitive maps were also embedded within religious space, for, while Delphi was the *omphalos* of the Greek-speaking world, it was more specifically Apollo/Python’s temple that designated its true centre. So, too, while Jerusalem was the centre of the Jewish world, its nucleus of identity was found in the temple. Timothy’s circumcision was therefore a reminder that the navel of the Jewish social and religious body was still firmly centered in the Jerusalem temple, and moreover that at a minimum Paul’s own geocentric location in Acts 16:1-5 or at least his perception of the communities’ common geocentric location, remained rooted there.

Our analysis of Innertexture noted that the plural form pervades the rhetorical unit, including the only plural occurrences of κύριος in Acts, and the notable first appearance of

⁵²⁸ Malina and Neyrey, “Ancient Mediterranean Persons,” 113.

⁵²⁹ Malina and Neyrey, “Ancient Mediterranean Persons,” 121.

⁵³⁰ Malina and Neyrey, “Ancient Mediterranean Persons,” 121.

the “we-group” as a narrative character in its own right.⁵³¹ Within groups such as Macedonians, Romans, women, Jews, only one—the we-group—stands alone as lacking a clear stereotype-derived cognitive identity map. Physiognomy could be relied upon as a dependable tool only for as long as a social body’s cognitive maps were firmly centered in its geographic origin. Luke’s narrative, however, dislocates the centre.

From the outset, Luke presents a paradox, one that influences the rhetorical movement of the entire unit. As the Jerusalem-centered cognitive map destabilizes, the we-group is called upon to assess a request from an ethnically defined group of strangers: the Macedonians, yet without having the security of its own cognitive map.⁵³² Without these maps, physiognomically derived logic is disabled. At the same time, however, Luke continues to present challenging situations that stress the need for interpretation, perception, and judgment.

In discussing the mutability of notions, where notions arise out of “passage from the word to the idea,” Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca observe that any notions that apply to future events, even the most ostensibly scientific ones, will always contain a degree of ambiguity. They write:

A perfectly clear notion is one of which all cases of application are known so that it does not admit of a new unforeseen use. Only divine knowledge or knowledge limited by conventions satisfies such a requirement.⁵³³

Acts 16 removes both conditions of certainty. Traditional media for transmission of divine knowledge fall silent in the rhetorical unit. Paul’s vision is absent any instruction from God, the prison earthquake is without explicit divine elements, the space for mediation of the divine—the “prayer-house”—is obscured. Moreover, conventions of physiognomic reasoning are upended, sending formerly clear notions into liminal territory. By recurrently

⁵³¹ See page 66.

⁵³² “The process of socialization outfits human beings with the cognitive maps shared by their groups in order to make meaningful social, human living possible.” Malina and Neyrey, *Portraits of Paul*, 170.

⁵³³ Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, 131.

profiling the emotion-fused faculty of discernment, the author employs ambiguity for rhetorical purpose in this unit.

As a result of Luke's deliberate use of ambiguity, Philippi becomes an earthquake zone in Acts 16, where all standard-bearing cognitive maps destabilize. Although it is a Macedonian man who calls for the Pauline group and Macedonia is emphasized through repetition, no one subsequently is identified as Macedonian in Philippi. Philippi is characterized as a colony, and thus suggests Rome as its centre, but although the Latinized term for colony is used, the narrative describes the city as a "first" within Macedonia, not Rome.⁵³⁴ The slave-woman with the Python spirit evokes Greek Delphic Apollo, yet she is found on the streets of Roman Philippi where eventually her spiritual centre, the spirit, is cast out. While the slave-owners speak on behalf of Roman custom, they, along with the mob in the *agora*, act from anger and not from legal process as should have been Roman custom. Later Paul, labelled a Jew by the slave-owners, presents himself as a Roman citizen and calls into question the lack of customary Roman jurisprudence. Lydia is identified as an Asian foreigner to Philippi, and the space in which she is encountered is outside rather than inside the city. From all geocentric and ethnic perspectives, Philippi and its inhabitants suggest outlying, ambiguous, and de-centered territory. As the we-group's cognitive map begins to take on its own distinct framing structure, concurrently so, too, will Luke increasingly expose the "enemy" within this emerging territorial profile, as "ally" also develops its own unique characteristics.

⁵³⁴ Although *κολωνία* is usually translated as "Roman colony" in Acts 16:12 the qualifier "Roman" is absent from the Greek text. Nonetheless the Latinized term does specifically evoke a Roman colony rather than a colonial settlement generally. Hugh Mason surveyed the use of *κολωνία* in documents as well as literature and found that the literary use was extremely rare. It was instead, more commonly used as a technical term in documents in order to specify the distinctly Roman nature of the colony. While Mason suggests that only Acts uses the term "casually," more correctly the use in Acts is rhetorical, the term deliberately mirrors other examples where it functions as a proper name, metonymically evoking Philippi's full Roman name of *Colonia Julia Augusta Philippensis*. It situates Philippi within Rome, where Roman is a recurring term. Hugh J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions: A Lexicon and Analysis* (American Studies in Papyrology 13; Toronto: Hakkert, 1974), 108–9.

M. Parsons has argued that Luke employed physiognomic conventions ultimately in order to subvert common prejudices governing the first-century world. Thus, those considered outcasts because of their external appearance and/or physiognomic profiles are welcomed into a “radically inclusive community.”⁵³⁵ Citing the Ethiopian eunuch in Acts 8:27-39 as one example, Parson argues that Luke draws upon ethnographic, anatomical, and zoological physiognomy to characterize the eunuch as ethnographically inferior, sexually effeminate and ambiguous, and yet who nonetheless is brought into the fold of a salvific community. Parsons writes:

Luke’s own moral vision was formed, not by the dominant cultural values espoused by his teachers of rhetoric, but rather by the teaching of Israel’s scriptures—‘The LORD does not see as mortals see; they look on the outward appearance, but the LORD looks on the heart’ (1 Sam. 16:7)—and the teachings of Jesus himself (e.g., the Good Samaritan in Luke 10).

The Ethiopian eunuch would have been viewed by Luke’s auditors as sexually ambiguous, socially ostracized, and morally evil (greedy and cowardly). Yet when the eunuch asks, ‘What is to prevent me from being baptized?’ Luke’s response is surely that neither the eunuch’s physical condition, nor his place of origin, nor his likeness to a sheared sheep prevents his entrance into the eschatological community in fulfillment of the Abrahamic promise of a blessing to ‘all the families of the earth’ (Acts 3:25; cf. Gen. 22:18). In that community ‘God shows no partiality’ (Acts 10:34).⁵³⁶

Parsons’ work in demonstrating how a physiognomic understanding shapes characterization in Luke and Acts has contributed significantly to raising awareness to its prevalent use in these texts. Moreover, Parsons quite rightly makes 1 Samuel 16:7 the salient lens for interpreting why an author such as Luke invoked physiognomic profiling. Not only does Luke-Acts emphasize that the Lord looks on the heart rather than outward appearance; increasingly at issue in Acts is a growing tension between what were thought to be reliable external markers of the inner heart and a person’s true inner essence. For, while God may show no partiality in cases of pious, righteous, upstanding members of the community such

⁵³⁵ Mikeal C. Parsons, *Body and Character in Luke and Acts: The Subversion of Physiognomy in Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2006), 14–15.

⁵³⁶ Parsons, *Body and Character in Luke and Acts*, 141. For the eunuch as a symbol of sexual transgression see also J. David Hester, “Eunuchs and the Postgender Jesus: Matthew 19.12 and Transgressive Sexualities,” *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 28, no. 1 (2005): 13–40.

as Cornelius or in the case of extortionists who are willing to repent such as Zacchaeus, there are nonetheless examples of other cases that are not nearly as welcome into the community. By looking from the Lukan perspective at what turns people into outcasts, it is possible to further refine Parsons' thesis that, from its liberationist perspective, tends to overlook those who are cursed or ultimately barred from the new community, and who, thereby, form the *de facto* enemy.

5.3.6 Conclusion to the παρακαλέω of Lydia.

One woman, Lydia, fully receives what the Macedonian man implicitly requested: the “good news.” Most significantly, Lydia had not only heard Paul's self-expressive message through her ears but also was endowed, through divine intervention, with the capacity to apprehend it fully within her emotion-fused heart. The good news could point the way to its salvific source only if it were genuinely appropriated within a listener's heart. By this defining characteristic, the ability to perceive Paul's God, Luke positions Lydia as an ideal core member of the newly forming church.

A “worshiper of God,” however, would necessarily be loyal to the Lord, for this was a constitutive religious principle. Yet culturally Lydia was not only “not warrior,” and “not appropriate gender to constitute synagogue,” but also through her physiognomic profile, she was immoral, unfaithful, and deceptive, and therefore not faithful. Physiognomic logic would suggest that Lydia ought to be either expelled or purified in order to protect the integrity, and therefore, salvific efficacy of the good news, yet neither action is taken in Lydia's case. Instead, the Lord opens Lydia's heart, much as Jesus helps to open the hearts of the first disciples on the road to Emmaus. Luke portrays Philippi as liminal territory that challenges the audience to restructure the internal logic that guides its discernment of who qualifies for membership in the forming “rightsighted” community of God.

Consistent with Parson's thesis, Luke disassembles physiognomic logic as a governing criterion for determining who qualifies as an in-group member. Indeed Lydia, despite her rhetorical profile, is assessed as faithful by the end of the Philippian episode. The case of Lydia, however, is not nearly as simple as a final warrant of her fidelity might suggest. For she raises the issue, if physiognomic logic can no longer function as a trusted indicator of who is a suitable member of Paul's community and who is not, for not all are, then what, in its stead, is to become the new criterion of inclusion or exclusion. To this question, Lydia's other descriptor, "worshiper of God," holds a partial answer. Luke fuses the two phrases "worshiper of God" and "loyal to the Lord" together in order to form the unit's main analogous structure: "one is a worshiper of God as one is loyal to the Lord."⁵³⁷

A worshiper of God would necessarily be situated within a community of those who share the same perception of divinity, most especially in the first-century where group alliances constituted a person's identity. Describing a human as a worshiper of God immediately brought forth two elements, the God in view and the socio-religious body formed through this God. This integral aspect of inter-relationship holds the key to the challenge presented by Lydia's offer. For, other discourse, whether biblical or Graeco-Roman, that clustered elements of Lydians, prostitution, sexual immorality, purple, and trade—the constellation of elements that would have been evoked by Lydia's profile—was concerned with a corrupt social body that had formed through mercantile rather than sacred or honourable exchange systems.⁵³⁸ Moreover, corrupt bodies often masqueraded as pure,

⁵³⁷ While "loyal" is essentially synonymous with "faithful," the quality of steadfast allegiance to God is emphasized more strongly by the choice of "loyal" in the inductive analogy that governs how Lydia's status as a believer will be judged. As we will argue, Paul and Silas demonstrate how "staying in faith" illustrates the quality of steadfast loyalty to Paul's God, even if this loyalty will result in physical suffering, or public humiliation and dishonour. It is the quality of unwavering allegiance that would be found in an ideal warrior. This form of loyalty connects with the "resource" of steadfast courage that the we-group understands itself called to deliver to the Macedonians and also connects with Paul's final act of encouragement at Lydia's home.

⁵³⁸ Elements of purple, mercantilism, and harlotry are found in a wide range of prophetic/apocalyptic biblical and apocryphal texts, Ezekiel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Zechariah, the Epistle of Jeremiah and Revelation in particular employ these elements.

honest, or divinely constituted bodies. Separating the diseased body from the wholesome one was not a simple task. Lydia's physiognomic profile makes her a natural enemy of a synagogue or temple; she presents the danger of a contaminating influence that can corrupt the good news and render it an ensnaring trap for "mammon" rather than a path to God. God, however, sanctions Lydia by opening her heart.

At stake for the we-group was the very essence of their salvific message. For like any announcement of military "good news," the news first would need to be authenticated, and here the *ethos* of the messenger was key. If the self-expressive speech of the we-group was to retain its power to save, then the social-religious body through which it would by necessity be mediated needed to be devoid of corruption.

Our analysis of the ideological texture of the text suggests that by bringing Lydia into a setting that should be constituted as a Jewish synagogue but is instead ambiguous, Luke develops the rhetoric of Acts 16 to reconfigure radically the criteria for evaluating who can claim rightful membership to the "right-sighted" community of God. This reconfiguration will be accomplished by a series of test cases that illustrate both the nature of "true" and, contrasting, "counterfeit" faith.

5.4. *The Implicit παρακαλέω of the Slave-Woman: Lydian Touchstone Synkrisis*

Lydia's offer to the we-group presented a dilemma common to Graeco-Roman discourse concerned with distinguishing between what potentially could be deceptive external appearances and a human's true inner essence. Such challenges were often expressed in literature through the metaphor of the Lydian touchstone, or testing-stone.⁵³⁹ It is to the conundrum of deceptive appearances that touchstone *synkrisis* turned its attention.

⁵³⁹ See Appendix 1: Lydian Touchstone *Synkrisis*.

The material touchstone, reputed to come from the Lydian river Tmolus, separated false gold from pure, and led to metaphorical “touchstone” comparisons that distinguished the true from the false, particularly between sincere moral character and its hypocritical manifestation. Touchstone comparisons were not invoked for general forms of character assessments such as displaying who might have a more generous character compared to one more miserly, but specifically for distinguishing between corrupt, deceptive, counterfeit character and that of genuine, true, and pure. Lydia’s offer to the we-group rhetorically asks that the quality of her loyalty to the Lord be put to the Lydian touchstone.

Touchstone rhetoric operated through *synkrisis*, what Fauconnier and Turner term “disanalogy,” that is, the comparison of differences through similarity. Fauconnier and Turner explain:

We are not disposed to think of a brick and the Atlantic Ocean as disanalogous, but we are disposed to think of the Atlantic Ocean and the Pacific Ocean as disanalogous. Disanalogy is coupled to Analogy. Psychological experiments show that people are stymied when asked to say what is different between two things that are extremely different, but answer immediately when the two things are already tightly analogous.⁵⁴⁰

Touchstone *synkrisis* distinguished between what looked the same on the surface but was fundamentally different at its heart.⁵⁴¹ While normally touchstone *synkrisis* concerned cases where a corrupt inner core was masked by deceptive external appearance, Lydia’s physiognomic profile presented an opposite, but equally challenging, difficulty. Luke directs the rhetorical force of Lydia’s profile at distinguishing between an external corrupt physiognomic profile and the heart of a “worshiper of God.”

⁵⁴⁰ Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*, 99.

⁵⁴¹ As L. Kurke points out, the issue with counterfeit coins was not that they were a mixture of good and bad but rather that they appeared as pure but were to their core base. As an example, Theognis complains: “Nothing is harder to know that a man who is counterfeit, Kyrnos, nor does anything require more caution [than this]. The delusion of counterfeit gold and silver is endurable, Kyrnos, and easier for a wise man to discover. But if the mind of a man who is a friend, in his breast escapes [your] notice being false, and he has a tricky heart in his breast, this is the most counterfeit thing the god has made for mortals and this is the most grievous of all things to find out.” (Theognis 117–124, Kurke); brackets in translation. Referring to Theognis’s observation Kurke writes: “For Theognis is not concerned with the indistinguishable mixing of good and bad qualities in the *kakos anēr*, but with a thoroughly base interior (heart or soul) concealed beneath an apparently noble surface”. Kurke, *Coins, Bodies, Games and Gold*, 54.

It is within a touchstone *synkrisis* argumentative framework that the author of Luke-Acts has positioned Lydia and her request for the assessment of her loyalty to the Lord. When the next female character—the slave-woman—sequentially connects with Lydia, her encounter with the Pauline group will set off a chain of illustrative comparisons that will serve to examine what loyalty to the Lord looks like and who embodies it. It is precisely the challenge of perceiving the seemingly imperceptible differences that holds Luke’s rhetorical interest in this unit. For only by its transmission through uncorrupted channels would the “good news” retain its salvific capacity.

5.4.1 *The Slave-Woman’s Owners: Unveiling an Enemy.*

As soon as the narrative leaves Lydia behind, another woman encounters the disciples, the slave-woman with the Python spirit, once again in the context of the we-group going to a place of prayer and mirroring Lydia through having her direct speech introduced by the participle λέγουσα (Acts 16:16-17). Each woman is acted upon internally by a divinity—in Lydia’s case through the Lord’s opening of her heart and in the slave-woman’s by the Python spirit’s work within her. These similarities have prompted scholars to contrast Lydia with the slave-woman on the basis of the god that each ostensibly reveres. Lydia the “good woman” converts to Christianity and contrasts with the “bad” slave-woman who proclaims a “pagan” god.⁵⁴² Accordingly, Paul’s casting out of the Python spirit is displayed as a triumph of his Christian God.

If this passage were to be viewed from a history of interpretation, then such a reading would be entirely consistent with claims of triumphant evangelization; however, when

⁵⁴² One example, drawn from traditional scholarship comes from J. Fitzmyer: “The exorcism of the possessed slave girl is used by Luke to depict the triumph of Christianity over pagan Greco-Roman practices.” Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 583. Another example comes from post-modern scholarship, J. Staley sees the text as juxtaposing “Lydia the ‘good’ woman with the pythonic ‘bad’ girl,” Staley, “Changing Woman,” 186.

viewed from the perspective displayed by the text itself, three incompatible factors leave open the question of the basis for the slave-woman's sequential connection to Lydia. The first is that Lydia's physiognomic profile does not comfortably fit with the image of a "good" woman, and the question regarding the quality of her "conversion" frames the entire episode. Second, far from displaying the superior power of their God, Paul and Silas are publicly humiliated, violated, incarcerated, and driven out of town as a consequence of Paul's having cast out the Python spirit. Third, Paul had tolerated the spirit's proclamation for "many days" (Acts 16:18). In other words, there had not seemed to be any immediate need on Paul's part to purge Philippi of a spiritual adversary.

As might be expected with rhetoric structured by touchstone *synkrisis*, Lydia and the slave-woman do appear to be deliberately juxtaposed. The slave-woman speaks—as did Lydia—and the content of her proclamation suggests that she too has heard the "good news." As Lydia drops out of the narrative and the slave-woman takes centre stage, the audience might begin to wonder if now the we-group had finally found an authentic "worshiper of God" whose own divine spirit had recognized, and in a sense had willingly become, "subject to" the deity of Paul. Perhaps Lydia, true-to-type, will be exposed as the profit-seeking huckster that stereotype would expect, but the slave-woman, so consistently and publicly supporting the disciples's mission, will turn out to be "the real thing."

The slave-woman speaks words of truth: "These men are servants of the Most High God, who proclaim to you a way of salvation" (Acts 16:17). In this manner the slave-woman herself fulfills the type of role ascribed to messengers of good news; moreover, she seems to continue with the *παρακαλέω* trend as she vociferously calls the people of Philippi to the disciples.⁵⁴³ The disciples, understanding themselves to be called by God to supply military fortification through allied efforts by way of announcing the news of salvation, seemingly find their ideal ally.

⁵⁴³ The term *σωτηρία* was often combined with *εὐαγγελίζομαι* in announcements to a city of its salvation through victory, see note 506.

From a first-century perspective that viewed others according to the groups they appeared to be embedded in, the slave-woman would appear to be fully embedded within the Pauline group. Moreover, group-centered eyes would have extended the perceived Pauline-slave-woman alliance to the source of the slave-woman's proclamations—the Python spirit—as well as the slave-woman's owners—her “κύριοι.” This presumed alliance, however, comes to an unexpected end when the slave-woman's Python spirit is abruptly cast out.

When Paul casts out the Python spirit, the effect of the exorcism bears none of the hallmarks of other healings through exorcism in Luke-Acts: exhibiting a post-exorcism healed body and the awed reaction of a witnessing crowd.⁵⁴⁴ The slave-woman simply disappears from the narrative; moreover, in the near future she is likely destined to suffer significant bodily hardships, now having become a profit-draining, rather than a profit-generating, slave.⁵⁴⁵ In contrast with other exorcisms, there is no sense of bodily healing conveyed by the casting out of the Python spirit.

Also, crowds are not awed, or at least put into a state of reverential fear, by the exorcism. Instead, as a consequence of the exorcism, the crowds will turn upon Paul and Silas, publicly beating, humiliating, and thereby “effeminating” them. Rather than functioning to demonstrate the supernatural healing capacity of the Pauline disciples in order to increase their public authority and honour, the exorcism is used by Luke to inaugurate a process of

⁵⁴⁴ Other exorcisms are clearly presented within a healing context and their effect usually results in an awed reaction from the crowd, thereby increasing the authority and honour of the worker of the exorcism: Luke 4:33-36, 40-41; 6:18; 7:21; 8:2, 35; 9:42; 11:14; 13:11-12; Acts 5:16; 8:6-8; 19:12.

⁵⁴⁵ The probable unfortunate fate of the slave-woman has vexed commentators in the past, and as a result the woman is either “healed” from her possession and/or some have suggested that Paul effects her manumission. The tougher reality is that while she is free from the influence of the Python spirit the prognosis for her bodily well-being does not seem favourable. In addition, while many who have received the message of the Kingdom of God will suffer bodily harm as a result of this message, Jesus, Stephen, James, and Paul included, their suffering comes as a result of their having “accepted the cross” as it were. The slave-woman, because of her utter passivity in this regard, does not fit with the profile of others who take on the consequences of the message of salvation. While difficult to reconcile with liberationist theology, the slave-woman seems to be presented more as an instrument, in this case a medium of profit, than as a human being.

separation. Through this separation will begin the unveiling of “authentic,” in contrast to counterfeit, allies of God.

The exorcism fundamentally changes the apparent configuration of the we-group; it visibly breaks any perceived alliance with the Python spirit/slave-woman and with the slave-owners.⁵⁴⁶ While loyalty was the bonding agent that held together social alliances, this bond regularly became “unglued” if more favourable circumstances could be found elsewhere. And it is from within this notion of loyalty as an integral feature of social alliances that Luke presents a major twist. For it is Paul who precipitates the rupture by casting out the Python spirit, this despite many days of publicly witnessed cooperation with the slave-woman. Paul betrays the bonds of loyalty first, and thereby creates an enemy.

In creating an enemy, however, Paul displays the enemy’s inner emotion-fused heart. As had been the case from the inception of the rhetorical unit, Luke continues to target the zone of emotion-fused thought as the slave owners “see,” ἰδόντες, rather than hear, that their hope of profit had departed, and then respond with purposeful action. In this manner two hopes are brought side-by-side, a hope of salvation and a hope of profit, each residing within the emotion-fused heart. By a disloyal act to the κύριοι (lords) through the name of his Lord (Acts 16:18, 31), Paul unveils the bonds of loyalty that had motivated the slave-owners—profit—and thereby shows that these lords are in fact “lovers of mammon.”

While both Matthew and Luke use the maxim “You cannot serve God and mammon” to contrast an orientation towards material wealth with spiritual, Luke subtly shifts the frame into one more sharply targeted at competing loyalties as a corrupting force upon a religious group that is responsible for mediating God’s word to the people.⁵⁴⁷ More specifi-

⁵⁴⁶ It may therefore rhetorically not be a coincidence that the we-group ceases to be a we-group after Acts 16:17 until it reappears in 20:5.

⁵⁴⁷ Mammon here is used with the first-century understanding as explained by Hanson and Oakman: “Gold and silver were employed regularly as media for storing ‘value’ by those who had precious metals to hoard. The Mediterranean peoples of the eastern Roman Empire would tend to consider money value in light of the core cultural values of Mediterranean societies: honor and shame. Wealth, the Aramaic term for which is *mamona*, would be the storage of resource values for creating, preserving, displaying, or recovering public reputation (‘honor’), and for protecting the economic integrity of family and household.” Kenneth C. Hanson

cally, in the Gospel Luke's use of the *gnōmē* moves in on his target—the Pharisees—who are “lovers of money,” φιλάργυροι (Luke 16:14).⁵⁴⁸ But the audience, of course, would know that it is God whom the Pharisees are to love with all their hearts and souls and strength (Deuteronomy 6:5; Luke 10:27). If indeed the target of the Pharisees' love is found within whatever means might advance their own worldly status (i.e., mammon), then the audience could infer inductively that Luke charges the Pharisees with loving mammon with their hearts, souls, and strength. As a result, by way of their allegiance with the means of increasing mammon, they are in effect “faithful” to mammon and unfaithful to God.

Luke uses Paul's exorcism to illustrate how a maxim such as “You cannot serve God and mammon” plays itself out in the human earth-bound world. The exorcism is a signal that slaves of the most high God cannot coexist in alliances such as that with the Python-slave-woman-lords enterprise. Loyalty to one calls forth the imperative of disloyalty to the other. However, and here lay Paul's conundrum, those who are enslaved to mammon may well look like servants of God.⁵⁴⁹

It is highly significant that the slave-woman's words fully supported the we-group's perceived call from God and that she continued to accompany the disciples, calling the

and Douglas E. Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus: Social Structures and Social Conflicts* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1998), 122. From this definition, the term “mammon” is used here to denote all material goods and social activities that are deployed for “creating, preserving, displaying, or recovering public reputation (“honour”), and for protecting the economic integrity of family and household;” *Palestine in the Time of Jesus*, 122.

⁵⁴⁸ “The play on words in Luke 16:11 (faithless with unrighteous mammon, entrusted with righteous mammon) gives a very powerful indication that Jesus' intention and meaning was closest to root 4— *ʾMN*, to trust. From *ʾMN*, we get the familiar English transliteration Amen, truly. What is trustworthy is true; what is untrustworthy is false. This attitude comes from an ancient culture where epistemology is rooted in social relations and strong group perceptions. The meaning of Mammon is bound up with trust and true and false social perceptions of reality.” Douglas E. Oakman, “The Radical Jesus: You Cannot Serve God and Mammon,” *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 34, no. 3 (Fall 2004): 123–24. Keeping within the notion of competing loyalties, the *Gospel of Thomas* expresses a similar sentiment, but now framed by military rather than economic discourse: “Jesus said, ‘It is impossible for a person to mount two horses and to bend two bows. Also it is impossible for a servant to serve two masters, or he will honour the one and insult the other’” (*Logion 47.1–2 Gospel of Thomas* [deConick]).

⁵⁴⁹ A similar misrepresentation is voiced in Ezekiel 33:31 “They come to you as people come, and they sit before you as my people, and they hear your words, but they will not obey them. For flattery is on their lips, but their heart is set on their gain.”

words out for many days. For by having Paul silence the slave-woman after a lengthy span of time, Luke establishes that the good news is not simply a matter of proclaiming correct self-expressive words. On the surface, the words of salvation may be quite true. However, the proclaiming “self” that is revealed is the far more important element. In this case the revealed “inner-self” of the slave-owners turned out to be one driven by profit-seeking rather than service to God.⁵⁵⁰ An alliance with an enterprise enslaved by mammon presented an insurmountable obstacle to the Pauline mission because it would irredeemably taint the good news and thereby render the we-group “hucksters of God’s words,” those who therefore can longer be expected to speak sincerely “in Christ.”⁵⁵¹

The danger of such a taint produced by association with perceived “money-loving prophets” is that the salvific nature of the good news was inextricably bound together with the *ethos* of the ones proclaiming it. Should it be perceived as tainted, there would be no way to recover “the good news.” Each of the we-group and “slave-owners-python” group mediated divine communication, and for a time it appeared that both were self-expressively communicating the same divinity. Yet again, distinguishing between them called upon Paul’s emotion-fused effort of discernment. From the length of time that it took for Paul to make his decisive move, the author of Acts leads the audience to infer that the markers distinguishing the two forms of divine communication were far from self-evident.

⁵⁵⁰ Repetitive textural analysis already signalled the importance of profit to the unit by noting that *ἐργασία* repeats (Acts 16:16, 19) and connects with *ἀγορά* (16:19), both of which occur for the first time in Acts in this unit.

⁵⁵¹ In 2 Corinthians, Paul asserts: “For we are not, like so many, hucksters (*καπηλεύοντες*) of God’s word; but as men of sincerity, as commissioned by God, in the sight of God we speak in Christ” (2 Cor 2:17). Speech through Christ is sincere, speech through profit-seeking is false. Apollonius of Tyana explains a similar predicament to his audience, Philostratus writes: “But there is also, Majesty, a kind of sham learning and hucksterism that you should not equate with prophecy (*μαντικήν*), because prophecy is very valuable it tells the truth, though I am not sure it is an art. By ‘sham learning’ I refer to sorcerers, because to make the nonexistent exist, and the existent to be doubted, all this I ascribe to the beliefs of those they dupe. Whatever learning there is in magic lies in the antiquity of those that are tricked as spectators. The trade consists entirely of money-grubbers (*φιλοχρήματοι*). All their boasted devices they have invented for the sake of gain, and they hunt piles of money by inducing others, whatever they desire, to think them omnipotent” (Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 8.7.10 [Jones, LCL]).

Paul's action against the Python spirit forms an act of judgment. The spirit is exposed as *not* being "faithful to the Lord" since the "event" underlying the activity of mantic proclamation was profit-making, not salvation. The slave-owners group is not faithful to the Lord, and therefore its members are not worshipers of God. They, then, have rejected the good news and therefore remain outside of the salvific possibilities of the good news. True to the Python's name—rot—the group of profit-induced "corruption" is destined for the opposite of immortality, ultimate rot.⁵⁵² Although at this point judgement about another profit-seeker, the purple-selling Lydia, remains unanswered, when the slave-owners are "rubbed side-by-side" with Lydia, one form of counterfeit loyalty is exposed. In this manner, following Lydia's offer, Luke presents the first illustrative case of what would be judged as *not* faithful to God: fidelity to mammon.

5.4.2 Conclusion to the Implicit παρακαλέω of the Slave-Woman.

Although Lydia and the slave-woman are linked by their gender, speech, and the context of meeting the we-group on its way to a place of prayer, their linkage is sequential and not progressive. The slave-woman does speak, but unlike Lydia, she does not speak her own self-expressive speech. When Paul turns to shut down the mantic operation, he does not speak to the woman; instead, he speaks directly to the Python spirit (Acts 16:18). The slave-woman is therefore a vocalization medium, a sound, but not a self-expressive voice. Instead, she gives voice to the self-expressive speech of the Python spirit. For, the Python spirit working through the slave-woman generates profit for the gain of the profit-seeking slave-owners just as purple generates profit for the profit-seeking purple-seller Lydia. The slave-woman attaches to Lydia semantically, but then sequentially moves the point of comparison to Lydia away from herself and to her profit-seeking owners. At the same time the

⁵⁵² For the origin of Python's name see page 185.

Python spirit forms an analogous relationship with Lydia's purple. The voice of profit, when sourced in monetized divine communication, expresses itself as if it were degenerate purple, and it is Paul's exorcism that exposes it as such.

Where initially the παρακαλέω of the Macedonian man fused with a perceived προσκαλέω from God, in Philippi the Python spirit, as the self-expressive agent of the slave-woman, calls the Philippians to the disciples. However, as an instrument of profit, the Python spirit cannot draw hearers to a source of salvation because salvation, from a Lukan perspective, cannot be found through profit-centered divine mediation. The Python spirit, ultimately, can draw hearers only to death.

The incident with the slave-owners suggests that Luke begins to present a "human-scale" apocalypse. Although brought into Philippi on a call for military aid, the Pauline group does not ride in with a warrior-god, destroying the enemy and victoriously exhibiting its divinely supported invincibility. But through the judgement stone, the Lydian touchstone, the corrupted hearts and, therefore, doomed nature of the slave owners are exposed. Through their unveiling, the slave-owners hearts are exposed as the enemy, an enemy that, although offered the means of salvation, has rejected it.

5.5. Paul's Implicit παρακαλέω in Prison: Bringing to Right-Sightedness by Staying in Faith

As intertextual analysis described, most scholarly attention on the Philippian imprisonment has centered around the notion of divinely assisted prison-escape. Yet, while evoking the divinely assisted prison-escape *topos*, Luke concurrently removes expected elements and introduces others, in a manner similar to the author's prior reconfiguration of the divine dream-vision *topos*. The Philippian earthquake contains no explicit displays of divine presence and in fact plays with this absence by assigning the frequently theophonic

“great voice” to Paul (Acts 16:28) and having the jailer source the lights (Acts 16:29).⁵⁵³

Perhaps most significantly, the earthquake does not serve to facilitate Paul’s and Silas’s escape from prison; they are instead released in the morning by the magistrates who seem unaware of the event of the earthquake. In contrast with this and other prison-escape stories, including those of Acts 5:19, 12:17, manifestations of divine salvific power as the means of escape are absent from the Philippian episode. True, an earthquake occurs that miraculously opens doors and releases bonds without destroying the structure, which would undoubtedly have evoked signs of a divine hand in the audience. But, as was the case with the absence of an explicit divine element in Paul’s dream vision, so, too, the culturally anticipated explicit manifestation of divinity is absent from the prison scene. Prison-escapes involved releases from prison as a direct result of divine rescue, yet Paul’s imprisonment is notably absent the element of providential rescue and, beyond the earthquake itself, any other elements associated with spiritual beings. Philippi is a story of prison-stay rather than prison-escape.

5.5.1 *Prison as Touchstone.*

The space of prison, so prevalent in the rhetorical unit, is used by Luke to present a

⁵⁵³ The text expresses Paul calling out by the phrase “ἔφώνησεν δὲ μεγάλη φωνή,” “he sounded a loud cry” which simply describes him as shouting loudly. Yet, at the same time, the phrase ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ commonly appears in divine epiphanies, see Marianne Palmer Bonz, *The Past as Legacy: Luke-Acts and Ancient Epic* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 2000), 97, n. 38; where ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ occurs twenty times in Revelation describing the calls of heavenly voices (see David E. Aune, *Revelation 1–5* [Word Biblical Commentary 52A; Dallas, Tex.: Word Books, 1997], 347). Mikeal Parsons notes that one of the reasons that the Lycaonians may have taken Paul and Barnabas for gods is Paul’s speaking in a “loud voice,” “echoing the view in antiquity that gods spoke with frightfully loud voices.” Parsons, *Acts*, 199. The specific combination the verb φωνέω together with the adjective μέγας and noun φωνή only occurs three other times in the NT: the call of the unclean spirit in Mark 1:26, the call of an angel of judgment in Revelation 14:18 and Jesus’s last words in Luke 23:46. In Philippi the phrase comes out of a male human’s (Paul) mouth, yet within the context of a seemingly “miraculous” earthquake event. Having the jailer call for lights also contrasts with other cases where the element of light is closely associated with divinity. In the *Bacchae*, Dionysus brings on lightning and fire and makes clear that they have been divinely sent; in Acts 12:7 the appearance of light in Peter’s prison cell is clearly a byproduct of the arrival of the angel of the Lord.

highly charged *topos* evoking death and misery. Fauconnier and Turner contend that “[p]hysical spaces are already attached by memory to sensations and events in our past.”⁵⁵⁴ As was highlighted in intertextual analysis, the space of ancient prison evoked visceral physical sensations of physical pain, hunger, sickness, and suffering as well as emotion-fused sensations of humiliation, sadness and loss. Prison was a place of darkness, in imagination akin to the ultimate form of corruption—death.⁵⁵⁵ In a powerful ideological twist on an age-old type-scene, Luke does not employ the prison *topos* to demonstrate how God’s power can rescue a pious believer from the darkness of prison but rather uses the *topos* as a torturous testing stone.⁵⁵⁶

Prison, so closely associated with torture, featured in accounts such as Lucian’s and Philo’s as a testing ground, a place where the pure, uncorrupted nature of one unjustly punished would come to light. In these cases, prison formed its own refining fire, or touchstone, where the sterling character of a prisoner would shine forth from the dark pits of torture and death. Much like Lucian and Philo did with Demetrius’s and Joseph’s prison tests, Luke will also showcase Paul’s and Silas’s exemplary characters by the trials of prison.

Having unveiled the hearts of the slave-owners, Paul and Silas are themselves put to the test, not metaphorically, but through the material, physical test of torture. Thematic repetitive elements such as “beating,” “blows,” and “stocks,” further stressed by the *hapax* of *ῥάβδοῦχος*, “lictors” (Acts 16:35, 28), bring the *topos* of physical torture to the fore. The narrative suddenly switches from its emphasis on the zones of self-expressive speech and emotion-fused thought to that of purposeful action—action that is focused on the objects of its force, Paul’s and Silas’s bodies.

The guard awakens from sleep and yet remains in a dream-like state by falsely “seeing” in the open door the certainty of escaped prisoners.⁵⁵⁷ Once again, Luke uses

⁵⁵⁴ Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*, 316.

⁵⁵⁵ See page 193.

⁵⁵⁶ On the relationship between Lydian touchstone and truth-finding through torture see pages 288–289.

⁵⁵⁷ The jailer literally “comes out of sleep (ἐξυπνος),” where sleep (ὑπνος) was “the brother of death” in

emotion-fused thought to advance his ideological goals. In supposing the prisoners escaped, the guard makes ready to die. Divinely enabled prison-escape would have meant death to the jailer, as underscored by his immediate move to attempt suicide.⁵⁵⁸ In fact, the death of guards could complement the divinely assisted escape *topos*.⁵⁵⁹ The death of a guard would surely benefit the successful escape of the prisoners, yet by staying, the prisoners in Philippi secure the life of the guard.

In watching the Pauline group respond to the call of the Macedonian man, the audience readied for clear evidence of a divinely enabled approaching victory. First confounded by the women and Lydia, and now by Paul's and Silas's imprisonment, the audience cannot help but begin to wonder when Paul's God will make a salvific appearance, for indeed a warrior-god rightfully should have crushed an antagonist like the prison-guard. The guard had taken the bloodied Paul and Silas and had inflicted even greater suffering upon them by fastening their feet in stocks. Yet instead of being killed for harming divinely-chosen disciples, the guard is saved. Moreover, Luke will stress that the guard is not saved by a conventional show of divine rescue but rather, quite unconventionally, by the effects of Paul's and Silas's steadfast loyalty to their God.

Paul's loud human voice, theophonically framed, "awakens" the jailer a second time, this time from his mortal presumption. Paul's call to the jailer functions as an implicit *παρακαλέω*: Paul calls the jailer to himself, and consequently to the source of divine salvation. A place of darkness and death transforms to a place of light. By their purposeful act of staying in prison, Paul and Silas bring good news of salvation to the jailer that they had understood themselves called upon to deliver.⁵⁶⁰

myth, e.g. Homer, *Iliad* 14.231.

⁵⁵⁸ "When the jailer woke and saw that the prison doors were open, he drew his sword and was about to kill himself, supposing that the prisoners had escaped" (Acts 16:27). Torture then death of Peter's guards was in fact one outcome of Peter's divinely enabled escape (Acts 12:19)

⁵⁵⁹ See Artapanus's account of Moses, page 194.

⁵⁶⁰ "Believe in the Lord Jesus, and you will be saved, you and your household." And they spoke the word of the Lord to him and to all that were in his house" (Acts 16:31-32).

Contra cultural expectations, Luke presents the purposeful act of staying—staying in faith—as the means for bringing the jailer out of his hypnotic dream-state to the “right-sightedness” of God. Paul and Silas transform the jailer’s sight and “convert” his loyalties by the “non-act” of faithfully remaining in prison. Having been explicitly charged by the magistrates to keep Paul and Silas secure, the faithful jailer dutifully fastens his charges in stocks in the innermost cell but, following the prisoners’ purposeful act of staying, transforms into an unfaithful jailer, and in an act of pure insubordination, leads Paul and Silas out of prison.

It is a pivotal moment in the rhetorical unit. Previously a “slave” of the magistrates (who had shown themselves beholden to the slave-owners), the jailer prostrates himself in front of Paul and Silas and addresses them as “lords.” Like Lydia, the jailer’s heart becomes fully open to receiving Paul’s and Silas’s self-expressive speech, and indeed he does receive it. Moving sequentially from the jailer’s previous “lords” to Paul and Silas, now transformed from shamed prisoners into honoured “lords,” the jailer is led to the one he ultimately should be faithful to, the “Lord Jesus” (Acts 16:31). By way of this progression, the jailer and his household are “saved” since they have received the good news.

Not only is the gold standard of life—immortality—discovered where death should hold sway, but the overall space of the prison compound, including the jailer’s house, is replete with elements that could rightfully be found in a place of prayer. On their way to a place of prayer, προσευχή, a second time, Paul and Silas are physically dragged and thrust into one. The term προσευχή, used in an uncommon fashion to denote space in the rhetorical unit, occurs for the final time in Acts 16:16. However, once in prison, Paul and Silas partake in the self-expressive acts of praying and singing hymns (Acts 16:25) while an assembly—the prisoners—listen. The jailer prostrates himself in front of men he calls “lords,” evoking a reaction appropriate to an encounter with the holy, much as did Peter, the Gerasene demoniac and the woman with the hemorrhage in front of Jesus in the Gospel

(Luke 5:8; 8:28, 47).⁵⁶¹ Paul and Silas “speak the word of the Lord” to the assembly much as they did to the synagogue in Antioch (Acts 13:16:39, 16:32). Washing and a baptism ensues, a “table” is set followed by the group’s rejoicing that one had come to believe in God.⁵⁶² Elements associated with priestly discourse, evoking synagogue or temple space, permeate the prison compound. Space associated with the deepest form of corruption becomes space associated with the holy, and within this space the source of eternal life is mediated.

5.5.2 Conclusion to Paul’s Implicit παρακαλέω in Prison.

Put to the touchstone of prison torture, Paul and Silas display the nature of authentic faith. The jailer shifts from brutalizer to healer, and in so doing undermines Philippi’s mechanism of power. The purposeful act of staying melds with the emotion-fused acts of faith and fidelity and produce the means of salvation. The result of the touchstone test unveils the pure gold standard of “faith in the Lord” through Paul and Silas’s staying in faith.

When experienced by the jailer, the gold standard of faith performs a transformative function. Prison is not fled; instead, it transmutes from space of death into space of eternal life. Not only do Paul and Silas stay in their cell following the earthquake, but they also insist on staying in the prison compound after they receive word of their release from the magistrates (Acts 16:26-28, 36-37). These two stay-events join a thematic progression of “stays” throughout the unit. However, the concept of divinely-enabled release remains operative in the text. Just as Luke does not erase the divine dream-vision frame with a Macedonian’s call for aid but uses it to create a new blend of frames, the prison-escape frame re-

⁵⁶¹ “The Greek προσκυνεῖν corresponds to the Heb. הִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה . One bows down before God especially when approaching Him in the sanctuary, so that הִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה comes to denote the performance of cultic actions at a holy place.” Greeven, “εὐχομαι,” *TDNT* 2:789

⁵⁶² “ἀναγαγὼν τε αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν οἶκον παρέθηκεν τράπεζαν καὶ ἠγαλλιάσατο πανοικεῖ πεπιστευκῶς τῷ θεῷ.” (Acts 16:34).

mains operative as it transforms expectations of divine rescue. A show of divine power does not enable a prison-escape here; rather, the prison-escape frame, in evoking the expectation of release, highlights the prisoners' contrasting action of staying. In this manner, "staying" becomes a rhetorically powerful purposeful action.

In the space of Philippi, the prisoners and the jailer are not only "tamed," as in Philo's account of Joseph, but also they are given sight of God leading to the source of their immortality. Luke's human-scale apocalypse continues. The pit of death, prison, is transformed into a holy space mediating salvation. However, instead of the usual elements associated with an apocalyptic destruction of evil forces together with divine restoration of goodness and right order, namely a wrathful avenging warrior-god, the steadfast faith of two men shines forth as if it were refined gold and serves to reorder the forces of evil and life. Just as the Macedonian's ethnic identity grounded Paul's dream vision, so too does Paul's great voice, the jailer's call for lights, and the purposeful act of staying ground the means of salvation in prison.

This, then, becomes the battle scene. By turning an enemy into an ally by demonstrating the essential trait of a warrior, faithful courage, Paul and Silas *do* bring in the auxiliary aid that leads to victory. True, this is a human-scale victory; no dragon falls from the heavens, no fire consumes the earth. Rather, an enemy is led to shift allegiances, but in so doing undermines the very structure of coercive force that had been employed in the attempt to silence the disciples. The space used in service of this victory is not only not the pure, clean, uncorrupted space typically required for appropriate mediation of the holy, but instead filthy, diseased, corrupted space. For in Luke's ideological shift, the criterion for divine mediation shifts dramatically from conventionally appointed holy space to any space that enables the right-sight of God. Authentic worship of God takes places in any space that leads, through the genuine faith of its members, to the right-sight of God.

5.6. The Inverted παρακαλέω of the Magistrates: Separating Apart

Once day dawns, the magistrates now effect Paul's and Silas's release following the same channel of communication that led to their incarceration. Earlier, the magistrates had themselves ripped Paul's and Silas's clothing and had ordered them flogged (ῥαβδίζω), presumably by the lictors (ῥαβδοῦχος) (Acts 16:22). Once beaten by the lictors, the disciples were handed over to the jailer who secured them in the innermost cell (Acts 16:24). Now a discharge is effected in reverse order. The magistrates send the lictors with word of release, who deliver this word to the jailer, who in turn conveys it to Paul and Silas. In mirroring the incarceration, Luke signals that both the incarceration and the release form part of a seamless system of punishment. The goal is expulsion, and the message from the magistrates is intended as the final step in ridding Philippi of its, presumably, now appropriately-cowed menace.

Paul and Silas, however, do not respond as prisoners beaten into submission would be expected to, swiftly departing the prison and Philippi, thankful to have escaped further torture. The tables turn, and Paul accuses the magistrates of the very offense that had led to his incarceration—acting against Roman custom and encouraging other Philippians to do so as well. Through Paul's counter-accusation the magistrates exhibit the fundamental un-Roman emotion, fear, and in so doing, Luke casts them within the framework of defeated enemies.

5.6.1 Fear: An Enemy's Self-Defeat.

While Paul's and Silas's first act of staying in prison served to open the jailer's heart to their words of salvation, their second act of staying serves as a show of judgment against the magistrates. Romans, self-perceived as models of virtue and justice, physiognomically presented themselves as holding to the highest standards of integrity. Contrary to Roman

ideals, the magistrates are exposed as having behaved in “un-Roman” fashion by having resorted to mob justice without due legal process.⁵⁶³

The magistrates, as Philippi’s leaders, function as the *polis*’s representative members. Incited to action through the anger of the slave-owners, the magistrates immediately show themselves under the influence of the vengeful slave-owners and mob. They conform to the convention of leaders being “enslaved,” notionally to the people, but ultimately to passion. Between the slave-owners and the magistrates, custom and law are joined together and the customary “law” of Philippi is exposed as being derived from enslavement to vengeful passion.

Moreover, once receiving word of Paul’s own claim to “Roman-ness” the magistrates fear. Fear, the most unmanly, and un-Roman, of emotions is used only of the magistrates in the rhetorical unit.⁵⁶⁴ Fear becomes the operative emotion-fused motive of the magistrates, and, in stark contrast with the outcome of Paul’s and Silas’s test of prison, further condemns them. In military discourse “fear” was the emotion of an enemy defeated; it most certainly was not the emotion of warriors whose hearts had been strengthened with fortifying aid. In military discourse fear and confusion in an enemy were the prime markers of defeat.⁵⁶⁵ As Lendon points out, “warfare is a contest of masculinity.”⁵⁶⁶ Through their cowardly fear the magistrates clearly display themselves as not having received the fortifying news that could lead to salvation.

Quite deliberately, Luke makes rhetological speech the medium of communication between the magistrates and Paul during the final separation scene. It was the form of legal language that the magistrates could understand, and not surprisingly it evoked weak-kneed

⁵⁶³ In contrast to the Philippian experience, note how Festus portrays Roman custom: “When I was in Jerusalem, the chief priests and the elders of the Jews informed me about him and asked for a sentence against him. I told them that it was not the custom of the Romans to hand over anyone before the accused had met the accusers face to face and had been given an opportunity to make a defense against the charge” (Acts 25:15-16).

⁵⁶⁴ “ἔφοβήθησαν δὲ ἀκούσαντες ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοί εἰσιν,” (Acts 16:38).

⁵⁶⁵ Orderly tactics and courage led to victory, cf. Lendon, “The Rhetoric of Combat.”

⁵⁶⁶ Lendon, “The Rhetoric of Combat,” 310.

fear in them. In place of the reverential fear that emotion-fused perceptive communication might have yielded, had their hearts opened themselves to it, the magistrates instead experience cowardly fear.

The magistrates' final scene with Paul and Silas forms the reverse analogue of the call of the Macedonian man. They reject "military aid," and therefore do not ally themselves with the we-group. As a result, they do not receive the good news of salvation within their hearts; they are outside of those who rightfully could be called "worshippers of God." Most notably, in Acts the term fear never appears as a descriptor of reverence in the rhetorical unit (i.e., there are no "God-fearers" here); it is used only of the self-interested fear of the magistrates. Their defeat could not be more complete, and at the same time their defeat could not be more understated. No shows of vengeful divine justice are displayed against Philippi's magistrates. Instead, a city's leadership that had been given every opportunity to see remains un-sighted.

In this way, Luke uses the fearful man, the antithesis of masculinity and of the Roman masculine ideal, to define Philippi's leading men. The term *παρακαλέω*, explicitly occurring here for the third time in the rhetorical unit (Acts 16:39), functions contrary to its essential meaning when it is invoked within the context of the magistrates' fear. Instead of suggesting an act of joining by calling to oneself, *παρακαλέω* instead becomes a form of cowardly pandering, as the magistrates attempt to drive Paul and Silas out as expeditiously as possible.⁵⁶⁷ Ultimately the very men who earlier laid claim to guarding Roman custom are displayed as violating it, with the message being delivered, in true Lukan irony, through the symbolically laden Roman lictors.

⁵⁶⁷ Notice the difference in how the unjustly prisoned Antiphilus and Demetrius are treated and Paul and Silas. Antiphilus and Demetrius have their innocence affirmed by an investigation and in recognition of the injustice suffered are financially compensated. Paul and Silas's innocence is never acknowledged by Philippi's magistrates and their *παρακαλέω* is not one of condolence, but rather an attempt to appease in order to get them out of Philippi as expeditiously as possible. See page 197 above.

Paul’s self-expressive speech functions with the magistrates much as it did with the exorcism of the Python spirit: it exposes. Whereas the basis for the slave-owners’ alliance with the disciples—hope of profit—was unveiled by the departure of the Python spirit, thereby rendering the slave-woman’s true-sounding words spurious, now Paul’s condemnation of the magistrates exposes them as counterfeit Romans. As false-Romans the magistrates’ external self-representation does not reflect their inner hearts; their roles as Romans are incompatible with the actions that display their character.

Through Paul’s charging the magistrates with having acted against Roman custom, Luke leads the audience to infer inductively that the magistrates are fragmented, or disordered, beings who are no longer “in sympathy” with their own reason.⁵⁶⁸ A person “not in sympathy” with her or his reason is a fragmented person, suggesting a state of confusion.⁵⁶⁹ Such confusion was a sign of irrationality and therefore of a “false man”—a man in appearance but not in practice. The cause of this confusion was often ascribed to having succumbed to the sorts of disorganizing passions typically associated with the “Lydian disease.”⁵⁷⁰ In Ephesus a similar scenario will play itself out. Driven by a desire for profit, the Ephesian silversmiths will incite a riotous attack on the disciples. As a result, an impassioned mob forms into an assembly brought together by confusion rather than ordered reason.⁵⁷¹ So, too, in Philippi, a mob along with the city’s leaders joined together in attack in response to enigmatic and unsubstantiated charges against Paul and Silas, incited by the

⁵⁶⁸ For example, cf. Arrian, *Epicteti dissertationes* 2.9.19–21 (Oldfather, LCL).

⁵⁶⁹ Luke presents this as an inaugural sign of the arrival of the Kingdom of God: “He has shown strength with his arm; he has scattered the proud in the thoughts of their hearts (διεσκόρπισεν ὑπερηφάνους διανοία καρδίας αὐτῶν.” (Luke 1:51)

⁵⁷⁰ For “Lydian disease” see page 149. As examples of discourse that targets passion and *luxuria* as influences that disorder reason, cf. Arrian, *Epicteti dissertationes* 2.9.2–5 (Oldfather, LCL); Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 8.7.23 (Jones, LCL).

⁵⁷¹ “Now some cried one thing, some another; for the assembly was in confusion, and most of them did not know why they had come together” (Acts 19:32). The term used to describe this ἐκκλησία is συγχύννω, “confused,” the same term that the LXX uses in its noun form to denote the place name of “Babel” as a qualifier of the confused state of a pre-Pentecost world. “διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς Σύγχυσις ὅτι ἐκεῖ συνέχεεν κύριος τὰ χεῖλη πάσης τῆς γῆς ” (LXX Genesis 11:9).

emotion-fused anger of the slave-owners and without any process of judgment or discernment.

In military discourse, as in narratives of justice being meted out, the enemy was expected to receive its punitive deserts. So, for example, Origen is challenged by Celsus to explain how it is that the God of Jesus would have allowed the perpetrators of Jesus's death to suffer no ill consequence for their act. In response, Origen (unwittingly displaying the severity of the schism that had by that point developed between Christians and Jews), falls back on a traditional logic of victory and defeat:

*But the one who condemned him did not even suffer any such fate as that of Pentheus by going mad or being torn in pieces, he [Celsus] says. He did not see that it was not so much Pilate who condemned him...as the Jewish people. This nation has been condemned by God and torn in pieces, and scattered over all the earth, a fate more terrible than the rending suffered by Pentheus. (Origen, *Against Celsus* 2.34 [Chadwick]; emphasis in translation; brackets own)*

Luke, however, advances a far different ideological message. A people become “like Pentheus” when they choose a system of divine mediation that obscures the right-sight of God.⁵⁷² And this can be any people—Macedonians, Jews, Greeks, Romans, or self-regarded Christians.

Philippi, it must be remembered, became a Roman colony as a result of Antony's and Augustus's win against fellow-Romans Cassius and Brutus; the battle of Philippi was fought in the course of a civil war where Roman fought against Roman and, moreover, received its name—*Colonia Julia Augusta Philippensis*—after former allies Augustus and Antony fought each other.⁵⁷³ The very ground of Philippi remained in social memory

⁵⁷² The hapless Pentheus, effeminized and dismembered by the end of his battle with Dionysus, was regularly invoked in discourse concerned with the effects of a social body that was fragmented from within. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 13.57.1–3 (Ferguson); P. Aelius Aristides, *To the Rhodians: Concerning Concord* 37–39 (Behr).

⁵⁷³ Appian describes how fellow-soldier fought against fellow-soldier: “Thus did Octavian and Antony by perilous daring and by two infantry engagements achieve a success, the like of which was never before known; for never before had such numerous and powerful Roman armies come in conflict with each other. These soldiers were not enlisted from the ordinary conscription, but were picked men. They were not new levies, but under long drill and arrayed against each other, not against foreign or barbarous races. Speaking the same language and using the same tactics, being of like discipline and power of endurance, they were for these reasons what we may call mutually invincible. Nor was there ever such fury and daring in war as here,

spacially associated with Rome's conflicts where like fought with like. Within this spatial background of civil war, Luke presents the Romans Paul and Silas in conflict with self-purported Romans who represent Philippi's social structure of power.

Although Philippi is presented as Roman territory, an image supported by Latinized terms, as well as the charges against Paul and Silas of advocating "un-Roman" customs to "us-Romans," Paul's counter-charges against the magistrates accuse the city of having unmoored itself from its geo-centric social logic, and of devolving into a fragmented, irrational rabble. Within a dyadic society when representatives of a group displayed corrupted or disordered inner hearts, they concurrently pointed to the general corruption of the social body in which they were embedded.⁵⁷⁴ Philippi's leaders, no longer in sympathy with their reason as rightful true Roman males, are symptomatic of the diseased social body of the *polis* of Philippi. Disconnected from its ethnographic source—Rome—the *polis* of Philippi had disoriented its ground of social logic.⁵⁷⁵

Moreover, unlike the growing movement of Christianity, the Philippians' disconnect with their ethnographic source was not leading to the development of a new logic of discernment but rather to the "blindness" of irrationality. Paul's accusation highlights the irony of the magistrates' having succumbed to un-Roman behaviour: the judicial process, an ostensible process of truth-finding, had been subverted by irrational animal-like passion fuelled by the anger of the slave-owners. Touchstone *synkrisis* continues: rubbed side-by-side with the Romans Paul and Silas, "Roman" Philippi is exposed as a locus of disordered blindness, in stark contrast with the right-sight that had brought the jailer to life.

when citizens contended against citizens, families against families, and fellow-soldiers against each other" (Appian, *The Civil Wars* 4. 137 [White, LCL]). Virgil writes: "Therefore once more Philippi saw Roman armies clash in the shock of brother weapons" (Virgil, *Georgics* 1.489–490 [Fairclough, LCL]).

⁵⁷⁴ Bruce J. Malina and Jerome H. Neyrey, "First-Century Personality: Dyadic, not Individual," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation* (ed. Jerome H. Neyrey; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1991), 76.

⁵⁷⁵ For the social logic of ethnocentrism see page 229.

5.6.2 Conclusion to the παρακαλέω of the Magistrates.

Ironically, in the dawning light of day, the blindness of the magistrates leads them to reject the source of salvation in their midst. The inverted context of the magistrates' παρακαλέω, sending away rather than drawing near, underscores the inverted outcome of their encounter with the disciples. Through their loyalty to the slave-owners, the magistrates perform the opposite of Lydia's offer: they ask the disciples to leave. Exposed as Rome-fearers rather than reverential God-fearers, the magistrates do not receive the "good news."

Although the early Macedonian frame suggested battling warriors, the defeat of the magistrates is emotion-fused rather than physical. To outside eyes there would be little to suggest that an enemy had been defeated, but our analysis of the ideological force of the passage gives us grounds to suggest that, in terms of access to immortal life, it has. The final scene with the magistrates underscores that the good news can fortify the hearts only of those who can perceive its source. In a passage marked by surface-level rhetological argumentation, the impact of Paul's counter-accusation functions rhetographically. From the perspective of military discourse—the unit's inaugural frame—defeat of one party meant the victory of another. The notion of win-win had not yet entered the social psyche of a limited goods environment.

The Macedonian's call for aid left the enemy lines undefined, and now the "defeat" of the magistrates completes their configuration within an "enemy" role. The magistrates are not a physiognomically-based enemy, however, and Paul's and Silas's earlier on-going tolerance of the slave-woman underscored that point. The magistrates turn themselves into an enemy, and self-inflict their defeat by allying themselves with the slave-owners' act of vengeance. Face-to-face with a source of salvation, the magistrates remain blind to its presence and, in that manner, are ultimately undone.

5.7. Paul's παρακαλέω to the Assembly at Lydia's: Mutual Recognition

When, contra the magistrate's request to leave, Paul and Silas instead "stay" at Lydia's (Acts 16:39-40), they culminate the rupture between themselves and the leading social network of the *polis*. But, too, Paul's and Silas's defiant stay performs a concurrent and inverse function. When Paul and Silas join with those gathered at Lydia's, their stay performs a cohesive function. Their "stay" argumentatively affirms Lydia's loyalty to the Lord, and suggests that she is indeed a worshiper of God. As a worshiper of God she has received the good news of salvation. Both friend and foe come to light through the final act of staying. Moreover, those gathered at Lydia's are called ἀδελφοί, a term that in the Gospel of Luke can mean kinship relationships, but in Acts refers only to religious communities of believers. An alliance has therefore been established, carrying military elements, yet within the context of a group of worshipers of God in a newly developing house of prayer.

5.7.1 Culmination of the παρακαλέω Progression: "Seeing" and "Encouraging" the Assembly at Lydia's.

Paul's and Silas's "stay" at Lydia's completes Luke's illustrative test cases that portray various dimensions of authentic and inauthentic faith within the rhetorical unit. Through the disciples' "stay" at her house, Lydia's loyalty is affirmed as being genuine in comparison with Python-sourced corruption. Progressively compared with the slave-owner merchants, touchstone *synkrisis* suggests that a Lydian purple-selling woman, the most likely candidate for exposure as counterfeit, should be considered as an exemplar of authentic discipleship.

If Lydia's loyalty is genuine, then as its representative her house assembly cannot be considered a "den of robbers," but rather as a gathering of worshipers of God—a house of

prayer. The house of prayer element leads to Luke’s rhetorical goal in presenting Lydia as a test case for judgment. For the Christian house of prayer was under increasing pressure from within to re-chart its cognitive maps for defining “true” believers. Not unexpectedly, given the primacy of discernment, Paul’s and Silas’s sole actions at Lydia’s—“seeing” and “encouraging”—revert the body-zone focus back to emotion-fused thought (“when they had seen [ἰδόντες] and encouraged [παρακάλεσαν] the believers [ἀδελφοί]” Acts 16:40). It completes the unit’s παρακαλέω progression.

Paradoxically, in view of the history of interpretation’s insistence on Lydia’s role as a material resource provider, materiality is completely absent in Lydia’s case, which instead operates within the zones of self-expressive speech and emotion-fused thought. Lydia does not post bail for Paul as does his host Jason in Thessalonica (Acts 17:9); nor does she bribe her way into prison with her jewellery and silver in order to gain access to Paul as does Thecla (*The Acts of Paul and Thecla* 18); nor, like Antiphilus’s friend Demetrius, does she give a portion of her daily wages to the jailer in order to protect the prisoner from the jailer’s brutality (Lucian, *Toxaris* 31); nor does she bring any form of food or nourishment to Paul and Silas. In contrast, the jailer will bring Paul and Silas into his house, bathe them and set a meal before them in his role as host (Acts 16:33-34). Lydia’s presentation, on the other hand, is devoid of any contribution of material resources. Even the “visit” to Lydia’s avoids the material spatial indicator of “house”—Paul and Silas do not go to Lydia’s house, οἶκος, in Acts 16:40, rather, they “go to the Lydian” (εἰσῆλθον πρὸς τὴν Λυδίαν) despite οἶκος being a repetitive term in this passage. By the river in Acts 16:14-15, the relationship between Lydia, the Lord and Paul falls primarily within the framework of emotion-fused thought and self-expressive speech as does Paul’s “stay” at Lydia’s (16:40).

The emotion-fused act of sight formed a critical sensory role in ancient thinking that went far beyond visual perception. To really see meant to perceive deeply. “True” sight, that is, sight that can perceive divinity, is ordered sight that leads to genuine clarity. As

such, it forms the opposite of false-sight and confusion. If a blind, disordered enemy is a defeated enemy, then ordered sight and clarity signal victory for the allies.⁵⁷⁶

Paul's and Silas's first act upon entering Lydia's is "seeing," and this act forms an *inclusio* to Paul's first act of "seeing" the vision of the Macedonian in Troas.⁵⁷⁷ In each case Paul's act of seeing infers cognitive perception and evaluation, and indeed "seeing" the assembly at Lydia's affirms Lydia's claim to faithfulness. In addition to functioning as a faculty of perceptiveness, sight in ancient understanding involved interpenetration; it was not a one-directional faculty. As Allen explains: "To see was to be seen and to be seen was to see. The processes of vision entailed a two-way physical exchange of what was inside, or in the innards of, both seer and seen."⁵⁷⁸ Given the two-way exchange between seer and seen, it is possible to suggest that Paul's "sight" of the assembly at Lydia's removes the taint of Lydia's physiognomic profile, much as the healing exchange between Jesus and the woman with the hemorrhage resulted in the woman being restored to wholeness and health and Jesus's commensurate loss of power (Luke 8:43-48). However, Lydia's physiognomic profile is the key element within such a logic of cleansing, for it is not Lydia the human who is cleansed or purified, but rather the audience's sight of Lydia. As contended, Lydia is treated much as were the disciples on the road to Emmaus—she is accorded the faculty of clear-sight within her heart since her heart had been evaluated by God as suitably endowed for perceptive insight. Lydia is not cleansed or purified, but her physiognomic profile of immoral huckstering suggests that she ought to be. By presenting Lydia within a "polluted" cultural profile, yet elevating her rhetorical presentation to one who meets the standards of

⁵⁷⁶ The argument that the rhetorical unit's principle focus is on discerning the difference between counterfeit and genuine and thereby restoring "right-sight" supports Bloomquist's suggestion that the unveiling of truth could be considered as one of the characterizing elements of apocalyptic discourse, see L. Gregory Bloomquist, "Methodological Criteria for Apocalyptic Rhetoric: A Suggestion for the Expanded Use of Sociorhetorical Analysis," in *Vision and Persuasion: Rhetorical Dimensions of Apocalyptic Discourse* (ed. Greg Carey and L. Gregory Bloomquist; St. Louis, Miss.: Chalice Press, 1999), 199–201.

⁵⁷⁷ "Καὶ ὄραμα διὰ [τῆς] νυκτὸς τῷ Παύλῳ ὤφθη" (Acts 16:9); "καὶ ἰδόντες παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἀδελφούς" (Acts 16:40).

⁵⁷⁸ Danielle S. Allen, *The World of Prometheus*, 79.

truest discipleship, the rhetoric of the unit dramatically subverts physiognomic logic as it raises a gold standard—steadfast faith—to prominence.⁵⁷⁹

Through touchstone *synkrisis*, Lydia's claim to faithfulness had been "rubbed" alongside the dross faith of a Python-sourced mediation system. Furthermore, the very notion of "faithfulness" or "fidelity to the Lord" had been illustrated, just like the life-size "painting" of Joseph in prison,⁵⁸⁰ by Paul's prison stay. Paul's prison-stay defines faith to the Lord. Assessing Lydia's faith meant that this faith, and this faith alone, determined the criterion for inclusion into prayer-house space and not, as might have been expected, any form of ethnocentric and/or gender-derived evaluation.⁵⁸¹

Luke's radical reconfiguration of markers of right-belonging had already been signalled by Paul and Silas's incarceration. While on Luke's ideological level their prison-stay displayed their powers of divine mediation, on a social-cultural level and from within the world of the narrative, they remained to outside eyes dishonoured men whose bodies had been socially effeminated.⁵⁸² As pointed out above, on the surface, life in Philippi contin-

⁵⁷⁹ This conclusion supports M. Parsons' thesis that Luke and Acts subverts physiognomic logic; Parsons, *Body and Character in Luke and Acts*. See also page 234. In Lydian touchstone rhetoric pure gold represented steadfast faithfulness: "Gold, that material least liable to corruption, is for him [Theognis] an emblem of extraordinary integrity and stability in human character." Page DuBois, *Torture and Truth* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 12.

⁵⁸⁰ See page 198.

⁵⁸¹ Following on the work of L. Schottroff, I. R. Reimer's socio-historical liberationist interpretation of Lydia also concluded that Lydia's act of hospitality constitutes an act of courage. The socio-historical questions asked of the text did not lead to the rhetorical ones of the role of the physical attack on Paul as well as the cultural understanding of a female Lydian "host," nonetheless the element of courage is an important insight that is further supported by this socio-rhetorical investigation. Richter-Reimer writes: "In Lydia's case, the pressure she applies is a sign of her solidarity. She certainly knows the conditions in the Roman colony of Philippi, and the attitude of the Roman authorities toward Jews (Acts 16:19-24). In this situation, her pressing invitation is an attempt to aid the missionaries by taking precautions for their protection. As the same time, she has to be ready to answer to the city authorities for giving them her protection. Should a conflict arise between her guests and the Roman authorities her house would be drawn into a dangerous situation. It is possible that in this case Lydia was unable to offer the protection provided by law, inasmuch as Paul...finds it necessary to appeal to his own rights as a Roman citizen. The action of Lydia and the others is to be understood, against the background here developed, as 'hospitality,' which included the provision of protection for her guests. To put it another way: hospitality is not abrogated when there is danger, but only at that moment proves itself to be genuine hospitality." Reimer, *Woman in the Acts*, 124.

⁵⁸² "Dishonorable bodies were whippable; honorable bodies were not." Jennifer A. Glancy, "Boasting of Beatings (2 Corinthians 11:23-25)," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 123, no. 1 (2004): 109.

ued on much as it had before the incarceration; Paul and Silas were not as much returned to public honour as they were hustled out of prison, and ultimately out of Philippi, with as little attention as possible. As J. Glancy astutely observed, “in the first century...scar tissue on a breast pierced in battle was readily distinguished from a crosshatching of weals on a back”—battle wounds were not confused with “disciplinary stripes.”⁵⁸³ Stressing that in physiognomic understanding “social status was somatically expressed,” Glancy asks the pressing question, “what is it like to follow an eminently beatable leader?”⁵⁸⁴

The answer, at least according to the author of Luke-Acts, is that following such a leader might lead to similar physical suffering, and public dishonour, since such is the consequence of steadfast faith. Moreover, such suffering might well come about from challenges to a mammon-bound system of divine mediation. Jesus’s own death provided ample testimony for that possibility. Seeing the reality, however, brought the need for fortifying encouragement acutely to the fore. A new social logic carried along with it new consequences. One consequence is that losing one’s safety-net of conventional social alliances raised the need for courage. And courage is precisely the quality that announcements of good news invoked in troops.

The Macedonian man called for fortification and alliance, and indeed at Lydia’s these are delivered. Paul’s *παρακαλέω* is perhaps the most intense of those found in the progression, yet paradoxically the content of the *παρακαλέω* is not narrated. His is the sort of *παρακαλέω* a leader would deliver to his troops in order to ready them for further battle; and the basis for the encouragement is faith in the good news of salvation.

Not surprisingly, with the critical role played by resources within military calls for aid, military alliances formed through them were acutely concerned with the question of fidelity for its actual presence was always tenuous. Military alliances were essentially held together by cost-benefit analyses that were constantly being re-evaluated. If at any time the cost of

⁵⁸³ Glancy, “Boasting of Beatings,” 113.

⁵⁸⁴ Glancy, “Boasting of Beatings,” 129.

an alliance was perceived to exceed expected benefits, then resources and loyalties would readily shift.⁵⁸⁵

Religious loyalties, also, were far from stable, and Luke-Acts is acutely aware of the fragile nature of religious loyalty. M. Gleason describes the problem:

People's belief systems seem liable to sudden dislocations, like an unstable knee....As we have seen, the apocryphal *Acts of Peter* portrays a world in which religious loyalty is extremely labile; both Christians and pagans shift allegiance abruptly, repeatedly.⁵⁸⁶

Although Gleason's comments are contextualized by the second century, the gospels and Acts portray exactly these sorts of shifts of allegiance.

In each case in Acts when the disciples were first enthusiastically received by a community and subsequently driven away by members of the same community, the fragility of loyalty continued to be displayed. One culturally conventional way an author like Luke might have attempted to solidify loyalty amongst believers would have been to show how high-status members of the community turned to the Christian message as a means of providing the emerging church with high-status endorsement. Another would have been to suggest that loyalty would have its material rewards, a hope dangled in front of many a potential military ally. Yet instead, Luke illustrates loyalty by the test of prison and by a Lydian purple-selling woman suggesting, at a minimum, a dire need for a new propaganda advisor, or perhaps, far likelier, a deeply counter-cultural case for loyalty.⁵⁸⁷

The author of Acts presents loyalty to the Lord as being highly incompatible with cost-benefit analyses, since one consequence of such loyalty is that it can lead to torturous incarceration in prison.⁵⁸⁸ Another consequence is that mutually beneficial alliances undergirded

⁵⁸⁵ Luke 14:31-32 uses the norm of a cost-benefit analysis to highlight that military alliance typically arises from this type of calculus.

⁵⁸⁶ Gleason, "Truth Contests," 302.

⁵⁸⁷ As the stories of Joseph and Antiphus and his friend Demetrius show, demonstrating fidelity through prison stays was quite present in cultural rhetoric. The heroic nature of these accounts suggests that these too were intended to be countercultural.

⁵⁸⁸ In his published thesis, Bloomquist explored the role of suffering in Paul's letter to the Philippians. Bloomquist argues that suffering is not presented as an end, but rather as a consequence of faith. If being faithful to the Lord leads to situations of suffering then faith prevails. Given the crucial role of loyalty in Acts 16 there may be more elements in common between the letter and Acts than has been historically

by hope of material gain, such as that between the we-group and the slave-woman network, undo the salvific element of the good news. What is good for business and worldly honour is generally not good for the gospel.⁵⁸⁹

5.7.2 Conclusion to Paul's παρακαλέω at Lydia's.

If, as argued, traditionally derived cognitive maps could no longer be relied upon to determine what constituted a genuine house of divine mediation, then Luke also, through those gathered at Lydia's, begins to illustrate the nature of an authentic sacred-social network. Despite Paul's and Silas's public beating, the new believers had not scattered like Pentheus's limbs; they had remained gathered at Lydia's. Moreover, the group at Lydia's is clearly designated by Luke as ἀδελφοί, and are therefore characterized as a community of believers. Those at Lydia's are framed within a progression of "stays" as a group that stays.

In contrast to a shaken world broken from within like that of Roman Philippi, the house of prayer at Lydia's was firmly secured and anchored. By mutually recognizing each other's faith in the Lord, the Pauline group and Lydia's group are able to strengthen each

acknowledged. Bloomquist writes: "Obedience to Paul does not imply veneration of a master or participation with the apostle in religious mysticism, but proclamation: 'he invites people to join with him in the journey on the gospel road.' The same necessity that presses him into a situation that is not necessarily of his plan or desire is that which pressed Christ. And though caught by necessity, Paul, like Christ, is confident of God's ability to bring victory out of apparent tragedy. Again like Christ, Paul seeks simply to act honourably to the end (1.18b-26 and 1.27-30). And so like the one described in 2.6-11, though forced by necessity into a situation not of his own choosing and ultimately confident of God's grace, Paul gives of himself freely and willingly." L. Gregory Bloomquist, *The Function of Suffering in Philippians* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series; Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1993), 169–70. Cf. Bloomquist, "Rhetoric of Suffering".

⁵⁸⁹ Interestingly, the insight that Lydia's purple-selling might be incompatible with forming an association with the Pauline group is only voiced in an early twentieth-century catalogue of "women of the bible," outside the academy of biblical scholarship. M. Sangster writes: "It took courage to accept the Cross in the day when Lydia reached out her hand and touched it and said that hereafter she would share it with Jesus in the fellowship of His sufferings. She did the next thing when she asked the servants of Christ who preached the Cross to enter her house. Prudent people might have warned her that her business might suffer, that as a seller of purple she would make less money if she were known to belong to an unpopular sect, and that she might better worship the Lord in secret. This was not Lydia's way." Margaret E. Sangster, *The Women of the Bible: A Portrait Gallery* (New York: The Christian Herald, 1911), 340–41.

other's steadfastness. Although *ιδόντες παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἀδελφούς* (Acts 16:40) might be read as temporal sequence, much as the RSV has it: "and when they had seen the brethren, they exhorted them," it is far likelier, given the role of sight in antiquity and the Macedonian's call for fortification (subtly distinct from exhortation), that the aorist participle *ιδόντες* is contemporaneous with the action of the main verb *παρεκάλεσαν*.⁵⁹⁰ The NRSV comes closer to conveying the emotion-fused act of seeing as co-participating with an ostensibly self-expressive, yet functionally emotion-fused, act of encouraging: "and when they had seen and encouraged." In the two-way exchange of seeing, the sight of Lydia and those gathered with her as truly faithful to the Lord exchanges with the sight of the Pauline group as sincere servants of God who deliver the source of salvation—neither side are *κάπηλοι*.⁵⁹¹ Through this two-way exchange, the message of salvation can travel beyond the ears, lodge in the heart, and by strengthening it, take root.

5.8. Conclusion to Ideological Texture

Our analysis of ideological texture shows that Luke used the basic military notion of *παρακαλέω*—to call an ally to one's side for auxiliary military aid—as a structuring element that frames an illustrative series of explicit and implicit calls between the disciples and potential new believers, as a rhetographical demonstration of emerging criteria for evaluating which alliances would further, or hinder, the gospel's salvific efficaciousness. Most notably, our investigation of ideological texture provides grounds for suggesting that Luke replaced traditional physiognomic markers, such as ethnicity, with the quality of "steadfast faith" as the principal criterion that distinguishes friend from enemy in the "battle" for salvation. Moreover, the author presents the emotion-fused faculty of discernment, "rightsightedness," as an apocalyptic element that functions in the stead of the tradi-

⁵⁹⁰ See Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics*, 624.

⁵⁹¹ 2 Corinthians 2:17.

tional *topos* of an apocalyptic divine refining furnace that separates the allies to salvation from the enemies. By blending incompatible and clashing elements together with traditional frames and *topoi*, Luke developed a new framework for salvation that, strikingly, does not display a powerful, honoured, warrior-god as a deliverer of salvific victory, but rather culturally dishonoured, or shameless disciples, that nonetheless do deliver the victory of salvation through their steadfast faith.

The author of Acts presents a human-scale apocalypse that is focused on emotion-fused inner-human faculties. From the beginning, Luke signals that traditional apocalyptic roles have been shifted in his presentation. A divine trumpet blast does not summon a military leader but, instead, a group of disciples responds to a call for military aid from a Macedonian leader; yet, within that call it hears God's voice. Consequently, the rhetorical development of the text unfolds through the Pauline group's delivery of the needed resource, fortifying faith and courage to others. However, whereas in a military context this faith and courage would be delivered by explicit assurances of the support of power from a divine warrior-god, Luke removes the traditional markers of divine support and replaces these with powerful examples of faith in action.

First, we can see from our analysis of ideological texture that Luke deployed the *topos* of gender in order to begin to destabilize audience expectations after opening the rhetorical unit with a Macedonian warrior/divine-victory blend. Instead of first encountering men, the normative gender of Macedonian warriors and members of Jewish synagogues, the Pauline group not only encounters women but sits with them, and begins preaching without hesitation, as if they had found a synagogue gathering. Yet, despite the fact that in sitting down with the women the Pauline group transgresses socio-cultural honour codes, God affirms their actions by opening the understanding of Lydia's heart to Paul's salvific words. Second, an exorcism does not serve to showcase the superior power of God's agents and their God, as amazed crowds witness a healed and restored body. Instead, God's agents are

publicly humiliated, beaten, and incarcerated. The publicly dishonoured state of the disciples contrasts sharply with the elevated honour of Philippi's social power network. Yet, too, the profit-motivated mantic industry is exposed as being a contagion to the good news of salvation. Third, an instrument of Philippi's power network, and an enemy to the bringers of salvation—the jailer—is not killed in a show of divine might as God's messengers are miraculously rescued from prison, but instead he is shown the source of immortal life as the messengers “foolishly” stay on. Fourth, as a result of this faithful steadfast stay, the jailer's heart is opened to see God, and as a consequence of his new faculty of rightsightedness, the jailer acts disloyally to his former lords, and thereby undermines Philippi's system of coercive violence. A former *locus* of suffering and disease, prison, is transformed into a place of salvation. Fifth, enemy leaders are not destroyed, nor is their city ravaged by an avenging god's army, but rather they are given the opportunity to see, and when they reject it, they are eschatologically destined for death, while they continue with their worldly privileges of power and honour. Sixth, Paul's and Silas's last act of “defiance,” defined by going to Lydia's rather than leaving Philippi as requested by the magistrates, does not re-establish their *ethos* as honourable men representing an honoured God, but instead displays the honour-less nature of their own social network. The social code of hospitality only served to highlight how utterly socially inappropriate it would be for a group of men to “stay” with a woman who is not embedded in the honour of any male, and moreover who is profiled as culturally “shameless.”

Finally, through Lydia's profile, Luke layered the *topos* of female gender with *topoi* of Lydian ethnographic immorality, the huckstersim of merchants and symbolism of purple degeneracy. Together, these *topoi* found in Lydia's profile formed a minute, human-scale compression of archetypical apocalyptic biblical enemies, such as Tyre in Isaiah and Ezekiel, or the Harlot of Revelation. A traditional apocalyptic solution would see such characters defeated and destroyed by God's mighty arm. Instead, God enables Lydia to perceive

fully the meaning of the message of salvation, and the final act of God's agents is to go to Lydia's house and discover there a place of prayer. The "harlot" is not destroyed, nor driven out, but rather the audience's view of a harlot is righted, so that when the Lydian physiognomic profile is driven out, an authentic worshiper of God comes into view. A divine refining furnace did not separate contaminants from the pure, but rather Lydian touchstone *synkrisis* comparatively distinguished the body that constitutes worshipers of God from that which is corrupt to its core. In the end, there are no purple-traders in the house of the Lord (Zechariah 14:21), but rather the house of a Lydian purple-seller is affirmed as a genuine place of prayer composed of rightsighted believers who receive fortifying courage in order to strengthen their salvific steadfast faith.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Theological Implications

Our SRI analysis of Acts 16:9-40 provides grounds for suggesting that Lydia, the purple-selling woman, functions as a highly rhetorical figure in the text.⁵⁹² Notably, our analysis of intertexture unfolded a first-century, physiognomically-profiled image of Lydia the degenerate huckster, as Lydia the hostess, the creation of the history of interpretation, disappeared. As a result of this new culturally-contextualized vantage point, it became possible for us to appreciate the critical role that Lydia's profile played in advancing the author's ideological goals. For, framed by Lydia's call to the disciples to evaluate her fidelity to God, Luke launched a series of illustrative examples that distinguished between authentic and spurious fidelity, in order to subvert the type of physiognomic social logic that traditionally would have been used to assess whether a person such as Lydia could or could not join the emerging Christ-movement and thereby help mediate the spread of salvation.

Our analysis of inter-, and ideological textures revealed that the author of Acts inaugurated the rhetorical unit through blends of military *topoi*. Specifically, the Pauline group was called as if it were an army, to supply auxiliary military aid. However, the requisitioned aid was not in the form of the regular material resources, but instead it performed a strengthening of the heart by supplying fortifying faith and courage. At the same time, Luke blended elements of divine victory and salvation with the response to the call for aid, and thereby raised audience expectations of divine victory. However, as we saw from our analysis of progressive and narrational textures, almost immediately another key frame emerged as Luke developed the sacred-spatial element of the rhetorical unit through the theme of the we-group's journeying to a place of prayer. In this manner, Luke positioned the place of prayer as the space where the salvific aid would be delivered.

⁵⁹² For a definition of rhetorical figure see page 33.

As we saw in our analysis of narrational texture, the narrator never expressly tells the audience that the we-group has reached its destination and therein found a place of prayer. Instead, Luke presents the *topos* of female gender through the gathering of women, and rhetographically presents a crucial question: what is the distinguishing feature of a place of prayer? The author answers this question by introducing Lydia and framing the ensuing rhetorical development of the text through an argumentative *inclusio* structured by her offer to the disciples. Supported by the rhetorical unit's progressive texture and the analysis of intertexture, we can see that the author inductively argues that if Lydia, whose cultural profile fits a character frame of immorality and deception, is assessed as being faithful to God, then the social alliance formed between the disciples and Lydia's "household" would be akin to a military alliance that delivers fortifying salvific aid. It is within the space of such an alliance that a place of prayer can be found. However, Lydia's profile clashes dramatically with the type of character frame that would normally accommodate those who are recognized as being faithful to God, such as the disciple Tabitha (Acts 9:36). At the same, however, the narrative suggests that the audience cannot reject Lydia's authenticity because of her physiognomic character frame, for the sole act of explicit divine initiative in the unit took place when God opened Lydia's heart to understand Paul's preaching fully. God warranted Lydia's heart, yet a surface-level cultural assessment would condemn it. As a result, the author introduced a number of illustrative examples that could supply the criteria for judging whether or not a person would be assessed as being faithful to God.

First, through the episode with the mantic slave-woman with the Python spirit and her owners, the author rhetographically maintained that Lydia the purple-seller cannot mediate salvation if her relationship with God is motivated by profit. Second, through Paul's and Silas's imprisonment and decision to stay in prison following the earthquake, the author showed how Lydia would not authentically revere God if she displayed ritual piety, such as praying and singing hymns, but ultimately would succumb to "Lydian disease" and not

faithfully remain in a situation of hardship and suffering in order to save the life of another. Third, through the show of solidarity between the magistrates, the slave-owners, and the mob of Philippi, Luke demonstrated that Lydia would be unfaithful to God if she were to choose to protect her social alliances over her alliance with God.

When the Pauline group does go to Lydia's, the argumentative *inclusio* is completed. Lydia is affirmed as faithful to God and therefore her loyalty is not to profit, nor to show superficial ritual piety, nor to protecting her personal security, nor to beneficial social alliances. Lydia and those assembled with her have remained in faith and, in Paul's final act of encouragement, the Macedonian's call for aid is fulfilled.

Strikingly, not only does Luke rhetorically use Lydia's call for judgment to introduce a series of evaluative standards and thereby emphasize the emotion-fused acts of discernment and judgement in the text, but, in contrast with the role ascribed to Lydia by the history of interpretation, any mention of material resource-sharing is absent, while self-expressive and emotion-fused acts are salient. Moreover, through intertextual analysis, Lydia's socio-economic status, although a preoccupation of the history of interpretation, was found to be indeterminate and accordingly it plays no rhetorical role. Instead, her physiognomic status as a corrupting contagion is paramount.

Moreover, the chasm between history of interpretation's Lydia the hostess and culturally contextualized Lydia the huckster displays the profound degree of ideological influence operative within biblical commentary. In stark contrast with the rhetoric of Acts 16, Lydia's physiognomic profile has been sanitized by the history of interpretation and transformed into a paradigm of feminine propriety. In addition, the history of interpretation has applied this reconfigured image of Lydia to the social model of hospitality within a context of hostessing, and thereby has recast her into a provider of material and other resources. This ideologically-driven model of femininity has been further blended with a certain strand of Christian triumphalism that had understood the victory promised by Paul's vision

to imply conventional spoils of war including elevated social status, dominance, and material rewards. Thus, the divine sweep of Macedonia has been characterized as having yielded a high-status patroness who used her wealth and status in order to support the “victors.”

In contrast to historicizing an ideologically-formed figure, as has been the case with the history of interpretation’s Lydia the hostess, SRI has revealed the historically-contextualized rhetorical event of a figure that challenged traditional stereotype-driven criteria for inclusion into a place of prayer. The victory in Philippi, therefore, stemmed from enabling the right-sight of God to potential worshipers of God, and thereby transforming them into the “faithful,” and not from securing five-star housing. Also, too, victory was derived from transforming spaces where worshipers of God may be found, such as prison and a Lydian’s home, into unlikely yet truly reverential places of worship.

Most significantly, God’s direct action of opening Lydia’s heart enabled her truly to perceive Paul’s God and thereby accorded her access to the highest standard of discipleship: someone who can “hear, see, and understand” the meaning of the Christ-event. When this divine opening of Lydia’s heart is coupled with the Pauline group’s affirmation of Lydia’s faith, we can see how Luke portrays Lydia within a core Scriptural understanding of discipleship.

As a result, “Lydia the huckster” offers a radical challenge to gender and ethnic-based criteria for assessing who can or cannot form a salvific assembly of God, and connects Lydia to a network of episodes in Luke-Acts. This network involves examples of people who, according to conventional socio-cultural codes, should be considered inherently “blind” to the sight of God and who would thereby obscure the sight of God to others, or at a minimum limit access to God. From this perspective, such people carried the danger of “contaminating” the sight of God. Also found in this network are cases of those who, according to these same stereotyped conventions, would be expected to enable the sight of

God to others, and yet who obscure it. Within this network, Luke draws upon *topoi* found in stereotypes in order to invert the implicit suppositions embedded in the stereotypes as he argues for an alternate basis for evaluation.

This network of episodes includes the case of a Samaritan who demonstrated a true love of God by tending to a wounded traveler, and yet, according to prejudicial ethnography, was considered one who would not be eligible for “eternal life” (Luke 10:25-37). Similarly, we have the example of the Samaritan who alone recognized that his healing had come through God’s grace and therefore responded in thanksgiving and praise (Luke 17:11-19). We also find within Luke’s network of physiognomically-based *topoi* an Ethiopian eunuch who has his understanding opened to scriptural messianic expectations and to the good news that these have been fulfilled (Acts 8:27-39).⁵⁹³

With the benefit of our socio-rhetorical interpretation of Lydia we can see that Simon the Pharisee and the woman called a “sinner” in Luke 7:36-50 would also be connected to the constellation of episodes that deal with subverting stereotype driven socio-cultural logic. For, although Lydia is not called a sinner, both she and the “sinner” of Luke 7:36-50 are rhetorically portrayed as potential contaminants to the *ethos* of God’s agents. By accepting intimate contact with a woman who is socially categorized as a “sinner,” Luke shows that Jesus undermines his credibility as a prophet in the eyes of the Pharisee Simon: within Simon’s socio-cultural logic, Jesus should demonstrate his prophetic authority by rejecting the woman. Yet Luke has Jesus invert the Pharisee’s logic by Jesus’ argument that someone who was heavily burdened by sin would feel the impact of God’s grace all the more profoundly. Therefore, by perceiving the magnitude of the woman’s sinfulness, yet

⁵⁹³ For the earlier discussion of the physiognomic profile of the Ethiopian eunuch, cf. page 234. More broadly, we see this network including anyone within the general category of “Gentile,” as exemplified by the encounter between Peter and Cornelius (Acts 10:1-48). The only other call for “help,” βοήθειά, occurs in Acts 21:8, in ironic events that see Paul removed from the Temple and arrested because he is falsely accused of introducing a “contaminant” there: an Ephesian.

nonetheless accepting the woman and forgiving her sins, Jesus created within her a steadfast bond with God and thereby fulfilled the ultimate mandate of a prophet.

Moreover, Luke invoked the social code of hospitality not only to demonstrate Jesus' true prophetic nature but also to critique the Pharisee's inability to recognize this nature. As we have discussed in our intertextual analysis, in the case of Lydia the social code of hospitality was evoked by Luke in order to profile the imperative of mutual character assessment between "host" and "guest." So, too, a Pharisee *should* have recognized Jesus' identity, yet Simon did not. It is the woman whose intimate actions are portrayed as the appropriate form of hosting in this situation. As Luke had Jesus challenge the Pharisee's sight, so, too, Luke has Lydia challenge the sight of those who would see her as a contaminant to the credibility of God's agents.

Yet again, when we read of the women who travelled with Jesus and the other disciples in Luke 8:1-3, we see Luke rhetorically use the social model of hospitality in order to highlight that the good news of the kingdom of God is advanced through unconventional alliances that subvert physiognomically based social codes. As E. Wainwright has observed, the women, particularly Mary Magdalene, are described as previously having been "extremely" afflicted and/or demon possessed, yet by the time they are narrated as having formed part of Jesus' circle they are "healed." Noting that labels such as "possessed," or "afflicted" often expressed society's strictures on those whose behaviour deviated from social norms, Wainwright points out that the women who travel with the disciples all the way to Jerusalem are portrayed by Luke as having been restored: "they have been constituted as part of the community." Yet paradoxically, the women are found within a type of "travelling hospitality" frame that stresses the highly itinerant character of their mixed-gender circle.⁵⁹⁴ As we discussed in intertextual analysis, people evaluated hospitality alli-

⁵⁹⁴ Elaine M. Wainwright, *Women Healing/Healing Women: The Genderization of Healing in Early Christianity* (BibleWorld; London: Equinox Pub., 2006), 164–72. For the category of "sinner" as a form of social deviance labelling cf. Greg Carey, *Sinners: Jesus and His Earliest Followers* (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2009).

ances through male honour codes in which the status of host and guest was publicly judged to be equal. Luke's use of physiognomic stereotypes, honour codes, and the social model of hospitality rhetorically challenges those who might re-apply deviance labelling to women such as Joanna, Mary Magdalene, and Susanna in view of their unconventional roles within Jesus' "good news" based travelling community.

Luke also used hospitality to profile the faculty of "right-sightedness" in the episode with Jesus and the disciples from Emmaus, the unit that lexically resonates closely with Lydia (Luke 24:13-32).⁵⁹⁵ Although the women who had visited Jesus' tomb had proclaimed the good news of his resurrection, they had not been believed, and as a result their good news had no effect. As we have emphasized, the efficaciousness of good news was dependent upon the credibility of its messengers. The physiognomic bias against authoritative female proclamation constrained the good news of Jesus' resurrection. In accepting the disciples' offer of hospitality and showing himself as risen, Jesus affirmed the women's proclamation of good news as true.

Luke used socio-cultural conventions of evaluation such as physiognomic stereotypes, *topoi* of honour and shame, and *topoi* of hospitality in order to innovate a set of evaluative criteria that required active and engaged discernment outside of the bounds of these conventions.

When Luke presented criteria for faith, he concurrently presented an image of the God to whom Paul, Silas, Lydia, and the other disciples were faithful. For, the author of Acts rhetorically argues that Paul's God does not fit within cultural honour codes that normally would display the highest honour of a divinity. For example, God is not honoured by showing how God's agents form alliances with prominent high-status men, nor by spectacular displays of miraculous escapes, nor by demonstrating divine might by meting out vengeful punishment to enemies. Instead, Luke shows that Paul's God is honoured by the way God's

⁵⁹⁵ For our earlier comparison of these two units, cf. page 172.

followers willingly sacrifice the opportunity to elevate their own public honour or choose not to preserve their own personal security for the sake of enabling access to salvific good news to others.

At this point, we wish to clarify that the argument that Lydia is a rhetorical figure does not infer that a historic figure has been relegated to the level of symbol, as has been the practice of some past commentators. In fact, the nature of rhetorical situation, that is, the premise that rhetorical discourse addresses a perceived community problem or issue, suggests the very opposite of de-historicization.⁵⁹⁶ Symbolization can be found in such cases as when the Venerable Bede reduced the widows at Tabitha's bedside (Acts 9:39) to the "repentant soul's holy thoughts."⁵⁹⁷ In contrast, the most targeted rhetorical profiling is often reserved for the most full-bodied historical figures, frequently in situations of political conflict. For example, a contemporary illustration of rhetorical profiling was acutely depicted by the satirically intended *The New Yorker* cover that portrayed then presidential-hopeful candidate Barack Obama dressed in traditional middle-eastern apparel.⁵⁹⁸ The controversial cover, entitled "The Politics of Fear," intended to satirize rhetographically how Obama's adversaries were attempting to profile him rhetorically as some form of "terrorist" danger to America. The cover is a stark reminder that physiognomic rhetorical profiling is far from being past ancient practice, and reveals the vitriolic nature of a historical, truly rhetorical, situation.

In similar manner, "the Lydian" undoubtedly targeted a woman, or, more likely, various women in several communities, who were involved in a very real, historical, rhetorical situation.⁵⁹⁹ At the core of this rhetorical situation is a call for the assessment of someone

⁵⁹⁶ For "rhetorical situation," see Bitzer, "The Rhetorical Situation" Cf. Alexandra Gruca-Macaulay, "Distinguishing Between Form-Derived Rhetorical Purpose and Lloyd Bitzer's Rhetorical Situation" (Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature; New Orleans, La., 2009).

⁵⁹⁷ Venerable Bede, *The Venerable Bede*, 92.

⁵⁹⁸ Barry Blitt, illustrator, "The Politics of Fear," *The New Yorker*, 21 July 2008, Cover.

⁵⁹⁹ For example, "Jezebel" of Thyatira (Revelation 2:20) was clearly seen by some in her community as a leader, yet to John's community as a member of the "synagogue of Satan" (Rev 2:9).

who, because of her gender, ethnographic and occupational profile, would be considered unsuitable for acceptance into the inner core of church participation. The rhetorical situation, therefore, signals a historically-located debate from within.

A future, deeper, investigation of the discourse modes operative in the rhetorical unit may help us to clarify better the contours of this community debate. The rhetorical unit blends at least three discourse modes: historiography, biblical apocalyptic, and Graeco-Roman “Lydian touchstone *synkratic*.” As our analysis has highlighted, ancient historiography was primarily a discourse of war and political conflict that was especially concerned with relating the causes of victories and losses. Despite frequent evidence of divine support, at their core historiographies told of human armies engaged in earthly battles. On the other hand, apocalyptic discourse inferred conflict on a cosmic scale. By blending the earthly historiographic discourse with apocalyptic elements, Luke presented his belief that apocalyptic battles will be enacted by human agents in the earthly realm.

Luke portrayed the means to victory to these apocalyptic human-scale battles within a frame of Lydian touchstone *synkratic* discourse. Normally Lydian touchstone *synkrisis* operated in civic discourse that was concerned with discerning whether or not a person was a trusted, sincere political ally, personal friend, or friend of the state.⁶⁰⁰ The element of judgement or discernment was prominent and common to each of biblical apocalyptic and Lydian touchstone *synkratic* discourse. It is through the Graeco-Roman *topos* of Lydian physiognomy, a *topos* that calls for judgement in the rhetorical unit, that Luke blends the three discourse modes. Out of this blend Luke presents the emergent discourse of a salvific “place of prayer” that focuses on the challenge of discerning whether or not a person could be trusted as a sincere worshiper of God and thereby join the religious-social alliance that could mediate salvation.

⁶⁰⁰ See Appendix 1: Lydian Touchstone *Synkrisis*, beginning on page 283.

The exigence for this discourse comes from *within* a community; it does not arise, as would be the case with either a historiography or biblical apocalyptic alone, from a cohesive community in conflict with an external enemy. It also would be easy to see, based upon the slave-owners' accusation and Paul's and Silas's treatment by Philippi's leaders, how it might appear that the text features a dichotomy between "us-Jews" and "us-Romans." However, Paul's declaration of his Roman citizenship underscores the murkiness of those boundaries that might establish who is "us" and who is "them." The rhetoric of Acts 16 is concerned with who constitutes "us" from within. A more detailed future focus on the emerging discourse of this unit could help us to develop a better understanding of the profile of these first audiences of Luke-Acts.

Moreover, in further analyzing Luke's emergent blend, we might gain further insight into the basis for claiming theological unity between Luke and Acts. Most particularly, Bloomquist has argued that Luke employs apocalyptic discourse in order to invert cultural codes that originated within the temple hierarchy.⁶⁰¹ Significantly, precisely because Luke's desired impact was to replace cultural codes that served to preserve the worldly honour and status of those at higher levels of the hierarchy at the expense of mediating God to the people, it was those members of the hierarchy, argued Bloomquist, who had the most to lose if Luke's rhetorical goals were realized and therefore formed the indirect, "peripheral," target of Luke's discourse."⁶⁰² Future work should revisit Bloomquist's thesis in order to investigate the "apocalyptic path," as it were, that carries the apocalyptic theme from the cultural code of the temple to that of the synagogue. For, Lydian touchstone *synkrisis* was concerned with distinguishing the pure of heart from within relatively small social groups. And for that reason, while still within the apocalyptic mode, we can see how

⁶⁰¹ Cf. Bloomquist, "The Intertexture of Lukan"; "The Role of the Audience"; "Rhetorical Argumentation and the Culture."

⁶⁰² Bloomquist, "The Role of the Audience," 171.

the code-centre shifts as the concerns of the Gospel of Luke move through the Acts of the Apostles.

In addition to raising questions about the make-up of Acts' early audiences, the analysis of the rhetorical figure of Lydia also invites future socio-rhetorical exploration into other female figures in Luke-Acts, and most particularly the one woman whose heart's emotion-fused action is repetitively featured: Mary (Luke 2:19, 51). God opens Mary's womb and Lydia's heart in two cases of divine initiative within a woman's interior that are not a function of cleansing or healing. Mary and Lydia are further linked by both being women who speak direct discourse in the narrative, and by being the only two women in Luke-Acts who have the activity of their hearts specifically highlighted. In one case Mary treasures Jesus's words in her heart within the context of prior temple teaching (Luke 2:51), whereas Lydia's heart is opened within a "place of prayer" frame. These elements in common raise the question of whether there is an intended authorial link between Mary and Lydia, and if so, then for what rhetorical purpose. Answers to such questions might also contribute to the debate over the basis for unity between Luke and Acts.

At the other end of the characterization spectrum, Lydia's physiognomic profile opens the possibility of future investigation into points of resonance between Lydia and the larger-than-life purple-clad ensnaring harlot, Babylon of Revelation. In particular, such an investigation might benefit from looking at the differences in rhetorical responses: biblical apocalyptic in the case of Revelation, and in the case of Acts 16, a historiographic/apocalyptic/Lyidian-touchstone-*synkrisis* blend, in order to help us better understand the profile and conflicts of the communities from which the discourse arose. From an analytical perspective, we might use the relationship between discourse modes and the ideological presentation of *topoi* found within these modes, in order to examine comparatively the ideological points of difference or similarity between early church communities.

When I began my search for Lydia the businesswoman, I did not anticipate finding Lydia the huckster. Yet, as interesting as the intertextual insights from the Lydian physiog-

nostic *topos* may have been, it was with some weariness that I seemed to find myself discovering yet another biblical harlot. However, instead of a finding a harlot who is judged and condemned as such, rather unexpectedly I proceeded to discover a departure from conventional patterns in which the “harlot” figure tests the sight of those who can discern her true, authentically God-centered, nature. An SRI analysis permits the hope that history of interpretation’s Lydia the Hostess can be laid to rest, and in her stead the image of Lydia the Perceptive Disciple can resume its rightful place as the “rhetorical cognitive images” of Acts’ first audiences join with our own.

Appendix 1: Lydian Touchstone *Synkrisis*

Graeco-Roman social environments that were preoccupied with the dangers of hypocrisy, false friends and deceptive appearances, often produced literature that expressed a desire for the ability to see inside a human heart in order to verify external markers of character by comparing them to an internal essence.⁶⁰³ For example, Athenaeus yearns for the type of vision that would permit a person to see into another's heart: "Would that, to see what sort of man each is, we could open his breast and look at his mind, then locking it up once more, regard him surely as our friend" (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* 15.694.e [Gulick, LCL]). This interest in finding a means of separating appearance from reality regularly found its metaphorical expression in the *topos* of the Lydian touchstone, another Lydian *topos* related to Lydian gold, that can trace long and deep roots beginning in the pre-classical period and continuing through antiquity.

Theophrastus, the author of *Characters*, also wrote *De Lapidibus*, a treatise on rocks and minerals. In it he told of a stone, found only in the Lydian river Tmolus, that was used to test the quality of gold:

It is said that a stone has now been discovered which is far superior to the kind previously known, and detects the quality not only of refined gold, but also of copper alloyed with gold or with silver...All stones of this kind are found in the river Tmolus (Theophrastus, *De Lapidibus* 7.46–47 [Eichholz]).

Pliny repeated Theophrastus's description, and also explained that this stone, known as a "touchstone," was called by some a "Heraclian stone and others Lydian" (Pliny, *Natural History* 33.63 [Rackham, LCL]). Despite Pliny's mention of a "Heraclian" name, the touchstone was most commonly known as a "Lydian touchstone" because of its reputedly

⁶⁰³ Referring to the first-century Mediterranean social environment, J. Pilch writes: "This is a world where 'hypocrisy' is a constant plague, with the consequence that people are actually deceiving others by hiding their inner, evil thoughts behind a facade of orthopraxis (Luke 6:42; 12:1, 56; 13:15). They are like actors (the literal meaning of the Greek word *hypokritēs*) who refuse to be their authentic selves and instead play another role." John J. Pilch, "Healing in Luke-Acts," in *The Social World of the New Testament: Insights and Models* (ed. Jerome H. Neyrey and Eric C. Stewart; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2008), 213.

being sourced from the gold-carrying Lydian river.⁶⁰⁴ Gold's quality was tested by rubbing the object in question on the touchstone and then comparing the colour of the streak deposited by it to another left behind by pure gold.

In ancient poetry and literature, metaphorical references to the Lydian touchstone featured regularly in discourse concerned with the display of truth. As early as the sixth century B.C.E. Theognis wrote:

If you would wash me, the water will flow unsullied from my head; you will find me in all matters as it were refined gold, red to the view when I be rubbed with the touchstone; the surface of me is untainted of black mould or rust, its bloom ever pure and clean (Theognis 447-452, duBois).

Plato has Socrates ask:

If my soul had happened to be made of gold, Callicles, do you think I should have been delighted to find one of those stones with which they test gold, and the best one; which, if I applied it, and it confirmed to me that my soul had been properly tended, would give me full assurance that I am in a satisfactory state and have no need of other testing? (Plato, *Gorgias* 486.d–e [Lamb, LCL]).

The poet Bacchylides wrote: “for the Lydian stone (Λυδία λίθος) reveals gold, but all-powerful wisdom and truth cross-examine the excellence of men” (*fr.* 10).⁶⁰⁵ His contemporary Pindar wrote, “But, even as gold showeth its nature when tried by the touchstone (βασάνω), so it is with an upright mind (νόος ὀρθός)” (Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 10.68 [Sandys, LCL]).

A test of purity, the Lydian touchstone would display the true quality of goodness of a human's inner heart. In these cases, the result of the touchstone test would function as warrant of true character; as a seal of excellence. The touchstone *topos* came from the language of economic exchange, the language of moneychangers and merchants from within which flowed an undercurrent of possible deception and where discerning true value was an ongoing concern.

⁶⁰⁴ “*Pierre Lydienne* ce que nous nommons *Pierre-de-touche*, parce que les premières de cette espèce avoient été tirées du fleuve *Tmolus* en Lydie” Anne Claude Philippe Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiquités Égyptiennes, Étrusques, Grecques, Romaines et Gauloises* (vol. 5; Paris: Chez Desaint & Saillant, 1752), 135. Italics original.

⁶⁰⁵ Preserved in Stobaeus, *Anthology* (on truth) and quoted in DuBois, *Torture and Truth*, 14, n. 11.

While display of purity was one function of the touchstone *topos*, the metaphorical analogy to its metallurgical purpose further extended the touchstone *topos* beyond simply identifying a degree of purity, for, touchstones regularly operated as “judgment stones” that were used to distinguish between counterfeit and real. Euripides has *Medea* implore:

O Zeus, why when you gave to men sure signs of gold that is counterfeit, is there no mark on the human body by which one could identify base men (διειδέναι οὐδεις χαρακτήρ ἐμπέφυκε σώματι)? (Euripides, *Medea* 516–519 [Kovacs, LCL])

The touchstone, or testing-stone, thus separated counterfeit from genuine, authentic from artifice. Cicero, for example, assumes his audiences’ familiarity with the touchstone *topos* when he writes: “by the exercise of care a fawning friend may be separated and distinguished from a true friend, just as everything pretended and false may be distinguished from what is genuine and true” (Cicero, *De amicitia* 25.95 [Falconer, LCL]). Separating false from true by way of the Lydian touchstone *topos* also found its way into Christian literature as Clement of Alexandria contrasted the discernment capabilities of a Christian “expert” with that of one sourced in faith alone, through the Lydian touchstone analogy:

We approve of the sea-captain who has had plenty of experience and has visited “the cities of many peoples,” and the doctor who has treated many patients. This is how some people form the idea of “the empirical doctor.” Anyone who brings every experience to bear on right action, taking models from Greeks and non-Greeks alike, is a highly skilled hunter of truth. He really is “many-wiled.” Like the testing stone (a stone from Lydia that was believed to distinguish genuine from false gold), our “man of many skills,” our Christian Gnostic, is also competent to distinguish sophistry from philosophy, superficial adornment from athletics, cookery from pharmacy, rhetoric from dialectic, and then in Christian thought, heresies from actual truth. (Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 1.9.44.1–4 [Ferguson])

The touchstone *topos* functioned in two inter-related ways: it displayed purity of character, and it functioned as an instrument of separation that distinguished artificial from genuine, corrupt from pure. Touchstone tests unveiled those who had attempted to disguise their true natures by taking on the appearance of “the real thing.” Like Lydian physiognomy, Lydian touchstone rhetoric was also associated with Lydian legend, but, rather than invoking vitriolic characterizations of Lydian degeneracy, it instead was concerned with the other side of the coin, as it were, distinguishing corrupt from genuine.

Metaphorical use of the Lydian touchstone bridged biblical and Graeco-Roman discourse through the common element of testing of character framed within a language of metallurgy. In comparing the biblical book of Proverbs with the collection of gnomic sayings ascribed to Theognis, J. P. Brown observes that the two books share “their most common imagery” in “the *testing of gold* as a symbol of men’s character, with actual common vocabulary.”⁶⁰⁶ The refining fire and test by touchstone led to the same end—distinguishing the genuine and pure from the corrupted and false. Theophrastus writes:

The nature of the stone that tests gold is remarkable (θαυμαστή), for it seems to have the same power as fire, for that also tests gold. On that account some people are puzzled by this, but not too aptly, for the stone does not test in the same way. But fire [works] by changing and altering the colors, while the stone [works] by friction. For it appears to have the power to bring out the essential nature of each [metal]...And all such stones are found in the River Tmolus (Theophrastus, *De Lapidus* 45, 47 [Kurke]).⁶⁰⁷

The touchstone element continued to circulate through antiquity, common to rhetoric concerned with separating the hypocrite from the true friend. Theognis writes: “seek as I will, I can find no man like myself that is a true comrade (πιστὸν ἐταῖρον) free of guile; and when I am put to the test and tried even as gold is tried beside lead, the mark of pre-eminence is upon me” (Theognis 415–418 [Edmonds, LCL]). Plutarch, again employing a rhetoric of economic exchange, evokes the touchstone by comparing a false friend to a counterfeit coin:

For it is cruel to discover friends that are no friends at a crucial time which calls for friends, since there is then no exchanging one that is untrustworthy and spurious for the true and trustworthy. But one’s friend, like a coin, should have been examined and approved before the time of need, not proved by the need to be no friend. (Plutarch, *How to Tell a Flatterer From a Friend* 49.c–e [Babbitt, LCL])

With the threat of deceptive appearances presented by hypocrisy or flattery, the touchstone was an instrument that could enable rightsightedness.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁶ John Pairman Brown, “Proverb-Book, Gold-Economy, Alphabet,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 100, no. 2 (1981): 169 Italics author’s own.

⁶⁰⁷ Brackets in translation: Kurke, *Coins, Bodies, Games and Gold*, 57–58.

⁶⁰⁸ Herodotus tells of how after the Persian ruler Xerxes had decided to invade Athens he gathered “the noblest among the Persians,” ostensibly to consider their various opinions on his purposed attack on Greece, and yet, having made clear that attack was his favoured course of action and one that was also “the will of heaven,” he, like other similar rulers, implicitly expected to hear his plan affirmed rather than challenged. As

Argumentatively structured comparisons of like with like developed in rhetorical schools into formal exercises of comparison, or *synkrisis*. *Synkrisis*, “language setting the better or worse side by side” (Aelius Theon, *On Synkrisis* [Kennedy]),⁶⁰⁹ became one of the formal rhetorical exercises used in the program of early rhetorical education (*progymnasmata*). When dealing with persons, *synkrisis* used combinations of encomium (positive appraisal of a person’s actions)⁶¹⁰ or invective (negative appraisal) to compare the deeds of two people.⁶¹¹ Plutarch’s *Parallel Lives* is an example of an extended work modeled on *synkrisis* as it pairs off Greeks with Romans in order to demonstrate “what the ancient world had accomplished in the world of action.”⁶¹²

As conceived by Aelius Theon, the earliest writer of *progymnasmata*, *synkrisis* functioned through disanalogy, by drawing differences into prominence by comparing seeming like with like.⁶¹³

First, let it be specified that syncrises are not comparisons of things having a great difference between them; for someone wondering whether Achilles or Thersites was braver would be laughable. Comparison should be of likes and where we are

expected, most of his advisors simply flattered his opinion. One, however, Artabanus, decided to speak an opposing opinion and in so doing presented it within the touchstone analogy: “if opinions opposite the one to the other be not uttered, it is not possible that choice should find the better, but that one which has been spoken must be followed; but even if they be spoken, the better can be found; even as the purity of gold cannot of itself be discerned, but when gold by rubbing is compared with gold, we then discern the better” (Herodotus, *Histories* 7.10 [Godley, LCL]).

⁶⁰⁹ Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 52.

⁶¹⁰ “Praise [*epainos*] is speech that makes clear the great virtue [of the subject praised]. ...Encomium, in contrast, is concerned with deeds...The deeds are signs of the person’s habitual character” (Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1.9.1367b.33 [Kennedy]); emphasis and brackets in translation.

⁶¹¹ “The exercise in comparison (*synkrisis*) naturally follows the exercise(s) in encomium and invective (Nicolaus 60), as it takes the form of a double encomium, double invective, or a combination of encomium and invective (Aphthonius 31; cf. [Hermogenes] 18; Nicolaus 59–60)” Craig A. Gibson, trans., *Libanius’s Progymnasmata Model Exercises in Greek Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Writings from the Greco-Roman World 27; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 321; brackets in original.

⁶¹² Bernadotte Perrin, trans., *Plutarch’s Lives, Theseus and Romulus, Lycurgus and Numa, Solon and Pulicola* (vol. 1; 1914; repr., Loeb Classical Library 46; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), xiii

In another work Plutarch also argues for the benefit of comparing like with like in order to better profile a person’s character: “is it not possible to learn better the similarity and the difference between the virtues of men and of women from any other source than by putting lives and actions beside actions” (Plutarch, *Mulierum virtutes* 243.b–c [Babbitt, LCL])

⁶¹³ For disanalogy see page 238.

in doubt which should be preferred because of no evident superiority of one to the other. (Aelius Theon, *Progymnasmata* 112-113; Kennedy)⁶¹⁴

Touchstone rhetoric was a particular form of *synkrisis*, where similar appearances raised doubts as to “which should be preferred.” By comparing like with like, touchstone *synkrisis* would help the audience separate and distinguish between corrupt and “true” deeds so that the counterfeit or genuine character could be distinguished from a person’s appearances.

The claim that a Lydian touchstone *topos* is deployed in structuring the rhetorical argumentation of the unit has support not only through common elements suggested by Lydia’s physiognomic profile and the pervasive question of her loyalty but, also by lexical clues suggested by Lukan oral-scribal intertexture, through the term βάσανος, “test, trial or torture.”

P. duBois has analyzed the etymological move from Lydian touchstone to that of truth-seeking through torture and begins by pointing out that βάσανος, originally referring to testing by touchstone, and then later developed the meaning of testing by torture.

the ancient Greek word for torture is *basanos*. It means first of all the touchstone used to test gold for purity; the Greeks extended its meaning to denote a test or trial to determine whether something or someone is real or genuine. It then comes to mean also inquiry by torture.⁶¹⁵

⁶¹⁴ Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 52–53.

⁶¹⁵ DuBois, *Torture and Truth*, 7. “βάσανος: *the touch-stone*, Lat. lapis Lydius, a dark-coloured stone on which pure gold, when rubbed, leaves a peculiar mark, hence 2. generally, *a test, trial whether a thing be genuine or real*, 3. *inquiry by torture, the ‘question,’ torture*, used to extort evidence from slaves, 2. *torture of disease*, N.T. (Deriv. uncertain);” LSJ, s.v. “βάσανος. The term—βάσανος (verbal βασανίζω)—occurs in Luke-Acts in two places, in the stories of the rich man and Lazarus and of the Gerasene demoniac (Luke 8:28; 16:23, 28). The rich man not only shares with Lydia a rhetorical profile evoking degenerate luxury but also the only occurrences in Luke-Acts of the term purple (Luke 16:19; Acts 16:14) as well as the term διαβαίνω. He also shares with the rhetorical unit infrequently occurring terms such as κακός (Luk 16:25; Act 16:28) and τράπεζα (Luk 16:21; Act 16:34). In the story, the rich man, of course, fails the test and is relegated to the “excluded from salvation” frame.

The story of the Gerasene demoniac shares lexical connectivity with the repetitive texture of the rhetorical unit, including an abundance of ἔρχομαι prefixed and suffixed terms, prison-related terms, and common points such as “calling out in a loud voice” (Luke 8:28; Acts 16:28), as well as the only two times in Luke-Acts that someone calls out the epithet “τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου” (Luke 8:28; Acts 16:17). Like Philippi, Gerasa is framed as Gentile territory, it evokes Roman space through Latin loanwords (λεγιών Luke 8:30; κολωνία Acts 16:12), where spirits as well as instruments of profit are driven out (python spirit, pigs), leading the inhabitants of each city to “fear” and ask the exorcist in question—Jesus in Gerasa, Paul in Philippi—to leave (Luke 8:37; Acts 16:38-39). Our analysis of oral-scribal intertexture suggests that elements evoking the Lydian touchstone not only are found through Lydia, but also lexically with two units in Luke that have a high degree of correlation with the rhetorical unit.

Test by physical torture or suffering within the language of metals became a way for early Christians to express the [requirements] of steadfast faith. For example, 1 Peter encourages the audience through the hope of salvation to endure nearer term suffering in order to display the purity of its faith:

In this you rejoice, though now for a little while you may have to suffer various trials, so that the genuineness of your faith, more precious than gold which though perishable is tested by fire, may redound to praise and glory and honor at the revelation of Jesus Christ (1 Peter 1:6-7).

Whether by fire or by touchstone, the end result was the same: separation of the corrupt from the uncorrupted. The contrary states did not simply appear, however, as if in contact with a magic potion. They could distinguish themselves only through testing, through either melting or rubbing. As a result of this crucial element of testing, the element of the assayer's refining fire commonly described God's judgment.⁶¹⁶ While testing by refining fire was often a *topos* in apocalyptic discourse,⁶¹⁷ the notion of testing was used more broadly in various forms of discourse to convey the process by which God discerned a person or people's true nature. The inner person became unveiled in God's sight when tested by fire.⁶¹⁸ And, in Graeco-Roman literature, the Lydian touchstone test revealed the inner person.

⁶¹⁶ E.g. Psalm 66:10; Proverbs 17:3; Jeremiah 6:27; 9:7; Zechariah 13:9; James 5:3; 1 Peter 1:7; Revelation 3:18.

⁶¹⁷ Robbins, *Invention of Christian Discourse*, 203.

⁶¹⁸ The epistle of James condemns "the rich" for having failed the test and encourages the others to hold firm in faith despite their sufferings: "Your gold and silver have rusted, and their rust will be evidence against you and will eat your flesh like fire" (James 5:3).

Appendix 2 Repetition: Acts 16:9-40

	κατ	ὄραμα	τις	νός	τό	Πρόβος	ὄραμα/ εἶδον	ἀνθρω	Μακεδών	τις	εἶμι	προσκάλασον	αὐτόν	λέγω	εἶπον	εἰς	Μακεδονία	
16:9	κατ 3	ὄραμα	[τις]	νικητός	τό	Πρόβος	ὄραμα	ἀνθρω	Μακεδών	τις	ἦν	προσκάλασον	αὐτόν			εἰς	Μακεδονίαν	16:9
16:10		ὄραμα					εἶδον									εἰς	Μακεδονίαν	16:10
16:11																εἰς 2		16:11
16:12			τις								ἐστίν ἦμεν			λέγων		εἰς	Μακεδονίαν	16:12
16:13	κατ		τις							τις	εἶπον ἦμεν							16:13
16:14	κατ					Πρόβος					εἶπον					εἰς		16:14
16:15	κατ 2				τό						προσκάλασον					εἰς		16:15
16:16																εἰς		16:16
16:17	κατ 3				τό	Πρόβος					εἶπον			λέγουσα	εἶπον			16:17
16:18	κατ 2				τό	Πρόβος												16:18
16:19	κατ		τις			Πρόβος	ἰσχυρός				οἶσαν			λέγουσα	εἶπον	εἰς		16:19
16:20	κατ																	16:20
16:21	κατ																	16:21
16:22	κατ 2				τό											εἰς		16:22
16:23	κατ															εἰς 2		16:23
16:24	κατ					Πρόβος												16:24
16:25	κατ					Πρόβος												16:25
16:26	κατ																	16:26
16:27	κατ		τις				ἰσχυρ											16:27
16:28	κατ 2					Πρόβος				εἶπον								16:28
16:29	κατ 2				τό	Πρόβος												16:29
16:30	κατ				[τό]													16:30
16:31	κατ 2													λέγων	εἶπον			16:31
16:32	κατ																	16:32
16:33	κατ 3		τις	νικητός	τό													16:33
16:34	κατ				τό											εἰς		16:34
16:35																		16:35
16:36	κατ					Πρόβος										εἰς		16:36
16:37																		16:37
16:38	κατ 2		τις			Πρόβος				εἶπον				λέγουσα				16:38
16:39	κατ 2		τις								προσκάλασον							16:39
16:40	κατ 2		τις				ἰσχυρ				προσκάλασον							16:40

16:9	κόλωνα	ἐν	οὐτός	ἠμέρα	τέ	ἔξω	ὅς	νομίζω	προσευχή	λάζω	ἦν	δύναμι	ἀνάστα	πορηγόρησας	θυσία	16:9
16:10																16:10
16:11																16:11
16:12	κόλωνα	ἐν	ταύτη	ἠμέρας				ἐνομίζωμεν	προσευχήν	ἐλάδωμεν	ἦν	δύναμι				16:12
16:13				ἠμέρας	τέ	ἔξω	ὅς	ἐνομίζωμεν	προσευχήν	λάδωμεν	ἦν	δύναμι	ἀνάστα	πορηγόρησας	θυσίας	16:13
16:14																16:14
16:15																16:15
16:16									προσευχήν							16:16
16:17			αὐτῆ													16:17
16:18		ἐν	οὐτοῖ	ἠμέρας								δύναμι				16:18
16:19																16:19
16:20			οὐτοῖ													16:20
16:21							ἔ									16:21
16:22																16:22
16:23					τέ											16:23
16:24							ὅς									16:24
16:25																16:25
16:26																16:26
16:27								νομίζω								16:27
16:28																16:28
16:29																16:29
16:30						ἔξω										16:30
16:31																16:31
16:32		ἐν								ἐλάδωμεν						16:32
16:33		ἐν			τέ											16:33
16:34																16:34
16:35																16:35
16:36		ἐν	[τοῦτοῦς]	ἠμέρας												16:36
16:37																16:37
16:38			ταῦτα													16:38
16:39													ἀνάστα			16:39
16:40																16:40

16:9	προσάγιο	σπαρτηγός	Τροβάριος	ΰνδρογιο	έβος	οὐ	έξοστν	Ψρομάριος	καρτέ	τέ	κελέσιο	πληγή	βάλιο	φιάκτη	δερμοφύλαξ	16:9
16:10																16:10
16:11																16:11
16:12																16:12
16:13																16:13
16:14																16:14
16:15																16:15
16:16																16:16
16:17																16:17
16:18																16:18
16:19																16:19
16:20	προσπεριτόρες	σπαρτηγός	Τροβάριος	ΰνδρογιορες	έβη	οικ	έξοστν	Ψρομάριος	καρτέ	τέ	έκείλιον	πληγός	έβελον	φιάκτην	δερμοφύλακτ	16:20
16:21		σπαρτηγός												φιάκτην		16:21
16:22														φιάκτην	δερμοφύλακτ	16:22
16:23														φιάκτην		16:23
16:24									καρτέ	τέ 2						16:24
16:25																16:25
16:26																16:26
16:27														φιάκτην	δερμοφύλαξ	16:27
16:28																16:28
16:29																16:29
16:30																16:30
16:31																16:31
16:32												πληγός				16:32
16:33																16:33
16:34																16:34
16:35		σπαρτηγός														16:35
16:36		σπαρτηγός														16:36
16:37				ΰνδρογιορες		οὐ		Ψρομάριος		τέ			έβελον	φιάκτην	δερμοφύλαξ	16:37
16:38		σπαρτηγός						Ψρομάριος								16:38
16:39																16:39
16:40														φιάκτην		16:40

16:9	τρῆνεία	παυκεί	ἀνορεῖλιον	ῥυθῶντος	ἐνοῖον	ἀνεργεῖλιον	ἥρος	ἦν	ἐκβῆλιον	ἐργουαί	ἐξήνω	ἐπουῖον	ἀνεργουαί	16:9
16:10														16:10
16:11														16:11
16:12														16:12
16:13														16:13
16:14														16:14
16:15														16:15
16:16														16:16
16:17														16:17
16:18														16:18
16:19														16:19
16:20														16:20
16:21														16:21
16:22														16:22
16:23														16:23
16:24														16:24
16:25														16:25
16:26														16:26
16:27														16:27
16:28														16:28
16:29														16:29
16:30														16:30
16:31														16:31
16:32														16:32
16:33	ἱπνεῖον	παυκεί												16:33
16:34														16:34
16:35			ἀνεργεῖλιον	ῥυθῶντος	Ἄτοῖον	ἀνεργεῖλιον	ἥρος	ἦν		ἐλθούρες	ἐνεργεῖλιον			16:35
16:36			Ἄνεργεῖλιον		ἐνοῖον	ἀνεργεῖλιον	ἥρος	ἦν	ἐκβῆλιον	ἐλθούρες	ἐνεργεῖλιον			16:36
16:37							ἥρος	ἦν						16:37
16:38				ῥυθῶντος		ἀνεργεῖλιον				ἐλθούρες	ἐνεργεῖλιον	ἥρος		16:38
16:39							ἥρος					ἥρος		16:39
16:40												ἥρος		16:40

Appendix 3: Compound Verbs: Acts 16:9-40

	ἔρχομαι prefixed verbs	ἀγγέλλω prefixed verbs	ἄγω prefixed verbs	βάλλω prefixed verbs	λαμβάνω prefixed verbs	Verbs prefixed by παρα
16:9						παρακαλῶν
16:10	ἔξελθεῖν	(εὐαγγελίσασθαι)				
16:11			Ἄναχθέντες			
16:12						
16:13	ἐξήλθομεν συνελθούσαις					
16:14						
16:15	εἰσελθόντες					παρακάλεσεν παρεβιάσατο
16:16						παρεῖχεν
16:17		καταγγέλλουσιν				
16:18	ἔξελθεῖν ἐξήλθειν	Παραγγέλλω*				Παραγγέλλω*
16:19	ἐξήλθειν				(ἐπιλαβόμενοι)	
16:20			προσαγαγόντες			
16:21		καταγγέλλουσιν				παραδέχεσθαι
16:22						
16:23		παραγγείλαντες*		ἔβαλον		παραγγείλαντες*
16:24		(παραγγελίαν)*		ἔβαλεν	λαβῶν	(παραγγελίαν)*
16:25						
16:26						(παραχρήμα)
16:27						
16:28						
16:29						
16:30			προαγαγών			
16:31						
16:32						
16:33					παραλαβῶν*	παραλαβῶν* (παραχρήμα)
16:34			ἀναγαγών			παρέθηκεν
16:35						
16:36	ἔξελθόντες	ἀπήγγειλεν				
16:37	ἔλθόντες		ἐξαγαγέτωσαν	ἔβαλαν ἐκβάλλουσιν		
16:38		ἀπήγγειλαν				
16:39	ἔλθόντες ἀπελθεῖν		ἐξαγαγόντες			παρακάλεσαν
16:40	ἔξελθόντες εἰσήλθον ἐξήλθαν					παρακάλεσαν

* denotes same verb in two columns.

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