

Celebrating Arthur Darby Nock

Edited by
ROBERT MATTHEW CALHOUN,
JAMES A. KELHOFFER,
and CLARE K. ROTHSCHILD

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Choice, Change, and Conversion

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Preface and Acknowledgments

At the first turning of the second stair
I turned and saw below
The same shape twisted on the banister
Under the vapour in the fetid air
Struggling with the devil of the stairs who wears
The deceitful face of hope and despair.
– T. S. Eliot, “Ash Wednesday”

This volume is the invention of the Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti (CHNT) program unit of the Society of Biblical Literature, a group I have been privileged to serve in differing capacities for nearly two decades. As a steering committee, we lean hard both into history and into the history of scholarship, always eager to learn more within and outside our particular purview (early Christian literature) through repeated reckonings with the interpretations of ancient sources by previous generations of scholars. We have dedicated no small number of sessions over the years to celebrating especially significant writers or works. Moreover, as a group we uphold what might be considered Nockian commitments: to religion in antiquity, rigorous method, and Gordian knots; and against fantastic explanations, factual errors, assumptions, and trends. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that at our steering committee’s planning breakfast at the annual meeting in November 2017 the group fell headlong for the idea of launching a three-year project re-examining Nock’s classic 1933 work, *Conversion*. The subtitle of these three sessions (adopted as the subtitle of this volume), “Choice, Change, Conversion,” was intended to flag our approach to the topic – namely, emphasizing human agency. To date, two SBL sessions of the CHNT (one still upcoming in November 2021) have inspired serious critical debate around Nock’s work, kindling renewed sparks of interest around this age-old topic. With the publication of this volume, we hope to fan these flames even more, drawing increased attention to what has, since the work of Nock and William James, become a critical area of academic investigation.

Great essays notwithstanding, no volume edits itself. The three editors wish to thank all members of the CHNT steering committee who assisted us in our work, including Troy W. Martin (co-chair), Ismo Dunderberg, Rainer Hirsch-Luipold, Janet E. Spittler, Johan C. Thom, Trevor W. Thompson, and D. Dale Walker, as well as previous chairs and committee members. We also wish to express gratitude to all participants in the CHNT meetings on this topic –

presenters, audience members, and especially the contributors to the present volume.

Finally, we thank Jörg Frey and his team of associate editors for welcoming our volume into the esteemed first series of *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament*, as well as Henning Ziebritzki, Katherina Gutekunst, Elena Müller, Tobias Stähler, Rebekka Zech, and their colleagues at Mohr Siebeck, who make the “conversion” of clumsy manuscripts into pristine volumes appear effortless.

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Chicago, Illinois, USA

20 May 2021

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List of Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
<i>ActAnt</i>	<i>Acta Antiquae Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
<i>AÉ</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
<i>AnBoll</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Archiv für Religionsgeschichte</i>
<i>ARW</i>	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>
<i>ARYS</i>	<i>Antigüedad: Religiones y Sociedades</i>
<i>ASE</i>	<i>Annali di storia dell'esegesi</i>
<i>AugStud</i>	<i>Augustinian Studies</i>
AYBRL	Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
<i>BBR</i>	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BDAG	Frederick W. Danker, Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich, <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> , 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000)
BDF	Friedrich Blass, Albert Debrunner, and Robert W. Funk, <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961)
<i>BGU</i>	<i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen (later Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden</i> (see http://papyri.info/docs/checklist)
<i>BHG</i>	François Halkin, ed., <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> , 3rd ed., 3 vols. (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1986)
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
BICSSup	Supplements to the Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BSGRT	Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana
Budé	Collection des universités de France, publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé

<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CCSA	Corpus Christianorum: Series Apocryphorum
CCTC	Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries
<i>CH</i>	<i>Church History</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (Berlin: G. Raimerus, 1862–)
<i>CIMRM</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithraicae</i> (see Horsley/Lee)
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Classical Journal</i>
<i>CIQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CLR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
ConBNT	Coniectanea Biblica: New Testament Series
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CPJ</i>	Victor A. Tcherikover, ed., <i>Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum</i> , 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957–1964)
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CRPG	Culture, Religion, and Politics in the Greco-Roman World
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>EC</i>	<i>Early Christianity</i>
ECC	Eerdmans Critical Commentary
ECF	Early Church Fathers
<i>EDEJ</i>	John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow, eds., <i>The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism</i> (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010)
EJL	Early Judaism and Its Literature
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’empire romain
<i>ETR</i>	<i>Études théologiques et religieuses</i>
<i>ExpT</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
FC	Fathers of the Church
FCNTECW	Feminist Companion to the New Testament and Early Christian Writings
<i>FGH</i>	Felix Jacoby, ed., <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Leiden: Brill, 1954–1964); Ian Worthington, ed., <i>Brill’s New Jacoby</i> (2006–) (https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-jacoby)
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller des ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte
GNT	Grundrisse zum Neuen Testament
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>

HCS	Hellenistic Culture and Society
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
Horsley/Lee	G. H. R. Horsley and John A. L. Lee, "A Preliminary Checklist of Abbreviations of Greek Epigraphic Volumes," <i>Epigraphica</i> 56 (1994): 129–169
<i>HR</i>	<i>History of Religions</i>
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HUT	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
<i>HvTSt</i>	<i>Hervormde theologiese studies</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (see Horsley/Lee)
<i>IGUR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i> (see Horsley/Lee)
<i>IKorinthKent</i>	John Harvey Kent, ed., <i>Corinth</i> , vol. 8/3: <i>The Inscriptions 1926–1950</i> (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1966)
<i>ILCV</i>	Ernst Diehl, ed., <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres</i> , 2nd ed. (Berlin: Druckerei Hildebrand, 1961)
<i>IMT Kyz Kapu Dağ</i>	Matthias Barth and Josef Stauber, eds., <i>Inscripfen Myesia and Troas: Myesia, Kyzikene, Kapu Dağ</i> (1996) (https://epigraphy.packhum.org/book/709?location=1656)
<i>ISardBR</i>	W. H. Buckler and David M. Robinson, <i>Sardis</i> , vol. 7/1: <i>Greek and Latin Inscriptions</i> (Leiden: Brill, 1932)
<i>ISardP</i>	G. Petzl, <i>Sardis: Greek and Latin Inscriptions</i> , part 2: <i>Finds from 1958 to 2017</i> (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019)
<i>JAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>JAJ</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Judaism</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSHJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
<i>JSJSup</i>	Supplements to Journal for the Study of Judaism
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSNTSup</i>	Supplements to Journal for the Study of the New Testament
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KAV</i>	Kommentar zu den Apostolischen Vätern

KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Meyer-Kommentar)
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LDAB	Leuven Database of Ancient Books (https://www.trismegistos.org/ldab)
LN	Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, eds., <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains</i> , 2nd ed. (New York: United Bible Societies, 1989)
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
Long/Sedley	Anthony A. Long and David N. Sedley, eds. and trans., <i>The Hellenistic Philosophers</i> , 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987)
LSJ	Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996)
LXX	Septuagint
MDAI	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i>
Mnem	<i>Mnemosyne</i>
MnemSup	Supplements to Mnemosyne
MT	Masoretic Text
Neot	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
NFM	Arthur Darby Nock, ed., and Andre-Jean Festugière, trans., <i>Hermès Trismégiste / Corpus Hermeticum</i> , 4 vols., Budé (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1945–1954); Jean-Pierre Mahé, ed. and trans., <i>Hermès Trismégiste</i> , vol. 5: <i>Paralipomènes grec, copte, arménien; Codex VI de Nag Hammadi; Codex Clarkianus 11 Oxoniensis; Définitions hermétiques; Divers</i> , Budé (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2019)
NHC	Nag Hammadi Codex
NHMS	Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OCD ⁴	Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow, eds., <i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)
OCM	Oxford Classical Monographs
O ECS	Oxford Early Christian Studies
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), https://www.oed.com/
OGIS	Wilhelm Dittenberger, ed., <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1903–1905)

OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike
OrChrAn	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OT	Old Testament
OTP	James H. Charlesworth, ed., <i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> , 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1983, 1985).
PAB	Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge
PG	J.-P. Migne, ed., <i>Patrologiae cursus completus: Series graeca</i> , 162 vols. (Paris, 1857–1886)
PGM	Karl Preisendanz and Albert Henrichs, eds., <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri</i> , 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973–1974)
PLRE	A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, and J. Morris, <i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971–1992)
PSI	<i>Papiri greci e latini</i> and <i>Papiri della Società Italiana</i> (see http://papyri.info/docs/checklist)
PTMS	Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
PW	Georg Wissowa and Wilhelm Kroll, eds., <i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , 50 vols. in 84 parts (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1894–1980)
QD	Quaestiones Disputatae
RAC	Theodor Klauser, et al., eds., <i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> (Stuttgart: Hirsemann, 1950–)
RAr	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
RBPH	<i>Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire</i>
REA	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
REJ	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
RevPhil	<i>Revue de philologie</i>
RevScRel	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i>
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
RHE	<i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique</i>
RhM	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
RICIS	Laurent Bricault, ed., <i>Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques</i> , 3 vols. (Paris: De Boccard, 2005)
RICIS Suppl.	Laurent Bricault, ed., <i>Bibliotheca Isiaca</i> (Pessac: Ausonius, 2008–)
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
SAAA	Studies on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles
SANt	Studia Aarhusiana Neotestamentica

SAPERE	Scripta Antiquitatis Posterioris ad Ethicam Religionemque pertinentia
SB	F. Preisigke, et al., eds., <i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten</i> (Strassburg: Trübner, 1915–)
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBL SBS	SBL Sources for Biblical Study
SBLSP	<i>SBL Seminar Papers</i>
SBLTT	SBL Texts and Translations
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
SCH	Studies in Church History
SECA	Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha
SecCent	<i>Second Century</i>
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> (see Horsley/Lee)
SERAPHIM	Studies in Education and Religion in Ancient and Pre-modern History in the Mediterranean and Its Environs
SFSHJ	South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism
SGRR	Studies in Greek and Roman Religion
SHAW	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaft, philosophisch-historische Klasse
SHR	Studies in the History of Religion (Supplements to Numen)
SIG	Wilhelm Dittenberger, ed., <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 3rd ed., 4 vols. (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1915–1924)
SIRIS	Ladislav Vidman, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Serapiacae</i> , RVV 28 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969)
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
Smyth	Herbert Weir Smyth, <i>Greek Grammar</i> , rev. Gordon M. Messing (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920)
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SNTW	Studies in the New Testament and Its World
SP	Sacra Pagina
SPhiloA	<i>Studia Philonica Annual</i>
SR	<i>Studies in Religion</i>
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
StPatr	<i>Studia Patristica</i>
SUC	Schriften des Urchristentums
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVF	H. F. A. von Arnim, ed., <i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta</i> , 4 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903–1924)
SymS	Symposium Series
TAM	<i>Tituli Asiae minoris</i> (see Horsley/Lee)
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative

<i>TDNT</i>	Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, eds., <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> , trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley, 10 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964–1976)
ThH	Théologie historique
<i>TLG</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae</i> (http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/)
TM	Trismegistos (https://www.trismegistos.org/index.php)
<i>TPAPA</i>	<i>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
<i>UPZ</i>	<i>Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit (ältere Funde)</i> (see http://papyri.info/docs/checklist)
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
VCSup	Supplements to <i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
WGRW	Writings of the Greco-Roman World
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Introduction

Conversion Since Nock

Clare K. Rothschild

A. Introduction

Arthur Darby Nock (1902–1963) held the Frothingham Professorship in the History of Religion at Harvard University. In the course of his career, he made lasting contributions to classical scholarship and the history of religion, including the study of ancient religion, magic, and the relationship of paganism to early Christianity and Judaism. In addition to books and reviews, he published dozens of articles discussing papyri, inscriptions, and coins as historical evidence for ancient belief, superstition, and religious practice. He perceived the essence of religion not in theology or philosophy exclusively, but in piety and cult – those rituals and practices of the common person.

B. *Conversion*

This volume features essays on four of Nock's most important contributions with a focus on *Conversion: The Old and New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo*.¹ First delivered as the Donnellan Lectures at Trinity College (Dublin) in June 1931 and the Lowell Lectures at King's Chapel (Boston) in 1933, *Conversion* is an examination of the environment and psychology of religious conversion covering the period from 500 BCE to 400 CE. It stands among the most important contributions to the study of the history of religion in the last century. The monograph explores the circumstances of religious transformation not only in early Christianity – its various converts, the means by which followers attracted adherents, and the factors influencing and limiting their success – but also non-Christian religions and philosophical schools. Nock points to both similarities and differences in the history and

¹ Arthur Darby Nock, *Conversion: The Old and New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (London: Oxford University Press; Oxford: Clarendon, 1933), repr. (1961), repr. (1965), repr. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), repr. (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2019).

psychology of the conversion processes of such groups, tracing belief and practice spreading within households (e.g., slaves to masters), along paths of trade, and by military campaigns. He designed this work as an introduction for both students and a public interested in a history-of-religions approach, envisioning it alongside other works exemplifying this approach by Richard A. Reitzenstein, Martin P. Nilsson, André-Jean Festugière, and Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff. Bringing his vast knowledge of Hellenistic religion to the topic, the key claim of *Conversion* – in harmony with the means and aims of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* – is that understanding how people crossed religious boundaries in antiquity is a necessarily comparative project.

Calculating the significance of Nock's work is impossible. Almost ninety years after its publication, *Conversion* serves as an introduction to what is today an entire area of research encompassing history, literature (i.e., "conversion" as a literary genre), philosophy, psychology, and theology. It rivals William James's *Varieties of Religious Experience* as the most cited monograph in the field of Conversion Studies. And, yet, today, as the sensitive and informed contributors to this volume unanimously attest, while *Conversion* retains its enduring value, it also demands that readers move beyond it. From Nock's delimiting subjectivities (paternalistic, Christocentric, triumphalist, anti-cultic, "Orientalist") to discoveries that took place after his lifetime (in particular those pertaining to the ancient mystery cults), *Conversion* is at once timeless and a work of its time. A testimony to its timelessness is, of course, its ability to inspire the great minds represented in this volume. Highlights of their essays are as follows.

In his essay, "Notes on Arthur Darby Nock's Ideas of Ancient Religion and the Mysteries in His *Conversion*," Jan N. Bremmer aims to clarify several of Nock's key terms and ideas. He begins by dispelling two patently outdated aspects of *Conversion*: Nock's ambivalent attitude towards women and his "Orientalism" (representing Asia, especially the Middle East, with colonialist stereotypes). The essay then proceeds to explore how Nock deploys terms, such as "religion" and "paganism," to gauge whether and to what extent his ideas fit the latest critical approaches to these notions. In particular, Bremmer scrutinizes Nock's use of the term "mysteries," a phenomenon which plays a dominant role in his investigation of conversion.

John J. Collins begins his essay, "Nock's Typology of Religion," by pointing out that the extensive Jewish proselytism Nock espoused has been discredited, and that Nock's assumption of the existence of the God-fearers has become controversial. Moreover, on Collins's reading, Nock's distinction of two kinds of religion is too simple. Although this forked model maintains heuristic value, Judaism does not, according to Collins, fit comfortably into either of these primary categories. Still this observation may tell us something significant about it. At least from the period of the Maccabean revolt, but arguably even from the Babylonian Exile, Judaism was an ethno-religion, combining

features of Nock's traditional *and* prophetic categories. The categories are useful insofar as they draw attention to how new circumstances in the Hellenistic age transformed traditional religious phenomena. According to Collins, the inherited religion of Israel was no longer purely ethnic or traditional, it was also a cult, or in Nock's terms a prophetic religion, allowing for adherence and conversion.

Carl R. Holladay's essay entitled "A. D. Nock's *Conversion*: Some Glosses" likewise addresses Nock's treatment of Judaism. It takes as its point of departure a passage in chapter 6, "How Eastern Cults Travelled," in which Nock discusses the spread of Judaism by means of literary propaganda. Acknowledging that various Jewish literary efforts might have been aimed at pagan readers either directly or indirectly, Nock argues that any impact on this audience was minimal. Although, according to Holladay, some aspects of Nock's review of the literary propaganda (LXX, Philo, Josephus, Jewish redactions of the Sibylline Oracles and the Orphica, Artapanus, ps.-Longinus, etc.) need to be refined, others still stand.

In "Rethinking Nock's *Conversion*," John S. Kloppenborg discusses ways in which "conversion," as an ancient analytic category is plagued with problems. If, for example, one apprehends conversion in its Jamesean sense (i.e., as a shift in attitude or psychological state), reliable empirical data from antiquity is lacking with the possible exception of Augustine. However, Kloppenborg does not urge rejection of "conversion" as a hopelessly anachronistic and analytically useless category for antiquity. Instead, he proposes its employment to discuss the social practices, conceptual developments, and linguistic tools that allowed elective cults to diffuse. According to Kloppenborg, continued use of conversion as an analytic category is justified in cases of ancient cultic practice for which (1) the deity is understood as able to offer broad and substantial benefits to the devotee; (2) "conversion" entails a more-than-fleeting relationship between the devotee and the god; (3) devotees are prepared to assume certain continuing costs (displays of *πίστις*), whether monetary or behavioral; and (4) participation in a group devoted to the same deity is clear. Importantly, these criteria are neither so broad as to admit any kind of ancient cultic practice, nor so narrow as to exclude all cults but Christianity.

Also addressing conversion as an ancient analytic category but with stronger reservations about its applicability to the principal "Christian" exemplars, Paul and Augustine, Paula Fredriksen opens her essay on "'Conversion' as 'Sea Change': Re-thinking A. D. Nock's *Conversion*" with the following question: in terms of appreciating Nock's presentation, what has changed? In response, she considers three topics: (1) the definition of ancient "religion"; (2) how this definition complicates understandings of Paul; and (3) Augustine's depiction of his "religious conversion" in book 8 of his *Confessions*. Carefully sifting some of the very latest scholarship in Pauline Studies and Patristics, Fredriksen

concludes provocatively with reflections on the “religious conversion” of the *Empire*.

Developing both Bremmer’s exploration of Nock on ancient mystery cults and Fredriksen’s up-to-date reflections on Pauline Studies, L. L. Welborn’s “Nock on the Exclusiveness of Conversion to Christianity: A Re-evaluation with Reference to Evidence from Roman Corinth” argues that Paul describes the transformation of Christ-believers in language drawn from the mysteries. Moreover, if Paul portrays himself as the mystagogue of Christ, then, according to Welborn, there is reason to question Nock’s insistence on a difference between early Christ groups and the ancient mystery cults with respect to “conversion.” Examining this question, Welborn shows how Paul’s adoption of the language, images, and processes of the mysteries function as a strategy of inclusion within a larger “religious” domain. Thus, Welborn concludes that Paul exhibits a “theological pluralism” in relation to the mysteries that vigorously promotes the efficacy of his own cult without discounting others.

Michael B. Cover’s essay on “The Conversion and Return of Simon Peter (Luke 22:31–32)” takes up the question of the character and timing of Peter’s transformation to Christ-follower, an event that Cover infers from the phrase *ποτε ἐπιστρέψας* in Luke 22:32. Building on interpretations by Markus Bockmuehl, Julian V. Hills, A. D. Nock, William James, Bernard Lonergan, and others, Cover argues that in Luke 22:32 and throughout the Gospel and Acts, the author characterizes Peter’s conversion not as a single event, but as a series of events – a process that gradually (not instantaneously) moves a human being from one conviction to another.

In the essay entitled “Celebration of Arthur Darby Nock,” Harold W. Attridge tests Nock’s model of conversion on the Fourth Gospel by exploring its alleged conversions. Passages in the Gospel of John such as the Samaritan woman and her kin, the man born blind, Mary Magdalene, and Thomas’s meeting with the resurrected Jesus feature transformative encounters with Jesus. According to Attridge, this Johannine feature is not properly described as mere adhesion but corresponds to Nock’s intellectual conversion model. Nock’s model thus sheds light on a distinctive characteristic of Johannine discipleship, namely, that Jesus provides followers with unique access to ultimate reality in a manner analogous to Greek philosophy by knowing, embodying, and exhibiting loyalty to the truth, come what may.

Developing the ideas broached by Bremmer concerning Nock’s attitude toward women, and by Attridge concerning the proximity of Johannine and philosophical *teloi*, Christopher Mount’s essay observes that Nock’s definition of conversion is not only misleading in the way it sets up a triumphalist comparison between the choice for the Christian god or pagan gods, but also in the way it genders the change in terms of educated males. In “Conversion and the Success of Christianity in the Roman Empire,” Mount points to the fact that Nock’s examples of conversion are all literary accounts of educated men

(Justin, Arnobius, and Augustine), whose intellectual journeys provide the paradigm for Christian conversion. Similar to narratives associated with conversion to a specific philosophical school, Christian conversion narratives showcase men able to discern and trust what is true. Furthermore, according to Mount, Nock moves swiftly and unproblematically from the psychological processes in conversion stories (i.e., literary constructs) to real-life explanations for “religious” choice and, from these explanations, to Christianity’s triumph, thereby attributing victory to the superior persuasiveness of Christian ideas for educated men.

James A. Kelhoffer takes up the long-standing and widespread assumption that *μετανοεῖν* and *μετάνοια* in 2 Clement mean “repent” and “repentance” respectively. He argues that these terms rather signify a change in “mindset” – a translation option attested in classical Greek literature that is closely compatible with Nock’s understanding of conversion. Kelhoffer’s reappraisal of *μετανοεῖν* and *μετάνοια* in 2 Clement not only has important implications for the soteriology of this text but underscores 2 Clement’s orthopractic emphasis and abets the author’s conviction that believers must repay Christ (or God) as their divine patron.

Further engaging ancient patronage, Carl Johan Berglund’s “Miracles, Determination, and Loyalty: The Concept of Conversion in the Acts of John” uses theoretical insights from Nock, Zeba A. Crook, and Ramsay MacMullen to argue that the implied author of the Acts of John conceptualizes conversion to early Christianity as a deliberate decision, stimulated by miracles or miracle stories, and expressed in terms of loyalty to a divine patron. The six conversion narratives in Acts of John 19–57 and 63–86 all share this concept of conversion which Berglund traces to ordinary Greco-Roman piety.

Meira Z. Kensky welcomes John Chrysostom to the conversation about ancient conversion in her essay, “‘Thus a Teacher Must Be’: Pedagogical Formation in John Chrysostom’s Homilies on 1 and 2 Timothy.” Kensky commences her essay with the question, “How does one convert a populace?” Although, on her reading, Nock moves rather hastily to the conclusion of Christianity’s triumph, he does acknowledge the Christian’s tendency to lose faith, citing boredom along with various social temptations as explanations. For Kensky, this acknowledgment identifies a crucial problem that Christian leaders faced even after Constantine backed Christianity with the power of the state. Confronting this issue daily throughout his career, Chrysostom devised an effective strategy to defeat it: he enlisted his congregation in the battle. He thus undertook a pedagogical program of transforming auditors into teachers, giving them active roles in an ongoing project of proselytization. In the homilies on 1 and 2 Timothy, Kensky elucidates how Chrysostom prepared his students *qua* teachers to confront the challenges they faced.

Completing part one of the volume, in “‘Coloured by the Nature of Christianity’: Nock’s Invention of Religion and Ex-Jews in Late Antiquity,” Andrew

S. Jacobs draws attention to how Nock's concept of conversion assists him in positing Christianity as superior to other ancient religious formulations. Jacobs argues that Nock's hierarchical and teleological taxonomic system belongs with other colonial articulations of "religion" and "religions," articulations which prioritized the psychological interiorization of religious "faith" over (less evolved) forms of worship. According to Jacobs, Nock's innovation was to frame conversion as the mechanism by which superior religion could be placed in relationship to its inferior competitors. In the second half of the essay, Jacobs takes up the *Church History* of Socrates Scholasticus (ca. 440), arguing that, like Nock, Socrates uses conversion to delineate a novel taxonomic system of religions. Within that system, Jacobs observes, the accounts of ex-Jewish Christians allow Socrates to highlight the imperial context of this system.

C. Beyond *Conversion*

Part Two, "Beyond *Conversion*," offers reflections on three additional works of Nock's distinguished oeuvre. In "Arthur Darby Nock and the Study of Sallustius," John T. Fitzgerald turns to Nock's critical edition and translation of Sallustius's treatise *Concerning the Gods and the Universe* (*De deis et mundo*), a work Nock that completed at age 23 and that remains an indispensable source for the study of this author.² Fitzgerald begins with a discussion of scholarship on Sallustius prior to Nock, treating the *editio princeps*, as well as a few other important studies, after which he pivots to Nock's contributions, in particular, on the perplexing identity of this author.

Nock edited what remains the standard critical edition of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, together with the Latin *Asclepius* and two volumes of fragments and testimonia.³ Since this publication, new Hermetic texts have been discovered – the Coptic Hermetica in Nag Hammadi Codex VI, and the Armenian *Definitions of Hermes Trismegistus to Asclepius* – and new translations have appeared.⁴ Nevertheless, in the estimation of Dylan M. Burns in his essay, "The

² Arthur Darby Nock, ed. and trans., *Sallustius, Concerning the Gods and the Universe: Edited with Prolegomena and Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926), repr. (Hildesheim: Olms, 1988).

³ Arthur Darby Nock, ed., and Andre-Jean Festugière, trans., *Hermès Trismégiste / Corpus Hermeticum*, 4 vols., Budé (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1945–1954).

⁴ Jean-Pierre Mahé, ed. and trans., *Hermès Trismégiste*, vol. 5: *Paralipomènes grec, copte, arménien; Codex VI de Nag Hammadi; Codex Clarkianus 11 Oxoniensis; Définitions hermétiques; Divers*, Budé (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2019); Brian P. Copenhaver, trans., *Hermetica: The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); M. David Litwa, trans., *Hermetica II: The Excerpts of Stobaeus, Papyrus Fragments, and Ancient Testimonies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

Hermetic *Asclepius*'s Middle Platonist Teaching on Fate," Nock's work remains unsurpassed. Burns addresses a few neglected or misunderstood passages in the Latin *Asclepius*, arguing that while the Hermetic work's discussions of subjects such as fate and providence may seem incompatible, they do in fact represent a consistent doctrine comprehensible in terms of Middle Platonic thought.

Finally, from 18 May to 31 May 1939, Nock delivered the first series of his Gifford Lectures at the University of Aberdeen. The second series, delayed by World War II, was eventually offered from 14 May to 27 May 1946. Nock took "Hellenistic Religion: The Two Phases" as the theme of these lectures, sketching the development of religion in the Hellenistic world from the fourth century BCE to the late first century BCE. Normally, Gifford lectures are published within a year or so of delivery. In Nock's case, however, they were never published, possibly because Nock was dissatisfied with them. A few sources of information about the lectures, nevertheless, remain. David Lincicum has tracked them down and presents them in his essay "In Search of Nock's Gifford Lectures: A Dossier of Sources."

The volume concludes with a personal reflection by a former student of Nock, Everett Ferguson.

D. Conclusion

As a topic of academic scholarship, conversion tends to be more personal than others, provoking the subconscious tendency to merge our stories with those of our sources. In conversation with the scholarship of previous generations, this topic thus provides a suitable context for reflection about the limitations of our own theories, methods, and perspectives. The present volume – fruit of a project begun in 2018 by the SBL program unit *Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti* – belongs among other recent republications and rigorous reconsiderations of works recognized as classics by Wilhelm Bousset, Rudolf Bultmann, and Adolf Deissmann.⁵ These studies offer new insights about the

2018); Jens Holzhausen, trans., *Corpus Hermeticum Deutsch*, part 1: *Die griechischen Traktate und der lateinische Asclepius*, *Clavis Pansophiae* 7/1 (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 2008), and part 2: *Exzerpte, Nag-Hammadi-Texte, Testimonien*, *Clavis Pansophiae* 7/2 (1997).

⁵ In addition to the 2019 reprint of *Conversion* by Baylor University Press (n. 1 above), see Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos: A History of Belief in Christ from the Beginnings of Christianity to Irenaeus*, trans. John E. Steely (Nashville: Abingdon, 1970), repr. (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2013), with responsive essays in *EC* 6/1 (2015); Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, trans. Kendrick Grobel, 2 vols. (New York: Scribner, 1951–1955), repr. (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2007), on which see the essays in Rainer Hirsch-Luipold and Robert Matthew Calhoun, eds., *The Origins of New Testament*

original authors and their works. With *Conversion*, Nock surprised the world both because as a critical classical historian he undertook a Christian subject, and because he argued that the phenomenon of conversion was not exclusively Christian, characterizing it, rather, as a change in intellectual conviction. Such laudable aspects of Nock's project are sometimes lost as scholars point out, however correctly, that Nock stooped to examine Christianity and sought to demonstrate that conversion was not its purview exclusively, purely to highlight the perfection of post-Constantinian Christianity. Be that as it may, Nock's emphasis on intellectual conviction, and here I will add, on behalf of the common good, seeps past his narrow subjectivities as a youthful, male, Christian, educated, triumphalist, and colonialist elite. This collection of essays represents a tribute to that ideal, endeavoring to bring it back into scholarly discussion.

Theology: A Dialogue with Hans Dieter Betz, WUNT 440 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020); Cilliers Breytenbach and Christoph Marksches, eds., *Adolf Deissmann: Ein (zu Unrecht) fast vergessener Theologe und Philologe*, NovTSup 174 (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

Part One

Responses to Nock's *Conversion*

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