

JUSTIN WINZENBURG

# Ephesians and Empire

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*  
573

---

**Mohr Siebeck**

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

Herausgeber / Editor

Jörg Frey (Zürich)

Mitherausgeber/Associate Editors

Markus Bockmuehl (Oxford) · James A. Kelhoffer (Uppsala)

Tobias Nicklas (Regensburg) · Janet Spittler (Charlottesville, VA)

J. Ross Wagner (Durham, NC)

573





Justin Winzenburg

# Ephesians and Empire

An Evaluation of the Epistle's Subversion of  
Roman Imperial Ideology

Mohr Siebeck

*Justin Winzenburg*, born 1980; 2003 BA in Bible and Theology; 2007 MA in Theological Studies; 2020 PhD in New Testament from London School of Theology; currently Associate Professor of New Testament and Greek at Crown College (St. Bonifacius, MN).  
orcid.org/0000-0002-8609-1980

ISBN 978-3-16-161183-4 / eISBN 978-3-16-161184-1  
DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-161184-1

ISSN 0340-9570 / eISSN 2568-7484  
(Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 2. Reihe)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2022 Mohr Siebeck Tübingen, Germany. [www.mohrsiebeck.com](http://www.mohrsiebeck.com)

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The book was printed on non-aging paper by Laupp & Göbel in Gomaringen and bound by Buchbinderei Nädele in Nehren.

Printed in Germany.

## Acknowledgements

This book is a revised version of my PhD thesis conducted under the supervision of Thorsten Moritz at London School of Theology. The completion of this project would have been impossible without Thorsten's solid advice, direction, and constant support. His constructive comments on my work were tremendously helpful. Max Turner was also very gracious in his interactions with me as my director of research and S2.

Several colleagues who began with me at LST were very encouraging throughout the process: Holly Beers, Lyn Nixon, Nick Fox, and Cullen Tanner. I owe special gratitude to Tom Anderson for his constant encouragement and for engaging in long discussions about Ephesians and the Roman Empire, and also to my longtime friend Justin Velner who has helped fuel my interests in biblical studies over the years. I am also appreciative of the opportunity that Joel Lawrence provided for me by assigning me as his research assistant while at Bethel Seminary, which gave me perspective on the research process.

I have received unending support from my colleagues at Crown College (St. Bonifacius, MN), especially Stephen Jones, Glenn Myers, Dean Erickson, Don Bouchard, Jonathan Vinson, and Scott Moats. Michial Farmer was also extremely helpful in commenting on my work. Students who have participated in my courses have helped me to keep this project in perspective and to remember the "calling to which I have been called" (Eph 4:1). A group of wonderful librarians, across several institutions, have helped me track down research materials through interlibrary loan: Tim Senapatiratne, Dennis Ingolfsland, Mark Nygaard, Deanna Munson, and Mary Meehan.

My examiners provided immensely helpful feedback on my work. William Atkinson's careful attention to detail and his probing questions helped me to see areas that needed polishing and clarification. T. J. Lang has been a great source of encouragement. He has graciously led me to resources that I would have otherwise overlooked. It has been a pleasure to continue conversing after the viva. I am also deeply appreciative for his support and advice throughout the process of pursuing the publication of this work.

I especially want to extend my deepest gratitude to Professor Jörg Frey for accepting this manuscript for publication in the WUNT 2 series, as well as to Elena Müller at Mohr Siebeck. The rest of the team at Mohr Siebeck was immensely helpful in the process of preparing the manuscript for publication, including Markus Kirchner, Tobias Stäbler, Jana Trispel, and Kendra Mäschke.

I am particularly grateful to all friends and family members who have supported me through this journey. There are too many to name here, some of whom have offered me housing, others have frequently encouraged me in my work, while still others have provided much needed respite. Ultimately, I owe the deepest gratitude to my wife Jill. She has endured much over the course of this project, and it would have been impossible to have completed it without her support. This book is dedicated to her, and to my sons Theo and Lukas.

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	V
List of Abbreviations.....	XII

### Part 1: Prolegomena

<b>Chapter 1: A Survey of Ephesians and Empire .....</b>	<b>3</b>
<i>1.1 Paul and Empire Studies: Surveying the Approach.....</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>1.2 Ephesians and Empire Studies: Surveying the Approach .....</i>	<i>6</i>
1.2.1 Dismissal of/Ignoring Imperial-Critical Elements of Ephesians.....	7
1.2.2 Affirmation of Imperial-Critical Elements in Ephesians .....	14
<i>1.3 Moving Forward: The Necessity of an Eclectic Hermeneutic.....</i>	<i>30</i>
<b>Chapter 2: An Eclectic Hermeneutic: A Hermeneutical Grid for Assessing an Imperial-Critical Reading of Ephesians .....</b>	<b>33</b>
<i>2.1 Introduction.....</i>	<i>33</i>
<i>2.2 Implied/Empirical: A Challenge for Biblical Studies .....</i>	<i>34</i>
<i>2.3 Speech-Act Theory: A Multi-Dimensional View of Language.....</i>	<i>44</i>
2.3.1 Performative Nature of Language.....	44
2.3.2 Adopting a Nomenclature: Locution, Illocution, and Perlocution ...	46
2.3.3 Conventionality and the Construction of Social Reality.....	53



2.3.4 <i>Subversion, Perlocutions, and Indirect Speech Acts</i> .....	58
2.4 <i>A Narrative Hermeneutic: Retracing the Hermeneutical Horizons</i> .....	64
2.5 <i>Conclusion</i> .....	72

## Part 2: From Method to Life Setting

Chapter 3: <i>Empirical Life-Setting of Ephesians</i> .....	77
3.1 <i>Introduction</i> .....	77
3.2 <i>Empirical Life-Setting of Ephesians: Two Possibilities</i> .....	77
3.2.1 <i>Early Date</i> .....	80
3.2.2 <i>Later Date</i> .....	85
3.3 <i>Roman Imperial Context</i> .....	90
3.3.1 <i>Maiestas</i> .....	93
3.3.2 <i>Imperial Cults</i> .....	112
3.3.3 <i>Roman Imperial Eschatology</i> .....	127
3.4 <i>Conclusion</i> .....	133
Chapter 4: <i>Implied Life-Setting of Ephesians</i> .....	137
4.1 <i>Introduction</i> .....	137
4.2 <i>Survey of The Implied Author</i> .....	139
4.3 <i>Implied Author: An Appraisal</i> .....	145
4.3.1 <i>Jewish Christian</i> .....	145
4.3.2 <i>Historical Circumstances: Imprisoned</i> .....	151
4.3.3 <i>Implied Author: Imperial Criticism</i> .....	156
4.4 <i>Survey of The Implied Audience</i> .....	157
4.5 <i>Implied Audience: An Appraisal</i> .....	161

4.5.1 Gentile Godfearers .....	161
4.5.2 Historical Circumstances: Asia Minor .....	164
4.5.3 Implied Audience: Imperial Criticism .....	166
4.6 <i>From Method to Life-Setting</i> .....	167

## Part 3: Ephesians and Empire

Chapter 5: An Imperial-Critical Reading of Ephesians.....	171
-----------------------------------------------------------	-----

5.1 <i>Introduction</i> .....	171
-------------------------------	-----

5.2 <i>Imperial-Critical Reading of Ephesians 1–3</i> .....	172
-------------------------------------------------------------	-----

5.2.1 Eph 1:1: New Prospects? .....	172
-------------------------------------	-----

5.2.2 Eph 1:3–14: Berekah, New Exodus, and Roman Imperial Rule ....	175
---------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

5.2.3 Eph 2:1–10: Co-Enthronement with the Messiah in the Heavens.....	177
------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

5.2.4 Eph 2:11–22: The εἰρήνη of the Messiah Jesus and the Pax Romana.....	180
----------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

5.2.5 Eph 3:1, 13: The Imprisonment of Paul, and Maiestas.....	185
----------------------------------------------------------------	-----

5.3 <i>Imperial-Critical Reading of Ephesians 4–6</i> .....	187
-------------------------------------------------------------	-----

5.3.1 Eph 4:4–6: One Lord, One Hope, One God and Father over All: A Challenge to the Emperor?.....	187
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

5.3.2 Eph 4:8–10: The Ascent/Descent of Christ and Apotheosis .....	193
---------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

5.3.3 Eph 5:21–32: Marriage, Haustafel, and Empire .....	199
----------------------------------------------------------	-----

5.3.4 Eph 6:12: Rulers, Authorities, Powers, Dominions, and the Roman Empire.....	202
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

5.4 <i>Conclusion</i> .....	206
-----------------------------	-----

Chapter 6: Subversive Speech Acts: Ephesians and the Subversion of Imperial Ideology.....	209
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

6.1 <i>Introduction</i> .....	209
-------------------------------	-----

6.2 <i>Ephesians 1–3: An Evaluation</i> .....	209
-----------------------------------------------	-----

6.2.1 Eph 1:1: <i>Damnatio Memoriae</i> ? .....	209
6.2.2 Eph 1:3–14: The New Exodus: A Challenge to Claims of the Arrival of the Golden Age in Rome .....	215
6.2.3 Eph 2:1–10: Roman Institutional Facts: Undermined by Counter- Images of Enthronement.....	216
6.2.4 Eph 2:11–22: Jesus as the Alternative Agent of Peace.....	218
6.2.5 Eph 3:1, 13: Perlocutionary Acts and Imperial Authorities.....	220
6.3 <i>Ephesians 4–6: An Evaluation</i> .....	224
6.3.1 Eph 4:4–6: Jesus as an Alternative Agent of Unification .....	224
6.3.2 Eph 4:8–10: Imperial Ascent and Captivity: Undermined by Means of Locutionary Modification of Ps 68 .....	226
6.3.3 Eph 5:21–32: A Toppling of Roman Ideals of κεφαλή.....	230
6.3.4 Eph 6:12: Perlocutionary Transformation in the Context of Imperial Cults.....	235
6.4 <i>Ephesians and the Subversion of Roman Imperial Ideology</i> .....	238
6.4.1 Subversive Eschatology in Ephesians.....	239
6.4.2 Subversive Christology in Ephesians.....	247
6.5 <i>Conclusion</i> .....	250
 <b>Chapter 7: Summary and Conclusion</b> .....	 253
7.1 <i>Part 1: Prolegomena</i> .....	253
7.2 <i>Part 2: From Method to Life-Setting</i> .....	254
7.3 <i>Part 3: Ephesians and Empire</i> .....	255
7.4 <i>Subversive Speech Acts in Ephesians: Conclusion</i> .....	257
 Bibliography.....	 259
Index of References.....	305
Index of Modern Authors and Persons.....	311
Index of Subjects and Places .....	315

## List of Abbreviations

All abbreviations follow the SBL Handbook of Style, except for the following:

<i>BNT</i>	<i>Die Botschaft des Neuen Testaments</i>
<i>CNLD</i>	<i>Cambridge New Latin Dictionary</i>
<i>DNTB</i>	<i>Dictionary of New Testament Backgrounds</i> . Craig A. Evans, and Stanley E. Porter, eds. Downers Grove: Intervarsity, 2000.
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of the Hebrew Scriptures</i>
<i>JPT</i>	<i>Journal of Pentecostal Theology</i>
<i>ODCW</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World</i>
<i>OLD</i>	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> . P. G. W. Glare, ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1982.
<i>PTMS</i>	<i>Princeton Theological Monograph Series</i>
<i>RG</i>	Res Gestae Divi Augusti



Part 1

# Prolegomena



## Chapter 1

# A Survey of Ephesians and Empire

### 1.1 Paul and Empire Studies: Surveying the Approach

Even though, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Deissmann perceived “polemical parallelism”<sup>1</sup> in political terminology used throughout the Pauline corpus, there has been a growing concern among interpreters that political elements in Paul’s letters have been largely ignored. Alexander expressed this sentiment by suggesting that “there is a profound lack of interest in local or imperial politics in Paul.”<sup>2</sup> Horsley’s collections have attempted to correct this trend by challenging the depoliticization of Paul, and by reading Pauline texts in light of their Roman imperial context(s).<sup>3</sup> These contributions have integrated Greco-Roman art,<sup>4</sup> and patron/client relations into Pauline texts to attempt to reestablish their political contexts.<sup>5</sup> Further attention has been given to the ways in the

---

<sup>1</sup> Adolf Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East: The New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World* (Rev. Ed., Trans. Lionel R. M. Strachan. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1965), 342. Christian Strecker highlights key aspects of Deissmann’s contributions to the field: “Taktiken der Aneignung: Politische Implikationen der paulinischen Botschaft im Kontext der römischen imperialen Wirklichkeit,” in *Neues Testament und Politische Theorie: Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zur Zukunft des Politischen*, ed. Eckart Reinmuth (Religionskulturen 9; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2011), 114–116.

<sup>2</sup> Loveday Alexander, “Rome, Early Christian Attitudes to,” in *ABD 5*, ed. David Noel Freedman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 837.

<sup>3</sup> Richard A. Horsley, ed. *Paul and Empire: Religion and Power in Roman Imperial Society* (Harrisburg: Trinity, 1997); *Paul and Politics: Ekklēsia, Israel, Imperium, Interpretation. Essays in Honor of Krister Stendahl* (Harrisburg: Trinity, 2000); *Hidden Transcripts and the Arts of Resistance: Applying the Work of James C. Scott to Jesus and Paul* (Semeia 48; Atlanta: SBL, 2004); *In the Shadow of Empire: Reclaiming the Bible as a History of Faithful Resistance* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2008).

<sup>4</sup> Paul Zanker, “The Power of Images,” in Horsley, *Paul and Empire*, 72–86. See also Zanker’s more substantial work on this subject: *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988).

<sup>5</sup> Peter Garnsey and Richard Saller, “Patronal Power Relations,” in Horsley, *Paul and Empire*, 96–103; John K. Chow, “Patronage in Roman Corinth,” in Horsley, *Paul and Empire*, 104–125; R. Gordon, “The Veil of Power,” in Horsley, *Paul and Empire*, 126–137.



Pauline texts engaged with Roman imperial cults.<sup>6</sup> Others have begun to see connections between Paul's writings and Scott's anthropological work.<sup>7</sup> At the same time, Blumenfeld has lamented the neglect of political aspects of Paul's thought, and states that overlooking this area "decontextualizes him and falsifies our reading of his works."<sup>8</sup> While the reasons for this oversight are complex, Elliott's assessment that the privatization and domestication of Paul's letters in certain contexts has likely contributed to readers "perceiv[ing] them in only a narrow bandwidth of what we consider religious discourse" is perceptive.<sup>9</sup> In reaction to this partitioning of political and religious categories in biblical interpretation, a field of study has emerged that has produced readings of Pauline letters in light of their Roman imperial contexts.<sup>10</sup> Many of these contributions have focused attention not merely on general political elements of these texts, but on those elements deemed to be in subversion of Roman imperial ideology. This framework for interpreting Paul has begun to gain popularity, so much so that Barclay has referred to this movement, in jest, as the "Paul and empire coalition."<sup>11</sup> Having received renewed interest within the 'Paul and Politics' group at the Society of Biblical Literature's annual meetings, 'empire' has become, according to Maier, "a means of promoting a certain kind of

---

<sup>6</sup> Simon R. F. Price, "Rituals and Power," in Horsley, *Paul and Empire*, 47–71; Karl P. Donfried, "The Imperial Cults of Thessalonica and Political Conflict in 1 Thessalonians," in Horsley, *Paul and Empire*, 215–223. For extensive treatment on the imperial cult in Asia Minor, see Simon R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984). For Galatia: Justin K. Hardin, *Galatians and the Imperial Cult: A Critical Analysis of the First-Century Social Context of Paul's Letter* (WUNT II 237; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008).

<sup>7</sup> See the collection of essays in Horsley, *Hidden Transcripts*.

<sup>8</sup> Bruno Blumenfeld, *The Political Paul: Justice, Democracy and Kingship in a Hellenistic Framework* (JSNTSS 210; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 11.

<sup>9</sup> Neil Elliott, *The Arrogance of Nations: Reading Romans in the Shadow of Empire* (Paul in Critical Contexts; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008), 9. Elliott's suggestion that readers must acknowledge their own context when reading is warranted, although his proposal that interpreters develop a "contemporary Sachkritik" is counterproductive as a hermeneutical method. A large problem with previous readings of Romans throughout history, readings that Elliott himself opposes, was that they were read through a sort of hyper-contextualization which located meaning primarily within the modern empirical interpreter but failed to duly acknowledge the contextual situation of the implied author and implied audience of the text. Aspects of Elliott's approach seems to fall into this same error.

<sup>10</sup> For general works on Paul and empire studies see my bibliography section 4.1. For a more complete list of works organized by Pauline letters, see my bibliography sections 4.2–4.10.

<sup>11</sup> John M. G. Barclay, *Pauline Churches and Diaspora Jews* (WUNT 275; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 365.

political discourse in the Academy.”<sup>12</sup> Some of this renewed interest has been attributed to the events surrounding the American invasion of Iraq in 2003.<sup>13</sup> The result of this reinvigorated focus, according to Jewett, is that there is a “growing emerging consensus that the Roman imperial context needs to be considered” in NT studies.<sup>14</sup> The rise of postcolonial hermeneutics has also played a role in these developments. Segovia asserts that readers of the NT must consider “the reality of empire, of imperialism and colonialism, as an omnipresent, inescapable, and overwhelming reality in the world: the world of antiquity, the world of the Near East or of the Mediterranean Basin...[and] the world of today.”<sup>15</sup> Each of these hermeneutical directives moves towards evaluating possible anti-imperial elements in Paul’s letters, and has played a significant role in recent interpretations of the NT. Yet, Maier notes that “not all scholars have agreed that attention to imperial imagery and language is important for interpreting NT texts.”<sup>16</sup> Similarly, Gombis concludes that “more work needs to be done...[in] Paul’s letters before any sort of definitive word can be spoken as to whether or not Paul is an anti-imperial political theologian.”<sup>17</sup> Imperial-critical interpretations of NT texts have been met with some hesitation.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> Harry O. Maier, *Picturing Paul in Empire: Imperial Image, Text and Persuasion in Colossians, Ephesians, and the Pastoral Epistles* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2013), 8.

<sup>13</sup> Maier, *Picturing Paul*, 8.

<sup>14</sup> Robert Jewett, “Response to N. T. Wright, and J. M. G Barclay,” (paper presented at the annual SBL, San Diego, 18 November 2007).

<sup>15</sup> Fernando F. Segovia, “Biblical Criticism and Postcolonial Studies: Towards a Postcolonial Optic,” in *The Postcolonial Bible*, ed. R. S. Sugirtharajah (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 56. For a critical analysis of the connection between empire studies and postcolonial theory see Jeremy Punt, “Empire as Material Setting and Heuristic Grid for New Testament Interpretation: Comments on the Value of Postcolonial Criticism,” *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 66.1 (2010), Art. #330, 7 pages.

<sup>16</sup> Maier, *Picturing Paul*, 4.

<sup>17</sup> Timothy G. Gombis, *Paul: A Guide for the Perplexed* (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 144.

<sup>18</sup> See especially: Barclay, *Pauline Churches*; Seyoon Kim, *Christ and Caesar: The Gospel and the Roman Empire in the Writings of Paul and Luke* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008); Denny Burk, “Is Paul’s Gospel Counterimperial? Evaluating the Prospects of the ‘Fresh Perspective’ for Evangelical Theology,” *JETS* 51.2 (June 2008): 309–337; Laura Robinson, “Hidden Transcripts? The Supposedly Self-Censoring Paul and Rome as Surveillance State in Modern Pauline Scholarship,” *NTS* 67 (2021): 55–72. I appreciate the balanced assessments provided by: Christoph Heilig, *Hidden Criticism? The Methodology and Plausibility of the Search for Counter-Imperial Subtext in Paul* (WUNT II 392; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015); Christoph Heilig, “Methodological Considerations for the Search of Counter-Imperial ‘Echoes’ in Pauline Literature,” in *Reactions to Empire: Sacred Texts in their Socio-Political Contexts*, eds. John A. Dunne and Dan Batovici (WUNT II 372; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 73–92; Strecker, “Taktiken der Aneignung,” 153–161.

## 1.2 Ephesians and Empire Studies: Surveying the Approach

The following chapter will demonstrate that while there has been a significant push towards imperial-critical readings of Paul's letters, Ephesians remains under-analyzed in these discussions.<sup>19</sup> While certain developments have paved the way for readings of the letter in light of its Roman imperial context, providing thought-provoking approaches to the letter's interpretive possibilities, weaknesses exist in these approaches. Furthermore, Gupta and Long note that "complete treatments of the politics of Ephesians are rather rare."<sup>20</sup> Apart from the works of Faust, and Lalitha no monograph-length assessment of Ephesians' place in the discussion exists to date.<sup>21</sup> This project aims to provide a more complete assessment of the anti-imperial status of Ephesians by using an eclectic hermeneutic that attends to implied/empirical distinctions, speech-act theory, and a narrative hermeneutic. As will be established below, no imperial-critical interpreter of Ephesians to date has used important developments in these hermeneutical areas. These tools, developed in subsequent chapters of this project, will help to provide fresh insights towards assessing anti-imperial interpretations of Ephesians.

Ephesians' place in these conversations has remained enigmatic at best. Lincoln points out that Faust's work exposed a greater need for Ephesians scholars

---

<sup>19</sup> Since (at the very least) Paul is projected as the author, we can include Eph in an examination of the Pauline letters. I will discuss this more fully in the next chapter. It should be noted that some of the controversy over Pauline authorship of the epistle has been overstated. Harold Hoehner has shown that from over the past 400 years, only in the period from 1971–2001 had non-Pauline authorship become the majority opinion among publications, and narrowly (51%): *Ephesians: An Exegetical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002), 19. More importantly, this project's focus on the implied author of the text points even more strongly for Ephesians' inclusion in this discussion than does Hoehner's statistical analysis.

<sup>20</sup> Nijay K. Gupta and Fredrick J. Long, "The Politics of Ephesians and the Empire: Accommodation or Resistance?," *JGRChJ* 7 (2010): 113–114. Long later defines "political" as "a self-conscious articulation of a political theory." "Ephesians: Paul's Political Theology in Greco-Roman Context," in *Christian Origins and Greco-Roman Culture: Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament*, eds. Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts (Leiden: Brill, 2013): 259. For our purposes, when I speak of "political" interpretations of Paul, I intend to refer to interpretations that take seriously the Roman imperial context of the first century.

<sup>21</sup> Eberhard Faust, *Pax Christi et Pax Caesaris: Religionsgeschichtliche, traditions-geschichtliche und sozialgeschichtliche Studien zum Epheserbrief* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus 24; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993); Jayachitra Lalitha, *Re-Reading the Household Relationships Christologically: Ephesians, Empire and Egalitarianism* (Biblical Hermeneutics Rediscovered 4; New Delhi: Christian World Imprints, 2017); Harry Maier has a substantial section on Eph in his work but its scope extends beyond Ephesians: *Picturing Paul*, 103–142.

to address the epistle's Roman imperial context.<sup>22</sup> While some recent contributions have partially examined this area,<sup>23</sup> there remains little consensus about how the epistle engages with imperial ideology. Lowe points out that "Ephesians has received little attention amid the recent explorations of Paul's imperial contexts. It benefits from no direct treatment in studies such as Richard Horsley's *Paul and Empire* and warrants only a single reference out of all the essays in his subsequent volume, *Paul and Politics*."<sup>24</sup> Recent articles have emerged that read Ephesians from an imperial-critical vantage point,<sup>25</sup> but much more needs to be done to assess these readings. The following section will survey approaches taken in the scholarly literature on Ephesians relating to Roman imperial ideology. Two major trends can be discerned: 1) Dismissing/ignoring anti-imperial elements of Ephesians. 2) Affirming anti-imperial elements in the letter. With a recent push toward anti-imperial interpretations of Paul's letters, there is a need for more complete assessments of these developments in Ephesians.

### 1.2.1 Dismissal of/Ignoring Imperial-Critical Elements of Ephesians

Even though imperial-critical readings of Ephesians have recently emerged, the epistle has been significantly under-analyzed compared to some of the other Pauline epistles. Three volumes devoted exclusively to imperial-critical assessments of the NT have passed over Ephesians entirely.<sup>26</sup> Georgi's important work on theocracy in Paul does not mention Ephesians.<sup>27</sup> Alexander admits that anti-imperial elements are harder to trace in Paul, but she does not mention how Ephesians fits in.<sup>28</sup> Heilig's work, while largely methodological, interacts

---

<sup>22</sup> Andrew T. Lincoln, "Review of *Pax Christi et Pax Caesaris: Religionsgeschichtliche, traditionsgeschichtliche und sozialgeschichtliche Studien zum Epheserbrief*. Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus 24 by Eberhard Faust," *JTS* 46.1 (1995): 292–293.

<sup>23</sup> Several sources engage the content of Eph in conversation with wider imperial ideology, but not necessarily from the vantage point of imperial criticism of the epistle: See my bibliography section 4.5. E.g., Lee-Barnewall builds off Hellerman's work (see fn. 18 above), which concludes that the portrait of the humility of Jesus in Phil 2 was anti-Roman. She notes some similarities between self-sacrifice in Phil 2 and Eph 5, but more moderately concludes that in Eph, "Paul radically reorients [Mediterranean culture] ... through his application of Christian values." Michelle Lee-Barnewall, "Turning ΚΕΦΑΛΗ on its Head: The Rhetoric of Reversal in Ephesians 5:21–33," in Porter and Pitts, *Christian Origins*, 613.

<sup>24</sup> Matthew Forrest Lowe, "'This was Not an Ordinary Death.' Empire and Atonement in the Minor Pauline Epistles," in *Empire in the New Testament*, eds. Stanley E. Porter and Cynthia Long Westfall (New Testament Studies; Eugene: Pickwick, 2011), 202.

<sup>25</sup> See my bibliography section 4.5.

<sup>26</sup> Horsley, *Shadow of Empire*; Horsley, *Paul and the Roman Imperial Order*; Scot McKnight and Joseph B. Modica, eds., *Jesus is Lord, Caesar is Not: Evaluating Empire in the New Testament Studies* (Downers Grove: Intervarsity, 2013).

<sup>27</sup> Dieter Georgi, *Theocracy in Paul's Praxis and Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991).

<sup>28</sup> Alexander, "Rome," 837.

with various imperial-critical readings of NT texts throughout his study. His references to Ephesians are brief, and they do not discuss its imperial-critical status.<sup>29</sup> Even though Elliott connects public transcripts in Philo (e.g., ‘boldness of speech’) in relation to NT texts, he does not address the strikingly similar concept expressed in Eph 6:19.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, despite a strong theme of enthronement in Ephesians, Keen’s assessment of “cultural-critical inversions that flow from Jesus’ enthronement” passes over the epistle entirely without explanation.<sup>31</sup> Eisen’s analysis of imperial-critical implications of a *parousia* theology in Paul also overlooks Ephesians, although it is unclear whether his omission is based on attributing it deuterio-Pauline status.<sup>32</sup> Wright, who is sympathetic to imperial-critical readings, acknowledges developments made towards formulating an anti-imperial interpretation of Ephesians,<sup>33</sup> but he admits (in one of his first imperial-critical explorations of Paul) that he must “pass over Ephesians with the merest mention.”<sup>34</sup> Even though the scope of these works are naturally limited by their respective interests, their failure to address Ephesians’ place within the field marks an overwhelming trend in imperial-critical interpretations of the NT.

Some commentaries on Ephesians also ignore connections between the epistle’s content and its Roman imperial context. Considering the historical-grammatical approach that Hoehner uses in his colossal commentary on Ephesians, it is puzzling that he fails to consider the Roman imperial context of much of

---

<sup>29</sup> Heilig, *Hidden Criticism*, 120 fn. 52; 128 fn. 92; 152.

<sup>30</sup> Neil Elliott, “Strategies of Resistance and Hidden Transcripts in the Pauline Communities,” in Horsley, *Hidden Transcripts*, 117.

<sup>31</sup> Eric M. Keen, “The Role of Symbolic Inversion in Utopian Discourse: Apocalyptic Reversal in Paul and in the Festival of the Saturnalia/Kronia,” in Horsley, *Hidden Transcripts*, 123–144.

<sup>32</sup> Eckhart Reinmuth’s recognition of the role of Christ’s coming in Eph (“Das Neue Testament und die Zukunft des Politischen,” in *Neues Testament und Politische Theorie: Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zur Zukunft des Politischen*, ed. Eckart Reinmuth [Religionskulturen 9; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2011], 14) suggests that Ute Eisen’s omission of the epistle within his imperial-critical examination of the *parousia* in Paul is unfortunate: “Die imperiumskritischen Implikationen der paulinischen Parusievorstellung,” in *Bekanntnis und Erinnerung: Festschrift zum 75. Geburtstag von Hans-Friedrich Weiß*, eds. Klaus-Michael Bull and Eckart Reinmuth (Rostocker Theologische Studien 16; Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004): 196–213.

<sup>33</sup> Wright acknowledged Long’s work on Eph in a presentation at SBL San Diego (paper presented at the annual SBL, San Diego, 18 November 2007).

<sup>34</sup> N. T. Wright, *Paul: In Fresh Perspective* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 76. Wright later corrects this by briefly offering an imperial-critical interpretation of parts of Eph in his *Paul and the Faithfulness of God* (2 Vols.; Christian Origins and the Question of God 4; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013), 728–733. Wright’s defense of including Eph in Pauline discussions suggests that his earlier oversight of the epistle in *Paul: In Fresh Perspective* was not a result of attributing deuterio-Pauline authorship to the letter, see Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 59–61, 1514–1515.

the terminology he discusses.<sup>35</sup> This oversight is especially accentuated given that he defends the Ephesian destination of the letter.<sup>36</sup> Hoehner claims that Ephesus’ “influence both as a secular and religious center emanated to the other parts of the Roman Empire” but he does not explore how its status as an epicenter of provincial imperial rule and ideology in Asia Minor may have contributed to what is said to the Ephesians in the epistle.<sup>37</sup> He briefly assesses the work of Faust, who examines the Roman imperial context of Ephesians 2:14–18. Hoehner dismisses Faust’s claims on the basis that his argument is pinned on non-Pauline authorship of the letter, and that “there is nothing in the letter to indicate that the background of reconciliation of believing Jews and Gentiles was the reestablishment of peace between the Romans and the Jews.”<sup>38</sup> He also dismisses Hendrix’s claim that Ephesians takes the form of a Greco-Roman honorific decree. For Hoehner, Ephesians exhibits too much similarity to other Pauline epistles and wider Hellenistic letters.<sup>39</sup>

Other commentators who have employed historical-grammatical methods have also passed over the imperial context of Ephesians. For example, Best thoroughly examines linguistic and grammatical aspects of Ephesians, while also lucidly acknowledging the need to examine not only the text of Ephesians, but also its subtext. For Best, the subtext “can be a real help in putting what is said into its proper perspective.”<sup>40</sup> Yet shortly after making this claim, he concedes that he largely passes over much of the context of the city of Ephesus, including its imperial setting, because he does not see the letter authentically addressed there, even though he admits that a large part of what had taken place in the city would be reflected in larger Western Asia Minor.<sup>41</sup> Best’s emphasis

---

<sup>35</sup> Hoehner surveys the historical context of the city of Ephesus but does not address the imperial context of the language utilized in the letter: *Ephesians*, 78–89. Furthermore, he concludes that “the purpose of Ephesians is to promote a love for one another that has the love of God and Christ as its basis,” but no connections are drawn between this theme and particular elements of the historical context of the recipients: 106. Helge Stadelmann takes a similar approach by briefly discussing the size of Ephesus, the Artemis cult and the city’s wider pagan context without mentioning anything about its Roman imperial context: *Der Epheserbrief* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1993), 19.

<sup>36</sup> Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 78–79, 144–148. Even those authors who have no interest in placing Eph in a specific location or date would have to admit that regardless of whether one adopts an early date or later date for the epistle, it is still situated securely in an environment under Roman imperial rule. Furthermore, regardless of one’s position on the authenticity of Eph 1:1, it is near consensus among Eph scholars that it is addressed to an audience(s) in some part of Asia Minor. That fact alone warrants exploring its Roman imperial setting.

<sup>37</sup> Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 89.

<sup>38</sup> Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 366.

<sup>39</sup> Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 76.

<sup>40</sup> Ernst Best, *Ephesians* (ICC; London: T&T Clark, 2004), xiii.

<sup>41</sup> Best, *Ephesians*, xiii, 70, 72. Best also dismisses the idea that cultural, economic, political, or syncretistic issues are directly countered in the epistle.

on discerning the subtext is commendable, although his dismissal of the letter's imperial context as part of that subtext is puzzling.<sup>42</sup>

Malina and Pilch attend carefully to socio-historical aspects of the first-century context of the deutero-Pauline letters.<sup>43</sup> This includes identifying the political-religious environment of the early Christian communities.<sup>44</sup> They note early Christian concerns about kingship, which included expectations of the Messiah as “cosmic Lord, with a view to a forthcoming theocracy of Israel.”<sup>45</sup> They also observe that early Christian communities focused on “concord or harmony,” which was “a chief value among Romans,”<sup>46</sup> and they rightly maintain that distinctions between Jews and non-Jews in the Roman Empire were far less visible than has often been assumed,<sup>47</sup> including the fact that Israelites “often inscribed their funerary monuments with the polytheistic D M (*diis minoribus*, i.e., to the divine shades or spirits) to Roman ancestral deities, or at other times to the spirit gods, the Junonian spirits.”<sup>48</sup> On top of engaging in Roman religious customs, some Jews also participated in Greek athletic events, joined Greco-Roman guilds, and served in the Roman army.<sup>49</sup> Malina and Pilch

---

<sup>42</sup> Best acknowledges elements of the imperial context of Eph, but he dismisses much of it as having little relevance to the overall purpose of the letter. He goes as far to say that the author of Eph “pays no attention to what was happening outside the church and is apparently indifferent to its external flux,” Best, *Ephesians*, 70. On the other hand, Best’s appraisal does not consider that Eph displays a great deal of concern about reverting to a way of life that the recipients had formerly lived in. The encouragement offered, in light of their new association with Christ, to refrain from participating in ‘old ways’ is evident throughout the paraenetic sections in the second half of the letter, especially Eph 4:17–24. Therefore, the author must have been not only aware of what was happening outside the church, but also concerned about its impact upon the church community. While I am less sympathetic of Bird’s characterization of the author of Eph as demonizing the ‘other’ by trying to instill fear into his audience through intimidation (resulting in setting the stage for violent military attacks later in history), her proposal at least acknowledges what Best ignores, that the author certainly paid attention to what was happening outside the church: Jennifer G. Bird, “Ephesians,” in *A Postcolonial Commentary on the New Testament Documents*, eds. Fernando F. Segovia and R. S. Sugirtharajah (New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 272. Whatever one concludes about the letter’s location, date, and recipients, its imperial context is at least one important contributing factor to what was happening inside and outside these Christian communities. Compare these with Schwindt, who considers the ‘unsaid’ in examining parallels with ancient worldviews in Eph: Rainer Schwindt, *Das Weltbild des Epheserbriefes: Eine religionsgeschichtlich-exegetische Studie* (WUNT 148; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002).

<sup>43</sup> Bruce J. Malina and John J. Pilch, *Social Scientific Commentary on the Deutero-Pauline Letters* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013), 1–10.

<sup>44</sup> Malina and Pilch, *Deutero-Pauline Letters*, 1.

<sup>45</sup> Malina and Pilch, *Deutero-Pauline Letters*, 2.

<sup>46</sup> Malina and Pilch, *Deutero-Pauline Letters*, 2.

<sup>47</sup> Malina and Pilch, *Deutero-Pauline Letters*, 4.

<sup>48</sup> Malina and Pilch, *Deutero-Pauline Letters*, 4.

<sup>49</sup> Malina and Pilch, *Deutero-Pauline Letters*, 5–6.



## Index of References

### Old Testament

<i>Genesis</i>		68:21	194–195, 227
11:8	194	68:22	195
49:7	194	68:23	194, 227
		68:24	228
<i>Exodus</i>		68:28	195
19:20	195	68:29–32	194, 227
		68:29	228
<i>Numbers</i>		68:31	195
10:35	194	68:34	195
		68:35	228
<i>Deuteronomy</i>		<i>Isaiah</i>	
4:27	194	1–39	147
28:64	194	9:5	147
		11:2	147
<i>Psalms</i>		11:5	147
(the book)	147	11:12	194
68 [67]	226–227	24:1	194
68:1	194	40–55	147
68:2	195	40:1–11	147
68:4	194	40:26	147
68:5	195	44:2	147
68:6	195	50:26	147
68:7	194	52:7 [LXX]	20
68:8	195	52:7	147
68:9	195	57:19	147, 180
68:10	195	57:20	147
68:12	194–195, 227	59:17	147
68:14	194–195, 227	63:10	147
68:15–18	195		
68:15–16	194	<i>Jeremiah</i>	
68:17–18	228	9:16	194
68:17	195, 228	40:15	194
68:18	193–196, 228		
68:20	195		



*Ezekiel*

9–14	147
22:15	194
29:12	194
30:23	194
30:26	194
34:5	194
36:19	194

*Daniel*

10	205
12	205

*Zechariah*

13:7	194
------	-----

## New Testament

*Mark*

(the book)	176, 238
------------	----------

*Luke*

(the book)	91
22:44	37–38

*John*

18:33–19:16	103
18:36	104
18:38–19:5	104
19:12	103
19:19–22	104
20:28	192–193

*Acts*

(the book)	212, 215, 222
13:8–11	223
13:50–51	223
14:2	223
14:5	223
14:11–18	223
14:19	223
15:1	223
16:3	223
16:16–39	223
16:16–34	83
17:5–9	223
17:6–7	102
17:13	223
18:6	223
18:12–17	223
18:14–17	223
19:9	223
19:13–16	223

19:24–40	223
19:35	120
20:3	223
20:17–36	83
21:11–14	223
21:27–22:22	223
22:22–30	83
22:23–29	223
23:1–21	223
23:22–35	223
23:31–26:32	81
24	83, 104
24:1–25:12	223
25:13–32	223
28	143, 152–153
28:14–31	81, 83
28:19–20	223
28:25–28	223

*Romans*

(the book)	69
1:21–23	160
9–11	160
10:12	20
10:15	20
13	84, 149–150, 214
13:1–7	134
15:24	81
16	82, 104
16:7	82
16:22	211

*1 Corinthians*

2	227
2:1–2	228

2:6	149	2:2	178, 205, 216, 237
2:7	227–228	2:6	178, 204, 216, 227, 237
2:8	150	2:7	244
8:4	202	2:8	177
11:21	125	2:11–22	180–185, 218–220, 226, 255
12	27	2:11–21	90
12–14	125	2:11–13	179
14:16–17	23	2:11	15, 161–162, 181
<i>2 Corinthians</i>		2:12–13	180
(the book)	197	2:12	162, 181
11:23	83	2:13	180
<i>Galatians</i>		2:14–18	9
(the book)	158	2:14–16	184
1:1	172	2:14	19, 147, 180, 183
3:28	201	2:15	19, 181, 184, 204
<i>Ephesians</i>		2:16	180, 184
1–3	171, 255	2:17	19–20, 147, 180
1:1	164, 172–174, 209–215, 255	2:21	15, 189
1:2	19, 189	3	228
1:3–14	70, 145, 175–177, 215–216, 255	3:1	15, 87–88, 133, 143, 151, 161, 185– 187, 220–223, 255
1:3	189, 191, 227	3:6	228
1:4–7	140	3:7	141
1:4	70	3:8	141
1:5	70	3:10	15, 141, 202, 205, 227
1:6	147	3:11	189
1:9	228	3:13	185–187, 220–223, 255
1:10	243	3:16	244
1:11	70	3:18–19	244
1:15	145, 189	4–6	145, 160–161, 171, 212, 255
1:16	204	4	161, 163
1:17	147, 189	4:1–3	189
1:18–19	244	4:1	87–88, 133, 151, 187, 189, 251
1:19	147	4:3	19, 224–225
1:20–21	237	4:4–6	187–193, 224–226, 255
1:20	227	4:4	189–190, 224
1:21	15, 202, 244	4:5	189
1:22	15	4:7	228
2	15, 20, 146, 161, 163, 249	4:8–10	193–198, 226–230, 255–256
2:1–12	175	4:8	196, 228
2:1–10	177–180, 216–218, 255		
2:1–5	179		
2:1	145, 178		

4:10	228	6:23	19, 189
4:11–12	197	6:24	189
4:11	228		
4:12–13	229	<i>Philippians</i>	
4:13	15, 243	1:7	88
4:14	147, 159	1:13	88
4:15	15	1:17	88
4:17–24	10	2	7
4:17	189		
4:30	147	<i>Colossians</i>	
5	7, 223	(the book)	70, 130
5:8	189	4:14	37
5:10	189	4:16	71
5:15	243	4:18	88
5:17	189		
5:18–21	23	<i>1 Thessalonians</i>	
5:18	125	1:9	160
5:19	189		
5:20	189	<i>2 Timothy</i>	
5:21–33	20	(the book)	151
5:21–32	199–202, 230–234	1:8	88
5:22–23	22	1:16	88
5:22	189	1:17	152
5:23	15	2:9	88
5:25	232	4:6–22	152
5:29	232		
6	144, 223, 237	<i>Philemon</i>	
6:1	189	(the book)	107, 151
6:4	189	1	88
6:5–9	20	9	88
6:5	189, 225	10	88
6:7	189	22	82
6:8	189		
6:9	189	<i>1 Peter</i>	
6:10–24	144	(the book)	200, 245
6:10–20	21, 160, 237	1:1	172
6:10	147, 189		
6:12	12, 15, 143, 160, 202–206, 227–228, 235–238, 244, 256	<i>1 John</i>	
		(the book)	137
6:13	140, 243		
6:14	147	<i>Revelation</i>	
6:15	19, 147	(the book)	113, 148, 211–212, 248
6:17	147	1:4	172
6:19–20	152, 222	2:4–5	211
6:19	8, 141, 143, 187	2:4	210–211
6:20	87–88, 133, 143, 151, 187	2:5	210
6:21	189	3:14–17	210

17	148	17:9	148
17:2	148		

## Ancient Sources

<i>1 Clement</i>		Gregory of Tours	
5:2	81	<i>On the Glory of the Martyr</i>	
		1.27–28	81
Asterius of Amasea		Horace	
<i>Homily</i>		<i>Carmina</i>	
8.33	81	4.14.14–15	94
Augustus		Ignatius	
<i>Res Gestae</i>		<i>Epistle to the Ephesians</i>	
12	181	1:1	211
13	183		
Cassius Dio		Jerome	
<i>Roman History</i>		<i>De viris illustribus</i>	
51.19	197	5	81
54.8	197	5.8	80
57.19	96, 101	7.3	156
57.24.2–4	98		
57.24.4	99	Jerome	
59.8.2	101	<i>Tractatus in Psalmos</i>	
59.12	96	96.10	81
60.3.5	96		
60.22	197	John Chrysostom	
Cicero		<i>Homiliae in epistulam ii ad Timotheum</i>	
<i>Post Reditum Ad Quirit</i>		10.1–2	81
18	95	John Chrysostom	
25	95	<i>De laudibus sancti Pauli apostoli</i>	
Dead Sea Scrolls		4.15	81
<i>1QM</i>	244	John Chrysostom	
<i>4Q491–496</i>	244	<i>Adversus oppungnatores vitae monasticae</i>	
Epictetus		1.3	81
<i>Discourses</i>		John Malalas	
4.13.5	109	<i>Chronographia</i>	
Eusebius		10.34–37	81
<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>		Josephus	
2.25.5–8	80–81	<i>Jewish Antiquities</i>	
3.1	81	18.168–169	101
5.1.47	79		

Josephus		Suetonius	
<i>Jewish War</i>		<i>Gaius Caligula</i>	
2.179–180	101	16	99
Lactantius		Suetonius	
<i>De mortibus persecutorum</i>		<i>Nero</i>	
2.5–8	81	16	82
		38	82
<i>Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah</i>		Suetonius	
4.2–4	81	<i>Domitianus</i>	
<i>Martyrdom of Polycarp</i>		13	192
(the book)	123	Sulpicius Severus	
7.1	110	<i>Chronicle</i>	
8.2	224	2.28–29	81
9.3	224	Tacitus	
<i>Muratorian Canon</i>		<i>Agricola</i>	
3–5	84	30.24	183
34–39	81	Tacitus	
Orosius		<i>Annals</i>	
<i>Against the Pagans</i>		1.72.3–4	97
7.7	81	2.41	197
Pliny		4.34	99
<i>Letters</i>		4.58	96
10.96–97	101, 122	13.14	197
Quintilian		15.18	187
<i>Institutio oratoria</i>		15.44	81, 101
10.1.104	99	Tertullian	
Seneca		<i>Apologeticus</i>	
<i>Apolocytosis</i>	180	5.3	81
		10.1	104
Suetonius		28.2	104
<i>Divus Julius</i>		Tertullian	
7	133	<i>Scorpiace</i>	
Suetonius		15.1–3	81
<i>Divus Augustus</i>		Virgil	
7	192	<i>Aeneid</i>	
34	199	6.789–804	128
		6.796–797	132
Suetonius			
<i>Tiberius</i>			
39	96		
58	95–96		

## Index of Modern Authors and Persons

- Abbott, Thomas Kingsmill 83, 173  
Adai, Jacob 156, 243  
Adams Holland, Louise 183  
Adewuya, J. Ayodeji 202, 236, 238  
Aicher, Peter J. 182  
Alexander, Loveday 3, 7–8  
Ando, Clifford 93–94, 112  
Arnold, Clinton E. 12, 16, 25, 164, 179,  
202–203, 240–242  
Atnaly Conlin, Diane 249  
Aune, David E. 149, 240  
Austin, John L. 40, 44–51, 57, 59, 67
- Balch, David L. 201  
Bandy, A.S. 113  
Barclay, John M.G. 4, 16, 56, 60, 63,  
84–85, 93, 101, 106–107, 221–222,  
251, 257–258  
Barnes, T.D. 124  
Barth, Markus 70, 85, 171  
Baugh, Steven M. 152, 158  
Bauman, Richard A. 94, 97, 99, 105  
Baumert, Norbert 145, 162, 226, 232  
Beale, Gregory K. 148–149  
Beard, Mary 115, 196  
Beck, Norman 25, 178–179, 186, 203–  
205, 235–236  
Beker, Maria 127  
Bennett, J. 129  
Best, Ernst 9–10, 18, 140–141, 160,  
164, 180, 210, 240  
Biden, Joe 188–189  
Bird, Jennifer G. 10, 25–29, 204, 237,  
245  
Black, David Allen 80  
Black, Max 46  
Blumenfeld, Bruno 4  
Bock, Darrell 126  
Bodor, A. 106
- Bond, Shelagh M. 197  
Booth, Wayne 34, 41  
Bowen, C.A. 88  
Bowersock, Glen W. 122  
Braund, David C. 92, 130, 132  
Brent, A. 129  
Briggs, Richard A. 48  
Briggs Kittredge, Cynthia 28, 231  
Brodd, Jeffrey 113  
Bunson, M. 129  
Burk, Denny 91, 188  
Burnett, D. Clint 220  
Burrell, Barbara 117, 120, 126
- Canavan, Rosemary 85  
Carr, Wesley 202–203, 236  
Carter, Warren 123, 191  
Cassidy, Richard 88, 112, 134, 151  
Champlin, Edward 128  
Chaniotis, Angelos 122  
Chilton, C.W. 104  
Claridge, Amanda 182  
Clarke, G.W. 103  
Coarelli, Fillipo 182  
Cohick, Lynn H. 80, 88, 90, 151, 156,  
158–159, 180  
Cooley, Allison 182, 192  
Covington, Michael 192  
Cozart, Richard 215, 244  
Cramer, F.H. 98  
Crook, J.A. 115, 127  
Crossan, John Dominic 181  
Croy, Clayton 108
- Dahl, Nils 78, 141, 159  
Danker, Fredrick W. 17–18  
Darko, Daniel K. 71, 230  
Davis, Gregson 128  
Deiningner, Jürgen 110

- Deissmann, Adolf 3, 187  
 Diehl, Judith A. 188  
 Dunne, John Anthony 59, 193, 226  
 Dyson, Stephen L. 110  
  
 Eastman, David L. 80–81  
 Eck, Werner 96, 124  
 Edwards, James R. 37  
 Ehorn, Seth 193  
 Eisele, Wilfried 159  
 Eisen, Ute 8  
 Elkins, N.T. 195  
 Eliot, George 36  
 Elliott, Neil 4, 8, 11–13  
 Engberg, Jakob 123–124  
 Erickson, Millard 240  
 Estelle, Brian D. 147, 150  
 Ewald, Helen 60  
  
 Fantin, Joseph D. 187–188, 191, 224  
 Faust, Eberhard 6, 9, 19–20, 130, 161,  
 181, 232–234, 238, 240  
 Ferguson, Everett 78, 104, 112, 114,  
 121, 125, 139, 148  
 Finley, Moses I. 98–99  
 Fishwick, Duncan 112  
 Flower, H.I. 103  
 Fludernik, Monika 67  
 Forbes, Chris 202  
 Foster, Robert 18  
 Fredriksen, Paula 162  
 Friesen, Steven J. 112, 114–115, 120–  
 122, 126–127, 242  
 Fuchs, Rüdiger 88, 158  
  
 Galinsky, Karl 118, 126, 130, 192, 199,  
 247  
 Gese, Michael 165, 172, 233  
 Gibson, Jack J. 201  
 Georgi, Dieter 7  
 Gnllka, Joachim 232  
 Gombis, Timothy G. 5, 11, 25  
 Goodspeed, Edgar 156  
 Gradel, Ittai 112  
 Grams, Rollin 195  
 Granger Cook, John 185  
 Griffin, Miriam 96–97, 107, 123, 125,  
 128–129  
 Gruen, Erich S. 116  
  
 Guelich, Robert A. 206, 237  
 Gupta, Nijay K. 6, 16, 179, 200, 203,  
 205, 225, 236  
 Guthrie, George H. 100  
  
 Hackworth Petersen, Lauren 103  
 Hadas-Lebel, Mireille 161  
 Hanc, Ovidiu 147  
 Hannah, Robert 195  
 Harker, Christina 26  
 Harland, Philip A. 119  
 Harris III, W.Hall 198  
 Harrison, James R. 131, 177–178, 240–  
 241  
 Harvard, Joseph S. 180  
 Hays, Richard B. 68  
 Heilig, Christoph 8, 66, 85, 119, 196–  
 197, 251, 256  
 Hemelrijk, Emily A. 114  
 Herr, Moshe David 120, 122–124, 161–  
 162, 243  
 Hirsch Eric D. 64  
 Hobart, William Kirk 37–38  
 Hoehner, Harold 6, 9, 71–72, 139, 172–  
 173, 180, 193–194, 196–197, 230,  
 240  
 Holmes, Michael W. 211, 224  
 Horrell, David G. 113, 200  
 Horsley, Richard A. 3, 12, 29, 55  
 Hunt, Laura J. 104  
 Hurtado, Larry 100, 112  
  
 Immendorfer, Michael 187  
  
 Jacobs, Paul W. 249  
 Jayne, Donald 146  
 Jennings, Willie James 233  
 Jewett, Robert 5, 24  
 Johnson, E.Elizabeth 165, 231  
 Johnson-Debaufre, Melanie 115  
 Jones, Arnold H.M. 122, 124  
 Jones, B.W. 129  
 Jones, C.P. 109  
 Jones, Stephen W. 54  
  
 Kapust, Daniel J. 97  
 Keazirian, Edward 183  
 Keen, Eric. M 8

- Keesmaat, Sylvia 25–25, 28, 70, 130,  
 204, 214, 235–236  
 Kennell, Nigel 110  
 Kim, Seyoon 56, 59  
 Kindt, Tom 34  
 Kleiner, Fred S. 197  
 Kobel, Esther 107, 123  
 Koester, Helmut 95, 98, 116, 121, 129,  
 131  
 Köstenberger, Andreas 131  
 Kraemer, Ross S. 162  
 Kraybill, J.Nelson 149  
 Kreitzer, Larry 80, 156, 164, 195, 198  
 Kushner, Tony 37
- Lalitha, Jayachitra 6, 28, 91  
 Lampe, Peter 82  
 Lang, T.J. 177, 227–228  
 Lau, Te-Li 12–13, 21, 28, 181, 219,  
 251  
 Lavan, Miles 199, 246  
 Lee-Barnewall, Michelle 7, 231–233  
 Legasse, Simon 104  
 Lemmer, H.R. 239, 242–243  
 Levick, Barbara 109, 119, 123–125,  
 128–129  
 Liebgood, Kelly D. 199–200, 240,  
 244  
 Liefeld, Walter 194  
 Lincoln, Andrew T. 6–7, 17, 82, 134,  
 142, 159, 198, 210, 238  
 Lindemann, Andreas 85, 146, 172–173  
 Lohfink, Gerhard 104  
 Long, Fredrick J. 6, 13–16, 18, 126,  
 178–179, 181, 200, 203, 205–206,  
 213, 225, 236  
 Longenecker, Bruce W. 64, 66  
 Lopez, Davina 29, 184  
 Lotz, John Paul 190, 205, 225, 235,  
 242  
 Lowe, Matthew Forrest 7, 24–25  
 Lund, Allan 125  
 Lunde, Jonathan M. 193, 226
- MacDonald, Margaret Y. 14, 22, 30,  
 90, 134, 138, 142, 201, 206  
 MacMullen, Ramsay 111, 124  
 MaGee, Gregory S. 164  
 Magli, Giulio 195
- Maier, Harry O. 4–6, 13–14, 29–30, 39,  
 69, 71, 85, 111, 126, 130, 245  
 Malina, Bruce J. 10–11  
 Marsen, Sky 33, 67  
 Marshall, Ian Howard 37  
 Matera, Frank J. 150  
 Matsumoto, N. 112, 123–125  
 Meggitt, Justin 191  
 Millar, Fergus 95, 122–124  
 Miller, Colin 113, 119  
 Mitchell, Stephen 112  
 Moffat, James 100  
 Moritz, Thorsten 38, 41, 64–66, 68–70,  
 138, 163, 193–194  
 Moss, Candida 12, 107–108, 124–126  
 Mounce, Robert 149  
 Mouton, Elna 15  
 Muddiman, John 11, 71, 138, 142–143,  
 154, 165, 171, 198  
 Müller, Hans-Harald 34  
 Mußner, Franz 39, 215, 239  
 Musurillo, Herbert 101, 110, 123–124,  
 178
- Nasrallah, Laura Salah 77, 249  
 Neufeld, Dietmar 137–138  
 Nixon, Lyn 40, 51–52, 59
- O'Brien, Peter T. 131  
 Oakes, Peter 122, 125–126, 199, 256,  
 258  
 Osiek, Carolyn 14, 22, 201  
 Oster, Richard 122, 130, 132  
 Otway, Fiona 36
- Panjikaran, Joy G. 187  
 Parshall, P. 101  
 Perkins, Pheme 11  
 Pero, Cheryl S. 238  
 Pilch, John J. 10–11  
 Plummer, Alfred 37  
 Pokorný, Petr 139  
 Powell, Mark Allan 36  
 Price, Simon R.F. 112, 114, 119–119,  
 122, 126, 130, 242  
 Punt, Jeremy 5, 90–91, 176, 246
- Randin, Max 80  
 Reed, Jonathan L. 113



- Rehak, Paul 115, 120, 129–131, 181–183, 198, 249
- Reinmuth, Eckhart 8, 246
- Robinson, B.W. 82
- Robinson, Donald W.B. 159
- Robinson, Laura 56, 63, 93, 99–102, 106–108, 188, 257–258
- Robinson, T.A. 88
- Rock, Ian 104, 128
- Rogers, Cleon L. 30
- Rogers, R.S. 103
- Rohmann, Dirk 99, 103
- Routledge, R. 146
- Rowe, Christopher Kavin 104
- Rutledge, Stephen H. 100–101, 105–106
- Ryken, Leland 34
- Salvo, D. 94, 104
- Schnelle, Udo 156
- Scholz, Udo 122
- Schüssler Fiorenza, Elizabeth 27–28, 86, 141–142, 156, 159–160, 232
- Schwindt, Rainer 72, 121, 163, 212
- Scott, Ian W. 66
- Scott, James C. 4, 58, 101, 200, 203
- Searle, John R. 53–56, 59, 61, 63, 85–86, 149, 165, 215, 217, 224, 237, 253
- Seewann, Maria-Irma 145, 162, 232
- Segovia, Fernando F. 5
- Seinfeld, Jerry 49
- Sellin, Gerhard 20, 139–140, 158, 173, 198, 243
- Shaw, B.D. 112
- Sheldon, Rose Mary 93, 95–96, 99–100, 104, 106–107, 109
- Shkul, Minna 11, 23
- Shohat, Yanir 106
- Sider, R.D. 104
- Simon, Erika 127, 182–183
- Sinnigen, William G. 105, 108–109
- Skinner, Quentin 40–42, 52, 57, 59, 61–63, 72, 138
- Smillie, Gene R. 143–144, 152–154, 185, 202
- Snodgrass, Klyne 138
- Speyer, Wolfgang 97–98
- Stadelmann, Helge 9, 152, 156, 158, 162, 232
- Stamps, Dennis L. 65–66
- Starling, David 215
- Stenschke, Christoph 160–162
- Strecker, Christian 3, 237
- Sullivan, S.P. 147
- Talbert, Charles H. 23, 29–30, 142, 158, 172, 183, 239, 243
- Tate, Marvin E. 193–195
- Thatcher, Tom 104
- Theophilus, Michael P. 116, 120
- Thielman, Frank 204
- Thiselton, Anthony C. 64–65
- Trebilco, Paul 163
- Treggiari, Susan 92
- Trump, Donald 188–189
- Tucker, T.G. 108, 125
- Tulloch, Janet H. 14, 22
- Turner, Max 142, 215
- Turner, Nigel 113
- Van Kooten, George 70, 85, 240
- Van Nuffelen, Peter 125
- van Roon, A. 71
- van Tilborg, Sjef 193
- Verhey, Allen 180
- Walsh, Brian 70, 130, 214
- Warnock, Geoffrey J. 44–45
- Watts, Rikki E. 147
- Weinstock, Stephen 133
- Welch, J.W. 95–96, 103–104
- Wessels, G.F. 239, 243
- White, Joel R. 65, 188
- Wiedemann, Thomas E.J. 96, 128
- Williams, T.B. 106, 109, 122–124
- Windsor, Lionel J. 146
- Wink, Walter 16, 202–203
- Winn, Adam 240, 248
- Winter, Bruce W. 77, 112, 118, 122, 161, 191–192, 247
- Winzenburg, Justin G. 24, 238
- Witherington III, Ben 17, 68–69
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig 48
- Wright, Nicholas T. 8, 17, 33, 63, 67–68, 80–81, 84, 146, 188, 202, 234, 257

Yorke, Gosnell 20–22, 181

Zanker, Paul 178, 183, 192

Zerwick, Max 172–173



## Index of Subjects and Places

- Alexander the Great 132, 146  
Alexandria 116  
Allusion, *see* Speech-act theory, indirect speech-acts.  
Ancyra 117  
Antoninus Pius 129  
Aphrodisias 130, 190  
Apollo 116, 127  
Apostolic Fathers 90  
Apotheosis 120–121, 132–133, 179, 190–191, 195, 198, 256  
Ara Pacis Augustus 127, 132, 181–183  
Arch of Titus 195–197, 229  
Artemis 12, 116, 120–122, 164, 217  
*Asebeia* 97, 125  
Asia Minor 78, 82–84, 86, 107, 109–110, 112–121, 123–124, 126, 129–131, 133–135, 153–154, 157, 162–167, 173–174, 177, 184, 187, 190, 201–203, 217, 251, 256  
Associations 119  
Astrology 164  
Augustus 20–21, 95, 97–98, 105, 115–117, 119–120, 127–132, 178–179, 182–183, 190, 197, 199, 201, 218, 220, 230, 234, 240–241, 249, 254, 256  
Augustus of Prima Porta 183  
Aurem Saeculum 127–133, 183, 199, 215, 240, 257  
Authorial intention 40–42, 52  
  
Bar Kokhba 86, 97  
*Basileia* 104  
*Berekah* 145, 175–177  
Brute facts 53  
Brutus 97–99  
  
Caelian Hill (Rome) 109  
Caligula (Gaius) 96, 116–118, 161, 195  
*Calumniator* 106  
Campus Martius (Rome) 115, 129, 182, 249  
Capitoline Hill (Rome) 107, 132  
*Carcer* (Rome) 153, 157  
*Carmen Saeculare* 130  
Cassius 97–98  
*Castra Peregrina* (Rome) 109  
Censorship 99, 101  
Christology 14–16, 27, 142, 166, 179, 184, 186, 191–192, 197, 209, 218, 247–250, 256  
Claudius 82, 96, 100, 131, 180, 197  
Cleopatra 98, 192  
Colossus of Nero 133  
Commodus 128–129  
Constructivism 29, 53–54  
Cosmology 17, 121, 130, 132–133, 142, 178–180, 182, 186, 190, 195, 216, 218, 228, 246, 254–255  
Count as formula (Searle), *see* X=Y in C (Searle)  
Crassus (M. Licinius) 183  
Cremutius Cordus 97–99  
Crucifixion 103–104, 184–185  
  
*Damnatio memoriae* 100, 103, 116, 195, 210–213  
Dead Sea Scrolls 140–142, 145, 240  
Decius 79, 122, 124  
Deification, *see* Apotheosis  
*Delatores* 93, 105–109, 111, 133–134, 173, 186, 220, 254  
Demeter/Cybele 241  
Deutero-Pauline texts 39, 134  
Devil, *see* Satan

- Diogmitae* 109–110  
 Dionysus 98  
*Divi Filius* 179  
 Documentary hypothesis 35  
 Domitian 85–86, 96–97, 99, 103, 107–108, 117, 125, 129, 152, 192  
 Domus Aurea 133  
 Drusus (M. Scribonius Libo) 100
- Earthquake (Colossae/Laodicea) 80  
*Eirene* 19, 21, 180–185  
*Ekklesia* 27, 107, 177, 204  
 Empirical/IMPLIED, *see* IMPLIED/empirical  
 Ephesians, authorship
  - Deutero-Pauline 16, 78–79, 87–89, 133, 140–143, 144, 151, 154–155, 165, 173–174, 186, 196, 212, 225, 236, 248
  - IMPLIED Author 139–157
  - Pauline 84, 88–89, 133, 137, 139, 141, 143–144, 163, 173–174, 239
 Ephesians, date 20, 22, 141, 161
  - Early 80–85, 152, 166
  - Late 85–90, 103, 153–154, 166
 Ephesians, ecclesiology 89–90  
 Ephesians, empirical life-setting 79–135, 138  
 Ephesians, eschatology 147, 150, 162, 186, 239–247, 256–257  
 Ephesians, household code 17, 22, 27–28, 107, 138, 141, 159–160, 199–202, 230–234, 248, 256  
 Ephesians, recipients
  - Circular letter 172
  - Hierapolis 82, 164
  - IMPLIED/Empirical 78, 82, 138, 155, 157–166, 254
  - Laodicea 71, 82, 164, 210
  - Protective measure theory 174, 209–210, 214
 Ephesians, relationship to
  - Colossians 70–72, 78–80, 83, 89, 145, 151, 159, 162–165, 193, 200, 214, 245
 Ephesus, city 9, 115–117, 121–122, 138, 140, 163, 187, 217  
 Epigraphy, *see* Inscriptions (Greco-Roman)
- Episkopos* 90  
 Epistolary genre 65, 69  
 Eschatology (Roman Imperial) 19, 121, 127–135, 161–162, 166, 175–176, 183–184, 191, 199, 240, 254–257  
*Ethne* (*Ethnos*) 15, 220  
*Euangelion* 131, 216  
 Expulsion from Rome (Claudian) 100
- Fire of Rome (AD 64) 82, 102, 128, 152  
*Fiscus Iudaicus* 107  
 Forum (Roman) 182  
*Frumentarii* 103, 108–112, 173, 186, 220, 254
- Gades (Spain) 132  
 Gallio inscription 80  
 Gnosticism 89, 139–140, 240–241  
 God-fearers 161–163  
 Golden age, *see* Aurem saeculum
- Hadrian 78, 85, 124, 129, 243  
 Haustafel, *see* Ephesians, household code  
 Hellenization 91, 140–141, 148  
 Hematidrosis 37  
 Hercules 132  
 Hidden transcripts 4, 28, 56, 59, 101, 200, 203, 235–236  
 Historical-critical hermeneutic 30, 137–138  
 Historical-grammatical hermeneutic 9, 23–24, 137–138  
 Horace 199  
 Horologium Augustus 130–131, 182  
 Horologium obelisk 132  
 Hybridity 28, 91
- Illocutions, *see* Speech-act theory, illocutions  
 Imperial cults (Roman) 4, 12, 79, 95, 112–133, 161, 166, 195, 217, 223, 237–238, 241, 247–248, 254  
 IMPLIED/empirical 34–43, 138, 254
  - Audience/Reader 36–37, 41, 50, 52, 60, 254
  - Author 34–41, 44, 50, 52–53, 59, 163, 254

- Context 41–43, 78
- Imprisonment (of Paul) 83, 87–88, 102–103, 133, 141, 151–155, 157, 185–187, 220–223, 254–255
- Caesarea 81, 88, 152–153
- Ephesus 80–82, 84, 88, 153
- Rome 81, 88, 143–144, 152, 154, 157, 185
- Inscriptions (Greco-Roman) 9, 15, 17–18, 142
- Institutional facts 53–56, 189, 216–218
- Isaiah (authorship) 35
- Janus Geminus (temple) 182
- Jerusalem 116
- Judas Iscariot 105
- Judea 129
- Judean War (AD 66–72) 86, 107, 195–196
- Julius Caesar 98, 115, 130, 132–133
- Jupiter 116, 178, 192, 205
- Kephale* 15, 231, 233–234
- Kingship 10
- Kurios* 15, 47, 187–193, 224–225, 247
- Kyriarchy 28
- Leptis Magna 178
- Livia 178, 183
- Locutions, *see* Speech-act theory, locutions
- Lucius Vitellius 96
- Ludi saeculares* 130
- Luke (authorship) 37–38, 84, 91
- Magic 103, 164, 241
- Maiestas* 93–106, 109, 111–112, 123, 125, 133–135, 153, 174, 185–187, 214, 220, 254
- Mamertine prison, *see* Carcer (Rome)
- Marcus Aurelius 79, 97, 122
- Marius 115
- Mark Antony 98, 116, 183, 192
- Marriage 22
- Mars 183
- Martyrdom literature 110, 224
- Midrash peshet 193
- Miletus 116–117
- Mimicry 28
- Mystery language 143, 149, 186, 227–228
- Narrative hermeneutic 53, 64–72, 243, 245–246, 253, 256, 258
- Narratology 66–67
- Neokoros* 120–121, 217
- Nero 81–82, 87, 96–97, 100, 102–103, 107, 117, 123, 128, 133, 143–144, 149, 152, 154, 185, 190, 195, 197, 232, 240
- Nerva 97, 107, 129
- New exodus 140, 142, 146–147, 150, 156, 175–176, 215–216, 242
- New perspective on Paul 16
- Nicea 115
- Nikomedia 117
- Oikonomia* 27
- Parallelomania 188
- Paterfamilias* 199
- Patron/client 3
- Paul (death of) 80–81
- Peace 19–22, 180, 190, 215, 218–220, 232, 255–256
- Perduellio* 93
- Pergamum 116–117, 220
- Perlocutions, *see* Speech-act theory, perlocutions
- Persecution (of Christians) 11, 78–79, 84, 100–101, 108, 122–125, 144, 152, 160, 166, 173
- Peter (death of) 80
- Philo 91, 100, 141
- Pilate, Pontius 103–104
- Platonism 240
- Pliny 101, 122–124
- Politeia* 27, 229, 233
- Pompey 130, 133, 246
- Pontifex maximus* 179
- Pontus and Bithynia 122
- Poppaea Sabina 96
- Postcolonial hermeneutics 5, 25, 28, 91
- Powers (spiritual) 12
- Priene inscription 21, 131, 191, 220
- Pseudo-Phocylides 141
- Re-authoring 64

- Res Gestae Augustus* 120, 132  
 Roman army 11, 28  
 Rome (city) 149, 249, 251  
 Romulus 115  
  
 San Paolo alla Regola 81  
 Satan 25, 178, 205–206, 238  
 SBL Paul and Politics 4  
 Scipio 115  
 Second-temple Judaism 68  
 Septuagint 15, 187  
*Shalom* 19  
 Shell money 54–55  
 Smyrna 116–117  
*Soter* 15, 247  
*Speculators* 93  
 Speech-act theory 43–64, 134, 215, 253, 257–258
  - Constatve utterances 44–45
  - Illocutions 40–41, 44, 47–53, 56–59, 61, 63, 71–72, 85, 176, 186, 193, 215–216, 218, 220, 222, 227, 230, 236–237, 248, 251, 258
  - Indirect speech-acts 58–64
  - Locutions 40, 43–44, 46–51, 56–59, 61, 63, 71–72, 85, 89, 101, 111, 156, 184, 191, 220, 226–227, 230, 234, 236–238, 244, 248, 256, 258
  - Misfire 50, 111, 149, 151, 227
  - Performative utterances 44–45, 61
  - Perlocutions 40–41, 44, 47, 50–53, 56–60, 63, 71–72, 85, 176, 184, 186, 215–216, 220, 222–223, 227, 230, 248, 251
  - Phatic acts 46
  - Phonetic acts 46
  - Rhetic acts 46
  - Uptake 51, 58
 St. Maria in Via Lata 81  
 Stoicism 140  
*Superstitio* 125  
  
 Tiberius 95–100, 105, 116–117, 119, 178, 197  
 Titus (emperor) 97, 195  
 Trajan 78, 97, 122, 129  
 Treason, *see* *Maiestas*  
 Trestevere 82  
 Triumph (Roman) 115, 195–197, 229  
  
 Tycheus 83, 151, 172  
  
*Ustrinum* 182  
  
 Vespasian 97, 129, 195  
 Via Flamina 182  
*Vigiles* 93  
 Virgil 127, 130–132, 192, 199  
 Visual exegesis 29  
  
 X=Y in C (Searle) 54–58, 72, 85–86, 149–150, 157, 165, 173–174, 176, 180, 184, 197, 215–217, 220, 224–225, 230, 236, 242, 258