Christ as Ancestor Hero: Using Catherine Bell's Ritual Framework to Analyze 1 Corinthians as an Ancestor Hero Association in First Century CE Roman Corinth

by

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Abstract

The Corinthian community members employed a Greco-Roman heroic model to graft their ancestral lineages, through the rite of baptism, to the *genos* Christ-hero. In doing so, the Corinthians constructed an elaborate ancestral lineage, linking their association locally through Christ to Corinth, and trans-locally through Moses to an imagined Ancient Israel. For the community, Christ's death and resurrection aligned with the death and epiphanies of ancient heroes, as did his characteristics as a healer, protector, and oracle. Relatedly, the "Lord's Meal," as practiced by the Corinthians, was a hybrid ritual, as the association synthesized the meal with the already-existing heroic rites of *theoxenia* and *enagezein*. This ritualized meal allowed the Christ-hero followers to bring their hero closer to them, imbuing their oracular rituals of prophecy and speaking in tongues, as well as their protection rituals. In response to their hero, the Christ-hero members offered locks of their hair through hair-cutting and hair-offering rituals. Their funerary rites and ritualized meals nuanced and dominated other cultic aspects such as healing, oracles, offerings, baptism, and *defixiones*. Yet the Christ-hero did more than just focus worship for the community. In fact, it allowed a newly transplanted migrant population to construct a socio-political space within the polis, by restructuring their neighbourhood networks and claiming ownership and status within the greater Corinthian environment.

This dissertation presents a thorough analysis of the aforementioned issues, resulting in a redescription of the Corinthian Christ-hero association that analyzes the association's ritual practices with careful consideration of the greater Corinthian cultural context. Furthermore, by applying Catherine Bell's ritual framework to the practices described in 1 Corinthians, this study reveals that the rituals cannot be lifted out of their cultural context. On the contrary, the rituals performed by the Corinthians belong in the cultural context of first century CE Roman Corinth. Consequently, the Corinthian Christ-hero association was not – contrary to much prior scholarly discourse concerning

the Corinthian Christ association – a distinct community with unique practices. Rather, the Corinthian association created rituals that mirrored the practices of the greater Corinthian environment.

This study will analyze the Christ-hero association's practices in the Corinthian cultural context through the passages in 1 Corinthians that highlight the contested spaces of authority. Those passages include: The Lord's Meal Ritual (1 Cor. 10:16-17 and 11:17-34); Funerary Vicariousness in Baptism on Behalf of the Dead (1 Cor. 15:29); Christ as Protector Hero: Curses as Mortuary Wards/Traps for the Dead (1 Cor. 12:3a); Communication Rituals: Prophecy and Speaking in Tongues (1 Cor. 12:10, 28, and 1 Cor. 14); and Hair-offerings to the Christ-Hero (1 Cor. 11:4-7).

To Brenda, Jordan, and Amelia

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Plates

Introduction

As a researcher, I felt unsatisfied with Acts' explanation that people in Corinth became believers in Christ because they heard Paul speak (Acts 18:8). I also had a hunch that the writer of Acts placed too much emphasis on Judaism and synagogues in relation to the formation of the group (Acts 18:1-18). By focusing on Judaism, Acts makes the group seem distinctive within Corinthian society, a special type of "Jewish community" filled with gentiles, rejected by Jews, that did not have a place in either Ancient Corinth or Ancient Israel. Finally, Acts presents Paul as the sole impetus for the group's formation. Acts' representation placed far too much emphasis upon Paul and his role in the social formation of the Corinthian association, and it overshadowed the hard work of Chloe's people, the household of Stephanas (including Fortunatus and Achaicus), Crispus, and Gaius. Contemporary scholarship has rightly examined the interests at play in the Acts narrative, demonstrating that what we find in Acts is not "Christian history," but rather one of the earliest narratives *about* "Christian history."[1] Yet even aside from Acts, this "distinctive" representation is found in modern scholarship as well. Wayne Meeks in *The First Urban Christians* develops a picture of the Pauline movement in Corinth as distinctive from its cultural context and a community that developed "a unique culture."[2] Eva Ebel in *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden* explains that Corinthian Christianity had a sense of community that distinguished them from other groups in its environment.[3] This study addresses Acts' and contemporary scholarship's unbalanced, possibly even imbalanced, representation of the Corinthian group as a unique and distinctive group and recognizes

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[1] See Joseph B. Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts: A Defining Struggle* (South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 2006) and Marianne Palmer-Bonz, *The Past as Legacy: Luke-Acts and Ancient Epic* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000).

[2] Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983) 84-85. Meeks states that he presents the unique culture of Pauline Christianity throughout his book (Meeks, *The First Urban Christians*, 85).

[3] Eva Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden: Die Geminde von Korinth im Spiegel griechish-römischer Vereine* Ed. Jörg Frey (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004) 202.

that its social formation was not different, rather it belongs within the cultural context of mid-first century CE Corinth.

This study argues that the Corinthian community members employed a Greco-Roman heroic model to graft their ancestral lineages to the *genos* Christ-hero as part of Moses' ancestral lineage linking their community locally to Corinth through Christ, and trans-locally through Moses to an imagined Ancient Israel. The rites described in 1 Corinthians are best explained in the cultural context of this lower level *genos* type hero.

It is the first century CE Corinthian hero cult context, which explains the symbols that the rituals dramatize, and integrates thought and action of the Christ-hero cult as *seemingly* different to other groups.[4] The Corinthian Christ-hero followers, furthermore, generated a ritualized environment so they could shift their status and the nature of their situation in Corinth from a transplanted financially restrictive community to a legitimized position of status allowing the community to create political and social boundaries within the greater Corinth environment. This shift in status is encapsulated in the shifting authority of contested spaces of ritual practice specifically located in: The Lord's Meal Ritual (1 Cor. 10:16-17 and 11:17-34); Funerary Vicariousness in Baptism on Behalf of the Dead (1 Cor. 15:29); Christ as Protector Hero: Curses as Mortuary Wards/Traps for the Dead (1 Cor. 12:3a); Communication Rituals: Prophecy and Speaking in Tongues (1 Cor. 12:10, 28, and 1 Cor. 14); and Hair-offerings to the Christ-hero (1 Cor. 11:4-7). Within these contested spaces, this study will investigate how Corinthians worshipped their new hero.

The approach that this study takes is to not to apply general voluntary association data or general Corinthian trends to the Corinthian Christ-hero association, as general data leads to general

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[4] Catherine Bell states that "ritual is to the symbols it dramatizes as action is to thought; on a second level, ritual integrates thought and action; and on a third level, a focus on ritual performances integrates *our* thought and *their* action." (Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2009] 32).

conclusions with the danger that the Corinthian group may seem distinctive within this type of

dataset. Rather, this study specifically will analyze the Corinthian Christ-hero association in context

to other hero based activities and groups. By using similar comparative data, the conclusions reached

in this study will be more specific to the nuances found in 1 Corinthians, and place the Corinthian

Christ-hero association alongside other similar associations.[5]

Chapter One of this study explains that Paul needs to be decentralized with the aim of

uncovering the practices of the Corinthian community. An explanation of Catherine Bell's ritual

framework follows with the final part of the chapter applying Bell's framework to the social and

cultural circumstances of ancient Corinth, specific to the migrant population newly settled in the city.

It explains how the setting of Corinth is conducive to hero cults and how contested ritual authority is

reflected in 1 Corinthians. Chapter Two describes the hero cult model and highlights scholarship that

has located this model in the New Testament. The chapter then turns to reveal how 1 Corinthians

reflects Christ as a hero, and places the Christ-hero in Corinthian heroic cultural context. At this

stage of the study, the concern is to show that Corinth and its surrounding area had many heroes

that paralleled with the hero Christ, and does not specifically address cultic or associative formations.

Chapter Three fine-tunes the Christ-hero issue by using the Lord's Meal ritual to categorize Christ as

a lower-level hero closer on a scale to the ordinary dead than to Herakles. To show this lower

association, I analyze ancient rituals and compared them to the Lord's Meal. Out of this comparison,

the Lord's Meal is identified as a heroic *theoxenia* ritual with *enagizein*-laden language. The

identification of this hybrid ritual allows for the identification of the Christ-hero. Chapter Four

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[5] Before advancing too far into the research, I want to address terminology associated with group formation in the secondary sources. The classical scholarship sources that were used in this study uses the term "cult" (i.e., hero cult, tomb cult, ancestor cult) to name and describe ancient groups while New Testament scholarship uses the term "association" (i.e., voluntary association, occupation-based association, Herakles association). As there is no distinction between cult and association with regards to social formation, this study will use the terms synonymously applying cult or association based upon readability and not upon differentiated taxonomy.

addresses the formation of the Christ-hero group, placing it alongside other hero based associations. Comparative work will reveal that the Christ-hero association has similar bylaws and features to other ancient associations. The final part of this chapter addresses the formation of the Christ-hero association as coming out of local neighbourhood networks. Chapter Five turns to the Corinthian funerary cultural context to first analyze the physical evidence and then to explain how vicariousness applies to funerals and connects to ancestry. Vicariousness was a feature found in baptism on behalf of the dead, where the Corinthian Christ-hero followers were grafting their ancestors locally to Christ with the aim to connect them trans-locally to Moses. Chapter Six explains how ancestor heroes legitimized groups within their social and political contexts. It further explains that through baptism the Corinthians drew lineage through Christ to Moses. This chapter then provides details on how Moses was represented as a Greco-Roman hero. The final section of this chapter describes ancestor and associative heroes and shows how Christ possesses the features of an ancestor hero. These features help to identify Christ as a local lower level hero, in relation to other ancient heroes. Chapter Seven addresses the common heroic feature of community protection. As a lower level local ancestor hero, Christ would have protected the community from harm, and this study argues that *defixiones*, ancient curse tablets powered by Christ, were one way that this protection was enacted. Chapter Eight addresses Christ as an oracular hero, as oracles and prophecy were closely associated with ancient heroes. After first explaining oracles and prophecy, this chapter moves through a highly nuanced discussion of daimons, pollution, and polluted heroic sacrificial meat in order to understand the context of prophecy and speaking in tongues. This chapter uses specific examples of oracular heroes and the relationship between oracles and heroes and concludes with explaining how speaking in tongues as possession fits neatly into a feature of the Christ-hero. Chapter Nine is an excursus on the hair-cutting ritual associated with the Christ-hero. This chapter reveals how practices located in 1 Corinthians are reflective of the understanding of Christ as a hero. The chapter moves through hair-

cutting rituals associated funerals into hero cult hair-cutting rites to show that the Corinthian group members were offering locks of their hair to Christ as a votive offering. The conclusion summarizes the findings of this study and highlights my contributions to the New Testament field.

Chapter One: Theory and Method

This chapter describes the theory and method(s) used in this study. The first section argues the importance of decentralizing Paul from 1 Corinthians, one of the methodological features of this study. The second section, Catherine Bell's ritual framework, explains how her theory and method includes all of the elements for a research study. Bell critiques scholarly ritual theory and describes the reasons for either rejecting or accepting other scholar's theories into her theory. Bell's monograph does more than just postulate theoretical discourse; it provides the researcher with method (i.e., tools) in order to analyze a text. Because Bell includes both method and theory in her monograph, it is best to describe her approach as a framework. The final section of the study applies Bell's framework to the cultural context of ancient Corinth. Building on scholarship, this section sets the stage to develop the argument that an ancient heroic model is applicable to the setting of mid-first century CE Corinth.

Decentralizing Paul in 1 Corinthians

Paul, as author of 1 Corinthians, has no place in this study.[6] Paul self-identifies as a Jew,[7] but there are no distinctive Jewish funerary or heroic practices in Roman Corinth.[8] Moreover, Paul as someone who has "become all things to all people" (1 Cor. 9:22) does not represent a definitive

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[6] By centering on the Corinthian Christ-hero association rituals, this study, does not want to attempt to explain Pauline rhetoric. In some ways, this is the opposite stance of William E. Arnal's article, "Bringing Paul and the Corinthians Together? A Rejoinder and Some Proposals on Redescription and Theory," in *Redescribing Paul and the Corinthians: Early Christianity and Its Literature,* eds. Ron Cameron and Merrill P. Miller (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011) 75-104. Ironically, this study will use some of the arguments for bringing Paul closer to the Corinthians to show that he is not needed to analyze the rituals.

[7] Arnal, "Bringing Paul and the Corinthians Together?," 89-90.

[8] See Jonathan Z. Smith, "Fences and Neighbours: Some Contours of Early Judaism," in *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982) and Leonard Victor Rutgers, "Archaeological Evidence for the Interaction of Jews and Non-Jews in Late Antiquity," *American Journal of Archaeology* 96 (Jan., 1992) 101-118 which discusses the difficulties in sorting funerary data for Jewish content. As for Jewish heroic content, the presentation which is used in this study regarding Moses as a hero (as described by Josephus) is to present Moses as a hero for Greek and Roman audiences and not to present Moses as a hero who was distinctly and separately a unique Jewish hero like no other in the ancient world.

stance.[9] Rather, he reflects in his writings the stances of other people, arguing that he, as well, should be heard. But Paul is not a central figure of authority.[10] He co-opts the practices of the Christ-hero community and uses them in his writings (cf. 1 Cor. 15:29 and Rom. 6:1-6). Obstensibly, the community would understand what Paul is writing about,[11] and as author, he demonstrates awareness of the ritual practices of his audience. Ultimately, this study, however, is not concerned with Pauline Christianity. Rather, this study is focused on ritual practice within a Roman Corinthian environment and will utilize the model of hero cult. Its central concern is not on Paul's answers[12] to questions, but rather what ritual practices and activities the Christ-hero followers, i.e., the Corinthians, were doing in an attempt to understand the group's practices and its own self-identification.

In this way, the study is not attempting to understand what the Corinthians were doing based upon the context of 1 Corinthians alone, but rather to examine -- if we are dealing with a hero cult association in first century Roman Corinth -- how these "hero based rites" are reflected in 1 Corinthians. The center of the research focuses upon the cultural context of heroic, and by extension funerary practices, and the letter is nothing more than a piece of evidence to be mined for data in order to understand how an ancient Corinthian hero association could form in Corinth, and eventually be successful. Consequently, for this study to work effectively, it is necessary to

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[9] Relatedly, scholarship at times has presented Paul as "the standard myth of Christian origins typically inflates his importance while attenuating his distinctiveness." (Arnal, "Bringing Paul and the Corinthians Together?" 75). When this is argued, the shift to Paul overshadows the practices of the Corinthians, and some scholarship falls into the trap of conceiving the Corinthians as Paul's coverts who "heard and responded to his gospel because it allowed them, finally, to be what they had always wanted and needed to be: beloved people of the one true God." (Arnal, "Bringing Paul and the Corinthians Together?" 75). Paul's stances is then highlighted as the only true stance. By understanding that "Paul's use of the Christ myth is opportunistic," in the sense that Paul creatively utilizes the Christ myth to address problems within the community, it becomes evident that Paul is a 'bricoleur' as he integrates a variety of opinions and when specifically analyzing rituals (Arnal, "Bringing Paul and the Corinthians Together?" 80-83).

[10] Arnal phrases this as a fractioned group, and sub-groups, where some people attach themselves to Paul and other people attached themselves to Apollos. In this case, Arnal states, "we need not view Apollos as a subordinate of Paul, or even as discernibly "Christian" (in the Pauline sense, or in any sense), to recognize nonetheless the existence of a *Pauline* faction …" (Arnal, "Bringing Paul and the Corinthians Together?" 88-89). Although, there may be a Pauline faction (i.e., Chloe's people), this is a sub-group, amongst other sub-groups all contesting for authority.

[11] Arnal, "Bringing Paul and the Corinthians Together?" 89.

[12] Arnal, "Bringing Paul and the Corinthians Together?" 98.

decentralize Paul from 1 Corinthians.

This approach is not novel. As Melanie Johnson-DeBaufre explains in "Historical Approaches: Which Past? Whose Past?," "scholars have turned from an interest in history of Christianity to the history of Christians, in which everyday Christians become the subjects of history and are social, political, and economic actors in their societies."[13] Johnson-DeBaufre goes on to state that "Paul's letters represent a rare opportunity to glimpse everyday ancient people because they were produced in and for communities of non-elite people."[14] Accordingly, she suggests that scholars can change the "subject of history" by "de-centering Paul" and center on the "contested spaces" of Paul's letters.[15] Centering upon contested spaces allows contemporary interpreters to recognize early Christian communities and their role in shaping early Christianity.[16]

This study will analyze 1 Corinthians, as Johnson-DeBaufre states, with a focus on the "community of non-elite people." When necessary, this study will address Pauline rhetoric, but only as a means to capture what the community was practicing and not as a means to understand *Paul's* role in the formation of the Corinthian group.[17]

This study acknowledges that this is a tactical move to focus on the practices of the Corinthians themselves. As a researcher, I feel this is important because by maintaining a single focus on the involvement of the Corinthians, their activities become present. In so doing, this study is not

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[13] Melanie Johnson-DeBaufre, "Historical Approaches: Which Past? Whose Past?" in *Studying Paul's Letters: Contemporary Perspectives and Methods,* ed. Joseph A. Marchal (Fortress Press: Minneapolis, 2012) 22.

[14] Johnson-DeBaufre, "Historical Approaches," 22.

[15] Melanie Johnson-DeBaufre and Laura S. Nasrallah, "Beyond the Heroic Paul: Toward a Feminist and Decolonizing Approach to the Letters of Paul," in *The Colonized Apostle: Paul Through Postcolonial Eyes,* ed. Christopher D. Stanley (Fortress Press: Minneapolis, 2011) 173.

[16] Johnson-DeBaufre and Narallah, "Beyond the Heroic Paul,"173.

[17] It may seem that this one statement undermines this study's decentralizing goal, but as scholarship is so focused around capturing "what Paul meant by this" or "what Paul thought about that" – it becomes extremely difficult to ignore it. So, in instances where there is no other alternative, this study will address the scholarly concerns only so much as is absolutely needed, in an effort to effectively maintain focus on its true objective. In other words, at points where it seems obvious that this study is analyzing Paul's thought or Paul's rhetoric, it is important to keep in mind that; this study, through decentralizing Paul, will view these largely as reflections of the practices of a "faction" or "sub-group" within the Corinthian Christ-hero association (possibly Chloe's people).

suggesting that Paul did not influence the community; obviously, he did: In 1 Cor. 1:14-16, Paul explains that he baptizes people in the community including the household of Stephanas. In 1 Cor. 3:6, Paul planted the seed (i.e., he is the one who started the group in Corinth). Finally, in 1 Cor. 10: 1 he states that he wants people to know that their ancestors were under the cloud and they passed through the sea. These instances serve as an example of Paul's influence on the formation of the community, and although this study does not list them all, it acknowledges that there are more examples throughout 1 Corinthians which identify Paul as more than a transcriber of events. However, this study will not focus on the passages where Paul is explaining his involvement in the community.

Catherine Bell's Ritual Framework

Catherine Bell's ritual framework within the context of authority will fine-tune the "contested spaces" mentioned by Johnson-DeBaufre. Rituals are constantly "controlling the contention and negotiation" of symbols,[18] and ritual specialists will use their power and authority to validate rituals over which they preside. A clear social hierarchy is established for societies that have a "pronounced social hierarchy and a social ethos of piety toward authority"[19] (for instance, the Heraklean cult at Siphyon). In the case of the Corinthian Christ-hero followers, their "social hierarchy is weakly defined" and thus their "rituals are more likely to be generated without officially trained or designated specialists."[20] As 1 Corinthians describes contested ritual authority, these "contested spaces" in the text will be analyzed in order to understand the meaning of Corinthians' ritual practice.

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[18] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 130.

[19] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 130.

[20] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 130. To be clear, Bell does not argue this point and I am taking her words and fitting them into the Corinthian Christ-hero context.

For Catherine Bell,[21] ritual is a "type of critical juncture wherein some pair of opposing social and cultural forces comes together."[22] Bell includes examples in her definition, "the ritual integration of belief and behaviour, tradition and change, order and chaos, the individual and the group, subjectivity and objectivity, nature and culture, the real and the imaginative ideal."[23] These categories are defined "in terms of features of 'enthusiasm (fostering groupism), or 'formalism' (fostering the repetition of the traditional), ritual is consistently depicted as a mechanistically discrete and

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[21] If I were to identify, early on, a weakness of this study, then it would be one related to my reliance on Catherine Bell's ritual framework. Bell, does not full integrate various language features in her framework and treats language as coming out of ritual to inform the ritual practice. With the focus on ritual action as the modus operandi, some nuanced aspects of language may get lost. Conversely, if I used David Kertzer's theory of analysis, for example, language aspects would get incorporated to a greater extent but action and cultural context would not be as developed. The reader may think that it would be most effective to create a hybrid theory based on these two (and other theorists). I did not create my own theory for three reasons, (1) I want to analyse 1 Corinthians and the cultural context of hero cults because my interest lies in cultural analysis, and I do not want to create a new ritual theory, (2) I have read various postulated theories that incorporate a range of of theorists to create or address different concerns, and the end result becomes so theoretically complex that it ultimately holds little to no utility, (3) In fact, Bell's framework already does engage existing theorists. That is, she critically evaluates other ritual theorists to conclude that hers is the best definition, the best theory, and the best method to analyze ritual. In this way, Bell has attempted to minimize the weakness of ritual analysis. See Willi Braun's article, "Introducing Religion," in *Introducing Religion: Essays in Honor of Jonathan Z. Smith,* eds., Willi Braun and Russell T. McCutcheon (Oakville: Equinox Publishing Ltd., 2008) 480-498 especially page 488.

To phrase my explanation differently and to address the question, "why Catherine Bell and why *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*?" I decided that Catherine Bell's understanding of ritualization best captures the dynamics of the practices in 1 Corinthians because it addresses relationships of power (consent and resistance, misunderstanding and appropriation) within the community through delineating the social dynamics in cultural context. Ritualization as a framework and theory serves to uncover the relationships within the community in a broader context. Furthermore, it explains how the ritual practices seemingly create distinction and mirror the greater cultural context. I felt that her book *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* best outlined her theory and its applicability to 1 Corinthians.

[22] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 16.

[23] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 16.

paradigmatic[24] means of sociocultural integration, appropriation, or transformation."[25]

Bell acknowledges that thoughts and actions are part of ritual, but also understands that the

theorist is involved in the analysis as well. She explains that "the underlying dichotomy between

thought and action continues to push for a loose systemization of several levels of homologized

dichotomies, including the relations between the ritual observer and the ritual actor."[26] Using Geertz,

Bell argues that both the participant actor and the ritual observer generate meaning for the ritual.[27]

Through acknowledging the "ritual mechanism of meaningfulness"[28] for the ritual actor, the theorist

can understand "its meaningfulness as a cultural phenomenon."[29] Thus, the theorist, by focusing on

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[24] I want to mention briefly Bruce Lincoln's *Discourse and the Construction of Society* regarding the construction of a paradigm because I think he captures Bell's meaning. Lincoln explains that "ritual is best understood as an authoritative mode of symbolic discourse and a powerful instrument for the evocation of those sentiments (affinity and estrangement) out of which society is constructed." (Bruce Lincoln, *Discourse and the Construction of Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014) 53). Like Bell, Lincoln also understands that language is something separate to actions, as "The differences between the two, although hardly negligible, are in large measure a matter of genre, ritual discourse being primarily gestural and dramatic; mythic discourse, verbal and narrative." (Lincoln, *Discourse and the Construction of Society* 53). Lincoln understands that like myth "ritual performances can contribute powerfully to the maintenance of society" (Lincoln, *Discourse and the Construction of Society,* 53). Writing specifically on paradigms, Lincoln explains that myths are a "small class of stories that possess both credibility and authority." (Lincoln, *Discourse and the Construction of Society* 24). Furthermore, myths are:

> a narrative possessed of authority is one for which successful claims are made not only to the status of truth, but what is more, to the status of paradigmatic truth. In this sense the authority of myth is somewhat akin to that of charters, models, templates, and blueprints, but one can go beyond this formulation and recognize that it is also (and perhaps more important) akin to that of revolutionary slogans and ancestral invocations, in that through the recitation of myth one may effectively mobilize a social grouping. Thus, myth is not just a coding device in which important information is conveyed, on the basis of which actors can then construct society. It is also a discursive act through which actors evoke the sentiments out of which society is actively constructed. (Lincoln, *Discourse and the Construction of Society* 25).

Accordingly, for both Lincoln and Bell, myth and ritual act as a means for a group to create a template in order to develop a paradigmatic truth and identity for its community, a way of distinguishing itself from the larger society through affinity and estrangement.

[25] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 16. Bell states about her analysis of ritual theorists that it has "less to do with interpreting the raw data [of ritual] and more to do with the manner in which we theoretically constitute ritual as the object of a cultural method of interpretation" (Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 16-17). Bell's critique of ritual is as much about ritual as an analytic tool as it is about the scholars who construct their theories about ritual. In this way, Bell lists and explains the various ritual theorists and in so doing critiques their theories in order to identify what she feels is the "best" theory of ritual.

[26] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 21.

[27] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 28.

[28] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 28.

[29] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 28.

the cultural context of the ritual, can understand that the rite is a "window on the most important

processes of cultural life."[30] Once the enactment is singled out, "a model of ritual based upon our

two structural patterns – in which ritual in both activity and the fusion of thought and activity –

ultimately involves a third pattern."[31] For Bell, this third pattern is "one in which the dichotomy

underlying a thinking theorist and an acting actor is simultaneously affirmed and resolved. It is this

homologization that makes ritual appear to provide such a privileged vantage point on culture and

the meaningfulness of cultural phenomena."[32] Generally, it is not enough to pick a cultural context

and place the ritual within the context. The theorist must understand fully the activity and "fusion of

thought" because the contrasting "thinking theorist" and "acting actor" needs to be resolved, or

homologized, so that the ritual has meaning in the cultural context for both the theorist and the

actor.[33] A "cultural method of analysis," furthermore, needs to be identified so that "cultural facts"

can have meaning from the chosen "cultural perspective."[34] For Bell, the method of interpretation of

ritual as texts is a "suitable device" of analysis:[35]

> The construction of ritual as a decipherable text allows the theorist to interpret simply by
> deconstructing ritual back into its prefused components. The theoretical construction of

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[30] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 28. Bell explains in *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* that:

[the] contexts in which ritual practices unfold are not like the props of painted scenery on a theatrical stage. Ritual action involves an inextricable interaction with its immediate world, often drawing it into the very activity of the rite in multiple ways. Exactly how this is done, how often, and with what stylistic features will depend on the specific cultural and social situation with its traditions, conventions, and innovations. Why some societies have more ritual than others, why ritual traditions change or do not change, and why some groups abstract and study "ritual" as some kind of universal phenomenon when others do not – these are questions of context that are at heart of the dynamics understood as religion and culture (Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1997] 266).

When analyzing rituals, the opposing pairs of social and culture needs to be placed with in proper cultural context for the theorist to understand fully the meaning of the ritual to the participants.

[31] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 31.

[32] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* 31.

[33] As Bell explains, "ritual is to the symbols it dramatizes as action is to thought; on a second level, ritual integrates thought and action; and on a third level, a focus on ritual performances integrates *our* thought and *their* action." (Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 32).

[34] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 50.

[35] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 54.

ritual becomes a reflection of the theorist's method and the motor of discourse in which the concerns of the theorist take center stage.[36]

Bell uses the term "ritualization" to designate "the way in which certain social actions strategically distinguish themselves in relation to other actions."[37] As practice is a "nonsynthetic and irreducible term for human activity" and is a part of ritualization, Bell explains four features of practice: situational, strategic, "embedded in misrecognition of what it is in fact doing," and "able to reproduce or reconfigure a vision of the order of power in the world."[38] The first, situational, places ritual practice in the "specific context in which it occurs."[39] In terms of the second feature, practice is strategic in that it is "manipulative, and expedient," and remains "implicit and rudimentary."[40] Misrecognition,[41] the third feature, is fundamental to practice in terms of "what it [i.e., practice] is doing,"[42] and "is never clear cut (sic) but full of indeterminacy, ambiguities, and equivocations."[43] In terms of hegemony, the fourth feature of reproduction or reconfiguration of the "order of power" is intertwined with the other three features.[44] Bell uses "redemptive hegemony" to go beyond "traditional understandings of power and social process."[45] Redemptive hegemony attempts to view power as neither "singular [n]or monolithic," but as power which is "reproduced, renewed, and even resisted in an enormous redemptive process" sometimes categorized as "prestige order."[46] In this

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[36] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 54.

[37] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 74.

[38] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 81.

[39] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 81.

[40] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 82.

[41] Bell explains that misrecognition is "not a matter of being duped, but a strategy for appropriating symbols, despite how structured and structuring the symbols may prove to be in practice" (Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 191).

[42] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 82.

[43] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 83.

[44] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 83.

[45] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 83.

[46] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 83.

way, redemptive hegemony does not "reflect reality;" rather "it creates it more-or-less effectively."[47]

Ritual practice reproduces or reconfigures the "actor's strategic understanding of the place, purpose, and trajectory of the act."[48] Bell acknowledges that ritualization involves a "formal 'modeling' of valued relationships so as to promote legitimation and internalization of those relations and their values."[49] For Bell, "ritualization is the production of this differentiation [i.e., other ways of acting within any particular culture]. … [R]itualization is a way of acting that specifically establishes a privileged contrast, differentiating itself as more important or powerful."[50]

Bell explains that "body" is another feature which is central to ritualization, because "the strategies of ritualization are particularly rooted in the body."[51] By strategies of ritualization that are rooted in the body, Bell means, the "interaction of the social body within a symbolically constituted special and temporal environment. Essential to ritualization is the circular production of a ritualized body, which in turn produces ritualized practices. Ritualization is embedded within the dynamics of the body defined within a symbolically structured environment."[52] Bell explains that:

> Through a series of physical movements ritual practices spatially and temporally construct an environment organized according to schemes of privileged opposition. The construction of this environment and the activities within it simultaneously work to impress these schemes upon the bodies of participants. This is a circular process that tends to be misrecognized, if it is perceived at all, as values and experiences impressed upon the person and community from sources of power and order beyond it.[53]

The social body through "movements and gestures" constructs a temporal environment where their schemes have context and meaning not only within the "body of participants," but-also in the

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[47] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 85.

[48] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 85.

[49] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 89.

[50] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 90.

[51] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 93.

[52] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 93.

[53] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 98-99.

larger context of society.

Tools are needed, as Bell explains, to analyze ritualization, and Bell outlines five in particular.

The first tool, Ritual Oppositions and Hierarchies, has:

> Three operations: first, the physical construction of schemes of binary oppositions; second, the orchestrated hierarchization of these schemes whereby some schemes come to dominate or nuance others; and third, the generation of a loosely integrated whole in which each element 'defers' to another in an endlessly circular chain of reference.[54]

The second tool, Internal-External Strategies of Ritualization, (when applied), explains that "ritualization subjects … tensions, terms, and social bodies to a change in status, or problematic. People do not take a social problem to ritual for a solution. People generate a ritualized environment that acts to shift the very status and nature of the problem into terms that are endlessly retranslated in strings of deferred schemes."[55] Generating a ritualized environment does not produce a solution, rather the immediate concerns are translated into the "dominant terms of the ritual," creating "a resolution without ever defining one."[56] The external strategy, therefore, of drawing separation in its activities relates directly to the internal strategy of "schemes of opposition, hierarchization, and deferral by which the body has impressed upon it the schemes."[57]

The third tool, Ritual Mastery, is the ability of the body to deploy schemes in the 'wider social context' that were "internalized in the ritualized environment."[58] Ritual mastery understands that rituals exist in "specific cultural schemes and strategies for ritualization" and are accepted by "specific cultural communities."[59] The "work of ritualization" produces schemes by the "ritualized social agent" which shifts the "organization or significance of many other culturally possible

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[54] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 101.

[55] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 106.

[56] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 106.

[57] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 106.

[58] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 107.

[59] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 107.

situations."[60]

Phrased in terms of "Seeing and Not Seeing," Bell explains that the fourth tool of ritualization sees itself as "responding to a place, event, force, problem, or tradition," but it does not see "how it actively creates space, force, event, and tradition, how it redefines or generates the circumstances to which it is responding."[61] It sees, furthermore, the "rectification of the problematic," it does not see "its transformation of the problematic itself."[62] Finally, it "sees the goal of a new person. It does not see how it produces that person."[63]

Bell recognizes the importance of language in the fifth tool, Ritual and Language, but instead of arguing that language is the most important feature of ritual, she states, "language or a particular mode of speaking does not appear to be intrinsically necessary to ritual as such, the opposite does hold – namely, that ritualization readily affects the way language is used and the significance it is afforded."[64]

In Bell's summary to this section, entitled "Redemptive Hegemony and Misrecognition," she provides context to the preceeding tools. Ritual occurs through "privileged differentiations" of the structures, created by a ritualized body through their environment, which cyclically "impresses its highly nuanced structure on the bodies of those involved in the rite."[65] Meaning through strategy, significance, and experience are 'mobilized' where some differences "come to dominate others."[66] Bell summarizes privileged differentiations in terms of what she describes as "ritual mastery:"

Ritual mastery is the ability – not equally shared, desired, or recognized – to (1) take and

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[60] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 108.

[61] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 109.

[62] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 109. Bell further explains that ritualization simply "temporally structures space-time environment through a series of physical movements … thereby producing an arena which, by its molding of the actors, both validates and extends the schemes they are internalizing." (Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 109-110).

[63] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 110.

[64] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 113.

[65] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 116.

[66] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 116.

remake schemes from the shared culture that can strategically nuance, privilege, or transform, (2) deploy them in the formulation of a privileged ritual experience, which in turn (3) impresses them in a new form upon agents able to deploy them in a variety of circumstances beyond the circumference of the rite itself.[67]

Within the context of tradition and ritual systems, Bell argues that the "ritual systems do not function to regulate or control the systems of social relations, they *are* the system, and an expedient rather than perfectly ordered one at that."[68] The primary concern then is not with "social integration" alone.[69] Rather, the ritual systems focus on "distinguishing local identities, ordering social differences, and controlling the contention and negotiation involved in the appropriation of symbols."[70]

At the same time, Bell finds that there has been little research with respect to the issue of ritual specialists, and their presence at the ritual. Citing Mary Douglas, Bell states that "ritual specialists in stratified … societies [have] … a pronounced social hierarchy and a social ethos of piety toward authority."[71] However, for societies where the "social hierarchy is weakly defined, rituals are more likely to be generated without officially trained or designated specialists."[72]

Bell goes on to explain that there is not one group that has "unqualified authority," and the "type of authority of any group seems balanced or even undermined by very different configurations of power characteristic of the other group."[73] Regarding priestly authority, this type is "strategically defined and constrained."[74] Characteristics of specialists include, among other things, how their "authority rests on the intrinsic importance of ritual as a means of mediating the relations between

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[67] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 116.
[68] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 130.
[69] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 130.
[70] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 130.
[71] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 130.
[72] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 130.
[73] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 134.
[74] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 134.

humans and nonhuman powers."[75] The "ranking of rituals activities" is another feature that

specialists can use to qualify their power.[76] The rites over which the specialists preside are "more

central, powerful, encompassing, and integral to the welfare of the whole," than the rituals employed

by "locally skilled practioners."[77]

Consequently, Bell proposes a framework to analyze ritual, one which restores ritual in its

proper context in terms of ritual being understood through its inextricable connection to "the ways

of acting in a particular culture."[78] Ritualization is the focus on "purposive activity … of human

practice" including "strategy, specificity, misrecognition, and redemptive hegemony."[79] As the

"production of ritual acts," ritualization differentiates itself from other ways of acting.[80] Even more

so, ritualization is the "strategic production of expedient schemes that structure an environment in

such a way that the environment appears to be the sources of the schemes and their values."[81] The

ritual schemes are a series of "privileged oppositions" that when "acted in space and time through a

series of movements, gestures, and sounds, effectively structure and nuance an environment."[82] As

such, "some oppositions quietly dominate," but all defer to other oppositions in a circular "chain of

associations."[83] In so doing, these associations "naturalize the values expressed … in relationships

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[75] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 134.

[76] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 134.

[77] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 134. Bell addresses the role of texts in ritual standardizations, where she argues that "textualization is not an inevitable linear process of social evolution," but the "dynamic interaction of texts and rites, reading and chanting, the word fixed and the word preached are practices, not social developments of a fixed nature and significance. As practices, they continually play off of each other to renegotiate tradition, authority, and the hegemonic order. As practices, they invite and expect strategic counterplay." (Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 140). Although this is an important feature of Bell's ritual theory, as it applies to 1 Corinthians, it does not seem that the Christ-hero followers are reliant upon formalized texts.

[78] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 140.

[79] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 140.

[80] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 140.

[81] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 140.

[82] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 140.

[83] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 140.

established among oppositions."[84] The "constructed and reconstructed" environment by the "actions of social agents" provide a sense of objective reality within the "embodied subjective schemes" that create the environment.[85] Ritualization is a "strategic way of acting" that does not show the social agent's projection or the "reembodiment of the set of schemes" constitutive of this environment. Placing these schemes in the reality of the cultural context, the agent is capable of "interpreting and manipulating simply by reclassifying the very relationships understood as constitutive of reality."[86] In turn, ritualization, which is a strategic way of acting, endows agents with ritual mastery.[87] As Bell argues:

> This mastery is an internalization of schemes with which they are capable of reinterpreting reality in such a way as to afford perceptions and experiences of a redemptive hegemonic order.[88]

In this way, ritualization "always aligns one within a series of relationship linked to the ultimate sources of power."[89]

To be sure, Bell is fully cognizant that this framework of ritual does not create a "neat theoretical model," rather; it takes apart ritual and reassembles it in "a very different context for reflection, one in which ritual … does not exist."[90] Ritual is not a general practice, but one constructed for a specific cultural circumstance.[91] In this way, by grounding the model in a proper cultural context, ritual provides meaning to both the participants and for the theorist studying it.

The final piece for Bell's framework concerns the relation between ritual and power.[92] For

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[84] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 140.

[85] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 141.

[86] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 141.

[87] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 141.

[88] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 141.

[89] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 141.

[90] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 141.

[91] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 141.

[92] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 169.

Bell, ritual does not control; rather, "it constitutes a particular dynamic of social empowerment."[93] Historically, ritual was closely associated with belief, in order to understand social control; however, Bell argues that the "projection and embodiment of schemes in ritualization is more effectively viewed as 'mastering' of relationships of power relations within an arena that affords a negotiated appropriation of the dominant values embedded in the symbolic schemes."[94] For Bell, "ritual practices are themselves the very production and negotiation of power relations,"[95] and ritualization is a "strategic play of power, of domination and resistance, within the arena of the social body."[96] The "interplay of power relations effected by ritualization defines, empowers, and constrains."[97] Practices allow for both consent and resistance because the symbols and meaning are "too indeterminate … and schemes too flexible."[98] Regarding authority, the effectiveness of ritualization allows for "a sense of community *without* overriding the autonomy of individuals or subgroups."[99]

Bell's framework provides this study with an analytical approach, so that the meaning of the rituals can make sense in the cultural context. Bell clearly delineates her approach by both defining ritual, and identifying the importance of the theorists' active involvement in producing its meaning. She encapsulates her framework in terms of ritualization which includes situational, strategic, and misrecognized features. Bell's framework addresses the social body's impact in its constructed environment within the greater cultural context. Bell provides concrete tools of analyses that are applied to ritual, and explains the importance of tradition. She clarifies the role of authority and ritual specialists in the context of group dynamics and rituals, and finally a focus on the social empowerment of ritual is addressed.

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[93] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 181.
[94] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 182.
[95] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 196.
[96] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 204.
[97] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 221.
[98] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 221.
[99] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 222.

Having outlined Bell's framework, the next task of this study is to apply this theory to the circumstances of the Corinthians. In the following section, this study will explain how Bell's framework can be applied to 1 Corinthians. This application will be more general, mostly to argue the appropriateness of Bell's framework, but will provide the context for understanding 1 Corinthians. In later sections, this study will apply Bell's framework to specific passages.

Bell's Framework Applied to Corinthian Christ-Hero Group

Placing Bell's framework within this study, the rituals described in the text, 1 Corinthians, addresses the "critical juncture" of "opposing social and cultural forces" that were "brought together"[100] in first century CE Roman Corinth. As Burton Mack explains, cultural clash caused by a "heady and volatile mix of peoples, powers, and ideas peaked" in the first century CE.[101] Mack further argues that the pre-Hellenistic cultural institutions that had produced and sustained traditions no longer did so, creating a cultural vacuum that the Roman Empire was unable to fill.[102] To cope with this changing world, people innovated their own cultural institutions and clustered together traditions, as "shrines popped up in memory of or devotion to traditional gods or heroes." [103] Institutions such as "schools, libraries, oracles, and healing cults … spread throughout the Mediterranean basin," along with mystery cults, "fellowships (*koinoniai*), festive companies (*thiasoi*), or clubs (*collegia*), [and] associations."[104] People found themselves "transplanted throughout the large empire of cities, peoples, and different cultures from the wars of the Greco-Roman age."[105] For

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[100] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 16.

[101] Burton Mack, *Who Wrote the New Testament?: The Making of the Christian Myth* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1995) 19.

[102] Mack, *Who Wrote the New Testament?*, 19-26. Mack explains that there were three basic models operating in the ancient world: the Near-Eastern Temple State, the Greek Polis and the Roman Republic. After Alexander the Great, and the rise of Hellenism, a cultural collapse took place with the temple state and polis. The Roman empire was unable to create cultural institutions to develop (or sustain) cultural traditions (Mack, *Who Wrote the New Testament?* 19-26).

[103] Mack, *Who Wrote the New Testament?*, 27.

[104] Mack, *Who Wrote the New Testament?*, 27-28.

[105] Mack, *Who Wrote the New Testament?*, 26.

Corinth, this transition was occasioned first by Mummius's sacking of the city in 146 BCE, and later by Julius Caesar's effort to rebuild and repopulate the city, beginning in 44 BCE.[106] Administratively, Corinth was under Macedonian control until 27 BCE when Rome made Corinth the capital of Achaia. However, by 44 CE the senate resumed control of Achaia.[107] By 69 to 79 CE, Corinth was failing as a colony and needed to be refounded.[108]

Using Smith and Engels, John Parrish analyzes Corinth's transplanted population in terms of what he refers to as "unsettled Corinth."[109] As the Corinthian population was continually in need of re-population, due to low birth rates, and male migrants composing the greater portion of settlers,[110] it would have been unlikely that someone's "grandparents" were born in mid-first century CE Corinth.[111] As new migrants to Corinth, they would have had a "lack of strong material ties to the land [that] would also have contributed to a feeling of 'unsettledness' among the population."[112]

The rituals that the "unsettled" population created would assist in the transplanted migrants' integration of "tradition and change," "individual and group," and "real and imagined ideals."[113] Borrowing from Bell's framework, it can be explained that for the Corinthian Christ-hero followers,

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[106] In his article, "Corinth and Rome," James Wiseman explains the history of Corinth's destruction and rebuilding (James Wiseman, "Corinth and Rome I: 228 B.C. – 267 A.D.," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II.7.1,* Ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase [New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1979] 438-548.)

[107] David Horrell and Edward Adams, *Christianity at Corinth: The Quest for the Pauline Church* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004) 3-4.

[108] David Romano, "Urban and Rural Planning in Roman Corinth," *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth,* ed. Daniel Schowalter and Steven Friesen. (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005) 53.

[109] John W. Parrish, "Speaking in Tongues, Dancing with Ghosts: Redescription, Translation, and the Language of Resurrection," *Studies in Religion* 39 (2010) 29.

[110] Parrish, "Speaking in Tongues, Dancing with Ghosts," 30.

[111] Parrish, "Speaking in Tongues, Dancing with Ghosts," 31.

[112] Parrish, "Speaking in Tongues, Dancing with Ghosts," 31. Parrish states, "Taken together, this lack of social and material 'roots' indicates the possibility that 'deracination' was a widespread experience among Corinth's inhabitants at this time. In the absence of strong actual roots, the Corinthians would likely have been in search of ideological roots. This makes more plausible the presence of heightened ancestral concerns, nostalgia for the homeland, and experiments in 're-emplacing' disrupted religions …" (Parrish, "Speaking in Tongues, Dancing with Ghosts," 31). I agree completely with this statement and this study in some ways will validate these claims, however, for the purposes of Bell's definition of ritual, Parrish's explanation of migration and population functions well.

[113] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 16. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 106.

their "enthusiasm" involved "fostering groupism" where they created rituals developing a "mechanistically discrete and paradigmatic means of sociocultural integration, appropriation, [and] transformation"[114] of the greater Roman Corinthian ritual environment.

As mentioned earlier, Bell acknowledges that thoughts and actions are part of ritual, although she also understands that the theorist is involved. Through acknowledging the "ritual mechanism of meaningfulness" for the ritual actor, the theorist can understand "its meaningfulness as a cultural phenomenon." Thus, by focusing on the cultural context of the ritual, the theorist can understand the rite as a "window on the most important processes of cultural life."[115] In some ways, the theorist needs to provide the 'right' cultural context in order to identify the meaning of the ritual for both the actor and observer.

In this case, then, we cannot merely state that we are going to understand the rituals as described in the text 1 Corinthians within the Greco-Roman world or within Roman Corinth -- it needs to be grounded within the proper cultural context. Therefore, this study argues that the first century CE Corinthian hero cult context explains the symbols that the rituals dramatize, and integrates thought and action of the Christ-hero cult in differentiation to other cults. By applying this hero paradigm that we understand the meaning involved in the rituals as sociocultural integration, appropriation, and transformation by the Corinthian followers of the Christ-hero.

Also, important to realize is that the cultural context shifts slightly for each ritual analyzed. If we understand the hero cult model as the overarching cultural context of the group, (i.e., the capital 'C' context), then the Roman Corinthian funerary context, as the small 'c' context, best explains "baptism on behalf of the dead," or the oracular hero context, as another small 'c' context, that explains prophecy and speaking in tongues, or the funerary and hero shrine context, as small 'c'

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[114] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 16.
[115] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 28.

context, which describes hair-cutting rituals. All of the various small 'c' cultural contexts fit within the larger 'C' hero cult cultural context. [116]

For the purposes of this study, ritualization is, for the Corinthian Christ-hero cult, a practice that is expediently drawn out of the greater Roman Corinth cultural context and it is ambiguous in that it mirrors Corinthian ritual practices, but with a focus on the Christ-hero. In this way, they developed a subaltern cultural practice which both reflects the existing Roman Corinthian hegemony and recreates acts which legitimize and internalize its own values and beliefs. Thus, the Corinthian Christ-hero followers engaged in "ritualization as a practical way of dealing with … specific circumstances."[117] For instance, the Corinthian Christ-hero followers constructed a funerary practice within a mortuary environment, creating symbols and meaning for the ritual "baptism on behalf of the dead," as a form of vicariousness, which had been "impressed upon the community" by the larger Roman Corinthian funerary environment. The practice seems distinct, but misrecognized is the larger context of power and order within Roman Corinth.

Regarding the Corinthian "body," the location where we imagine the practices have taken place affects our understanding of what the practices are doing and what their meaning is. If we imagine the Corinthian body's temporal environment is a house church, in a banquet setting, then location will result in a completely different analysis, then if we imagine Christ-hero followers at a tomb practicing a funerary-based ritual. As such, the type of social body, the symbols used, and meaning of the ritual all changes depending upon the imagined "symbolically structured

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[116] The wording of capital "C" and small "c" is influenced in part by Bruce Lincoln's essay on "Culture," where he makes the distinction between choice works and select genres with a capital C and a lower-case c as "communications circulating within a group." For this study, however, the capital C is the greater hero cult context while the small c is the funerary context as understood within the larger hero frame. (Bruce Lincoln, "Culture," in *Guide to the Study of Religion* Eds. Willi Braun and Russell T. McCutcheon (New York: T&T Clark, 2009) 412).

[117] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 92.

environment."[118]

As applied to the Christ-hero ritual context, Bell's tools show a binary opposition between heroes and gods. The "orchestrated hierarchization" of one god and one hero amongst many (1 Cor. 8:5-6) include practices such as funerary rites and ritualized meals that are subordinate to and conditioned by the heroic paradigm.[119] Conversely, funerary rites and ritualized meals are schemes that nuance or dominate other schemes (i.e., oracular, hair-offering, baptism, *defixiones,* healing). The ritualized Lord's Meal, as a hybrid heroic *theoxenia* and *enagezein* ritual, creates fellowship (i.e., an association) where Christ was the ancestor, *genos* hero, and primary priest of the ritual. The ritual act of bringing Christ closer to the worshippers through the *theoxenia* ritual, nuances the oracular features of prophecy and speaking in tongues where Christ speaks to the community. The funerary scheme nuances the ancestor cult, oracles, *defixiones*, baptism on behalf of the dead, and hair-offering schemes.[120] As this study will show, the Corinthian Christ-hero followers will "generate a ritualized environment that acts to shift the very status and nature" of their situation in Corinth. By deploying rituals, they remake cultural schemes and transform them into seemingly new (misrecognized) practices of the greater Roman Corinthian cultural context. That is, they do not "see" how their traditions and constructed environment was laden symbolically with their surrounding traditions. They framed language describing their hero within the actions of the rites giving these actions significance and power.

The rituals of the Corinthian Christ-hero followers were created to distinguish themselves from the greater Roman Corinthian context by appropriating a specific set of symbols that resonated within the group. As the group was newly formed, the various members were attempting to

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[118] Bell would say at this point that although my remarks are correct, they need to be qualified as the theorist's imagined environment may also be grounded in the cultural context of the ritual, thus producing meaning for both the actor and the observer.

[119] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 101.

[120] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 101.

distinguish themselves internally. Theoretically speaking, this process is best framed in terms of authority. Because the ritual authority described in 1 Corinthians is contested, it would seem that the group is not fully formed with a "pronounced social hierarchy," but rather has a "weakly defined social hierarchy."

The created Corinthian Christ-hero rituals expediently developed not to control the greater Roman Corinthian environment, but to focus on "distinguishing their local identity," and on "ordering their social differences," in order to control "the contention and negotiation involved in the appropriation their symbols."[121] Regarding their ritual specialists, as a weakly defined social hierarchy, their rituals were "more likely to be generated without officially trained or designated specialists."[122] This is not to say that the followers were incapable of creating rituals, of course; rather, the point here is simply that we are not dealing with priests within a well-developed ritual environment.

1 Corinthians does not suggest that there is "one group that has 'unqualified authority;'"[123] on the contrary, we find within the first three chapters a group where authority is hotly contested, specifically 1 Cor. 1:12:

> λέγω δὲ τοῦτο ὅτι ἕκαστος ὑμῶν λέγει· Ἐγὼ μέν εἰμι Παύλου, Ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ, Ἐγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ, Ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ

> But I say this, that each of you say, on the one hand, "I am Paul's," and on the other hand, "I am Apollos's" or "I am Cephas's" or "I am Christ's."

Other examples of contested leadership authority include 1 Cor. 3:1-6 and 1 Cor. 3:21-23, as well as the law court passages, where followers referred to the authority of the courts for resolution of disputes (1 Cor. 6:1-7) instead of leadership within the community. This study will reveal that the

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[121] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 130.
[122] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 130.
[123] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 134.

shifting location of authority is evidenced by the contested spaces of ritual practice:[124] the Lord's

Meal Ritual in 1 Cor. 10:16-17 and 11:17-34; Ancestor Christ: Funerary Vicariousness in Baptism on

Behalf of the Dead in 1 Cor. 15:29; Christ as Heroic Protector: curses as Mortuary Wards/Traps for

the Dead in 1 Cor. 12:3a; Hair-offerings to the Christ-hero in 11:4-7; and Oracular Rituals: Prophecy

and Speaking in Tongues in 1 Cor. 12:10, 28 and in 1 Cor. 14.

The Corinthian Christ-hero association, which was a transplanted migrant community,

created ritual practices that provided for it a "dynamic of social empowerment."[125] By projecting

'schemes' into their rituals (for example, vicariousness into their funerary rite of baptism on behalf of

the dead), it was able to master effectively the relationships of power relations (i.e., by copying elite

Roman funerals) within the greater Roman Corinthian environment. This "afforded them a

negotiated appropriation of the dominant values embedded in the symbolic schemes" found in the

Roman Corinthian ritual environment.[126] Their practices were a "strategic play of power (by shifting

the very status and nature of their community), of domination (through the use of oracles where they

are proactive in changing their status) and resistance (through *defixiones* where they are reacting to

grave-robbers)."[127] By using the ancient heroic paradigm, they were able to create an indeterminate

and flexible scheme that fostered their community's autonomy within the greater Corinthian

environment.[128]

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[124] While, I am directly borrowing from Johnson-DeBaufe's "contested spaces" (Johnson-DeBaufe, "Historical Approaches," 22) and Bell's framework specific to ritual authority, I am also influenced by William Arnal's argument for "ritual of contested authority," in his online paper "Jesus and the Mobile Ritual Specialists" published on Academia.edu: https://www.academia.edu/19714992/Jesus_and_the_Mobile_Ritual_Specialists.

[125] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 181.

[126] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 182.

[127] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 204.

[128] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 222.

Chapter Two: Ancient Hero Cult Model

In the first three chapters of her monograph, Bell's framework discusses that researchers construct models to analyze data. These models allow the researcher a "privileged vantage point"[129] and homologizes the "fusion of thought" between the "thinking theorist" and "acting actor."[130] This study argues that the most appropriate model for the study of 1 Corinthians (as data) is the ancient hero cult model. This model allows the researcher to peer into a "window on the most important processes of cultural life"[131] for the Corinthian Christ-hero followers. To explain this approach, this study will describe a brief overview of hero cults and then examine the application of this hero model by scholars to the New Testament. Following this investigation, Richard Ascough's analysis of 1 Corinthians, through the lens of Thessalonians, regarding hero cults, sets the stage for a more complete and consistent analysis of 1 Corinthians. Taking Ascough's claims seriously, this study then shows how Christ is portrayed as a hero in 1 Corinthians. Because the Corinthian context is paramount in understanding the Christ-hero community, this study will examine hero cults in and around Corinth. At this early stage, this study only highlights that an abundance of heroes existed in the Corinthian area, and that these heroes parallel closely with features found in the Christ-hero. Later, this study will discuss an analysis of hero cults as a social body.

Overview of Hero Cults

There was an abundance of heroes in the ancient world,[132] and a variety of people were

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[129] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 31.

[130] Bell explains, "ritual is to the symbols it dramatizes as action is to thought; on a second level, ritual integrates thought and action; and on a third level, a focus on ritual performances integrates *our* thought and *their* action." (Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 32).

[131] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 28.

[132] Gunnel Ekroth, "Cult of Heroes," in *Heroes: Mortals and Myths in Ancient Greece* (Baltimore: Yale University Press, 2009) 121. The reader will notice that Gunnel Ekroth is a significant source for this study. While, there are other scholars who have analyzed ancient hero cults, Ekroth has specifically studied hero cult ritual from the fifth century BCE Greece to second century CE Greco-Roman time-periods. Thus her work is particularly well-suited to this study.

worshiped as heroes:[133] Male warriors and kings, female heroic figures often in the guise of virgins, paired heroes were worshipped together, along with mythic children and babies.[134] Heroes appeared as "active helper[s] in a decisive moment"[135] and as "historical and quasi-historical figures, such as founders of colonies (*oikistai*). Soldiers killed in battle, former enemies, athletes, doctors, poets, and writers also became hero cults due to their extraordinary achievements and contributions."[136] Furthermore, as Dennis Hughes explains, a resurgence of hero-cults occurred in post-Hellenistic and Roman periods. In the Hellenistic period, private citizens and families started to found and endow hero cults.[137] Public honours for heroes "flourished" from the first century BCE to the second century CE.[138] Benefactors to cities were recognized for their "heroic honors" after death.[139] In Asia Minor the term hero was used as an "honorific title."[140] A "renewed interest in traditional hero cults" took place during the first century BCE and second century CE period,[141] and "heroes from mythical or earlier historical times" brought a "Greek Renaissance, the revival of civic and national pride and identity in Greece under Roman rule."[142] The heroes from earlier history and the dead as heroes were also included in this revival.[143]

Christ-Hero Model in the New Testament

Some scholars have identified Christ as an ancient hero. Analyzing folklore elements in Jesus

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[133] Ekroth, "Cult of Heroes," 121.

[134] Ekroth, "Cult of Heroes," 121.

[135] Ekroth, "Cult of Heroes," 121.

[136] Ekroth, "Cult of Heroes," 121-122.

[137] Dennis Hughes in "Hero Cult, Heroic Honors, Heroic Dead: Some Developments in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods," in *Ancient Greek Hero Cult: Proceedings of the Fifth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult* ed. Robin Hägg (Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag, 1999) 168.

[138] Hughes, "Hero Cult, Heroic Honors, Heroic Dead," 171.

[139] Hughes, "Hero Cult, Heroic Honors, Heroic Dead," 172.

[140] Hughes, "Hero Cult, Heroic Honors, Heroic Dead," 172.

[141] Hughes, "Hero Cult, Heroic Honors, Heroic Dead," 173.

[142] Hughes, "Hero Cult, Heroic Honors, Heroic Dead," 173.

[143] Hughes, "Hero Cult, Heroic Honors, Heroic Dead," 173.

Christ's life, Alan Dundes asserts that Christ is best understood within a folk hero paradigm.[144] Other scholars have specifically identified ancient hero elements in Christ's depiction in the *Gospel of John* and the *Book of Revelation.*

Christ-Hero in Gospel of John and Book of Revelation

In her article, "Jesus as Cult Hero in the Fourth Gospel," Jennifer K. Berenson Maclean states, "The cultic experience of Jesus by Johannine Christians was indeed very much like that of a hero."[145] She uses the example of heroes like Protesilaos who brings grief to the worshippers, but this grief is alleviated by the appearance of the hero.[146] The hero then "transmits divine wisdom, shares an intimacy with the worshiper, and promotes an ethical lifestyle."[147] Berenson Maclean explains that the same heroic pattern is in the Fourth Gospel. The community is in a state of lamentation and grief, and receives "joy as the hero Jesus appears as Paraclete; by answering their inquires, he becomes the authoritative interpreter of the sacred tradition (i.e., of Jesus' words), pursues an intimate, life-giving relationship with his followers, and requires of them a rigorous ethical stance."[148] Berenson Maclean moves beyond a simple literary explanation of "Jesus' heroic status," arguing that it was "not confined to the narrative elements of the Fourth Gospel, but the pattern of hero *cult* appears to have been the very basis upon which the community's identity and ritual practices were founded."[149]

In "Lamentation for Christ as Hero: Revelation 1:7," Leonard Thompson argues that Rev 1:7

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[144] Otto Rank, Lord Raglan, and Alan Dundes, *In Quest of the Hero: The Myth of the Birth of the Hero* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990) 191.

[145] Jennifer K. Berenson Maclean, "Jesus as Cult Hero in the Fourth Gospel," *Philostratus's Heroikos: Religion and Cultural Identity in the Third Century C.E.* in *Writings from the Greco-Roman World Society of Biblical Literature* Number 6 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004) 217.

[146] Berenson Maclean, "Jesus as Cult Hero in the Fourth Gospel," 217.

[147] Berenson Maclean, "Jesus as Cult Hero in the Fourth Gospel," 217.

[148] Berenson Maclean, "Jesus as Cult Hero in the Fourth Gospel," 217.

[149] Berenson Maclean, "Jesus as Cult Hero in the Fourth Gospel," 218.

contains a reference to Christ as an ancient hero. Thompson explains that the solution to death that Rev proposes is through the hero Christ.[150] The definition of a hero that Thompson uses is "humans who live an extraordinary life, touch deeply other humans through some extraordinary quality, die -- sometimes under unusual circumstances -- and leave behind 'something unpredictable and uncanny' as they join the powerful dead."[151] Essentially, as understood by Thompson, Christ is a heroic psychopomp associated with graves and the dead.[152] Underlying Thompson's explanation of the heroic Christ is the distinction between Christ and God. Thompson does not develop community involvement in his argument; rather he focuses upon philological aspects of Revelation to make his case.

By focusing on lamentations, both Berenson Maclean and Thompson find that Christ is represented as a hero in John and Revelation. For Berenson Maclean, the lamentation subsides when Christ joins the community while for Thompson, Christ as psychopomp takes the individual member after death to join the dead. The relevance of Berenson Maclean and Thompson's research is that Christ is understood as an ancient hero.

Christ-Hero in 1 Corinthians

In "Paul's 'Apocalypticism' and the Jesus Associations at Thessalonica and Corinth," Richard Ascough redescribes the situation at both Thessalonica and Corinth arguing that Christ, as represented in 1 Thessalonians and 1 Corinthians, is understood as an ancient hero.[153] Ascough

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[150] Leonard Thompson, "Lamentation for Christ as Hero: Revelation 1:7," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 119 (Winter, 2000) 693.

[151] Thompson, "Lamentation for Christ as Hero," 693.

[152] Thompson, "Lamentation for Christ as Hero," 693.

[153] Richard Ascough, "Paul's 'Apocalypticism' and the Jesus Associations at Thessalonica and Corinth," in *Redescribing Paul and the Corinthians,* eds. Ron Cameron and Merrill P. Miller (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011) 151-186. It is important to point out that Ascough uses Gaster's definition of a hero which is "a person who possess powers superior to those of ordinary men and who displays them courageously, at the risk of his own life but to advantage and benefit others" as well as Nock's understanding of a hero as a minor deity and not a man "who lived and died and subsequently received veneration." Nock goes even further in his explanation by stating that heroes were "not necessarily well-known figures and were often local deities with little 'national or universal significance'" (Ascough, "Paul's

explains that his 'primary focus' is Thessalonica and then uses analogy to apply his arguments to

Corinth, stating Thessalonica has more *realia*. [154] Building off of Mack[155] and McCane,[156] Ascough

argues that the concern for the dead was the 'critical moment' of mythmaking for the communities

and is the point where the idea of the cult of the hero gets introduced.[157] One feature -- banquets

which honour heroes -- is an example where the hero was venerated and at the same time ordinary

people could "take on qualities of a hero."[158]

The difficulty for Ascough in maintaining this thesis is his statement that there is no

Christian evidence from the first century.[159] He suspects that the funerary meal, which later

developed into the Eucharist, could be one place where one might find this heroic tradition.

Ascough further explains that the tradition of raising Jesus was introduced to explain why the

community did not meet at a tomb for its gatherings, as people usually met at the hero's tomb in

order to celebrate the hero.[160] For Ascough, the distinctive feature in the Christ-hero was that he

"(re)appeared to a group composed to honor him at a funerary banquet," which would have been

shocking.[161] According to Ascough, the hero myth is the original formulation and the early

communities understood Christ as a "divinized human hero."[162]

This study agrees with Ascough that the hero model is the best model to understand the

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'Apocalypticism'," 181-182). The difficulty in maintaining these definitions is that heroes are very much people who could be surrounded by violence and did have significance both locally and pan-Hellenically (Gunnel Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," in *Heroes: Mortal and Myths in Ancient Greece*, ed. Sabine Albersmeier (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009) 121-122.

[154] Ascough, "Paul's 'Apocalypticism' and the Jesus Associations at Thessalonica and Corinth," 152.

[155] Burton Mack, "Rereading the Christ Myth: Paul's Gospel and the Christ Cult Question," in *Redescribing Paul and the Corinthians* eds. Ron Cameron and Merrill P. Miller (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011) 35-73.

[156] Byron R. McCane, *Roll Back the Stone: Death and Burial in the World of Jesus* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2003).

[157] Ascough, "Paul's 'Apocalypticism' and the Jesus Associations at Thessalonica and Corinth," 181.

[158] Ascough, "Paul's 'Apocalypticism' and the Jesus Associations at Thessalonica and Corinth," 182.

[159] Ascough, "Paul's 'Apocalypticism' and the Jesus Associations at Thessalonica and Corinth," 183.

[160] Ascough, "Paul's 'Apocalypticism' and the Jesus Associations at Thessalonica and Corinth," 183.

[161] Ascough, "Paul's 'Apocalypticism' and the Jesus Associations at Thessalonica and Corinth," 183.

[162] Ascough, "Paul's 'Apocalypticism' and the Jesus Associations at Thessalonica and Corinth," 183.

formation of the Corinthian community and analyzing the Lord's Meal will assist in uncovering the Christ-hero. However, this study argues 1 Corinthians contains the first century evidence of a hero cult. Furthermore, heroes did not have to be venerated at tombs alone, and heroes were honored at a variety of shrines and places.[163] As mentioned previously, this study argues the Corinthian Christ-hero community was not distinctive in that it had its Christ-hero die and then re-appear; rather an epiphany was an expected occurrence for hero cult followers and it would be unusual if the hero did not rise again. Finally, this study argues that Christ is not a divine hero like Herakles, but a lower level *genos* hero.

Application of the Hero Model to 1 Corinthians

This section places the Christ-hero in 1 Corinthians by outlining the various characteristics of an ancient hero and showing that these characteristics are in 1 Corinthians. In some ways this section defines an ancient hero based upon characteristics. This study will discuss the following features: 1) Heroes were distinct from gods; 2) Heroes were associated with lord (κύριος) language, fellowship (κοινωνία), and meals; 3) Gods were antagonistic to heroes; 4) Standard features of a hero were his or her death, epiphany, and healing; 5) Graves and bones were not always the central focus of a hero cult; 6) Heroes could be pan-hellenic.

Heroes were Distinct from Gods

The distinguishing mark of an ancient hero was death,[164] and the conceptual demarcation

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[163] See Jonathan M. Hall, "Beyond the *polis*: the Multilocality of Heroes," in *Ancient Greek Hero Cult: Proceedings of the Fifth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Hero Cult, organized by the Department of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History, Göteburg University, 21-23 April 1995,* ed. Robin Hägg (Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag, 1999).

[164] Gregory Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans: Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greek Poetry* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1979) 9. Gunnel Ekroth, *Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods* (Liege: Centre International d'Etude de la Religion Grecque Antique, 2002), 20. Ekroth defines a hero as someone who "had to be extreme, in every sense of the term, in life or death; virtue was not necessarily a qualification." (Ekroth, "Cult of Heroes" 121). People worshipped heroes as "helpers and their cults instituted as thanks for their rescue of a city or a person, some had dangerous and threatening aspects, and their cults were introduced to appease their anger" (Ekroth, "Cult of Heroes," 122). As death was a significant characteristic, "[heroes] were counted among the *ahoroi* or the *biaiothanatoi,* those who had perished by murder, execution, plague, suicide, or, in the case of virgins or small children, simply before

between heroes and gods was clear: heroes could be "immortalized," but they could never be

immortal,[165] and gods could never experience the "ultimate pain of death."[166] Death creates a clear

distinction, and if we understand Christ as a hero distinct from God,[167] then it is not surprising that 1

Corinthians 8:5-6 reflects this distinction:[168]

> καὶ γὰρ εἴπερ εἰσὶν λεγόμενοι θεοὶ εἴτε ἐν οὐρανῷ εἴτε ἐπὶ γῆς, ὥσπερ εἰσὶν θεοὶ πολλοὶ καὶ κύριοι πολλοί, λλ' ἡμῖν εἷς θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν, καὶ εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ[169]

> Indeed, even though there may be so-called gods in heaven or on earth – as in fact there are many gods and many lords – yet for us there is one God, the father, from whom are all things and for whom we exist, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and through whom we exist.[170]

It is important to recognize that κύριοι and κύριος can be translated as "lords" with the connotation

of a master or a person who is superior, especially someone with superior power like a Roman

Emperor.[171] However, it is also important to recognize that κύριος is attributed to gods like Zeus,

Hades, Hermes, and Isis and heroes like Asklepios, Herakles, and Mithras.[172] In the context of this

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their time" (Ekroth, "Cult of Heroes," 122). By creating a cult to the hero, people "often sought to resolve some kind of crisis, usually related to injustice or violent death" (Ekroth, "Cult of Heroes," 122). … Thus, the "… institution of a hero cult was often preceded by violent death and deprivation of burial, which had unfortunate consequences for the entire society; after the consultation of an oracle, usually the Pythia at Delphi, the institution of a cult transformed the vengeful hero into a benevolent defender and protector" (Ekroth, "Cult of Heroes," 122). Heroes had a variety of aspects, some beneficial and some dangerous, and it was the fact that lived and died in extreme circumstances that made them heroes.

[165] Gregory Nagy, *The Ancient Greek Hero in 24 Hours* (Massachusetts: The Belnap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013) 10.

[166] Nagy, *The Ancient Greek Hero in 24 Hours*, 10.

[167] It is important to mention that although 1 Cor. 8:5-6 shows a distinction between God and Christ, it also shows a distinction from heroes and Christ as well as gods from God. Picking up where Hughes leaves off, 1 Corinthians is making the point that amongst these multitude of hero cults, the Christ-hero is unique.

[168] Other distinctions between Christ and God are found in 1 Cor. 3:23 where Christ is subordinate to God, "and you belong to Christ, and Christ belongs to God," 1 Cor. 8:6, "yet for us there is one God, the Father, from whom are all things and for whom we exist, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and through whom we exist," and 1 Cor. 11:3, "and God is the head of Christ" (*The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha*, eds. Bruce M. Metzger and Roland E. Murphy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) 233-240).

[169] *The Greek New Testament: The SBL Edition* Ed. Michael W. Holmes (Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 347.

[170] *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha*, 237.

[171] D. Zeller, "Kyrios," *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible 2ⁿᵈ Edition*, eds. Karen van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst (Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999) 493.

[172] Zeller, "Kyrios," 492-497.

passage, with the association close to "many gods," it makes the most sense that κύριοι is referring to heroes like Herakles.[173] This passage accomplishes two things. First, it acknowledges that the Corinthians understood that there were many gods and lords/heroes, and second, placing κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς next to θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, subordinates Christ while at the same time connects Christ to God.[174] In both cases, there is a clear distinction between gods/lords and Christ/God.

Heroes were Associated with κύριος Language, Fellowship (κοινωνία), and Meals

The κύριος language found in 1 Corinthians, as Bousset explains, was a Syrian-Egyptian term, which enters into "Hellenistic-Roman"[175] religion, in the first century BCE, branching into an "Egyptian-Roman" ruler cult and into the "center of the cultus of the fellowship."[176] Bousset states that primitive Christian Hellenistic communities shape their Christ cultus out of this environment and used the κύριος formula for Jesus worship.[177]

The κοινωνία (fellowship/association) mentioned by Bousset is connected to κύριος within the context of the Lord's meal in 1 Corinthians (κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς in 1 Cor. 10:16a, τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία ἐστὶν τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ; "The cup of blessing that we bless, is it not a fellowship (association) in the blood of Christ?"). According to Bousset, the

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[173] It is important to recognize that heroes are from the earth – they are people who have died and have become honoured as heroes.

[174] Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos: A History of the Belief in Christ from the Beginning of Christianity to Irenaeus* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1970) 147.

[175] Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 145.

[176] Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 145. Borrowing from Bousset, this study understands that generally associations are understood as hero cults as well as other types of cultus of fellowship. An example, is the Roman Imperial cult. In this way, this study is generalizing the entire category of associations to include different forms of cults.

[177] Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 146. Bousset further states that this response was uncontrollable and "young Christianity comprehended in the cultus of the Lord Jesus," (Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 147) and Paul "places his seal under this whole context" (Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 147). Although this thread of investigation is out of scope for this study, it seems that the *kyrios* cult that Bousset has identified may be connected to Rudolf Bultmann's Pre-Pauline Hellenistic Christianity (see Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament,* 2 Volumes, Trans. Kendrick Grobel (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007) and Burton Mack "Rereading the Christ Myth: Paul's Gospel and the Christ Cult Question," *Redescribing Paul and the Corinthians* Eds. Ron Cameron and Merrill P. Miller (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011). For the purposes of this study, a pre-Pauline tradition is not needed as Paul explains that he received the tradition from Christ (1 Cor. 11:23 Ἐγὼ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου) and the scope of this study is on how the Corinthians shaped/created the traditions once they received them.

"lord" and "fellowship/association" are two terms found stemming from Syrian-Egyptian traditions into the first century CE Corinthian community. Another added element associated with fellowship in a hero cult were libations.

> Demosthenes' *Orations* 19 states:
>
> Θρασύβουλον ἐκεῖνον τὸν Θρασυβούλου τοῦ δημοτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς καταγαγόντος τὸν δῆμον τάλαντα δέκ᾽ ὠφληκέναι, καὶ τὸν ἀφ᾽ Ἁρμοδίου καὶ τῶν τὰ μέγιστ᾽ ἀγάθ᾽ ὑμᾶς εἰργασμένων, οὓς νόμῳ διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας, ἃς ὑπῆρξαν εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις σπονδῶν καὶ κρατήρων κοινωνοὺς πεποίησθε, καὶ ᾄδετε καὶ τιμᾶτ᾽ ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἥρωσιν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς,
>
> Thrasybulus, a son of Thrasybulus the great democrat, who restored free government from Phyle, should have paid a fine of ten talents; that even a descendant of Harmodius and of the greatest of all your benefactors, the men to whom, in requital of their glorious deeds, you have allotted by statute a share [κοινωνοὺς] of your libations and drink-offerings in every temple and at every public service, whom, in hymns and in worship, you treat as the equals of gods and demigods [ἥρωσιν] …[178]

Demosthenes connects the idea of sharing or fellowship (κοινωνοὺς) with libations and drink-offerings to the gods and demigods or heroes (ἥρωσιν). Hans Conzelmann argues that the *koinonia* in 1 Cor. 10:16a is connected to τοῖς θεοῖς when he states that Paul and Demosthenes have the same idea that the "sacral meal establishes communion with the god of the cult."[179] Contrary to connecting *koinonia* to the gods, however, I follow Ascough in arguing that the sacred meal and libation is better understood with reference to the hero of the cult. Thus in 1 Corinthians, the concept of κύριος is intertwined with both ἥρωσιν and κοινωνία.

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[178] Demosthenes, *Orations*, Volume II: Orations 18-19: *De Corona, De Falsa Legatione*, trans. C. A. Vince, and J. H. Vince. Loeb Classical Library 155 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926) 431.

[179] Hans Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians: A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians,* trans. James W. Leitch (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975) 171.

Antagonism between Gods and Heroes

Another feature of the distinction between gods and heroes was antagonism.[180] Pindar's *Paean*

6 best exemplifies this antagonism through the relationship between Apollo, Achilles, and

Pyrrhos/Neoptolemus. *Paean 6* begins with a θεῶν ξενίᾳ[181] for the god Apollo at Delphi.[182] Pyrrhos,

the son of Achilles, was connected to Delphi through "the local belief that he was buried there,"[183]

thus making him the hero of Delphi. Pindar refers to Apollo killing both Achilles and Pyrrhos:

> ὃν ἐμβα[λ … Πάριος ἐ[καβόλος βροτησίῳ δέμαϊ θεός, Ἰλίου δὲ θῆκεν ἄφαρ
> ὀψιτέραν ἅλωσιν, κυανοπλόκοιο παῖδα ποντίας Θέτιος βιατάν, πιστὸν ἕρκος Ἀχαιῶν, θρασεῖ
> φόνῳ πεδάσαις·

> whom shot . . . the far-shooting god in the human form of Paris[184], and he at once delayed the
> capture of Ilion, by binding in savage slaughter the powerful son of the dark-haired sea-
> goddess Thetis, the trusty bastion of the Achaeans.[185]

> ἔπραθεν, εἰ μὴ φύλασσεν Ἀπό[λ]λ[ω]ν … ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἄλκιμον νέκυν [ἐ]ν τά[φῳ] πολυστόνῳ θέντο
> Πηλεΐδαν, ἁλὸς ἐπὶ κῦμα βάντες [ἦ]λθον ἄγγελο[ι] ὀπίσω Σκυρόθεν Ν[ε]οπτόλεμο[ν εὐρυβίαν

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[180] Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans,* 121.

[181] Guy Hedreen in "The Trojan War, Theoxenia, and Aegina in Pindar's Paean 6 and the Aphaia Sculptures," writes "In Pindar's Nemean 7 (44–7), the hero Neoptolemos is said to preside after death as θεμισκόπον, or 'overseer', at Delphi on the occasion of the sacrificial procession honouring heroes. It is possible that the Theoxenia is meant, because a scholion to the passage states that heroes were honoured in a xenia hosted by the god Apollo. In Paean 6 the narrative of Apollo's role in the deaths of Achilles and Neoptolemos is preceded, it appears, by an account of the origins of the Delphic Theoxenia, the occasion for which Pindar composed the poem. The second triad of the poem begins with an explanation of why the ritual is held (62–5): θύεται γὰρ γλαᾶς ὑπὲρ Πανελλάδος, ἄν τε Δελφῶν ἔθ[ν]ος εὔξατο λιμοῦ…, 'for it [sc. the Theoxenia] is being sacrificed on behalf of the entirety of the splendid land of Greece, for which the community of Delphi prayed [for relief] from famine…'. Neoptolemos' posthumous role in the Theoxenia would make a narrative of his death in the sanctuary at Delphi particularly relevant to the paean's account of the origins of the festival" (343). Hedreen adds, "Theoxenia rituals stand in partial opposition to ordinary sacrificial ritual: instead of symbolizing the unbridgeable distance between gods and mortals, created by strife, they symbolize a return to an earlier era, when gods and men still harmoniously shared the same table" (345). Guy Hedreen in "The Trojan War, Theoxenia, and Aegina in Pindar's Paean 6 and the Aphaia Sculptures," in *Aegina: Contexts for Choral Lyric Poetry: Myth, History, and Identity in the Fifth Century BC,* ed. David Fearn (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011) 323-369. Although, Pindar's *Paean* portrays the god Apollo killing Achilles and Pyrrhos (obvious antagonism), the ritual of *theoxenia* is attributed to both god and hero creating a symbiosis.

[182] Pindar, *Nemean Odes. Isthmian Odes. Fragments,* ed. and trans., William H. Race. Loeb Classical Library 485 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997) 268.

[183] Gregory Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans*, 120. ἐν Πυθίοισι δὲ δαπέδοις κεῖται Πριάμου πόλιν Νεοπτόλεμος ἐπεὶ πράθεν, τᾷ καὶ Δαναοὶ πόνησαν· "For in Pytho's holy ground lies Neoptolemus, after he sacked Priam's city, where the Danaans also toiled." (Pindar, *Nemean,* 76).

[184] Apollo taking Paris' form is specific to Pindar, and I do not think conveys in any way the concept that God took Christ's form. The parallel which is shown is the antagonism between gods and heroes.

[185] Pindar, *Fragments,* 271-272.

ἄγοντες, ὃς διέπερσεν Ἰλίου πόλ[ιν·

had Apollo not been on guard … And after they had placed the valiant corpse of Peleus' son in his much bewailed tomb, messengers crossed the wave of the sea and came back from Scyros bringing mighty Neoptolemus, who sacked the city of Ilion.[186]

Nagy writes that since "Paean 6 was composed specifically for a Delphic setting and in honor of Apollo, we should be especially mindful of the central role of its hero as ritual antagonist of the god."[187] The antagonistic relationship between god and hero continued into the second century CE as recorded by Pausanias: "... temple of Delphi … at which the priest of Apollo killed Neoptolemos son of Achilles …Dedicated not far from the hearth is the throne of Pindar. … If you come out of the temple and turn left, you come to a holy precinct where the grave of Neoptolemos is; every year the Delphians burn offerings to him."[188] Apollo, Achilles, and Pyrrhos/Neoptolemus portray a "striking illustration of the fundamental principle in Hellenic religion: antagonism between hero and god in myth corresponds to the ritual requirement of symbiosis between hero and god in cult."[189]

The god/hero antagonism can be detected in 1 Corinthians 11:23:

Ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον πὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδετο ἔλαβεν ἄρτον[190]

For I received from the Lord what I also handed on to you, that the Lord Jesus on the night when he was handed over took a loaf …

The term παρεδίδετο "handed over"[191] is imperfect passive, and as Fitzmyer writes "it could be

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[186] Pindar, *Fragments*, 272.

[187] Nagy, *Best of the Achaeans* 121.

[188] Pausanias, *Guide to Greece* Vol. 1, trans. Peter Levi (New York: Penguin Books, 1971) 467-468.

[189] Nagy, *Best of the Acheaans* 121.

[190] *The Greek New Testament: The SBL Edition* ed. Michael W. Holmes (Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 353.

[191] Although, the *New Oxford Annotated Bible* translates the term παρεδίδετο as "betrayed," (*The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha*, 241) which echoes the passion narrative, Fitzmyer states that Paul "never seems to refer to him [Judas] elsewhere or to what he [Judas] did." (Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008) 436). Further, 1 Cor. 5:5 (παραδοῦναι); 13:3 (παραδῶ); and 15:24 (παραδιδῷ) all use the term παρεδίδετο (or variants) in the sense of handing over something (even in the same verse

understood … as a divine pass. (handed over by God…) or mid., 'he [Jesus] was handing himself

over."[192] Within the context of hero cults and antagonism between gods and heroes, the reading

which makes sense is the former, in which God hands over Lord Christ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ κυρίου "for

the Lord's death" (1 Cor. 11:26).[193] In this passage, God is active in killing Christ, as the god Apollo

is active in killing the heroes Achilles and Pyrrhos. The Lord's Meal, as a ritual, creates a

"symbiosis[194] between hero and god in cult."

Hero's Death, Epiphanies, and Healing Heroes

The closest parallel feature between Christ and ancient heroes is death.[195] As Nagy insists, "the

hero must experience death. The hero's death is the theme that gives his power – not only in cult but

also in poetry. We as readers of Hellenic poetry can still sense it. When a hero enters combat in

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παρέδωκα provides the sense of handing to). It seems improbable that in this one instance (1 Cor. 11:23) the term means something completely different.

[192] Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians,* 437.

[193] Christ being handed over is also found in 1 Cor. 5:7 where Christ is understood as a paschal lamb and "has been sacrificed." (*The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha*, 234). As Burkert writes, "In myth, correspondingly, the gods often have a mortal double who could almost be mistaken for the god except for the fact that he is subject to death, and indeed killed by the god himself: Hyakinthos appears with Apollo, Iphigeneia with Artemis, Erechtheus with Poseidon and Iodama with Athena. In cult Iphigeneia is worshipped as Artemis, Erechtheus becomes Poseidon Erechtheus, and Iodama lives as the altar of Athena on which the eternal fire burns. Myth has separated into two figures what in the sacrificial ritual is present as a tension." (Walter Burket, *Greek Religion,* trans. John Raffan (USA: Basil Blackwell Publisher and Harvard University Press, 1985) 202-203) Examining the relationship between gods and heroes, Burkert reaches the same conclusions as Nagy, determining that while antagonism between gods and heroes is resolved through the god killing the hero in a myth, ritual creates a symbiosis, or a resolution of the antagonism.

[194] The conclusion "until he comes" (1 Cor. 11:26) points towards the immortality granted to Christ by God. This notion is also evidenced in 1 Cor. 6:14, where Paul writes, "[a]nd God raised the Lord and will also raise us by his power." (*The New Oxford Annotated Bible,* 235)

[195] There is another parallel, in pictorial art, but as pictorial representations are later than the first century CE it is difficult to maintain that this evidence directly applies to Corinth. Walter Burkert states that, "heroes are not generally imagined as old, grey, and ugly, but in the full force and perfection of youth. There are even child heroes such as Palaimon on the Isthmus and Archemoros in Nemea, and later in Hellenistic times and after, it is frequently children who die young who are heroized. The hero cult is much encouraged among adolescents, the *epheboi*." (Burkert, *Greek Religion,* 208). Snyder describes early depictions of Jesus as a "young boy" with very "few examples of an older Jesus in third-century Christian art" (Graydon F. Snyder, *Ante Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life Before Constantine* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2003) 108). Further, in Snyder's own data "there are a very few bearded and consequently older Jesus representations before Constantine. The very first era of Christian art demonstrates a pluralism. From that pluralism arose an artistic consensus – Jesus was consistently portrayed as a young wonder-worker" (Snyder, *Ante Pacem,* 109). The representation of Lord Christ as a young adolescent boy fits with the representation of ancient heroes.

Homeric Epos, we are fully aware of the intense seriousness of it all: he will confront death."[196]

Continuing, Nagy explains how some heroes ultimately transcend death and attain immortality:

> In some stories the gods themselves can miraculously restore the hero to life after death – a life of immortality. The story of Herakles, who had been sired by Zeus, the chief of all the gods, is perhaps the most celebrated instance. … But even in the case of Herakles, as we will see, the hero has to die before achieving immortality. Only after the most excruciating pain, culminating in his death on a funeral pyre on the peak of Mount Oeta, is Herakles at long last admitted to the company of immortals.[197]

This model described by Nagy is evident in 1 Corinthians 15:3-5:

> Παρέδωκα γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν πρώτοις, ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον, ὅτι Χριστὸς πέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, καὶ ὅτι ἐτάφη, καὶ ὅτι ἐγήγερται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, καὶ ὅτι ὤφθη Κηφᾷ, εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκα,

> For I handed on to you as of first importance what I in turn had received: that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures, and that he was buried, and that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures, and that he appeared to Cephas, and then to the twelve.

The tradition "received" (1 Cor. 15:3-5) is a carefully composed text that relates four events: "death, burial, resurrection, appearance."[198] In relating these events, there was more at stake than just relating Christ's painful death by crucifixion -- Christ's immortality was also of central significance.[199] Mack articulates how the balance of the passage shows a "polished poetry:"[200]

> It reflects a lengthy period of collective, intellectual labour, including agreements about the value of focussing on Jesus' death as the event of significance for the community, what that significance was, the use of the name *Christ* (instead of Jesus), the thought that Christ had been

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[196] Nagy, *The Ancient Greek Hero in 24 Hours,* 9-10; As Nagy goes on to explain, "even though they [heroes] are all descended in some way or another from the gods, however many generations removed, heroes are mortals, subject to death. No matter how many immortals you find in a family tree, the intrusion of even a single mortal will make all successive descendants mortal. Mortality, not immortality, is the dominant gene" (Nagy, *The Ancient Greek Hero in 24 Hours*, 9-10).

[197] Nagy, *The Ancient Greek Hero in 24 Hours*, 10; Nagy explains that for "the Achilles of Homeric Epos … the reality of death has a religious dimension that corresponds to the traditional ideology of hero cults" (Nagy, *The Ancient Greek Hero in 24 Hours,* 9-10).

[198] Mack, *Who Wrote the New Testament?,* 80.

[199] Mack explains that the 1 Cor. 15:3-5 fragment is the kerygma (Mack, *Who Wrote the New Testament?,* 79).

[200] Mack, *Who Wrote the New Testament?,* 80.

raised, the importance of the reference to the scriptures, and the kind of argument that would make the two pivotal events seem real (burial and appearances).[201]

Although Mack argues that there are two possible underlying mythologies to the "intellectual labour" (the Greek noble death or the Jewish myth of the persecuted sage[202]), it makes more sense, following Bousset that the Christ myth tradition (concerning what was "received") develops from the Syrian-Egyptian *kyrios* cultus and the "intellectual labour" created Lord Christ as an ancient hero,[203] as Christ's death and immortality mirrors the ancient hero, such as Herakles.

Christ's appearance event in the *kerygma* has parallels in ancient heroic epiphanies.[204] Jorge Bravo, in "Heroic Epiphanies: Narrative, Visual and Cultic Contexts," analyzes the appearance of heroes from the "late Archaic period through Roman times" from the Greek world including Corinth.[205] Bravo, focusing upon votive images to analyze the popular belief of heroic epiphanies,[206] explains that among "… private votive offerings, the epiphany of the hero finds explicit representation in dedications made in the context of healing."[207] The heroic epiphany is part of the hero's power,[208] and was more common in "Greek popular belief than in literature."[209] 1 Corinthians

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[201] Mack, *Who Wrote the New Testament?,* 80.

[202] Mack focuses upon martyrs within this context (Mack, *Who Wrote the New Testament?,* 80-81).

[203] Ascough, "Paul's 'Apocalypticism' and the Jesus Associations at Thessalonica and Corinth,"151-186.

[204] Ascough citing Mack states, "Indeed, as Mack points out, this post-mortem appearance would not be glorious but 'shocking' to auditors of the formula." (Ascough, "Paul's Apocalypticism," 183). I would argue, using Bravo, that Christ's epiphany would not be shocking, but expected – that is what heroes did. See also Jennifer K. Berenson Maclean, "Jesus as Cult Hero in the Fourth Gospel."

[205] Jorge Bravo, "Heroic Epiphanies: Narrative, Visual and Cultic Contexts," *Illinois Classical Studies,* Vol. 29, *Divine Epiphanies in the Ancient World* (2004) 63.

[206] Bravo, "Heroic Epiphanies," 68-69.

[207] Bravo, "Heroic Epiphanies," 69.

[208] Bravo, "Heroic Epiphanies," 75.

[209] Bravo, "Heroic Epiphanies," 76. Nagy explains that the heroic epiphany conveys a sense of intimacy with the worshipper (Nagy, *The Ancient Greek Hero in 24 Hours,* 442). Through the epiphany the worshipper experiences the "hero as a real person, not a cult statue." (Nagy, *The Ancient Greek Hero in 24 Hours,* 442). Implicitly, Nagy argues, the worshipper eroticises the hero and wants to "embrace and kiss him." (Nagy, *The Ancient Greek Hero in 24 Hours,* 442). Through the epiphany, the evidence shows a closeness/intimacy with the hero. (Nagy, *The Ancient Greek Hero in 24 Hours,* 442-443). In reference to the Protesilos in *Iliad II*, Nagy writes, this feature of epiphany highlights the two levels, "on one level of meaning, the warriors native to the land of Phthia are longing for the epic hero Protesilaos as their leader, who is also native of Phthia. On a deeper level, however, the reference implies an emotional response of native worshippers

contains both the heroic appearance (1 Cor. 15:5 ὤφθη "he appeared") and acts of healing.[210] The

context of healing is located in 1 Cor. 12: 8-9, 28:

> ᾧ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος δίδοται λόγος σοφίας, ἄλλῳ δὲ λόγος γνώσεως κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα, ἑτέρῳ πίστις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι, ἄλλῳ χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων ἐν τῷ ἑνὶ πνεύματι

> To one is given through the spirit the utterance of wisdom, and to another the utterance of knowledge according to the same spirit, to another faith by the same spirit, to another gifts of healing by the one spirit …

> καὶ οὓς μὲν ἔθετο ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρῶτον ἀποστόλους, δεύτερον προφήτας, τρίτον διδασκάλους, ἔπειτα δυνάμεις, ἔπειτα χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων, ἀντιλήμψεις, κυβερνήσεις, γένη γλωσσῶν.

> And God has appointed in the church first apostles, second prophets, third teachers; then deeds of power, then gifts of healing, forms of assistance, forms of leadership, various kinds of tongues.

Healing (ἰαμάτων) comes from God (1 Cor. 12:6), and as healing relates to the Christ-hero, he is part

of a body that incorporates the spirit (1 Cor. 12:12-13). In addition, "the body of Christ" (1 Cor.

12:27) represents the community members. While Bravo points out that the actions of healing heroes

create a reciprocity between "the worshipper and the hero,"[211] in 1 Corinthians the dynamics of this

reciprocity changes. In this case, the members are the ones performing the action of healing through

the gifts of the spirit by God, because they are representative members of the "body of Christ."[212]

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who are longing for their native son, for their local hero, in all his immanent beauty." (Nagy, *The Ancient Greek Hero in 24 Hours,* 443). The epiphany was a central way in which the worshipper could become close to the hero. Later in this study, it will be argued that Christ is understood as a genos type hero (native/local hero) which in this example is Protesilos of Phthia.

[210] It is important to note that acts of healing are only mentioned in 1 Corinthians and not in any of the other letters in the Pauline corpus.

[211] Bravo, "Heroic Epiphanies," 69-70. Emily Kearns in *The Heroes of Attica* explains healing heroes on an individual relationship level, an "individual hero, specialising in cures, to whom the individual turns in cases of need" (Emily Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* Bulletin Supplement 57 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1989) 14). Herakles was an example of an individual healing hero who was popular and had shrines at several places in Greece (Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 14). Healing heroes required direct contact through dreams (Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 15). Some healing heroes were associated with oracles and the earth especially the underworld (Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 16-17). Concentration of shrines seems to be in larger settled areas (Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 17).

[212] Christ is represented much more as a healing hero in the gospels (Mk. 5:29, Matt. 8:13, Lk. 5:17, and Jn. 5:13) or can be called upon as a healing hero to heal (Acts 9:34). And in later pictorial art, as Graydon F. Snyder writes, "… Jesus of the pre-Constantinian era was a miracle worker. Jesus is the subject of all the New Testament scenes (assuming the Wise

Graves and Bones Not Always Central Focus

The burial event of 1 Cor. 15:3-5 has parallels with ancient hero cults. Although graves and bones were central objects of hero cults,[213] this was not the case for all ancient heroes. In "*Heros Theos*: The Death and Apotheosis of Herakles," Shapiro explains that Herakles was "the only true pan-hellenic hero, worshipped with equal fervor in many parts of the Greek world, in cults numerous and in their own way as important as those of most members of the Olympian pantheon."[214] Herakles did not have a local cult, in that he had "no hometown," but it was said that he originated from "Tiryns" and "the Argolid."[215] Furthermore, there are no bones or graves associated with Herakles.[216] Finally, Shapiro explains that Herakles is a hero who received rituals as both a hero and a

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Men point to the birth and the Women at the Tomb point to his death). Many of those scenes portray him as a deliverer, the heroic Jesus, who conquers diseases." (Snyder, *Ante Pacem,* 109). Presenting the gift of healing through God and the spirit may be specific to a Corinthian belief regarding healing gods. Pausanias' description of Asklepios as a god is unequivocal, "I find evidence of a belief in Asklepios as a god from the beginning; it was not just a reputation built up in the course of time" (Pausanias, "Corinth," *Guide to Greece,* 193). He does not want Asklepios to be understood as a hero. It maybe that for people in Corinth and the surrounding area gods were the ones who healed not heroes. Gods as healers may explain the belief that for the Corinthian Christ-hero association the members receive the actual ability (gift) from God and not Christ. Later as the myth develops, Christ himself is associated with healing as shown in the Gospels and Acts. Going even further, Asklepios is accredited for raising the dead (Pausanias, "Corinth," *Guide to Greece,* 192), though, Asklepios only raises heroes like Hippolytos (Pausanias, "Corinth," *Guide to Greece,* 192). Comparably, it may be that the Corinthian belief was that gods could raise the dead (in association to healing) and the ones raised were heroes. In this way, Asklepios corresponds to God, the father in 1 Corinthians, who raised, Lord Christ, from the dead, a Hippolytos-type hero.

[213] Ekroth, "Cult of Heroes," 124, Nagy, "Best of Acheans," 120; Carla Antonaccio describes the category of a hero in *An Archaeology of Ancestors: Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Early Greece*,

> Heroes held their own peculiar place in ancient Greek religion. They were a class apart from the gods, though not without a share in their powers and prerogatives. Unlike the immortals, they had lived mortal lives. At the same time, heroes were a subset of ancestors and shared in the nature and prerogatives of the dead. Not all had actually experienced death; some had merely disappeared: in fact, they share no completely consistent births, lives, or ends. What singles them out is the status and power ascribed to them after death or disappearance: patrons and protectors, granters of success in various undertakings, they could also bring disaster in the form of plague, barrenness, and military defeat. They were remembered, respected, feared, and invoked by the living, and were thought to exercise an influence, for better or worse, on present events. … Not only did they have shrines and altars, like the gods, they also had tombs, bones, and other relics, as few gods did. (Carla Antonaccio, *An Archaeology of Ancestors: Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Early Greece* (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1995) 1).

[214] H.A. Shapiro, "*Heros Theos*: The Death and Apotheosis of Herakles," *Classical World* 77, 9.

[215] Shapiro, "*Heros Theos,*" 9.

[216] Shapiro, "*Heros Theos,*" 9.

god.[217] Shapiro shows that some heroes had special status, as with Herakles, where in death they were

granted immortality. In these cases, any focus on bones and graves becomes less important.

Outside of the epic tradition, people worshipped Kleomedes from Astypalaia as a hero, but

little relevance was given to either burial or bones. Ekroth explains:

> A telling example is the athlete Kleomedes from Astypalaia, who killed his opponent in the
> *pankration* (an event blending wrestling and boxing) at Olympia, was disqualified, and in anger
> razed a school, taking the lives of sixty innocent children. Barely escaping a lynching, he took
> refuge in a stone chest in a sanctuary and miraculously disappeared. The oracle at Delphi
> declared him a hero, since he was no longer mortal.[218]

Both Herakles and Kleomedes were heroes worshipped that did not possess a burial site.

Furthermore, Herakles, a pan-hellenic hero, and Kleomedes, a local hero, show that people

worshipped heroes both locally and pan-hellenically.

Heroes could be Pan-Hellenic

Nagy explains that the Greek epics, *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, developed the pan-hellenic hero, where

the hero in epic tradition spread throughout the Greek states, and on a local ritual level the power of

the hero remains.[219] Not only did literature influence the rise of the pan-hellenic hero, but institutions

did by Pindar's time (fifth century BCE):

> the institutions of Delphi reflect no longer simply a polis that happens to have a sanctuary of
> Panhellenic importance, but rather, the reverse: the entire community of Delphi now functions
> as a sacral extension of the Sanctuary. Accordingly, the status of Pyrrhos at Delphi transcends
> that of a typical hero: whereas the hero of a polis is by nature local, the son of Achilles is more
> of a Panhellenic figure by virtue of being Hero of Delphi.[220]

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[217] Shapiro, "*Heros Theos,*" 12; Athens and Marathon both worshiped Herakles as a god (Shapiro, "*Heros Theos,*" 12-13),
and other parts of the Tyre worshiped him as a hero (Shapiro, "*Heros Theos,*" 13) while Thasos worshiped him both as
a hero and a god (Shapiro, "*Heros Theos,*" 14). This variety in ritual practice has led Shapiro to argue that the myth of
Herakles' apotheosis was created to explain the dual rituals (Shapiro, "*Heros Theos,*" 15-16).

[218] Ekroth, "Cult of Heroes," 121.

[219] Nagy, *Best of the Acheans,* 118. Nagy in "Signs of Hero Cult in Homeric Poetry" argues "the unity of Homeric poetry,
which is evident in the *Iliad* even more than in the *Odyssey*, promotes not only a loosening of ties to local hero cults. It
promotes also a focusing on a single hero, Achilles, as the primary hero of cult, just as he is the primary hero of the epic
that is the *Iliad* (Gregory Nagy "Signs of Hero Cult in Homeric Poetry," *Homeric Contexts: Neoanalysis and the Interpretation of
Oral Poetry,* Eds. F. Montanari, A. Rengakos, and C. Tsagalis (Boston: De Gruyter, 2012) 47).

[220] Nagy, *Best of the Acheans,* 120.

Christ, too, was a pan-hellenic hero, and the Christ-hero was established in Corinth as well as other places.

1 Corinthians reflects the heroic parallels between Christ and other ancient Greek heroes such as Herakles. The ancient Corinthians acquired their practices from within their cultural context[221] to create these parallels. By understanding the beliefs and practices specific to gods and heroes in first century CE Corinth and its surrounding area we can better understand how on a local level the Corinthians understood Christ as a hero.

The Corinthian Heroic Cultural Context

This section will describe the Corinthian cultural context in relation to gods and heroes. Nancy Bookidis recognizes that for the city of Corinth, there were "three levels of operation of religion."[222] The first was the "official Roman cults … which were chiefly gathered in the forum."[223] The second was cults like "Apollo, Aphrodite, Asklepios, and Demeter and Kore, that had roots in the city but were by the first century CE a part of Roman civic religion."[224] The third were the "fringe Greek cults."[225] The types of "fringe cults" that Bookidis uses as examples are Medea's children, Pentheus and the women of Kithairon, and Briareos awarding Helios the Acrocorinth and Poseidon the Isthmus.[226] Appropriating these notions, I argue that what Bookidis calls "fringe cults" were, in fact, actually hero cults and/or cults of the dead -- and these certainly were not marginalized

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[221] As stated previously, the Corinthian Christ-hero followers "[generated] a ritualized environment that acts to shift the very status and nature" of their situation in Corinth. By deploying rituals, they remake cultural schemes and transform them into seemly new (misrecognized) practices of the greater Roman Corinthian cultural context. That is, they do not 'see' how their traditions, and constructed environment was symbolically laden with their surrounding traditions.

[222] Nancy Bookidis, "Religion in Corinth: 146 B.C.E. to 100 C.E.," *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth: Interdisciplinary Approaches* (Cambridge: Harvard Theological Studies, 2005) 163.

[223] Bookidis, "Religion in Corinth," 163.

[224] Bookidis, "Religion in Corinth," 163.

[225] Bookidis, "Religion in Corinth," 163.

[226] Bookidis, "Religion in Corinth," 163-164.

associations.[227]

The imperial cult in first century CE Corinth was considerable.[228] Julio-Claudian portraits were "at the east end of the forum" as well as sixty-two inscriptions to the imperial cult.[229] A statue to Augustus sat in the middle of the forum, with many dedications made to the "Lares Augusti, the Genius Augusti, Saturnus Augustus."[230] Bousset explains that the title *kyrios* is connected to the Roman cult of the Caesars.[231] In the first century BCE there were *kyrios* references to Ptolemy XIII and to Alexandria Ptolemy and Cleopatra.[232] Tiberius and Livia were also called "Lord Augusti" and under Caligula, Claudius, and Nero in the first century CE the title *kyrios* multiplied.[233] *Kyrios* had a dominant role in the ruler cult.[234] It should not be assumed, however, that using *kyrios* meant early Christianity was creating Lord Christ in opposition to Lord Augusti.[235] Nonetheless, important for this study is that within the general socio-cultural context of Roman Corinth, the title *kyrios* would be known.[236]

Outside of the Roman Imperial cult, the cult shrines discovered in the forum were Tyche,

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[227] Bookidis' concentration is on the "strategically defined and constrained" practices of the priest class, which were "more central, powerful, encompassing, and integral to the welfare of the whole," then the rituals which are employed by "locally skilled practioners" of which I think the more locally based hero cults would fall. Quotes are from Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* 134.

There is evidence of *heros* in the third century CE, "(This monument was erected) by vote of the city council (to honor *heroa*]) Lucius Veturius Publilianus, deceased [-----], who lived fourteen [years --], [----] boy." (John Harvey Kent, *Corinth: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens Volume VIII, Part III The Inscriptions 1926-1950* (New Jersey: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1966) 111).

[228] Bookidis, "Religion in Corinth," 156.

[229] Bookidis, "Religion in Corinth," 156.

[230] Bookidis, "Religion in Corinth," 156.

[231] Bousset, *Kyrios Christos,* 138.

[232] Bousset, *Kyrios Christos,* 140.

[233] Bousset, *Kyrios Christos,* 140.

[234] Bousset, *Kyrios Christos,* 139.

[235] Bousset, *Kyrios Christos,* 141. See Zeller, "Kyrios," 492-497. Early Christians were using the title *kyrios* from a Syrian context with a cult of fellowship[235] rather from an Egyptian context.

[236] *Kyrios* was used as a term in Corinth in the third century CE. "The city (erected this monument) to our master [*kyrion*] the greatest and most god-like Emperor Caesar Gaius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus Pius Felix Augustus." (Kent, *Corinth*, 53.) Kent finds the inscriptional evidence in Corinth to be minimual due to earthquakes and invaders destroying inscriptions (Kent, *Corinth*, 1).

Poseidon, Clarion Apollo, Venus, Hermes, Artemis, and possibly Dionysos. Shrines to Asklepios,

Zeus Capitolius, Demeter and Kore, and Aphrodite were outside of the forum.[237] Aphrodite was a

significant deity in Corinth and she has a chthonic role as shown in her title "melainis"[238] alongside

her civic role. As Mary Walbank explains, Aphrodite "watched over marriage and children," but she

also represents the "spirit of regeneration."[239] Hermes, understood as a messenger and psychopomp,

was as a civic deity.[240] Asklepios had a sanctuary outside of Corinth at Epidauros[241] as well as a shrine

in Corinth. People attributed Asklepios to healing the sick and raising the dead.[242] Interestingly,

Asklepios was located outside the forum along other significant gods and goddesses. Pausanias

argues that he finds "… evidence of a belief in Asklepios as a god from the beginning; it was not just

[237] Nancy Bookidis, "Religion in Corinth: 146 B.C.E. to 100 C.E.," *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth: Interdisciplinary Approaches* (Cambridge: Harvard Theological Studies, 2005) 151-161.

[238] Mary Walbank, "Unquiet Graves: Burial Practices of The Roman Corinthians," in *Urban Religion In Roman Corinth: Interdisciplinary Approaches,* ed. Daniel N. Schowalter (Cambridge: Harvard Theological Studies, 2005) 258

[239] Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 258

[240] Bookidis, "Religion in Corinth," 153

[241] Ovid's *Metamorphoses* verifies that Epidaurus is a site where Asklepios' sanctuary was located (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* trans. AD Melville [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986] 371).

[242] Pausanias writes, "when Aresthanas (as the goat-herd was called) found the number of goats was wrong and the dog and left the herd, they say he searched everywhere, but when he found the child [Asklepios] and went to pick it up, a flash of lightning came from it. He thought this was something divine, as of course it was, and turned away: but the message of that child was proclaimed over every land and sea, how he invented any medicine he wished for the sick, raised up the dead." (Pausanias, *Guide to Greece*, 191-193) Peter Levi states that "… as Pausanias tells it [the story of Asklepios], with the flash of light, the shepherd, and particularly the resounding conclusion, it is one of the few examples we have of the literary form of the *evangelion*. All the cases of resurrection from the dead attributed to Asklepios are of legendary divine heroes like Hippolytos and Androgeneos." (Pausanias, *Guide to Greece,* 192). Apollodoros, a first century CE writer, confirms Asklepios' role as healer and his ability to raise the dead stating, "and having become a surgeon, and carried the art to a great pitch, he not only prevented some from dying, but even raised up the dead; for he had received from Athena the blood that flowed from the veins of the Gorgon, and while he used the blood that flowed from the veins on the left side for the bane of mankind, he used the blood that flowed from the right side for salvation, and by that means he raised the dead. I found some who are reported to have been raised by him, to wit, Capaneus and Lycurgus, as Stesichorus says in the *Eriphyle;* Hippolytus, as the author of the *Naupactica* reports; Tyndareus, as Panyasis says; Hymenaeus, as the Orphics report; and Glaucus, son of Minos, as Melesagoras relates." Apollodorus. *The Library*, Volume I: Book 3. Translated by James G. Frazer. Loeb Classical Library 121. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921) 13-19. The argument that Apollodoros is a first century CE author comes from *Apollodorus' Library and Hyginus' Fabulae: Two Handbooks of Greek Mythology* where R. Scott Smith and Stephen M. Trzaskoma state in the introduction that Apollodorus is "probably first century AD" (*Apollodorus' Library and Hyginus' Fabulae: Two Handbooks of Greek Mythology,* trans. R. Scott Smith and Stephen M. Trzaskoma (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc. 2007) 30-31).

a reputation built up in the course of time."[243] As for Zeus, the "statues of Zeus, Zeus *Chthonios* and Zeus the Highest, *Hypsistos,* stood side by side in Corinth,"[244] thus showing Zeus' chthonic role as well.

Demeter's and Kore's sanctuary in Roman times had a "vivid link with the underworld"[245] through lead tablets, which were under the "floor of a Roman building in the late 1st century after Christ."[246] In "Demeter in Corinth," Richard DeMaris explains that worship to Demeter continued into the Roman period[247] and that devotion to her had "a decidedly underworld aspect"[248] where "snake appliqué in particular points to an underworld or funerary aspect."[249] Ronald Stroud also finds underworld connections with Demeter and Kore's sanctuary, where curse tablets, found in Demeter's sanctuary "invoke underworld deities" of "Moirai Praxidikai, the Fates who exact justice."[250] Furthermore, Stroud claims that this is evidence for "the association of the Fates with Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth."[251] The use of curse tablets continued for some time, as they were also found in the Gymnasium area which dated from late 5th or early 6th Centuries CE.[252]

Myths associated with Kore are linked to the underworld through the rape of Persephone by

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[243] Pausanias, *Guide to Greece,* 191-193. Asklepios was also designated as Pan-Hellenic by Pausanias, who writes, "another proof the god was born in Epidauros is the Epidaurian origin of the most famous Asklepieia: the Athenians, for example, give Asklepios a share in the mystery, calling his day the Epidauria, and they say their belief in Asklepios as a god comes from this festival; another example is Archias, who was cured at Epidauros of a sprain he got hunting on Pindasos, and introduced the god to Pergamon. The Asklepieion by the sea at Smyrna came from Pergamon in our own time. The cult of Doctor Asklepios at Balagrai in Cyrenaica also comes from Epidauros, and the Asklepieion at Lebene in Crete comes from Cyrenaica. The difference between Cyrenaica and Epidauros is simply that the Cyreneans sacrifice goats." (Pausanias, Guide to Greece, 191-193.)

[244] Burkert, *Greek Religion,* 202.

[245] Nancy Bookidis and Ronald Stroud, *Demeter and Persephone in Ancient Corinth* (Corinth Notes 2; Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1987) 30.

[246] Bookidis and Stroud, *Demeter and Persephone in Ancient Corinth,* 30

[247] Demaris, "Demeter in Corinth," 109.

[248] Demaris, "Demeter in Corinth," 109.

[249] Demaris, "Demeter in Corinth," 110.

[250] Ronald Stroud, "The Sanctuary of Demeter on Acrocorinth in the Roman Period," in *The Corinthia in the Roman Period,* (Journal of Roman Archaeology: Supplemental Series Number 8. ed. Timothy Gregory. 1993) 72.

[251] Stroud, "The Sanctuary of Demeter on Acrocorinth in the Roman Period," 72.

[252] James Wiseman. "Excavations in Corinth, the Gymnasium Area, 1967-1968, Hesperia, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Jan-Mar 1969), 69-70.

Hades.[253] Moreover, Bookidis and Stroud explain that Kore's tale "was kept alive in antiquity by many poets, painters, and sculptors."[254] Furthermore, Kore was Hades's queen,[255] indeed, as DeMaris explains, the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, by the Roman period, "appears to have been dedicated to the queen of the underworld rather than Demeter."[256] Furthermore, connection to the underworld is associated with the god Pluto, as DeMaris mentions that in Isthmia there were inscriptions that refer to a sanctuary of Pluto, god of the underworld.[257] However, DeMaris remarks that sites dedicated to Pluto "are exceedingly rare"[258] and explains that to find evidence for Pluto and Kore so close together suggests that there probably was an underworld connection to Demeter as well.[259]

With respect to the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, figurines are an important element in uncovering Corinthian belief. Roman figurines begin showing up approximately 9-31 CE (50-75 years after its re-founding).[260] Evidence of activity at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore trace to the "first or second quarter of the 1st Century A.C."[261] and the construction of the sanctuary suggested that "Roman colonists showed a tendency to revive some of the abandoned Greek sanctuaries of Corinth but not necessarily to recreate original rituals."[262] Gloria Merker points out that the figurines in the Roman period had similarities to the figurines found in the earlier times, and speculates that

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[253] Bookidis and Stroud, *Demeter and Persephone in Ancient Corinth,* 5.

[254] Bookidis and Stroud, *Demeter and Persephone in Ancient Corinth,* 5.

[255] Bookidis and Stroud, *Demeter and Persephone in Ancient Corinth,* 5.

[256] Richard DeMaris, "Demeter in Roman Corinth: Local Development in a Mediterranean Religion," *Numen* 42 (1995) 108.

[257] DeMaris, "Demeter in Roman Corinth," 109.

[258] DeMaris, "Demeter in Roman Corinth," 109.

[259] DeMaris, "Demeter in Roman Corinth," 109.

[260] Gloria Merker *Corinth: Results of Excavations* conducted by The American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Vol XVIII, Part IV, The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: Terracotta Figures of the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods, (2000) 311.

[261] Gloria S. Merker, *Corinth, Volume XVIII, part IV, The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: Terracotta Figurines of the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman Periods.* (Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2000) 311.

[262] Merker, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore*, 311.

"descendants of the surviving Corinthian population"[263] inspired a "renewal of offering."[264] Merker, goes on to state, that it is difficult to imagine a gap in practice of 150 years with "no attention paid in Corinth to these important fertility and chthonic deities."[265]

Roman figurines are only a small percentage compared to the ones found in earlier periods (0.001% of Roman figurines found by comparison).[266] Because of such a low percentage, it is difficult to draw concrete conclusions. Of the 29 figurines discovered, Aphrodite, Artemis, Nike, Athena and Pan were found.[267] Among the findings, there were more female representations than male and "a number of figurines of children and grotesques."[268] A rooster figure was located along with an "enthroned bearded male figure wearing a pilos ... could (sic) perhaps represent Hades."[269] Aphrodite and Dionysos had representations in form of theatrical masks found as well.[270]

The rooster figurine, Merker explains, was a typical attribute of the chthonic deities "and therefore probably had the Underworld in mind."[271] Furthermore, Aphrodite worship had a "chthonic aspect, and her images, viewed in context of Kore's sanctuary, would have expressed for the worshipper the unity of erotic and chthonic that is fundamental in Greek religion."[272] Similarly, Artemis had a chthonic association with Hekate and her chthonic features could be a reason for her

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[263] Merker, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore*, 311.

[264] Merker, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore*, 311.

[265] Merker, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore*, 311.

[266] Merker, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore,* 311. Parrish explains in his section, "unsettled Corinth," that, Corinth developed "a 'service economy' which agriculture played relatively little part" (Parrish, "Speaking in Tongues, Dancing with Ghosts: Redescription, Translation, and the Language of Resurrection," 31). Citing DeMaris, Parrish argues, "Demeter devotion at Roman Corinth developed such a strong chthonic orientation, and did not focus upon the agricultural or fertility aspects it emphasized at Eleusis or Pergamum—if most of the population was not directly dependent upon the soil and the harvest for its social and economic well-being, there was little reason for concern about these aspects of Demeter." (Parrish, "Speaking in Tongues, Dancing with Ghosts: Redescription, Translation, and the Language of Resurrection," 31).

[267] Merker, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore,* 312.

[268] Merker, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore*, 312.

[269] Merker, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore*, 332.

[270] Merker, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore*, 341.

[271] Merker, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore*, 330.

[272] Merker, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore*, 331.

"representation among the figurines."[273] As for Dionysos, Merkel explains, "The ties to Dionysos to the sanctuary are likely to have been strong through the association of his name and images with fertility and the Underworld."[274]

Bookidis and Fisher, furthermore, describe a find in Building T of the sanctuary that was used in Roman times and is well preserved.[275] Within that building is a sanctuary dining room where "officials of the cult partook here of the sacrificial meal apart from the rest of the worshippers."[276] This dining room contains eleven *defixiones* which "are addressed to chthonic gods and follow the usual format."[277] Bookidis and Fisher outline other relevant characteristics of Building T:

> In the Roman period, Building T had taken on special cult significance. The building is separated from the main Roman cult area of the theater, temple and stoa located further up the hillside. It may have served one aspect of the cult, which had taken on a more chthonic cast. This is supported by the numerous lamps and small libation jugs found together with the tablets.[278]

The data from ancient Corinth clearly portrays a chthonic focus whether it was the chthonic side of an Olympian deity, like Aphrodite and Zeus, or it was a deity commonly associated with chthonic features, like Kore. With the underworld as such serving as a prevalent theme in Corinth, it is not surprising to find mortuary features in the Christ-hero association.

Specific to hero cults or cults of the dead, Broneer traces the development of a hero cult practiced in Hellenistic times, which begins with the cult of the dead[279] and fuses with "Athena Hellotis and Poseidon."[280] Remnants of the older funeral cult are detectable in Roman times through numismatic evidence, which reveals, during the period of Antonine Emperors, a "possible allusion to

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[273] Merker, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore*, 331.
[274] Merker, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore*, 332.
[275] Nancy Bookidis and J. Fisher, "The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth, Preliminary Report IV: 1969-1970," Hesperia 41 (1972) 299.
[276] Bookidis and Fisher, "The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth," 302.
[277] Bookidis and Fisher, "The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth," 304.
[278] Bookidis and Fisher, "The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth," 304.
[279] Oscar Broneer, "Hero Cults in the Corinthian Agora," *Hesperia*, 11.2 (1942) 156.
[280] Broneer, "Hero Cults in the Corinthian Agora," 156.

the once important races in honour of the dead…"[281] and it "may hark back to pre-Roman contests in honour of gods and heroes of the underworld."[282] Furthermore, Broneer argues that the cult of Athena Hellotis is "duplicated in another Corinthian cult, that of Hera Akraia,"[283] which was directly associated with Medea and her dead children.[284] The two cults, Hera and Medea, and Athena Hellotis are both "specialized forms of the cult of the dead."[285] Although the cults were "interrupted through the destruction of the city at the hands of the Romans,"[286] there are signs, or "vague reflections" as Bronner puts it, suggesting "the survival of some of the early cult practices" in Roman times.[287]

Bookidis uses Pausanias as the source for other cults, including "The Mnema of Medea's children; Athena Chalinitis; Sarapis and Isis; Helios; Ananke and Bia …; the Fates; and Eilithyia."[288] In the case of the, "Mnema of Medea's children" was located outside of the forum,[289] and was also of relvance in Corinth, which was a center for her cult.[290] Johnston explains that ancient authors called Medea the founder of the cult of Hera Akraia and an annual festival was dedicated to Medea and to

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[281] Broneer, "Hero Cults in the Corinthian Agora," 154.
[282] Broneer, "Hero Cults in the Corinthian Agora," 154.
[283] Broneer, "Hero Cults in the Corinthian Agora," 158.
[284] Broneer, "Hero Cults in the Corinthian Agora," 158.
[285] Broneer, "Hero Cults in the Corinthian Agora," 159.
[286] Broneer, "Hero Cults in the Corinthian Agora," 161.
[287] Broneer, "Hero Cults in the Corinthian Agora," 161.
[288] Bookidis, "Religion in Corinth,"161. Bookidis uses archeology to corroborate evidence from ancient literary sources such as Pausanias. (Bookidis, "Religion in Corinth," 142) In the second century CE, Pausanias wrote a *Guide to Greece* where he described the religious/ritual practices of Corinth and its surrounding area. As Ekroth explains, Pausanias "records a vast number of gods and heroes, cult places and monuments, rituals and beliefs. Minor religious figures were no less concern to him than major gods and he was anxious to present everything correctly." (Gunnel Ekroth, "Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-cults," *Ancient Greek Hero Cult: Proceedings of the Fifth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult* (Stockholm: Paul Astroms Forlag, 1999) 145). Furthermore, the practices "[Pausanias] considered as old in the 2nd century AD were not necessarily practices inherited from the Classical period, but to a certain extent later, Roman restorations of older cults," (Ekroth, "Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-cults," 158). William E. Hutton, writing about Pausanias' works states, "Overall, however, he shows a conservative preference for the old gods and heroes of Greece as opposed to the new religions that were gaining popularity in his day, and he seems to view that old-time religion as a source of unity and vitality for the Greek communities under Roman domination." (William E. Hutton, "Pausanias," *Routledge Encyclopedia of Ancient Mediterranean Religions* (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2016) 701-702.)
[289] Bookidis, "Religion in Corinth," 161.
[290] Sarah Johnston, "Corinthian Medea and the Cult of Hera Akraia," in *Medea: Essays on Medea in Myth, Literature, Philosophy and Art,* (Princeton University Press 1997) 47.

Medea's dead children.[291] The connection to Hera, according to ancient sources, is through Medea's

children, since Hera's sanctuary is where the children were buried.[292] In classical Corinth prior to

Mummius, chthonic ritual sacrifices were made routinely to Medea's children -- one particular ritual

involved fourteen Corinthian children cutting their hair and wearing black clothing in an annual

festival.[293] During the annual festival, people directed chthonic sacrifices and funeral songs to

Medea's children.[294] The link between Corinth and the Mnema of Medea's children is pointed to by

Claudius Aelianus, who records that the children of Medea "were killed by the Corinthians and not

by their mother."[295] Thus the Corinthians had "to perform *enagizein* sacrifices to the children, as if to

give them a tribute, an action which must also have functioned as a kind of propitiation."[296] By

Pausanias' time, children no longer cut their hair or wore black clothing, nor were sacrifices offered.

Nonetheless, the mnema remained.[297] Consequently, during the Roman period remnants of Medea

and her dead children remained most likely through folklore and Euripides' play.[298]

Heroes, such as Medea, were located in Corinth, and more than her simple presence at

theatre, the death of her children had specific emphasis. Combined with the chthonic focus of

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[291] Johnston, "Corinthian Medea and the Cult of Hera Akraia," 46.

[292] Johnston, "Corinthian Medea and the Cult of Hera Akraia," 48.

[293] Johnston, "Corinthian Medea and the Cult of Hera Akraia," 49.

[294] Johnston, "Corinthian Medea and the Cult of Hera Akraia," 61. John R. Lanci explains that in the literary evidence on Corinth, "we find no indisputable evidence for religions centered on fertility, or fertility goddesses, or ritual enactment of sacred marriages, and no ritual prostitution." (John R. Lanci in "The Stones Don't Speak and the Texts Tell Lies: Sacred Sex at Corinth," *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth,* eds. Daniel N. Schowalter and Steven J. Friesen (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005) 210) He further states that the texts that describe temple prostitution are doing so as rhetoric to convince their readers of the vast difference between the uncultured Corinthians and the cultured Athenians (Lanci in "The Stones Don't Speak and the Texts Tell Lies," 210-216). Based upon reading the texts and analysing the archaeological evidence Lanci concludes that Corinth was neither a center for the sex trade nor was predominately concerned with ritual sex. (Lanci "The Stones Don't Speak and the Texts Tell Lies: Sacred Sex at Corinth," 205-220). The evidence on Corinth does suggest a concern for the dead.

[295] Ekroth, *Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero Cults*, 97.

[296] Ekroth, *Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero Cults*, 97.

[297] Johnston, "Corinthian Medea and the Cult of Hera Akraia," 49. Ekroth states, "In those cases in which he describes the cult place as being connected with a burial (*taphos, mnema, polyandrion, choma ges*) or mentions the fact that the hero was buried or his bones kept, the term for the sacrificial activity is *enagizein*. Most of these sacrifices seem to have been performed at the actual tomb of the hero" (Ekroth, *Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero Cults,* 94).

[298] I would love to talk more about the theatre but as there was an earthquake in 77 CE resulting in the destruction of most of the theatre so there is actually a gap in evidence for mid-First Century CE.

Corinth, the Corinthian Christ-hero association readily compared their hero to their surroundings.

Heroic Cultural Context of the Greater Corinthian Area

Separating the city Corinth from the surrounding countryside is problematic, as Wiseman

explains:

> Citizens of all the towns of the Corinthia evidently considered themselves, throughout most of antiquity, citizens of Corinth: there are few epigraphical instances of demotics and only Tenea offers evidence of independence (spiritually or politically) from Corinth at any time. Corinth, then, may be viewed as a unitary state in which the city was the seat of political authority.[299]

Following from Wiseman's comments, this study uses data from outside of the Corinthian "city-

limits" to understand hero cults in the greater Corinthian area. As such, not far from Corinth and

under Corinth's control,[300] in the Isthmia, Gebhard recounts that "Poseidon presided over the

Isthmian shrine" along with Poseidon's children the Cyclopes.[301] Gebhard explains Demeter was

frequently connected to the Poseidon cult.[302] The rites for Melikertes-Palaimon were also associated

with the Isthmian games,[303] and other deities connected to the shrine in the 2nd Century CE

included Kore, Dionysos and Artemis (who were in a sacred glen)[304] as well as ancestral gods, Helios,

Eueteria, and Pluto.[305] The rites associated with Melikertes-Palaimon at Isthmia did have continuity

from the Hellenistic times to the re-established ceremonies in Roman times. As Gebhard notes, the

chthonic aspects of memorial or mourning songs, the development of a sanctuary with a focus on

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[299] Wiseman, "Corinth and Rome I," 446.
[300] Elizabeth Gebhard. "The Evolution of a Pan-Hellenic Sanctuary: From Archaeology towards History at Isthmia, originally published Greek Sanctuaries, New Approaches 1993, 7.
[301] Gebhard, "The Evolution of a Pan-Hellenic Sanctuary," 1.
[302] Gebhard, "The Evolution of a Pan-Hellenic Sanctuary," 1.
[303] Gebhard, "The Evolution of a Pan-Hellenic Sanctuary,"1. John E. Stambaugh writes, "the Romans had appointed the Sicyonians arbiters of a dispute in 155 B.C. (between Athens and Oropus), and after the Romans destroyed Corinth in 146 B.C., Sicyon took over much of Corinthian territory and prerogatives, including the presidency of the Isthmian games (Pausanias 2.2.2; Strabo 8.381 = 8.6.23, 25)" (John E. Stambaugh, "Sicyon," *Anchor Bible Dictionary* Ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 8078).
[304] Gebhard, "The Evolution of a Pan-Hellenic Sanctuary," 1.
[305] Gebhard, "The Evolution of a Pan-Hellenic Sanctuary,"1. It is important to note that the Isthmian games were active in mid-first century CE durig Nero's reign (54-68 CE) Gebhard, "The Evolution of a Pan-Hellenic Sanctuary," 9.

his tomb, and holocaustic sacrifices associated with the cult,[306] were all re-established and developed in Roman times.[307]

Hero worship was located all around Corinth and surrounding area some with a particular focus on mortuary aspects. Aratos, who was in charge of the Achaian soldiers in the victorious battle against the Spartan Kleomenes, has a hero's shrine at Sikyon. Philip poisoned Aratos, who was Kleomenes' successor, and his body was buried at Sikyon, called the Arateion.[308] At Phliasia, there are the "graves of the children of Aras."[309] In a grove near the temple of Nemean[310] Zeus is the grave of Opheltes[311] with stones around it and "altars inside the enclosure"[312] while, a "… tumulus marks the grave of his father Lykourgos."[313] Across from the Nemean Zeus, was:

> a shrine of Fortune ages old, … The near-by memorial is called the memorial of Choreia the maenad: they say she and other women came to Argos in Dionysos's troops, and when Perseus won the battle he murdered most of the women: the rest were buried together, but since this one had a special position they made her a private memorial.[314]

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[306] Elizabeth Gebhard, "Rites for Melikertes-Palaimon in the Early Roman Corinthia," in *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth: Interdisciplinary Approaches,* ed. Daniel N. Schowalter and Steven J. Friesen, (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 2005) 203.

[307] Gebhard, "Melikertes," 203.

[308] Plutarch, *Lives*, Volume XI: Aratus. Artaxerxes. Galba. Otho. General Index. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. Loeb Classical Library 103. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926) 121. Pausanias, "Corinth," *Guide to Greece*, 152.

[309] Pausanias, "Corinth," *Guide to Greece,* 159.

[310] Wiseman states that Nemea was in Corinthian territory (Wiseman, "Corinth and Rome I" 445).

[311] Opheltes was the "son of Lycurgus, king of Nemea, and Amphithea or Eurydice. According to Hyginus, Lycurgus … warned by an oracle not to set Pheltes on the ground until he could walk. Therefore, Opheltes' nurse, Hypsipyle, laid him on a thick bed of parsley while she was showing the Seven against Thebes the way to a spring. In spite of this precaution, the snake that guarded the spring killed the child. The Seven buried the child under the name of Archemorus (Beginning of Doom), for the seer Amphiaraus said that his death meant just that for them. Adrastus interceded for Hypipyle with the king and founded the Nemean games in the child's honor." (Edward Tripp, *The Meridian Handbook of Classical Mythology* (New York: Penguin Books, 1970) 428). Tripp cites Hyginus' *fabulae* 74 a first century CE text as the source for this myth. Carla M. Antonaccio states, "Recent excavations at Nemea have revealed a precinct that corresponds to Pausanias's description of the temple and *peribolos* at Opheltes." (Antonaccio, *An Archaeology of Ancestors,* 176). Antonaccio dates the site back to the 6th Century BCE with some construction dating to 3rd Century BCE (Antonaccio, *An Archaeology of Ancestors,* 176-177).

[312] Pausanias, "Corinth," *Guide to Greece,* 165.

[313] Pausanias, "Corinth," *Guide to Greece,* 165.

[314] Pausanias, "Corinth," *Guide to Greece* 177. This myth is also located in Apollodorus (3.5.2), "And having shown the Thebans that he was a god, Dionysus came to Argos, and there again, because they did not honour him, he drove the women mad, and they on the mountains devoured the flesh of the infants whom they carried at their breasts." (Apollodorus. *The Library*, Volume I: Book 3 Trans. James G. Frazer. Loeb Classical Library 121. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921) 331). There were two myths, Pausanias records the battle story as Apollodorus records the madness of the women (Pausanias, "Corinth," 177).

At Mycenae, there are tombs of "Agamemnon's, another holds Eurymedon the charioteer, and a single grave holds Teledamos and Pelops, Kassandra's twin babies whom Aigisthos slaughtered with their parents; another is the tomb of Electra, whom Orestes married to Pylades. Hellanikos also wrote about Pylades having two sons by Electra, Medon and Strophios. Klytaimnestra and Aigisthos were buried a little further from the wall. They were not fit to lie inside, where Agamemnon and the men murdered with him are lying."[315] At the Heraion[316] there were statues of women who were heroes.[317] In cases where heroes died violently, through:

> being killed in war, murdered or having committed suicide. … [T]he manner of death led to grave consequences and the *enagizein* sacrifices were aimed at placating the heroes' anger. These particular characteristics can be traced from the earliest cases in which *enagizein* sacrifices are used for heroes (5th century) all through the Roman period.[318]

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[315] Pausanias, "Corinth," *Guide to Greece,* 168. Peter Levi writes, "… the graves were presumably real, so one can hardly avoid concluding there was a genuinely local Mycenean version (of whatever date) of the story of Agamemnon's death. Agamemnon's own cult at Mycenae, which was outside the walls at a shrine in open country, built in the eighth century BC." (Pausanias, "Corinth," 168) "Further S, on the left bank of Chaos stream was the hero shrine of Agamemnon. founded in the LG period, but it is not clear whether the cult was addressed to the hero from the beginning." (Alexander Mazarakis Ainian, *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples: Architecture, Religion and Society in Early Iron Age Greece (1100 – 700 BC)* in *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology CXXI* (Jonsered: Paul Astroms Forlag, 1997) 320). Antonaccio dates this shrine to the late 8th Century BCE to the Hellenistic period (Antonaccio, *An Archaeology of Ancestors,* 182). Antonaccio states, "More than 1000 plaques of 50 different types were also recovered: a seated male with kantharos before a snake comprised a basic theme. Some also showed a seated male with standing female, the snake between them feeding from her phiale. Other plaques depicted banquet scenes, riders on horseback, and armed men. Some odd tubes or pipes with Dionysos reclining and dancing satyrs were also published. One again, as at Therapne, this may be a case of an older, local diety, Alexandra, who was assimilated to Kassandra when Agamemnon was later brought into the picture in the sixth century – the period when the plaques began, so showing "heroized" males, some accompanied by females (Antonaccio, *An Archaeology of Ancestors,* 182). DeMaris in, "Demeter in Corinth," explains that snakes are closely connected to chthonic aspects in cults (Demaris, "Demeter in Corinth," 110). Agamemnon's tomb points to hero worship with underworld aspects associated with him.

[316] "The major sanctuary of the Argives was the Heraion situated at a considerable distance outside the city. ln the area of the Old Temple Terrace the earliest pottery is MG II-LG II though it seems that the earliest metal votives date to the first half of the 9th c." Alexander Mazarakis Ainian, *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples: Architecture, Religion and Society in Early Iron Age Greece (1100 – 700 BC)* in *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology CXXI* (Jonsered: Paul Astroms Forlag, 1997) 321).

[317] Pausanias, "Corinth," *Guide to Greece,* 169. Antonaccio mentions that Wace connects a site to the Heroon mentioned by Pausanias, but she finds the evidence tenuous as there has been no inscription or tomb found (Antonaccio, *An Archaeology of Ancestors* 183).

[318] Ekroth, "Cult of Heroes," 126.

In addition, heroes were honoured at more than one location.[319] Perseus,[320] for example, had a shrine "beside the road as you go from Mycenae to Argos"[321] and "local honours [occurred] here, but his greatest honours are in Seriphos."[322] At both Argos and at Sipylos, Tantalos had graves attributed to him, "others have said this bronze urn contains the bones of Tantalos. I will not deny that the Tantalos who married Klytaimnestra before Agamemnon, the son of Thyestes or Broteas (since both are spoke of), was buried here: but I know the grave of the legendary son of Zeus and Pluto in Sipylos[323], because I saw it there, and it was worth seeing."[324] Agamemnon had two shrines associated

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[319] Jonathan M. Hall, "Beyond the Polis: The Multilocality of Heroes," *Ancient Greek Hero Cults* (Stockholm: Paul Astroms Forlag, 1999) 50-59. Hall researches the multiple locations of Hippolytos, Seven against Thebes, and Agmemnon explaining that the multiple locations of Athens and Troizen in the case of Hippolytos complimented each other and expressed a relationship of diplomacy (Hall, "Beyond the Polis," 52). In the case with Seven against Thebes, differing locations would claim descendacy to the group to legitimize their claim on hegemony (Hall, "Beyond the Polis," 53-55) on the Peloponnese. Sparta does this same thing except it used genealogy tracing to Agamemnon claim Peloponnesian hegemony (55-59) even though Mycene is the location to Agamemnon's tomb.

[320] Perseus was also an autochthon as Pausanias explains, "If you go back to the Tretos and take the Argos road again, the ruins of Mycenae are on your left. Every Greek knows that Perseus was the settler of Mycenae, so I shall give the origin of the settlement and the reason why later on the Argives turned out the Myceneans." (Pausanias, *Guide to Greece,* 165).

[321] Pausanias, "Corinth," *Guide to Greece,* 171. Antonaccio explains in "Terraces, Tombs, and the Early Argive Heraion," that the entire Prosymna area, and surrounding area are attributed to hero cults some of which can be traced to "Neolithic period and continued until LH IIIB or possibly slightly later." (Carla M. Antonaccio, "Terraces, Tombs, and the Early Argive Heraion," Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 61 (1992) 86-89.)

[322] Pausanias, "Corinth," *Guide to Greece,* 171.The importance of Seriphos is also mentioned in Strabo "And there is Seriphos, the scene of the mythical story of Dictys, who with his net drew to land the chest in which were enclosed Perseus and his mother Danaê, who had been sunk in the sea by Acrisius the father of Danaê; for Perseus was reared there, it is said, and when he brought the Gorgon's head there, he showed it to the Seriphians and turned them all into stone. This he did to avenge his mother, because Polydectes the king, with their co-operation, intended to marry his mother against her will. The island is so rocky that the comedians say that it was made thus by the Gorgon." (Strabo, *Geography*, Volume V: Book 10, trans. by Horace Leonard Jones. Loeb Classical Library 211. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928) 171-173).

[323] Strabo mentions that Sipylos was an area associated with Tantalos as well, "Writers mention certain Phrygian tribes that are no longer to be seen; for example, the Berecyntes. And Alcman says, 'On the pipe he played the Cerbesian, a Phrygian melody." And a certain pit that emits deadly effluvia is spoken of as Cerbesian. This, indeed, is to be seen, but the people are no longer called Cerbesians. Aeschylus, in his Niobê, confounds things that are different; for example, Niobê says that she will be mindful of the house of Tantalus, "those who have an altar of their paternal Zeus on the Idaean hill"; and again, "Sipylus in the Idaean land"; and Tantalus says, "I sow furrows that extend a ten days' journey, Berecyntian land, where is the site of Adrasteia, and where both Mt. Ida and the whole of the Erechtheian plain resound with the bleatings and bellowings of flocks." (Strabo, *Geography*, Volume V: Book 12, trans. by Horace Leonard Jones. Loeb Classical Library 211. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928) 519-521).

[324] Pausanias, "Corinth," *Guide to Greece,* 182-183.

with him, one at Chaos in Mycenae and another south of Hyakinthos.[325] Already mentioned in

another section above, at Sikyon[326], outside of Corinth[327], the people conducted a ritual to Herakles

as a divine hero, and "… even now at Sikyon they still slaughter lambs and burn the thighs on the

altar, eating part of the meat as if it were sacred, and consecrating the other parts as it were to a

hero."[328] The mortuary aspects along with the multiple locations of hero sites are reminiscent of what

we find with the Christ-hero association.

People residing in the Corinthian area knew of Herakles, as a hero with a significant shrine

dedicated to him. Philasians knew Herakles because Pausianas relays the account that while he was

living at Philiasia he was met by Oineus, one of his kinsman.[329] While the two were dining together,

Kyathos, the wine-boy, poured a drink to Herakles that he did not like, and Herakles flicked him

with his finger on the head and killed him.[330] The house was kept, by the Philiasians, so they could

remember the boy, and a stone statue was set up of "Kyathos holding out a cup to Herakles."[331]

Heracles and the heroes mentioned by Homer were not the only ones who were pan-hellenic, but

Perseus and Tantalos also provide examples of heroic pan-hellenism.

Herakles was not the only hero who did not have a grave and bones. In the Corinthian area,

other heroes had boneless sites. Hyrnetho's tumulus was located near Argos "the way back from the

Hollow road."[332] Pausanias doubts that the grave site actually contains bones and states, "if it is

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[325] Antonaccio explains that the site at Chaos, was probably founded 480/79 BCE to coincide with city of Argos' consolidation (Antonaccio, *An Archaeology of Ancestors,* 151).

[326] Wiseman in "Corinth and Rome I: 228 B.C – A.D. 267" mentions that Sikyon was in Corinthian territory (James Wiseman, "Corinth and Rome I: 228 B.C.-A.D. 267," *ANRW* II.7.1 (1979) 444).

[327] See footnote 149 for the importance of Sikyon.

[328] Pausanias, "Corinth," *Guide to Greece,* 153. Herodotus, a Fifth Century BCE Greek historian, also refers to worship of Herakles at Thasos as both Olympian and Heroic and 'very ancient' (A. D. Godley, *Herodotus, with an English Translation.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920) 147). Not only was Herakles a significant figure in 2nd Century CE he dates back to 5th Century BCE and was a PanHellenic hero.

[329] Pausanias, "Corinth," *Guide to Greece,* 162.

[330] Pausanias, "Corinth," *Guide to Greece,* 162.

[331] Pausanias, "Corinth," *Guide to Greece,* 162.

[332] Pausanias, "Corinth," *Guide to Greece,* 185.

empty and simply a memorial, this is quite likely; but if they think her dead body lies here, that I cannot accept: you are free to believe it if you know nothing of Epidauros."[333] At Cape Skyllanion, attributed to Scylla, the daughter of Nisos, has no grave because "her neglected body was torn to pieces they say by sea birds."[334] One site that may have bones, but they were not spoken of, and no one was allowed to see them was at Hippolytos' shrine, "[the Troizeunians] will not hear of his death dragged behind the horses, nor show his grave although they know it; they believe that the Charioteer in heaven is their own Hippolytos, and that the gods have given him this honour.[335] Hyrnetho, Scylla, and Hippolytos were three heroes in the Corinthian area that had shrines attributed to them, but their bodies were not the focus of the site. The de-emphasis of graves, bones, and funerals is found in the Corinthian Christ-hero association.

For the purposes of this study, the above assists in directing us to the realization that the Christ figure, when analyzed in the Corinthian hero cult cultural context, bears the very same general features ascribed to various other contemporary heroes. A particularly notable example, Herakles[336] was a hero that the Corinthians would have known, and he could have served easily as an analogue for the Corinthians to interpret the Christ figure. The essential elements of the Christ myth were straightforward enough: as a mortal, Christ was handed over by God to be crucified; he was then buried, immortalized, and appeared to his followers. Yet by placing Christ in the Corinthian context, we elicit a finer understanding of the hero. Indeed, Christ's violent death can be placed alongside other Corinthian myths, like Aratos, Opheltes, Choreia, Agamemnon, Teledamos and Pelops, and

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[333] Pausanias, "Corinth," *Guide to Greece,* 185. Apollodorus also mentions the story of Hyrnetho, "Now Temenus, passing over his sons Agelaus, Eurypylus, and Callias, favoured his daughter Hyrnetho and her husband Deiphontes; hence his sons hired some fellows to murder their father. On the perpetration of the murder the army decided that the kingdom belonged to Hyrnetho and Deiphontes." Apollodorus 1.9-14. Wiseman adds that Epidauros was part of Corinthian territory (Wiseman, "Corinth and Rome I," 445).

[334] Pausanias, "Corinth," *Guide to Greece,* 213.

[335] Pausanias, "Corinth," *Guide to Greece,* 207.

[336] Achilles, as well, is another example of a notable hero that the Corinthians would have known.

Klytaimnestra and Aigisthos. The de-emphasis on Christ's grave parallels with other heroes like

Hyrnetho, Scylla, and Hippolytos. Honours attributed to Christ in a variety of locations[337] around

Greece is very similar to Herakles, Perseus, and Thantos. Placing Christ beside the Corinth city's

civic gods, goddesses, and heroes allows us to see a chthonic focus; Demeter and Kore's sanctuary

was the clearest example of this focus (and to a lesser degree, Medea and her dead children). The

rites associated with these cults were familiar to the Corinthians, and thus the mortuary element of

the Christ myth would readily have resonated with them. In addition, the theme of healing and

regeneration, familiar to the Corinthians through the cults of Asklepios and Aphrodite, paralleled the

notion of God's gift of healing (1 Cor. 12:9) as an element in the Christ myth.

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[337] In "Translocal Relationships," Richard Ascough writes, "We have attempted to show through an evaluation of the available data both that some voluntary associations in antiquity had translocal links *and* that Christian groups were more locally based than is often assumed. There is no doubt that the *primary* basis for associations was local, but, we would argue, this would be equally true for the Christian groups. Christian congregations and voluntary associations were both locally based groups with limited translocal connections. The elimination of the false dichotomy between local associations and translocal Christianity allows for a more profitable us of the voluntary associations as an analogy for understanding the formation and organization of early Christian groups." (Richard Ascough, "Translocal Relationships among Voluntary Associations and Early Christianity," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 5:2 (1997) 241). Building in part from Ascough's analysis this study argues that the use of a more specific association – the hero association - can serve to enhance the persuasiveness of Ascough's analogical project.

Chapter Three: The Lord's Meal Ritual

First century CE Corinthians, decoded what was presented to them, thus (re)creating a Christ

myth,[338] one based upon a paradigmatic[339] hero found in the cultural context[340] of Corinth and the

surrounding area. 1 Corinthians clearly evidences this construction, particularly in terms of what the

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[338] Mack states that when explaining myth and mythmaking,

> It may help some to note (1) that mythmaking is a normal and necessary social activity, (2) that early Christian mythmaking was due more to borrowing and rearranging myths taken for granted in the cultures of context than to firsthand speculation, and (3) that the myths they came up with made eminent sense, not only for their times and circumstances, but also for the social experiments in which they were invested (Mack, *Who Wrote the New Testament?,* 13).

Willi Braun and William Arnal in "Social Formation and Mythmaking: Theses on Key Terms," clarify key concepts and terms specific to social formation and mythmaking which is relevant to this study. Discourse (verbal and non-verbal) is an "irreducibly social phenomenon" where all discursive practice is social. Regarding social interests, it is a groups desire to pursue agenda within a social group, thus forming sub-groups "is not an end in itself" by an 'intervention' in a "larger social body." Social interests "are constrained by, shaped by, and refer to" the conditions of class-based and economic situations. Social interests of Christian groups were not unique only to those Christian groups. Although different Christian group interests may overlap from group to group this is not a "genetic relationship, especially not if this genetic relationship is located in the realm of ideas (myths, mythmaking). Social formations and mythmaking form in the Greco-Roman world and it should be referenced to other social forms like voluntary associations. Mythmaking activity uses key terms, images, motifs, and ideas and elevates them to status of authority. These 'manipulations' are intrasocial and claim to be different than the culture of which they manifest. Ideas, as tools to impact society, have significance on identity and shape of other ideas and alter the shape of the social structure. Ideas are shaped differently in different locales; two Christs will not be the same in both locations. People develop ideas, and history needs to incorporate social formation. Myths and mythmaking are effects of a material framework. The tracing a lineage of ideas needs to be understood as a social process. Ideas as social phenomenon and analysis of discourse needs to be placed in social context. Mythmaking has to be understood in the discourse of social formation. Mutual recognition among Christ groups is an effect of social formation, not a cause of social formation. (William Arnal and Willi Braun, "Social Formation and Mythmaking: Theses on Key Terms," in *Redescribing Christian Origins,* eds. Ron Cameron and Merrill Miller (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004) 459-468).

      As this applies to the study, ritual discourse needs to be understood as a social phenomenon and the rituals of the group further their agenda, which created a sub-group in the Corinthian polis. Class and economic factors are relevant to the formation of the Christ-hero sub-group, and this was not unique only to the Christ-hero association, but other heroic associations were forming simultaneously along the same lines. Translocal relationships among the Christ-hero cult was not genetic in a traditional sense (this dissertation argues that baptism creates lineage), that they come from one ethnic community. The voluntary social formation needs to be taken seriously to understand early Christian formations, and this study would add that general voluntary associations are not as helpful for understanding group formation, as are the specific hero voluntary associations. Like ritualization, mythmaking processes needs to be understood within a social formation and both of these processes alter the group. Also like ritualization, mythmaking, will "seem" to be distinct from greater cultural context. The one place where Bell and Arnal and Braun differ is that for Bell verbal discourse (language) is not important to physical discourse (action), but physical discourse is important to verbal discourse. In her thinking, ritual does not need myth, while myth is reliant upon ritual. It seems that Arnal and Braun are arguing the relationship between myth and ritual is a more integrated process happening simultaneously.

      The Lord's Meal, as a ritual, shapes the myth and as the ideas in the myth move into differing locations the meaning attributed to the ideas change. Applied directly, the Lord's Meal begins as a heroic *theoxenia/enagizein* Greek ritual of which the ideas of symbiosis between Christ and God and communication are implied in the ritual. The myth of Christ as breaking the bread and drinking from the cup are added to explain the ritual (i.e., why we are not eating meat at the ritual), but also the language of 'handed over' in the myth explains the disconnection between God and Christ and the ritual symbiosis needed between these two entities. As the ideas progress, different groups frame the myth differently - the 'handed over' becomes 'betrayed' which in turn develops the myth to include Judas and the last supper. The ideas change to also incorporate a Jewishness where Passover becomes understood as the meal and the myth incorporates Jewish elements such as temple, Pharisees, etc… [T]hus different groups create different Christ myths. The differing ideas began to shape the identity and social formation of the Christ groups.

kerygma and its four events (death, burial, resurrection and appearance) reveals. At first glance, Christ very closely parallels Herakles and other Corinthian based heroes regarding death, burial, and immortality. Christ also generally parallels heroic epiphanies regarding his appearance. Ritually, however, Herakles is cast as both a god and a hero; 1 Corinthians 8:5-6, in contrast, takes great pains to create a distinction between Christ and God. This being the case, we are led to ask: given that Christ was a hero, and given the obviously heroic reflections in 1 Corinthians, which *type* of hero was he? To answer this question, we need to turn to the Lord's Meal ritual in 1 Corinthians, as it is this ritual which reveals the Christ-hero type.

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[339] Following Lincoln's understanding of a paradigmatic myth, Christ as a template or blueprint was used by the community to construct themselves as 'seemingly' unique to the greater Corinthian society. (Lincoln, *Discourse and the Construction of Society,* 25)

[340] Bell agreeing with Lincoln and Mack understands that "Ritual action involves an inextricable interaction with its immediate world, often drawing it into the very activity of the rite in multiple ways" (Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions,* 266).

As this study is using Bell's framework to analyze 1 Corinthian data, the first step in determining the Christ-hero type involves analyzing the Lord's Meal from the perspective of ritual, thus the meal aspect of 1 Cor. 10:16-17 and 11:17-34 will be considered subordinate to the ritual. Using Bell's terminology, the analysis will be on the ritualization of the meal. With this as the starting point, now this study will move to determine what type of ritual was the Lord's Meal.

Analysis of 1 Corinthians 10:16-17 and 11:17-34

1 Corinthians contains the oldest written reference to the Lord's Meal,[341] and usually this ritual is placed within a Jewish frame[342] or generally applied to Greco-Roman Association communal

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[341] The Lord's Meal is sometimes referred to as the Eucharist, or the Last Supper, or the Lord's Supper. I will make reference to this ritual as *kyrios deipnon* Lord's Meal. 1 Corinthians 11:23-26 has the oldest literary reference to the Lord's Meal (Hans-Josef Klauk, "Lord's Supper," trans. David Ewert *Anchor Bible Dictionary* Vol. 4 (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 5255; Gary Macy, *The Banquet's Wisdom* (Ashland City: OSL Publications, 2005) 17; I. Howard Marshall, *Last Supper and Lord's Supper* (Waynesboro: Paternoster, 1980) 31). Scholars think that there were two separate versions of the Lord's Supper (R. Eduard Schweizer, "Body," *Anchor Bible Dictionary* Vol. 1 (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 1057) one found in 1 Corinthians 11:23-25 and the other in Mark 14:22-24. Schweizer argues that Paul's version of the Lord's Supper is the more ancient version (Schweizer, "Body," 1057). Marshall explains that the tradition that Paul refers to comes from the "church in Jerusalem" from "Greek-speaking Christians … who had translated it out of the story of the Last Supper used by Hebrew- or Aramaic – speaking Christians" (Marshall, *Last Supper and Lord's Supper,* 32-33). Conzelmann characterizes this pre-Pauline text as an underlying "original text" a "Passion kerygma" which two strands of tradition come from – Paul and Mark (Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 197). Mazza in *The Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer* argues that the Didache, a late first century CE (F.F. Bruce, "Early Christian Literature," *Anchor Bible Dictionary* Vol. 4 (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 5226), contains a very early version of the Eucharist (Didache 9.2) and places the date of the text prior to 1 Corinthians (Enrico Mazza, *Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer* (Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1995) 40). Further, Mazza argues that Paul knew the "Eucharistic liturgy" found in the Didache (Mazza *Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer,* 97). Mazza bases the location of the Eucharist in the Didache upon the themes of bread, cup and unity (Mazza, *Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer,* 80-90). Mazza explains that Paul received the tradition (*Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer*, 92), but changed the text in order to address the "pastoral needs of the assembly of Corinth" (*Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer*, 94). Mazza also mentions, but does not explain, that both Paul and the Didache may be depending on the same source (*Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer,* 90). Jeremias explains that the "primitive form of the Eucharistic words … come to us in three lines of tradition which substantially agree, but which differ characteristically in the formulation: a Markan, a Pauline-Lukan and a Johannine" (Joachim Jeremias *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (Trinity Press International, 2011) 190). In summary, 1 Corinthians 10:16-17 and 11:23-26 is one of the earliest references to the Lord's Meal, and is the oldest literary reference.

[342] This study argues that using a Jewish model does not provide meaning to the ritual for both the ritual actor and the theorist. Although, some commentators attempt to apply this Jewish model to the Lord's Meal ritual. Commentators argue that 1 Corinthians 10:16-17 and 1 Corinthians 11:17-35 reflect the passion narrative located in the gospels. The specific connection to the Lord's Supper in Corinthians and the Passion Narrative in the Gospels is in 1 Cor. 11:23 (… "that the Lord Jesus on that night when he was betrayed" …) is where a reference to the betrayal of Christ by Judas Iscariot. Conzelmann in his commentary states that in 1 Cor 11:23b, Paul is referring to the "Synoptic narrative" (Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians,* 197), which for Conzelmann is a "piece of fixed, pre-Pauline tradition" (Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians,* 196). Although Paul is using the betrayal motif from the "Passion kerygma" (Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians,* 197) he does not characterize the supper as a Passover meal (Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians,* 197). In her commentary on 1 Corinthians, Perkins mentions "the bread and cup sayings must have included a longer narrative about the meal and events leading to Jesus' crucifixion" (Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians,* 143).

Other scholars suggest that the Lord's Supper in 1 Corinthians reflects a Jewish Passover meal between Jesus and his disciples. Jeremias in *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* outlines fourteen pieces of evidence to argue that the Last Supper was a Passover meal (Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* 41). He supports this argument based on the liturgical formula, eschatological prospect, descriptions of the meal, and room arrangement (Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus,* 61-62). In his commentary of 1 Corinthians, Fitzmyer makes reference to Jewish Passover in relation to 1 Cor. 10:16-17 where he argues the cup is reference to "the cup of blessing" in Passover (Joseph Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians* in *The Anchor Yale Bible Commentaries Book 1* (Yale University Press, 2008) 390). Furthermore, Fitzmyer downplays the interpretation of that Paul is making reference to the Passion Narrative in 1 Cor. 11:23 and instead argues that Paul is referring to Christ being handed over by God or Jesus handing himself over (Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians* 436). Fitzmyer, argues once again in 1 Cor. 11:23-24 that the bread mentioned in the passage is a reference to Passover (Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians* 436). Humphreys argues that the Last Supper as described in 1 Corinthians (Colin Humphreys, *The Mystery of the Last Supper: Reconstructing the Final Days of Jesus,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) 5) is a Passover meal based upon pre-exilic calendar where in the pre-exilic calendar the Passover meal was on a Wednesday (Humphreys, *The Mystery of the Last Supper,* 190). This adjusts the calendar enough to account for the Friday execution as presented in both the Synoptics and John (Humphreys, *The Mystery of the Last Supper,* 188-190). Marshall argues that the Last Supper was a Passover meal with Jesus and his disciples held on an earlier date "than the official Jewish" one (Marshall, *Last Supper and Lord's Supper,* 75).

Stringer combines the passion narrative argument with the Passover argument. Stringer argues that the meals in Paul's letters are not normal meals and the meal is "1 Corinthians was probably an event that occurred less frequently than once a week and could possibly be an annual event associated with Passover" (Martin Stringer, *Rethinking the Origins of the Eucharist,* (London: SCM Press, 2011) 42). Furthermore, Stringer argues that the retelling of "the full Passion" annually fits with the annual celebration of the Passover (Stringer, *Rethinking the Origins of the Eucharist,* 62-63). For Stringer, the Passion narrative and the Passover ritual fit together in 1 Corinthians.

In *Inculturation of the Jesus Tradition: The Impact of Jesus on Jewish and Roman Cultures,* Snyder argues that Paul in the Lord's Supper is attempting to take the Agape meal and replace it with the anamnesis meal which related to Jesus' death and resurrection (Graydon Snyder, *Inculturation of the Jesus Tradition: The Impact of Jesus on Jewish and Roman Cultures* (Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 1999) 169-171). Paul wanted to introduce the Agape meal because it presents Jesus in an ideological meal instead of in a localized meal (Snyder, *Inculturation of the Jesus Tradition,* 169). Although, Snyder utilizes a Christian model rather than a Jewish model to argue his position. The difficulty in maintaining this position is that the Agape meal does not fit within the cultural context of Corinth, and places too much authority on Paul.

Finally, some scholars argue that it was not a Passover meal but was a simple meal between Jesus and his disciples (Gerd Theissen and Annette Merz, *The Historical Jesus: A Comprehensive Guide* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress Press, 1998) 436). Theissen and Merz argue that the last supper was an actual meal that Jesus had with his disciples (Theissen and Mertz, *The Historical Jesus,* 423). "The disciples must have expected to celebrate the Passover with him" (Theissen and Mertz, *The Historical Jesus,* 423). The difficulty that they outline is that it could not be a Passover meal, because Jesus would have been arrested and executed prior to Passover (Theissen and Mertz, *The Historical Jesus,* 423). They base this on the "Johannine chronology" (Theissen and Mertz, *The Historical Jesus,* 423). Theissen and Merz explain:

> Jesus probably celebrated a farewell meal with his disciples on the day before the Passover – in the awareness that his life was in danger, but also in hope that the imminent breaking in of the kingdom of God would perhaps save it. In so doing he interpreted a simple meal (probably not a Passover meal) as the celebration of a 'new covenant' with God, aimed at impressing God's will directly on human hearts. …After Jesus had been crucified and had appeared alive, the disciples interpreted his death as that bloody sacrifice through which the new covenant had been accomplished. Jesus probably already had this sacrifice in mind at the last supper when he spoke of the new covenant. (Theissen and Mertz, *The Historical Jesus,* 436)

For Theissen and Merz, Lord's Supper was not the meal associated with Passover, but with the "most extreme of all sacrifices, human sacrifice" (Theissen and Mertz, *The Historical Jesus,* 437). Meeks explains that the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. 10:21) was a common meal, which was normal for voluntary associations members to have together (Theissen and Mertz, *The Historical Jesus,* 158). Furthermore, the reference "do this as a memorial" signifies that in the "Pauline and even pre-Pauline tradition the celebration is understood as a cultic commemoration of Jesus" (Theissen and Mertz, *The Historical Jesus,* 158). Meeks argues that the "motif of commemoration would dominate the way the Eucharist was understood at least until the third century" (Theissen and Mertz, *The Historical Jesus,* 158).

Jonathan Klawans in "Was Jesus' Last Supper a Seder?" bases his analysis of the Last Supper on the gospels (Jonathan Klawans, "Was Jesus' Last Supper a Seder?" *Bible Review, Online Publication* October (2001) 5). Klawans explains that the synoptic gospels had "lost all familiarity with contemporary Jewish practice" ("Was Jesus' Last Supper a Seder?", 5) and "with reliable historical information" surrounding the Last Supper ("Was Jesus' Last Supper a Seder?", 5). Klawans finds John's account of a meal prior to Passover more plausible ("Was Jesus' Last Supper a Seder?", 5). Klawans turns to the Didache to show that the meal may have been a "standard Jewish meal" ("Was Jesus' Last Supper a Seder?", 5) with the prayers described in the Didache being similar to the prayers said after Jewish meals ("Was Jesus' Last Supper a Seder?", 5). Klawans also points out that the Last Supper does not have any meat at the meal while the Passover meal has a lamb eaten ("Was Jesus' Last Supper a Seder?", 5). Klawans addresses Jeremias' argument that Jesus engages in a "symbolic explanation" of the bread and wine similar to the symbolic discourse found in the Passover meal ("Was Jesus' Last Supper a Seder?", 6) by showing that the Passover meal that is practiced today comes from "Rabban Gamaliel the Younger who lived long after Jesus died" ("Was Jesus' Last Supper a Seder?", 8). As such, it is difficult to argue that the Last Supper was a Passover meal because we do not know what occurred at a Passover meal prior to the destruction of the Second Temple ("Was Jesus' Last Supper a Seder?", 9). Klawans using the scholarship of Kuhn and Chilton shows two conflicting views on why the Synoptics present the meal as a Passover meal. For Kuhn, it was to get the early community not to celebrate Passover, but rather to fast instead ("Was Jesus' Last Supper a Seder?", 10) and for Chilton it was to maintain the "Jewish character of the Easter traditions" ("Was Jesus' Last Supper a Seder?", 10). In conclusion, Klawans mentions 1 Corinthians 5:7-8 as an example of a contradiction of the Lord's Supper with Passover ("Was Jesus' Last Supper a Seder?", 11).

Scholars argue that 1 Cor. 10:16-17 and 11:17-35 reflect the Last Supper of the Passion Narrative, a Jewish Passover meal, or a commemorative meal to honor Christ. Scholars base their arguments on texts other than 1 Corinthians including the Synoptic Gospels, the Gospel of John, and the Didache. The difficulty in maintaining a Jewish model (and in the case for Snyder a Christian model) is that it does not stand up to scrutiny when placed within the cultural context of the original rite. On meals see also Richard Ascough, 'Of Memories and Meals: Greco-Roman Associations and the Early Jesusgroup at Thessalonikē,' in *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonikē: Studies in Religion and Archaeology,* ed. Laura Nasrallah, Charalambos Bakirtzis, and Steven J. Friesen (HTS 64. Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2010) 49-72. Richard Ascough, 'The Apostolic Decree of Acts and Greco-Roman Associations: Eating in the Shadow of the Roman Empire,' in *Aposteldekret und antike Vereinswesen: Gemeinschaft und ihre Ordnung,* ed. Markus Öhler (WUNT 280. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011) 297-316. Richard Ascough, 'The Function of Meals in Forging Early Christian Identity According to the Book of Acts,' in *Mahl und religiöse Identität im frühen Christentum—Meals and Religious Identity in Early Christianity*, ed. Matthias Klinghardt and Hal Taussig (TANZ 56. Tübingen and Basel: A. Francke, 2012) 207-39. Jim Harrison, *Paul's Language of Grace in its Graeco-Roman Context* (WUNT II/172. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003). Matthias Klinghardt, *Gemeinschaftsmahl und Mahlgemeinschaft: Soziologie und Liturgie frühchristlicher Mahlfeiern* (TANZ 13. Tübingen and Basel: Francke, 1996). Has Taussig, *In the Beginning Was the Meal: Social Experimentation and Early Christian Identity* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2009). Johannes Weis, *Der erste Korintherbrief* (Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1910).

dinners[343] or a Greco-Roman banquet.[344] However, if we place the ritual specifically within the socio-historical context of the Corinthian association, and understand it as a rite associated with an ancient Greek hero, then we understand better how the followers viewed their Corinthian Christ.

The two passages in 1 Corinthians which describe the Lord's Meal are:

1 Corinthians 10:16-17:

> 16 τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία ἐστὶν τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ; τὸν ἄρτον ὃν κλῶμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστιν; 17 ὅτι εἷς ἄρτος, ἓν σῶμα οἱ πολλοί ἐσμεν, οἱ γὰρ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἄρτου μετέχομεν.[345]

> 16 The cup of blessing that we bless, is it not fellowship in the blood of Christ? The bread that we break, is it not fellowship in the body of Christ? 17 Because there is one bread, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the one bread.[346]

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[343] This study's goal is to understand the Lord's Meal, not as a Greco-Roman Voluntary Association dinner, but as a specific hero ritual. Richard Last in *The Pauline Church and the Corinthian Ekklsia: Greco-Roman Associations in Comparative Context* simply assumes that the Lord's Meal in 1 Cor. 11:17-34 is synonymous with a voluntary association "club meal" or a "club dinner" (Richard Last in *The Pauline Church and the Corinthian Ekklsia: Greco-Roman Associations in Comparative Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015) 13;125). John Kloppenborg in "Precedence at the Communal Meal in Corinth," argues that the reference to eating in 1 Cor. 11:17-34 is in "effect a set of "private dinners" rather than the desirable "imperial banquet." (John Kloppenborg, "Precedence at the Communal Meal in Corinth," *Novum Testamentum* 58 (2016) 168). See also Edward Adams, "First-Century Models for Paul's Churches: Selected Scholarly Developments since Meeks", *After the First Urban Christians: The Social-Scientific Study of Pauline Christianity Twenty-Five Years Later* Eds. Todd D. Still and David G. Horrell (London and New York: T & T Clark, 2009) 60-78. Edward Adams, 'Placing the Corinthian Communal Meal', *Text, Image, and Christians in the Graeco-Roman World: A Festschrift in Honor of David Lee Balch*, Eds. Aliou Cissé Niang and Carolyn Osiek (Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series 176. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2012) 22-37. Valeriy A Alikin, 'The Origins of Sunday as the Christian Feast-Day', *Feasts and Festivals* Eds. Christopher Tuck-ett (CEBT 53. Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2009) 161-70. Valeriy Alikin, The Earliest History of the Christian Gathering: Origin, Development and Content of the Christian Gathering in the First to Third Centuries (Vigilae christianae Supplements 102. Leiden: Brill) 2010. R.M. McRae, "Eating with Honor: The Corinthian Lord's Supper in Light of Voluntary Association Meal Practices", *JBL* 130, 2011: 165-81. A Weissenrieder, "Contested Spaces in 1 Corinthians 11:17-33 and 14:30: Sitting or Reclining in Ancient Houses, in Associations and the Space of the Ekklēsia", *Contested Spaces: Houses and Temples in Roman Antiquity and New Testament,* Eds. David L. Balch and Annette Weissenrieder (WUNT 285. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012) 59-107. Dennis Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist: The Banquet in the Early Christian World* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2003).

[344] This study's goal is not to research ancient Greco-Roman banquets as a means to understanding the ritual described in 1 Cor. 11:17-34. James C. Walters argues, "In 1 Cor. 11:17-34 we do not find the same legal vocabulary we read in *Lex Colonia Genetivae* 132, but we do have a banquet" (James C. Walters, "Paul and the Politics of Meals in Roman Corinth," *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society* Eds. Steven J. Friesen, Daniel N. Schowalter, and James C. Walters (Leiden: Brill, 2010) 363).

[345] Michael Holmes, *The Greek New Testament: SBL Edition* 2014 (accessed online: http://sblgnt.com/)

[346] Bruce Metzger and Ronald Murphy, *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) 240.

1 Corinthians 11:17-34:

20 συνερχομένων οὖν ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔστιν κυριακὸν δεῖπνον φαγεῖν, **21** ἕκαστος γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον δεῖπνον προλαμβάνει ἐν τῷ φαγεῖν, καὶ ὃς μὲν πεινᾷ, ὃς δὲ μεθύει. **22** μὴ γὰρ οἰκίας οὐκ ἔχετε εἰς τὸ ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν; ἢ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ θεοῦ καταφρονεῖτε, καὶ καταισχύνετε τοὺς μὴ ἔχοντας; τί εἴπω ὑμῖν; ἐπαινέσω ὑμᾶς; ἐν τούτῳ οὐκ ἐπαινῶ. **23** Ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδετο ἔλαβεν ἄρτον **24** καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ εἶπεν· Τοῦτό μού ἐστιν τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ [n]ὑμῶν· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.**25** ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λέγων· Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, ὁσάκις ἐὰν πίνητε, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. **26** ὁσάκις γὰρ ἐὰν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον πίνητε, τὸν θάνατον τοῦ κυρίου καταγγέλλετε, ἄχρι οὗ ἔλθῃ. **27** Ὥστε ὃς ἂν ἐσθίῃ τὸν ἄρτον ἢ πίνῃ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ κυρίου ἀναξίως, ἔνοχος ἔσται τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου. **28** δοκιμαζέτω δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτόν, καὶ οὕτως ἐκ τοῦ ἄρτου ἐσθιέτω καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποτηρίου πινέτω· **29** ὁ γὰρ ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων κρίμα ἑαυτῷ ἐσθίει καὶ πίνει μὴ διακρίνων τὸ σῶμα. **30** διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ὑμῖν πολλοὶ ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ἄρρωστοι καὶ κοιμῶνται ἱκανοί. **31** εἰ δὲ ἑαυτοὺς διεκρίνομεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐκρινόμεθα· **32** κρινόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ κυρίου παιδευόμεθα, ἵνα μὴ σὺν τῷ κόσμῳ κατακριθῶμεν. **33** Ὥστε, ἀδελφοί μου, συνερχόμενοι εἰς τὸ φαγεῖν ἀλλήλους ἐκδέχεσθε. **34** εἴ τις πεινᾷ, ἐν οἴκῳ ἐσθιέτω, ἵνα μὴ εἰς κρίμα συνέρχησθε. Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ὡς ἂν ἔλθω διατάξομαι.[347]

20 So then, when you come together, it is not the Lord's Meal you eat, 21 for when you are eating, some of you go ahead with your own private suppers. As a result, one person remains hungry and another gets drunk. 22 Don't you have homes to eat and drink in? Or do you despise the church of God by humiliating those who have nothing? What shall I say to you? Shall I praise you? Certainly not in this matter! 23 For I received from the Lord what I also passed on to you: The Lord Jesus, on the night he was betrayed, took bread, 24 and when he had given thanks, he broke it and said, "This is my body, which is for you; do this in remembrance of me." 25 In the same way, after supper he took the cup, saying, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood; do this, whenever you drink it, in remembrance of me." 26 For whenever you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes. 27 So then, whoever eats the bread or drinks the cup of the Lord in an unworthy manner will be guilty of sinning against the body and blood of the Lord. 28 Everyone ought to examine themselves before they eat of the bread and drink from the cup. 29 For those who eat and drink without discerning the body of Christ eat and drink judgment on themselves. 30 That is why many among you are weak and sick, and a number of you have fallen asleep. 31 But if we were more discerning with regard to ourselves, we would not come under such judgment. 32 Nevertheless, when we are judged in this way by the Lord, we are being disciplined so that we will not be finally condemned with the world. 33 So then, my brothers and sisters, when you gather to eat, you should all eat together. 34 Anyone who is hungry should eat something at home, so that when you meet together it may not result in judgment.[348]

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[347] Holmes, *The Greek New Testament: SBL Edition*

[348] Metzger and Ronald Murphy, *The New Oxford Annotated Bible,* 241. Instead of translating κυριακὸν δεῖπνον as Lord's Supper, I chose to translate it Lord's Meal so the ritual and language do not become confused.

As mentioned earlier, the meal aspects are subordinate to the ritual, and now this study will apply another method of analysis from Bell's framework, specifically Ritual and Language. The tool, ritual and language, understands that the "language … does not appear to be intrinsically necessary to ritual as such, the opposite does hold – namely, that ritualization readily affects the way language is used and the significance it is afforded."[349] Ritualization affecting language means for 1 Cor. 10:16-17 and 11:17-34 there are ritual actions and ritual language and the two need to be separated in order to properly analyze the Lord's Meal. The first steps, therefore, are to remove the language used in the ritual (such as eating at night, the words that Christ said, drinking blood, referring to the bread as Christ's body), and the actions that Christ did, and focusing instead on "deconstructing ritual back into its prefused components,"[350] the ritual actions. When we only analyze the ritual actions, we can identify two basic parts of the ritual: 1) the meal contents of bread and wine, and 2) the actions of eating bread and drinking a libation. These two parts are the basic components.

The meal contents of the ritual in 1 Corinthians 10:16-17 are a cup for a drink offering or libation and bread. 1 Corinthians 11:20-33 mentions a meal (δεῖπνον). Commonly translated as supper, although the technical word for supper or an evening meal is δόρπον. Nonetheless, as the ritual language places the meal at night (referencing "the night [Jesus] was betrayed"), most commentators assume it is supper. 1 Corinthians 11:20-33 does not specifically refer to the word wine, because the contents of the cup are described as blood (αἵματι). Despite this, it remains clear from the text that people are getting drunk (μεθύει, a verb associated with getting drunk on wine), and thus we can reasonably conclude that in the *practice* of the ritual (in contrast to the *description* of it), the cup held wine or alcohol. Given this background it appeared that some members were

[349] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 113.
[350] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 54.

treating this as a private meal, but they should not, rather they should eat first before they attend and then when they come to the ritual to eat part of the bread and drink part of the wine.[351] In addition, the social nature of the meal makes clear that fellowship also was a key element of the ritual. In sum, the basic elements of the ritual action involved the consumption of a partial meal (lacking meat) with wine, occurring in a group setting.

Ritual Action used in the Lord's Meal Ritual

If we evaluate the basic elements of the Lord's Meal ritual within the Greco-Roman ritual context we can better understand what type of practice the Corinthians were performing. In this section on ritual action, this study will explain several parts. The first part is to deconstruct the scholarly paradigm of Olympian versus Chthonic, then show how that paradigm (mis)understood rituals. Following the deconstruction of the Olympian v. Chthonic model, an alternative paradigm will be proposed which is based upon integration. This study will apply the integrated paradigm which will assist in categorizing the Lord's Meal as a heroic *theoxenia* ritual.

Problems with the Olympian v. Chthonic Paradigm

To begin, we should take stock of Nock's "sharp" distinction between Olympian and Chthonic sacrifices,[352] which directly influenced the way in which scholarship understood hero cults in Ancient Greece and Rome. Sacrifices in the Olympian rituals had worshippers share "the victim with the gods" while in the Chthonic rituals the "worshippers shared no part."[353] Heroes, on their part, were understood as being connected to Chthonic or underworld gods,[354] and thus Nock argued the distinction between gods and heroes as having "a solid basis and corresponded to differences in

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[351] This is Paul's instruction (or the instruction of a faction) to the members to eat prior to the ritual, thus rendering it easier from them to ensure that their consumption of bread and wine at the ritual was limited, and at a modest or suitable level.

[352] Arthur Darby Nock, "The Cult of Heroes," *HTR* (1944) 576.

[353] Nock, "The Cult of Heroes," 576.

[354] Nock, "The Cult of Heroes," 576.

status and myth between gods and heroes."[355]

In his influential work *Greek Religion*, Burkert comparably, divides rituals up into two basic types: Olympian and Chthonic rites.[356] Although they each have some similarities, they "are differentiated in such a way that they are placed unmistakably on one side or the other, so emphasizing a fundamental opposition."[357] Following Nock's division, Burkert explains the chthonic gods are connected to burial, cult of the dead, and heroes that are opposed to Olympian gods who are "approached by the pure."[358]

In terms of ritual performance, Burkert notes that in Olympic sacrifices, an animal is slaughtered with either its head up to the gods,[359] while in Chthonic sacrifices (or those sacrifices performed in connection to the "subterranean powers") the animal's throat is cut and the blood flows downward.[360] Another distinction relates to the timing of each ritual. If the ritual is to the gods, then it occurs during the sunrise.[361] Conversely if the ritual is to the chthonic gods, then it occurs at night.[362] As for libations, the subterranean powers received *choai*, a container of honey, wine, water and barley, while the Olympian gods received *spondai*, a container of wine.[363] Although Burkert's scholarship on ritual remains very influential, scholars "still adhere to the Olympian-chthonian approach,"[364] albeit less categorically. More recent scholarship noted difficulties in maintaining this dichotomy of Olympian and Chthonic, and the distinction is not well-evidenced in ancient sources.[365]

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[355] Nock, "The Cult of Heroes," 577.

[356] Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 199.

[357] Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 199.

[358] Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 199.

[359] Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 199.

[360] Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 200.

[361] Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 200.

[362] Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 200.

[363] Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 200.

[364] Gunnel Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods.* (Presses universitaires de Liège, 2013) 311.

[365] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 312.

The terms used by Burkert in ancient sources have no definition,[366] and modern scholars seem to vary on their classifications of rituals based on this model.[367] Indeed, this model is a modern scholarly construction, one applied to the ancient data.[368] Consequently, the "weak point of the Olympian-chthonian model has always been its (in)applicability to actual ritual."[369] This is especially true when analyzing hero-cult rituals.[370]

To understanding how the Lord's Meal should be categorized, this study will briefly turn to different types of rituals performed. Sacrificial rituals, *thysia* (burnt offering or sacrifice), usually include: "holocaustic sacrifices, libations of blood, offerings of meals."[371] In holocaust sacrifices or destruction sacrifices "the animal victim was totally destroyed and no meat was available for consumption. The destruction could be accomplished by burning, by total immersion in water or simply by leaving the carcass at the place of the sacrifice."[372] The libations of blood rituals "include the rituals at which the blood of the victim was of special importance, either because it was treated in a particular way, for example, poured out at a specific location, or because the animal was killed in a manner emphasizing the blood."[373] In contrast, *theoxenia* rituals "stands as a collective term for the offerings of food of the kind eaten by humans. These offerings could consist of grain, fruit and cakes, but also of portions of meat, either cooked or raw. They were placed on a table (*trapeza*). A

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[366] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 311.

[367] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 311.

[368] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 311.

[369] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 312.

[370] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 312.

[371] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 129. Burkert explains that rituals consisted of sacrificial rituals, which involved the slaughter of an animal (Burkert *Greek Religion* 55), and meals (Burkert *Greek Religion* 58). Blood rituals were a ritual where a meal was not part of the sacrifice (Burkert *Greek Religion* 60). Fire rituals, which could include holocaust offerings (Burkert *Greek Religion* 63). Participants also gave gift offerings, which could have fruit offerings, and votive offerings (Burkert *Greek Religion* 66-70), and finally libation rituals (Burkert *Greek Religion* 70-73).

[372] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 129.

[373] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 129.

couch could be prepared and the recipient of the sacrifices was invited to come and dine."[374] Finally, the *thysia* sacrifices, were followed by dining.[375] "At these sacrifices, the animal was consecrated to the divinity and slaughtered. The deity's share of the victim (fat, bones, gall-bladder) was burnt, while the meat fell to the worshippers. The participants concluded the whole ceremony by dining, either collectively in the sanctuary or at home."[376] To complicate sacrifices further, a "sacrifice could consist of a combination of rituals, for example, a *thysia* with dining initiated by a blood ritual or *theoxenia* performed in connection with *thysia*."[377] Another group of rituals, called *enagizein,* were sacrificial offerings "to the dead, opposed to *thuw*."[378] In the past, scholars regarded "*enagizein* and its associated nouns as particularly connected with sacrifices to the dead and the heroes."[379] Scholars applied the Olympian v. Chthonic paradigm specifically to the distinction between sacrifices to gods, *thysia*, and sacrifices to heroes, *enagizein*. However, to restate the previous comments, this Olympian v. Chthonic paradigm was the application of the imagined dichotomy, and used to create distinction between gods and heroes by distinguishing sacrifices.[380]

An Alternate Sacrificial Ritual Integrated Paradigm

The Olympian v. Chthonic paradigm is not helpful in analyzing sacrificial rituals, so this study will apply a paradigm built upon the evidence. Distancing herself from the prevailing views of previous scholarship, Ekroth argued that animal sacrifices were common in hero cults:

> the most frequently performed ritual in hero-cults was animal sacrifice, at which the meat was kept and eaten by the worshippers. The terminology used for these sacrifices is *thyein* and *thysia*, as well as various terms referring to the honouring of heroes. In many cases, when dining is documented, particularly in the inscriptions, no specific term is given covering the actual sacrifice, indicating that *thysia* sacrifices were so universal that there was no need for any particular elaboration.[381]

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[374] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 130.
[375] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 130.
[376] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 130.
[377] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 130.
[378] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 74.
[379] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 74.
[380] In this way creating another imagined distinction in sacrificial definitions between gods and heroes.
[381] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 303.

The paradigm should not be based upon gods versus heroes and the dead, rather sacrifices should be understood within the context of different types of heroes. This application integrates sacrificial ritual broadly to gods, heroes, and the ordinary dead. Furthermore, Ekroth states that the holocaust or destruction sacrifices, as *enagizien* sacrifices (in which "no dining took place"), "are rare and cannot be considered as the regular kind of ritual in hero-cults."[382] Ekroth's position in this regard is supplemented by data from Roman times. As Ekroth notes, Pausanias used the terms *thuein/thusia/thusiai,* and *enagizein* in connection to hero cults.[383]

As for *theoxenia*, these rituals "in official hero-cults were mainly used as an elaboration of a *thysia,* just as in the cult of the gods."[384] Furthermore, Ekroth accounts for a type of *theoxenia* that did not have meat associated with it:

> *Theoxenia* without animal sacrifice could be simple indeed and therefore not expensive, like the meal consisting of cheese, barley cake, ripe olives and leeks offered to the *Dioskouroi* in the Athenian *Prytaneion.* The cost of the *trapezai* in the sacrificial calendar from Marathon was only one drachma apiece, while the cheapest kind of animal victim, the piglet, cost three drachmas. In this sense, a vegetable *trapeza* could be used as a less costly kind of sacrifice, in the same way as cakes and fruits were regularly deposited in sanctuaries.[385]

Thus, when people used the *theoxenia* without meat or not in association with the *thysia* rituals, the "financial aspect of the use of *theoxenia* is definitely one reason for the popularity of this ritual in hero-cults."[386] In fact, this type was more popular for families because of the low expense rather than for "example, groups of *orgeones* or other cult-associations."[387] Furthermore, with the "*theoxenia* rituals, the actual dining for the worshippers was not the main purpose, even though the offerings to

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[382] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods,* 307.
[383] Ekroth, "Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals," 147.
[384] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods,* 286.
[385] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods,* 281.
[386] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods,* 284.
[387] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods,* 284.

the divinity could be eaten in the end, usually by the priest."[388]

The purpose of the *theoxenia* ritual was to approach the deity and "[bring] him closer."[389] A similar purpose was found in the case of hero-cults; as Ekroth states, this "may have been true for all *theoxenia* rituals for heroes, especially since a substantial group of heroes were of a helpful kind concerned with healing."[390]

As for blood rituals, Ekroth explains that these "rituals performed in hero-cults have their own particular and varied terminology, often referring to the technical aspects of killing and bleeding the victim: *haimakouriai, entemnein, sphagai, protoma* and *phonai*."[391] These types of rituals were performed "as the initial part of *thysia* sacrifices centred on ritual dining."[392] Furthermore, at a normal ritual to both "heroes and to gods, the blood seems to have been kept and eaten, but at a small number of sacrifices to heroes, the *thysia* was modified by a complete discarding of the blood, presumably on the tomb of the hero."[393]

There were two motives for performing blood rituals. The first of these involved a focus on "the blood of the victims" as the rituals were used for "purifications, oath-takings and battle-line *sphagia*."[394] In these types of rituals, "no meal followed upon the killing of the animal, and a specific deity is rarely named as the recipient."[395] However, blood "rituals could also be performed to the winds, the rivers and the sea, and in those cases, the meat from the victims was occasionally eaten."[396] As blood rituals apply to hero-cults specifically, these types of rituals were usually

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[388] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 291.
[389] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 285.
[390] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 285.
[391] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 305.
[392] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 305.
[393] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 305.
[394] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 305.
[395] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 305.
[396] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 305.

connected with war.[397] The second motive for a blood ritual involved "contacting and inviting the hero and procuring his presence at the festival and games."[398] Because they were used to "call the hero and procure his presence" at the ritual, blood rituals made use of "the concept of *theoxenia*, but in a modified way."[399]

As sacrificial rituals for heroes included a variety of different types (*thysia, theoxenia, enagizein*), the other part, libations, were also an important feature of ancient ritual. In *Religion of the Gods: Ritual, Paradox, and Reflexivity*, Kimberley Patton analyses different types of libations in Ancient Greece.[400] Using Burkert's basic Olympian-Chthonic model, she discusses four types of libations, "*loibai, choai, spondai,* and *nephalia*."[401] The "*Loibe* is a poetic word, virtually unused in inscriptions, where it is replaced with *spondē*"[402] and generally the *spondai* "are assumed to be offerings to Olympian gods."[403] In contrast to *spondai, choai* was used to "appease the deities of the underworld, or to summon the dead from their grim slumber."[404] In terms of pouring, *spondai*, is connected to the term "*spendein* [which] implies the pouring of wine. Whereas, in the cult of the dead and of the *chthonioi*, so much in need of soothing, one frequently poured milk, honey, gruel, and oil; these were the main ingredients in funerary cult and were called *nephalia*."[405] As for libations specific to hero cults, Nagy explains that, "libations offered to heroes or to the dead in general involved the ritual pouring of water or wine or oil or milk or honey or some combination of these ingredients. Another ingredient was the blood of animal sacrifices, though the recipients of blood-libations were mostly cult heroes, not the 'ordinary'

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[397] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 305.
[398] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 306.
[399] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 285.
[400] Kimberley Patton, *Religion of the Gods: Ritual, Paradox, and Reflexivity*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009) 33.
[401] Patton, *Religion of the Gods,* 33.
[402] Patton, *Religion of the Gods,* 33.
[403] Patton, *Religion of the Gods,* 33.
[404] Patton, *Religion of the Gods,* 33.
[405] Patton, *Religion of the Gods,* 33-34.

dead."[406] Applying Ekroth's findings to Patton's definitions, this study concludes that in the case of hero cults, *spondai* was a form of libation as well, just as Nagy suggests.

The integrated paradigm takes into account *enagizein* rituals during Roman times where the "connection between *enagizein* and death seems to have diminished gradually."[407] *Enagizein* was not reserved just for the dead but "used also for sacrifices to gods, though gods with a connection with the underworld."[408] Nonetheless, it is important to emphasize that these sacrifices still differed from "*thysia* sacrifices regarding both their aim and their ritual content, since they were concerned with, for example, purification, expiation, pre-battle sacrifice and human sacrifice."[409] Also, there was a change to "the terms came to mean a total burning of the offerings without any particular bearing on the character of the recipient or the context in which the sacrifice was performed."[410] Thus, the sacrifices started to have little difference regarding terms.[411]

Application of the Alternate Sacrificial Ritual Paradigm to the Lord's Meal

Applying the integrated model to hero sacrifices, this study argues that the ritual context, which is closest to the basic elements of the Lord's Meal, is the private (family) variation of the hero *theoxenia*, an inexpensive meatless meal. As mentioned above, the basic elements of the Lord's Meal ritual are a meatless partial meal where bread was served and wine was drunk together in a group. *Theoxenia* was a "simple" meal consisting of "cheese, barley cake, ripe olives and leeks."[412] Eating a meal at the *theoxenia*, "was not the main purpose" for the worshippers,[413] and this same sentiment is detected in 1 Cor. 11:20, "When you come together, it is not really to eat the Lord's Meal." Because

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[406] Nagy, *The Ancient Greek Hero in 24 Hours,* 486-487.
[407] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 127.
[408] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 127.
[409] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 127.
[410] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 127.
[411] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 127.
[412] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 281.
[413] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 291.

it was an inexpensive meal, it was quite popular.[414] Finally, libations of wine, *spondai*, were also

common in Greco-Roman ritual.[415] This particular type of *theoxenia* ritual was associated with helpful

heroes in the context of healing. Identifying the ritual actions and contents of the Lord's Meal as a

heroic *theoxenia* ritual assists in our understanding of Christ as an ancient Greek hero, as well as tells

us something about the community. The rite was closely associated with people who were concerned

with the financial impact of rituals.

Ritual Language used in the Lord's Meal Ritual

Another layer of the Lord's Meal that has not been addressed is ritual language. Bell

understands that ritual is 'intrinsically necessary' for language especially for the way it is 'used' and

the 'significance it is afforded.'[416] So turning to the language of the ritual will assist in understanding

its significance and further help to classify the Christ-hero.

The language of eating at 'night' (1 Cor. 11:23), participants drinking 'Christ's blood' (1 Cor.

11:25), and doing these 'actions in remembrance of Christ' (1 Cor. 11:25) had significance within the

wider context of a heroic *theoxenia* ritual. The following section will explain the *enagizein* ritual

language and how it applied to the Lord's Meal. Although the boundary between *thysia* and *enagizein*

rituals were weakened during Roman times, the *enagizein* rituals were still connected to the dead,

memorial aspects found in the Lord's Meal will also be included.

Nighttime Ritual Language

The language, "… that the Lord Jesus *on the night* when he was handed over …" (1 Cor. 11:23)

focuses the ritual on a night time setting and in so doing the language brings in a "… whole complex

of rituals, which took place during the night, was mainly designated by the terms *enagizein*, *enagisma* or

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[414] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 284.

[415] Patton, *Religion of the Gods,* 33; Nagy, *The Ancient Greek Hero in 24 Hours,* 486-487.

[416] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 113.

enagismos terms never used for the sacrifices to the gods."[417] These types of rituals only represent

some of the hero-based rituals -- the rituals do not account for the entire range of ritual practices

performed in hero cults.[418] The *enagizein* rituals were associated with heroes connected to violent

death:

> *Enagizein, enagisma* and *enagismos* started off in the Classical period as terms used for sacrifices to
> dead recipients, both heroes and the ordinary dead. The heroes receiving this kind of sacrifice
> seem to have had a particular connection with death. From the contexts in which these
> sacrifices are found, it is clear that the fact that they were dead and had died was considered
> important. The burial and the grave could figure prominently in the cult and many of these
> heroes had died in a violent way, being killed in war, murdered or having committed suicide.
> Sometimes, the manner of death led to grave consequences and the *enagizein* sacrifices were
> aimed at placating the heroes' anger. These particular characteristics can be traced from the
> earliest cases in which *enagizein* sacrifices are used for heroes (5th century) all through the
> Roman period.[419]

Furthermore, these *enagizein* rituals:

> were performed in an atmosphere of gloom and dread. Aelius Aristides compares the day on
> which an earthquake destroyed Smyrna to the day when the *enagismata* are brought. Lucian
> has Charon complain that in Hades there are only *asphodels, choai, popana, enagismata* and misty
> darkness. According to Plutarch, the *enagizein* sacrifices to the dead, as well as certain
> purification rituals, took place in the month dedicated to the gods of the underworld. When

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[417] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 14. I think it is important to make a distinction between language and ritual. The ritual was the heroic *theoxenia*, but the language that the followers used was borrowed from another ritual called *enagizein*. Thus, it does not necessarily have follow that the Lord's Meal was conducted at night, but the language used in the ritual to describes a night time setting. Not to cloud the analysis too much, but Shapiro in "Heros Theos," explains that the competing hero/god rituals associated with Herakles may have occurred first and then the "myth [of Herakles' apotheosis] may be made up to explain a ritual" (Shapiro, "Heros Theos," 15). In this way Herakles' death is a 'brilliant solution' to a 'difficult problem' of two different rituals attributed to him as well as transitions Herakles from human to god (Shapiro, "Heros Theos," 15). In this way, ritual drives the myth of Herakles. If ritual drives myth, then appling this solution to the language in the Lord's Meal, the rituals associated with heroes provides the context for the Christ-hero, and the language (myth) generates out of the ritual (there is only bread and wine at *theoxenia* so there is only bread and wine at the Lord's Meal). The language of Christ breaking the bread, and drinking the wine fits naturally within the ritual context. This language feeds back into itself, in that the myth explains the rite (we perform a *theoxenia* because that is the ritual ingredients that Christ used).
[418] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 312. It was common to link *enagizein* rituals to heroes, "In any case, the frequent use of *enagizein, enagisma* and *enagismos* for the sacrifices to heroes in the Roman period, no matter how it is to be explained, may be the reason for the link between *enagizein* and hero-cults made in the scholia. These sources use *enagizein, enagisma* and *enagismos* almost as generic explanations of any kind of sacrifices to heroes mentioned in earlier sources, whether these earlier rituals corresponded to the content of *enagizein* sacrifices or not." Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 126.
[419] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 126.

no regular funerary offerings (*tanomizomena*) were available, the mourners could sacrifice their tears and lamentations instead.[420]

Some *enagizein* rituals specifically indicated that they occurred at night, as the Egyptian ritual of bringing the dead back to life.[421] "The Egyptian sacrifice is different, since here the *enagismoi* are a magic ritual aimed at bringing a dead person back to life. By performing *enagismoi* at night, an old woman tries to wake up the corpse of her dead son in order to enquire about the fate of her other son."[422] Finally, in "Electra of Euripides, Orestes visits his father's grave at night and offers his tears and some cut-off hair, as well as the blood of a black sheep."[423] In this example, blood is combined with the nighttime ritual which deals with the dead.

Blood Ritual Language

Although, the ritual consisted of drinking wine, the contents of the cup was referred to as blood (1 Cor. 10:16; 1 Cor. 11:25). During the Roman period, there was a connection with blood and the use of the *enagizein* ritual.[424] "An *enagizein* sacrifice of an animal victim may have included a particular treatment of the blood, for example, a total discarding of the blood on a specific place, an action that could have initiated the ritual."[425] Furthermore, regarding funerary cults, "the terms

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[420] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 106.

[421] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 109.

[422] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 109.

[423] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 255.

[424] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 128. "In all, the use of blood rituals to attract attention and to render communication possible seems to have been restricted to heroes, the divinities of the underworld and dead persons from the mythical and epic past described in the literary tradition. Libations of blood, it was argued above, cannot be said to have formed part of the regular funerary cult in the Archaic and Classical periods. The ordinary dead do not seem to have been called, contacted or invited by means of blood and there is little evidence that there was any desire for that kind of closeness with the departed. If the blood could function both as a way of getting into contact with the beings of the underworld and as a manner of revitalizing them and making them act, it is possible that such rituals were deliberately avoided in the cult of the ordinary dead, since, in the Archaic and Classical periods, they were beginning to be perceived as a threat. Even though the departed could be manipulated and used for the purposes of the living, such activities seem to have been accomplished in a controlled manner, in which the living used the power of the dead but made no attempts to increase it." Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 267-268.

[425] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 128.

enagisma and *enagismos* could refer to libations, but the rituals at the grave could also be divided into *enagizein* and the pouring of *choai.*"[426] Heroes could be "direct recipients of blood rituals, which was rarely the case with gods, apart from rivers, the sea and the winds."[427] Blood in the context of rituals was for "contacting and inviting the hero and procuring his presence at the festival and games"[428] in this way the blood ritual was a modified *theoxenia.*[429] Because *enagizein* rituals were closely connected to mortuary settings and hero cults, the 'blood' language in 1 Cor. 10:16; 1 Cor. 11:25 creates a ritual with funerary overtones, a hybridity.[430]

Funerary Ritual Language

Finally, by adding the words "Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me" (1 Cor. 11:25). These words bring in the memorial aspect of Roman funerals. Carroll explains that in Early Republican Rome, simple burials were common and Roman laws explain death with public displays leading up to the funeral.[431] Tomb architecture seemed of little importance to funerary practices and "monumental tombs" belonged only to the aristocratic families.[432] However, by 50

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[426] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 128.

[427] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 257. In some cases, blood rituals were connected to pollution, but "On the whole, there is little evidence for the heroes spreading such kinds of pollution as would necessitate purification, and the blood rituals in hero-cults are best not connected with such a purpose." (Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 265).

[428] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 306.

[429] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 306.

[430] I am using this term with the sense that David Chidester provides in his essay "Colonialism," where he states, "*hybridity* … captures a range of analytical strategies that follows a logic not of place but of displacement. As a strategic location, hybridity is dislocated in migration and diaspora, contact and contingency, margins and mixtures. As a theoretical intervention in both colonial situations and the postcolonial horizon, attention to hybridity rejects the binary distinction between the colonist and the colonized. … analysis should be directed towards the cultural space in between, the intercultural space of contacts, relations and exchanges. … [it is] the *in-between* space – that carries the burden of the meaning of culture." (David Chidester, "Colonialism," *Guide to the Study of Religion* eds. Willi Braun and Russell McCutcheon (New York: T&T Clark, 2009) 434-435) When applied to this ritual, the hybridity of the heroic *theoxenia* ritual and the language of the *enagizein* ritual grounded in the practices of Roman Corinth, provide a space in-between *thysein* and *enagizien* heroic practices where the Christ-hero followers were able to appropriate and transform rituals practices into a seemly distinct practice creating their own "intercultural space" that provided a level of social empowerment.

[431] Maureen Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead: Roman Funerary Commemoration in Western Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006) 15.

[432] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead,* 16.

BCE tombs started to become the way in which people displayed their status, the way they competed with each other, and tried to remain in people's memory.[433] By Augustus' time (late first century BCE to early first century CE) it was considered customary to have a tomb and inscription to "endure remembrance of the deceased in a public way."[434] In fact, as Hope points out in "Remembering Rome," memory of the dead may be a central focus in Roman tombs.[435] Dolansky explains in connection to the *Parentalia* that the ritual "was inextricably tied to memory and its preservation."[436] Inscriptions were "commissioned, carved, and put into place immediately or not long after death" and slaves to emperors and emperors themselves also had their names inscribed on tombs.[437] The monument as part of the ritual served as part of the burial as well as for "recurring commemorative feasts and festivals celebrated at the graveside long after death." Carroll also explains[438] that the eulogy given at the funeral would sometimes also be inscribed in order to recall the words spoken at the funeral afterwards.[439] Adding the words "do this in remembrance of me" echoed the memorial words found in Roman funerals.[440]

The ritual actions[441] and contents of the Lord's Meal identify it as a heroic *theoxenia* ritual located in the Roman Corinthian cultural context. However, by adding the *enagizein* ritual language

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[433] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 16.
[434] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 16.
[435] Valerie Hope, "Remembering Rome: Memory, Funerary Monuments and the Roman Soldier" in *Archaeologies of Remembrance: Death and Memory in Past Societies,* ed. H. Williams (Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers 2003) 137.
[436] Dolansky, "Honouring the Family Dead on the Parentalia: Ceremony, Spectacle, and Memory," *Phoenix* 65 (2011) 139.
[437] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 24-25.
[438] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 25.
[439] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 25.
[440] Interestingly, Maureen Carroll in *Spirits of the Dead: Roman Funerary Commemoration in Western Europe*, explains that there are bylaws concerning consumption of wine at funerary banquets as well as "a part of a loaf of bread" found in Pompeii suggests that the meals were frugal "as one might expect with club members of humble status." (Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead,* 72).
[441] Two language features left out of the study, but have some relevance to the ritual were, the action of Christ taking the bread (1 Cor. 11:23), words that Christ said (1 Cor. 11: 24). Steven Muir in "Vivid Imagery in Galatians 3:1 – Roman Rhetoric, Street Announcing, Graffiti, and Crucifixions," explains that as a teaching-style people would "re-present events" by "vividly portraying" them so the audience could "witness or experience" the events (Steven Muir, "Vivid Imagery in Galatians 3:1 – Roman Rhetoric, Street Announcing, Graffiti, and Crucifixions," *Biblical Theological Bulletin* Vol. 44 (2014) 76-77) where Paul was someone who vividly portrayed Christ's crucifixion (Muir "Vivid Imagery in Galatians

features to the Lord's Meal ritual along with memorial words directly associated with the Christ-hero we get a hybridity of categorizations. Lower level heroes associated with funerary (ancestral) aspects in the ancient world were related closer to the ordinary dead than to the gods, and the Lord's Meal fits within this category of hero.

Classification of the Christ-Hero

Heroes were not one unstructured group,[442] rather there were basically three different types of heroes in the ancient world. Although, the three different types of heroes could be "placed on a scale on which the top is occupied by the gods and the bottom by the ordinary dead."[443] Heroes are generally thought to be placed in the middle of this scale, but some features may cause them to be placed further up or further down on the scale.[444] The features that dictate where the hero lands on the scale, are "on the degree of immortality or mortality in each hero, which is connected to the ritual practices, the hero's life, manner of death, any effects he may have had on the environment after death, the cult place and its connection, if any, with the grave."[445] Although, 1 Corinthians does not hold all the evidence to identify Christ on the scale, it does hold enough evidence to make an educated guess at which end of the scale best fits the data.

Herakles is at the "absolute top level," as he is more a god than a hero.[446] Although, Herakles' death was violent, the Athenians in particular worshipped him as a god.[447] Other heroes, like Theagenes of Thasos, Amphiaraos, Achilles, Theseus, Dioskouroi, and Trophonios are closer to the

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3:1," 85). As this applies to the Lord's Meal, building off of Muir, it may be that the Christ-hero followers as well re-enacted the meal with someone portraying Christ. As will be argued in the context of funerary rites, a form of vicariousness was central.

[442] Ekroth, "Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals," 156.

[443] Ekroth, "Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals," 156.

[444] Ekroth, "Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals," 156.

[445] Ekroth, "Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals," 156.

[446] Ekroth, "Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals," 156.

[447] Ekroth, "Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals," 156. It is thought that over time Herakles lost his heroic side (Ekroth, "Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals," 156).

god side of the scale then the ordinary dead side.[448] All of these heroes had wide "spread cults and extensive sanctuaries," they did not "die particularly violent deaths or cause harm after their deaths," their "manner of death did not affect the cult," and their sacrifices, *thyein*, involved ritual dining.[449] Based on Asklepios's statue located near other gods and goddesses in Corinth, as well as Pausanias' adamant comments that he was a god, I would place Asklepios on this side of the scale as well. Further down the scale are heroes who are not referred as gods.[450] They are more local, but have their own 'quite substantial' cult places. The location of burial was not important and "the grave is not the focus of the cult."[451] The sacrifices are also "covered by *thyein* and include dining.[452] The types of heroes that belong to this group are "Erechtheus, Ino/Leukothea, Melampous, Hippolytos, Nikomachas and Gorgasos, Pelops and Hippodameia."[453] The last group, are heroes whose defining characteristic is that they are dead.[454] These heroes contrast with the divine in that they are "connected with pollution, death, and danger," and their cult is formed because of the violent nature of the hero's death or the effects they had "on their surroundings after death."[455] The focus was the grave, which would have had a sanctuary near or in a god's sanctuary.[456] The cult was locally confined, and connects to the history of the region.[457] Heroes in this category are, "Aristomenes, Theras of Thera, Pionis of Pioniai, … the children from Kaphyai," and sacrifices to these heroes were *enagizein* and "did not involve eating."[458]

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[448] Ekroth, "Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals," 156.
[449] Ekroth, "Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals," 156.
[450] Ekroth, "Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals," 156.
[451] Ekroth, "Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals," 156.
[452] Ekroth, "Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals," 157.
[453] Ekroth, "Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals," 157.
[454] Ekroth, "Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals," 157.
[455] Ekroth, "Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals," 157.
[456] Ekroth, "Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals,"157.
[457] Ekroth, "Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals," 157.
[458] Ekroth, "Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals," 157.

Application of Hero Classification Scale to the Christ-hero

When we apply this scale to the hero Christ, we first see that the meal associated with Christ was the heroic *theoxenia* combined with *enagizein* language and symbols. As such, followers eat the meal, but the rite was not a full ritual meal. Christ had cult locations in other parts of Greece, but because it was a newly formed community, it did not have established sanctuaries. Christ's violent death featured in the cult, but his grave and bones were not the focus. Christ's immortality was a feature of the hero, and 1 Corinthians does not refer to Christ as a god. Furthermore, Christ is distinct and subordinate to God.

gods	Trophonis		Hippodameia	Christ	Children from Kaphyai	ordinary dead
	Dioskouroi		Pelops		Pionis of Pioniai	
	Theseus		Nikomachas		Theras of Thera	
	Achilles		Gorgasos		Aristomenes	
	Amphiaraos		Hippolytos			
	Theagenes		Melampous			
	Asklepios		Ino/Leukothea			
	Herakles		Erechtheus			
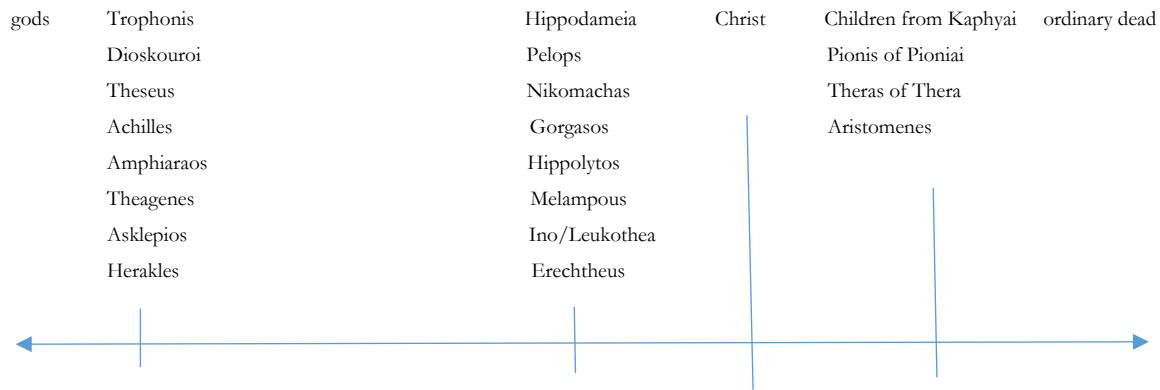
-Wide spread cult	-more local cult	-some other cults	-only locally confined
-Extensive sanctuary	-substantial sanct.	-No est. sanctuaries	-connected to region
-No violent death	-not referred as gods	-not referred as god	-sanct. found in gods' temple
-No effects after dead	-burial location not important	-burial location not important	-focus on grave
-thyein sacrifice	*-thyein* sacrifice	*-theoxenia/enagizein*	*-enagizein* sacrifice
-ritual dining	-ritual dining	-partial meal	-no meal
		-rituals localized	-connected to pollution/death
		-violent death	-cult formed because of violence
		-immortality	-surrounding effects

It is important not to assume that because Christ does not fit neatly into the surrounding categories of heroes that he is special in some way. Rather, building upon Bell's concept of misrecognition, what is more likely is the Christ-hero followers borrowed from their surrounding ritual context to create their own rituals, and they did not "see" the similarities of what they were creating with that of the larger Roman Corinthian context. This exercise allows us to place Christ more specifically in the heroic cultural context.

Classifying Christ as a lower level hero assists in explaining the funerary emphasis that is located in 1 Corinthians 11:23-25[459] and will better place Christ within an ancestry context. Although

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[459] This is a slight move away from Ascough's thesis that, "The missing piece, it seems to me, is Christian evidence from the first century. And it is to be found, I think, in the traditions of the funerary meal among the Jesus-followers. This practice not only developed into the more formal ritual of the Eucharist but also provided the legitimation for the continuation of the (pagan) funerary banquet traditions among Christians." (Ascough, "Paul's Apocalpticism,: 183). I do not think we are missing a piece of evidence, rather by using Bell's framework applied to the cultural context of hero cult

studying the Lord's Meal ritual was useful for classifying Christ, Braun in "Our Religion Compels Us to Make a Distinction: Prolegomena on Meals and Social Formation," suggests that "we pay attention to commensal groups and ask not mainly what they do *at* meals, though that too of course, but what they do *with* meals and food."[460] Placing this within Bell's framework, where the Lord's Meal ritual is a "type of critical juncture wherein some pair of opposing social and cultural forces comes together."[461] This critical juncture, here the god/hero are opposing forces, is reflected in other hero cults. Nagy explained earlier in this study that, Apollo, Achilles, and Pyrrhos/Neoptolemus portray a "striking illustration of the fundamental principle in Hellenic religion: antagonism between hero and god in myth corresponds to the ritual requirement of symbiosis between hero and god in cult."[462] The antagonism is also apparent in 1 Cor. 11:23 with the language of God handing Christ over to be violently killed. The Lord's Meal then, provides a ritual symbiosis between Christ and God, and the followers were creating a symbiosis with the ritual. Furthermore, on a very applied level, the Christ-hero followers were using the ritual to communicate with Christ. The heroic *theoxenia* was a ritual focused on communicating with the hero "and bringing him closer,"[463] and the feature of bringing the hero closer to the worshipper was also evident in the *enagizein* rituals, where "contacting and inviting the hero and procuring his presence …"[464] Bringing their hero closer was also true of the Christ-hero followers. Furthermore, because Christ was associated with healing,[465] the Christ-hero followers were concentrated on bringing Christ's presence closer to them *with* their

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in 1 Corinthians, we can see the hybridity of the heroic *theoxenia* and *enagizein* rituals. In this way, there is not a progression from funerary to Eucharist, rather the ritual contained all aspects at once.

[460] Willi Braun, "Our Religion Compels Us to Make a Distinction: Prolegomena on Meals and Social Formation," *Identity and Interaction in the Mediterranean World* Eds. Zeba Crook and Philip Harland (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007) 54.

[461] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 16.

[462] Nagy, *Best of the Acheaans* 121.

[463] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 285.

[464] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 306.

[465] Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Periods*, 285. This is connected to 1 Cor. 12:10. Communication is a main feature of speaking in tongues (*glossalia*) as well.

Lord's Meal ritual.

Throughout the above sections, this study has discussed the Christ-hero's 'social body' without clearly defining what this description means. Hero cults were widely known in the ancient world, so the question is, "what type of group would coalesce around a low level Christ-hero?" To answer this question, this study will analyze hero cult/association data.

Chapter Four: The Christ-Hero Association

This chapter analyzes the Corinthian Christ-hero association as a social body coalescing around a hero figure. To analyze the Christ-hero association, this study will discuss archaeological evidence associated with hero cults and the difficulty in trying to pinpoint it. Then, it will turn to epigraphic evidence to show that groups did form around heroes. In the epigraphic evidence section, this study will detail hero associations in relation to other types of associations. Following the comparison between associations, a comparison to the Corinthian Christ-hero association will reveal a number of similar associative features and bylaws located in 1 Corinthians. This section assists the overall argument that we are not dealing with a unique or distinctive group, but rather with a hero focused group in its early stages of formation. The final section of this chapter explains the networks involved in forming a hero cult association.

Archaeological Evidence of Hero Associations

For the most part, known heroes from ancient sources do not have cults,[466] which is "probably due simply to lack of evidence, as every hero seems to have been a potential candidate for some form of worship."[467] Alternately, some documented heroes are known only through their cults and there is no written biography on them.[468] Hero cults formed around heroes who were "active helpers in a decisive moment."[469] Hero cult sites and sanctuaries are very diverse in "ancient Greek territory."[470] The variety of terms associated with hero cults places, *sema, mnema, theke* and *taphos,* reveal the varied ways that their sites were acknowledged in the ancient world, as well, these terms

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[466] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 121.

[467] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 121.

[468] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 121.

[469] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 121. Sometimes, the hero could be worshipped because they were threatening, destructive or vengeful, usually caused by a violent death. However, "after consultation of an oracle, usually at Pythia at Delphi, the institution of a cult transformed the vengeful hero into a benevolent defender and protector." (Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 122).

[470] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 122.

were associated with the dead and were "used to describe conventional burials."[471] Sanctuaries that were fully developed were typically called *heroon* and the heroes worshipped at these sites lacked a burial.[472] Using physical evidence to identify a hero cult is difficult, because places of hero worship from "the Hellenistic period onward", were indistinguishable from "burial monument of an ordinary person."[473] As such, small shrines are designated hero cult sites as a *de facto* category because it is hard to distinguish them based upon size and appearance.[474] Furthermore, distinguishing hero sites, based upon a grave (because most heroes were supposed to have a grave) is difficult as well, because it has to be assumed that the grave sites were known by the heroic followers.[475] However, if a burial site was located within a city limits, then this may help indicate a hero cult site as "tombs of heroes were not considered a source of pollution."[476] Votive offerings provide little help either, as the offerings could be used for gods or funerary gifts as well.[477] Hero sites had certain types of offerings, such as horsemen, seated male or female figures, reclining and banqueting figures, snake figurines, and/or a procession of followers with a sacrificial animal.[478] Bones were one way that archaeologists could identify a hero site, as bones were thought to be closely associated with heroes,[479] however, as this study has shown this evidence is tenuous. Beacuse mythic heroes were sometimes associated with gods, their sanctuaries can be found within a god's sanctuary.[480] Heroes outside of these relationships however could have sites with multiple types of features: tombs, stele, statues, epigraphic evidence,

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[471] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 122.
[472] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 122.
[473] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 122.
[474] Ekroth, "Cult of Heroes," 122-123.
[475] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 123.
[476] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 123.
[477] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 124.
[478] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 124.
[479] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 125-126.
[480] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 126.

boundary stones, altars, and some heroes had temples with auxiliary buildings.[481] Altars are

particularly difficult to use as identifying features for hero cults because of the rich terminology

associated with the variety of altars in connection to heroes and gods.[482] The physical nature of altars

as well makes it difficult to classify as there were 'cut blocks of stone,' 'mound-shaped altars,' and

'flat fieldstone altars.'[483] This implies that archaeological evidence can be used to identify hero sites, it

is just that physical evidence alone does not conclude that a particular unmarked site was a hero site.

Local heroes were somewhat distinct among the more formal heroic cults, as they "offered

worshippers a means to express local traits and needs – social and political as well as religious – in a

different manner than did the cult of the gods."[484] Because of their heterogeneity, hero cults had the

ability to adapt to a community's specific needs.[485] Greek epigraphic evidence and sacrificial

calendars offer some insight into hero cults.[486] Calendars reveal that in Thorikos, the heroes Thorikos

and Kephalos received the most expensive gifts.[487] Receiving expensive gifts was also true for

Neanias at Marathon, who received, along with an unnamed hero, a third of the sacrificial budget.[488]

Epigraphic evidence also provides the importance of local heroes in connection to their geography.

Some were called simply "heroes of the field," or "the hero at Antisara," or the "heroines at

Schoinos" providing the place as the heroic descriptor. A multitude of "anonymous heroes and

heroines are mentioned in dedications,"[489] who were important for their local context, presumably

they were known in that context, but who were not important to the larger Greek context.[490] The

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[481] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 126-130.
[482] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 136-137.
[483] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 136-138.
[484] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 138.
[485] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 138.
[486] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 138.
[487] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 138.
[488] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 138.
[489] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 139.
[490] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 139.

hero's role on a local level, being able to cure illness or disease, along with their connection to the immediate location made them attractive to worshipers.[491] The connection on a personal level with modest sized groups where a local hero catered to their needs is confirmed "by the epigraphic evidence for private cult associations focusing on heroes."[492] This study will now turn to epigraphic evidence.

Epigraphic Evidence of Hero Associations

Richard Ascough, Philip Harland, and John Kloppenborg list the epigraphic evidence in *Associations in the Greco-Roman World: A Sourcebook* which includes hero based associations.[493] Four of the inscriptions listed in the sourcebook feature Herakles.[494] In all four cases, the association is

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[491] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 139.

[492] Ekroth, "The Cult of Heroes," 139. Ekroth also states that as heroic ritual sacrifice was clearly delineated between those who belonged to the cult and the 'foreigner' that ritual "clearly marked who belonged and who did not." (Ekroth, "The Cult of the Heroes," 139). Applying the Christ-hero association specifically to hero cult is considered nonsensical by Richard Last in his book, *The Pauline Church and the Corinthian Ekklsia: Greco-Roman Associations in Comparative Contexts* where he writes, "The social groups that previous scholarship labels as synagogues and Judean groups are better described as 'Yahweh groups' and are classified on individual bases according to a fivefold, membership-based, taxonomy of associations. It makes no better sense to compare or identify Christ groups exclusively with Yahweh groups than it would to study Christ groups in comparison with Herakles associations alone." (Last, *The Pauline Church and the Corinthian Ekklsia*, 213). Although he specifically singles out Herakles associations in contrast to Zeus associations and Yahweh associations, it seems that he would generally extend that to heroic voluntary associations.

[493] Richard Ascough, Philip Harland, and John Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World: A Sourcebook* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2012). There is an extensive database of inscriptions on Philip Harland's webpage: philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/ that catalogues more hero cult associations, but at this stage the study is concerned with proving that hero cult associations existed, and the source book provides examples from the fifth century BCE to the second century CE.

[494] All of the inscriptions listed come from Richard Ascough, Philip Harland, and John Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World: A Sourcebook* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2012). The list of inscriptions are:
(1) 3. List of New Members in a Synod of Herakles, Attica (uncertain location). SEG 36 (1986), no. 228 = GRA I 38 = PH294182. 159/158 BCE;
(2) 135. Honors by Devotees of the God Herakles for a Man, Thyatira (Lydia). TAM V.2 959 = ILydia KP II 51 = Ph264389. Second Century CE; and
(3) 262. Regulations of a Society Dedicated to the God Herakles, Thasos (Norhern Aegean). SEG 2 (1924), np. 505 = Picard 1923, 243 = PH 322429. Early Fifth Century BCE.

designated as a formal group, *synodos,*[495] Herakleists,[496] *thiasos*[497] or Heraklists.[498] Two of the

inscriptions are about the group, either allowing new members or honouring an existing member.[499]

The third lists regulations: no goats or pigs to be sacrificed, no women, a portion of the sacrifice is to

be left, the offerings should not be divided, and no looking at the sacrifice.[500] The final inscription

contains details of the association in Attica:

> To good fortune! In the year that Titus Flavius Konon was civic leader (*archōn*) and the priest of
> the consul Drusus, on the 18th of the month of Mounouchion, it seemed good to Marcus
> Aemelius Eucharistos of Paiania, the head of the contribution-society (*archeranistēs*) of the synod
> (*synodos*) of Herakles-devotees (*Herakliastai*) in the Marshes, to approve the following regulations:
>
> If someone in the synod should cause a fight, on the following day let him pay a fine. The one
> who initiated the fight should pay 10 drachmas and whoever joined in should pay 5 drachmas.
> After his fellow contributing-members (*eranistai*) have taken a vote to expel him, let him pay the
> fine without fail.
>
> Concerning the endowment that has been deposited by the head of the contribution-society and
> whatever other endowment has been collected, let no one in any way whatsoever touch it,
> beyond the interest that accrues. The treasurer shall not expend more than 300 drachmas from
> the interest. If he should lay hold of more or take from the endowment, or more of the interest,
> he shall pay a fine of three times what was taken. Likewise, if a former treasurer has been proved
> to have put money away for himself, let him be fined three times the amount taken.
>
> Concerning the priesthoods: If someone should agree to purchase one, let him make the
> payment immediately to the head of the contribution-society in the following year and let him
> receive a receipt from the head of the contribution-society. In accordance with custom, let him
> receive a double portion, except for the wine. Those who contract for the pork and the wine
> who do not hand them over during the year that they are providing the dinners shall be fined a

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[495] 3. List of New Members in a Synod of Herakles, Attica (uncertain location). SEG 36 (1986), no. 228 = GRA I 38 = PH294182. 159/158 BCE

[496] 135. Honors by Devotees of the God Herakles for a Man, Thyatira (Lydia). TAM V.2 959 = ILydia KP II 51 = Ph264389. Second Century CE

[497] 262. Regulations of a Society Dedicated to the God Herakles, Thasos (Norhern Aegean). SEG 2 (1924), np. 505 = Picard 1923, 243 = PH 322429. Early Fifth Century BCE.

[498] 9. Regulations of a Club on Sacrifice and Discipline, Liopesi (Attica). SEG 31 (1981), no. 122 = *NGSL* 5 = *GRA* I 50 = PH293233 Early Second Century; on Ascough, Richard A., Philip A. Harland, and John S. Kloppenborg. *Associations in the Greco-Roman World.* June 20, 2016. http://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/. The inscription dates 100 CE on the website (http://philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/9-regulations-of-a-club-on-sacrifice-and-discipline/ inscription last updated February 19, 2016)

[499] (1) 3. List of New Members in a Synod of Herakles, Attica (uncertain location). SEG 36 (1986), no. 228 = GRA I 38 = PH294182. 159/158 BCE; (2) 135. Honors by Devotees of the God Herakles for a Man, Thyatira (Lydia). TAM V.2 959 = ILydia KP II 51 = Ph264389. Second Century CE

[500] 262. Regulations of a Society Dedicated to the God Herakles, Thasos (Norhern Aegean). SEG 2 (1924), np. 505 = Picard 1923, 243 = PH 322429. Early Fifth Century BCE.

double portion.

Those who contract to supply provisions must present acceptable sureties to the treasurer and the head of the contribution-society. They shall appoint three able-bodied night watchmen. If any of them should refuse, then let them be selected by lot and whoever is chosen shall accept. If he should not accept or if he does not want to be a night watchman after having been chosen, he shall pay a fine of 100 drachmas. It is necessary to appoint from the synod ten collectors (*praktores*). If they do not wish to be collectors, let ten be chosen by lot from the general membership. Likewise, when the treasurer provides an accounting, after a meeting has been called, they shall appoint three auditors and the auditors shall swear by Herakles, Demeter, and Kore.

They shall choose by lot two men every day to be in charge of the meat. Likewise, two men in charge of the rolls. If anyone who is entrusted with this task is found to have done something sordid, he shall be fined 20 drachmas. Let the head of the contribution-society choose three people – whoever he wants – from the synod to assist him in paying out the endowment. But let all of them give…*x* measures (*choinixes*) of fine wheat flour, by the public measure. Each year the treasurer shall take care that a sacrifice to the god is performed consisting of a boar weighing 20 minas.

If a member of the contribution-society (*eranos*) wishes to initiate his child . . ., let him provide 16.5 minas of pork. If someone wants to enter himself, let him provide 33 minas of pork. Let the account be closed when the auditors, having taken an oath, return the accounts to the head of the contribution-society, and indicate whether the treasurer owes anything. Firewood should be supplied by the treasurer each year. The dues must be brought to the treasurer so that loans can be made. Whoever does not pay shall be fined a double amount. Whoever does not pay at all shall be expelled from the contribution-society (*exeranos*). It shall not be lawful to touch the firewood in the grove. Everyone is to wear a wreath in honor of the god.

The association of the Herakles-devotees (*Herakliastai*) in the Marshes provides excellent data for understanding rules and regulations of hero based associations. Even though the inscription describes Herakles as a god, we know from other evidence that he received *thyein* sacrifices as both god and hero, as was the case at Sikyon.

Understanding Hero Associations in the Broader Associative Context

Eva Ebel in *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden: Die Gemeinde von Korinth im Spiegel griechisch-römischer Vereine* analyzes associations as competing institutions.[501] By adapting this approach

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[501] Eva Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden: Die Geminde von Korinth im Spiegel griechish-römischer Vereine* Ed. Jörg Frey (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004) 9.

to the *Herakliastai,* this study is better able to understand hero associations, including the Corinthian

Christ-hero association. Ebel analyzes two examples from epigraphic evidence: first, the *cultores*

Dianae at Antinoi in Lanuvium which exemplify the lower and middle classes in the Western Roman

Empire,[502] and second, the *Iobakchen aus Athen* a Dionysian association with a more affluent (high

status) membership in the Eastern Roman Empire.[503] Ebel analyzes these associations because,

according to her, they are religious associations. She further argues that comparing professional

associations to the early Corinthian community is not suitable. The reason that professional

associations are inappropriate is because they had members of similar occupations, and thus the

members would have had similar status.[504] Ebel explains that both of these associations, *Dianae at*

Antinoi and *Iobakchen aus Athen* are from the second century CE, and understands that they were in

competition with other Christian communities.[505] The comparison to 1 Corinthians is apt because,

according to Ebel, both the Lanuvium and Athenian associations and 1 Corinthians are explaining

how to prevent club abuses and internal conflicts.[506] This study makes the same observation with the

Herakliastai association.

The inscriptional evidence from the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* in Lanuvium deals with communal

meals and "dignified" (*würdigen*) burial practices.[507] The financially constrained members would have

meagre meals of fish, bread, and wine.[508] The membership included slaves as equal members, and the

meetings focused on socializing rather than cultic aspects.[509] Ebel explains that the burial practices

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[502] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 9.

[503] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 9.

[504] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 9.

[505] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 9. Ebel acknowledges the difficulty in using second century CE sources from Lanuvium and Athens in order to compare them to first century CE Corinth, but simply states that despite the good counterarguments she will maintain the comparison (Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 11).

[506] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 10.

[507] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 72.

[508] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 72.

[509] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 72.

were absent of religious concerns (i.e., life after death) and more focused on dignified burials.[510] In

connection to dignified burials, a fee schedule governed payments.[511] The protective deities picked

for the association were not religiously motivated, but politically motivated.[512] The members were

provided titles of offices that mirrored public offices because their personal status made the public

offices in greater Lanuvium unattainable.[513] As for meals, association officials received greater

portions, and if other members were abusive to them, then those members received larger fines.[514]

This privileged treatment was unique as low to middle status people would not have received any

special treatments in the greater society.[515] The associations' *magistri cenarum* could decide their own

financial contributions, thus allowing any member (when it was their turn) to be able to hold the

office.[516] The *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* association allowed members to have a dignified burial, to

engage in community socializing, and receive treatment as equal members aside from status so that

they could acquire recognition and respect through holding offices.[517] The weakness to this

association was that higher status people would not want to be associated with it, as the burial

benefits offered no incentives for higher status people. The meals were too meagre, and the meal and

meeting times were not frequent enough to provide incentives.[518] Ebel argues that the association's

greatest weakness was that it did not offer religion to help the members shape their lives.[519]

In contrast to the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi*, the Athenian Association of *Iobacchae* was an

association for high status people, and Herodes Atticus, a significant member, was one of the

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[510] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 73.
[511] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 73.
[512] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 73.
[513] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 73.
[514] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 73.
[515] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 73.
[516] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 73.
[517] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 73-74.
[518] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 74.
[519] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 75.

wealthiest people of his time and the first chairman of the Dionysian association.[520] The association

had its spacious building in the center of Athens located in a residential area.[521] The association

worshipped Dionysus and other deities.[522] The members met regularly on the ninth of each month

and at Dionysian festivals.[523] The most notable feature of the association was the role-playing aspect

(*Rollenspiel*) in which through lottery members would become Dionysus or other deities during the

sacrifices.[524] The performers would receive more meal portions and wine.[525] Troublemakers were

fined and removed from the meetings.[526] The *Iobacchae* association kept meticulous records of

membership and the member's worthiness to the association.[527] Male family members (sons) were

invited to join, which maintained the association's high status and shaped the group around

significant Athenian families.[528] Internal conflicts were held both in meetings and in public trials.[529] A

sense of community was constructed around meals, and members would celebrate each other's good

fortune by donating wine to a birth of a child or receiving public office.[530] The association had many

internal offices.[531] The top office ἱερεὺς performs ritual, judicial, and administrative duties, the second

office ἀνθιερεὺς had no role in worship, and the rituals were conducted by the third office

ἀρχίβακχος and the association had a fourth office for finances.[532] The internal *Iobacchae* offices

assisted the members in gaining Athenian public offices.[533] The reason why people would want to

join the association was because they could gain higher status in Athenian society and internally with

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[520] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 140.
[521] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 141.
[522] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 141.
[523] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 141.
[524] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 141.
[525] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 141.
[526] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 141.
[527] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 141.
[528] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 141.
[529] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 141.
[530] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 141.
[531] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 142.
[532] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 142.
[533] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 142.

the members of the club. The members received more meals, and the role-playing and priestly aspects provided the members with a religious dimension.[534] The association had drawbacks: only people of a certain status could join and only if they were perceived to contribute to the status of the association in greater Athens. Women were excluded, and the focus on the families especially sons excluded other members of the family which may be a concern for people who wanted an association where they could include their entire families.[535]

Ebel compares the two associations analyzing them based on economic conditions, because both clubs were concerned with the financial condition of their associations and its members.[536] Admission and subscription fees for the *Iobacchae* association was a complicated process where the potential member wrote for permission to join the association, the members voted to accept the membership, and, if successful, then the potential member paid an entrance fee and offered a libation.[537] Sons of existing members paid less of a fee, and upon reaching puberty could be members. The members of the association maintained control on who could enter and promoted their association to a select group of families in Athens.[538] The *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* association accepted anyone as a member upon paying 100 sesterces and good wine.[539] The main concern for the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* members was maintenance of the funeral fund. The members feared that the association would not have enough funds to pay for funerals, or as a worst case scenario, two funerals occurred at the same time.[540] Funeral payments were not a concern for the *Iobacchae* association and members would contribute a wreath and wine toward the member's funeral.[541]

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534 Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 142.
535 Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 142.
536 Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 143.
537 Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 144.
538 Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 144.
539 Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 144.
540 Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 144.
541 Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 144-145.

The admission fees along with wine supports the association's financial accounts along with providing alcohol to the members. The *Iobacchae* association members pay twice as much for admission than do the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* members with the exception of the sons of existing *Iobacchae* members who pay approximately the same amount as the lower status *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* members. The two associations differed on how the admission fee was used. The *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* association paid the funeral fund and the *Iobacchae* association put the monies toward meals.[542] Members who defaulted on their fees in the *Iobacchae* association were excluded from the common meal, while members who defaulted consecutively for ten months in the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* association were denied a funeral.[543] The obvious difference between the associations was the *Iobacchae* members being more financially secure could afford to spend money on meals. Conversly, the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* members were financially constrained and needed to secure funerary monies for their members, as well members once in positions of office could forego contributions possibly because they didn't have much disposable income.[544] Ebel connects what the financial considerations of the associations were with the status of the members. Thus, the *Iobacchae* spent money on meals (a recreation activity) which suggests that members were higher status, while the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* secured monies for funerals, suggesting that they were lower status.[545]

The occasions for libation celebrations explains the member status of each of associations. The *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* association held celebrations for people who became freedmen and the *Iobacchae* members had celebrations for members who achieved political office, received inheritances,

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[542] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 145.
[543] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 145.
[544] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 145.
[545] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 146.

got married, and who had the birth of a new child.[546] The organization and frequency of meals also revealed member status. The *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* members had detailed instructions for the meal with explicit instructions on the type of wine, bread, and sardines for the meal.[547] In contrast, the *Iobacchae* did not mention meals with the exception that members brought wine as a monthly contribution.[548] Possibly, people simply contributed to the meals without coercion and thus there was no need to record it. The *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* association also set out specific dates six times a year that the meals would take place, the *Iobacchae* members do not mention specific days, but generally express an annual festival, monthly meetings, and at Dionysian festivals.[549] The *Iobacchae* association can afford to have a lot more celebrations involving food than can the members of the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi.*

Fines for penalties and offenses also reveals the status of members. Both associations group misconducts into three areas: contributions, behaviour, and exercise of office.[550] If *Iobacchae* members did not contribute to the association then the *Iobacchae* association denied meetings, while if the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* members did not contribute toward the association for ten consecutive months, then the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* denied a funeral.[551] Regarding behaviour, drunkenness was not a severe offense in either association, and in the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* if an offense occurred against another member then members dealt with it in the club where the offending member bought the victim a beer. Ebel assumes that, because the members are of low status, there was no public recourse that could be sought.[552] The *Iobacchae* members simply forced out members who were offending other members. It may be that the members of the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* association did

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[546] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 146.
[547] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 146.
[548] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 147.
[549] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 147.
[550] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 148.
[551] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 148-149.
[552] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 149.

not force out people because it needed the revenue from contributions.[553] If sentenced, then the fine penalty for the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* members was higher than for the *Iobacchae* members' offenses, but the *Iobacchae* association would force out people who did not pay fines, while the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* association has no record of penalty for not failure of fine payment.[554] In both associations, if the members who were in office failed to perform their assigned duties, then they did not reap the rewards of the office.[555]

The promotion to office in the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* association was based on a five-year rotation among members. In the *Iobacchae* association, the members selected them by appointment with only the treasurer being selected democratically for a two-year term while the priest could be appointed for a lifetime.[556] Regarding patrons and benefactors, Lucius Caesennius Rufus provided financial contributions to *cultores Dianae at Antinoi,* but in no other way was associated with the group.[557] Ebel explains that Rufus by providing monies to the association has publically shown loyalty to the Roman Emperor Antonius and his deceased and deified lover, but held no desire to be connected to people of low status.[558] As for the *Iobacchae* association, Herodes Atticus, as patron and benefactor, took the highest office, attending meetings, and leveraged his position in the association to gain status in Athenian society.[559]

In her conclusion, Ebel describes the epigraphic and archaeological similarities between the *Iobacchae* and the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* associations.[560] Ebel discusses the focus on meals, religious ceremonies, and frequency of meeting along with payment of admission and contributions, and the

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[553] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 149.
[554] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 149.
[555] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 149.
[556] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 150.
[557] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 150.
[558] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 150.
[559] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 150.
[560] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 214.

predominately male membership of both associations.[561] Ebel highlights the difference between member status where the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* members were of a lower status with the *Iobacchae* members who were exclusively higher status.[562] Both associations had offices for members to hold which allowed those members to gain prestige within the association and outside of it.[563]

Benefactors, who were leading figures in their community, supported the associations that in turn put the benefactors at a political advantage in their respective greater communities.[564] The next section will show the features of the *Herakliastai* compared to the *Iobacchae* and *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* Associations. The reason for comparing these three associations is because the Christ-hero association will be compared to them in order to show the Christ-hero association's bylaws. Thus, further arguing the point that the community we are investigating is a hero association.

Comparing the Hero Association, Herakliastai, to the Iobacchae and cultores Dianae at Antinoi Associations

The differences between the two associations were: 1. *Iobacchae* association had high admission standards for their potential members while the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* association accepted anyone.[565] 2. The *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* association used the admission monies for its funeral budget which the *Iobacchae* association did not need to do.[566] 3. The *Iobacchae* association had many unregulated celebrations with a lot of wine and plenty of food while the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* association had meagre meals six times a year that where heavily administered.[567] 4. The ritual component in the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* association had a smaller role than it had for the *Iobacchae*

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[561] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 214.
[562] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 214.
[563] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 214.
[564] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 214.
[565] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 214.
[566] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 214.
[567] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 214.

association.[568] The differences, Ebel explains, was due to the financial capabilities of the individual associations.[569] Ebel's perspective is to analyze ancient associations as competing for membership.[570]

The *Herakliastai* association when compared to the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* association and the *Iobacchae* association has many features in common with these associations. By acknowledging the political and religious institutions in Athenian society shown at the beginning of the inscription as "Titus Flavius Konon was civic leader (*archōn*) and the priest of the consul Drusus," the *Herakliastai* association was aware of political circumstance in Athens as well as the status of their association and presumably the members in it.[571] In this feature, the *Herakliastai* association was similar to both the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* and the *Iobacchae* associations which were politically aware of its members' status.

The *Herakliastai* association established regulations for conflicts, including a fine of ten drachmas and possibly expelling the person. This type of penalty was similar to the *Iobacchae* association which also fined and expelled members. Unlike the *Iobacchae* association, the *Herakliastai* association did not hold public trials, but dealt with conflicts internally similar to the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi*. Aside from conflicts, there were penalties in the *Herakliastai* association for using more of the endowment fund than the group allocates, for not supplying the proper portions of pork and

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[568] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 215.

[569] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 215.

[570] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 215.

[571] Political and festival calendars were used in Athens to specify dates. The inscription mentions "…the eighteenth day of the month of Mounichion…" which was the tenth festival calendar month at around the time of the full moon (Robert Hannah, *Greek and Roman Calendars* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2005) 43). The inscription also specifies the names of people in political offices. This was a reference to the political calendar:

> A fundamental component of the Athenian democracy was a Council of 500 (the Boule), comprising 50 citizens drawn by lot annually from each of the city-state's ten tribes. The representatives of each tribe acted as a Standing Committee (prytany) of the Council for a tenth of the year. The year was thus divided into ten 'months' (prytanies). In the political calendar of Athens, dates were counted according to these ten prytanies of the year's Council. (Hannah, *Greek and Roman Calendars*, 44)

Unfortunately, the list of names is not separated by epochs or eras and is simply a list so it is difficult to specify a time with a contemporary calendar (Hannah, *Greek and Roman Calendars*, 44). *Herakliastai* association by listing the political and festival calendars shows an awareness to Athenian convention and of their current political situation.

wine for the meals, for refusing to be a night watchman, for purposely spoiling the meat or the

bread, and for not contributing to the membership dues.

The *Herakliastai* association had many offices including the head of the club, treasurer,

priesthoods, night watchmen, collectors, auditors, and people in charge of meat and bread stores.

The *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* association had titled offices which mirrored public offices. The *Iobacchae*

association also had many offices, the top office being the priest, then following the priest ανθιερευς,

association principal, and treasurer. In this way, the *Herakliastai* association is very similar to the

Iobacchae association. The difference between the *Herakliastai* association and the *cultores Dianae at*

Antinoi and the *Iobacchae* associations was that priesthoods could be purchased in the *Herakliastai*. In

so doing, the member would receive double portions of food, but not wine. In the *Iobacchae*

association members were selected by the group with the exception of the treasurer who was chosen

by lot, and in the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* association there was a five-year rotation for offices. In all

associations, the members holding offices received greater portions of food.

The *Herakliastai* association had admission fees based upon a weight of meat, thus for a

member's child they paid "16.5 minas of pork" and if someone wanted to join they paid "33 minas

of pork." This meat payment would have contributed to the meals similar to the *Iobacchae* association.

However, there was not a contribution of wine along with the payment like the other two

associations. Another difference was the other associations used currency for the entrance fee, for

the *Iobacchae* association charged 25 denarii for a member's child, and 50 denarii if someone wanted

to join, and for the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi,* they charged 100 Sesterti. As the *Herakliastai* entrance fee

was in meat, this makes sense of why there were two separate by-laws specific to storing and

watching provisions. The *Herakliastai* similar to the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* do not seem to have

membership criteria other than payment of meat.

Like the *Iobacchae* association, the *Herakliastai* association used their entrance fees for meals, but unlike the *Iobacchae* association, the *Herakliastai* were very focused on meals and food. Members who bought priesthoods received double portions of food. Members who were contracted to supply pork and wine, and did not do so, would get fined. Food contractors had to prove they could fulfill the contracts to the treasurer and supply "able-bodied night watchmen" to guard the food for meals. The food contractors could be fined for not providing watchmen. Members were in charge of the meat and bread, and were fined if they did something "sordid" to the food. The treasurer takes care of purchasing a "boar weighing twenty minas" for the sacrifice each year. People who were entrusted to pay out the endowment would do so in "fine wheat flour." Entrance fees were paid in meat, and firewood was supplied by the treasurer and people were not allowed to touch the firewood. Presumably, the firewood was important because the members needed to cook the pork for the meals. The specific details surrounding food suggests, like the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* they had a difficult time supplying food and keeping food for their meals.

The *Herakliastai* association had an endowment fund that was funded by the head of the association. Thus, the *Herakliastai* had benefactors for their association similar to the other two associations. As the *Iobacchae* association had a benefactor who held a prestigious position in the association, the *Herakliastai* had "Marcus Aemilius Eucharistos of Paiania, as the association's head and funder of the endowment. As the treasurer was only allowed to spend the interest, this association like the *Iobacchae* association had monies set aside. Presumably, as the association was so focused on meals and food, it was not as affluent as the *Iobacchae* association, but because it does not mention funeral costs, they were wealthier than the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* association. The benefactor, being the head of the association, was also closely involved with it, further suggests, that the association was prestigious enough in society that people did not mind being associated with it.

The *Herakliastai* focus on food and meals provides some insight to group formation. Because the inscription deals with many food by-laws, the group probably constructed their community around meals, and a concern for specific food amounts, suggesting regular meals, possibly monthly; Both of these features are similar to the *Iobacchae* association. An awareness of the greater political environment, the opportunity to purchase priesthoods, the endowment process and association treasury, suggests that the *Herakliastai* association consisted of members who were able to afford to be part of the community, but as the entrance fee was open to anyone, possibly this association was composed of middle status people. Thus, the *Herakliastai* needed members to maintain meal costs, but the members themselves were not concerned with funerary costs because they had enough financing and status to deal with funerals.

The date range for Heraklean associations are early fifth century BCE to the second century CE in Attica, Lydia and the Northern Aegean. The *Herakliastai* association when compared to the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* and *Iobacchae* associations provides insight into the association features, community construction, and member status of a hero association. This analysis helps to provide evidence for understanding the basic components and concerns of hero associations and their relation to other associations. There is further evidence of hero associations in the ancient Mediterranean.

Other Hero Associations

Another hero association on the same side of the scale as Herakles and closer to gods, the Dioskouroi, are also mentioned in inscriptions.[572] This inscription also shows a formal group, *symbiosis*, with a formal name for the male devotees, Dioskourites.[573] Aside from named heroes like

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[572] Richard Ascough, Philip Harland, and John Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World,* 82. The inscriptional citation is, 119. Dedication Involving an Association Devoted to the Dioskouroi Gods, Pergamon (Mysia). IPergamon II 321 (notes) = CIG 3540 = PH317090. Roman Imperial Period.

[573] Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World,* 82.

the Dioskouroi and Herakles, two inscriptions deal with unnamed heroes. The first designates "Aelianus Neikon, the head of the synagogue of the hero god, and the association erected an altar for Vibius Antonius."[574] The second inscription designates the sacrifice of a young pig to "the Heroines," and an "adult animal to the hero."[575]

The final piece of evidence for hero associations is a first century BCE Athenian inscription that discusses the regulations of the heroists, "Decree of the Sacrificing Associates of Echelos and the Heroines."[576] The interesting feature of this inscription is the way in which the group is described, "… of the Heroists of Diotimos, Zenon, and Pammenes, whose head of the club was Zenion son of Diotimos of Marathon, the association of the Heroists resolved to make provision for the income of the association, so that those of the Heroists …"[577] The data on the Dioskouroi, the unnamed heroes, and the Echelos and Heroines shows that there was a variety of hero focused associations ranging from the fifth century BCE to the second century CE.

Benefactors and patrons could be heroized in an association providing them with special honours. In second century BCE, a Dionysian synod inscription formally heroizes (canonizes) a benefactor of the association, called Dionysios, and his statue was set up "beside the statue of the god … where there is also a statue of his father."[578] Another example, in the Roman period, has

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[574] Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World,* 39. Inscription, 39. Dedication of an Altar for an Association of the Hero God. Kassandreia/Hagios Mamas (Macedonia). CIG II 2007f = IMakedD 747 = GRA I 66 = PH151763. Second Century CE.

[575] Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World,* 10. Inscription, 1. Decree of the Sacrificing Associates of Echelos and the Heroines. Athens (Attica). Arthur Geoffrey Woodhead, *Iscriptions: The Decrees* (The Athenian Agora, 16; Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1997), no. 161 = LSCGSup 20 = GRA I 14 = PH232990. Early Third Century BCE.

[576] Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World,* 12. Inscription 6. Regulations of the Heroists. Athens (Attica). IG II² I339 = Foucart 1873, no. 21 = RIG 1562 = GRA I 46 = PH3555. 57/56 BCE.

[577] Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World,* 12.

[578] Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World,* 30-31. Inscription, 21. Decree of |Dionysiasts Recognizing a Hero. Piraeus (Attica) IG II² 1326 = LSCG 49 = Jaccottet 2003, vol. 2, no. 2 = GRA I 36 = PH3542 176/175 BCE.

Marcus Antonius Aristokrates honoured on a monument as founder and hero.[579] A final example, reveals the Xenon shrine in Lydia was dedicated to Gaius Julius Xenon son of Apollonides who was designated as hero and benefactor in the first century CE.[580] In all three examples, people were designated as heroes and forms of worship were created in their honour.

Like the *Herakliastai*, other hero associations have regulations relating to fees and costs, in the "Decree of the Sacrificing Associates of Echelos and the Heroines," the members resolved, "to inscribe the names of those who owe anything to the partnership – both the principle and the interest, as much as each owes – on a monument (stele) and set it up by the altar in the temple…"[581] As part of the fee structure, the inscription at Athens, "Regulations of the Heroists," describes the fines, "so that those of the Heroists who are away from home for whatever reason shall pay three drachmas for the sacrifices, and those living at home but not in attendance shall be required to pay six drachmas …"[582] In these cases, financing is a significant factor for the daily maintenance of the association. Financing became a significant issue for funerals as the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* reveals; Rising funerary costs were a significant concern for people in the first and second centuries CE.[583]

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[579] Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World,* 33. Inscription 24. Monument for a Founder and Hero. Argos (Peloponnesos). IG IV 581 = CIG 1134 = PH28100 Roman Period.

[580] Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World,* 87. Inscription, 130. Dedication of a Hero Cult and an Association Devoted to Gaius Julius Xenon. Thyatira area (Lydia). TAM V.2 1098 = ILydiaKP II 74 = IGRR IV 1276. First Century CE.

[581] Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World,* 9. Inscription, 1. Decree of the Sacrificing Associates of Echelos and the Heroines. Athens (Attica). Arthur Geoffrey Woodhead, *Iscriptions: The Decrees* (The Athenian Agora, 16; Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1997), no. 161 = LSCGSup 20 = GRA I 14 = PH232990. Early Third Century BCE.

[582] Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World,* 12. Inscription 6. Regulations of the Heroists. Athens (Attica). IG II² I339 = Foucart 1873, no. 21 = RIG 1562 = GRA I 46 = PH3555. 57/56 BCE.

[583] Funerary associations off-set burial expenses for their followers, but costs to maintain membership were still a factor for both the association and the individual members. Hope points out that the "fact that such clubs existed [funeral clubs] suggests that funerals were not cheap" (Valarie Hope, *Death in Ancient Rome: A Sourcebook* (Routledge, 2007) 88). Carroll explains that burial clubs formed for people who had trouble affording burials, or had "no close family to bury them" (Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead* 44; Jo-Ann Shelton, *As the Romans Did: A sourcebook in roman social history,* (Oxford University Press: New York, 1988) 99). Hopkins explains expensive funeral costs were due to "price of land" (Hopkins, *Death and Renewal,* 211) and population growth (Hopkins, *Death and Renewal*, 211). Funeral clubs, for Hope, suggests that "poorer elements of society" did want the essentials (and some desirables) in their funeral (Hope, *Roman Death*, 68). Lefkowitz and Fant highlight an inscription to a women's funeral club dated first and second centuries CE (Mary

Comparing Hero and Non-Hero Associations to 1 Corinthians

Kloppenborg explains that by using data from associations allows the researcher to

manufacture "… questions that allow us to look at the data from those groups in different ways. In

particular, using ancient associations as a lens through which to view Christ groups allows us to ask

Lefkowitz and Maureen Fant, *Women's Life in Greece and Rome: A Source Book in Translation*, (John Hopkins University Press, 2005) 156; Dolansky, "Honouring the Family Dead on the Parentalia," 134) showing that both sexes used funerary clubs. Funeral clubs would group people together so that when someone died they could be guaranteed a funeral (Hope, *Roman Death*, 68) and ensure a decent burial (Beryl Rawson, "The Roman Family," *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives* Ed. Beryl Rawson (Cornell University Press: New York, 1986) 38). Toynbee explains that funeral clubs provided a double purpose: the dead survive through "memories of relatives, descendants, and friends" (Jocelyn Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World,* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996) 61), and it ensured "comfort, refreshment, and perennial renewal of life to their immortal spirits" (Toynbee, *Death and Burial,* 62). Certain groups within society may also be involved in a funeral club for instance gladiators formed clubs and "venerated certain gods" (Donald G. Kyle, *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome.* (Psychology Press, 1998) 161) and the funeral club provided "economic and efficient guarantee of a decent burial" (Kyle, *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome,* 161). Toynbee writes that "lower orders of society (*tenuiores),* mainly slaves and freedmen" (Toynbee, *Death and Burial,* 55) belonged to funeral clubs. Also, funeral clubs were tolerated by Roman government, while voluntary associations were sometimes viewed with suspicion (Hopkins, *Death and Renewal*, 212). As such some burial clubs "were often centred on a temple under the protection of tutelary deity" (Hopkins, *Death and Renewal*, 212) or "work associations such as, for example, the cloth-dealers and timber merchants at Antinum" (Hopkins, *Death and Renewal,* 212). In 60 CE, the cult of Silvanus in Rome has a list of members with humble social status (Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 45). They paid membership of 240 sestertii and when someone died they contributed 8 sestertii to the funeral (Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead,* 45) with the deceased giving 50 sestertii - in all the funeral costs were 560 sestertii (Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead,* 45). Further, donations of bread and "wine flavored with honey" were expected "presumably to be consumed during ceremonies and banquets, and every member was expected to attend the funeral of another member" (Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 45). Hope provides an example of membership fees in Lanuvium in Second Century CE where 100 sesterces was the entry fee and 5 asses was a monthly fee (Valerie Hope, *Roman Death: The Dying and the Dead in Ancient Rome.* (London: Continuum: 2009) 68). At the funeral, 300 sesterces were paid out from the club (Hope, *Roman Death,* 68) with the assumption then that the remainder is paid by the family or deceased estate. In either case, it should not be assumed that the funeral club paid for the entire funeral, but rather paid for the majority of costs. Hope also explains that members were probably expected to help out in organizing the funeral, and "providing some of the necessary equipment" (Hope, *Roman Death,* 68). In Lanuvium, funeral club members were 'nominally rewarded' for attending funerals of members (Hope, *Roman Death,* 77). Carroll summarizes her findings by stating that the members met on religious and social occasions, were responsible for each person to receive a decent burial, and were present to mourn their colleague (Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 45). Hopkins explains that funeral clubs operated like "social clubs, with regular feasts and business meetings" (Keith Hopkins, *Death and Renewal* in *Sociological Studies in Roman History Series 2.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1983) 214). Hope explains that patrons were a significant factor in funeral clubs where the patron contributed monies and gained "reputation for philanthropy and potentially a retinue of grateful followers" (Hope, *Roman Death,* 68). Clubs not only provided support for funerals but also "regular meetings, comradeship and internal club hierarchies" (Hope, *Roman Death,* 68). It should be mentioned that grants could also be obtained for members who could not afford a funeral (Graham Oliver, *Epigraphy of Death: Studies in the History and Society of Greece and Rome,* ed. G.J. Oliver (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001) 10). Hopkins explains that with a decline of "traditional family rites, a decline in the political power of collective kinsmen, a growth in the beliefs about individual salvation, all helped promote commemorative foundations" (Hopkins, *Death and Renewal,* 253). Dolansky explains that with regards to the Paternalia there were Romans who "had no ancestral lines to speak of whatsoever" (Hopkins, *Death and Renewal,* 253). Because these people had no ancestors to connect to they would "depend on *collegia* rather than family members" (Dolansky, "Honouring the Family Dead on the Parentalia," 146). In fact, Dolansky points out "individuals turned to social groups such as *collegia* when traditional worship of the *manes* began to decline at the end of the republic and family members could no longer be trusted to see to funerary rites" (Dolansky, "Honouring the Family Dead on the Parentalia," 146).

concrete and practical questions concerning membership size, the social significance and benefits of membership, and the policing of membership…"[584] Based upon the epigraphic evidence of hero associations, some observations about the Christ-hero association can be made.

1.) The Corinthian community did not fine members for misbehavior like the *Herakliastai* and other associations, but it did exclude them from meals (1 Cor. 5:11) and a faction felt that in extreme circumstances members could be excluded from their group (1 Cor. 5:5).[585] Building on Ebel's research, the Corinthian association was similar to the *Iobacchae* association who excluded disruptive members from meetings and by extension meals[586] and would temporary exclude members from the association who did not pay their monthly contribution[587] presumably with the effect that if they could not come up with funds for the monthly contribution they would not be allowed back. In addition, although Ebel explains that the serious disciplinary action of forcing out a member for their lifetime to protect the community was not found in other associations.[588] If this severe penalty is placed in the context where the Corinthian Christ-hero association was attempting to shift their group's low status to a higher status in the greater Corinthian community, as this study argues, then they would presumably <u>not</u> want members that were perceived in greater Corinthian society as inappropriate. This sensitivity to membership was also found in the *Iobacchae* association where

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[584] John Kloppenborg, "Membership Practices in Pauline Christ Groups," *Early Christianity* 4 (Mohr Siebeck, 2013) 188-189. See also James Hanges, '1 Corinthians 4:6 and the Possibility of Written Bylaws in the Corinthian Church,' *JBL* 117 (1998): 275-98.

[585] Kloppenborg mentions the member's expulsion in 1 Cor. 5:5. (Kloppenborg, "Membership Practices," 186-187). See also Richard Ascough, "'Map-maker, Map-maker, Make Me a Map': Re-describing Greco-Roman "Elective Social Formations,'" in *Introducing Religion: Festschrift for Jonathan Z. Smith,* ed. Willi Braun and Russell T. McCutcheon (London: Equinox, 2008) 68-84. Craig de Vos, *Church and Community Conflicts: The Relationships of the Thessalonian, Corinthian, and Philippian Churches with Their Wider Civic Communities* (Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 168. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1999).

[586] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 148.

[587] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 149.

[588] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 202. It is important to mention that Ebel mentions this exclusion is difficult for her to interpret because, according to her, she does not find this type of behaviour in other associations (Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden*, 189.)

members were thoroughly screened before being allowed to join.

2.) The Corinthian community members were using law courts to settle disputes (1 Cor. 6:1), similar to the *Iobacchae* association.[589]

3.) The *Iobacchae*, *cultores Dianae at Antinoi*, and *Herakliastai* associations all had entrance fees[590] and monthly contributions that went towards meals and/or funeral costs, however, the statement in 1 Cor.16:2, "On the first day of every week, each one of you should set aside a sum of money in keeping with your income, saving it up, so that when I come no collections will have to be made" (κατὰ μίαν σαββάτου ἕκαστος ὑμῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ τιθέτω θησαυρίζων ὅ τι ἐὰν εὐοδῶται, ἵνα μὴ ὅταν ἔλθω τότε λογεῖαι γίνωνται.) For this group, they were no entrance fees or monthly contributions, but to put aside what they could. Setting aside funding is maybe because of their personal financial restraints which meant they could not handle fixed fees.[591] Ebel also explains that the unrestricted

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[589] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 202. Ebel, however, explains Paul wants the Corinthians to use an internal court and uses eschatologically motivated reasoning in his explanation (Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden*, 189). Further, she argues that by the Corinthians including a wider sense of community outside of the jurisdiction of the association, Corinthian Christians were a unique community (Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden*, 202). Ebel makes another distinction with regards to the Corinthian community opposed to other associations. She argues that family language, like "brother," is not found in other associations (Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden*, 211). In using family-based language, the Christian community creates a stronger sense of community, than was found in other associations, thus creating a distinction between Christians and non-Christians (Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden*, 212). This study argues that this language is not unique for associations and would not create a stronger community over other communities (see Philip Harland in "Familial Dimensions of Group Identity: "Brothers" (*adelfoi*) in Associations of the Greek East," *JBL* 124/3 (2005) 513.) It seems that Ebel's main motivation for this chapter is to show, through weekly meals, expulsion from the community, law court disputes, and familial language that the Corinthian Christian association was unique from other first and second century CE associations. See also Justin Hardin, 'Decrees and Drachmas at Thessalonica: An Illegal Assembly in Jason's House (Acts 17.1-10a),' *NTS* 52 (2006): 29-49. Hans-Josef, Klauck, *The Religious Context of Early Christianity: A Guide to Graeco-Roman Religions* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000). Halsey Royden, *The Magistrates of the Roman Professional Collegia in Italy from the First to the Third Century A.D.* (Biblioteca di studi antichi 61. Pisa: Giardini, 1988).

[590] Kloppenborg explains that baptism acted as a "membership marker" with different people being baptized by different agents of baptism creating "subsets of Christ-followers." (Kloppenborg, "Membership Practices in Pauline Christ Groups," 207-208). Kloppenborg argues, that although there is no evidence, the Corinthian community would have had a "group portrait" or membership lists to keep track of the members and who contributed to the association (Kloppenborg, "Membership Practices in Pauline Christ Groups," 210).

[591] Kloppenborg in his essay, "Precedence at the Communal Meal in Corinth," explains that recently scholars have made the claim that the Corinthian membership was too poor to pay for their membership. To be clear this conclusion is reached in this study. However, Kloppenborg states:

> Epigraphical evidence from Achaia and the surrounding area shows that Greeks had been engaged in the collection of funds in support of their own club banquets, honorific practices, and burial of their own members

access of this association allowed a heterogeneity based upon gender and status.[592] As associations

had a political significance, some people may be "put off" by the Corinthian communities'

unrestricted access.[593] The second verse which is related to membership fees is 1 Cor. 16:3, "And

for more than four hundred years by the time Paul arrived. It beggars imagination to suppose that Corinthian Christ followers were unaware or, or incompetent in, such practices, especially since some of those groups collecting such funds were resident aliens (metics)—precisely the kinds of persons who were likely in Pauline groups. The issues for the Corinthians and for their letter to Paul was not about how to collect funds, but concerned (1) collecting funds for non-local group, (2) how to ensure that such funds collected for that purpose would be delivered to their intended recipients, and (3) how to guarantee that the Corinthian gift would be duly credited upon its delivery. That is, the concern that the Corinthians expressed derived not from not knowing how to collect money, but from the anomalous nature of the collection. (Kloppenborg, "Precedence at the Communal Meal in Corinth," 190).

This evidence is a good example of how a different theoretical model will elicit a different conclusion from the data. For Kloppenborg, he is looking at the meal in 1 Cor. 11:17-34 as a full dinner at a fully functional voluntary association where not paying membership dues to such an organization would be difficult to reconcile for the members. Kloppenborg states this opinion, "This is not, as some suggest, because the Corinthian group was still in its infancy and had not yet established a stable discipline; instead, it was simply a common feature of association meals, which were, as indicated above, sites of intense competition" (Kloppenborg, "Precedence at the Communal Meal in Corinth," 203). These types of organizations existed as hero cults (although to be clear the more refined hero based association is not mentioned by Kloppenborg) and in the epigraphic examples provided benefactors and membership fees were described in fact in one inscription attributed to "Associates of Echelos" if the members did not pay dues on time their names were to be inscribed on a monument with both the principle amount owing and the calculated interest. (Ascough, Harland, Kloppenborg, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World,* 9). Using data from full-fledged associations like Echelos, will bring the research to these conclusions. However, this study is not analysing the Lord's Meal as a banquet meal, rather as a heroic *theoxenia/enagazien* ritual placed within Corinthian context. When applying this model to the data, an entirely different conclusion is reached – this group was not fully formed, it did not have a developed sanctuary, it was still "in its infancy," it did not have a formalized hierarchical structure, and rituals were still localized. This group was poor that is why the provision is offered in 1 Cor. 16:2.

[592] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 215-216.

[593] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 216. Ebel further explains that this unrestricted access may be reflected in the conflict between rich and poor at the meal (Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 216). The absence of an entrance fee and no monthly contributions into the Christian community were factors for joining the community, along with voluntary payments based upon member financial ability (Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 217). The greater frequency of meetings, and the meetings being more of a part of the integral life of the individual member would have awaken a deeper sense of solidarity to the Christian community as opposed to other groups (Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 217). Kloppenborg in "Membership Practices in Pauline Christ Groups," argues that the conclusion of no monthly dues is premature and there is no direct evidence which supports no monthly dues in 1 Corinthians (John Kloppenborg, "Membership Practices in Pauline Christ Groups," Early Christianity 4 (Mohr Siebeck, 2013) 186).

A difference that Ebel highlights is the contribution of collections for the Jerusalem community opposed to just collections for the local association (Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 217). Ebel explains that the regional networking of the Christian congregations was unusual from other associations, in that a member of the Dionysus association in Athens could not show a membership card to the Dionysian association in Rome and then automatically become a member (Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 217). Although, transferred membership may be true for the *Iobakchen* association, the same cannot be said of the *cultores Dianae et Antinoi* association where showing allegiance to the Roman Empire through club membership could protect a person if charged with causing political unrest. Further, Ascough has shown that voluntary associations were trans-local, and this is not a distinctive feature of Christianity (Ascough, "Translocal Relationships among Voluntary Associations and Early Christianity," 241).

when I arrive, whomever you approve by letter, I will send them with your gift to Jerusalem" (ὅταν δὲ παραγένωμαι, οὓς ἐὰν δοκιμάσητε δι᾽ ἐπιστολῶν, τούτους πέμψω ἀπενεγκεῖν τὴν χάριν ὑμῶν εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ). This passage reflects the interrelationship of multilocal hero cults. An example of the interrelationship of a multilocal cult is the cult of Hippolytos. This cult was associated with Troizen where priests were appointed for life and where young girls would offer part of their hair to Hippolytos before marriage.[594] It was a very well established cult with archaeological evidence dating to the late eighth century BCE.[595] However, by the second century CE, there was already two other long established cults to Hippolytos besides the Troizen cult, one in Sparta and one in Athens. The cult at Athens is of particular interest because it contained a funerary *mnema* on the southern slopes of the acropolis where on a clear day the Troizen's could view the *mnema*.[596] On the surface the Athenian funerary *mnema* may seem like a direct insult to the Troizen's as they refused to point out Hippolytos' grave and believed that he ascended directly to heaven and transformed into a constellation.[597] Although, rather than disregarding or trying to counteract the Athenian myth

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Ebel highlights that the evaluation of associations and how religious aspects shaped the associations differently was already compared between the *Iobakchen* and the *cultores Dianae et Antinoi* associations. In comparison to the Christian community, on the one hand, the *Iobakchen* association had five deities present at the meal and this is comparable to the Christian meal (Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 218). On the other hand, the *cultores Dianae et Antinoi* association had no mention of a religious feature to their burial practices where the Christian community were passionate about Christ's resurrection (Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 218). Ebel explains that Christian communities by foregoing any approvals for membership created a greater intensity by bringing the member's entire life into the community (Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 218). The language surrounding resurrection is not good indicator of a more religious community. The epiphany evidence which will be presented later in this study reveals that hero association members had a close connection (i.e., religious connection) to their affiliated heroes. The Christian community by including aspects of a member's life outside of the meeting times of their association makes for a more intense relationship among its members is also not a good indicator of a distinctive feature. The *Iobakchen* association had a difficult admission process presumably because the stakes were high for the club and its members. The members received political and social status by belonging to the association that they leveraged to gain political offices in the greater Athenian society. If a member was forced out or excluded, it would obviously have implications for their political lives outside of the association. Thus, other aspects of an *Iobakchen* member's life would be influenced by that member's inclusion or exclusion to the association.

[594] Jonathan M. Hall, "Beyond the Polis: The Multilocality of Heroes," *Ancient Greek Hero Cult* Ed. Robin Hagg (Jonsered: Paul Astroms Forlag, 1999) 51.

[595] Hall, "Beyond the Polis," 51.

[596] Hall, "Beyond the Polis," 51.

[597] Hall, "Beyond the Polis," 51.

associated with the grave site, the Troizens compliment their myth to the Athenian one. This complimenting of myths expressed a relationship of diplomacy to the extent where in 480 BCE the Troizens sheltered Athenian refugees.[598] The hero cult of Hippolytos "articulates the dynamic relationships that exist between several cities."[599] Viewed through the relationship between the Hippolytos hero cults at Troizen and Athens the passage in 1 Cor. 16:3 is reflective of another dynamic relationship, one between the Christ-hero cults at Corinth and Jerusalem. The "gift" (τὴν χάριν) given to Jerusalem makes sense within this hero cult context.

4.) Desire for membership into the Christian community was important for certain groups. Women in particular are mentioned in 1 Corinthians. Although membership of both sexes is found in ancient associations, women's membership was usually mediated by the father or husband or if a woman attained an office (e.g., priestess), this was usually a tribute to the cult and not the women.[600] There were also women only associations, but these were especially designed to merge with priestesses.[601] Ebel explains the subordinate roles of women in ancient society explain the controlled role of women in associations.[602] It would be very difficult for women and their families to contribute monies to an association and if this barrier was also the case with the Corinthian Christ-hero association (which it was not), then it would force them to abandon being part of the Corinthian community.[603] The *Herakliastai* association shows that contributions did not need to come in the form of money, but food could also be used as a way of paying dues. By contrast, wealthy and self-employed women could be patrons and benefactors.[604]

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[598] Hall, "Beyond the Polis," 52.
[599] Hall, "Beyond the Polis," 52.
[600] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 218.
[601] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 218.
[602] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 218.
[603] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 218.
[604] Ebel uses as *Acts* 16 where Lydia exemplifies a female leader who supported the Christian community (Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 219). If we combine female leadership with Ebel's explanation that wealthy

5.) When compared to the *Herakliastai* association and its focus on food for meals, the

Corinthian community also showed the importance of food for the group. Ebel explains, as the

Corinthian community's meals offered free participation, and were frequently held, this allowed

people from the lower strata of society to eat together.[605] As most ancient associations had offices

which created distinction among the members, and could become unattainable to the poorer people,

the Corinthian community had an alternative model which created a more inclusive environment for

members.[606] This model was based upon portion size which was equal to all members of the

Corinthian community.[607] Ebel argues that this practice of equal portions was distinct from other

associations where people of privilege, designated through the offices, receive greater portions of

food, and other members receive equal portions. Ebel explains equal portions may be because the

Corinthians were not a fully developed association, with official offices, as they have members who

are in conflict arguing about portions of food.[608] Ebel's alternate model based upon equal portions

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members give more generously to the meal (Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 219), it is possible that wealthy women were benefactors and contributors to the meal.

[605] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 219. See also Richard Ascough, "The Completion of a Religious Duty: The Background of 2 Cor 8.1-15', *NTS* 42 (1996): 584-99. Philip Harland, 'Connections with Elites in the World of the Early Christians,' in *Handbook of Early Christianity: Social Science Approaches,* ed. Anthony J. Blasi, Paul-André Turcotte, and Jean Duhaime (Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press, 2002) 385-408. Edwin Judge, *The Social Pattern of Christian Groups in the First Century: Some Prolegomena to the Study of New Testament Ideas of Social Obligation* (London: Tyndale, 1960). John Kloppenborg, 'Egalitarianism in the Myth and Rhetoric of Pauline Churches,' in *Reimagining Christian Origins: A Colloquium Honoring Burton L. Mack,* ed. Elizabeth A. Castelli and Hal Taussig (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1996) 247-63. John Kloppenborg, 'Status und Wohlötigkeit bei Paulus und Jakobus,' in *Von Jesus zum Christus—Christologische Studien: Festgabe für Paul Hofmann zum 65. Geburtstag,* ed. Rudolf Hoppe and Ulrich Busse (BZNW 93. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1998) 127-54. John Kloppenborg, 'Patronage Avoidance in the Epistle of James', 1999 *HvTSt* 55: 755-94. Bruce Longenecker, *Remembering the Poor: Paul, Poverty, and the Greco-Roman World* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010). Harry Maier, *Picturing Paul in Empire: Imperial Image, Text and Persuasion in Colossians, Ephesians, and the Pastoral Epistles* (London and New York: T & T Clark, 2013). Markus Öhler, 'Die Jerusalemer Urgemeinde im Spiegel des antiken Vereinswesens,' *NTS* 51 (2005): 393-415. Peter Pilhofer, 'Die ökonomische Attraktivität christlicher Gemeinden der Frühzeit,' in *Die frühen Christen und ihre Welt: Greifswalder Aufsätze 1996-2001* (WUNT 145. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002) 194-216. Franz Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (Leipzig: Teubner. Repr. Leipzig:Zentral-Antiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1967).

[606] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 219.

[607] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 219.

[608] Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 180. Kloppenborg in "Precedence at the Communal Meal in Corinth," argues that the conflict surrounding portions is not because the group was still in its "infancy and had not yet established a stable discipline" rather portion conflict was a common feature found in associations (Kloppenborg, "Precedence at the Communal Meal in Corinth," 203).

was not a distinctive model, but one that Plutarch argues is the best model for meals.

In Plutarch's *Moralia Quaestiones Convivales* the character Hagias argues that when people eat together they should not get equal portions, but rather get portions based upon their appetite and how much they can eat.[609] Hagias uses two hero based examples to form his argument. The first, based upon Homer, is when the equal portions were given to the soldiers this actually reflected the nature of kings who left people somewhat hungry.[610] The second, based upon Pindar, reflects true heroes, ἥρωες αἰδοίαν ἐμίγνυντ᾿ ἀμφὶ τράπεζαν θαμά "reverent heroes often mingle on both sides table" which proves, according to Hagias, that heroes mingled together and eat out of the same dish and did not divide up portions.

Lamprias, the other character, presents the opposite argument, that equal portions brought people together as they are not fighting for food. Using religious and public feasts, Lamprias argued that equal portions based upon ancient customs causes people to recover frugality:

> τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦ λόγου καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰδημόσια δεῖπνα πρὸς μερίδα γίγνεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀφέλειαν καὶ καθαριότητα τῆς διαίτης: ὥσθ᾿ ὁ τὴν νέμησιν ἀναλαμβάνων ἅμα συνανασῴζει τὴν εὐτέλειαν.

> The sure indicator of my argument is that presently with sacrifices and festivals dividing meal portions reflects a simplicity and purity way of life: so people can recover and take up their thriftiness.[611]

Lamprias also argues for equal division of food based upon property laws, and that openly sharing

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On another note, it is important to stress, that Ebel understands that there were wealthy members who could give generously to the quality and quantity of food provided at the meal that in turn would have attracted people who were financially worse off (1 Cor. 11:20-22). (Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 219).

[609] Plutarch, *Moralia*, trans. Gregorius N. Bernardakis. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1892) 255.

[610] Sven-Tage Teodorsson in *A Commentary on Plutarch's Table Talks Vol. 1 Books 1-3* states this comment about equal portions was a "humorous exaggeration. The moderate and frugal living of the Homeric heroes were generally held in respectful admiration." Further, Teodorsson states that there is no passage in Homer which refers to equal portions and it is possible that Hagias is referring to an commentary. (Sven-Tage Teodorsson, *A Commentary on Plutarch's Table Talks Vol. 1 Books 1-3* (Sweden: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1989) 270).

[611] Plutarch, *Moralia*, trans. Gregorius N. Bernardakis. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1892) 258.

may not be appropriate using the example if a person brings his girlfriend.[612] Plutarch is obviously

arguing for equal portions in meals. In this way, the equal portions were not so much a distinctive

practice in 1 Corinthians, but rather one way in which meals could be distributed.[613] As equal

portions applies to this study, where 1 Cor. 11:17-34 is understood as a *theoxenia/enageizein* ritual,

rather than a banquet meal, framed within a hero association context, the equal portions could be

reflective of a first century CE practice referred to by Plutarch in Lamprias' argument as presently

being used in rituals associated with sacrifices and festivals.

 6.) There were differences between the benefactors of the Corinthian community and those of

other ancient associations. The Corinthian community did not give inscriptions or banquets to

donors or for special events like a birth of a child or heroized benefactors, rather the Corinthian

community recognized members who make significant contributions and subordinate themselves to

that member (1 Cor. 16:15-18, "Now, brothers and sisters, you know that members of the household

of Stephanas were the first converts in Achaia, and they have devoted themselves to the service of

the saints. I urge you to put yourselves at service of such people, and of everyone who works and

toils with them. I rejoice at the coming of Stephanas and Fortunatus and Achaicus …).[614] Thus the

Corinthian community both inwardly and outwardly recognized the member[615] similar to the

Herakliastai, *Iobacchae,* and the Xenon shrine in Lydia.

 7.) The Corinthian association like the *cultores Dianae at Antinoi* and funerary associations were

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[612] Plutarch, *Moralia*, 258.

[613] Kloppenborg uses Plutarch's *Moralia Quaestiones Convivales* in his paper, "Precedence at the Communal Meal in Corinth" to show conflicts at meals.

[614] Kloppenborg, "Precedence at the Communal Meal in Corinth," 220. See also David Downs, *The Offering of the Gentiles: Paul's Collection for Jerusalem in Its Chronological, Cultural, and Cultic Contexts* (WUNT II/248. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008). James Hanges, *Paul, Founder of Churches: A Study in Light of the Evidence for the Role of 'Founder-Figures' in the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (WUNT 292; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012).

[615] Kloppenborg, "Precedence at the Communal Meal in Corinth," 220. Ebel explains recognizing members would have attracted more middle class people, such as Lydia a dealer in purple cloth, who could occupy senior positions (Ebel, *Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 220).

concerned for their dead (1 Cor. 15:12-52). Mortuary concerns are clearly portrayed in the created rite, baptism on behalf of the dead.

8.) Roleplaying was found in the *Iobacchae* association in connection to meals, and, as this study will argue, was found in the Corinthian community where they vicariously represented (roleplaying) their dead ancestors in order to be baptized (1 Cor. 15:29).[616]

9.) The way that 'the association of the Heroists, describes themselves, and then shortened their title to 'the Heroists' is reminiscent of the phrase 'body of Christ' (1 Cor. 12:27, "Now you are the body of Christ and individually members of it."). Furthermore, fellowship language is associated with the group (1 Cor. 10:16a "fellowship in the blood of Christ").

In comparison to other ancient associations, the Corinthian Christ-hero association had similar penalties, accessed law courts, distributed equal portions of food at meals, roleplayed, had concern for their dead, and used similar language to describe their group. The difference between the Christ-hero group and the other associations was the openness on the financial amount needed for monthly contributions, women could play a more significant role, and the subordination and servitude of its members to outstanding community members. Hero worship in the form of formal associations were located throughout the Greek world, and it is not hard to presume that the Christ-hero followers had formed into a heroic community of worship similar to other ancient associations.[617]

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[616] Vicariousness in a funerary context will be explained further in chapter five of this study.

[617] John Kloppenborg in "Greco-Roman Thiasoi, The Ekklesia at Corinth, and Conflict Management," makes comparisons with the "Corinthian *ekklesia*" and other "models of associations" (John Kloppenborg, "Greco-Roman Thiasoi, the Ekklēsia at Corinth, and Conflict Management", in Cameron, Ronald Dean, and Merrill P. Miller, eds. Redescribing Paul and the Corinthians. No. 5. (Society of Biblical Lit, 2011) 189). Kloppenborg briefly surveys "basic general models" and discovers that the *ekklesia* is not a good fit (Kloppenborg, "Greco-Roman Thiasoi, the Ekklēsia at Corinth, and Conflict Management", 204). Before concluding that this means the *ekklesia* is *sui generis* though, he explains that it is through how the conflicts are managed that helps to explain comparisons (Kloppenborg, "Greco-Roman Thiasoi, the Ekklēsia at Corinth, and Conflict Management", 205). By analyzing conflicts Kloppenberg concludes the Corinthian *ekklesia* were "not up to something new" (Kloppenborg, "Greco-Roman Thiasoi, the Ekklēsia at Corinth, and Conflict Management", 216) rather they would appear as a "small cult association" (*collegia*) (Kloppenborg, "Greco-Roman Thiasoi, the Ekklēsia at Corinth, and Conflict Management", 216). Kloppenborg also adds that they would have had a "Judean component which dictated time and use of the Tanakh." (Kloppenborg, "Greco-Roman Thiasoi, the Ekklēsia at Corinth, and Conflict Management", 216).

Kloppenberg also identifies another distinction of the Corinthian *ekklesia*, that of not incorporating meat into the meal. Borrowing from Stowers' work, Kloppenborg explains that by only focusing on bread and wine in their meal this would have changed the social dynamics away from males, elites, and descendants, and created a more equal meal (Kloppenborg, "Greco-Roman Thiasoi, the Ekklēsia at Corinth, and Conflict Management", 215). Thus, "a new order in which gender and status ranking were somewhat less pronounced than other groups" (Kloppenborg, "Greco-Roman Thiasoi, the Ekklēsia at Corinth, and Conflict Management", 216). As this study has already argued, the Lord's Meal ritual best fits with the heroic *theoxenia* and *enagizein* rituals which could have possibly created a more equal ritual, especially with groups concerned with the financial responsibility associated with rituals, but this study will argue in the context of descendancy was one feature which was central to the group's formation.

Gunnel Ekroth in "Heroes and Hero Cults" writes, "Hero-cult was also the prime focus for private cult associations, known primarily from the epigraphical record. The members, *orgeones*, often owned the shrine and gathered there to sacrifice to their hero. The *orgeones* of Egretes, a hero known only from one inscription (LS 47), leased his *hieron* and other buildings to a private person for ten years, on the condition that the tenant would look after the precinct, including the trees growing there, and that the members would have access to the shrine for their annual celebration. This sacrifice ended with a meal in the sanctuary, which was equipped with a kitchen, a small stoa, couches, and tables." (Gunnel Ekroth, "Heroes and Hero Cults," *A Companion to Greek Religion* Ed. D. Ogden (Wiley-Blackwell, 2007) 100-115).

On associations see also S. Aneziri, *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten im Kontext der hellenistischen Gesellschaft: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte, Organisation und Wirkung der hellenistischen Technitenvereine* (Historia Einzelschriften 163, 542. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003). Richard Ascough, *What Are They Saying about the Formation of Pauline Churches?* (New York and Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1998). Richard Ascough, "Benefaction Gone Wrong: The "Sin" of Ananias and Sapphira in Context,' in *Text and Artifact in the Religions of Mediterranean Antiquity: Essays in Honour of Peter Richardson,* ed. Stephen G. Wilson and Michel Desjardins, (Studies in Christianity and Judaism 9. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000) 91-110. Richard Ascough, "The Thessalonian Christian Community as a Professional Voluntary Association,' *JBL* 119 (2000): 311-28. Richard Ascough, "Matthew and Community Formation," in *The Gospel of Matthew in Current Study: Studies in Memory of William G. Thompson, S.J.,* ed. David E. Aune (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2001) 96-126. Richard Ascough, 'Greco-Roman Philosophic, Religious, and Voluntary Associations,' in *Community Formation in the Early Church and the Church Today,* ed. Richard N. Longenecker (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2002) 3-24. Richard Ascough, *Paul's Macedonian Associations: The Social Context of Philippians and 1 Thessalonians* (WUNT II 161. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003). Richard Ascough, 'Voluntary Associations and the Formation of Pauline Churches: Addressing the Objections,' in *Vereine, Synagogen und Gemeinden im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien,* ed. Andreas Gutsfeld and Dietrich-Alex Koch (STAC 25. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006) 149-83. Richard Ascough, 'Paul's "Apocalypticism" and the Jesus-Associations at Thessalonica and Corinth,' in Redescribing Paul and the Corinthians, ed. Ron Cameron and Merrill P. Miller (ECL 5. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 2011) 151-86. Richard Ascough, 1 and 2 Thessalonians: Constructing the Christ Group at Thessalonike (Phoenix Guides to the New Testament. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2014). Richard Ascough, 'Re-describing the Thessalonian's "Mission" in Light of Graeco-Roman Associations', 2014 NTS 60/1: 61-82. John Barclay, 'Money and Meetings: Group Formation among Diaspora Jews and Early Christians,' in *Vereine, Synagogen und Gemeinden im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien,* ed. Andreas Gutsfeld and Dietrich-Alex Koch (STAC 25. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006) 113-28. Alicia Batten, 'The Moral World of Greco-Roman Associations,' 2007 *SR* 36: 135-51. Andreas Bendlin, '"Eine Zusammenkunft um der religio willen ist erlaubt…"? Zu den politischen und rechtlichen Konstruktionen von (religiöser) Vergemeinschaftung in der römischen Kaiserzeit,' in *Die verrechtlichte Religion: Der Öffentlichkeitsstatus von Religionsgemeinschaften,* ed. Hans G. Kippenberg and Gunnar Folke Schuppert (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005) 65-107. Hendrik Bolkestein, *Wohltätigkeit und Armenpflege im vorchristlichen Altertum: Ein Beitrag zum Problem 'Moral und Gesellschaft* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1939). Sebastian Brock, 'Regulations for an Association of Artisans from the Late Sasanian or Early Arab Period,' in *Transformations of Late Antiquity: Essays for Peter Brown,* ed. Philip Rousseau and Manolis Papoutsakis (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009) 51-62. Eva Ebel, 'Regeln von der Gemeinschaft für die Gemeinschaft? Das Aposteldekret und antike Vereinsregeln im Vergleich,' in *Das Aposteldekret und das antike Vereinswesen*, ed. Markus Öhler (WUNT 280. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011) 317-39. Paul Foucart, *Des associations religieuses chez les Grecs: Thiases, èranes, orgéons, avec le texte des inscriptions relatives à ces associations* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1873). Philip Harland, 'Honouring the Emperor or Assailing the Beast: Participation in Civic Life among Associations (Jewish, Christian and Other) in Asia Minor and the Apocalypse of John,' *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 77 (2000): 99-121. Philip Harland, *Associations, Synagogues and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society* (Minneapolis: Fortress. Kitchener, ON: Philip A. Harland, 2nd edn, 2013, available online at http://philipharland.com/associations). Philip Harland, *Dynamics of Identity in the World of the Early Christians: Associations, Judeans, and Cultural Minorities* (New York and London: Continuum and T & T Clark, 2009). Jim Harrison, 'Paul's House Churches and the Cultic Associations', 1999 *Reformed Theological Review* 58: 31-

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Sozialdynamik im Urchristentum durch Widerspruche zwischen Selbstverständnis und Sozialstruktur', *In Other Words: Essays on Social Science*

Deconstructing the House-Church Model: Understanding Associations as Networks

Richard Last's article, "The Neighborhood (vicus) of the Corinthian ekklēsia: Beyond Family-Based Descriptions of the First Urban Christ Believers," can be used to help locate the Christ-hero followers in Corinth and understand how the group formed around networks. Last argues that although there is research to suggest that "alternative types of networks, such as occupational and neighborhood linkages," should be looked at to study the Corinthian group, "small house churches" are still used as the dominant model.[618] Citing Ascough, Last explains, "there is much evidence to suggest that Christ believers assembled in non-domestic space, … [further] that the Thessalonian ἐκκλησία was formed from occupational ties – a model that has been applied also to Corinth."[619]

Last's second part of his argument is applicable to this study:

> the basic unit of the Jesus movement in Corinth was the neighborhood, not the full city and not the family. There are several reasons to shift focus from understanding a local population of Christ-believers as a series of family networks across a city to conceptualizing it as a single neighborhood-based network. First, people tended to join Greco-Roman associations, including Judean-deity associations, based partially on their proximity to the group's meeting place(s). Second, economically modest collegiati often did not invite their spouses, children and household dependents to join their associations because that would carry financial implications (i.e., membership dues and other expected fees from multiple members of a single household) that many non-elite households would find unmanageable. Finally, research is

[618] Richard Last, "The Neighborhood (vicus) of the Corinthian ekklēsia: Beyond Family-Based Descriptions of the First Urban Christ Believers," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 2016, Vol. 38(4) 401. See also Guy Labarre, and M.-Th. Le Dinahet, 'Le métiers du textile in Asie Mineure de l'époque hellénistique a l'époque impériale,' in *Aspects de l'artisanat du textile dans le monde méditerranée (Égypte, Grèce, Monde romain)* (Collection de l'Institut d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'antiquité 2: Lyon and Paris: Editions de Boccard, 1996) 49-115. Jinyu Liu, *Collegia Centonariorum: The Guilds of Textile Dealers in the Roman West* (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 34. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009).

[619] Last, "The Neighborhood (vicus) of the Corinthian ekklēsia," 401.

beginning to show that the Corinthian ἐκκλησία was smaller than previous estimates – somewhere around ten, perhaps. If these new estimates are accurate, then the local Corinthian group was too small for it to have been a series of six or seven house churches.[620]

Last explains that recruitment to the group, "would begin with street or neighborhood (vici) networks"[621] because, "everyday social engagements in cities generally centered on the various *domus, insulae*, shops, clubhouses, baths and workshops located within a given neighborhood (vicus)."[622] Using evidence from Egypt, the "Christ group's meeting-place were mills (μυλαί, Frag. 3, l. 105), a workshop (ἐργαστήριον, Frag. 4, l. 114), a network of potters (Frag. 3, ll. 106-107) and many houses. Conceivably, this ἐκκλησία primarily attracted workers and residents who lived on nearby streets."[623] This data, although Egyptian, is an example of non-house based models can help in our understanding of Christ follower formations.[624] There are other ways of understanding the relationships of the Christ followers. They may have rented spaces, and lived with non-Christ follower individuals.[625] Relationships where formed out of family ties, as well as "ethnic, commercial,

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[620] Last, "The Neighborhood (vicus) of the Corinthian ekklēsia," 401-402. Richard Last in his book *The Pauline Church and the Corinthian Ekklsia* argues not to specifically target types of associations (Last, *The Pauline Church and the Corinthian Ekklsia,* 213) like Yahweh associations or Herakles associations, rather, to look at associations as a whole. It should be assumed that this article (although specifically dealing with association networks) is implicitly understanding this is a general Greco-Roman association context. This study will use Last's network conclusions, but apply them specifically to hero associations.

[621] Last, "The Neighborhood (vicus) of the Corinthian ekklēsia," 413.

[622] Last, "The Neighborhood (vicus) of the Corinthian ekklēsia," 414. See also Bradly Billings, "From House Church to Tenement Church: Domestic Space and the Development of Early Urban Christianity—The Example of Ephesus," 2011 *Journal of Theological Studies* 62: 541-69. Wayne Meeks, 'Taking Stock and Moving On,' in *After the First Urban Christians: The Social-Scientific Study of Pauline Christianity Twenty-Five Years Later,* ed. Todd D. Still and David G. Horrell (London and New York: T & T Clark, 2009) 134-46. Markus Öhler, 'Das ganze Haus: Antike Alltagsreligiositat und die Apostelgeschichte', 2011 *ZNW* 102: 201-34. Peter Pilhofer, 'Ein andres Volk ohne Tempel. Die θιασοι der Dionysos-Verehrer', *Die frühen Christen und ihre Welt: Greifswalder Afusätze 1996-2001* (WUNT 145. Tübingen, 2002) 123-38. Callia Rulmu, 'Between Ambition and Quietism: The Socio-political Background of 1 Thessalonians 4,9-12', 2010 *Bib* 91: 393-417. Anders Runesson, *Origins of the Synagogue: A Socio-Historical Study* (Stockholm: Almquest & Wiksell, 2001). Anders Runesson, 'The Origins of the Synagogue in Past and Present Research—Some Comments on Definitions, Theories, and Sources,' *Studia Theologica—Nordic Journal of Theology* 58 (2003): 60-76. John Scheid, 'Communauté et communauté. Réflexions sur quelques ambiguïtés d'après l'exemple des thiases de l'Égypte romaine,' in *Les communautés religieuses dans le monde Gréco-Romain: Essais de définition,* ed. Nicole Belayche and Simon C. Mimouni (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études sciences religieuses 117. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003) 61-74.

[623] Last, "The Neighborhood (vicus) of the Corinthian ekklēsia," 414.

[624] Last, "The Neighborhood (vicus) of the Corinthian ekklēsia," 414.

[625] Last, "The Neighborhood (vicus) of the Corinthian ekklēsia," 414-415.

and cultic."[626]

Understanding how neighbourhoods formed also informs us how groups came together. Occupational guilds would get created once a neighbourhood had enough trade people associated with that occupation and then they would gradually inhabit the surrounding space.[627] For Last, Stephana's household (1 Cor. 16:15) is an example of a neighbourhood networks surrounding it.[628] With respects to recruitment outside of the immediate neighbourhood, Last explains:

> Apart from some exceptional ancient associations, clubs would presumably mostly recruit individuals who lived or worked near the club's meeting place(s). There is little warrant to imagine the small Jesus movement in Corinth to have included recruits from multiple neighborhoods in Corinth; venturing outside of Stephanas's *insula* and the adjacent ones attributes to the Christ group a status that is unusually elevated in comparison with typical clubs.[629]

Last provides an alternative model, one based upon neighbourhood networks, to understand the formation the Corinthian Christ followers. Based upon the evidence in this study, and Last's research, the formation of a 'neighbourhood-based network' focused around the Christ-hero assists our understanding of the development of the group.[630]

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[626] Last, "The Neighborhood (vicus) of the Corinthian ekklēsia," 415.

[627] Last, "The Neighborhood (vicus) of the Corinthian ekklēsia," 415.

[628] Last, "The Neighborhood (vicus) of the Corinthian ekklēsia," 416.

[629] Last, "The Neighborhood (vicus) of the Corinthian ekklēsia," 417.

[630] Last's article addresses the dynamic nature of group formation using networks as a way to capture membership. Brubaker uses a similar example (albeit less local) in his chapter, "Beyond Identity," where he discusses research conducted on the antislavery movement. Brubaker explains that the researchers analysed networks as "cross cultural as well as state boundaries and link particular places and particularistic claims to wider concerns." Connecting these networks to the Apartheid in South Africa, Brubaker states, "Particular groups moved in and out of cooperative arrangements within the overall network; conflict among opponents of the apartheid state was sometimes bitter, even deadly. As actors in the network shifted, the issues at stake were reframed." (Rogers Brubaker, "Beyond 'Identity,'" in *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004) 61-62).

Networks to understand group formation of the Christ-hero cult explains the separate "factions," and "contested authority" that we find in 1 Corinthians. We have a group beginning to form and as the group develops varying members move the 'group in and out of cooperative arrangements,' as people themselves move in and out of membership, possibly from a family centered group around a genos hero to more of a smaller association of ten members and then to a more developed hero. These networks extended beyond Corinth as multilocal members brought wider concerns to the group. The shifting status of the association in the greater Corinthian environment shifted the 'issues at stake' forcing a reframing of their hero Christ (for shifting context of Christ-hero in the high stakes of *aposynagogos* in the Gospel of John).

Ascough's essay on "Paul's Apocalypticism" explains that voluntary associations or even cult associations, as Kloppenborg refers to them, have three interconnecting functions, cultic,[631] social,[632] and funeral.[633] Although the main purpose of a voluntary association was not the burial of their dead members, "it is clear that death, burial, and memorial figured prominently in the collective lives of associated members."[634] Ascough rightly focuses upon the burial aspects to uncover the "social context of Paul's eschatological emphasis,"[635] but the funerary features can also be helpful in uncovering how the Christ-hero followers explored ancestry.

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[631] An aspect of cultic as group formation that relates to civic aspects (*polis*) is the exposure to the public that an association would negotiate. Interestingly, Kloppenborg addresses this public aspect with respect to banquets, "This suggests that as a public meal—many such banquets were held in *hestiatoria* associated with temples, in rented halls, or in *scholae* and in that sense was at least semi-public—, the function of the association's banquet was demonstrative or performative: the point was to dine and to be seen to be dining together." (John Kloppenborg, "Precedence at the Communal Meal in Corinth," *Novum Testamentum* 58 (2016) 175-176. Although, this study does not agree that the Lord's Meal was a banquet, as Kloppenborg proposes, the aspect of cultic function as a public performance should not be so easily dismissed. The evidence from the study suggests that the Corinthian Christ-hero association was "shifting its status and nature" in greater Corinthian society, so, in part, to be successful in that endeavor, they would need to be 'semi-public.'

[632] The social aspect can be framed in language of "family." Harland in "Familial Dimensions of Group Identity: "Brothers" (*adelfoi*) in Associations of the Greek East," writes "These Greco-Roman family ideals of solidarity, goodwill, affection, friendship, protection, glory, and honor would be the sorts of values that would come to the minds of those who drew on the analogy of family relationships within group settings. When a member of a guild called a fellow "brother," that member was (at times) expressing in down-to-earth terms relations of solidarity, affection, or friendship, indicating that the association was a second home." (Philip Harland in "Familial Dimensions of Group Identity: "Brothers" (*adelfoi*) in Associations of the Greek East," *JBL* 124/3 (2005) 513.)

[633] Richard Ascough, "Paul's 'Apocalypticism' and the Jesus Associations at Thessalonica and Corinth," in *Redescribing Paul and the Corinthians Society of Biblical Literature early Christianity and its Literature 5* (Society of Biblical Literature, 2011) 169.

[634] Ascough, "Paul's Apocalypticism", 151.

[635] Ascough, "Paul's Apocalypticism",151.

Chapter Five: The Corinthian Funerary Cultural Context and Baptism on behalf of the Dead Ritual

1 Corinthians has funerary language.[636] The cultural context of Corinth regarding heroes was already discussed in this study, what was implied within that context was Corinth had a distinctive chthonic element in its institutions and sanctuaries. In order to analyze the next ritual, "Baptism on behalf of the Dead" οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν (1 Cor. 15:29), this study needs to shift focus slightly away from the capital "C" context of ancient hero cults and into the small "c"[637] context of

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[636] 1 Corinthians has references to funerary rites, ancestry claims, and mortuary concerns. 1 Corinthians 5:1-5 describes a ceremony of ritual execration, a type of magical curse involving a "dynamistic ceremony," (David Aune, *Apocalypticism, Prophecy, and Magic in Early Christianity: Collected Essays,* (Baker Academic: Grand Rapids, 2006) 416-417) where a person in the community is handed "over to Satan for the destruction of his flesh." (Hans Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians: A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians,* trans. James W. Leitch, Ed. George W. MacRae, (Fortress Press: Philadelphia, 1975) 97). This curse is the same type of formula used in Greek magical papyri curses and is connected to spirits, supernatural beings, and graves. (Adela Yarbro Collins, "The Function of "Excommunication" in Paul," *Harvard Theological Review* 73 (1980) 255-256; Adolf Deismann, *Light from the Ancient East: The New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Greco-Roman World,* Trans. Lionel Strachan, (Hodder and Stoughton: Toronto, 1911) 304). The expulsion formula and ceremony may have involved funerary rites (Richard DeMaris, "Funerals and Baptisms, Ordinary and Otherwise: Ritual Criticism and Corinthian Rites" *Biblical Theology Bulletin: A Journal of Bible and Theology* 29 (1999) 31) and some scholars associate this magical ritual ceremony with baptism for the dead in 1 Cor. 15:29 (Conzelman *1 Corinthians* 276). Funerary meals or memorial meals for the dead, explained in 1 Cor. 8-10, provide another funerary reference. The Christ - association would gather for meals in tomb dining rooms (Charles, Kennedy, "The Cult of the Dead in Corinth," *Love and Death in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of Marvin H. Pope, (*Connecticut: Four Quarters Publishing Company, 1987) 229). These meals would be in connection to the Lord's Supper and are associated with the phrase "do this in remembrance of me" (1 Cor. 11:24) (Stanley K. Stowers, "Kinds of Myth, Meals, and Power: Paul and the Corinthians," *Redescribing: Paul and the Corinthians.* Ed. Ron Cameron and Merrill P. Miller. (Society of Biblical Literature Series 5, Atlanta: SBL) 136). Ancestry is closely connected to mortuary practices to legally legitimize citizenship and because there was a family obligation to care for the dead ancestor's spirits. 1 Cor. 10:1-13 makes reference to ancestors being baptized into Moses in relation to the Exodus and Numbers stories. Paul's references to speaking in tongues (1 Cor. 12 - 13) can be understood in relation the dead as Plutarch makes the same type of association between spirits of the dead and oracles (John Parrish, "Speaking in Tongues, Dancing with Ghosts: Redescription, Translation, and the Language of Resurrection," *Studies in Religion* 39(1) 41). Where Plutarch argues that "disembodied souls have the gift of prophecy just as embodied souls possess the faculty of memory." (Parrish, "Speaking in Tongues," 41). Lastly, Paul's reference to baptism for the dead in 1 Cor 15:29 which describes a ritual that the Corinthian Christ Association practiced (Richard DeMaris, "Corinthian Religion and Baptism for the Dead (1 Corinthians 15:29): Insights from Archaeology and Anthropology," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 114/4 (1995) 672). See also Richard Ascough, 'A Question of Death: Paul's Community Building Language in 1 Thessalonians 4:13-18,' *JBL* 123 (2004): 509-30. Kathleen Corley, *Maranatha: Women's Funerary Rituals and Christian Origins* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2010). Eric Rebillard, *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity,* trans. Elizabeth Trapnel Rawlings and Jeanine Toutier-Pucci. Cornell Studies in Classical Philology (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. ET of Religion et sépulture: L'Église, les vivants et les morts dans l'antiquité tardive [Civilisations et sociétés 15. Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2003] 2009). Walter Taylor, *Paul, Apostle to the Nations: An Introduction* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2012).

[637] As stated earlier, the wording of capital "C" and small "c" is influenced in part by Bruce Lincoln's essay on "Culture," where he makes the distinction between choice works and select genres with a capital C and a lower-case c as "communications circulating within a group," rather for this study the capital C is the greater hero cult context while the

funerals.

This section describes funerary evidence in Corinth, and explains that, because Corinth was re-founded in 44 BCE as a Caesarian colony (*Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis*), the Roman funerary practices will be the focus in this study. Finally, the application of the funerary evidence to the Christ-hero association will highlight the ancestry aspects of the cult.

Corinthian Funerary Evidence

DeMaris' cultural context analysis reveals that there was a common attitude in the Roman and Greek world with respect to death.[638] That common attitude included a concern with mourning and burial rites so much so that funeral clubs starting to develop in order to ensure proper burials were undertaken.[639] Tombs were elaborate and people paid a great deal of attention to the details of their

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small c is the funerary context as understood within the larger hero frame. (Bruce Lincoln, "Culture," in *Guide to the Study of Religion* Eds. Willi Braun and Russell T. McCutcheon (New York: T&T Clark, 2009) 412).

[638] DeMaris, "Corinthian Religion and Baptism," 663.

[639] DeMaris, "Corinthian Religion and Baptism," 664. This study focuses on the practices associated with Roman funerals, as Corinth was a Roman Colony with a dominant Roman culture. Corinth was based around the Roman "town-planning grid" called *centuriation* (Bruce Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth: The Influence of Secular Ethics and Social Change.* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdman's Publishing Company, 2001) 8). The cults represented in Corinth (i.e., of Asklepios, Zeus, Demeter and Kore, Aphrodite, and Apollo) were "recognized by the Romans and incorporated into their own worship at a time already in the past" (Bookidis, "Religion in Corinth," 161). Winter states that, "Corinth, therefore, was not a Greek city with a Roman facade. It was conceived of, and deliberately laid out, as a thoroughly Roman colony" (Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth,* 11). However, it is extremely important to understand that separating Greek, Jewish and Roman funerary data is messy, and although Roman data is used in the study as a way to understand elite funerary process, similar if not the same process was occurring amongst the Greeks and Jews.

Smith in "Fences and Neighbours: Some Contours of Early Judaism," writes, "In both theory and practice, taxonomies are determined by *monothetic* procedures and presuppositions, the quest for a single item of discrimination, the *sine qua non* – the *that without which* a taxon would not be itself but some other." (Jonathan Z. Smith, "Fences and Neighbours: Some Contours of Early Judaism," in *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982) 2). Smith explains a theory which replaces the monothetic one is a "polythetic mode of classification which surrendered the idea of perfect, unique, single differentia – a taxonomy which retained the notion of necessary but abandoned the notion of sufficient criteria for admission to a class." (Smith, "Fences and Neighbours," 4). This classification method essentially explains that "no one characteristic is definitive." (Smith, "Fences and Neighbours," 5). As this applies to this study, Smith uses funerary data to make his argument. Smith uses inscriptions from Rome, Beth She'arim, and Egypt ((Smith, "Fences and Neighbours," 15). The majority (three-quarters) are Greek with "the most fundamental form of self-identification, are of Greek or Latin derivation." (Smith, "Fences and Neighbours," 15). Based upon basic taxonomic features ascribed to Judaism, Smith attempts to sort the data to collect the Jewish samples. Smith concludes that his "picture is not neat, and there remain specific problems of interpretation. Nevertheless, it has been possible to rough out a preliminary map, a set of characteristics centered largely on the synagogue which may be used as one cluster toward the eventual polytheic classification of Judaism. What has animated these reflections and explorations is the conviction that students of religion need to abandon the notion of "essence," of a unique differentium for early Judaism as well as the socially impossible correlative of a community constituted by a

tombs, placing offerings to ensure that the dead had "adequate goods," having places for lamps, wall paintings, and a water well shaft (as found in one Corinthian tomb).[640] Expression for the world of the dead was also found in the Isthmia games (Panhellenic games) with the dead hero Palaimon-Melikertes, who had funerary rites associated with his cult.[641] Numismatic and architectural data provide evidence for the chthonic focus during the Roman Period.[642]

For DeMaris "the emergence during the middle of the first century CE of a religious outlook focused intensely on the dead and the world of the dead."[643] Because both inhumation and cremation happened simultaneously, DeMaris explains that this "emphasis on the dead" may have resulted from the conflicting or different burial practices in Roman Corinth in the first century CE.[644] Furthermore, the Corinthians were using jars, tile graves, and sarcophagi to bury their dead. For

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systematic set of beliefs. The cartography appears far messier. We need to map the variety of Judaisms, each of which appears as a shifting cluster of characteristics which vary over time." (Smith, "Fences and Neighbours," 18).

Rutgers in "Archaeological evidence for the interaction of Jews and non-Jews in Late Antiquity" concludes that for Roman Judaism there is no evidence for a distinct Jewish community with regards to burial practices. Rutgers states that the "most striking feature of the approximately 40 Jewish sarcophagi from Rome is the dominance of pagan or at least religiously neutral imagery, in some cases to such an extent that it is impossible today to determine if these sarcophagi were used for Jewish or for non-Jewish burials." (Leonard Rutger, "Archaeological evidence for the interaction of Jews and non-Jews in Late Antiquity," *American Journal of Archaeology* 96 (1992) 104). In some cases, like the menorah, which seems distinctly Jewish, Rutgers explains that it is impossible to tell if they were used in tombs of Jews, Samaritans, Christians, or pagans. (Rutger, "Archaeological evidence for the interaction of Jews and non-Jews in Late Antiquity,"105). As Roman workshops were often used to create the sarcophagi, Jewish tombs employed Roman motifs.[639] It seems that Rutgers would even question that idea of clusters that Smith mentions above, because the practices were so interrelated that it is too difficult to specifically sort into Roman, Greek, Jewish, and even later on into Christian tombs. I think interrelated practices builds to Green's point which explains what several scholars have concluded, that "the rabbis to be just as Hellenized and influenced by Roman culture as other local and Diasporic Jews," (Deborah Green, "Sweet Spices in the Tomb: An Initial Study on the use of Perfume in Jewish Burials." *Commemorating the Dead: Texts and Artifacts in Context. Studies of Roman, Jewish, and Christian Burials. Berlin* (2008) 153) and that they did not "have the power they asserted in their texts" to maintain their own customs rather they "adopted Hellenistic mores." (Green, "Sweet Spices in the Tomb," 153-154).

In Corinth, attempting to identify distinct groups (Roman, Greek, and Jew) is not a task that this study will undertake and instead will argue that there was a funerary process which the Corinthians followed. Smith, Rutgers, and Green also assist this study by highlighting that out of funerary practice we do not find a monthetic Jew, possibly phrased as a 'common Jew.' Accepting the premise that there is no distinctive Jewish practice in Corinth assists this study in two ways, (1) critics of this model may state no Jewish member would ever understand Christ like that and (2) the polythetic nature of classification allows for the argument that Corinth was distinct and so was the group that followed the Christ-hero – they do not fall in line with the template Christian that we read about in *Acts* 18.

[640] DeMaris, "Corinthian Religion and Baptism," 664.
[641] DeMaris, "Corinthian Religion and Baptism," 665.
[642] DeMaris, "Corinthian Religion and Baptism," 665-670.
[643] DeMaris, "Corinthian Religion and Baptism," 670.
[644] DeMaris, "Corinthian Religion and Baptism," 665-670.

DeMaris, this signaled that the Roman Corinthians used mixed practices.[645]

Ancient Greco-Roman society "devoted considerable resources to the dead, in part for fear of them…".[646] This fear can be seen in Corinth where Mary Walbank explains a scene in a tomb:

> One particular scene, … a pygmy is standing in a boat with two crossed sticks held in each hand. … sticks can ward off the Evil Eye. If this interpretation is correct, it is worth noting that the pygmy is facing inwards, which is a reminder not only that the burial place should remain undisturbed, but also that the dead were considered to be a source of supernatural, and often malign, influences from which the living had to be protected.[647]

Outside of this fear the "living were obliged to help the deceased become integrated into the realm of the dead"[648] A scene from the painted tomb in Corinth portrays an attractive Nilotic scenes, "divided by stylized lotus flowers and reeds, show small figures going about daily tasks, such as hauling nets and catching fish. … The dead may have been laid out temporary on the platform above the frescos, and the placing of the Nilotic scenes below would imply a journey across the water to life beyond the grave."[649] Walbank explains "such help was crucial, for the moment of physical death was thought to mark only the beginning of a long and sometimes difficult transition to the next world."[650]

Shear describes a tomb with painted walls constructed in the latter part of the first century CE and used sporadically in the second and third centuries up until the end of the fourth century where bodies where simply dumped.[651] The painted walls of the tomb were constructed in the first

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[645] DeMaris, "Corinthian Religion and Baptism," 676-677. When analyzing baptism for the dead in the "Corinthian Religious Environment," DeMaris uses Van Gennep's theory in the *Rites of Passage* to explain how baptism on behalf of the dead fits as a liminal stage of transitioning the dead into the afterlife, and explains the Christ-Association's practices as focused on transitioning recently deceased Christians into the "world of the dead."

[646] Richard DeMaris, *The New Testament in its Ritual World,* (Routledge, 2008) 65.

[647] Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 265.

[648] Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 265.

[649] Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 263.

[650] Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 263.

[651] T.L. Shear, "The Excavations of Roman Chamber Tombs at Corinth 1931," *AJA* 35 (1931), 436.

century.[652] In the tomb a well-shaft "where water is encountered,"[653] that the presence of a well

within the tomb may be because of the soul's need to drink once it reaches Hades, as "Orphic

fragments record ... and a fragment of Aristophanes."[654] Shear further relates that the soul's need for

water is usually provided with a jug of water or a cup placed close to the deceased mouth.[655] The well

was used "for many interments and it is probable that the presence of the well here is in some way

connected with the rites of the dead."[656] Shear also describes the murals found in the tomb where

tritons, dolphins, a vase, and wands[657] which he interprets as being associated with a Dionysiac

ritual.[658]

> The community between the living and the dead extended to family obligations as well where:

> Remembering the dead also involved visiting the grave, a visit that might include sacrifices and feasts held for them. A few Greek graves even had feeding tubes so that blood offerings and libations could be communicated directly to the deceased. Many of these practices appear to reflect a belief that the dead could benefit directly from the actions performed on their behalf, particularly at the grave.[659]

An epitaph expresses this expectation, "Aurelius Primitivus, who will tend my grave with piety and

will preserve my resting-place."[660] In Corinth, there is evidence of holes in top of graves for libations

to be poured:

> In the cover slab on the west grave, directly over the place where the skull would have been placed on the pillow, there was a hole for libations. Pouring food and drink onto the bones of the dead in the expectation of nourishing the spirit was common, albeit illogical, practice in the ancient world, but this is the only example of a hole for such libations found so far at Corinth.[661]

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[652] Shear, "The Excavations of Roman Chamber Tombs at Corinth 1931" 436.
[653] Shear, "The Excavations of Roman Chamber Tombs at Corinth 1931" 429.
[654] Shear, "The Excavations of Roman Chamber Tombs at Corinth 1931" 430.
[655] Shear, "The Excavations of Roman Chamber Tombs at Corinth 1931" 430.
[656] Shear, "The Excavations of Roman Chamber Tombs at Corinth 1931" 430.
[657] Shear, "The Excavations of Roman Chamber Tombs at Corinth 1931" 431.
[658] Shear, "The Excavations of Roman Chamber Tombs at Corinth 1931" 431.
[659] Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 257-258.
[660] CIL VI 17985a; Vidman, Sylloge 451.
[661] Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 257.

Furthermore, evidence is found in the painted tomb in Corinth:

> Interments in single graves and in the chamber tombs were almost always accompanied by, at least, a dish and drinking cup; providing sustenance for the dead was part of the burial ritual. In two of the Painted Tomb graves, round-mouth pitchers that would have held liquids were buried above the body, which suggests that they were used at the time of the burial, probably for libations, and then interred with the bodies. There is additional evidence for funeral meals. This is most apparent in the Painted Tomb, where vessels suitable for both cooking and serving a meal had been stored. The chamber tombs also preserve evidence for a commemorative cult of the dead.[662]

Blegen, et.al. found in the North Cemetery a particular vase, unguentarium, which had been specifically made for funeral use[663] which was presumably "of foreign origin."[664] Blegen also mentions deep bowls, lamps, terracotta figurines, coins, eggs, and sea shells.[665] Some lamps also seem to be imported but the bowls and cinerary urns are Corinthian made.[666] Furthermore, the local Corinthian lamps dated mid first century CE had an "Apollo head in profile; a crudely modeled lion; and a Dionysos with attendant and dog."[667] The graves that Blegen uncovers begin in 44 BC and do not extend past the first century CE.[668] Roman coins were found close to the head "and it may be assumed that they had been placed in the mouth of the dead."[669]

Walbank also explains that the Painted Tomb in Corinth was not for a single family, but was probably for a "group of individuals," and so collective tombs (i.e., tombs owned by a club or association) are located in Corinth as well.[670] Furthermore, there were different types of burials ranging from (roof) tile graves, sarcophagus, to cremation. Some other features of tombs in Corinth that are that there was a number of grave offerings found which mostly consisted of small glass

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[662] Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 272.
[663] C. Belen, H. Palmer, and R. Young, *Corinth: Volume 13, The North Cemetery* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1964) 82.
[664] Blegen, *Corinth,* 167.
[665] Blegen, *Corinth,* 82.
[666] Blegen, *Corinth,* 167.
[667] Blegen, *Corinth,* 168.
[668] Blegen, *Corinth,* 167.
[669] Blegen, *Corinth*, 84.
[670] Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 268.

bottles, jugs and lamps.[671] One grave had a figure of "Aphrodite wrapped in a cloak and seated on a billy goat.[672] Walbank explains that "It is not surprising to find Aphrodite, who was immensely popular in both Greek and Roman Corinth as a civic goddess, but she also had a chthonic role."[673]

Grave space was a commodity in part because of Roman laws that prescribed specific burial areas. Lack of grave space meant that sometimes people would bury their dead in already occupied spaces or would reuse graves.[674] If a sarcophagus was reused, but the newer body was too long, then the "foot of the grave was cut out and the legs extended through the aperture."[675] The older pots were either removed or left and new pots simply placed in with the new dead.[676] This particular kind of re-use was common in the Roman period.[677] Tile graves were used in the Roman period with both flat and curved tiles being used.[678] In addition to tile graves, cremation urns were also found.[679] In Corinth, "within the sarcophagi, earlier bones were either pushed aside to make room for the latest burial or else the corpse was laid on top. Some of the skulls were repositioned to make more space."[680] Walbank explains that there was "Only one sarcophagus did not hold multiple burials, but simply the fragmentary bones of an adolescent (age unknown) and fragments of a small child's skull."[681] She attributes the grave being left alone to "Two curse tablets were found with the bones, and this may account for the fact that the sarcophagus was not reused."[682] Walbank also finds "bronze coins often found in mouth or hand for Charon's fee"[683] talismans (gold foil coins with

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[671] Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 258.
[672] Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 258.
[673] Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 258.
[674] Blegen, *Corinth*, 71,78.
[675] Blegen, *Corinth,* 76.
[676] Blegen, *Corinth*, 76.
[677] Blegen, *Corinth,* 76.
[678] Blegen, *Corinth*, 75.
[679] Blegen, *Corinth,* 71.
[680] Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 271.
[681] Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 271.
[682] Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 271.
[683] Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 274.

impression of dove) – late Roman,[684] a bronze bell, and an iron nail – both 2nd century, as well as curse tablets – date unknown -all found in Corinthian tombs and were used to ward off evil and protection against supernatural.[685]

Use of *defixiones* (lead curse tablets) is mentioned in several of the findings.[686] *Defixiones* were inscribed on lead, papyrus, or wax[687] and were used to communicate the curse to "the powers of the underworld"[688] *Defixiones* were usually buried in graves, wells, or sacred waters.[689] Walbank finds curse tablets in connection to graves,[690] and Winter also mentions that "three tombs excavated near the National Highway north of Corinth" held curse tablets.[691]

The mortuary physical evidence provides part of the picture of Corinthian funerary practices and needs to combined with evidence from Roman funerary rites before "baptism on behalf the dead" can be fully analyzed.[692] It should be stressed that Roman funerary rites can be understood as 'redemptive hegemony' where the different class structures of Roman funerals (i.e., elite, freedman, slave) display the different levels of power in society. In this way, the elite funerals renew elite hegemony, by reminding citizens of the importantce of who just died through funeral processions. Thus, Roman funerals create and recreate hegemony in Corinth.[693]

The practices of the freedmen, slaves and the Corinthian Christ-hero association can be

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[684] Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 276 -277.

[685] Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 277.

[686] Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 277.

[687] Johnston, "Corinthian Medea and the Cult of Hera Akraia," 367.

[688] Johnston, "Corinthian Medea and the Cult of Hera Akraia," 367.

[689] Johnston "Corinthian Medea and the Cult of Hera Akraia," 367.

[690] Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 277-278.

[691] Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth*, 164.

[692] Bell would agree as she proposes that ritualization as a practice "should not be analyzed by being lifted out of the context formed by other ways of acting in a cultural situation." (Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 90.) Thus, the Corinthian Christ-hero Association as a "social body" interacting in a funerary context that is the "symbolically constituted spatial and temporal environment." (Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 92) So, funerary rites shape "in a circular production" the Christ-hero Association as a "ritualized body" thus producing "ritualized practices" (like baptism for the dead) within a funerary "spatial and temporary environment" which is a "symbolically structured environment." (Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 92).

[693] This paragraph is applying Bell's framework to Roman funerals (see Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 83).

understood within a frame of consent and resistance where they borrow from elite funeral practices that they are not allowed to use, so they recreate them into schemes for themselves. Adapting elite funerary practices provides social empowerment to nonelite groups and provides a means to control their environment through ritual. I will use these aspects of power and empowerment through remaking schemes, strategically transforming their rituals into a seemingly privileged experience, in my analysis of Roman funerary practices detailing vicariousness and ancestor pedigree.[694]

Classification of Roman Funerary Practices

Roman funeral practices differed depending on class. Common for most aristocratic family members,[695] Roman aristocratic funerals took place during the day.[696] During initial mourning rite people would pay their respects to the dead for up to seven days.[697] The dead bodies were most likely prepared the same for aristocratic and freeman. That is, they would have a last kiss, name called out, placed on the ground and wrapped in cloth strips, washed, a coin placed in their mouth and the jaw bound and body wrapped in a shroud.[698] With respects to slave conditions, Beryl Rawson explains that despite the tenuous relationship between members of a slave family there was "the belief that it was a family's duty to come together to commemorate the death of one of its members."[699] Rawson thinks that this is a "Roman characteristic" which was "adopted readily by many people of foreign

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[694] Bell argues that power is a part of ritualization. Ritual is understood not as a means for control, but social empowerment (Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 181) within a frame of "consent and resistance" (Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 217). As well, Bell argues that "ritual mastery" which "…is the ability—not equally shared, desired, or recognized—to (1) take and remake schemes from the shared culture that can strategically nuance, privilege, or transform, (2) deploy them in the formulation of a privileged ritual experience, which in turn (3) impresses them in a new form upon agents able to deploy them in a variety of circumstances beyond the circumference of the rite itself" (Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 116).

[695] Harriet Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (Oxford University Press, 2000) 96.

[696] Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture,* 96.

[697] Jocelyn Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World,* Baltimore: (John Hopkins University Press: 1996) 45.

[698] Valerie Hope, *Roman Death: The Dying and the Dead in Ancient Rome*, (London: Continuum: 2009) 71; Emma-Jayne Graham, "Memory and Materiality: Re-Embodying the Roman Funeral," in *Memory and Mourning: Studies on Roman Death*, eds. Valerie Hope and Janet Huskinson (Oxford: Oxbow Books: 2011) 29-30.

[699] Beryl Rawson, *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives* (Cornell University Press, 1987) 37.

birth or foreign extraction."[700] This is especially so during the Augustan period, because there was a

dramatic rise of "family groups represented on funerary reliefs" including "small children" probably

due to Augustus' "emphasis on the family, in his legislation and in the publicity given to his own

family."[701]

For aristocratic families, the final stage for preparing the body for the funeral was to have a

death mask, *imago*, made.[702] The deceased was laid in front of cupboards that held the *imago*[703] while

people prepared for the procession.[704] Music and professional female mourners accompanied the

procession.[705] The dead were carried to the forum with actors and sometimes family members

proceeding the body wearing *imagines* and acting like the ancestors and deceased with the family

following behind.[706] The actors wearing the masks of ancestors and the deceased were brought "to

life by an actor or relative wearing his mask."[707] Polybius explains in *Histories VI* the effect of actors

wearing *imagines* on the audience:

> Next after the interment and the performance of the usual ceremonies, they place the image of
> the departed in the most conspicuous position in the house, enclosed in a wooden shrine. This
> image is a mask reproducing him with remarkable fidelity both in its modeling and complexion
> of the deceased. On the occasion of public sacrifices they display these images, and decorate
> them with much care, and when any distinguished member of the family dies they take them to
> the funeral, putting them on men who seem to them to bear the closest resemblance to the
> original in stature and carriage. These representatives wear togas, with a purple border if the
> deceased was a consul or praetor, whole purple if he was a censor, and embroidered with gold
> if he had celebrated a triumph or achieved anything similar. They all ride in chariots preceded
> by the fasces, axes, and other insignia by which the different magistrates are wont to be
> accompanied according to the respective dignity of the honors held by each during his life; and
> when they arrive at the rostra they all seat themselves in a row on ivory chairs. There could not
> easily be a more ennobling spectacle for a young man who aspires to fame and virtue. For who
> would not be inspired by the sight of the images of men renowned for their excellence, all

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[700] Rawson, *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives,* 96.
[701] Rawson, *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives,* 171.
[702] Hope, *Roman Death*, 71.
[703] Flower, *Ancestor Masks*, 95.
[704] Flower, *Ancestor Masks*, 95.
[705] Toynbee, *Death and Burial in Roman World*, 45; Flower, *Ancestor Masks*, 94.
[706] Flower, *Ancestor Masks*, 98-99.
[707] Hope, *Roman Death*, 74.

together and as if alive and breathing? What spectacle could be more glorious than this?[708]

The procession arrived at the forum and the eulogy praising the deceased and describing their careers was read aloud to all who attended.[709] Thus, the funeral procession was a mix of mourning and a "carnival parade."[710] As *imagines* "were denied to the freedmen,"[711] it is also probable that a death mask was not created by that class. John Pollini explains that in the first-century BCE images of freedmen on grave stelae may be an example where non-elite Romans wanted to copy the concept of the *imagines* and funeral masks, but could not directly do so.[712]

Freedmen, not allowed to use funeral masks, copied the idea of ancestral representation through portrait sculpture to represent the dead actively engaging in and being a part of the funerary rites. "Roman portrait sculpture appears to have been ultimately inspired by the ancestral wax masks of

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[708] Polybius, *The Histories.* Books 5-8 trans. W. R. Paton, F. W. Walbank, and Christian Habicht. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2011) 431-432.

[709] Flower, *Ancestor Masks*, 98.

[710] Hope, *Roman Death*, 74.

[711] John Pollini "Ritualizing Death in Republican Rome: Memory, Religion, Class Struggle, and the Wax Ancestral Mask Tradition's Origin and Influence on Veristic Portraiture," in *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean* (ed., Nicola Laneri; Oriental Institute Seminars 3; Chicago: University of Chicago: 2007) 261.

[712] Pollini, "Ritualizing Death in Republican Rome," 261-262. Further, David Jackson argues that sculpture verism is connected to funeral masks in "Versim and the Ancestral Portrait," *Greece & Rome* 34 (1987) 32-47.

Figure 1: Marble stele of Alexander, a Bithynian. His family is shown at the funerary meal. 200-300 CE (Roman Period) Location: Smyrna
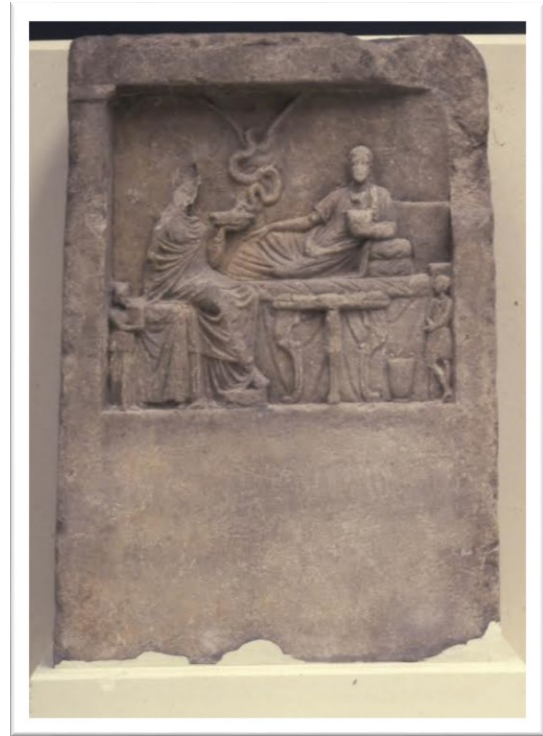
Figure 2: Marble stele showing a funerary meal with tree and snake. A man reclines on a couch and a woman is seated on a stool. 2nd Century BCE – 1st Century BCE (Hellenistic Period)

the Roman nobility. This ancient cultural tradition was thereby perpetuated in an altered form in more enduring media [for the non-elite]."[713] The sculptures or reliefs represent the recent dead participating in their funeral coincides with the belief that the dead were present at the funeral and at the grave (Figure 1).[714] As the dead are vicariously portrayed through actors in funeral masks at elite funerals, sculptures of dead family members vicariously share the funerary meal with living family members at the burial site (Figure 2).[715]

The burial itself was private and only the family and close friends would proceed to the grave.[716] Pollini explains that it was "likely that the mask-wearing actors accompanied the corpse to

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[713] Pollini, "Ritualizing Death in Republican Rome," 262.

[714] Figure 1 permission to use image from the British Museum. Pryce, F N; Smith, A H, Catalogue of Greek Sculpture in the British Museum, I-III, London, BMP, 1892.

[715] Figure 2 permission to use image from the British Museum. Pryce, F N; Smith, A H, Catalogue of Greek Sculpture in the British Museum, I-III, London, BMP, 1892

[716] Flower, *Ancestor Masks*, 93.

the grave and stood by as sacrifices were offered to the *Di Manes,* or *Di Parentes,* whom the ancestral wax *imagines* represented."[717] Burying grave goods with the dead was a practice common for the majority of Romans.[718] Common types of items included "jewelry, and other personal adornments, arms and pieces of armor and other military equipment, toilet boxes and toilet articles, some in precious metals, eating and drinking vessels occasionally of gold and silver, more often of bronze, glass, and pottery, lamps, cooking vessels and implements, dice and gaming-counters …"[719] For freedmen most bodies were probably taken by the family or club members to the burial site.[720] For funeral clubs, they probably had the basic equipment needed to conduct a funeral "such as a bier, cloth and incense burners."[721] Sometimes a *sandapila* was used which was a stretcher for carrying the body and a coffin for burying the body.[722] For slaves sometimes the body would be buried in one location and then if the family felt the need they would commemorate the deceased as well at another location, "[presumably] they also staged a 'funeral' for him, since it was possible to 'bury' an absent body in an imaginary funeral, a *funus imaginarium*."[723] Staging an imaginary funeral is one of the provisions made in the regulations of the burial society at Lanuvium.[724] Furthermore, the club could pay for bodies to return home "and to hold a funeral for an image of the deceased if the body was unavailable."[725] Funding transport was especially important if a master of the slave does not release a body.[726] For slaves a cenotaph was set up to commemorate the deceased with an inscription.[727]

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[717] Pollini, "Ritualizing Death in Republican Rome," 243.
[718] Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World,* 52.
[719] Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World,* 52.
[720] Hope, *Roman Death*, 74.
[721] Hope, *Roman Death*, 76.
[722] Hope, *Roman Death*, 77.
[723] Maureen Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead: Roman Funerary Commemoration in Western Europe,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2006) 166.
[724] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead,* 166.
[725] Hope, *Roman Death*, 68.
[726] Hope, *Roman Death*, 68; Keith Hopkins, *Death and Renewal*, (Sociological Studies in Roman History Series 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1983) 215.
[727] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 166.

Maureen Carroll mentions that memory is a significant factor in funerals from eulogies, portraits and statues, inscriptions, and funerary monuments in public spaces.[728] Furthermore, libations and meals in honor of the dead would have sustained memory.[729]

For aristocrats a private meal was held at the burial[730] outside of the city[731] and full mourning would commence for nine days when the family had another meal at the grave site.[732] "Dinners were regularly held to mark the occasion of a funeral, with offerings of food made to the deceased themselves."[733] The funeral meal "which the deceased was thought to partake, was also eaten at the site of burial."[734] Tombs contained kitchens to prepare meals and the sharing of the meal brought together "the living and the dead."[735] Commemoration rites of the deceased would be repeated on public festivals, anniversaries, and at the deceased's birthday.[736] Elaborate funerals may have a public banquet or games and theatrical performances held on a separate day.[737] These games took place in the Roman Forum, until Augustus constructed a permanent amphitheatre.[738] For freedmen a meal would have occurred with mourners and family bring bread and wine for the feast at the grave site.[739] A eulogy spoken by a club member or family member during the ceremony would likely be included. Mourning would continue for nine days where another meal would have taken place at the grave, thus ending the mourning period.[740]

For all three groups, aristocratic, freedmen and slaves, elements of vicariousness are evident during funeral rituals. During aristocratic funerals the images or death masks are used with actors to

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[728] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 279.
[729] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 280.
[730] Flower, *Ancestor Masks*, 93.
[731] Toynbee, *Death and Burial* 48.
[732] Flower, *Ancestor Masks*, 93; Daniel Harmon, "The Family Festivals of Rome," *ANRW* 2, 2.16.2 (1978) 1601.
[733] Catherine Edwards, *Death in Ancient Rome*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007) 164.
[734] Harmon, "Family Festivals," 1602.
[735] Edwards, *Death in Ancient Rome*, 164.
[736] Flower, *Ancestor Masks*, 93.
[737] Flower, *Ancestor Masks*, 92.
[738] Edwards *Death in Ancient Rome*, 48.
[739] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 72.
[740] Flower, *Ancestor Masks*, 93.

portray the ancestors of the deceased and to participate at the funeral. Freedmen burials incorporated statues that depicted accurate representations of the deceased that represented the deceased as partaking in the funerary meal. For funerals without a body, as would be the case often with slaves, an image or cenotaph was used to represent the dead at the *funus imaginarium*.

Application of Funerary Evidence to the Christ-Hero Association

The Corinthian Christ-hero Association as a ritualized body practicing within a mortuary environment had Corinthian Roman funerary structures impressed upon them. The Corinthian Association found meaning in the Corinthian Roman practices and mobilized funerary references into their practices. As with all Roman Corinthians, the Christ-hero Association would have gathered for meals in tombs.[741] These meals would be in connection to the Lord's Meal and would be associated with the phrase "do this in remembrance of me" (1 Cor 11:24).[742]

As Bell stresses that power is part of ritualization, the power relations in Corinthian society are most obvious in funerary rites where the Roman elite would use funeral masks to vicariously represent their ancestors who legitimized their status in society. Freedmen, not allowed to use funeral masks, copied the idea of ancestral representation through portrait sculpture verism[743] to represent the dead actively engaging in and being a part of the funerary rites. The Corinthian Christ-hero Association utilized the practice of vicariousness, not through funeral masks which were illegal for them to use or through sculptural verism as the costs would be too high, but through vicariously representing their dead, themselves, in their rites. In this way, they differentiate their practices from other funerary practices in Roman Corinth. People within the Corinthian Christ-hero Association had the ability to take Corinthian Roman funerary schemes and nuance their rites enough to

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[741] Kennedy, "The Cult of the Dead in Corinth," 229.
[742] Stowers, "Kinds of Myth, Meals, and Power: Paul and the Corinthians," 136.
[743] Pollini, "Ritualizing Death in Republican Rome," 262.

transform them into a differentiated practice. They deployed the funerary rites within their group providing a sense of "privileged ritual experience"[744] which in turn caused them to form a separate association with separate rites that they were able to deploy in a "variety of circumstances beyond the circumference"[745] of the baptism on behalf of the dead rite and bringing their ancestors and deceased into a broader Ancient Israelite context where they understood their "… ancestors were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and all were baptized into Moses (καὶ πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν ἐβαπτίσθησαν[746]) in the cloud and in the sea, …" (1 Cor. 10:1-2).[747] By baptizing their dead, the Christ Association was able to align their ancestors to Christ, thus establishing a pedigree through Christ to Moses.

The Corinthian Christ-hero Association baptized their dead ancestors vicariously on their behalf thus allowing them to be part of the voluntary association. Christ was the ancestor that they were aligning themselves and their ancestral dead to within a regional Corinthian context and then to Moses within a broader trans-local[748] Ancient Israelite context. So, as Stowers states:

> baptism for the dead would incorporate those dead into the distinguished lineage and ancestry. Without baptism for the dead, their own baptisms might cut them off from their extended families of the significant dead. This scenario makes sense, if the Corinthians or some of them were people concerned about their own ambiguous and ignoble ancestry …[749]

The Christ-hero association used vicarious means to represent their dead because they were not high enough status to create funeral masks, nor did they have the financial resources to commission a statue, relief or stele. Analyzing ancestry in the context of their mortuary concerns shows ancestor pedigree tracing through Christ to Moses. The Corinthian Christ Association working within their

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[744] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 116.
[745] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 116.
[746] *The Greek New Testament,* 588.
[747] *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books NRSV*, Eds. Bruce M. Metzger and Roland E. Murphy, New York: Oxford University Press (1991) 239.
[748] Richard Ascough, "Translocal Relationships among Voluntary Associations and Early Christianity," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 5:2, 1997, 223-241.
[749] Stowers, "Kinds of Myth, Meals, and Power: Paul and the Corinthians," 125.

funerary cultural and ritual context devised a rite, baptism on behalf of the dead, that addressed both their mortuary and ancestral concerns.

Chapter Six: Christ as Ancestor Hero

The Corinthian Christ-hero members were vicariously representing their dead ancestors in the rite, baptism on behalf of the dead, so that they could graft them to Christ, locally, and to Moses, pan-hellenically, thus adhering them to the Ancient Israelite epic traditions.

This chapter develops the thesis that Christ was an ancestor hero. The first section explains the motivation for groups to institute ancestor hero cults because it allowed families and communities to establish themselves during times of transition and flux. Thus, empowering and allowing them to create an identity within the polis. This section also explains the *genos* type and the *oregonos* type hero. The second section addresses how baptism creates/establishes pedigree and how Moses' role as hero connects to the Christ-hero.

Socio-Political Context of Ancestor Hero Cult

Building upon tomb and hero cult research, this study will argue that the constructed rituals by the Corinthian Christ-hero association created boundaries where the community could integrate its hero's symbolic structure (i.e., schemes) by appropriating Corinthian-based hero features in order to adapt their community to the greater Corinthian socio-political context.[750] Analyzing evidence as early as the eighth century BCE to the second century CE assists in revealing how people used hero cults construct socio-political boundaries.

Archaeologists argue that the "late eighth century witnessed an 'ancestral yearning' discernable in its art, literature, and ritual behavior."[751] One view for this yearning is that the ancient Greeks used epics to legitimize their position in the *polis*.[752] Antonaccio explains terminology of hero cults and

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[750] This is using Bell's language to understand the significance of ritual within a socio-political environment (Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 16).

[751] Antonaccio, *An Archaeology of Ancestors,* 5.

[752] Antonaccio, *An Archaeology of Ancestors,* 5.

tomb cults in connection to the eighth century evidence that has bearing on our study. A hero cult, that of worship of named heroes at shrines, "intensified in the eighth century" BCE and was considered along with votive deposits.[753] Research has more recently shown, that the deposits and the hero cults may not be the same phenomenon, and the tomb deposits belong to a category "tomb cult."[754] Tomb cults are "familial visits to tombs in the Classical period," that archaeologists now also use to describe Iron Age practices as well.[755] This division, however, is not universally accepted by archaeologists because of three factors:

> First, hero shrines may be founded on Mycenaean habitation sites, but not all tombs. Second, tomb cults are anonymous, do not involve the construction of a permanent shrine, and are modest in their offerings Third, tomb cults tend to be one-time occurrences, … but hero cult is an ongoing practice.[756]

Another difficulty surrounding the research is that terms like "hero cult, tomb cult, and cult of the dead" have caused some confusion as descriptors for evidence.[757] Archaeologists do agree to varying extents that the stability of power and control of land during transition periods has bearing on cults,[758] although some argue competition between farmers, others claim territorial boundaries, and polis worship to heroes causes a divisive act.[759] Building upon the main conclusion, ancestral yearning during times of transition, Susan Alcock places her study in the post-Classical period. Alcock in "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis,"[760] explains that with the discussion around "the archaeology of ancestors"[761] there are "semantic difficulties surrounding the 'discourse of the

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[753] Antonaccio, *An Archaeology of Ancestors,* 6.

[754] Antonaccio, *An Archaeology of Ancestors,* 6.

[755] Antonaccio, *An Archaeology of Ancestors,* 6.

[756] Antonaccio, *An Archaeology of Ancestors,* 6.

[757] Antonaccio, *An Archaeology of Ancestors,* 6.

[758] Antonaccio, *An Archaeology of Ancestors,* 6.

[759] Antonaccio, *An Archaeology of Ancestors,* 6-8.

[760] Susan Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," *American Journal of Archaeology* 95 (1991) 447-467.

[761] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 447.

dead,'"[762] so Alcock has phrased this type of practice, "Tomb Cult."[763] Building her research on work

done on the Geometric period (specifically eighth – seventh centuries BCE) of prehistoric tombs,

she explains that the same tombs were then again used "400 or 500 years after their construction"

conventionally identified as "hero worship" by researchers.[764] So, as part of her study, hero cults get

compressed in the general term tomb cults along with ancestors and mortuary settings. Research

shows that tomb cults, "become a locus of power and comfort for a community, especially in

periods of social conflict and change" and Alcock's study concludes that "major episodes of tomb

cult occur" during cultural transition and periods of stress for communities.[765] The "historical focus"

of her research is in "Post-Classical:"

> … the Greek city of later Classical and Hellenistic periods, which (for convenience) will here
> be called post-Classical polis. The term to the period from roughly the late fourth century until
> the Roman incorporation of Greece; official annexation took place during the rule of
> Augustus.[766]

During this time Greece and its communities were in a state of "transition, often of stress, subject to

new geopolitical and internal pressures."[767] The 'widening of political and social boundaries' caused a

"restructuring of … networks of civic power."[768] At first, this restructuring of political and social

situations was limited to the polis, but eventually spread throughout Greece to smaller

communities.[769]

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[762] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 447.

[763] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 448.

[764] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 447.

[765] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 460.

[766] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 448.

[767] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 448.

[768] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 448.

[769] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 448. The restricting of the polis is the same situation that Mack
describes, and Parrish uses to discuss unsettled Corinth.

The difficulty in determining the practice or behavior based on archaeological evidence is acknowledged,[770] but a pattern has emerged "that cannot be ignored."[771] Three major trends show up. The first is the majority of the evidence analyzed in her research was along the west coast of the Peloponnese with some possible sites near Mycene, Argos, and Nemea.[772] Second, Attica shows a disappearance of these sites in the post-Classical period. Finally, "several tombs selected for attention were located either within or in the close vicinity of the community center."[773] As for the type of dedications, an "overwhelming majority" were ceramic "skyphoi, cups, oinochoai, Megarian bowls, lamps, and amphorae."[774] The dedications were placed in the tombs chamber, hollows formed by collapses of the chambers, or the "tomb's relieving triangle."[775] The findings suggest "eating, or especially, a drinking component to the cult" and votive plaques included "funerary banquets" which points to a more formalized "ritual practice."[776] Later cultic activity in the Hellenistic period shows a remodeling/reconstruction of tombs, for a "more structured ritual environment."[777]

Alcock addresses why people felt the need to begin practicing tomb cults. Building on of the work by Snodgrass,[778] she explains that worship at "Bronze age tombs represented the claims of individual families to land, as fresh territories were 'colonized' by a growing population," a friction occurred that encouraged people to make land claims based upon "legendary personage[s] who had

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[770] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 449.

[771] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 451. These are similar difficulties discussed in this paper regarding hero cult archaeological data. Alcock argues that there is some very good evidence and some possible evidence which helps to recognize what is happening (or might be). (Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 449-451)

[772] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 450. Alcock provides a map and catalogue of the sites she uses in her research.

[773] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 451.

[774] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 451.

[775] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 451.

[776] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 451-452.

[777] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 453. The buildings involved are "small shrines, enclosures, altars, or just cuttings" so Alcock does not want this development exaggerated.

[778] A. M. Snodgrass, "Les origines du culte des heros dans la Grace antique," in *La mort, les morts dans les socie'ts anciennes* eds. G. Gnoli and J.-P. Vernant, (Cambridge: Cambrdge University Press, 1982) 107-19.

once inhabited a place" in order to claim ownership.[779] Although the research has been challenged,

this framework of "… on the importance of ancestry to farmers, with the 'delayed return' lifestyle …

and the complicated linkages among subsistence, social groupings, territoriality, mortuary rituals, and

ancestor cult has been recognized and debated in numerous cross-cultural and cross-temporal

situations."[780]

Data from the fourth and third centuries BCE to the first century BCE shows that there was a

"packed, heavily utilized landscape, intensely worked and populated" which the revealed a decline in

rural activity.[781] Two factors may have contributed to this finding, 1) 'settlement nucleation' caused

by declining population or 2) elite landowners developing extensive estates.[782] In either scenario,

Alcock argues, people would have looked to legitimize their land holdings, with supernatural backing

as a "trump card" to their claims, so 'resource tension' explains why elite owners set up offerings to

"associated rural tombs," as well as why small landowners, felt the need to link themselves to their

property.[783] In both cases, tomb cults provide a means to employ the supernatural to legitimize land

claims.[784]

There is not a lot of evidence of family claims to tomb cults, but community claims are a

different story:[785]

> The deliberate positioning of cult activity on territorial boundaries, it has recently been argued,
> plays a vital role in the special self-definition of the emergent polis collectivity. If properly
> situated, cult at sanctuaries or at tombs could assert territorial limits and arbitrate border
> tension. Again, the use of ritual as one form of claim to restricted resources underlies these
> arguments.[786]

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[779] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 453-454.

[780] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 454.

[781] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 454.

[782] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 454.

[783] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 454.

[784] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 455.

[785] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 455.

[786] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 455.

Argos provides the best example for post-Classical activity.[787] Generally, the territorial status disputes based upon "mythic claims" continued into the Roman period.[788] However, as the territories expanded, "boundary delimitation were increasingly handed over to the will of external powers, be they Macedonian or Roman."[789] An interesting example from Messene, may provide a political motivation for tomb cult. Evidence from this area suggests that Messene in opposition to Spartan control, in the Classical and post-Classical period, used "Messenian history and heroes" as propaganda to delineate territory.[790] In so doing, the Messene community used the past "to unite a previously fragmented population, to define and defend a long suppressed regional identity."[791]

Applied to the post-Classical polis, Alcock explains that when analyzing a community, the ideological tensions and their "possible repercussions in the ritual sphere, must be investigated against the background of political and institutional change."[792] Three major trends emerge, 1) the elite dominance in civic affairs where certain families and individuals 'monopolize' offices and are recognized as benefactors to the cities; 2) the 'proliferation of commemorative societies' that brought people together at banquets, festivities, and to celebrate the family's dead, and at times to heroize significant people; and 3) the application of the designation, "hero." Alcock explains that rituals were introduced by the polis 'to accommodate the power of dominant individuals' and to integrate them within the community's structural and symbolic framework.[793] An example is Sicyon, where Aratus was "reinterred and honored" after the Delphic oracle 'overruled a bane' against the resting place.[794] Descendancy to heroes was a concern where linking one's lineage to a heroic descendant could

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[787] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 455.

[788] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 455.

[789] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 456.

[790] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 456.

[791] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 456.

[792] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 456.

[793] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 457.

[794] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 457.

provide family legitimacy and in the case of Podares at Mantineia, Roman citizenship.[795]

The change in material culture, especially with regards to mortuary practices, played a significant part in social isolation and polarization.[796] Beginning in the fourth century BCE, there was a shift in funerary architecture and burial locations where restrictions could be lifted.[797] Certain individuals could 'override' preexisting practices and ideologies.[798] The importance and ultimately the dominance of certain elite individuals and families in the polis created a "new social order within the post-Classical polis:"[799]

> If elite families co-opted these graves for their own use, claiming them as the monuments of forebears, then tomb cult became yet another strategy by which they could announce and legitimate their authority within the community. … for some elite families, however, a direct ancestral relationship could have been assumed. Aristocratic families had long promulgated fictive genealogies tracing their line back to the antique past, culminating family trees firmly rooted in the Age of Heroes. Within the post-Classical era's new, increasingly oligarchic, atmosphere, the right to claim such ancestors openly, to invoke them as political guarantors, to instigate public cult to them, even to be buried next to them: all such behavior became not only permissible, but desirable.[800]

Athens omission of this data stands as "proof" for its existence elsewhere. Athens took "steps to promote democratic ideology."[801] Athens placed intermittent restrictions on citizen burials, hero cults, that were well known in Athens, were never within the "setting offered by Bronze Age grave," and the idea of tomb cult as "elite self-expression and elite self-glorification" carried "unacceptable messages."[802] It is the refusal of practices, and lack of data, which provides support for the 'elite's

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[795] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 457.

[796] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 457.

[797] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 457-458.

[798] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 458.

[799] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 458.

[800] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 458.

[801] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 458.

[802] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 458.

expression and glorification' in other cities.[803]

Alcock ends her study by writing that although 'elite legitimation' was argued as the motivation for tomb cults, this argument should not be imposed on other research in tomb cults. If fact, "contradictory readings and usages, out of protest or subversion – a smallholder's claim to land, a bid for regional unity – are also possible."[804] These various analyses would vary depending on the tomb cult, but she explains that tomb cult was "pulled in many directions: communal and elite, familial and political."[805] The main argument, that Alcock puts forward, based on her research, is that "major episodes of tomb cult occur and reoccur in periods of transition and stress for the polis, epochs of sever ideological tension."[806]

In line with Alcock's research, Hall in "Beyond the *Polis*: the Multilocality of Heroes," explains two functions of the hero cult in the ancient world are 1) The hero "stands as a focal figure for the neonate sociopolitical community and the centrality which he enjoys within the 'imaginary city' is physically symbolized by the establishment (either in a tomb or in a heroon) within the *agora*."[807] As heroes were located in a specific geographic area, and their "character was local," this allowed the community to create a common *heros* to focus its worship so that the "community's identity could acquire a life of its own."[808] 2) The formation of a hero cult empowered the community into "a new political order and distribution of power."[809] Hall using Claude Berard[810] writes, "the formal

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[803] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 458. Kearns in *Heroes of Attica* presents a list 29 different families and their attributed hero for Classical Athens, stating, "this is not a complete list." (Kearns, *Heroes of Attica*, 78-79).

[804] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 460.

[805] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 460.

[806] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 460.

[807] Jonathan M. Hall, "Beyond the Polis: The Multilocality of Heroes," *Ancient Greek Hero Cults* (Stockholm: Paul Astroms Forlag, 1999) 49-50.

[808] Hall, "Beyond the Polis," 50.

[809] Hall, "Beyond the Polis," 50.

[810] C. Bérnard, "Récupérer la mort du prince: héroïsation et formation de la cite," in *La mor, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes*, eds. G. Gnoli and J.P. Vernant (Paris, 1982).

institution of heroic honours above the graves of the last monarchs of the Dark Age Greece allowed their heirs to express symbolically claims to power that they were no longer permitted to wield within the new sociopolitical system of the *polis,* and thus resolve a 'crisis of sovereignty.'"[811] A more encompassing understanding of hero cult formation is a "new redefinition of political relationships, not as Dark Age monarchs, but "as the first [hero(es)] to preside over a new, enlarged political collectivity."[812] Hall's essay goes on to discuss the multilocations of heroes such as Hippolytos, the Seven against Thebes, and Agamemnon. These centers functioned in multi-local locations, and although the members considered them local, they knew that the cults were in other locations.

Halls research on Agamemnon provides an example of how heroes were used to empower communities and allowed communities to leverage heroes for purposes of dominance. Agamemnon was closely associated with Mykenai, however, he received honours in other parts of Greece, at Klazomenai and Amyklai.[813] Ancestry tied to Agamemnon was not easily constructed in Argos, even though Homer located Agamemnon's palace at Mykenai, and ruling over Argos. Homer's association to Argos runs counter to the Argolid geneology that was rooted in Melampans and Bias.[814] Further difficulties caused by Homer's lineage of Agamemnon in the Argive territories was that it created divisions where the "greater part of the Argolid is ruled by Diomedes, Sthenelos and Euryalos, while Agamemnon is left with only Mykenai."[815] Agamemnon location at Mykenai was too limited of a territory for the Argolid community, so Agamemnon's status was granted to Corinth.[816]

Agamemnon's genealogy, as part of the Pelopid family, was 'artifically appended' so that traditions could be added to it. In so doing, Herakles's lineages were incorporated into

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[811] Hall, "Beyond the Polis," 50.
[812] Hall, "Beyond the Polis," 50.
[813] Hall, "Beyond the Polis," 55.
[814] Hall, "Beyond the Polis," 55.
[815] Hall, "Beyond the Polis," 55.
[816] Hall, "Beyond the Polis," 55.

Agamemnon's that caused timeline problems surrounding the Trojan War.[817] Homer's association of Agamemnon to the Mykenaians also caused problems, as the Mykenaian identity traced back to Perseus and Herakles. Thus, the Mykenaians reject the lineages of Agamemnon. Sparta, though, does the opposite. Stesikhoros located Agamemnon at Sparta,[818] from the sixth century BCE onwards, and hero reliefs of Agamemnon were kept in Sparta.[819] The Spartans in the mid-sixth century BCE capitalize on Agamemnon's lineage and 'repatriated' Orestes' bones that were located in Tegea.[820] It was Sparta's effective promotion of Agamemnon that allowed them to spread their dominance over Argos and in 480 BCE to "assume leadership of the Greeks" and establish a Peloponessian hegemony.[821] Hall's research on Agamemnon reveals the extent that hero cults were used by communities to trace territorial boundaries. It also shows the importance that heroes had on communities, so much so that when Homer attempts to create an Agamemnon geneology in the eighth century BCE, the communities effected by this creation took it very seriously and actively rejected Agamemnon's lineages.

Application of Socio-Political Context of Hero Cults to 1 Corinthians

Building upon Alcock's research, and applying it to the argument in this study within Bell's theoretical framework reveals the possibility that the Christ-hero followers could have conceived of Christ as a local ancestor hero[822] linked in descendantry to Moses. This study has shown two

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[817] Hall, "Beyond the Polis," 56.

[818] Hall, "Beyond the Polis," 57.

[819] Hall, "Beyond the Polis," 58.

[820] Hall, "Beyond the Polis," 59.

[821] Hall, "Beyond the Polis," 59.

[822] Christ being a local ancestor hero could also have more than one location. Using Perseus as an example, Pausanias explains that Perseus' shrine is both at Seriphos and along the road between Mycenae and Argos:

> XVIII. Ἐκ Μυκηνῶν δὲ ἐς Ἄργος ἐρχομένοις ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Περσέως παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν ἐστιν ἡρῷον. ἔχει μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐνταῦθα τιμὰς παρὰ τῶν προσχωρίων, μεγίστας δὲ ἔν τε Σερίφῳ καὶ παρ᾽ Ἀθηναίοις, οἷς Περσέως τέμενος καὶ Δίκτυος καὶ Κλυμένης βωμὸς σωτήρων καλουμένων Περσέως.

instances, the Lord's Meal and Baptism on Behalf of the Dead, where the Corinthian Christ-hero association has borrowed ritual practices from the greater Corinthian environment, adapted them for their own purposes to create a seemingly distinctive ritual practice. The Roman Corinth redemptive hegemony of tomb cults and funerary practices to legitimize citizenship, elitism, and ancestry would have caused tension and stress to a disenfranchised "transplanted unsettled population" such as the Christ-hero members where the Corinthian Christ-hero followers generated a ritualized environment that acted to shift the very status and nature[823] of their situation in Corinth. Their strategic use of rituals, expediently adapting Christ as a type of ancestor hero, remaking cultural schemes (tomb cult ancestor) and transformed them into unseen (misrecognized) practices coming out of the redemptive hegemony, thus, their constructed environment was symbolically laden with their surrounding traditions. The newly created rituals would have given the members a sense of social empowerment as they framed their action around this hero ancestor who was distinguished from the elite social order.

Hal Taussig's book, *In the Beginning was the Meal: Social Experimentation and Early Christian Identity*, supports that rituals were used to shift the status and nature of the group in Roman society and uses the perspective of social dynamics within meal practices to develop his argument. Taussig states that the meal was a social practice which assisted participants in negotiating significant societal issues.[824]

"XVIII. By the side of the road from Mycenae to Argos there is on the left hand a hero-shrine of Perseus. The neighbouring folk, then, pay him honours here, but the greatest honours are paid to him in Seriphus and among the Athenians, who have a precinct sacred to Perseus and an altar of Dictys and Clymene, who are called the saviours of Perseus." (Pausanias, *Description of Greece, Volume I: Books 1-2 (Attica and Corinth).* translated by W. H. S. Jones. Loeb Classical Library 93 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918) 336-337)

Perseus as autochthon was the king of Mycenae and Tiryns, (Tripp, *The Meridian Handbook of Classical Mythology,* 465-469) had both local honours and presumably "civic" honours at Seriphos. As his shrine is located near the shrine of Athene, he fits the type of hero closer the side of the scale associated with the ordinary dead but as a well-known Pan-Hellenic hero also had civic honours associated with him. Perseus provides an example where tomb cult could fit locally as well as trans-locally.

[823] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 106.

[824] Taussig, *In the Beginning was the Meal*, 173.

Issues that he identifies are leadership, Roman imperial domination, and wealth/poverty tensions which come under focus during meals and allows for social experimentation during the meal ceremony.[825] The variety of issues when understood within the frame of meals are best understood as social experiments by which communities could "act out provisional positions on key social issues without necessarily committing to them."[826] Although, Taussig's analysis is much broader than 1 Corinthians, it identifies rituals, specifically meals, as operating as a means for groups to identify, experiment, and implement changes to their group based upon societal issues that arise.

The cultural milieu of post-Classical Roman Corinth gave rise to commemorative societies, heroized individuals, and the concentrated application of heroes as descendants. Corinth specifically had the history, starting in 44 BCE, of "political and institutional change."[827] The trends that Alcock outlines are apparent in Corinth as well. Strabo mentions three elite families, Bacchiadae, Cypslus, and Demaratus who had wealth and the ability to monopolize the polis administration.[828] Corinthian funerary data reveals that people were brought together to celebrate their dead. Finally, the epigraphic evidence show that people were designated and honoured as heroes. Rituals created the boundaries for communities so that they could integrate and adapt their structure and symbolic framework into the greater polis.[829]

We see these practices reflected in the members of the 'body of Christ' as a small cult or voluntary association who utilized neighbourhood networks to construct their community within the

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[825] Taussig, *In the Beginning was the Meal*, 174.

[826] Taussig, *In the Beginning was the Meal*, 174.

[827] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 456.

[828] Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo,* Ed. H. L. Jones (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924) 8.6.20. Inscriptional evidence indicates that, "Corinthian tribes were named for relatives and friends of Augustus … This brings the total number of fully attested Corinthian tribal names to eight: Atia, Agrippia, Aurelia, Calpur-nia, Hostilia, Livia, Maneia, and Vicinia." (Kent, *Corinth,* 106).

[829] Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 457. Bell would agree with Alcocks conclusions, see Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 85.

larger Corinthian society. Alcock's research shows us that in times of transition with a restructuring

of civic powers, tomb cults came forward as a means for groups to legitimize themselves. For the

Christ-hero followers, the creation of ancestor hero within the larger scheme, "baptized into Moses

(καὶ πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν ἐβαπτίσθησαν[830]) in the cloud and in the sea, …" (1 Cor. 10:1-2)[831] would

provide a "territorial limit and arbitrate border" for which they could assert their new found status.[832]

When applied to the Corinthian Christ-hero association Hall's research assists in understanding

them as a 'sociopolitical' community focused around a hero. The Corinthian community created the

imagined space of Ancient Israel within the Corinthian *polis* physically symbolized by the

establishment of the Christ-hero in his mortuary (tomb) setting as a subaltern group within the

greater Corinthian *polis*. By establishing descendacy to Christ and Moses, the Corinthian Christ-hero

association, as heirs, could "redefine" their political relationships in Roman Corinth, thus resolving

their 'crisis' as unsettled transplanted community and establish themselves in a new socio-political

collective.[833]

To borrow from Smith's, "Here, There, and Anywhere," for a moment, Smith explains the

following topology of 1) "here," which is domestic religion "primarily in the home and in the burial

sites," 2) "there" which is the public and civic religions, and 3) the "anywhere of a rich diversity of

religious formations that occupy an interstitial space between these other two loci…" like voluntary

associations.[834] The religion of "here" and "there" are helpful when discussing the polis and practices

described in domestic religions. When applied to Corinthian hero cults, funerary associations and

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[830] *The Greek New Testament,* 588.

[831] *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books NRSV*, Eds. Bruce M. Metzger and Roland E. Murphy, New York: Oxford University Press (1991) 239.

[832] See JZ Smith's essay, "Here, There, and Anywhere," *Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion,* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2004) 323-349.

[833] The Exodus imagery used in 1 Corinthians 10:1-5 would have appealed to a newly migrant or forced migrant community.

[834] Smith, "Here There, and Anywhere," 325.

tomb cults the domestic/local religions of the displaced "here" are attempting to copy Roman civic religions of "there." Mirroring Roman civic religion is evident with the use of vicariousness in funerary practices. They are borrowing from the practices in the civic religion and adapting them for their local needs. In so doing they create a religion of "anywhere" because they cannot re-create the space of the *polis*. Specific to the Christ-hero followers' ancestry, they create a genealogy to their hero Christ "establishing new intimate relations and loyalties."[835] They then grafted their ancestry through Christ to Moses and Ancient Israelite geography as a "special decentering,"[836] a place where they never felt compelled to go, but where they created a temporal and arbitrary territory to distinguish themselves from the greater Roman Corinthian "there" religion. The "anywhere" ritual practices "placed" them "there" in the unseen (misrecognized) institutions of civic religion. By doing this they mirrored their cultural environment, but at the same time created distinction by no longer being "here" through decentering. Thus, the Corinthian Christ-hero association had a past that was located pan-hellenically in the imagined Ancient Israelite context connected to their hero Moses, as their heir, and in Corinth connected locally to their hero Christ as their direct ancestor. Connecting both locally and pan-hellenically created a seemingly distinct relationship with the Corinthian *polis*. As they were living in Corinth, the Christ-hero members were both part of Corinth, and part of Ancient Israel. In the ancient world one of the most important aspect of drawing lineages to heroic ancestors and places was to create citizenship to that place. In the case of the Corinthian Christ-hero association, as an unsettled population, with networks that extended beyond Corinth, they had both local concerns as citizens of Corinth, and broader pan-hellenic concerns[837] as an imagined Ancient

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[835] Smith, "Here There, and Anywhere," 333.
[836] Smith, "Here There, and Anywhere," 324.
[837] A possible concern could be funding the association locally and Pan-Hellenically.

Israelite community.[838]

The argument that Christ is an ancestor hero rests on the evidence that tomb cult/ancestor heroes come forward in times of transition, and that there were ancestor heroes in and around Corinth during this time period of which Christ and Moses are examples. But, how does Christ compare to an ancestor hero? Could baptism be understood conceptually as creating lineage? To answer this question, this study will discuss *genos* and *orgeones* heroes and apply the evidence to the Corinthian Christ-hero association.

Gene and Orgeones Hero Cults

While Alcock and Hall are researching hero cults from the socio-political perspective, Kearnes focuses on the family with *gene* heroes and small community level with *orgeones* heroes. Ancestor heroes are called *gene* and by extension *orgeones* heroes are located in the 'sub-groups' of the city connected to families and smaller communities.[839] As mentioned in connection to other forms of

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[838] A contemporary example is Canadian Aboriginals, specifically, "Status Indians." An aboriginal living in Canada draws upon their ancestry to attain legal status under the Indian Act. That person is not required to have been born or reside upon band land to have band membership, all they need to do to possess status is to demonstrate that their ancestors were registered Indians. Status is important in terms of personal/group identity as it will allow access to services agreed upon in treaties (e.g., education), however, status not only grants rights in society, it also denies access to services that other non-status Indian citizens are allowed (i.e., provincial government programs and services).

  This example is somewhat analogous to the unsettled first century Corinthian population. The Corinthian Christ-hero followers by drawing ancestry to Ancient Israel allowed them to attain legal status under Roman law providing them same rights as Jews (i.e., in the first half of the first century BCE, "a number of decrees aimed at protecting the free exercise of Jewish religion. They decreed that Jews might gather freely in *thiasoi*, observe the Sabbath and the Jewish festivals, send money to the Temple in Jerusalem, and enjoy autonomy in their communal affairs. Jews were also absolved from compulsory enrollment in the Roman military." (Leonard Rutgers, "Roman Policy towards the Jews: Expulsions from the City of Rome during the First Century C.E.," *Classical Antiquity*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Apr., 1994) 57). As ancestry allowed for status (even sovereignty) understood as a political relationship in the in the ancient world, the Corinthian Christ-hero followers by attaining this status created a personal/group identity allowing them access to services in Corinth unique to only that Jewish decree, however, as they did tie their hero cult locally (through Christ or possibly they were locally tied by being transplanted and granted Roman citizenship by the Empire) to Corinth, they were allowed access to services the general population was granted in Corinth, such as the right to use the legal system. Later at the end of the first century as the Christ communities shifted status closer to a Jewish socio-political context, they maintained the Jewish rights and began to lose Roman citizenship rights. This is why for the followers of Christ in the Gospel of John getting kicked out of the synagogue (ἀποσυνάγωγος in Jn. 9:22; 12:42; 16:2) was a horrible shock, because they could no longer draw status through ancestry to Ancient Israel and they were not locally Roman citizens (they possessed no legal status and thus were denied rights and services throughout the Mediterranean world).

[839] Emily Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* Bulletin Supplement 57 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1989) 64.

hero cults, there are difficulties that need to be addressed when studying *gene* and *orgeones* heroes. A generalized picture of the "Cleisthenic divisions" in the sixth century BCE[840] is easy to construct, but "even here there is disagreement." [841] If these types of divisions amongst these larger groups "divide the community along different lines," then these types of heroes likely fulfil different functions.[842] As well, the word, *genos* may not "denote precisely comparable groups," and that even among the groups at the time "there may be important differences in the significance of the hero-cults."[843]

The priestly function for some families, like Kerykes, are crucial to the *genos* hero, but the local group hero "tends to have an archegete [a heroic patron] who expresses locality rather more than cult."[844] The family are not always named after the first ancestor.[845] For example, "The Lykomidai claimed a connection with Lykos of Pandion, but did not therefore name themselves Pandionidai."[846] Another feature to consider is that sometimes claiming descent weakens the tradition, "Erysichthon, for instance, died young and presumably childless, and yet we hear of the genos Erysichthonidai."[847] A family connecting to a childless *genos* hero actually shows that the hero does not need to give their name to the family, and there is not even an "apparent claim of descent."[848] Some families associated themselves to heroes based on place and common identity "which was expressed in their name was local and toponymic."[849] Kearns writes, "… an artificially constituted group to feel a special connection with a hero without any actual claim of descent. The hero could simply be the patron of

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[840] Pausanias assists in linking sixth century CE data to the second century CE where Kearns builds upon Pausanias as a text for evidence (Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 67).

[841] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 64.

[842] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 64.

[843] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 64.

[844] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 65.

[845] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 66.

[846] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 66.

[847] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 66.

[848] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 66.

[849] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 66-67.

the genos, having its interest at heart, while they in turn perform the requisite sacrifices to him …"[850]

In some cases families claimed connection to the hero, but did not want their lineage scrutinized as showing the "*non-existence* of a cult" actually supported their legitimizing claims.[851] As for the priestly function, many *gene* maintain this feature, which was a:

> very wide-spread cultic-mythic phenomenon in which a hero or heroine is worshipped in conjunction with a god, while an aetiological myth explains that he or she was the first person to perform the rite. But we can go further than this, since in several cases it is clear that this is the sole origin of the hero; he is as it were the projection onto the heroic plane of sacral function, the archetype of the priest. … In these cases, among others, hero, priest and genos stand very close to each other, and both hero and genos can plausibly be seen as closely derived from the priestly function, which is primary.[852]

Some general conclusions can be made about *genos* and heroes. The hero's function was to emphasize and impersonate the "family's identity."[853] The priesthood was open to members of the genos (of the appropriate sex) and were public.[854] Worship provided identity and central actions could only be provided by the members.[855] The hero acts "in a concrete personal form the characteristic activity of the family: he is simply[856] the archetype of the priest …" and as such "it is a short step … to actual ancestor…"[857] Finally, regarding the *genos* and hero, the hero is important to the "family's sense of identity" and its "connexion (sic) of genos to hero." The over-riding principle "through religious

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[850] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 67.

[851] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 67.

[852] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 68-69. This type of priestly function applies to a very formal highly hierarchical group that had an official priesthood. As this study has suggested the unsettled Christ-hero population had a weakly defined social hierarchy and contested authority, the rituals and heroes explained are not directly applicable to our analysis. However, some concepts can be brought to bear upon the Lord's Meal ritual where (1) the ritual brought a symbiosis to Christ and God – they were both worshipped in conjunction, (2) possibly as the hero Christ was present (both vividly and ritually) at the ritual and he was the first one (mythically) to performed it - he takes on the priestly function, and (3) as heroes, priests, and genos 'stand very close to each other,' this may explain why Christ is counted along side the members Paul, Apollos, and Cephas in 1 Cor. 1:12, instead of being distinct like God.

[853] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 71.

[854] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 71.

[855] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 72.

[856] As we have witnessed in other parts of hero cult in this study, the hero is much more complex than Kearns gives credit, and this is not a simply role which a hero fulfils. Kearns is minimizing the impact of the hero.

[857] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica*, 72.

activities or beliefs about its origins" are more important "than any definite notion of the hero as ancestor."[858]

The *gene* hero and Christ are related, however, the *orgeones* hero has its own distinguishing features. Rites defined the *orgeones* and so the hero associated with this type of group is different than with the *genos* hero.[859] Membership defines this group, but that does not mean kinship did not play a role. Because fathers brought sons into membership, over time the group takes on a 'hereditary flavor.'[860] Alternately, associations sprang up because of "a core of family membership, but including on equal terms members who are not kin."[861] For *orgeones,* because membership was a defining characteristic, they were a simpler cult where the hero's "human past is unimportant; their past acts explain nothing of the present. They do not in themselves represent any one of the *orgeones* or the group as a whole. It is simply the fact that they are worshipped especially (perhaps exclusively) by a particular group of people which is important."[862] Kearns acknowledges that some "specialized heroes" in *orgeones* may be connected to phratries.[863] One association, the cult of Tritopatreis, may be an example of an *orgeones* group linked to ancestors (as the name suggests).[864] This group had worship centres in Athens, Marathon, Erchia and Delos.[865]

Aside from the specialized hero Tritopatreis which seems to blend the two forms of worship, Kearns argues, the *genos* hero was connected to the family and individual with special interests to that family's identity, while the *orgeones* hero downplays individual concerns and was the centre of the group's existence.[866]

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[858] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 72.

[859] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 73.

[860] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 73.

[861] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 74.

[862] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 74.

[863] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 75. However, Kearns clearly states that she is unconvinced by the evidence.

[864] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 76-77.

[865] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 76-77.

[866] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 77.

Application of genos and orogenes hero cults to 1 Corinthians

As the Lord's Meal ritual focused around *theoxenia* and *enagizein* rites of bringing the hero closer to communicate, the abstract separateness attributed to *orgeones* heroes by Kearns, does not seem to fully apply. So, the Christ-hero association as an *orgeones* group alone does not make sense. Rather, a mixing these hero groups, like Tritopatreis, was more likely. Through the ritual Baptism on Behalf of the Dead, the Corinthian Christ-hero association developed a model of membership for their dead and through baptism for their living members that aligned Christ to themselves and to their dead ancestors. This created ancestry to Christ their "*genos* hero," but the common rites around an *orgeones* hero provided the group a defining membership/community. By example, it is possible, building upon what Kearns explains about group formation, that after Stephanas gets baptized, he defines Christ as his *genos* hero, grafts his ancestors to Christ and Christ's Mosaic lineage and begins developing and building upon rituals for his own family's interests. As neighbours see the distinctive practices, they become interested and a network is developed where Christ's role gets merged into an *orgeones* hero while still maintaining his *genos* hero features. All of this is speculative, but there is an underlying concept that makes sense, that Christ was an ancestor hero.

Other features of the *genos* hero cult also assist in interpreting 1 Corinthians. Kearnes identifies the hero, priest, and *genos* stand very close to one another which may be reflected in 1 Cor. 1:12 placing Paul, Apollos, Cephas, and Christ on a lateral axis where God is understood as separate from them.[867] Another feature, is Christ, as an archetype priest, performing the Lord's Meal ritual in 1 Cor. 11:23-33. The feature of expressing locality in Corinth is in 1 Cor. 1:2, "The ecclesia of God sanctified in Christ Jesus that is in Corinth," τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ 3 θεοῦ ἡγιασμένοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

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[867] This understanding of Christ as hero alongside Paul is specific to how hero cults understood heroes. However, some scholars have another reason for placing Christ beside Paul. Pheme Perkins states that Christ was introduced to show the 'logical absurdity' with the group's division (Pheme Perkins, *First Corinthians* (Michigan: Baker Academic, 2012) 54).

Descendancy to the *genos* is an important feature that has a variety of configurations. Some of these included the family taking and not taking the hero's name, and even claims to lineage varied from direct descents to claims of non-cults supporting descendancy. Heroes as well could be understood as patrons to the cult more so than progenitors. The next section will explain how descendancy was understood by the Corinthian community specific to the rite of baptism.

Moses' Role as Hero

In this section, the study argues that the Corinthian community grafted its dead ancestors to the lineage of Christ through the rite, baptism on behalf of the dead, as well as themselves through the baptism ritual. The goal was to draw their genealogies back to Moses through Christ so that they connect their ancestry to Ancient Israelite epic tradition.

Creating Descendancy through Baptism

Baptism is understood as participating in Christ's death and resurrection[868] or as a departure from an old status[869]/condition or as a rite of passage.[870] One particularly interesting thesis is that baptism was a "response to Roman hegemonic control of water"[871] by a Greek indigenous population who survived Mummius' attack and maintained a presence into the first century CE.[872] However, in the context of a hero cult, this study argues that rather than resisting Roman hegemony baptism creates descendancy, thus mirroring the cultural context.[873] Hall's

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[868] Perkins, *1 Corinthians*, 35.

[869] Meeks, *The First Urban Christians*, 88-89. DeMaris, "Corinthian Religion and Baptism," 667.

[870] Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960) 10-11.

[871] Richard DeMaris, *The New Testament in Its Ritual World,* (New York: Routledge, 2008) 50.

[872] DeMaris, *The New Testament in Its Ritual World,* 52.

[873] An example of crafted descendancy specific to Corinth is found in "Temple G, which is built against the side of the Temple of Venus, is to be identified as that of Clarian Apollo. The significance of having a temple to Apollo in the Forum probably is to be found in the celebration of the House of Augustus and its founder, who considered Apollo his progenitor." (Charles K. Williams II, "A Re-evaluation of the Temple E and the West End of the Forum of Corinth," *Bulletin Supplement, The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire: Papers from the Tenth British Museum Classical Colloquium* (University of London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1989) 158).
       An example of mirroring Roman hegemony is where baptism may be reflecting "Romano-Greek bathing customs." Bryan Spinks, *Early and Medieval Rituals and Theologies of Baptism* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006) 35.

research on Agamemnon details the complicated nature of heroic descendancy. The one feature it

highlights was the conserted effort for families and communities to construct genealogies to heroes.

In the case of Agamemnon, his geneology was constructed to include Pelopid family[874] in an attempt

to connect him to the great hero Pelops, which was where the Peloponnese gets its name, and

Herakles. In other cases, descendants amongst the heroes was logical. Achilles, for instance, was the

son of Thetis (a nymph) and Peleus (a king), in turn he had a son Neoptolemus/Pyrrhos with

Deidameia, so tracing family lineage to these heroes was quite direct. However, because the ancestral

hero Christ and Moses have a less direct lineage,[875] in 1 Corinthians baptism is used to connect

descendants. 1 Cor. 1:14 discusses baptizing Crispus, Gaius, and Stephanas and his household, and

baptizing comes up again in the context of baptizing the dead (1 Cor. 15:29) and in an Israelite

context of being baptised into Moses (1 Cor. 10:1-2). In this way, baptism acts as a means to

establish descendancy from the followers and their ancestors to Christ and then to Moses. [876]

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[874] Hall, "Beyond the Polis," 55.

[875] Mack explains the logic of descendants within the context of Christ through the text Galatians, "Paul found the linchpin in the Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures where the term for Abraham's 'seed' was in the singular (*sperma*; Gen. 12:17; 22:17-18). Struggling to connect Abraham's children and gentile Christians, Paul said two things about that singular "seed." One was that, because it was singular, the seed to which God had given the promise could not be the children of Israel, a "many," but only "one person, who is Christ" (Gal. 3:16). The other thing Paul said to make this connection work was, "If you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham's seed, heirs according to the promise" (Gal. 3:29)." (Mack, *Who Wrote the New Testament?*, 116).

[876] JZ Smith in "Re: Corinthians," explains ancestry in the text 1 Corinthians, "Some Corinthians may have understood Paul as providing them, in the figure of Christ, with a more proximate and mobile ancestor for their new, nonethnic 'Christian' *ethos*. Certainly, celestial figures often have a mobile advantage over chthonic ones who are more readily bound to a place. Perhaps some Corinthians found support for a new sort of ancestor in Pau's first/last Adam language in 1 Corinthians 15 (esp. 15:45), but this is vitiated by its context as part of a defense of resurrection, unless it was previously heard in another context. Perhaps some Corinthians found support for a new sort of ancestor in the complex set of registers played by Paul on *soma,* with the body of Christ understood in a corporate sense (1 Corinthians 12:23) as a new collective ancestor. (Compare the term that used to be popular with respect to Israel, "corporate personality"). The new ancestor continues to be experienced in a traditional way, in a meal (1 Corinthians 10:17). However, none of this will do without a major effect in non-Pauline myth-making by some Corinthians for the continuing present liveliness of the ancestors and the dead is predicated on the continuing status as dead. This effort at myth-making would need to be coupled with their apparent ritual experimentation on modes of relations to the dead, such as that suggested by 1 Corinthians 15:29." (Jonathan Smith, "Re The Corinthians," in *Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004) 351.) Mobile ancestor in my mind does not make sense for the context that this study is working in, but the Smith's idea of the body in a corporate sense like an association around a new collective ancestor makes sense with the findings of this study. The collective ancestor also fits with the Lord's Meal and Baptism for the Dead (both mentioned by Smith) I would like to add that they were creating a lineage through their local Christ-hero

Decendancy drawn to Moses through Christ by baptism explains the connection to Moses, but "how was Moses understood in this heroic lineage?"

Moses as Hero

Moses in the Greek literature had a mixed reception as a hero. He was connected to Egypt and well known in Hellenistic literature.[877] However, he was left out of major works, like Plutarch, possibly to denigrate him to the role of writer of laws for the Hebrews.[878] Alternatively, in literature dating 500 – 300 BCE, he is described as an 'ancient leader' with wisdom, and courage.[879] He was further considered remarkable and divine by some writers.[880] Pseudo-Longinus, Strabo, and Quintilian, first century CE writers, did not bother to mention him by name, assuming that everyone knew him.[881] Alternately, *Historia Augusta, Vita Claudii 25.2.4-5*, mentions Moses' name but does not provide a description, possibly for the same reason -- everyone knew him.[882] Moses was depicted as an ancient Greek hero, in the first century CE, by Josephus in A*ntiquites*, where Feldman writes:

> Josephus' treatment of Moses is a veritable *aretalogy*, such as would be appreciated especially by a Roman society which admired the portrait of the ideal Stoic sage. In fact, on no fewer than "twenty-one occasions" the word *arete* is used with reference to Moses.[883]

Moses' virtues were so outstanding, that "that when he did not return from his ascent of Mount Sinai, even the sober-minded of the Israelites considered the possibility that he had returned to

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onto Moses and Abraham. The findings in this study strongly support Smith's idea of the myth-making process where ritual and language are entwined. As already mentioned previously, as this applies to the language in the Lord's Meal, the rituals associated with heroes provides the context for the Christ-hero, and the language (myth) generates out of the ritual (there is only bread and wine at *theoxenia* so there is only bread and wine at the Lord's Meal). The language of Christ breaking the bread, and drinking the wine fits naturally within the ritual context. This feed back into itself, in that the myth explains the rite (we perform a *theoxenia* because that is the ritual ingredients that Christ used).

[877] Louis H. Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Moses," *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 82 (Jan. - Apr., 1992), 286.

[878] Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Moses," 287.

[879] Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Moses," 287.

[880] Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Moses," 287.

[881] Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Moses," 288.

[882] Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Moses," 288.

[883] Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Moses," 292.

God."[884] To praise ancestral genealogies of heroes and men at the beginning of a writing was considered an important process in describing someone in Greco-Roman writing, so in keeping with Greek and Roman traditions, Josephus, connects Moses' ancestry to Abraham.[885] Josephus' stories of Moses' birth paralleled ancient heroes' birth stories[886] as well as stories about his youth.[887] Although, Moses' divine status was implied in Philo, Josephus was careful not to deify him.[888] Feldman explains that because Josephus had an excellent education he may have known of the tradition that "… maintained that Moses did not die, but rather continued to administer from above."[889] Moses' heroic status was well-known in the first century CE, and even though Josephus is writing *Antiquities* in the later half of the first century CE, other writers mentioned Moses' importance as a Hebraic hero. Moses as a heroic ancestor is closer to Herakles[890] regarding his birth and life. In this way, the ancestor hero Christ is understood as a hero similar to Pyrrhos, a descendant of Achilles, and Moses analogous to Achilles. By being 'baptized into Moses' as the 'body of Christ,' the Corinthian Christ-hero association drew its lineage to Moses and the imagined space of Ancient Israel.

Summary

This study has concluded to this point that the cultural context of an ancient hero model can be used to understand the Corinthian community. It has asserted, moreover, that by placing the text with Corinthian hero cult context, Lord Christ is best viewed as an ancestor hero. The ritual of the Lord's Meal and Baptism for the Dead, when analyzed using Bell's framework, reveal this ancestor hero. This study has also argued that the type of community which coalesced around the Christ ancestor hero was an association built upon neighbourhood networks similar to other hero cult

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[884] Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Moses," 293.
[885] Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Moses," 294-295.
[886] Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Moses," 295-296.
[887] Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Moses," 303-304.
[888] Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Moses," 325.
[889] Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Moses," 325.
[890] Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Moses," 296.

associations. This unsettled/displaced association empowered by their distinctiveness amongst the greater Roman Corinth environment created a local ancestor hero within the larger scheme of Moses and the Ancient Israelite ancestral heritage. In so doing, they constructed a "territorial limit and arbitrate border" for which they could assert their new found status locally.

Chapter Seven: Ancestor Christ-Hero as Protector

The next section of the study places the small "c" cultural context of magical curse tablets,

defixiones, into the cultural context of graves, tombs, and funerals. Emily Kearns in *The Heroes of Attica*

explains that the role of the "*gene* hero" was one of protecting the group's interests, "members of the

group might address their prayers to him, either for the group as a whole or for themselves and their

families as individuals …"[891] Although she states that "we should not necessarily expect to find much

direct evidence,"[892] this study will argue that the direct evidence involved in identifying the Christ-

hero as protector[893] comes in the form of *defixiones* as means of protecting the graves of the dead that

was an interest for the Christ-hero group.

The Jesus Curse in 1 Corinthians

The Corinthian practice of using ritual curses in order to protect their dead is located in 1 Cor.

12:3a:[894]

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[891] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 64.

[892] Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 64.

[893] As a similar notion to the saviour-hero, someone who saved or protected a city in times of crisis. Kearns explains the role of such heroes in the context of the polis, but here, this study argues that the protector role also works very well on an individual or small group level. (Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica,* 44-63). Kearns admits in the quote this connection is possible just difficult to make.

[894] Three basic scholarly theories exist about the passage 1 Cor. 12:3. The first theory is that the 1 Corinthian manuscripts are incorrect because of scribal error. The second theory is that the passage refers to Paul's rhetoric and was not an historical event, and the third theory is that it refers to an historical event.

    Scribal Error: In "Two Texts in 1 Corinthians," W.F. Albright and C.S. Mann proposed that anathema is located in 1 Cor. 12:3 because of a scribal error. Specifically, "[what] the scribe or copyist heard or copied was a direct source of crasis and haplography" (1970:272). If this were to be the case, then "the copyist read anathema for [ana athe (emar) maran atha] then he would be compelled to transpose the sentence to its present form" (Albright and Mann "Two Texts in 1 Corinthians," 273). Albright and Mann additionally suggested that the ana athe (emar) is Aramaic and not Koine Greek (Albright and Mann, "Two Texts in 1 Corinthians," 273). They stated that the reason why anathema is located in 1 Cor. 12:3 is because of a repeat of the letters a, and e, and because of a dropping of the r. Thus anathema "curse" really should be read in its original Aramaic: ana athe (emar) "let him respond" (Albright and Mann "Two Texts in 1 Corinthians," 273).

    Albright and Mann justified their reading of the text by finding an Aramaic passage in the Didache that has the phrase ana athe (emar). They claim that 1 Cor. 16:22 should be read with this Aramaic phrase, and because anathema also is found in 1 Cor. 12:3 it should be read with the same phrase (Albright and Mann "Two Texts in 1 Corinthians," 272-273). They also explained that despite the absence of these changes in any manuscripts, their argument was valid because they were "not introducing a language [Aramaic] into the texts which is not there already" (Albright and Mann "Two Texts in 1 Corinthians," 273). This interpretation of the text, however, is difficult to maintain because no manuscripts exist that support the theory. As well, claiming that a scribal error was the cause for a koine Greek word to be Aramaic,

without the support of the text, requires reading an interpretation into the passage that is not present in it. Furthermore, their theory suggested changing 1 Cor. 12:3 because it has the same word as in 1 Cor. 16:22, but this argument is a non sequitur. If one word should be changed simply because it does not have the same meaning as the same word in an earlier passage, then scholars still have no way to determine which of the two meanings is correct.

Paul's Rhetoric: Other scholars have presented Paul's epistle as a rhetorical device. In literary terms, they analysed how anathema Iesous is balanced by, and directly corresponds to, the kurios Iesous. They argue that Paul was making a statement in 1 Cor. 12:3 and he used "Curse Jesus" and "Lord Jesus" as literary tools. Thus, anathema Iesous and kurios Iesous serve as foils for one another to make a point, such as to emphasize "Lord Jesus" and to create an antithesis, to shock his audience, or to spin the negative connotation of anathema into a positive one.

J. Bassler has stated that the anathema is only a literary device, "an ad hoc phrase formulated to lend emphasis by way of contrast to the main point expressed in v3b" (1982: 417). Paul was able to make this contrast by drawing upon his own experiences of cursing Jesus in his pharisaic years, and now used that rhetoric to speak directly about his own conversion to Christ (Jouette Bassler, "1 Cor 12:3 – Curse and Confession in Context," *Journal of Biblical Literature*. 101 (1982) 418). H. Conzelmann agreed with Bassler and also understood anathema Iesous, "Jesus is accursed," as "an ad hoc construction on Paul's part to form an antithesis to kurios Iesous, 'Jesus is Lord'" (Conzelman, *1 Corinthians,* 204-205). It is difficult to maintain, however, that Paul was recalling his earlier experiences in this passage, since 1 Cor. 12:1-3 seems to have been centred on spiritual gifts (1 Cor. 12:1), paganism and idols (1 Cor. 12:2), and anathema Iesous / kurios Iesous (1 Cor. 12:3). Thus, Paul did not seem to be either implicitly or explicitly be writing about his own experiences. Conzelmann, however, discussed the passage in terms of an ad hoc antithesis to Curse Jesus / Lord Jesus. A review of this passage demonstrates that a balance certainly exists between the anathema Iesous and the kurios Iesous.

The New Interpreter's Bible, "1 Corinthians 12:1-3, Identification of Topic and Basics About the Spirit," explains that Paul is attempting to shock the audience by using anathema (*New Interpreter's Bible*, "1 Corinthians 12:1-3, Identification of Topic and Basics About the Spirit," 941). Shocking the audience is a dramatic Pauline device in order to "elicit a 'we know that' or an 'of course not' mode of assent…" (New Interpreter's Bible, "1 Corinthians 12:1-3, Identification of Topic and Basics About the Spirit," 941). Shocking the audience was also done in order to get the Corinthians to focus on the foundation of Christian life, the Holy Spirit (New Interpreter's Bible, "1 Corinthians 12:1-3, Identification of Topic and Basics About the Spirit," 941). G. Fee in "The Criterion – Jesus Is Lord (12:1-3)," supports the shock value theory by stating that "it seems more likely that it is either hypothetical, perhaps serving as an analogy to their pagan past, whose point is its shock value, or else it is something that some of them had actually experienced in their pagan past" (Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, (Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1987), 581). Thus, Paul drawing upon the Corinthian's "pagan past" uses the word anathema to shock his audience.

W.C. Van Unnik in "Jesus: Anathema or Kyrios (1 Cor. 12:3)" attempts to connect the use of the word anathema to Paul's Jewish roots. Van Unnik does this by tracing the word anathema in the LXX where the word has a dual meaning, that of "a thing that is devoted to God and a thing that is to be destroyed" (Van Unnik in "Jesus: Anathema or Kyrios (1 Cor. 12:3)" 117). In relation to this meaning of anathema, Paul understood that Jesus is devoted and destroyed (i.e., gave himself over to God) in order to save humanity:

> It should now have become clear that the combination anathema Iesous was for St Paul not a swear-word or abnegation of Jesus by certain people, but had a very positive meaning, the underlying conception being seen in Rom. 9:3 and Paul's Bible. The idea expressed by these words was that Jesus gave himself over as an anathema to complete destruction under the wrath of God and separation from God, in order to save the people from the wrath and to give free course to God's mercy and blessing. (Van Unnik in "Jesus: Anathema or Kyrios (1 Cor. 12:3)" 119)

Van Unnik argues that Paul is re-framing anathema with a positive meaning (i.e., the salvation of mankind). This interpretation is difficult to maintain because it makes assumptions about Paul's audience. Specifically, that Paul's audience clearly understood his intent and knew how to re-read the LXX.

Several scholars (i.e., Bassler, Conzelmann, *The New Interpreter's Bible*, Fee, and Van Unnik) demonstrate that Paul's rhetoric at some level is certainly present. The act of writing an epistle to the Corinthians supports this conclusion. Interpreting Paul's letter, however, solely as a rhetorical device alone does not solve the crux interpretum of the passage. Historical scholarship (i.e., Lockwood, Barrett, Goulder, Schmithal, and Winter) provides additional insight into the meaning of anathema.

Historical/Cultural Understanding of Anathema: Several scholars have attempted to understand anathema as a curse within ancient Corinthian society. G. Lockwood in "1 Corinthians 12:1-3, The Holy Spirit Inspires the Confession of Jesus as Lord," explains that Christianity came under intense persecution in the latter part of the first century ce, and

in the second century ce (Lockwood, "1 Corinthians 12:1-3, The Holy Spirit Inspires the Confession of Jesus as Lord," 414). In this historical context of persecution, it is argued that Paul discussed cursing Jesus or confessing he is Lord. Lockwood states, "Such a context of persecution, where confessing Christ as Lord or cursing him became a matter of (physical) life or death, reminds all Christians of just how weighty a matter it is to confess Christ and profess the Christian faith" (Lockwood, "1 Corinthians 12:1-3, The Holy Spirit Inspires the Confession of Jesus as Lord," 414-415). Lockwood argues that 1 Cor. 12:1-3 shows Christians were cursing Jesus so they could show allegiance to the emperor, and to worship statues of the gods (Lockwood, "1 Corinthians 12:1-3, The Holy Spirit Inspires the Confession of Jesus as Lord," 415). Lockwood explains the passage in the context of persecution where the Corinthian Christians were forced to curse Jesus in front of the imperial cult.

Lockwood's theory is based upon Pliny the Younger's letter to Trajan in 112 CE about the difficulties that were happening in Bithynia. Lockwood interprets the events in Corinth (mid-50's CE) with events that were happening in Bithynia (112 CE). Applying the events to Corinth is problematic for two reasons: First, it is anachronistic in that it assumes events that were occurring in 112 CE were also occurring in 50 CE. Secondly, the events in Bithynia were localised to that region, and it is difficult to demonstrate that this was happening in Corinth or even throughout the Roman world.[894]

C.K. Barrett in "XII. 2-3, Spiritual Gifts" claims that the "Christian ascetics" were "resisting the trance or ecstasy they felt coming upon them"[894] (Barrett, "XII. 2-3, Spiritual Gifts," 280) and they would shout out "Curse Jesus" in order to stop an ecstatic trance. Barrett's argument is based upon classical texts and characters, such as Cassandra in Aeschylus's Agamemnon (Barrett "XII. 2-3, Spiritual Gifts," 280). Although, ecstatic experiences may be present in the letter (e.g., speaking in tongues), there is no specific evidence provided to indicate that a group of people were cursing Jesus to resist these experiences. Barrett places too much of an emphasis upon ecstatic experiences in context to anathema.

Placing the anathema within the Jewish – Christian followers is done by M. Goulder in "Another Jesus: II, First Corinthinas 12.1-3." Goulder explains that the Jewish - Christian group with the Corinthian ecclesia[894] understood Jesus not as God, but rather a prophet (Goulder, "Another Jesus: II, First Corinthinas 12.1-3," 211). In this context, the Jewish group would curse Jesus against claims that he is divine (Goulder, "Another Jesus: II, First Corinthinas 12.1-3," 211). Goulder explains that the "Pauline letters offer us hints and shadows of the Christology of the Jewish-Christian opposition. We can see that it is sharply different from Paul's own Christology (I, 12.3; II, 11.4), but we would not have been able to reconstruct its probable outline without a larger historical framework" (2001:220). The framework that Goulder refers to is within a Jewish framework where the Jewish-Christians would understand Jesus as a prophet, but not as God. Goulder speaks of "hints and shadows" of a Jewish – Christian group, but essentially cannot identify that this is the purpose of the passage. In fact, Goulder uses Colossians (Goulder "Another Jesus: II, First Corinthinas 12.1-3," 218-219) to pinpoint the group in 1 Corinthians, because it is too difficult to find Jewish – Christian elements in the letter itself.

W. Schmithals in "The Corinthian Christology" proposes that the Corinthian belief should not be focussed around Jesus as God. Schmithal argues that the Corinthians believed in Christ and not Jesus, thus creating a dualistic perspective. This points to a specific group, the Gnostics, and Schmithal explains, "Thus the Christology of the Corinthian 'Christians' which is expressed in anathema Iesous in 1 Cor 12.3 is the genuinely Gnostic Christology" (Schmithals, "The Corinthian Christology," 77). Schmithal explains anathema in context to a Gnostic group who curses Jesus, and follows Christ. Pearson in "Did the Gnostics Curse Jesus?", however, clearly shows that this reading is too parallel to Origen's Contra Celsum 6 (Schmithals, "The Corinthian Christology," 305), and it "must be concluded from all this that the Gnostics did not, in fact, curse Jesus" (Schmithals, "The Corinthian Christology," 305).

B. Winter in *After Paul Left Corinth: The Influence of Secular Ethics and Social Change* places Paul's Corinthian audience within Greco-Roman society. Winter traces the word anathema within the cultural practices of Roman Corinth (Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth,* 164-165), and identifies Corinthians calling upon Jesus' power to invoke a curse as a common practice.

The Corinthian curse tablets contain references to the 'Lord gods of the underworld' … It would not have been difficult for a former pagan to draw the conclusion that Jesus, who had conquered the underworld in his death and resurrection, could substitute for the gods, especially Hermes of the underworld whose particular domain they had once believed was his. …This supports the view that the Christianisation of Hermes of the Underworld was in the minds of some converts who saw that now his tasks were performed by Jesus (Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth,* 178).

Furthermore, Winter argues the Corinthians were utilising the power invoked from Jesus to curse one another. Thus the "former use of curses against one's adversaries was an acceptable precedent for some Corinthian Christians and was seen as a legitimate use of Jesus' power for the purpose of impeding adversaries either within or outside of the Christian community" (Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth,* 182).

διὸ γνωρίζω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ λαλῶν λέγει Ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς, καὶ οὐδεὶς δύναται εἰπεῖν Κύριος Ἰησοῦς εἰ μὴ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.[895]

Therefore I want you to understand that no one by the spirit of god says, "Curse Jesus" [Ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς], and no one is able to say, "Lord Jesus" [Κύριος Ἰησοῦς] if not by the holy spirit.

Ἀνάθεμα (*anathema*) means "anything devoted or accursed"[896] with a sense of wrongful or evil

purposes. The word is a noun and parses as neuter nominative singular, and attached by case ending

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According to Winter, a curse cast against an adversary was done because of the tension felt in the community. Winter writes, "rivalry or divisiveness was evident in the Lord's Supper (11:18). Why should it stop there and not express itself in other gatherings, if it is assumed that 11:2-16, 11:17-34, and 12-14 relate to different services? What better way to deal with rivalry in the services (chs. 12-14), to which Paul alludes in 12:25, than to resort to invoking Jesus, who controls all things, to disadvantage one's rivals" (Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth,* 181). As well as internal disputes, the Corinthians were fighting external opponents. Amongst this turmoil they fell back on the familiar practice of cursing which was now executed by invoking Jesus on their behalf.

Winter's explanation proves to be the most interesting, especially because he attempts to understand anathema in context to Greco-Roman society. However, Winter explains that the Corinthians handled "conflicts, divisions, and retaliation against adversaries" (Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth,* 183) by placing curses upon each other and thus 1 Cor. 12:1-3 should be read in context to previous chapters, especially Chapter 11. Bassler, however, in his article, "1 Cor. 12:3 – Curse and Confession in Context," demonstrates that 1 Cor. 12:1 forms a unit, up to 1 Cor. 14:40 (417). The clear presence of a literary unit up to 1 Cor. 14:40 indicates that 1 Cor. 12:1-3 should be read in context to the next two chapters, and not in the previous chapters as proposed by Winter.

Furthermore, Paul does not spend time explaining why Corinthians should not curse one another even though he denotes a great deal of written space to deal with Corinthian in-fighting. For example, he discusses lawsuits in pagan courts, 1 Cor. 6:1-8 (eight verses), eating idol meat, 1 Cor. 8:1-13 (thirteen verses), and abuses at the Lord's Supper, 1 Cor. 11:17-34 (seventeen verses). Indeed, Paul only mentions cursing once in 1 verse, 1 Cor. 12:3[894]. The lack of references to Corinthians cursing one another, suggests that they were not invoking Jesus in this manner.

Aside from Albright and Mann who have eliminated themselves from the discussion by stating that there is no manuscript evidence for their claim of scribal error (Albright and Mann, "Two Texts in 1 Corinthians," 272), scholars are separated on the issue of anathema into two basic camps: 1. Literary context (i.e., rhetoric), and 2. Historical context.

The scholars that understand the use of anathema as Paul's rhetoric base their theories around the text itself. This means that for Bassler and Conzelmann, anathema is simply an ad hoc rhetorical device for the antithesis "Lord Jesus." Scholars like Fee and The New Interpreter's Commentary will argue that anathema is designed to add shock value to the listener or reader. Van Unnik attempts to place anathema firmly into Jewish understanding by inter-textually placing it in both Paul's letter and the LXX. In doing, so Van Unnik attempts to show that Paul is "spinning" the word from a negative sense to a positive one.

Placing anathema within historical context, Lockwood understands it could mean that Corinthian Christians were forced to curse Jesus in front of the imperial cult in order to avoid persecution. Another theory, Barrett's, was that the Corinthians were attempting to circumvent the ecstatic control of Jesus by cursing him. Both Goulder and Schmithal try to localise the phrase with a particular group, be it Jewish – Christians or Gnostics. Finally, as Winter argues, the word anathema can be understood within the social and cultural context of the Corinthian Christians, and thus were using Jesus to invoke curses upon each other and people outside the community. Despite the limitations that are associated with Winter's argument, the historical analysis of the text allows us to understand that anathema can be placed plausibly within Corinthian context and is simply not a Pauline rhetorical device. Furthermore, I believe the evidence suggests it served yet another function in Corinthian society that warrants additional discussion.

[895] *The Greek New Testament: The SBL Edition.*

[896] Henry Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Lexicon: Abridged from Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon*, 12th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1871) 49.

to Ἰησοῦς (*Iesous*) which is masculine nominative singular. Thus, the two words are to be understood together, *anathema Iesous*.[897] For the purposes of this study *anathema Iesous* will be translated as a "Jesus Curse" giving it more of a noun flavour.[898]

Curses in Ancient Greece and Rome

Curses were frequent in the ancient world,[899] and date back as far as the 7th century BCE[900] and both Rouse and Johnston find evidence of them as far back as the 5th or 4th centuries BCE.[901] Johnston dates curses at the 6th and early 5th centuries BCE even though there is less evidence.[902] The tradition of curses can be found leading up to the early Byzantine period, and thus it can be said that this practice remains active in societal customs for at least a thousand years.[903]

Johnston states in *Religions of the Ancient World* that "by the second century CE, they begin turning up in every corner of the Greco-Roman world."[904] Evidence of curses was found throughout Attica, Boeotia, Megara, Italy, Crete, Cyprus, Asia Minor, and Africa.[905] Lattimore states, "the overwhelming majority of instances come from outside of Greece proper; there are more from

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[897] Often these words are translated as "Jesus is accursed" as Conzelmann does in his work "1 Corinthians 12:1-3: Community, Divine Service, and the Spirit, Chapters 12-14" (1975). But, to do so would be to insert a verb, which is not present, into the phrase. Some scholars realising that inserting a verb is a problem will attempt to argue, as opposed to simply translating, that the above noun form is best translated with a verb, as Winter does in After Paul Left Corinth, "The best textual evidence supports the nominative and can be translated as 'Jesus is anathema' (RV), or, as is being suggested here 'Jesus [grants or gives] an anathema'" (Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians,* 177).

[898] This follows with how *anathema* is understood in the LXX, as well as Philo of Alexandria, [898] and the New Testament and it is logical to assume that *anathema* is the word for curse that Paul knew and used. In fact, four out of five times that *anathema* is used, it is in Paul's letters (i.e., Galatians 1:8, Romans 9:3, 1 Corinthians 12:3, 16:22, and Acts 23:14) (Hans Kuhn, "*Anathema,*" *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament.* Volume 1 Eds. Horst Baltz and Gebhard Schneider (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1990) 81).

[899] John Ferguson, *Religion of the Roman Empire* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985) 166.

[900] Richmond Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1942) 109.

[901] William Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings: An Essay in the History of Greek Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902) 337.

[902] Sarah Johnston, *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide,* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2004) 364.

[903] Rouse actually argues that curses "have remained much the same for two thousand years," (William Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings: An Essay in the History of Greek Religion,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902) 340) and Cumont mentions that modern Greek funerals still have remnants of curses within its liturgy (Franz Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism: Lectures Delivered at Yale University on the Sillman Foundation,* (New York: Dover Publications Inc, 1959) 69).

[904] Johnston, *Religions of the Ancient World,* 364.

[905] Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings,* 337.

Phrygia than anywhere else, and Lycia and Caria are also strongly represented."[906]

By the fourth century BCE, the dead and some gods (i.e., Hermes and Hecate) are referred to more commonly and "were important to the enactment of the tablets' curses."[907] Johnston continues by stating that as:

> far as the exact function accorded to the dead in these examples is concerned, I would suggest that there has been a kind of transference: their writers registered their victims in the presence of the dead as well as of the deity who would normally command them, thus moving the dead into a magisterial role that they did not normally play.[908]

Johnston also outlines three important ideas in connection to curse tablets and the dead. (1) Certain gods were taking on new roles such as Hermes and Hecate, (2) the living could call upon the dead with whom they had no prior relationship, and (3) the dead were servants of the living.[909] Ferguson understands the connection between curses and the dead as the fact that the remains "of dead bodies would naturally provide efficacious death-magic."[910] Possibly, the dead would have some sort of special power to carry out the curses.

A common type of curse media was the lead curse tablet or *defixio* which is a small rolled up sheet of lead where a curse is inscribed and pierced with a bronze or iron nail[911] and buried in tombs.[912] *Defixiones* were inscribed on lead, papyrus, or wax[913] and were used to communicate the curse to "the powers of the underworld."[914] In fact, approximately half the curse tablets in the

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[906] Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs,* 109.

[907] Sarah Johnston, *Restless Dead: Encounters Between The Living And The Dead In Ancient Greece* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) 73.

[908] Johnston, *Restless Dead,* 74.

[909] Johnston, *Restless Dead,* 74.

[910] John Ferguson, *Greek and Roman Religion: A Source Book,* (Park Ridge: Noyes Press, 1980) 134.

[911] Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings,* 364.

[912] Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings,* 338.

[913] Johnston, *Religions of the Ancient World,* 367.

[914] Johnston, *Religions of the Ancient World,* 367.

ancient world came from tombs.[915] Cumont further supports the frequent nature of using curse

tablets in connection to graves as follows:

> This hostile character attributed to inhabitants of the tombs explains the custom of placing in them leaden tablets on which curses were written calling down the most frightful ills on enemies. A large number of these tabellae defixionum in Greek and Latin have been found and they prove the frequency of this practice, which is perhaps an Oriental origin.[916]

Johnston supports the connection of curse tablets to the dead stating that first "of all, the majority of

tablets during the classical and Hellenistic periods were deposited in or near graves, suggesting the

propinquity to the dead was in some way important to the enactment of their curses."[917] They were

commonly addressed to underworld deities such as "Hermes, Persephone, Hecate, the Dirae, and

unnamed spirits of the dead"[918] and *defixiones* were usually buried in graves, wells, or sacred waters.[919]

Cumont not only identifies that there was a large number of curse tablets in connection to

tombs, but also that curse tablets "often evoke, together with other demons, 'those who are deprived

of a sacred tomb.'… They associate them with those who have died before their time or by a violent

death."[920] When attached to tombs, curse tablets held no "decorative value" but had a very practical

purpose which was to keep away a casual intruder, the vandal, the grave-robber. They could also be

designed to keep away future property owners, that is, someone who recently purchased the spot and

may want to bury their own dead in already occupied graves,[921] thus, placing a curse tablet was an

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[915] D.R. Jordan, "Defixiones from a Well Near the Southwest Corner of the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia*, 54 (Jul. – Sept., 1985), 207; Francesca Murano, "The Oscan Cursing Tablets: Binding Formulae, Cursing Typologies and Thematic Classification," *American Journal of Philology,* 133.4 (2012) 632.

[916] Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism,* 63.

[917] Johnston, *Restless Dead,* 71; Murano, "The Oscan Cursing Tablets," 634-635.

[918] Johnston, *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide,* 367.

[919] Johnston, *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide,* 367.

[920] Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism,* 68.

[921] Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs,* 108.

attempt to make the tomb exclusive.[922] Graves were to remain untouched except for the ones who

were allowed to enter.[923] Furthermore, curses work,[924] and "the religious awe of the public in general

would correspond to the intense concern felt by those who built the tomb."[925] Lattimore states that

when Greek curses were "used in epitaphs [they] do not seem for the most part to be

characteristically unhellenic; it is there use on private gravestones which seem to be oriental rather

than Greek."[926] When analyzing Latin curses, Lattimore discovered that "there were a great many

which were designed to protect the tomb from any sort of violation."[927] Lattimore, furthermore,

notices that large portions of curse inscriptions come from the city of Rome,[928] and there are no new

themes introduced.[929] Private forms of curses, commonly used in curse tablets, have a clear

connection to tombs and graveyards. Furthermore, this practice can be located in both the Greco-

Roman and Oriental worlds.

Evidence for curses was located throughout the ancient Greco-Roman world[930] as well as in

Corinth.[931] Archaeological evidence of Roman Corinth proves that the ancient Corinthians utilized

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[922] Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs,* 108. Earlier in this study there was evidence that people started to join funerary clubs for fear that their dead bodies would not be looked after properly. The same reasoning applies her where putting curses on graves were thought to scare away people – especially if by chance their graves were abandoned.

[923] Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs,* 109.

[924] Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs,* 109.

[925] Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs,* 109.

[926] Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs,* 117.

[927] Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs,* 118.

[928] Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs,* 118.

[929] Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs,* 125.

[930] Johnston, *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide,* 364. Jordan explains that excavations at a well near the Southwest corner of the Athenian Agora "recovered some hundred defixiones or lead curse tablets." (Jordan, D.R. "Defixiones from a Well Near the Southwest Corner of the Athenian Agora," 205).

[931] Mary Walbank, "Unquiet Graves: Burial Practices of The Roman Corinthians," *Urban Religion In Roman Corinth: Interdisciplinary Approaches,* (Cambridge: Harvard Theological Studies, 2005) 277-278.) Curse words where found in specific locations. For example, in Attic *katadw* "I bind" is a common formula where in Boeotia the terms *Katadídemi* "to bind down," *katagraphw* "to write down", and *paradídwmi* "to give/commit" are used (Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, 338). At Cnidus, *anieroi* "unholy, impious" or *anatithemi* "to lay on (as a burden)" (*anatítheti*) were used in the curse formulas. (William Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings: An Essay in the History of Greek Religion,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902) 339). Rouse writes that "[later] we see the word *anathematskw* ["to bind by a curse"] in use, and the familiar "anathema" in St Paul's Epistle will be remembered" (Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings,* 339.)

curse tablets.[932] Murano explains that as "texts, *defixiones* differ in their structure because of the

linguistic and geographical variety of their origins and because of developments in textual style over

time and the specific reason behind the curse."[933] Curses were both spoken aloud and written

down,[934] where it was thought that the spoken word and power invoked was trapped in the writing.

The concept of writing down curses may have developed with the Greeks where a "belief that

written curses were more powerful than spoken" and that the "written word had a special

efficacy."[935] Johnston explains that a curse "is a deliberate speech act that attempts through utterance

to do harm, particularly to the body through illness, mutilation, or painful death. Indeed, there was

widespread belief that the very writing or speaking of a curse made it effective."[936] Graf explains that

"…inscribed spells are frozen voices that repeat the ritual over and over."[937] Faraone in *Magika Hiera:*

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[932] As mentioned earlier in the study, *defixiones* were found in Corinth: Stroud finds eighteen ancient lead curse tablets near Demeter's sanctuary (Stroud, "The Sanctuary of Demeter on Acrocorinth in the Roman Period," 72). The tablets are written in Greek with one exception, which was written in Latin (Ronald Stroud, "The Sanctuary of Demeter on Acrocorinth in the Roman Period," *The Corinthia in the Roman Period. Journal of Roman Archaeology: Supplemental Series Number 8*. Ed. Timothy Gregory (1993) 72). The depositing of the lead tablets clearly comes from the Roman period. The tablets themselves were rolled up lead tablets with a nail driven through them, and since all the curses were against women it "strengthens the impression" that the worshippers of the Demeter sanctuaries were women (Stroud, "The Sanctuary of Demeter on Acrocorinth in the Roman Period," 72). Excavations in the gymnasium area by Wiseman reveals three lead tablets were used in a religious function (James Wiseman, "Excavations in Corinth, the Gymnasium Area, 1967-1968," *Hesperia*, 38 (Jan. – Mar., 1969), 70). These tablets were found near pits, which were channels for liquid offerings poured within the building (Wiseman, "Excavations in Corinth, the Gymnasium Area, 1967-1968," 70). Winter assumes that these are lead curse tablets (Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth,* 164) probably because of their composition and the location where they were found. Walbank finds curse tablets in connection to graves (Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 277-278), and Winter also mentions that "three tombs excavated near the National Highway north of Corinth" held curse tablets (Winter, *After Paul Left Corinth,* 164). Defixiones were also found near the national highway north of Corinth, and at the Temple of Poseidon at the Isthmia (Jordan, "Defixiones from a Well Near the Southwest Corner of the Athenian Agora," 166-167). The *defixiones* found at the Isthmia was directed against runners which Jordan explains was similar to other defixiones found at Athens (Jordan, "Defixiones from a Well Near the Southwest Corner of the Athenian Agora," 117). Walbank found a First Century CE Corinthian sarcophagi that did "not hold multiple burials, but simply the fragmentary bones of an adolescent (age unknown) and fragments of a small child's skull" (Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 271). She attributes the fact that the sarcophagi was not reused, as others she had found were, to "two lead curse tablets" that were found with the bones (Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 271).

[933] Murano, "The Oscan Cursing Tablets," 634.

[934] Fritz Graf, "The Power of the Word in the Graeco-Roman World," *La Potenza Della Parola: Destinatari, Funzioni, Bersagli* (Firenzi: Edizioni Cadmo, 2004) 95.

[935] Johnston, *Restless Dead,* 93.

[936] Johnston, *Religions of the Ancient World,* 367.

[937] Graf, "The Power of the Word in the Graeco-Roman World," 99; Murano, "The Oscan Cursing Tablets," 634.

Ancient Greek Magic and Religion thinks that "both spoken formula and attendant gesture (i.e., the distortion of lead, wax, or other pliable material) developed simultaneously."[938] Naming the victim and reciting the curse was performed while the *defixiones* was being created.[939]

Often prayers and curses were closely associated with one another.[940] An interesting observation by Fritz Graf in "Theories of Magic in Antiquity" is that an "invocation to the Virgin is religious when made with good intentions, but magical when made with evil intentions."[941] This diminishes the distinction between magic and religion or as Rouse is stating between curses and prayers. Walbank in "Unquiet Graves" states, "Religion and magic go hand in hand in the ancient world."[942] Johnston states that "Curses and imprecations are also thought to differ along another popular modern division between magic and religion: if a speech asks the gods for the destruction of an enemy in a polite and deferential manner, it is deemed to be prayer (i.e., "religious" speech), but if it addresses the gods brusquely or with threats – or fails to address them at all – then it is deemed an incantation or a curse (i.e., "magical" speech)."[943] Official meetings in the Athenian assembly, c. 350 BCE, began with purifying the auditorium with a sacrifice and then reading both a prayer and a curse against the speakers whom "spoke and acted against the interest of the city."[944] If an individual acted in a scandal against an established group they could be publicly cursed by the priests and priestesses[945] as was the case of Alcibiades (d. 404 BCE) who profaned the Eleusinian Mysteries by acting out part of the mysteries in front of non-initiates.[946] The curse against Alcibiades is a particular

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[938] Christopher Faraone, *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997) 4.

[939] Faraone, *Magika Hiera,* 4.

[940] Price, *Religions of the Ancient Greek*, 76.

[941] Graf, "The Power of the Word in the Graeco-Roman World," 104.

[942] Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 277.

[943] Johnson, *Religions of the Ancient World,* 349.

[944] Price, *Religions of the Ancient Greeks,* 76.

[945] Price, *Religions of the Ancient Greeks,* 84.

[946] Arthur Clough, *Plutarch's Lives: in Three Volumes. Volume 1*, 308-309.

case where an institution (i.e., the public temples) is cursing an individual. Other instances of

institutions cursing individuals can be found in Roman society where the Twelve Tablets record

curses against spellcasters who wish to harm the Roman crops or Roman people.[947] Generally,

institutional curses were used against an equally large group. Livy records curses against the Samnites,

which were pronounced by the Roman army.[948] Furthermore, public forms of curses were also used

in as oaths and treaties.[949] There are also political associations to curses, for example, Tacitus' Annals

2.69 describes a curse tablet used in connection to the imperial heir Germanicus' death:

> [Under the floor and between the walls Julius Caesar Germanicus' residence workmen found]
> the remains of human bodies, spells, curses, lead tablets engraved with the name Germanicus,
> charred with blood-smeared ashes and other implements of magic by which, it is believed, the
> soul [the life force] of a person can be devoted [surrendered, delivered] to the powers of the
> grave.[950]

Johnston, saying that in the "imperial age, curses provided a means of empowerment for the

politically disenfranchised," makes an interesting observation on Tacitus' passage.[951] Another

example of a political curse is with CIL 11.2.4639, an inscription from late first century CE, found in

a tomb:

> For having saved the city, the city council, and the people of Tuder, L. Cancrius Primigenius,
> freedmen of Clemens, member of the committee of six men in charge of worship of the
> Augustans and the Flavians, has fulfilled his vow to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, because
> through this divine power he has brought to light the names of the members of the city
> council which, by the unspeakable crime of a worthless communal slave, had been attached to
> tombs so that a curse could be put upon them. Thus, Jupiter has freed the city and the citizens
> from the fear of danger.[952]

The "worthless communal slave" had invoked a curse against "members of the city," who

Primigenius had discovered and presumably unattached the names to the tombs and thus removed

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[947] Johnston, *Religions of the Ancient World,* 368.

[948] Johnston, *Religions of the Ancient World,* 367.

[949] Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs,* 108.

[950] Luck, *Arcana Mundi: Magic And The Occult In The Greek And Roman Worlds: A Collection Of Ancient Texts,* 90-91.

[951] Johnston, *Religions of the Ancient World,* 367.

[952] Luck, *Arcana Mundi*, 91.

the curse. A clear connection to curses and the powers of the dead are in both the inscription and

Tacitus' Annals.

Defixiones Applied to 1 Corinthians

The common denominator with ancient curses, whether public or private, is the direct

connection that curses have to the underworld deities, tombs, and the dead.[953] Christ as an ancestor

hero closely connected to the dead, and as a hero who died a violent death, could be used to

"power" *defixiones.* The research from Walbank in Corinth revealed that a grave was left alone

because "Two curse tablets were found with the bones."[954] By calling upon the Christ-hero,[955] the

Corinthian followers would use the curse tablets as wards, similar to a trap, to protect their graves

from 'casual intruders, vandals, and grave-robbers.'[956] As the noun *anathema* can be viewed in context

to *defixiones* and thus the 'Jesus Curse' as a trap was set to keep away grave-robbers or people who

wanted to use the space to bury their own dead.[957] Christ, the one invoked for the curse, fulfilled the

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[953] Johnston, *Restless Dead,* 73; John Ferguson, *Greek and Roman Religion: A Source Book* (Park Ridge: Noyes Press, 1980) 134.

[954] Walbank, "Unquiet Graves," 271

[955] To address Paul's rhetoric for a moment: It is logical to assume that *anathema* is the word for curse that Paul knew and used. In fact, four out of five times that *anathema* is used in the New Testament, it is in Paul's letters (i.e., Galatians 1:8, Romans 9:3, 1 Corinthians 12:3, 16:22, and Acts 23:14) (Hans Kuhn, "*Anathema,*" *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament.* Volume 1 Eds. Horst Baltz and Gebhard Schneider (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1990) 81). Conceptually how Paul uses *anathema,* as a curse, fits very well with the ancient understanding and uses of *defixiones,* as lead curse tablets. The rhetorical balance of the passage between *anathema Iesous* and *kurios Iesous* may indicate that Paul would rather the Corinthians not invoke Jesus for use in a "Jesus Curse," but rather to focus on the Lord Jesus and the holy spirit (1 Cor. 12:3b).

[956] This finding is explained by Lattimore as a function of curses (Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs,* 108).

[957] Protecting a grave from grave robbing was a legitimate concern even for people as late as the 19th Century CE where "grave guns" were created to stop medical schools from stealing cadavers. "During the 1800s, medical schools routinely stole recently buried cadavers to demonstrate medical procedures to their students. Cadavers from across Ohio were illegally exhumed for this purpose. Perhaps the most famous person illegally exhumed was John Scott Harrison from Congress Green Cemetery in North Bend, Ohio. Harrison was the son of President William Henry Harrison and the father of President Benjamin Harrison. Family members soon discovered Harrison's body at the Ohio Medical College in Cincinnati, Ohio, and eventually placed the corpse in the Harrison Tomb near his parents' remains. To prevent grave-robbing from occurring, numerous people tried to develop inventions to deter the robbers. *Philip K. Clover of Columbus, Ohio, developed a device that was to "prevent the unauthorized resurrection of dead bodies." Clover named his device the coffin-torpedo. Buried underground, the torpedo would fire several lead balls into the thief. Clover received a patent for this device on October 8, 1878. On December 20, 1881, former Probate Judge Thomas N. Howell of Circleville, Ohio, received a patent for an exploding shell that was buried underground above a coffin. If robbers tried to dig up the coffin, the shell would explode, injuring or killing the thieves.* As Ohio's state government began to allow people to donate or sell their corpses to medical schools and as penalties became harsher for the thieves,

function of hero protector for the transplanted population. Using Christ for a curse may seem like an

incredible use for *defixiones,* but if we shift back to the funerary context and concern for the dead,

then it may make more sense.[958] The consequence of not arranging for funerals meant that a person's

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grave-robbing declined in popularity. By the 1890s, very few cases of grave-robbing occurred in Ohio. (Ohio History
Central Website: http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Grave-robbing?rec=2701 Last accessed: May 15, 2016. Site
design by Paul Gu. Italics are mine.) In this way, the cocked and loaded Christ-hero *defixiones* would serve as trap to curse
the unwanted grave robber. This also implies a more direct relationship to the worshipper. Johnson explains that the god
commands the dead to do the bidding of the magical curse, while in the Christ-hero *defixiones*, Christ's power was directly
imbued into the leaden tablet.

[958] Another connection to curses and the dead is located in 1 Cor. 5:1-5. DeMaris in "Funerals and Baptism, Ordinary
and Otherwise" states that with reference to 1 Cor 5:1-5 the expulsion of the culprit may have "attracted funerary rites"
Richard DeMaris, "Funerals and Baptism, Ordinary and Otherwise," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 29 (1999) 31) in order to
carry out the rite, "[as] was the case with entry into the Jesus group, exit from it involved an imaginary funeral, if the
Corinthian situation is an indication" (DeMaris, "Funerals and Baptism, Ordinary and Otherwise," 23-34). Adela Yarbo
Collins finds in 1 Corinthians 5:1-4 a parallel between Paul's excommunication "you are to hand this man over to Satan
for the destruction of his flesh" and Greek magical papyri "where a ghost of a dead man is handed to 'you so-and-so'"
Adela Yarbo Collins, "The Function of "Excommunication" in Paul," *Harvard Theological Review* 73 (1980) 255-256).
Collins also finds the following formula on curse tablets as well (Collins, "The Function of "Excommunication" in Paul,"
256). In the cases of magical papyri and curses magic power is performed by a human being with the help of a
supernatural being (Collins, "The Function of "Excommunication" in Paul," 256). The same logic is found in Paul's
language (Collins, "The Function of "Excommunication" in Paul," 256). The Greek magic "helps explain why the
procedure advocated by Paul took the form it did and how the process was expected to work" (Collins, "The Function
of "Excommunication" in Paul," 256). Collins goes onto explain that Paul understood that the (Holy) Spirit could be lost
to the community if they defiled it, and then they would be excluded from the community of Christ (Collins, "The
Function of "Excommunication" in Paul," 256). Adolf Deissmann in Light from the Ancient East explains that Paul is
employing "technical phraseology and the cadence of the language of magic" (Adolf Deismann, *Light from the Ancient East:
The New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Greco-Roman World,* Trans. Lionel Strachan, (Hodder and
Stoughton: Toronto, 1911) 303) when speaking about the punishment of the transgressor in 1 Cor 5. Deissmann argues
that the meaning of the text "does not come out until the passage is read in connection with the ancient custom of
execration" (Deismann, *Light from the Ancient East,* 303). Where an "evil-doer" is punished by an incantation "to the
powers of darkness below, and the tablet reached its address by being confided to the earth, generally to the grave"
(Deismann, *Light from the Ancient East,* 304). George Milligan in Selections from the Greek Papyri in his chapter "Magical
Incantation" reveals a Coptic spell with a "similar formula in 1 Cor 5:5" (George Milligan, *Selections from The Magical
Papyri: Edited with Translations and Notes,* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1912) 114). The spell is used to drive
out demons (Milligan, *Selections from The Magical Papyri,* 113). Conzelmann in *1 Corinthians: A Commentary on the First Epistle
to the Corinthians* states with regards to 1 Cor 5:5 "The shocking idea is to be understood in the first instance within the
context of contemporary history: the view of curse and ban as entertained by the whole ancient and Jewish world. Here it
is not a case of mere exclusion from the church, but of a dynamistic ceremony" (Hans Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians: A
commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians,* trans. James W. Leitch, Ed. George W. MacRae (Fortress Press:
Philadelphia, 1975) 97). With reference to 1 Cor 15:29, Conzelmann, explains, "the wording demands the interpretation
in terms of a vicarious baptism. And it is idle to dispute that a magical view of the sacraments prevails in Corinth"
(Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians,* 276). David E. Aune in "Magic in Early Christianity" states that Paul's letters to the Galatians
and Corinthians can be understood as magical letters (David Aune, *Apocalypticism, Prophecy, and Magic in Early Christianity:
Collected Essays,* (Baker Academic: Grand Rapids, 2006) 417). He describes:

> Gal 1:8f; 6:16 and 1 Cor 16:22, differ from the one just discussed [1 Cor 5:3-5] in that while 1 Cor 5:3-5 describes
> a ceremony of ritual execration, these passages imply that the letters to which blessings and curses are attached are
> thereby magical letters, a category of letters in antiquity ... The use of the imperative mood in the verbs of all these
> formulas of execration makes it clear that we are dealing with the curse as a variety of magical prayer (Aune,
> *Apocalypticism, Prophecy, and Magic in Early Christianity*, 416-417).

body may not be taken care of properly.

Defixiones in Context: Consequence of Improper Burials

If people could not afford a burial, then they would be put into an unmarked grave[959] and "removed from the city soon after death, and by the shortest route possible."[960] Hopkins explains that "poor Romans left no memorial"[961] and "their corpses were thrown unceremoniously into collective pits outside the city"[962] along with "animal corpses."[963] In Lanciani a boundary stone was inscribed with the regulation that there should be "no dumping of ordure or corpses"[964] beyond this marker and "written in red letters, was the message: take shit further on, if you want to avoid trouble."[965] Hope explains that the "truly impoverished would have been unable to save regularly and using a collegium or undertaker was impossible. There was little by way of state help."[966] The costs for such a burial was 20 sestertii[967] and was arranged with an undertaker.[968] Dumping a body was considered a crime and a fine of 60 sestarii was to be paid to an undertaker[969] which probably went to damages and compensation for dealing with the corpse.[970] Such a modest burial would not include a grave marker, altar, pall bearers, incense, or musicians.[971] Toynbee describes 'grave-pits' where "unburnt bodies of some slaves and paupers"[972] were buried. Carroll explains that people want to be

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For our purposes though the connection to magical papyri, DeMaris, Yarbo-Collins, Deismann, Milligan, Conzelman, Anue, all understand that curses and the dead are linked to the Corinthian Christ-Association.

[959] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead,* 78.

[960] Jo-Anne Shelton, *As the Romans Did: A Sourcebook in Roman Social History.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) 98.

[961] Hopkins, *Death and Renewal,* 207.

[962] Hopkins, *Death and Renewal,* 208.

[963] Hopkins, *Death and Renewal,* 208.

[964] Hopkins, *Death and Renewal,* 210.

[965] Hopkins, *Death and Renewal,* 210.

[966] Hope, *Roman Death,* 68.

[967] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead,* 78.

[968] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead,* 78.

[969] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead,* 78.

[970] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead,* 78.

[971] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead,* 78.

[972] Toynbee, *Death and Burial,* 49.

remembered, but that for some people, "it was unfortunate circumstance" that resulted in an anonymous burial.[973] Added to this fear that a dead body would not be properly taken care of was the belief that the dead remained "in the tomb or at least near the grave.[974] Food was offered to the dead and feeding tubes for liquid offerings.[975] This feeding is based upon the belief that the dead could be kept alive and funeral banquets took place at the funeral,[976] nine days afterwards, on the deceased birthday, and during the "festival of the dead."[977] The grave was considered sacred "a *locus religious.*"[978] If not taken cared for, like when the *Parentalia* was suspended, the result was "ancestral spirits left their tombs to wander fields and streets, filling them with shapeless souls."[979] There were even festivals designed to appease these spirits. Kyle explains that with "the Lemuria individual households and the whole state performed rituals of appeasement and lustration to the spirits of the restless dead in general"[980] Furthermore, the unattached or uncared for dead were the focus of this festival where "apparently kinless and hungry ghosts, the *Lemures,* and the mischievous and dangerous *Larvae,* were supposed to prowl round the house."[981]

Summary

Applying the hero protector features to the Christ-hero followers, as an unsettled community, who were concerned for their dead or even what will happen to them after death forced them to find practical ways to care and protect themselves. *Defixiones* may have appealed to them in part for the low costs associated with protecting their graves, but also as means of "empowerment for the

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[973] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead,* 78.
[974] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 4.
[975] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 4.
[976] John Ferguson, *The Religions of the Roman Empire,* (Cornell University Press, 1985) 134-135.
[977] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 4.
[978] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 4.
[979] Dolansky relates a passage in Ovid. Dolansky, "The Parentali," 143.
[980] Kyle, *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome*, 130-131.
[981] Toynbee, *Death and Burial*, 64.

political disenfranchised" group.[982] As mentioned earlier, there is evidence for protector heroes and practices associated with them, contrary to what Kearns argues, they just need to be placed within the proper cultural context.

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[982] This is borrowing from Johnson's explanation and adapting it to the Corinthian Christ-hero association. (Johnston, *Religions of the Ancient World,* 367). Wunsch in *Antike Fluchtafeln* explains the relationship between curses and 1 Corinthians with regards to the 1st – 2nd Century CE curse tablets he analyzes:

> Ebenso bezeichnet die verfluchung das verbmn *anathematizeiv* z. 5; auf der rückseite der tafel steht mit einem verschleppten augment das substantivum *anathema*. Ihm entspricht auf einer kyprischen Tafel Aud. 4 *anatithemi*, "den göttern als weihgeschenk geben, den göttern überantworten". Auf die geschichte dieses Wortes kann hier nicht eingegangen werden, es genüge die bemerkung, dass es der biblischen Gräzität geläufig (Deuteron. 13,15: *anathemati anathematieite*) und in der Vulgata als *anathema*, *anathernatizo* gebräuchlich ist.

> As well, the curse refers to the verb *anathematizeiv* on the back of the panel where the root is found in "let him be anathema." This corresponds to a kyprischen panel AUD. 4 which uses *anatithemi*, "Giving to the gods as a votive offering, delivering to the gods". The history of *anathema* cannot be presented here, but it is sufficient to note that it will be familiar to the biblical scholar (deuteron. 13.15: *Anathemati anathematieite*) and is commonly used in the vulgate as *anathema*, *anathernatizo* (Richard Wunsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln: Ausgewahlt Und Erklart,* (Kessinger Publishing, 1907) 5).

Wunsch is making reference to Paul's use of *anathema* in 1 Cor. 16:22 and connecting it to ancient *defixiones*. I think the same thing can be said for 1 Cor. 12:3a.

Chapter Eight: Christ-Hero Communication Rituals

As the hybrid practice of the *theoxenia* and *enagizein* rituals have revealed, one part of the Lord's Meal was centered around communication to Christ. Prophecy -- and by association speaking in tongues -- features significantly in 1 Corinthians, and both of these ritual activities are communication rituals. They are included in this study as a piece of data to be analyzed, as they capture another example of contested authority.[983]

This chapter analyzes the rituals of prophecy and speaking in tongues placing them in the cultural context of oracular heroes. The first section generally examines oracular heroes and their relationship to oracles and daimons. The second section applies oracular heroes to the Corinthian context. First, this section will explain how, for some ancient people, idol meat was considered polluted. Following idol meat pollution, it will be explained how sacrifices, the dead, heroes and oracles are interconnected. Third, this section will describe how some heroes closely associated with the dead were considered polluted. The relationship between dead heroes and daimons will be explained. The final section will explain the logic of disconnecting dead heroes as polluted creatures from God. The conclusion to this chapter will argue that the Christ-hero members were not high status people and they used oracles to legitimize their cult (i.e., shift their status in society).

Oracles, Heroes, and Daimons

On the one hand, heroes were closely linked to oracles through the process of heroization. Often the Delphic oracle or cities would heroize a person.[984] At times, smaller groups or even private citizens could heroize, but it was the "oracle that determined the exact status of the recipient of the

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[983] Dale B. Martins' research argues "… that glossolalia, as was the case with other theological issues at Corinth, divided the church along status lines." (Dale B. Martin, "Tongues of Angels and Other Status Indicators," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* LIX/3 (1991) 580. As prophecy is closely connected to speaking in tongues in 1 Cor. 14, this study includes that data to develop conclusions.

[984] Bruno Currie, *Pindar and the Cult of Heroes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 5.

cult."[985] A Corinthian example is the cult of Medea's children. Parmeniskos, a second and first

century BCE grammarian, "reports that the cult in honor of the children was instituted by the

Corinthians after some plague struck the city. The Corinthians consulted the oracle, who told them

to establish a cult in honor of the children in order to expiate their guilt and appease the wrath of

Hera."[986]

On the other hand, heroes themselves provided oracle functions to their followers. Oracular

hero cults and communication rituals were closely connected to heroic epiphanies and healing.[987]

Nagy explains how heroes communicate to followers:

> According to the traditional mentality of hero cults, the answer is simple: whenever they come
> back to life [*anabebiokos* 'resurrected'], cult heroes are endowed with superhuman
> consciousness. And this consciousness of the hero, activated by the hero, not only informs
> those who are initiated: it also performs the basic function of ensuring the seasonality of
> nature, and it manifests itself in such positive functions as the maintaining of health and
> fertility for humans …[988]

When a person accesses this 'superhuman consciousness' the hero can be consulted. Furthermore,

Jennifer Larson explains that local deities were later "crystalized" into a part of heroes attributed to

'seers and healers.'[989] Two examples that she provides are Amphiaraos and Trophonios. Amphiaraos,

as one of the Seven against Thebes, falls in a chasm and lives in the earth as a seer.[990] In the Archaic

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[985] Currie, *Pindar and the Cult of Heroes,* 6.

[986] Corinne Ondine Pache, "Singing Heroes – The Poetics of Hero Cult in the *Heroikos*," in *Philostratus's Heroikos: Religion and Cultural Identity in the Third Century C.E. Writings from the Greco-Roman World* Eds. Ellen Bradshaw Aitken and Jennifer K. Berenson Maclean (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004) 12.

[987] Nagy, *The Ancient Greek Hero in 24 Hours,* 444-445. Nagy uses the *Heroikos* to form some of his arguments about hero cults. In a related article, he states about the *Heroikos*, "… the *Heroikos* of Philostratus provides a model of poetic inspiration that centers on the superhuman consciousness of the oracular hero, which has a totalizing control of epic narrative. As we shall now see, this model is not an innovation but an archaism, stemming from oral poetic traditions that predate even the Homeric traditions of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*." ("The Sign of a Hero: A Prologue," Berenson Mclean and Aitken 2001 (http://chs.harvard.edu/CHS/article/display/2935 Last accessed May 17, 2016) 33-34.

[988] Nagy, *The Ancient Greek Hero in 24 Hours,* 445.

[989] Jennifer Larson, *Ancient Greek Cults: A Guide* (New York: Routledge, 2007) 203.

[990] Larson, *Ancient Greek Cults,* 204.

period he was attributed to Thebes, and in the Classical period he became known in Athens.[991] After

the fifth century BCE, Amphiaraos was credited with healing, similar to Asklepios.[992] As for

Trophonios, a master builder, he also falls into a chasm and disappears, later becoming an oracle.[993]

Pausanias explains that a person descended into a chasm and, once ascended, the priests consulted

the person asking questions on "all they have seen and found out."[994] Pausanias attempts to

legitimize this process through his own first hand experience saying, "What I write is not hearsay; I

myself have consulted [*khresamenos*] Trophonios and have seen others doing so."[995]

The epic traditions and hero cult are brought together by oracles, "…the process of consulting

oracular heroes leads to the initiand's knowledge about their epic aspects, not only about their ritual

aspects as oracles."[996] The mastery of the epic tradition is in part by the "Muses who 'inspire' epic

narrative," but also shared with the voice of the heroes.[997] Due and Nagy also point to possession in

order to explain recitation of epic tradition:

> There is also a plethora of ethnographic work that documents the widespread mentality of
> heroic "possession," in which the consciousness of the poet is "possessed" by the
> consciousness of the hero as soon as the poet, in performance, starts "quoting" the hero. As
> one ethnographer puts it, there can be "transition from a story *about* a spirit, to one told *to* a
> spirit, to one told *by* a spirit.[998]

Due and Nagy state it is essential that these traditions spanned from the times of Homer to

Philostratus and the link between epic tradition and hero cult was still preserved.[999] Plutarch provides

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[991] Larson, *Ancient Greek Cults,* 204.

[992] Larson, *Ancient Greek Cults,* 204.

[993] Larson, *Ancient Greek Cults,* 204.

[994] Larson, *Ancient Greek Cults,* 434.

[995] Larson, *Ancient Greek Cults,* 434.

[996] Larson, *Ancient Greek Cults,* 446.

[997] Casey Due and Gregory Nagy, "Illuminating the Classics with the Heroes of Phiostratus," in *Philostratus's Heroikos: Religion and Cultural Identity in the Third Century C.E. Writings from the Greco-Roman World* Eds. Ellen Bradshaw Aitken and Jennifer K. Berenson Maclean (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004) 57-58.

[998] Due and Nagy, "Illuminating the Classics with the Heroes of Philostratus," 59.

[999] Due and Nagy, "Illuminating the Classics with the Heroes of Philostratus," 60.

evidence for the connection of demigods and oracles in the first century CE.

In Plutarch's *Moralia: The Obsolescence of Oracles* he describes the decline of oracles at the Delphic oracle was caused by a declining population,[1000] and begins to question whether the gods provide prophetic answers.[1001] As Plutarch notes, the spirits become the explanation for oracles:

> Coincidently with the total defection of the guardian spirits [τεταγμένοις δαιμονίοις] assigned to the oracles and prophetic shrines, occurs the defection of the oracles themselves; and when the spirits flee or go to another place, the oracles themselves lose their power, but when the spirits return many years later, the oracles, like musical instruments, become articulate, since those who can put them to use are present and in charge of them.[1002]

The argument in Plutarch was that gods were no longer in charge of the oracles; rather, guardian (i.e., military soldier, marshalling) spirits were in charge. This idea, later in the text, becomes refined and Plutarch explains that more specifically "demigods, ministers of the gods" (δαίμονας ὑπηρέτας θεῶν) controlled oracles. [1003]

In Plutarch classifications, heroes are lower on the scale then demigods, but higher than people, outlining that there are "distinctly four classes of rational beings: gods, demigods, heroes, in this order, and, last of all, men" (θεοὺς εἶτα δαίμονας εἶθ᾽ ἥρωας τὸ δ᾽ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώπους).[1004] A demigod is analogous with the moon,[1005] and demigods are thought of as "guardians of sacred rites of the gods and prompters in the Mysteries"[1006] Plutarch reveals three strains of thought when dealing with oracles: 1) the gods are no longer considered part of the oracles, 2) some people attribute oracles working because of guardian spirits (τεταγμένοις δαιμονίοις), and 3) some people attribute intermediaries between gods

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[1000] Plutarch, *Moralia, Volume V: Isis and Osiris. The E at Delphi. The Oracles at Delphi No Longer Given in Verse. The Obsolescence of Oracles.* Translated by Frank Cole Babbitt. Loeb Classical Library 306 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936) 372-373.

[1001] Plutarch, *Moralia,* 396-397.

[1002] Plutarch, *Moralia,* 396-397.

[1003] Plutarch, *Moralia,* 398-399.

[1004] Plutarch, *Moralia,* 378-379.

[1005] Plutarch, *Moralia,* 386-387.

[1006] Plutarch, *Moralia,* 388-389.

and humans, 'demigods' (δαίμονας ὑπηρέτας θεῶν), who are in control of oracles. In summary, oracles

and prophecy was associated with gods, heroes, and daimons (as either guardian spirits or

intermediary spirits).

Richard DeMaris explains Plutarch's understanding of daimons in connection to Pythagorean

philosophy, noting that "Plutarch offers the best evidence of this [Middle Platonism], devoting parts

of at least four essays to depicting the nature and function of demons and their relationship to the

human soul."[1007] Furthermore, DeMaris states that Plutarch "attributes divine inspiration to the

activity of demons, whose messages are available to all but are received only by those with a properly

ordered soul."[1008] The notion of daimons functioning as links between the gods and humans is a

recurrent theme in the ancient world where daimons are linked to "sacred mythologies and religious

rites and ceremonies of both Egypt and Greece … they are sacred guardians of sacred rites and

avengers of injustice."[1009] Alternately, evil daimons are used to explain "abhorrent religious

practices."[1010] DeMaris explains that other texts like *Hypomnemata* explain daimon in the first century

CE as well:

> like Plutarch's … the demons (or heroes), according to that text, are situated in the air, midway
> between heaven and earth, conveying signs of future sickness and health to earth's creatures …
> They serve other roles as well: 'and it is to them that purifications and lustrations, all
> divination, omens and the like, have reference.'[1011]

[1007] Richard DeMaris, *The Colossian Controversy: Wisdom in Dispute at Colossae* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994) 104.

[1008] DeMaris, *The Colossian Controversy,* 104. Socrates for example gained insight through his "inner voice" which he referred to as his daimon (Gunnar Skirbekk and Nils Gilje, *A History of Western Thought: From Ancient Greece to the Twentieth Century,* (New York: Scandinavian University Press, 2000) 41). See also Callie Callon, 'Images of Empire, Imaging the Self: The Significance of the Imperial Statue Episode in the Acts of Peter', 2013 *Harvard Theological Review* 106: 331-55. Stephan Chester, *Conversion at Corinth: Perspectives on Conversion in Paul's Theology and the Corinthian Church* (Studies of the New Testament and its World. London and New York: T & T Clark, 2003). Glovanni de Rossi, *La Roma sotterranea cristiana* (Rome: Cromo-litografia Pontificia, 1864-77). Philip Harland, 'Christ-Bearers and Fellow-Initiates: Local Cultural Life and Christian Identity in Ignatius' Letters', 2003 *JECS* 11: 481-99. Stanley Stowers, 'Does Pauline Christianity Resemble a Hellenistic Philosophy?,' in *Redescribing Paul and the Corinthians,* ed. Ron Cameron and Merrill P. Miller (ECL 5. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 2011) 219-43.

[1009] DeMaris, *The Colossian Controversy,* 105.

[1010] DeMaris, *The Colossian Controversy,* 105.

[1011] DeMaris, *The Colossian Controversy,* 106

Borrowing from Plato, Plutarch places daimons between gods and humans and assigns them to prophecy, divination, and initiation.[1012] In the *Hypomnemata* daimons are associated with the god Hermes.[1013] Building off of Plato, Plutarch recognizes the importance of worshipping gods, daimons, and heroes.[1014] DeMaris moves the explanation of daimons away from Plutarch and into Philo where he shows that Philo of Alexandria, "draws [equations] between demons and heroes and the intermediaries of Jewish tradition."[1015] Philo identifies angels as heroes and daimons.[1016] In doing so, Philo acknowledges that "heroes and demons inhabit the air … they exhibit a range of nature, both good and bad.[1017]" DeMaris explains that Philo may be connecting angels and demons (and by extension heroes) because they possess similar qualities.[1018] He concludes this section on daimons, as daimon "worship constitutes an important part of piety advocated by the philosophy epitomized by the *Hypomnemata* and the philosophy at Colossae"[1019] DeMaris' findings are important for this study because he clarifies the roles of daimons as being intermediaries and connected to oracles. He shows complexity in ancient thought regarding evil daimons, and connects gods (Hermes) and heroes to daimons as reflected in *Hypomnemata*.

Application to 1 Corinthians

As this research applies to 1 Corinthians 12:10, 12:28, and 1 Cor. 14, prophecy and by close association speaking in tongues is attributed to the spirit (πνεύματι) through God (1 Cor. 12:4-6). It may be that as part of first century CE belief, some of the Christ-hero followers attributed oracles to

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[1012] DeMaris, *The Colossian Controversy,* 106.
[1013] DeMaris, *The Colossian Controversy,* 106.
[1014] DeMaris, *The Colossian Controversy,* 107.
[1015] DeMaris, *The Colossian Controversy,* 107.
[1016] DeMaris, *The Colossian Controversy,* 107.
[1017] DeMaris, *The Colossian Controversy,* 107.
[1018] DeMaris, *The Colossian Controversy,* 108.
[1019] DeMaris, *The Colossian Controversy,* 108.

daimons and more specifically to dead heroes. It may also be that a faction of the Christ-hero

followers wanted to disconnect prophecy from daimons (δαίμονας), because for some people

δαίμονας were considered polluted.

The argument for polluted daimons in this section will progress in a series of subtle

understandings of the hero cult context: 1) by explaining how hero sacrificial meat was considered

polluted in the ancient world as reflected in 1 Cor. 10:28 2) connecting polluting features such as

tombs, the dead, and dead heroes to 1 Corinthians 8-10 and the greater Corinthian heroic oracular

cultural context 3) revealing that a certain group of dead heroes associated with graves, and tombs were

considered polluted 4) 1 Corinthians 10:19-21 representing this type of dead hero as daimons (separate

from Christ) 5) why daimons as polluted creatures could not be connected to the prophecy of God. By

understanding this variety of highly nuanced hero cult cultural contexts, the distinctions between

heroes in the last part of the scale and heroes higher up on the scale become apparent in 1 Corinthians,

and provides context for understanding prophecy and speaking in tongues in 1 Corinthians.

Hero Sacrificial Meat was Considered Polluted

Daimon pollution is best understood in the hero cult context of idol meat and sacrifice. Some

very strict (i.e., sensitive) people were careful about hero meat pollution. In some cases, blood rituals

were connected to pollution, but on "the whole, there is little evidence for the heroes spreading such

kinds of pollution as would necessitate purification, and the blood rituals in hero-cults are best not

connected with such a purpose."[1020] However, as the ancient world is complex, there are some cases

where the meat from a hero's sacrifice was considered polluting. This notion is alluded to by Ekroth:

> The evidence for heroes spreading pollution is scarce and seems mainly to have concerned those
> who were particularly sensitive. Two inscriptions from Kos, both dating to the first half of the
> 3rd century BC, stipulate that priestesses of Demeter, in order to keep their state of purity,
> should not step on or eat by a *heroon* (or from the sacrifices to heroes). The sacred law from
> Kyrene contains a difficult passage that may be taken to mean either that the oikist Battos, the

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[1020] Ekroth, *Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero Cults*, 265.

Tritopatores and Onymastos the Delphian could pollute anybody or only those who were "pure" or, on the contrary, Battos, the Tritopatores and Onymastos alone among the dead did not cause any pollution.[1021]

As a specific example, Pausanias writes of pollution in connection to heroic meat sacrifices at the "cult of Telephos at Pergamon:"[1022]

> The entrance is on the west. The sanctuary is said to have been set apart to Pelops by Heracles the son of Amphitryon. Heracles too was a great-grandson of Pelops, and he is also said to have sacrificed to him into the pit. Right down to the present day the magistrates of the year sacrifice to him, and the victim is a black ram. No portion of this sacrifice goes to the sooth-sayer, only the neck of the ram it is usual to give to the "woodman," as he is called. The woodman is one of the servants of Zeus, and the task assigned to him is to supply cities and private individuals with wood for sacrifices at a fixed rate, wood of the white poplar, but of no other tree, being allowed. If anybody, whether Elean or stranger, eat of the meat of the victim sacrificed to Pelops, he may not enter the temple of Zeus. The same rule applies to those who sacrifice to Telephus at Pergamus on the river Caicus; these too may not go up to the temple of Asclepius before they have bathed.[1023]

The meat from Pelops and Telephus was considered polluted, but in these examples the heroes themselves were not necessarily considered polluted. Polluted meat, then, is what is being referenced in 1 Cor. 10:28, "But if someone says to you, 'This has been offered in sacrifice,' they do not eat it…"

Connecting Polluting Features to 1 Corinthians 8-10 and the Greater Corinthian Hero Oracular Context

There are some clues in 1 Corinthians where meals/sacrifices, the dead, heroes, and oracles are connected. These clues help in understanding how daimons could be considered polluted by a faction represented in 1 Corinthians. Kennedy points out that there has been "little attention" paid to the "cult of the dead" and furthermore there is a "gap of our knowledge about the practices of Christians in the century and a half following the death of Jesus."[1024] As the Christian Gospel was made more appealing

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[1021] Ekroth, *Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero Cults*, 263-264.

[1022] Ekroth, *Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero Cults*, 263-264.

[1023] Ekroth, *Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero Cults*, 263-264.

[1024] Charles Kennedy, "The Cult of the Dead in Corinth," *Love and Death in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of Marvin H. Pope.* Ed. John H. marks and Robert M. Good, (Connecticut: Four Quarters Publishing Company, 1987) 227-236.

to a Greco-Roman audience, it became more separated from it Jewish background.[1025] As such,

"Roman customs and practices would be adapted to replace that which had been lost."[1026] Kennedy

analyzes the passage 1 Cor. 8-10, specifically the "food offered to idols." He addresses the word

eidolothuton which is commonly translated as "food offered to idols;" however, he argues that it should

be translated as "memorial meals for the dead,"[1027] and bases this interpretation on usage of the term in

Jewish Scriptures, (including the Septuagint), as well as Greco-Roman sources such as Homer,

Herodotus, and Eusebius.[1028] Furthermore, Kenney argues that the dinner mentioned in 1 Cor. 8:10 is

in a "tomb triclinium."[1029] Kennedy states:

> This connection between the tomb built by a family and a temple dedicated to a god is the key to
> understanding what Paul is talking about in 1 Cor 8-10. The confusion among the exegetes has
> been caused by reading only the second meaning, shrine as temple of a pagan god, and ignoring
> the first, shrine as tomb. Gentile Corinthians would consider their dead ancestors to be among
> the gods and therefore the tombs were properly called temples and could be a place where an
> image ("idol") might be enshrined. The food brought to the shrine for the well-being of the
> ancestral gods and the gratification of the living would be the "offerings for the images,"
> *eidolothuton*.[1030]

Thus Kennedy argues that *eidolothuton* is best understood as offerings to images in the context of

memorial meals to the dead, but, within the conceptual model of a hero cult *eidolon* also has

significance. Shapiro shifts the emphasis of our evidence from the ordinary dead to aspects of the

hero Herakles, where Shapiro explains that Herakles lives with the gods while his *eidolon* "remains

below in Hades."[1031] In a first century CE text, *Epitome,* Apollodorus explains that Protesilaus was

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[1025] Kennedy, "The Cult of the Dead in Corinth," 228. This study argues the opposite, that in Greek rituals we see the formation of the Christ-hero association which later begins to take on Jewish features.

[1026] Kennedy, "The Cult of the Dead in Corinth," 228.

[1027] Kennedy, "The Cult of the Dead in Corinth," 229.

[1028] Kennedy, "The Cult of the Dead in Corinth," 229-230.

[1029] Kennedy, "The Cult of the Dead in Corinth," 232.

[1030] Kennedy, "The Cult of the Dead in Corinth," 232.

[1031] Shapiro, "Heros Theos," 10. Plutarch quoting Homer states, "Above all else that Homer said his words concerning those in Hades appear to have been divinely inspired, Thereafter marked I mighty Heracles—His shade; but he is with the deathless gods. . . ." (Plutarch, *Moralia, Volume XII: Concerning the Face Which Appears in the Orb of the Moon. On the Principle of Cold. Whether Fire or Water Is More Useful. Whether Land or Sea Animals Are Cleverer. Beasts Are Rational. On the*

killed by Hector in the Trojan War, and Protesilaus' wife made an image (ποιήσασα εἴδωλον) of him,

causing the gods to take pity on her to the point that Hermes brought him up from Hades.

Unfortunately, when she realized that he could not stay, she stabbed herself to death.[1032] Another tale

that Apollodorus tells is of the Spartan king, Menelaus:

> And according to some, he discovered Helen at the court of Proteus, king of Egypt; for till
> then Menelaus had only a phantom (εἴδωλον)of her made of clouds. And after wandering for
> eight years he came to port at Mycenae, and there found Orestes, who had avenged his father's
> murder. And having come to Sparta he regained his own kingdom, and being made immortal
> by Hera he went to the Elysian Fields with Helen.[1033]

Apollodorus also explains that an image of Actaeon is created by Chiron to stop Actaeon's dogs

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Eating of Flesh. Translated by Harold Cherniss, W. C. Helmbold. Loeb Classical Library 406 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957) 215). Herakles fights the gorgon Medusa who was an empty phantom, "And Hercules drew his sword against the Gorgon, as if she were alive, but he learned from Hermes that she was an empty phantom. And being come near to the gates of Hades he found Theseus and Pirithous, him who wooed Persephone in wedlock and was therefore bound fast." (Apollodorus, *The Library, Volume I: Books 1-3.9.* Translated by James G. Frazer. Loeb Classical Library 121 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921) 235).

There are also examples were significant people like kings are attributed to *eidolon* an example is in Herodotos 6.58 mentions *eidolon* in connection to funerary ceremonies of the Lacedaemonians, "When a king of the Lacedaemonians dies, a fixed number of their subject neighbors must come to the funeral from all Lacedaemon, besides the Spartans. [6] When these and the helots and the Spartans themselves have assembled in one place to the number of many thousands, together with the women, they zealously beat their foreheads and make long and loud lamentation, calling that king that is most recently dead the best of all their kings. Whenever a king dies in war, they make an image (εἴδωλον) of him and carry it out on a well-spread bier. For ten days after the burial there are no assemblies or elections, and they mourn during these days" (A. D. Godley, *Herodotus, with an English Translation* (Cambridge. Harvard University Press, 1920).
     Images in connection to the dead are located in:
     (1) Plutarch's Moralia: Letter to Apollonius, where image is used in connection to a lament to the dead (Plutarch, *Moralia, Volume II: How to Profit by One's Enemies. On Having Many Friends. Chance. Virtue and Vice. Letter of Condolence to Apollonius. Advice About Keeping Well. Advice to Bride and Groom. The Dinner of the Seven Wise Men. Superstition.* Translated by Frank Cole Babbitt. Loeb Classical Library 222 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928) 204 -205).
     (2) In Plutarch's Isis and Osiris text he explains that the dead Apis is the image of Osiris' soul (Plutarch, *Moralia, Volume V: Isis and Osiris. The E at Delphi. The Oracles at Delphi No Longer Given in Verse. The Obsolescence of Oracles.* Translated by Frank Cole Babbitt. Loeb Classical Library 306 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936) 50-51). As well as the image of the dead is carried around in a chest as reminder (Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris,* 44-45).
     (3) The image of the hero Aeneas is laid on the ground so it looks like he is dead (Plutarch, *Moralia, Volume XIV: That Epicurus Actually Makes a Pleasant Life Impossible. Reply to Colotes in Defence of the Other Philosophers. Is "Live Unknown" a Wise Precept? On Music.* Translated by Benedict Einarson, Phillip H. De Lacy. Loeb Classical Library 428. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967) 140-141).

[1032] Apollodorus, *The Library, Volume II: Book 3.10-end. Epitome.* trans. by James G. Frazer. Loeb Classical Library 122. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921) 199-201.

[1033] Apollodorus, *The Library, Volume II: Book 3.10-end. Epitome.* trans. by James G. Frazer. Loeb Classical Library 122. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921).

from howling.[1034] As Plutarch explains, the image of Charilla has significance for the Delphines:

> The story of Charilla which they relate is somewhat as follows: A famine following a drought oppressed the Delphians, and they came to the palace of their king with their wives and children and made supplication. The king gave portions of barley and legumes to the more notable citizens, for there was not enough for all. But when an orphaned girl, who was still but a small child, approached him and importuned him, he struck her with his sandal and cast the sandal in her face. But, although the girl was poverty-stricken and without protectors, she was not ignoble in character; and when she had withdrawn, she took off her girdle and hanged herself. As the famine increased and diseases also were added thereto, the prophetic priestess gave an oracle to the king that he must appease Charilla, the maiden who had slain herself. Accordingly, when they had discovered with some difficulty that this was the name of the child who had been struck, they performed a certain sacrificial rite combined with purification (καθαρμῷ θυσίαν), which even now they continue to perform every eight years. For the king sits in state and gives a portion of barley-meal and legumes to everyone, alien and citizen alike, and a doll-like image (εἴδωλον) of Charilla is brought thither. When, accordingly, all have received a portion, the king strikes the image (εἴδωλον) with his sandal. The leader of the Thyiads picks up the image (εἴδωλον) and bears it to a certain place which is full of chasms; there they tie a rope round the neck of the image (εἴδωλον) and bury it in the place where they buried Charilla after she had hanged herself.[1035]

The Charilla heroine myth has many features that are relevant to this study. The first feature, and central to this study's ritual framework, is the ritual of Charilla. Every eight years the Delphian king re-enacts the myth, by creating a doll-like image of the heroine to use in a purification sacrifice to Charilla, where the kings strike it, and hang it in a chasm. The purification sacrifice was conducted because of Charilla's violent death. On account of this death, her spirit needed to be appeased so that famine and disease would not increase (as a malevolent spirit, she had the ability to increase the disaster). The oracle, as the second feature, plays a significant part as well, as the oracle designates Charilla specifically as a heroine who must be appeased through ritual. The oracle thus acknowledges and legitimizes both the heroine and the ritual. This evidences the idea that oracles and heroes are closely connected and that the Charilla myth draws a direct connection to the creation and

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[1034] Apollodorus, *The Library, Volume I: Books 1-3.9.* trans. by James G. Frazer. Loeb Classical Library 121. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921) 323.

[1035] Plutarch, *Moralia, Volume IV: Roman Questions. Greek Questions. Greek and Roman Parallel Stories. On the Fortune of the Romans. On the Fortune or the Virtue of Alexander. Were the Athenians More Famous in War or in Wisdom?.* trans. by Frank Cole Babbitt. Loeb Classical Library 305. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936) 187-189.

development of heroes. The third feature is that the Delphians create an image to represent the

heroine Charilla, thus describing one way in that images and heroes were closely connected. The final

feature is the close connection to death in the story through suicide, hanging the image over a chasm,

and the purification rites. As the Charilla myth and ritual affirms, heroes were closely associated with

death.

Another example of the importance of heroes, oracles, sacrifices, and images, is found in

Plutarch's *Moralia: On the Delays of the Divine Vengeance*:

> ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιάταις χρησθὲν ἱλάσασθαι τὴν Παυσανίου ψυχήν, ἐξ Ἰταλίας
> μεταπεμφθέντες οἱ ψυχαγωγοὶ καὶ θύσαντες ἀπεσπάσαντο τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ εἴδωλον.

> In like manner the Spartans were directed by an oracle to appease the soul of Pausanias; they
> then sent to Italy for evocators who performed a sacrifice and drew the shade away from the
> temple.[1036]

In this brief example, the oracle heroizes Pausanias, the Spartans sacrifice to him, and evocators draw

his image out of the temple.[1037] In this context, the memorial meals that Kennedy points to may be

memorial meals to dead heroes (emphasis on the dead). Heroes in first century CE were connected

to mortuary aspects such as tombs. A Corinthian specific example is Palaimon's tomb-shrine:

> The *adyton* of Palaimon was in fact a long, narrow underground reservoir cut from clay and
> entered by a manhole at either end. It was built to serve the Classical Stadium and abandoned
> with the stadium at the beginning of the third century B.C. For reasons impossible to decipher
> at this point, those who established the Roman shrine to Palaimon in the middle of the first
> century considered the subterranean cavity to be sacred to him. The eastern manhole became
> its entrance. The place had a ritual significance from the earliest days of the cult. A ramp
> connected it with the first sacrificial pit, and masses of lamps were uncovered in front of it.
> Pausanias provides the further information that it was known as Palaimon' s *adyton*, which he
> adds, was accessible through an underground descent, a *kathodos*. It was here that Palaimon

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[1036] Plutarch, *Moralia, Volume VII: On Love of Wealth. On Compliancy. On Envy and Hate. On Praising Oneself Inoffensively. On the Delays of the Divine Vengeance. On Fate. On the Sign of Socrates. On Exile. Consolation to His Wife.* Translated by Phillip H. De Lacy, Benedict Einarson. Loeb Classical Library 405. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959) 256-257.

[1037] A similar reference is located in Plutarch's fragments, "Certain so-called spirit-summoning magicians in Thessaly, who by certain rites of purification and magic practices both call up and banish ghosts. They were sent for by the Spartans, too, when the ghost of Pausanias alarmed visitors to the shrine of the Lady of the Bronze House. So Plutarch records in his Homeric Studies." (Plutarch, *Moralia, Volume XV: Fragments.* Translated by F. H. Sandbach. Loeb Classical Library 429. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969) 241-243).

was *kekruphthai*, which is to say he was buried there. The cavity then, was the tomb of the hero. The identification of the underground reservoir as Palaimon's tomb was probably made when the cult was established in this place, but Pausanias is our unique source for the terminology relating to it.[1038]

In connection to oracles, the *adyton* was "either identical with the grotto or cavern from which the oracular potency of the site was derived, or an architectural imitation of such a natural opening in the earth."[1039] In Palaimon's case, the *adyton* was his tomb providing a mortuary setting for the hero cult.[1040] "Oracle mediums," Aune explains, "appear to have been divinely inspired in the *adyton* only after proper ritual procedure. … The occurrence of oracular inspiration was wholly dependent on the sacred site and the cultic ritual that activated its oracular potencies."[1041] The combination of the oracular hero rite along with Palaimon's tomb powered the divinely inspired oracles. The hero Palaimon was connected closely with his tomb and oracles within the wider architectural context of Poseidon's temple and the Isthmian games. The "offerings for the images," *eidolothuton* that Kennedy connects to meals to the dead are also closely connected to sacrifices for the ancient heroes.

Dead Heroes Associated with Graves, and Tombs Considered Polluted

The connection between pollution and heroes is found above in this study's explanation of the scale of heroes. This point is important enough to repeat here. The last group are heroes whose defining characteristic is that they are dead.[1042] These heroes are contrasted with the divine in that

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[1038] Elizabeth R. Gebhard, "Pausanias at the Isthmian Sanctuary: The Principles Governing his Narrative," in *The Corinthia and the Northeast Peloponnese: Topography and History from Prehistoric Times until the End of Antiquity* Eds. K. Kissas and WD Niemeier (Germany: Hirmer Verlag GmbH, 2013) 271.

[1039] David E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1983) 34.

[1040] Pausanias may have not provided too much information about Palaimon's oracular characteristics, "since the traveler's description of the sanctuary and its monuments focuses almost exclusively on Poseidon and Palaimon and their role as saviors, the oath may have been that which Aelius Aristides mentions in referring to Palaimon's mysteries Or. 46,40. Pausanias, who was such an enthusiastic initiate at the oracular shrine of Trophonius at Lebadeia (Paus. 9,39,5-14) does not choose to tell us more about Palaimon and his cult." (E. R. Gebhard, "Pausanias at the Isthmian Sanctuary," 271).

[1041] Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World,* 34.

[1042] Ekroth, *Pausanias and the Sacrifical Rituals,* 157.

they are "connected with pollution, death, and danger," and their cult is formed because of the

violent nature of the hero's death or the effects they had "on their surroundings after death."[1043] The

focus was the grave, which would have had a sanctuary near or in a god's sanctuary (e.g.,

Palaimon).[1044] The cult was locally confined, and is connected to the history of the region.[1045] Heroes

in this category are, "Aristomenes, Theras of Thera, Pionis of Pioniai, … the children from

Kaphyai," and sacrifices to these heroes were *enagizein* and "did not involve eating."[1046] A certain type

of hero, for instance like Palaimon, one closely connected to tombs and the ordinary dead, were

polluted.

1 Corinthians 10:19-21: Dead Heroes as Daimons (Separate from Christ)

　　Meat and sacrifice are closely connected in 1 Corinthians 10. Sacrifice, also, posed difficulties

for the Christ-hero followers as revealed in 1 Cor. 10:19-21:

> 19 τί οὖν φημι; ὅτι εἰδωλόθυτόν τί ἐστιν, ἢ ὅτι εἴδωλόν τί ἐστιν; 20 ἀλλ ' ὅτι ἃ θύουσιν, δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ θύουσιν, οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς κοινωνοὺς τῶν δαιμονίων γίνεσθαι. 21 οὐ δύνασθε ποτήριον κυρίου πίνειν καὶ ποτήριον δαιμονίων· οὐ δύνασθε τραπέζης κυρίου μετέχειν καὶ τραπέζης δαιμονίων.

> No, I imply that what pagans sacrifice, they sacrifice to daimons and not to God. I do not want you to be partners with daimons. You cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of daimons. You cannot partake of the table of the Lord and the table of daimons.

1 Corinthians 10:19-21 creates a separation between the Lord and the daimons. More than just

creating distinction, 1 Cor. 10:28 states not to sacrifice to daimons possibly building on the idea of

pollution because idol meat was polluted. It may be that the overriding concern for some of the

followers was pollution not only of idol meat, but also because daimons, as dead heroes (similar to

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[1043] Ekroth, *Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals,* 157.

[1044] Ekroth, *Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals,* 157. Other examples of "graves and grottos were associated with oracles of Apollo at Delphi, Trophonios at Lebadeia, Apollo at Claros, and Herakles Buraikos at Achaia." (Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World,* 27-28).

[1045] Ekroth, *Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals,* 157.

[1046] Ekroth, *Pausanias and the Sacrificial Rituals,* 157.

Palaimon), were connected to "pollution, death, and danger."[1047] Thus, the dead heroes, daimons, polluted the meat because it was 'offered to their images' *eidolothuton.*

Daimons as Polluted Creatures Not Connected to Prophecy from God

Following the logic of 1 Corinthians (or a faction within the community), daimons, as polluted heroic beings, could not be connected to oracles or prophecy. Clearly, for them, Lord Christ is distinct from the last group of heroes and the ordinary dead.

Prophecy for the Corinthian Christ-hero association as a seemingly distinctive practice was connected to spirit (πνεῦμα). As πνεῦμα is understood as wind and breath,[1048] it resembles the same power as "the spirits [who] return many years later, the oracles, like musical instruments, become articulate, since those who can put them to use are present and in charge of them."[1049] A faction in 1 Corinthians does not go this far to make such a connection, rather, it connects musical instrument (1 Cor. 14:7-10) to speaking in tongues and inarticulate speech where interpretation is needed to understand (1 Cor. 14:13). The added component of interpretation distinguishes Speaking in Tongues and classifies it as a type of 'technical divination,' which was "dependent on the knowledge, training, and skill of the *mantis* in observing and correctly interpreting signs …"[1050] Technical divination, rephrased in 1 Cor. 12:10 as "the interpretation of tongues," and as a 'gift from the spirit.' This phrasing provides two levels of analysis: first, by placing the interpretation process as a gift from the spirit (1 Cor. 12:11) it moves the rite into "natural divination," where the practitioner receives "direct inspiration of the *mantis* through trance, ecstasy, or vision."[1051] Oracular divination is placed within the natural divination context and was associated with three techniques which were

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[1047] Ekroth, *Pausanias and the Sacrifical Rituals,* 157.

[1048] *The Greek New Testament* Fourth Revised (Germany: CH Beck, 2008) 145.

[1049] *The Greek New Testament,* 396-397.

[1050] Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World,* 24.

[1051] Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World,* 24.

connected a sanctuary "(1) the lot oracle, (2) the dream or incubation oracle (which ordinarily involved healing), and (3) the inspired oracle."[1052] The second type of technique, the incubation oracle, is the type that Palaimon's tomb represents. This type is closely associated with heroes and the dead, as Aune explains:

> While many healing oracles used incubation as a means of communicating divine prescriptions to the ill and infirm, incubation was also used at oracles of the dead. In archaic Greek belief the heroes who were worshipped as chthonic divinities were originally mortals who had died a violent death were thought to continue on as malevolent spirits unless and until some form of restitution had been paid to them. The tombs of the heroized dead, where their real or imagined remains resided, were holy places which were sometimes regarded as having oracular potency.[1053]

The location "where they [heroes] had descended into the underworld" was inseparable from the oracular hero.[1054] The connection of speaking in tongues to oracular divination in a hero cult context may explain the differentiation between prophecy and tongues where prophecy is a better practice (1 Cor. 14:5). The second level of analysis is that by attributing technical divination to speaking in tongues this reflects the larger Roman Corinthian environment. Technical divination was a common skill, as Aune notes, "many technical mantics were free-lance practitioners who could be consulted for a price in the marketplace of any Greek city."[1055] However, the interpretation feature as a "gift from the spirit" is analogous to the hereditary aspects of interpretation, as a gift within a family's lineage.[1056]

Applying oracular divination to heroes like Herakles (i.e., heroes not closely connected to the grave and bones) and building upon Nagy's and Due's research, with regards to possession, where the poet was "'possessed' by the consciousness of the hero as soon as the poet, in performance,

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[1052] Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World,* 24.

[1053] Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World,* 26.

[1054] Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World,* 27.

[1055] Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World,* 36.

[1056] Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World,* 36.

starts 'quoting' the hero."[1057] If vivid imagery and vicariousness (as re-enacting Christ's epiphany) could play a role in relation to speaking in tongues, then possibly there was a story told *about* Christ, which transitioned to one told *to* Christ, as rites brought him closer to the followers, that progressed to the point where the story is told *by* Christ.' [1058] In this way, speaking in tongues, reflects the possession feature found in heroic possession[1059] in combination to the gift aspect found in hereditary features of natural/oracular divination, a directly inspired form of divination found in "trance, ecstasy, or vision."[1060] As incubation was a part of the oracular process, Christ's death and imagined tomb within a mortuary setting, could explain the connection to prophecy, speaking in tongues and "that he [Christ] was buried" (1 Cor. 15:4a).

To use Plutarch's classification on 1 Corinthians, spirit was still considered an integral part of prophecy, oracles, and even speaking in tongues. However, some of the Corinthian Christ-hero association understood guardian spirits [τεταγμένοις δαιμονίοις] and "…demigods, ministers of the gods …" (δαίμονας ὑπηρέτας θεῶν) as polluted entities and unable to perform the function for God. Rather, a faction in 1 Corinthians creates a "new" intermediary, πνεῦμα, which fulfills the function of the spirits. The "Greco-Roman writers certainly had a concept of inspiration they did not normally associate that concept with *pneuma*. … among Greco-Roman authors the term has no theological significance and is marginal for their understanding of divine inspiration."[1061] πνεῦμα as an ambiguous term fulfils the function of both prophecy and speaking in tongues building upon features found in the

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[1057] Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World,* 59.

[1058] Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World,* 59. Borrowing Nagy's words here.

[1059] Parrish in "Speaking in Tongues, Dancing with Ghosts: Redescription, Translation, and the Language of Resurrection," comes to the same conclusion writing, "Finally, I would like to point to the long discussions regarding "speaking in tongues" that Paul includes in his letter to the Corinthians as evidence for something analogous to the "spirit possessions" or trance-like states that occurred with the Ghost Dance circles." (Parrish, "Speaking in Tongues, Dancing with Ghosts: Redescription, Translation, and the Language of Resurrection," 41).

[1060] Parrish, "Speaking in Tongues, Dancing with Ghosts," 24.

[1061] Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World,* 34.

greater Corinthian oracular environment.

Smith offers an explanation regarding πνεῦμα in relation to ancestor spirits. Using data from Papua New Guinea, Smith compares the Papuan New Guinean concept of 'spirit' with the 1 Corinthian use of 'spirit' to argue that consulting ancestor spirits was one of the features of the Corinthian community.[1062] Outlining two familial features in Corinth concerning the contact of spirits, Smith explains that the first was to contact "the now dislocated ancestors left behind, in their homeland" so that they could "attempt to obtain oracular esoteric wisdom."[1063] The second, focused on the Corinthians' immediate dead, would be part of the "memorial meals with the dead to oracles guiding present behavior, including moral guidance."[1064] Although the focus of this chapter is on the oracular features of the Christ-hero, nothing in the evidence contradicts Smith's explanation, and in fact, by incorporating familial ancestors into the oracular process, the Corinthian Christ-hero association may indeed have been attempting to contact their family members.

Oracular Legitimization for the Christ-hero Association

The gifts of prophecy and speaking in tongues work the same way as healing does in 1 Corinthians. Prophecy (προφητεία) and speaking in tongues (γλωσσῶν) were understood as coming from God (1 Cor. 12:10), as this relates to the hero Christ, he is understood as being part of a body which incorporates the spirit (1 Cor. 12:12-13). More so, "the body of Christ" (1 Cor. 12:27) represents the community members. The members are the ones performing the action of prophecy or communication from God (speaking in tongues), through the gifts of the spirit by God as they are representative members of the "body of Christ." The Christ-hero association through the practices of prophecy and healing reflected the greater Roman Corinthian heroic associations that had their

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[1062] Smith, "Re: Corinthians," 348.
[1063] Smith, "Re: Corinthians," 349.
[1064] Smith, "Re: Corinthians," 349.

199

heroes doing similar feats. However, the Christ-hero followers created enough of a distinction (the members were 'gifted' with the special actions and terminology changed) that it seemed they were doing something unusual. By incorporating these practices, especially oracles, it legitimized their cult and provided it a measure of status.

As for the status of the members, Martin's research argues based upon speaking in tongues as a separated practice from prophecy, that the activity of "speaking in tongues was normally perceived as a high status activity in society surrounding the Corinthian church…"[1065] Martin's concludes that the members practicing *glossolalia* (speaking in tongues) of the Corinthian association were high status themselves.[1066] Counter to Martin's findings, however, the preliminary conclusions of this study suggest that the Corinthians were not primarily from the elite Corinthian society (i.e., they were not high status). The financial restraints of the Corinthian Christ-hero followers is evidenced by the following: 1) the financial restraints of the Christ-hero community as indicated in the Lord's Meal and hair-cutting votive offerings, and 2) the members not possessing the ability to create funeral masks, as indicated by the use of vicariousness as they were not from elite Roman Corinthian society (i.e., they were not high status).[1067] Therefore, they were a financially constrained lower status people incorporating the legitimized practices of higher status people in hopes to raise their perceived profile (by mirroring features of it) in the greater Roman Corinthian environment. As Corinth was a service economy, possibly the Christ-hero association was offering oracular services to the non-Christ-hero Corinthians as a "fee for service" similar to the "free-lance practitioners who could be

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[1065] Martin, "Tongues of Angels," 579.

[1066] Martin, "Tongues of Angels," 550.

[1067] Yet with respects to prophecy and speaking in tongues the members were attempting to shift their status in society by incorporating these practices. Aune in *Prophecy in Early Christianity* writes, "…most ancient Greeks firmly believed that oracular responses to their inquires, whether conveyed through lot, sign, dream, or human language, were truly messages from gods. This conviction was so deeply rooted in the Greek outlook that only rarely do we find attempts to test the validity of oracular responses …" (Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and in the Mediterranean World,* 32). By possessing this oracular "gift," the Christ-hero followers elevated their status in Corinthian society.

consulted for a price in the marketplace of any Greek city."[1068]

Applying Bell's framework to prophecy and speaking in tongues, the Christ-hero followers used the rites of prophecy and speaking in tongues that were rooted in the greater Corinthian oracular traditions. [1069] By creating and interacting with this symbolically oracular constituted space and temporal environment, the Christ-hero followers developed rituals that were *seemingly* distinct and internal to the group. These practices of prophecy and speaking in tongues were embedded into the Christ-hero cult's existing symbolically structured environment[1070] ladened with aspects of ancestor cult, mortuary features, and *theoxenia/enagezein* ritual. The rites of prophecy and speaking in tongues carried schemes of privileged oppositions consisting of hero/daimon and prophecy/speaking in tongues. By constructing this environment and incorporating the oracular context, the Christ-hero followers impressed the oracular traditions upon their group, providing it with credibility and legitimacy within the greater Roman Corinthian context – thereby raising/shifting their status in Corinthian society. [1071] This circular process tends to be misrecognized if perceived at all, as the Roman Corinthian values and experiences are impressed upon the Christ-hero group from Roman hegemonic sources of power and order. [1072]

[1068] Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity,* 36. This may also be the case for healing, as the members themselves were attributed to the ability to heal. In this way, the Christ-hero members were performing services in Corinth that were highly regarded as well as generating income for the association. Corinth as a service economy is also mentioned in Parrish "Speaking in Tongues, Dancing with Ghosts," 31. Engels writes that Corinth flourished as a commercial center (Donald Engels, *Roman Corinth: An Alternative Model for the Classical City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990) 16).

[1069] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 93.

[1070] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 93.

[1071] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 6.

[1072] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 98-99.

Excursus: Hair-Offerings to the Christ-Hero

This chapter is titled an excurses because it does not add more data to the argument that Christ was an ancient *genos* hero for the Corinthian community; rather, it uses the conclusions of the study as evidence to "register what has been learned in the study"[1073] (i.e., 1 Corinthians can be evaluated in the context of a lower level *genos* hero to understand practices). In this case, the rituals of hair-cutting and hair-offering are placed in the context of funeral practices and hero cults.

The first two sections of this chapter describes hair pulling/hair-cutting and hair-offering rites in connection to funerals and hero cults. The third section applies these rites to 1 Corinthians to show that the Christ-hero best fits within the cultural context of a funerary and heroic frame.

Hair-Cutting and Hair-Offering in Ancient Funerals

Scholarship on Corinthians has a tendency to focus "primarily to Roman cultural and social norms for mid-first-century Corinth, rather than those of Greece which precedes 44 BC."[1074] Although, Merker explains that not all Classical Greek rituals were recreated in Roman Corinth, some of the practices associated with chthonic deities were carried over from Classical Corinth to Roman Corinth.[1075] One particular instance is found with hairstyles and funerary practices where Greek funerary rites where practiced in Roman Corinth, thus are a carry-over from Classical Corinth to Roman Corinth.

Leach in "Magical Hair" connects "hairdressing in mourning ceremonies,"[1076] explaining that

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[1073] Burton Mack, "On Redescribing Christian Origins," *MTSR* 8 (1996) 258. In many ways, this study is a redescription of Christian origins.

[1074] Anthony Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Testament* Volume 7 of *The New International Greek Testament Commentary* (Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2000) 801.

[1075] Gloria Merker, *Corinth: Results of Excavations* conducted by The American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Vol XVIII, Part IV, The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: Terracotta Figures of the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods, 2000 311.

[1076] Edmund Leach, "Magical Hair," Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britian and Ireland, Vol. 88, No. 2 (Jul-Dec, 1958) 149.

the "ritualized hair-behaviour may be distinguished"[1077] by hair "being cut off and the head shaved"[1078] or "the hair is allowed to become disheveled [to grow]."[1079] Ritual hair behaviour can generally be understood in Archaic to Classical Greece where hair-offering involved cutting the hair for the dead.[1080] During 900-700 BCE women mourners were depicted on geometric vases.[1081] Women aside from preparing the corpse were also chief mourners:[1082]

> On these vases women may occasionally be recognized by the depiction of breasts, but they are, on the whole, much more readily identifiable in their various attitudes of lamentation – the classic gestures of female grief with both hands raised, or performing the ritual funerary dances, or beating their hands and tearing their hair. Contemporaneous Attic Geometric vases from Ceramicus show mourning women lacerating their foreheads and cheeks until they are bloody.[1083]

Mirto describes mourning women as having loose hair with their hands beating their breast and scratches on their cheeks.[1084] By the fifth century BCE, the gestures of mourning became less violent and women symbolically cut their hair[1085] and individual laments accompanied by choral refrains.[1086] Alexiou explains that the lament was not spontaneous but a controlled ritual.[1087] The lamentation involved both "wailing and singing."[1088] In relation to the architecture, grave markers or stele were set up after burial and the stele were decorated with "ribbons, myrtle branches, or colored wool."[1089]

[1077] Leech, "Magical Hair,"149.
[1078] Leech, "Magical Hair,"149.
[1079] Leech, "Magical Hair," 149.
[1080] Johnston, *Restless Dead,* 42.
[1081] Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975) 43.
[1082] Pomperoy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves,* 43.
[1083] Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves,* 44. See also, Sue Blundell, *Women in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995) 72-73.
[1084] Mirto, *Death in the Greek World,* 73; Burkert, *Greek Religion,* 192.
[1085] Mirto, *Death in the Greek World,* 73; Fantham, Foley, Kampen, Pomperoy, Shapiro, *Women in the Classical World* (Oxford University Press: Great Britian, 1994) 76.
[1086] Mirto, *Death in the Greek World,* 73.
[1087] Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition,* 4.
[1088] Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition,* 6.
[1089] Johnston, *Restless Dead,* 42.

People also, commomly, "cut off and offer[ed their] hair."[1090] Johnston explains that hair-offerings

might be "symbolic of human sacrifices" or to mark the mourners as different.[1091] These types of

practices carried into the Roman era. Hope explains, that the dead were dressed in finery and with

symbols of office, which was contrasted with mourners who wore dark clothing and "might dirty

their hair with ashes, pull at or even cut their hair, beat their breasts and scratch their cheeks."[1092] In

Corinth specifically, Merker notes that hair was ritually cut in Early Hellenistic period[1093] and Broneer

connects cutting the hair in connection to funerary rites to honor Medea's children.[1094] Although, by

Pausanias' time (2nd Century CE), cutting hair was no longer a funerary rite which was connected to

Medea's children, however, hair-cutting and hair growth were likely a mid-first-century CE funerary

practices in Corinth.

When we look at Plutarch's Roman Questions number fourteen we can see hairstyles

connected to funeral practices:

> Why do sons cover their heads when they escort their parents to the grave, while daughters go
> with uncovered heads and hair unbound?
>
> Is it because fathers should be honoured as gods by their male offspring, but mourned as dead
> by their daughters, that custom has assigned to each sex its proper part and has produced a
> fitting result from both?
>
> Or is it that the unusual is proper in mourning, and it is more usual for women to go forth in
> public with their heads covered and men with their heads uncovered? So in Greece, whenever

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[1090] Johnston, *Restless Dead,* 42; Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition,* 7.
[1091] Johnston, *Restless Dead,* 42.
[1092] Hope, *Roman Death,* 72.
[1093] Merker, *Corinth: Results of Excavations*, 338.
[1094] Oscar Broneer, "Hero Cults in the Corinthian Agora," *Hesperia*, 11.2 (1942) 159. Pausanias writes:

> beside which is the tomb of Medea's children. Their names were Mermerus and Pheres, and they are said to have
> been stoned to death by the Corinthians owing to the gifts which legend says they brought to Glauce. But as their
> death was violent and illegal, the young babies of the Corinthians were destroyed by them until, at the command
> of the oracle, yearly sacrifices were established in their honour and a figure of Terror was set up. This figure still
> exists, being the likeness of a woman frightful to look upon; but after Corinth was laid waste by the Romans and
> the old Corinthians were wiped out, the new settlers broke the custom of offering those sacrifices to the sons of
> Medea, nor do their children cut their hair for them or wear black clothes. (Pausanias, *Description of Greece,* Volume
> I: Books 1-2 (Attica and Corinth). trans. by W. H. S. Jones. Loeb Classical Library 93. (Cambridge: Harvard
> University Press, 1918) 262-263)

any misfortune comes, the women cut off their hair and the men let it grow, for it is usual for men to have their hair cut and for women to let it grow.

Or is it that it has become customary for sons to cover their heads for the reason already given? For they turn about at the graves, as Varro relates, thus honouring the tombs of their fathers even as they do the shrines of the gods; and when they have cremated their parents, they declare that the dead person has become a god at the moment when first they find a bone.

But formerly women were not allowed to cover the head at all. At least it is recorded that Spurius Carvilius was the first man to divorce his wife and the reason was her barrenness; the second was Sulpicius Gallus, because he saw his wife pull her cloak over her head; and the third was Publius Sempronius, because his wife had been present as a spectator at funeral games.[1095]

Plutarch, a first century CE writer, explains that the practice of women cutting their hair at funerals was Greek. This differed from ancient Roman practices which had women's hair unveiled and unbound. In Greece, hair-cutting was closely connected to women, and part of a formal lament. This hair-cutting Greek practice carried over into Roman practices. Alternately, the funerary hair custom for men in Greece was to let it grow, while the Roman custom was to have men cover their heads.

Hair-Cutting and Hair-Offering in Ancient Hero Cults

Hair-cutting also played a role in hero cults. In Attica, girls in preparation for marriage would cut locks of their hair to offer the maid heroine, Iphinoe. This custom is similar to offering hair to the heroine maids Opis and Hecaërge:

Between this and the hero-shrine of Alcathous, which in my day the Megarians used as a record office, was the tomb, they said, of Pyrgo, the wife of Alcathous before he married Euaechme, the daughter of Megareus, and the tomb of Iphinoë, the daughter of Alcathous; she died, they say, a maid. It is customary for the girls to bring libations to the tomb of Iphinoë and to offer a lock of their hair before their wedding, just as the daughters of the Delians once cut their hair for Hecaërge and Opis.[1096]

[1095] Plutarch, *Roman Questions* Loeb Classical Library, 27

[1096] Attica hair-offering for marriage. Pausanias, *Description of Greece, Volume I: Books 1-2 (Attica and Corinth).* Translated by W. H. S. Jones. Loeb Classical Library 93. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918) 232-233.

Opis was honoured by Delian hymns and closely associated with Artemis.[1097] Iphinoe and Hecaërge

are only mentioned by Pausanias, but Herodotos has a similar story about Opis.[1098] Marriage rituals,

like hair-cutting, procession, and adornment were paralleled "by ones that took place both at funerals

and at sacrifices."[1099] There were literary references to marriage and death, the rape of Persephone,

and Antigone where the tomb is called the bridal chamber.[1100] Both marriage and funerals possess the

themes of "loss, sorrow and helplessness."[1101] Hair-cutting was also associated with boys,

Mnesimache's son cut his hair as a gift for Cephisus, [1102] and Phigalia the boys of the Phigalians cut

off their hair in honour of the river, Neda.[1103] Significant heroes, like Agamemnon's son Orestes[1104]

[1097] Tripp, *The Meridan Handbook of Classical Mythology,* 429.

[1098] Peter Levi, *Pausanias*, 120.

[1099] Sue Blundell, *Women in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995) 123.

[1100] Blundell, *Women in Ancient Greece,* 123.

[1101] Blundell, *Women in Ancient Greece,* 123.

[1102] An example of Attica hair-offering:

> Before you cross the Cephisus you come to the tomb of Theodorus, the best tragic actor of his day.fl.
> c. 370 b.c. By the river is a statue of Mnesimache, and a votive statue of her son cutting his hair as a gift for
> Cephisus. That this habit has existed from ancient times among all the Greeks may be inferred from the poetry of
> Homer, who makes Peleus vow that on the safe return of Achilles from Troy he will cut off the young
> man's hair as a gift for the Spercheüs (Pausanias, *Description of Greece, Volume I: Books 1-2 (Attica and
> Corinth).* Translated by W. H. S. Jones. Loeb Classical Library 93. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918)
> 198-199).

[1103] An example of Arcadia boys offer hair to a river. Pausanias writes:

> XLI. In the market-place of Phigalia there is also a common tomb of the picked men of Oresthasium, and every
> year they sacrifice to them as to heroes. A river called the Lymax flowing just beside Phigalia falls into the Neda,
> and the river, they say, got its name from the cleansing of Rhea. For when she had given birth to Zeus, the
> nymphs who cleansed her after her travail threw the refuse into this river. Now the ancients called refuse
> "lymata." Homer,[1] for example, says that the Greeks were cleansed, after the pestilence was stayed, and threw the
> "lymata" into the sea. The source of the Neda is on Mount Cerausius, which is a part of Mount Lycaeüs. At the
> place where the Neda approaches nearest to Phigalia the boys of the Phigalians cut off their hair in honour of the
> river. Near the sea the Neda is navigable for small ships. Of all known rivers the Maeander descends with the
> most winding course, which very often turns back and then bends round once more; but the second place for its
> twistings should be given to the Neda." (Pausanias, *Description of Greece, Volume IV: Books 8.22-10 (Arcadia, Boeotia,
> Phocis and Ozolian Locri).* Trans. by W. H. S. Jones. Loeb Classical Library 297. (Cambridge: Harvard University
> Press, 1935) 104-105).

[1104] Arcadia specific hair-offering by Orestes:

> The story is that, when these goddesses were about to put Orestes out of his mind, they appeared to him black;
> but when he had bitten off his finger they seemed to him again to be white and he recovered his senses at the
> sight. So he offered a sin-offering to the black goddesses to avert their wrath, while to the white deities he
> sacrificed a thank-offering. It is customary to sacrifice to the Graces also along with the Eumenides. Near to the

who cut his hair to come to his senses, and Herakles, who made a hair-offering to "the grave of

Sostratus" as a "primal offering."[1105] Finally, Pausanias explains that the statue of Hygeine/Health is

so covered with hair-offerings, it cannot be fully seen:

> Afterwards Alexanor, the son of Machaon, the son of Asclepius, came to Sicyonia and built the
> sanctuary of Asclepius at Titane. The neighbours are chiefly servants of the god, and within the
> enclosure are old cypress trees. One cannot learn of what wood or metal the image is, nor do
> they know the name of the maker, though one or two attribute it to Alexanor himself. Of the
> image can be seen only the face, hands, and feet, for it has about it a tunic of white wool and a
> cloak. There is a similar image of Health; this, too, one cannot see easily because it is so
> surrounded with the locks of women, who cut them off and offer them to the goddess, and
> with strips of Babylonian raiment. With whichever of these a votary here is willing to propitiate
> heaven, the same instructions have been given to him, to worship this image which they are
> pleased to call Health.[1106]

Hair-Cutting and Hair-Offering Applied to 1 Corinthians

The ritual of hair-cutting and hair-offering is connected to the pan-hellenic heroes, Herakles,

Oretes, and Opis. Locally to the heroines, Hecaërge and Iphinoe as well as Cephisus (a river god),

Health, and the river Neda. Hair-cutting was associated with funerary customs for women, and with

the exception of Herakles, hair-cutting and hair-offering were associated with women and children.

If hair-cutting is a custom associated with the dead and heroes, it shouldn't be surprising to find it in

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> place called Ace is another . . . a sanctuary called . . . because here Orestes cut off his hair on coming to his senses.
> Historians of Peloponnesian antiquities say that what Clytaemnestra's Furies did to Orestes in Arcadia took place
> before the trial at the Areopagus; that his accuser was not Tyndareus, who no longer lived, but Perilaüs, who
> asked for vengeance for the mother's murder in that he was a cousin of Clytaemnestra. For Perilaüs, they say, was
> a son of Icarius, to whom afterwards daughters also were born. (Pausanias, *Description of Greece, Volume IV: Books
> 8.22-10 (Arcadia, Boeotia, Phocis and Ozolian Locri).* trans. by W. H. S. Jones. Loeb Classical Library 297. (Cambridge:
> Harvard University Press, 1935) 70-71).

[1105] In Achaia, Herakles offers hair. Interesting, that Pausanias mentions it as a primary offering, as this is reminiscent of
what Kearns was referring to about the hero being the archetype priest which starts off the ritual (Kearns, *Heroes of Attica,*
72). This suggests that hair-cutting as an offering was a continued practice. Possibly here we have Pausanias writes:

> A little before the city of Dyme there is, on the right of the road, the grave of Sostratus. He was a native youth,
> loved they say by Herakles, who outliving Sostratus made him his tomb and gave him some hair from his head as
> a primal offering. Even to-day there is a slab on the top of the mound, with a figure of Heracles in relief. I was
> told that the natives also sacrifice to Sostratus as to a hero. (Pausanias, *Description of Greece,* Volume III: Books 6-
> 8.21 (Elis 2, Achaia, Arcadia). trans. by W. H. S. Jones. Loeb Classical Library 272. (Cambridge: Harvard
> University Press, 1933) 266-267)

[1106] This hair-offering is specific to Corinth. Pausanias, *Description of Greece, Volume I: Books 1-2* (Attica and Corinth). trans.
by W. H. S. Jones. Loeb Classical Library 93. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918) 306-307.

1 Corinthians 11: 4-7 where we identify similar funerary practices and hero worship:

4 πᾶς ἀνὴρ προσευχόμενος ἢ προφητεύων κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων καταισχύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ· 5 πᾶσα δὲ γυνὴ προσευχομένη ἢ προφητεύουσα ἀκατακαλύπτῳ τῇ κεφαλῇ καταισχύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς, ἓν γάρ ἐστιν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τῇ ἐξυρημένῃ. 6 εἰ γὰρ οὐ κατακαλύπτεται γυνή, καὶ κειράσθω· εἰ δὲ αἰσχρὸν γυναικὶ τὸ κείρασθαι ἢ ξυρᾶσθαι, κατακαλυπτέσθω. 7 ἀνὴρ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀφείλει κατακαλύπτεσθαι τὴν κεφαλήν, εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ ὑπάρχων· ἡ γυνὴ δὲ δόξα ἀνδρός ἐστιν

4 Every man who prays or prophesies with his head covered dishonors his head. 5 But every woman who prays or prophesies with her head uncovered dishonors her head—it is the same as having her head shaved. 6 For if a woman does not cover her head, she might as well have her hair cut off; but if it is a disgrace for a woman to have her hair cut off or her head shaved, then she should cover her head. 7 A man ought not to cover his head, [a] since he is the image and glory of God; but woman is the glory of man.

The described practice of men growing their hair long where 1 Cor 11:4 κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων (down from the head) is a reference to long hair[1107] combined with women not covering their heads. When compared to Plutarch and the funerary data, a faction in 1 Corinthians is arguing that men should not grow their hair as in the Greek custom or veil their heads as in the Roman custom, and women preferably should cover their heads, or if they are not ashamed to follow Greek custom they can shave their heads. Essentially, the men are to follow neither the Greek nor Roman customs, and the women if they want can follow the Greek custom of cutting their hair. Highlighting the ritual custom for Christ-hero, that women to cut their hair places the practice within a funerary context and by extension a hero cult worship context ("For if a woman does not cover her head, she might as well have her hair cut off; but if it is a disgrace for a woman to have her hair cut off or her head shaved,

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[1107] Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *Keys to First Corinthians: Revisiting the Major Issues* (Oxford University Press, 2009)161.

then she should cover her head").[1108] Later in the chapter, 1 Cor. 11:13-16 argues based on nature

that men should cut their hair and women should leave it long, however, if people argue about the

suggestions, then "we have no such custom, nor do the churches of God" (1 Cor. 11:16b).

1 Cor. 11:16b is a clear example of contested authority, where Paul[1109] wants to establish a

custom of worship, but has run up against other Greek customs. By placing the Christ-hero

association within the ritualized context of a funerary and heroic frame, this study reveals the cultural

context for the Christ association ritual activities is best understood as funerary and heroic

practices.[1110] The funerary custom of hair-cutting emphasizes the mortuary aspects of the Christ-

hero association, and the heroic custom of hair-offering emphasizes the heroic aspects of Christ. The

ritual of hair-offering when understood in the proper cultural context is a practice that is reflective of

how the Corinthian Christ-hero association understood Christ, that of a low level ancestor hero who

was closer to the dead. Placing hair-offering within the financial situation of the group, offering hair

as part of worship was significantly cheaper than buying votive offerings. Hair-offering may also be a

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[1108] **Plutarch and Funerary Data**

	Male	Female
Greek	Grow Hair	*Cut Hair*
Roman	Cover Head	Uncover Head (later custom *cut hair*)

1 Corinthians

Male	Female
Don't Grow Hair	*Cut Hair*
Don't Cover Head	Cover Head (preferred)

[1109] Referencing Paul may lead the reader to think of distinctive Jewish practices either in common Judaism or Pharisaic Judaism, but as in footnote 523 states, there was nothing distinctive about Jewish funerary practice. Hachlili explains that Jewish funerary rites were similar to funerary rites in fourth-century Athens (Hachlili, *Jewish Funerary Customs*, 482). With regards to Pharisaic practice, one important point that Green makes with the Mishnah is it is possible that the "Rabbis did not have the power they asserted in their texts or that Jews either maintained their own customs and traditions or adopted Hellenistic mores contrary to the desires of the rabbis." (Green, "Sweet Spices in the Tomb," 153) As Green, understands the rabbis as being Hellenized (Green, "Sweet Spices in the Tomb," 154), it is possible to use rabbinic literature along with archaeological evidence to investigate funerary practices because they were not "legislating new or previously unknown rituals" but continuing the Hellenized funerary rites even though the textual evidence is in a later period. (Green, "Sweet Spices in the Tomb," 153)

[1110] Pheme Perkins summaries scholarship on this passage in her commentary as focusing on Corinthian hairstyles (Pheme Perkins, *First Corinthians: Commentaries on the New Testament* (Michigan: Baker Academic, 2012) 135-138).

revival in Corinth of an older Corinthian practice especially with regards to Medea's children, and the evidence from Pausanias reveals this practice also has clear links to healing cults, as shown with Health.[1111]

[1111] By referencing statues in the ancient world this may make the reader wonder about the lack of physical evidence for the argument. Pausanias writing after Hadrian's reforms and the Greek Renaissance mentions that some statues were made of wood. Writing about Apollo, Pausanias explains, "Some eighty stades beyond Corone is a *sanctuary of Apollo on the coast, venerated because it is very ancient according to Messenian tradition, and the god cures illnesses. They call him Apollo Corynthus. His image is of wood,* but the statue of Apollo Argeotas, said to have been dedicated by the Argonauts, is of bronze" (Pausanias, *Description of Greece,* Volume II: Books 3-5 (Laconia, Messenia, Elis 1). Trans. by W. H. S. Jones, H. A. Ormerod. Loeb Classical Library 188. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926) 360-361). Specific to Corinth, Pausanias writes about three wooden statues, (1) "The modern image was made by the Athenian Attalus, *but the original temple and wooden image were the offering of Danaus.* I am of opinion that in those days all images, especially Egyptian images, were made of wood." (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, Volume I: Books 1-2 (Attica and Corinth). trans. by W. H. S. Jones. Loeb Classical Library 93. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918) 344-345); (2) "By the side of Hera stands what is said to be an image of Hebe fashioned by Naucydes; it, too, is of ivory and gold. By its side is *an old image of Hera on a pillar. The oldest image is made of wild-pear wood,* and was dedicated in Tiryns by Peirasus, son of Argus, and when the Argives destroyed Tiryns they carried it away to the Heraeum." (Pausanias, *Description of Greece, Volume I: Books 1-2 (Attica and Corinth)* 154-155). (3) "On the modern citadel is a sanctuary of Fortune of the Height, and after it one of the Dioscuri. *Their images and that of Fortune are of wood.*" (Pausanias. *Description of Greece, Volume I: Books 1-2 (Attica and Corinth)* 284-285). At Elis, Pausanias writes, "The Eleans have also a sanctuary of Fortune. In a portico of the sanctuary has been dedicated *a colossal image, made of gilded wood* except the face, hands and feet, which are of white marble. Here Sosipolis too is worshipped in a small shrine on the left of the sanctuary of Fortune. (Pausanias. *Description of Greece, Volume III: Books 6-8.21 (Elis 2, Achaia, Arcadia).* Trans. by W. H. S. Jones. Loeb Classical Library 272. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1933. 154-155). Finally, the statue at Cythera, "The sanctuary of Aphrodite Urania (the Heavenly) is most holy, and it is the most ancient of all the sanctuaries of Aphrodite among the Greeks. *The goddess herself is represented by an armed image of wood.*" (Pausanias. *Description of Greece, Volume II: Books 3-5 (Laconia, Messenia, Elis 1).* trans. by W. H. S. Jones, H. A. Ormerod. Loeb Classical Library 188. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926. 144-145). As these statues were made of wood, we have no physical evidence only literary of their existence. It is not hard to consider that the Christ-hero followers did have a wooden statue to focus their worship, but as both wood and hair are biodegradable we have no physical evidence as proof.

Conclusion

The problem proposed at the beginning of this study was that the Corinthian community had been presented as a unique or distinct community separated from its cultural context. Scholarship placed a heavy emphasis on Judaism and Paul to the point where the Corinthian community became subordinate to Pauline Christianity. The goal of this study was to draw attention to other ways of analyzing the 1 Corinthian's data (i.e., redescribing the Corinthian community). By placing the text in the cultural context of ancient Corinth the evidence points to a hero cult in the early stages of formation that incorporated and used Greco-Roman ritual practices to help distinguish itself (or *seemingly* to distinguish itself) from the greater Corinthian environment. The study proposes an alternate way to view and understand the early Corinthian Christ-hero association. It is this alternate view that contributes to New Testament scholarship on 1 Corinthians.

This study used Bell's framework to inform the research.[1112] By applying a model to 1 Corinthians, the research created a plausible historical re-imagining of the activities of the Corinthian Christ-Hero group. Bell's framework allowed the research to create a bricolage from diverse evidence to inform the practices exposed in the letter. It is an attempt to make sense of the entire letter, and all the activities described within it, to reveal that there is a consistent underlying platform which pulls seemingly unrelated practices together.

Discussion of the Christ-Hero Association

First century CE Corinth was not a stable city like Rome or Athens. It was rebuilt and colonized by Julius Caeser in 44 BCE with army veterans and freedmen.[1113] The city was under Macedonian control until 27 BCE when the Roman senate made Achaia a province and Corinth its

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[1112] To show how her framework applies to the evidence, I have inserted footnotes into the following section, discussion of the Christ-Hero association.

[1113] David Romano, "Urban and Rural Planning in Roman Corinth," *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth* Eds. Daniel Schowalter and Steven Friesen (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005) 53.

administrative capital. However, by 44 CE the senate resumed control of Achaia presumably because

Corinth did not have the administrative ability.[1114] By the Flavian period (69-79 CE), Corinth was

failing as a colony and needed to be refounded.[1115] A mix of people including a resident population,

the colonists and descendants, and new migrants;[1116] the established Roman hegemony; and the

Greek cultural traditions caused a critical juncture bringing together differing social and cultural

forces.[1117] During transition times cultural institutions were created so that people could adapt and

form roots in a fractured polis. This was the case for first century CE Corinth.[1118]

Hero cults, as cultural institutions, restructured networks of civic power by allowing people to

construct territorial and arbitrate borders based on heroic personages. The cultic rites played a

significant role in a community's self-definition and allowed families and communites to assert

themselves within a polis. In Corinth, a city built around a service economy,[1119] wealthy elite families

dominated civic affairs. This, combined with the creation of voluntary associations along with

funerary practices to commemorate individuals and the significance of heroes, was all used to

accommodate the power of these families. Parallel to the restructuring of civic power, graves and

tombs were used to legitimize authority of elite families based upon ancestral lineages.[1120] The hero

stood as focal point for the new sociopolitical communities creating an imaginary city physically

symbolized by the the artifacts of tombs or sanctuaries within the polis.[1121] The character of the hero

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[1114] David Horrell and Edward Adams, *Christianity at Corinth: The Quest for the Pauline Church* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004) 3-4.

[1115] Romano, "Urban and Rural Planning in Roman Corinth," 53.

[1116] Horrell and Adams, *Chritianity at Corinth*, 3.

[1117] Mack, *Who Wrote the New Testament?*, 19. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 16.

[1118] This representation of Corinth does not undermine Strabo's remarks about Corinthian wealth. Strabo points to many significantly wealthy people in Corinth. The argument here is that although the city had money it did not have the cultural institutions and the administrative bureaucracies in place to make it a stable city. (Strabo. *The Geography of Strabo*, ed. H. L. Jones (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924) 8.6.20)

[1119] See Donald Engels, *Roman Corinth: An Alternative Model for the Classical City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

[1120] Alcock, ""Tomb Cult and the Post-Classical Polis," 458.

[1121] Hall, "Beyond the Polis," 49-50.

was distinctly local, allowing the community's identity to develop and empowering it to gain a life of its own.[1122] As a transplanted unsettled population the Corinthian communities expressed symbolically through hero cults a new sociopolitical system within the polis attempting to gain sovereignty over their mediated borders. The rebuilt Corinth offered families and communities the opportunity to redefine political relationships as their heroes presided over the greater Corinthian area.

The Corinthian Christ-hero association focused their community around the *genos* hero, Lord Christ. Building on Greek heroic characteristics, they developed a *kyrios*-based heroic fellowship where their hero Christ was separated and antagonistic to God in myth, but symbiotic in ritual.[1123] For the Christ-hero association, Christ's death and resurrection aligned with the death and epiphanies of ancient heroes as did his healing and protector features. Christ epitomized the pan-hellenic hero, like Herakles or Achilles, as well as the local heroes of Corinthian context: Aratos, Opheltes, Choreia, Agamemnon, Hyrnetho, Hippolytus and many more. The Lord's Meal, a hybrid ritual, can be placed within the heroic rites of *theoxenia* and *enagezein*,[1124] allowing the Christ-hero followers to bring their hero closer to them imbuing their communication rituals of prophecy and speaking in tongues. Offerings of hair was a natural response to the financially limited members. For the group, funerary rites and the ritualized Lord's Meal nuanced and dominated other aspects of the cult (i.e., oracular, hair-offering, baptism, *defixiones,* healing).[1125] But the Christ-hero did more than simply focus worship, he rooted the newly transplanted migrant Corinthians locally within the sociopolitical space of the polis allowing them to restructure their networks and claim a place of

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[1122] Hall, "Beyond the Polis," 49-50.

[1123] This antagonism/symbiosis is the type of structure Bell refers to when she discusses rituals as contrasting and creating differentiation (see Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 90).

[1124] This was accomplished by using Bell's tool, Ritual and Language (Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 113).

[1125] The Corinthian community created schemes that nuanced and influenced/dominated lesser schemes. Bell refers to this as, Ritual Oppositions and Heirarchies. (Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 116).

ownership within the greater Corinthian environment.[1126] Also, by drawing descendancy to Moses, the Corinthian Christ-hero association Pan-Hellenically created the imagined space of Ancient Israel hereditarily rooting themselves to the Ancient Israel's epic past.

The Christ-hero community created territorial boundaries through ancestry to Christ and Moses that directly affected their status.[1127] The rituals show a community that is struggling financially and by developing an association they are able to shift their status in Corinthian society from unsetted to settled. Offering oracular services within a service-based economy financially supported the group. As a new association, their bylaws did not fine members who disobeyed, but they would exclude them from meals and in extreme circumstances exclude them from the association. As citizens of Corinth, they used the lawcourts to settle disputes. Their open membership policy of no fixed monthly fees allowed any to join; women in particular found a place in this community. As food and burials were of a major concern for the group, they were probably lower status[1128] and financially impoverished. They honoured significant members through servitude and incorporated role-playing aspects like baptisms on behalf of the dead.

The Christ-hero association was a fractured group. Factions competed for authority and control over the Christ-hero rituals.[1129] It seems most likely, given the praise towards Stephanas and

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[1126] By applying ritual, the Christ-hero group was able to shift their organization into other situations within the greater Corinthian environment. For Bell this is called, Ritual Mastery. (Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 107-108).

[1127] Bell explains that "people do not take a social problem to ritual for a solution. People generate a ritualized environment that acts to shift the very status and nature of the problem into terms that are endlessly retranslated in strings of derfeered schemes." (Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* 106). The hero cult context allowed the Christ-hero community to generate a ritualized environment that directly effected their status in Corinth.

[1128] This is based upon ritual evidence found in this study. Other studies have shown a mixed strata of society with possibly higher status people influencing lower status people. For more information on the levels of social strata see Wayne Meeks, "The Social Level of Pauline Christians: 'Proletarians' or 'MiddleClass'?", *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul,* Yale University Press: London, 1983. Dale Martin, "Tongues of Angels and Other Status Indicators," AAR 59/3 2004 547-587. Meeks, Wayne A. "The Social Context of Pauline Theology" *Interpretation*, 36 no 3,1982, 266-277. Gerd Theissen, "Social Stratification in the Corinthian Community: A Contribution to the Sociology of Early Hellenistic Christianity," *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity: Essays on Corinth*, Fortress Press: Philadelphia, 1982.

[1129] The Corinthian group does not have one unqualified authority figure (For ritual authority see Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 134).

his family, that Stephanas was a key player in the Christ-hero cult.[1130] As baptism was closely connected to creating and establishing lineages, Stephanas' ancestry would be attached to the *genos* Christ. His family's identity was intertwined with the *genos* Christ-hero and rituals were developed with Christ as the archetype priest[1131] presiding over them, such as the Lord's Meal. Membership grew to include Chloe's people, Crispis and Gaius, and the hereditary flavor of the Christ-hero cult remained and incorporated a network of families living in the same neighbourhood district. As Christ was understood as a lower level hero closely associated with the ordinary dead and the rites had funerary features, the families probably lived in a district close to tombs where they could carry out their practices.[1132]

The Christ-hero association was not distinctive or unique; it was a product of the Corinthian environment.[1133] Their association rooted them to Corinth and as part of the Corinthian polis they expediently modeled their rituals after Greco-Roman practices.[1134] The hero associations in and around Corinth would have provided the community with a standard to compare their cult, a way in which it could judge its status and integration into the colony. In this way, they competed and aligned with other groups – competing for membership[1135] and aligning their associative practices. This

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[1130] Ebel, *Attraktiviat früher christlicher Gemeinden,* 220.

[1131] Kearnes, *The Heroes of Attica*, 68-69.

[1132] Placement of Hero-cults follows from Alcock's, Hall's, and Last's research. Last discusses neighbourhood linkages where groups of a similar nature would inhabit a district (Last, *The Pauline Church and the Corinthian Ekklesia,* 415). Alcock discusses the importance of place in tomb cults (Alcock, "Tomb Cult and the Post-Cassical Polis," 453). Hall reveals the importance of placement of hero cults in the Pelopponese (Hall, "Beyond the Polis," 49-50). Bell's framework emphasizes the importance of the social body interacting within a "symbolically constituted special and temporal environment" and how that space circles back to produce rituals. (Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 93). The tomb environment creates the space for the Lord's Meal ritual, the rituals of communication, baptism on behalf of the dead, hair-offering rituals and it is these rituals that form schemes which the surrounding environment influences – the funerary language in the rites were added in part because of the mortuary setting.

[1133] Bell's framework explains that ritual develops out of the cultural context (Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 28, 81). The mistake made by scholars like Meeks is that the practices seem distinct, but Bell explains that this is part of misrecognition which she calls, Seeing and Not Seeing (Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 82, 109, 191).

[1134] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 82.

[1135] Eva Ebel's research is based on the idea of competition (Eva Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden: Die Geminde von Korinth im Spiegel griechisch-römischer Vereine* Ed. Jörg Frey (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004).

aligning was more than simply mirroring the greater Corinthian rites, it was a concentrated effort to reconstruct and reconfigure existing rites of powerful families and communities in Corinth so that they could empower their Christ-hero group.[1136] By reproducing the Roman Corinthian power structures, they could raise their status in society.

[1136] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 83.

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