

**CLOTHING THE BODY OF CHRIST AT COLOSSAE:
A Visual Construction of Identity**

Rosemary Canavan
BA, BTh(Hons)

Department of Theology
Faculty of Education, Humanities and Law
Flinders University, South Australia

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Contents

Synopsis	v
Declaration	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
Abbreviations	ix
Photographs	x
Maps	xii
Figures	xiii

PART I

Introduction

Introduction to Thesis	1
Outline	7
Parameters	11

Chapter 1: Colossae: the City and the Letter

Introduction	12
Context of the Christ Community at Colossae	12
Literary Context	25
Summary	31

Chapter 2: Scholarly Context

Introduction	33
Engaging Images and Texts	34
Art History	42
Identity Construction	45
Visual Imagery of Clothing in the Pauline Corpus	53
Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation	55
The Gaps	57
Summary	58

Chapter 3: Methodology	
Introduction	59
Social Identity Theory	61
Visual Imagery of Clothing	61
Overview of Methodology	63
A Socio-Rhetorical Approach	64
Summary	75

PART II

Chapter 4: Clothing as Visual Culture defining Identity	
Introduction	76
Statuary	82
<i>Stelae</i>	109
Funerary Monuments	119
Coins	122
Summary	127

Chapter 5: The “body” as Visual Location of Identity	
Introduction	129
The Body in First Century CE	132
Body Types	133
The Body of the Roman Emperor	136
The Bodies of “Others”: Barbarians and Captives	138
Social Bodies: Personifications of Nations, States and “the people”	142
Summary	150

PART III

Chapter 6: Letter to the Colossians 3: 1-17	
Introduction	151
The Letter to the Colossians	152
The Focus Text 3:1-17	155
Inner Texture	159
Intertexture	166
Social and Cultural Texture	193
Ideological Texture	197
Sacred Texture	202
Summary	203

PART IV

Chapter 7: A Visual Construction of Identity: dialogue between images and text

Introduction	205
Summary of the Visual Imagery of “clothing” and “body”	206
Implications	218
Summary	219

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Further Research 220

Appendices

Appendix 1: Progression of Identities and Topics in Col 3:1-17	227
Appendix 2: Table of “clothe” References	231
Appendix 3: Outlines of Colossians	242
Appendix 4: Virtues	246
Appendix 5: Map of Asia Minor	247
Appendix 6: Glossary	248

Bibliography	250
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Synopsis

The metaphorical use of clothing and body in the Letter to the Colossians 3:1-17 draws upon and is connected to the social world of the author and the recipients of the letter in the first century CE. To understand how this text was heard I take a three dimensional approach engaging the visual representations of clothing and body prevalent in the cities where this letter was written, read and heard.

Roman emperors since Augustus (27 BCE-14 CE) seized upon the potential of clothing and body to construct identity. The replication of images of the emperors throughout their regime was a strategic ploy to assert Roman values and identity across a diversity of conquered peoples. The plethora of representations created a new hierarchy of images which exploited the typical collective identity of Mediterranean culture. The emperor became the locus of the identity of a regime that promised and delivered *Pax Romana*.

It is against this backdrop that the Letter to the Colossians is read. The use of a socio-rhetorical approach to the text allows access to multiple textures of meaning. These are then placed in dialogue with the imagery of clothing and body defined and delineated in the cityscapes of the Lycus Valley and strategically connected cities.

The results of the dialogue yield significant correlation between the images and the text. These provide evidence of parallels of the elements of the visual construction of identity between the material culture and the literary text. The interdisciplinary engagement is essential to the interpretation of the text. The continued conversation between images and texts is vital for biblical interpretation. This work adds to the growing field of methods for making this conversation happen.

Declaration

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief, it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Rosemary Canavan', written in a cursive style.

Rosemary Canavan

Date: 6 June 2011

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Widely encompassed in these acknowledgements are many very special people too numerous to mention by name. All reflect to me the lived reality of being clothed in the virtues and love that is the body of Christ.

Abbreviations

- BMC* *Catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum*, 29 vols., London 1873-1927 (repr.).
- IAPH2007* *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias* (2007), available <http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007>
- ILS* *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, ed. Herman Dessau. 3 vols in 5 parts, Berlin, 1892-1916 (repr.).
- IvE* *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, ed. Hermann Wankel, Bonn, 1979-1984.
- JOAI* *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien*. Wien, 1898-.
- MAMA* *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, ed. William M. Calder et al. 8 vols. Manchester, 1928-62.
- OGIS* *Orientalis graeci inscriptiones selectae*, ed. W. Dittenberger. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1903.
- SNG Cop* *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum* (in Copenhagen). 43 pts., Copenhagen 1942-77.

Photographs

1	Laodikeia aerial view	17
2	Colossae Tell aerial view	18
3	Colossae Tell, 2005 with insets of pillars in the field, 2009	18
4	Tomb of Claudius Memmius, Curetes Street, Ephesus, 2009	89
5	Mazeus and Mithradates Gate, Ephesus, 2009	90
6	Busts of Tiberius and Livia, Selçuk Museum, 2005	90
7	Temple of Tiberius at Smyrna	92
8a	Relief from the Sebasteion, museum annex at Aphrodisias: Emperor crowned by personification of Rome and captive barbarian, 2009	94
8b	Relief from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias: Nero and Armenia, 2009	94
9	Relief from the Sebasteion, at Aphrodisias: Claudius and Britannia, 2009	95
10	Relief from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias: Ethnos of Crete, 2009	95
11a	Relief from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias: Tiberius with captive, 2009	96
11b	Relief from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias: Nero with captive, 2009	96
12	Relief from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias: Claudius and Agrippina	98
13a	Livia, first century BCE, Aphrodisias	99
13b	Pudicitia statue first century CE, Aphrodisias	99
13c	Veiled young woman, first century CE, Aphrodisias	99
13d	Large Herculaneum woman, 40-60 CE, Roman	99
13e	Campana Hera, Roman copy of Hellenistic original, second century CE	99
14a	Head of Livia, first century CE, Selçuk Museum, 2009	100
14b	Bust of Livia, first century CE, Selçuk Museum, 2009	100
15	Livia sacrificing, Aphrodisias	101
16	Agrippina holding ears of wheat, Aphrodisias	101
17	Agrippina holding cornucopia	102
18	Young man wearing toga, first century CE, Aphrodisias	103
19	Stele, Hellenistic period, Laodikeia	110
20	Marble stele, Honaz	111
21a	Funerary stele for Nikopolis, late Hellenistic, Laodikeia	112
21b	Enlargement of alcove in 21a	112
21c	Detail of siren on 21a	112
22a	Symposium/banquet style stele, first century CE, Istanbul	113
22b	Western Asia Minor stele, first century BCE	113
22c	North west Asia Minor funerary stele	113
23a	Stele, Honaz	114
23b	Stele from Honaz, Hierapolis	114
24	Stele for Apollonius, first-second century CE, Laodikeia	116
25a	Stele for Menodotus, second century CE, Laodikeia	117
25b	Stele for Kordianos, first century CE, Smyrna	117
26	Stele for Melite, wife of Onesimos, 350 BCE	118
27a	“Tomba Bella”, Julio-Claudian period, Hierapolis	120
27b	Detail of “Tomba Bella”, 2009	120

28a	Gaius Julius Zoilos in Roman dress, Aphrodisias	121
28b	Gaius Julius Zoilus as traveller, Aphrodisias	121
28c	Zoilos Heroon, Aphrodisias	121
29	Illustration of coin: Nero as Apollo	123
30	Coin: Radiate head of Apollo, second –first century BCE, Colossae	124
31	Coin: Laureate head of Zeus, second-first century BCE, Colossae	124
32a	Coin: Young Nero and Zeus Laodiceus, 54-68 CE, Laodikeia	125
32b	Coin: Nero <i>homonoia</i> coin Laodikeia and Smyrna, 54-68 CE, Laodikeia	125
33	Coin:Nero and the rape of Persephone, 54-68 CE, Laodikeia	125
34a	Coin:Tiberius Reverse. PIETAS, <i>BMC</i> 1.133.98.	126
34b	Coin:Tiberius Reverse. IUSTITIA, <i>BMC</i> 1.131.79.	126
34c	Coin: Tiberius Reverse. SALUS AUGUSTA, <i>BMC</i> 1.131.81.	126
35	Archaistic kore, first century BCE-first century CE, Italy	131
36	Coin: Denarius of Augustus, Gaul kneeling in submission	138
37	Stele: Gnosilas – barbaros, Uluborlu	139
38a	Young boy captive, Aphrodisias	139
38b	Captive with Tiberius, Aphrodisias	139
39	Bound captive, Aphrodisias	140
40	Zoilos frieze with Demos on left, Polis on right, Aphrodisias	142
41	Illustration of Zoilos frieze, Aphrodisias	143
42	Coin: Demos Laodikean and Zeus Laodiceus, 54-68 CE, Laodikeia	143
43	Personification of Rome, Aphrodisias	146
44	Claudius holding the hand of Agrippina, crowned by the people of Rome	147
45a	Nero crowned by Agrippina, Aphrodisias	148
45b	Roma in battle dress, Aphrodisias	148
46a	Goddess inscribing trophy	149
46b	Augustus of Prima Porta, Rome	149

Maps

1. Map section showing the relative locations of the cities of the Lycus Valley 15
2. Map of Asia Minor highlighting trade routes for Colossae and Laodikeia 20

Figures

1. Socio-rhetorical model of textual communication	67
2. Adapted Socio-rhetorical model	70
3. Chart showing number of mints striking coins during the reign of the Julio-Claudian Emperors	122
4. Table of progression of identities of Christ and God in Colossians 3:1-17	159
5. Table showing overlay of clothing imagery on progression of identities of Christ and God in Colossians 3:1-17	163
6. Illustration of intertexture of “clothing” in Romans, Galatians and Colossians	168
7. Table summarizing the layers of texture in Col 3:1-17	203
8. Visual construction of identity contrasting and comparing images and texts	209
9. Table of the virtues as descriptors or qualifiers of God	246

Introduction

Introduction to Thesis

Nel Hedayat is a young Afghani woman living in England. Her story was featured in a 2010 public affairs program on Australian television.¹ Living outside of her home country since she was six years of age, Nel finds that she is not sure of her identity or where she belongs. To all intents and purposes she feels “Western” but she knows her skin and appearance is Afghani. She wants to return and see if she can live there. In order to travel into Afghanistan, one of the first things she must do is to buy clothes that allow her to visit Kabul. Her Western attire will not permit her to cross the boundary into the identity that she has in Afghanistan. The garments worn by Afghani women define them with regard to their religious beliefs, ethnicity and culture. Nel is filmed buying scarves, long sleeved shirts and skirts that modestly cover her body. She accepts assistance to wrap the scarf appropriately around her head, covering her hair. She dons the clothes with pride and excitement as she sets off to visit her homeland.

In Kabul she is met by relatives. Her dress allows her to blend immediately into the community. Coooned in the company and home of her aunts and cousins she shares stories and reacquaints with her heritage. When she ventures out she finds her movements restricted. Dressed as a local and in the company of her kinswomen she is bound by the rules of the land. Her Afghani identity and belonging are affirmed by her clothing.

Once she leaves the city to visit a rural centre outside Kabul, it is immediately obvious that her clothing is inadequate. In this region all the women wear burqa. She feels the stares of all as she stands out as foreign. She is glad to borrow a cloak to cover her difference. With relief she retreats inside a women’s centre. Already unsettled by her experience in the streets she listens in dismay to the stories of young women in the local hospital and jail. They recount their physical and mental abuse by their husbands, fathers

¹ Australian Broadcasting Commision, “In a Strange Land” , *Four Corners*, 17 May 2010 .

and brothers. Nel is brought to tears as she encounters women who self-harm in desperation to escape their situation of oppression.

The traditional dress of Afghani women, which signifies their ethnic and religious belonging, also communicates the power relationship of the male over the female. Under the present regime in Afghanistan dress is regulated to construct a particular identity and enforce the power relationship.

Nel is able return to London and to take off the garments of her Afghani identity, putting on the attire of her Western life in London. She expresses the freedom she feels in the exchange of clothing. She is painfully aware that this is not the option for her fellow country women living in Afghanistan.

As the story of Nel shows, what we wear identifies us. Our identity is both embedded in us and shown outwardly. Identity is hidden and overt, internalised and externalised, inherent, inherited and constructed. Identity is multilayered and multivalent, individual and collective. Identity is not static but a “complex process of construction, negotiation and contestation”.² In Nel’s case she is both “Western” and “Afghani”. When she dons the scarf and clothing identifiable with Afghani women in Kabul she covers over her current identity. She also puts on the meaning and values of the clothing of her Afghani identity in the context of a country emerging from a religious war.

Afghanistan today still reflects many of the values of the ancient world including honour, shame and the authority vested in the male head of the household. Nel is dismayed to hear her young male cousin censorious of his sister’s wish to appear on a television talent show. Such activity would bring shame upon him and the line of males in the household. His reaction mirrors values held in the first century CE where people were governed to what others thought of them. They understood their identity in relational terms. First and foremost individuals were identified by their family and

² Rebecca Preston, "Roman Questions, Greek Answers," in *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of the Empire*, ed. Simon Goldhill (Cambridge: Cambridge University 2001), 88.

specifically in relation to the male head of household, *pater-familias*. This relational connection, where a person relies on another for his or her identity, is known as dyadism.³ A “dyadic person” is one who is “group embedded” and “group oriented”.⁴ From this perspective it is the group identity of ethnic origin, family, clan or tribe in conjunction with the values of honour and shame which determined how people belonged. Their world relied on a group-centredness different to the individualism of our current age. First and foremost people were members of their kinship group which defined their identity, giving parameters to their belonging. Greek nomenclature often included “son of” or “daughter of” designations so that the family connection was easily known. Roman nomenclature popularly names both sons and daughters for their fathers using variations of his name thus identifying them patrilineally. People were born into households which were the basic building block of society and key determinants of identity and status. Kinship groups were ethnically based and often distinguished by specific clothing styles. Trades were also hereditary affirming social status connected to kinship. People were born into an identity by virtue of their family origins which was readily recognised through their attire.

The tensions of differing identities arise as one group defines itself against the other: Roman and Greek, Greek and barbarian, Greek and Judean, Roman and Phrygian. Mode of dress operated as an identifier of ethnic origin, gender, political status and was used in a symbolic way by the Romans to convey their cultural identity and ideology.⁵ Firstly, specific garments identified Romans as Romans: the toga was the symbol of Roman citizenship. The specific style of the toga made it distinct from the Greek *himation* and

³ Jerome Neyrey, "Dyadism," in *Handbook of Biblical Social Values*, ed. John J. Pilch and Bruce J. Malina (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1998), 53.

⁴ Bruce J. Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology*, Revised ed. (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 67.

⁵ The terminology of “Jew/ish” has become problematic in terms of describing first century phenomena. Ἰουδαῖοι does signify people with a strong attachment to the land of origin, Judea, and especially the temple in Jerusalem. It can well be argued that those in Asia Minor in the first century did not view themselves so closely related to Judea; however to call them Jewish indicates a religious identity disenfranchised from their political and other social realities which is not in keeping with the culture of the time. For this reason I choose to use the terminology of “Judean” but recognise that this is still inadequate. Bengt Holmberg, "Understanding the First Hundred Years of Christian Identity," in *Exploring Early Christian Identity* ed. Bengt Holmberg (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008). For further information and discussion see Holmberg, "Understanding the First Hundred Years of Christian Identity," 3-5.

the barbarian leggings or trousers. Secondly, for Romans, clothing indicated rank, status, office and authority. Such distinctions included the addition of stripes on the tunic worn with the *toga* which signalled that the wearer held the rank of equestrian or senator. Senatorial families were distinguished from the equestrians by the width of the stripes (*clavi*) on their tunics.⁶ Putting on the *latus clavus* meant “becoming a senator”.⁷ The purple border of the *toga praetexta* designated the wearer as the holder of a magisterial office. These distinctions of clothing were a visual language that marked the boundaries of identity and carried the symbolic representation of power and values.

Roman commentators describe those at the fringes of the empire as all the more wild and strange in appearance and dress. Diodorus Siculus (90-21 BCE) describes the clothing of the Gauls in this way:

shirts which have been dyed and embroidered in various colours, and breeches, which they call in their tongue “bracae”, and they wear striped heavy coats, fastened by a buckle on the shoulder, heavy for winter wear and light for summer, in which are set checks, close together and of various hues.⁸

The Gauls were cited as in “kinship and friendship” with the Romans yet the description of their clothing marked them as foreign and other.⁹

It is in this context, in first century CE, that a letter was sent to the fledgling Christ community resident in Colossae.¹⁰ This ancient city was located in the south-western region of Asia Minor, near Denizli in modern day Turkey. The letter was also to be read to the gathered community of Christ followers at Laodikeia.¹¹ A third city of the Lycus

⁶ Liza Cleland, Glenys Davies, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z* (London: Routledge, 2007), 180.

⁷ Cleland, Davies, and Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress*, 35.

⁸ Siculus Diodorus, *Diodorus Siculus. Diodorus of Sicily in Twelve Volumes with an English Translation by C. H. Oldfather*, vol. 4-8 (London: William Heinemann Pty. Ltd., 1989), 5.30.1-2.

⁹ Diodorus, *Diodorus Siculus*, 5.25.1.

¹⁰ I am using the term “Christ community” to indicate that the community addressed by the Letter to the Colossians was centred on the risen Jesus, using “Christ” terminology most often unaccompanied by “Jesus”.

¹¹ In keeping with the focus on the identity in the risen Christ I am adopting the terminology of “Christ follower”. This understanding builds on the favoured terminology of Paul, that continues into the Letter of the Colossians, where Paul identifies the community members as being “in Christ”. As will be shown later in the exegesis, the use of Χριστός in the letter to the Colossians names the identity of the community in the body of Christ. Similar terminology has already been adopted by William Campbell and Philip Esler in

Valley, Hierapolis, is also mentioned in the letter. Together these three are the major centres in the Lycus Valley. As Graeco-Roman cities, their streets and buildings were home to a multiplicity of images in the form of statuary, *stelae*, votive offerings, funerary monuments and coins.¹² All these forms of images offer insight into the identities prevalent there. Each image has the propensity to communicate specific values and ideologies, thereby constructing identity.

Augustus (27 BCE-14CE) recognised the potential for constructing identity through visual images. From before he was known as Augustus, Octavian took the advantage of the name of his great uncle and adoptive father, Caesar (100-44 BCE). In donning the name he also adopted the image of Caesar (Gaius Julius Caesar) and became ‘son of the deified Caesar’ (*divi filius*). He laid claim to the divine and heroic ancestors of the Julian house.¹³ The appearance of the young Caesar was deliberately in likeness of son to father and portrayed a young hero in the style of Alexander. He assumed the name of “Augustus” meaning stately, dignified and holy. He constructed his new image with a new name, title and representations of himself cuirassed as a military commander emulating Greek classical values and with overtones of Alexander and Apollo. This was a new phenomenon in the “meaningful use and repetition of images and messages”.¹⁴

The precedence of dissemination of statues throughout the Mediterranean had already been established by Julius Caesar in the period c.50-25 BCE.¹⁵ Augustus was to make this commonplace practice with the added value of applying a schema of meaning. As

the form of “Christ-follower” or “Christ-believer” and “Christ-movement” to respectfully address the tensions for Judeans and gentiles in first century CE. See William S. Campbell, *Paul and the Creation of Christian Identity* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2006), 12.; Philip Esler, *Conflict and Identity in Romans: The Social Setting of Paul's Letter* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003), 12.

¹² “Graeco-Roman” indicates the presence of both Greek and Roman characteristics. I use the term to indicate both the tension between these two as well as the cross-fertilisation of ideas. Laura Nasrallah suggests the use of this descriptive “flattens difference and unequal power into a pat compound adjective”. It is not my intention to do this. “Graeco-Roman” is employed here to alert the reader to the interactive environment and the continued negotiation and assertion of identity. See Laura Salah Nasrallah, *Christian Responses to Roman Art and Architecture: The Second-Century Church amid the Spaces of the Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 30.

¹³ Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. Alan Shapiro (The University of Michigan Press, 1988), 36.

¹⁴ Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 37.

¹⁵ Charles Brian Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 58.

part of his cultural reform Augustus devised a strategy to focus identity in the person of the emperor. This was implemented through images of the emperor clothed in the virtues of Rome. Augustus and his successors personified Rome wearing the toga or cuirass. The production of these images was likely centred originally in Rome. The exponential increase in the number required caused a move to regional workshops, gradually set up through the first century CE, which would style the portraits from models made in Rome, probably from terracotta or plaster.¹⁶

This deliberate and organised means of constructing identity instigated by Augustus and well developed by the first century CE allows a new perspective on the use of clothing imagery in Colossians 3:1-17. The author of Colossians insists that Christ followers clothe themselves in a distinctive manner that identifies them in Christ. In this way they hold together in one body in the midst of competing identities. The reference point for their identity is Christ. They are embedded in Christ. Their clothing, which identifies them in the body of Christ, parallels the style of visual construction of identity observed from Augustus and subsequent emperors.¹⁷ In light of all this, I now come to what I shall be arguing in this thesis:

I propose that the imagery of clothing and body in Colossians 3:1-17 parallels and critiques a systematic visual construction of identity in the cities of the Lycus Valley in the first century CE.

As I shall demonstrate in the pages ahead, the author of the Letter to the Colossians employs clothing imagery as a textual device to renew the identity of the Christ community at Colossae. This is affected in the context of an imposing environment of visual images of clothing and body representing the power and values of the ruling elite. The graphic use of clothing imagery describes how to be recognised as members of the body of Christ. It is metaphorical, as it goes beyond the literal meaning of putting on garments. The metaphorical use of “clothe” stakes a claim on the boundaries of the

¹⁶ Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period*, 57-58.

¹⁷ The authorship of this letter is still strongly contested. The debate about whether this letter can be attributed to Paul or one of his disciples will be visited in Chapter 1.

identity of the members of this community when those boundaries are at risk. The “taking off” and “putting on” recalls the ritual of initiation into this community of Christ, the body of Christ, at Colossae. It is an identity renewed in the knowledge of the image of the creator (Col 3:10), formed as “new” in connection to Christ and not through standard markers of identity such as ethnicity, religious affiliation or status (Col 3:11). This renewal is evoked through the metaphors of robing and disrobing: of throwing off vices (Col 3:8) and putting on or clothing with virtues (Col 3:12), bringing to mind the ritual dying with Christ and being raised with Christ in their initiation. Accordingly, the author draws on a pre-existing sensitivity to the symbolic potential of clothing in visual culture and in textual metaphor to weave the distinctive identity of the followers of Christ at Colossae. In the very nature of these images of clothing, the author offers a means of understanding the ongoing transformation of becoming the body of Christ: clothing themselves with virtue, renewing their identity “in Christ”, strengthening them as “God’s chosen ones, holy and beloved” (Col 3:10).

Outline

I propose that the imagery of clothing and body in the Letter to the Colossians parallels and critiques a systematic construction of identity in the cities of the Lycus Valley in the first century CE. Inherent in this proposal are two major fields of investigation. The first concerns the clothing and body imagery of the Lycus Valley in the first century CE. The subjects of this area are the statuary, funerary monuments, *stelae* and coins. This is the sphere of visual culture where I locate the visual imagery of clothing and body. The second field of interpretation concerns the text of the Letter to the Colossians, 3:1-17. Within this text it is the metaphorical use of clothing and body which is the object of the interpretative approach. Both of these fields are brought into dialogue to test the synergy of image and text in visually constructing identity. The result is a dissertation of four parts:

- Part I: Introduction, Context of Colossae and the Letter, Scholarly Context and Methodology
- Part II: Clothing and Body Imagery Constructing Identity in First Century CE
- Part III: Exegesis of Col 3:1-17 using a Socio-Rhetorical Approach

Part IV: Visual Construction of Identity, Implications and Further Research

Part I: Introduction, Context of Colossae and the Letter, Scholarly Context and Methodology

Part I consists of the Introduction and three chapters. I introduce the investigation of the use of clothing and body imagery as a construction of identity. I consider the metaphorical transfer from the visual material culture of statuary and other solid forms to literary images. Grounded in Aristotle's understanding of the use of metaphor as setting something "before the eyes" (πρὸ ὀμμάτων), my argument develops the concept of clothing and body imagery in Colossians as bringing "before the eyes" images from the world of the hearer/reader that make sense of their identity in Christ.¹⁸

Chapter 1 introduces the context of both the ancient city of Colossae and the Letter to the Colossians. I outline the physical features of the city and its relationships with neighbouring cities in the Lycus Valley. Using the visible remains of the odeon and columns I suggest the probable streetscape and describe the geophysical, political and religious circumstances of Colossae. This will help establish the context of the clothing and body imagery available to the residents. Furthermore, I describe the literary setting of Colossians as one of a group of letters written in the name of Paul.

Chapter 2 highlights those scholars who engage visual images to interpret ancient texts. These scholars are experimenting across disciplines to find effective ways to read both images and texts together. They combine insights from the fields of art history and iconography with biblical exegesis and semiotic models. I draw upon their wisdom to implement a "visual exegesis".¹⁹

Chapter 3 explicates my methodology. The "visual exegesis" is based on an adaptation of socio-rhetorical interpretation. Beginning in the streetscapes of the cities of the Lycus Valley of the first century CE, I investigate the available images of "clothing" and

¹⁸ Aristotle, *Ars Rhetorica*, trans. W. D. Ross (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), 3.2.13.

¹⁹ I am indebted to Michael Trainor for the coining of this phrase which best describes the methodology that I apply in this thesis. This terminology encompasses my approach and gives a home to the variety of methods of placing text and image in dialogue. It will be explained further in the following chapters.

“body” as they appear on statuary, funerary monuments, *stelae* and coins as a visual construction of identity. The multi-textured exegesis of Colossians 3:1-17 is brought into dialogue with these visible constructions of identity.

Part II: Clothing and Body Imagery Constructing Identity in the First Century CE

In Part II I interpret clothing and body imagery available on statuary, *stelae*, funerary monuments and coins in the cities of the Lycus Valley as elements of a visual construction of identity.

Chapter 4 is devoted to the examination of clothing images to observe the patterns of meaning pertinent and influential for the inhabitants at Colossae. I include representations from the neighbouring cities of Laodikeia and Hierapolis and from key trading partner cities such as Aphrodisias, Ephesus and Smyrna.

In Chapter 5 I concentrate on “body” images. This analysis probes the intimate connection between clothing and body. Further, I interrogate the duality of meaning of a physical body and a representative one highlighting the strategic bodies that centre identity for the residents of the cities, namely the Demos (Δῆμος), the emperor and personifications of cities and virtues.²⁰

Throughout these chapters I recognise that the portraiture is a product of the elite. Those who had the greatest access to wealth and power were able to communicate their values and identity through a highly visible means. The concrete and often colossal size images held persistent and insistent authority in the construction of identity.

Part III: Exegesis of Colossians 3:1-17 using a Socio-Rhetorical Approach

Part III consists entirely in Chapter 6. This major chapter attends to the interpretation of the Letter to the Colossians and specifically 3:1-17. I employ a socio-rhetorical approach adapted from Vernon Robbins to give a multi-layered insight to the formation

²⁰ Demos (Δῆμος) was the personification of “the people”.

of identity through clothing and body imagery in the Letter to the Colossians.²¹ This approach allows close attention to the text of Col 3:1-17 and the interaction of the text with the world in which it is written, heard and read. The language, culture, material culture and context are engaged through various “textures”. These textures offer layers of meaning that open the way for a dialogue between the concrete visual images of clothing and body and the metaphorical images in the Colossian text.

Part IV: Visual Construction of Identity and Further Research

Part IV consists of two chapters. In Chapter 7 I move to the heart of my thesis. In this chapter I engage in the dialogue between images of clothing and body examined in Chapters 4 and 5 and the exegesis of Col 3:1-17 in Chapter 6. I illuminate the results of this conversation to demonstrate how vital “visual literacy” is to the interpretation of texts. I argue that the application of a visual exegesis enhances our understanding of the Letter to the Colossians and also provides a model for future biblical interpretation.²²

Chapter 8 is the final chapter. This chapter moves beyond the analysis of Colossians 3:1-17 to outline the implications of the use of visual exegesis for future research. I set out a vista of opportunities that arise from this investigation.

In sum, these four sections build an argument for interpreting texts in dialogue with images and apply this specifically to a section of the Letter to the Colossians. Having set the scene in Part I, the two main areas of investigation are explicated in Part II and III. The built environment of the cities incorporated depictions of persons and personifications of cities and other social bodies that structured the way people thought about themselves. The text of the Letter to the Colossians incorporated metaphorical images of clothing and body which prescribed the way community members identified themselves in the body of Christ. The centrepiece of the thesis comes in Part IV with the dialogue between concrete visual forms of body and clothing and the imagery of clothing and body in the Letter to the Colossians.

²¹ Explanation of this model and my adaptation of it are found in the Methodology in Chapter 2.

²² The terminology of “visual literacy” and “visual exegesis” will be explained in the development of the argument.

Parameters

With the outline of my thesis in view, I make a few comments regarding the limitations of this undertaking. I examine the use of clothing and body imagery for the explicit purpose of understanding the visual construction of identity through material culture in first century CE Lycus Valley. I am not undertaking a comprehensive analysis of the clothing or statuary or other visual cultures throughout all Asia Minor in the first century CE. This thesis is not about clothing as such, but draws on the imagery of clothing as it is used to communicate virtues and define and construct identity.

I engage the use of metaphor to understand the dialogue between image and text in regard to clothing in the form of statuary, monuments and coins as well as in the text of the Letter to the Colossians. This is not essentially a literary exposition.

With this research I aim to expand and enhance our understanding of the use of clothing and body imagery in Colossians. I scrutinise the representations of clothing and body, found in the Graeco-Roman cities of the Lycus Valley, to determine the interplay between text and image. The links of Col 3:1-17 with the rites of baptism are well documented.²³ I assert that the references to clothing and body are applied in a context of a multiplicity of images intrinsic to Graeco-Roman cities. This array of portraiture defines the identities of citizens and inhabitants by their dress. My research begins among this structured gallery of images of clothing and body which have the propensity to construct identity.

I move now into the description of the context of the community of Christ followers at Colossae. This is explicated through a brief introduction to the ancient city, its location, trade and political connections and religious and cultural affiliations. In addition I introduce the literary context of the Letter to the Colossians. This background information is foundational to the investigation of images and text that ensues.

²³ See particularly the discussion in Chapter 2 under the heading of “Clothing as Identity in Colossians” and the accompanying references.

Chapter 1

Colossae: the City and the Letter

Introduction

The Letter to the Colossians was written in the first century CE to a community of Christ followers in the city of Colossae located in the Lycus Valley in Phrygia, Asia Minor. Colossae, as the location of the community of Christ followers who first receive the letter, is the focal point of this thesis. The city's changing fortune was interwoven, along with the other major cities of the Lycus Valley, with its physical location, trade and the relationship with the ruling regime. In this chapter I briefly outline the geopolitical location of Colossae and its community of Christ followers. I also address the literary context of the Letter to the Colossians. Together these form the frame of reference for the investigation of the images of clothing and body and the visual construction of identity which will occur in Part II, Chapters 4 and 5.

Context of the Christ Community at Colossae

I address the ethnic milieu, the geopolitical location as well as the religious and cultic setting as three distinctive perspectives of life in the Lycus Valley in the first century CE.

The Ethnic Milieu

In the first century CE Colossae comprises a diverse ethnic community, indicated by reference to a list of varied identities in the letter (Col 3:12). Colossae was established from the fifth century BCE as a station on one of the main access routes across Asia Minor known as the Royal Road.¹ The plentiful water supply made it a convenient stop for armies on the move. Both Xerxes and Cyrus are recorded as resting their armies

¹ Alan Cadwallader, "Appendix 1: Chronology of Colossae/Chonai," in *Colossae in Space and Time: Linking with an Ancient City*, ed. Alan Cadwallader and Michael F. Trainor (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, forthcoming).

there.² The major movement of people throughout this region along the trade routes indicates a propensity for a diverse ethnic mix. The army Cyrus gathers is drawn from both Greek and barbarian troops already employed in besieging Miletus.³ He adds to this Dolopians, Aenianians and Olynthians.⁴ The “barbarian” troops may have included Scythians whose expertise as soldiers was highly regarded.⁵ By 133 BCE Colossae was gifted along with the entire Pergamon Kingdom to Rome through the will of Attalus III.⁶

Antiochus III is recounted as relocating two thousand Jewish families from Mesopotamia and Babylon to Phrygia in 213 BCE.⁷ His plan was to quell the sedition in Lydia and Phrygia. He provided a resettlement package which included freedom to observe their laws, land to build their dwellings and make a living and exemption from taxes for ten years. The continued presence of Jewish people in the region is attested in 62-61 BCE.⁸ The then Roman Proconsul, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, impeded the transfer of twenty pounds of gold being sent from the Judeans in Laodikeia as part of the Jerusalem Temple tax. Such a large amount of funds was likely collected from the surrounding region. From this we can imagine the size of the population of Judeans in the Lycus Valley to be of the order of 10,000 males.⁹ By the second century CE Hierapolis tombs bear the inscription of menorah and Judean epitaphs.¹⁰ These witness the continuing presence of a Judean community in the Lycus Valley.

² Herodotus, *Histories*, vol. 4, Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1960-63), 7.30. Cyrus set out from Sardis taking a three stage journey through Lydia before crossing the Meander River and marching through Phrygia. He stayed at Colossae for seven days. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, ed. Carleton Brownson, 7 vols., vol. 3 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1922), 1.2.6.

³ Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 1.2.2.

⁴ Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 1.2.6.

⁵ Diodorus Siculus records Mazeus (c385-328), a Persian nobleman, leading an attack under Alexander on the Macedonians using Scythian horseman. Diodorus, *Diodorus Siculus*, 17.59.5.

⁶ Paul Robinson Coleman-Norton et al., *Ancient Roman Statutes: A Translation with Introduction, Commentary, Glossary and Index* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003; reprint, 2003), 37, No 42.

⁷ Flavius Josephus, *Josephus: Jewish Antiquities, Books XII-XIV* ed. T. E. Page, vol. 7, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 12.3.4.

⁸ Paul Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 13.

⁹ The annual Temple tax was calculated at half a shekel per Judean male between the age of twenty and fifty years, see Trebilco, *Jewish Communities*, 13. The action of Flaccus is attested in Cicero's defence of him in 59 BCE *Pro Flacco* 28.68

¹⁰ Photos and details of these menorah inscribed on tombs are available at Francesco D'Andria et al., *Hierapolis di Frigia 1957-1987* (Rome: Gruppo Editoriale Fabbri, 1987), 117; Philip Harland, "Acculturation and Identity in the Diaspora: A Jewish Family and 'Pagan' Guilds at Hierapolis," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 57 (2006): Fig. 1, 242.

The history of the area indicates a community of mixed ethnic background. The displacement of people and the regular traffic on the trade routes sustained this diversity. An inscription, dated from the late first to the early second century CE, honouring Markos son of Markos as chief interpreter and translator for the Colossians, highlights the diversity of the community in that period.¹¹ The text is reconstructed as follows:

1. Ϟ ΜΑΡΚΩΙΜΑΡΚΟΥ
2. ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ
3. ΑΡΧΕΡΜΗΝΕΙ
4. ΚΑΙΕΞΗΓΗΤΗ[I
5. ...Λ.....Τ.. .Η¹²

The inscription reads: “[...dedicated this] to Markos son of Markos, chief interpreter and translator for the Colossians.”¹³ This is vital new evidence of a city that was large enough to support this role and presumably other interpreters, given that Markos is the “chief”. The dating shows it may be contemporaneous with the letter. Even if dated later, the inscription asserts a continuance of the multiple ethnic identities in Colossae that were established in its early history and mentioned in Colossians.

A cylindrical *bomos* or honorary monument recently discovered at Colossae further corroborates the findings of the Chief Interpreter inscription. This monument honours Korumbos, repairer of the baths.¹⁴ Also dated from the late first century to early second century CE, the chief interpreter inscription includes the lists of names of those who subscribed monies to this honour. The majority of these names are Greek, signifying the Greek allegiance of these citizens. Such naming may be adoptive and may mask the original ethnic identity of some of the individuals.¹⁵ Lycian, Phrygian, Thracian,

¹¹ Alan Cadwallader, "Two New Inscriptions, a Correction and a Confirmed Sighting from Colossae," *Epigraphica Anatolica* 40 (2007): 115-18.

¹² Alan Cadwallader's reconstruction of the text from the original inscription. See Cadwallader, "Two New Inscriptions," 116.

¹³ See Cadwallader, "Two New Inscriptions," 116.

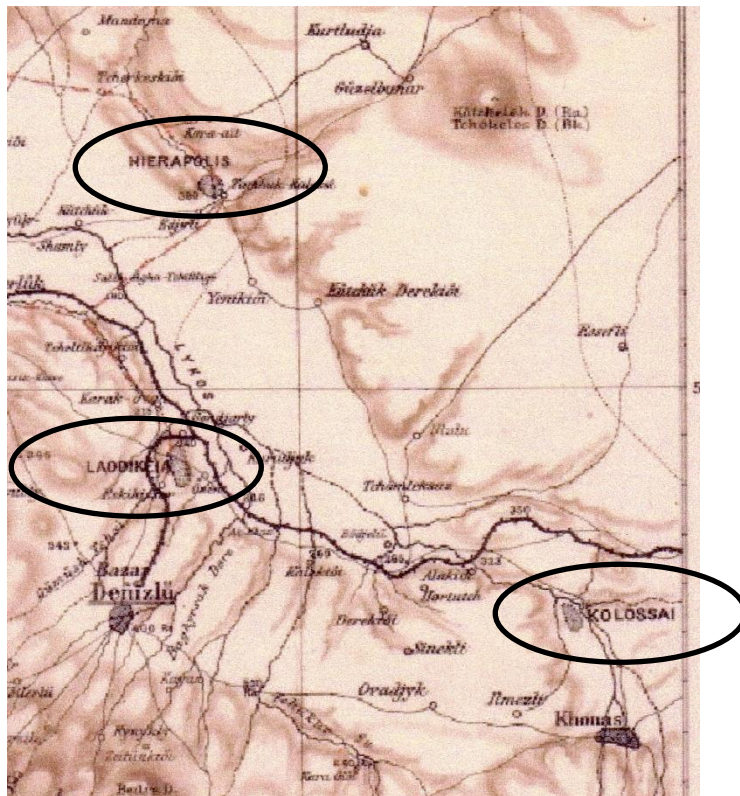
¹⁴ Alan Cadwallader, "An Honour for Korumbos, repairer of the baths at Colossae," in *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, ed. S. Llewellyn (North Ryde: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, forthcoming).

¹⁵ Cadwallader, "Honour for Korumbos."

Scythian and Lydian connections are revealed through the etymology of the names.¹⁶ The continuance of these names with their ethnic links further consolidates the ethnic diversity of the population at Colossae.

The Geopolitical Location

Nestled in the Lycus Valley, Colossae was neighbour to the cities of Laodikeia and Hierapolis. The travertine cliffs of Hierapolis are clearly visible from the ancient site of Laodikeia indicating the proximity of these cities, strategically placed in the Valley, cooperating and competing with each other. Laodikeia lay 18 kilometres north-west of Colossae and Hierapolis was 24 kilometres north-north-west (See Map 1).



Map 1: Map section showing the relative locations of the cities of the Lycus Valley¹⁷

Colossae was recorded by Xenophon (c.430-354 BCE) as “prosperous and large” in his account of Cyrus the Younger’s journey along the trade route from Sardis to Celanae in

¹⁶ Cadwallader, "Honour for Korumbos."

¹⁷ Heinrich Kiepert, "Western Anatolia," (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, ca. 1890), Sheet 11. <http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/su/maps/kiepert/G7430-s250-K5-sheet11.html> "The Maps of Heinrich Kiepert" [accessed 21 March 2011].

401 BCE.¹⁸ By the first century Laodikeia takes centre stage as the major city in the Lycus Valley and first on the trade route from Ephesus, Sardis/Smyrna and Attalia.¹⁹ Strabo (c.63 BCE-c.23 CE) noted that Laodikeia was “formerly a small town” and “increased in our time”.²⁰ Hiero, Zeno and his son Polemo were acclaimed as major benefactors who contributed to the buildings of the city.²¹ The largest Phrygian cities were those of Apamea and Laodikeia, including Aphrodisias and Colossae as neighbouring towns along with Thermisionium, Samaüs, Metropolis and Apollonias.²²

Excavated remains of both Hierapolis and Laodikeia suggest they were fashioned as other Graeco-Roman cities of their time. The shape of the cities varied to the contours of the land. Hierapolis was designed on a narrow grid due to its physical location and Laodikeia spread broadly (See Photo 1). The extent of the necropolis at Colossae and the location of the pillars in the field intimate a city of sizable proportions.

The cities were adorned with temples, civic buildings, colonnaded streets, nymphaeum and theatres. Statues erected by the leaders of the community to reward civic works, services and donations were set up in the high traffic areas such as the *agora*, theatre, and public buildings. Imperial statues were implanted into this environment often in the most visible locations. Evidence of the existence and style of statues in the Lycus Valley is attested by the reports of early travellers. Richard Chandler, in his sojourns into Asia Minor in the nineteenth century, notes the remains of lavish sculpture from the front of the “odeum” (small theatre) at Laodikeia that was marble and in style “savoured less of Grecian taste than that of Roman munificence”.²³ An earlier traveller of the eighteenth

¹⁸ Celanae is accorded the same status in the following verse indicating both Colossae and Celanae as significant trade centres in the region. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 1.2.7. Around 261 BCE Antiochus Soter transferred the population of Celanae to Apameia making this city second to Ephesus. See Strabo, *Geography*, trans. Horace Leonard Jones and J. R. Sitlington Sterret, Loeb Classical Library (London Heinemann, 1960-69), 12.8.15.

¹⁹ See Map 1.

²⁰ Strabo, *Geography*, 12.8.16.

²¹ Strabo, *Geography*, 12.8.16.

²² Strabo, *Geography*, 12.8.13.

²³ Richard Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece*, New edition with corrections and remarks by Nicholas Revett. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1825), 283.

century, Richard Pococke, describes a ten foot statue of a woman in fine garments that drape to her feet.²⁴



Photo 1: Laodikeia aerial view²⁵

Charles Fellows, also perambulating Asia Minor in the nineteenth century, suggests “considerable ruins, probably the ancient city of Colossae” at the foot of Mount Cadmus, 12 kilometres from Laodikeia.²⁶ Many of the discoveries of these early travellers are no longer visible. The documented reports of their travels provide invaluable insights but the picture of the Lycus Valley in the first century CE remains as a jigsaw with missing pieces. At Colossae fragments of columns are still apparent in the field adjacent to the mound where there is indentation of what appears to be an odeon (see Photo 2 and 3 below).

²⁴ Richard Pococke, "In the East," in *General Collection of the Best and the Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in all Parts of the World*, ed. John Pinkerton (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1811), 679.

²⁵ This view shows the civic centre of the city of Laodikeia. The theatres, gymnasium, aqueduct and stadium are built into the contours of the landscape in a wide arc around this centre. See Celal Şimşek, "Laodicea: A Long Lived City," *World Archaeology* 4, no. 41 (2010): 34.

²⁶ On this journey it appears Sir Charles did not validate these remains as being Colossae but rather observed them from a distance. See Sir Charles Fellows, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, more particularly in the Province of Lycia* (London: John Murray, 1852), 212.

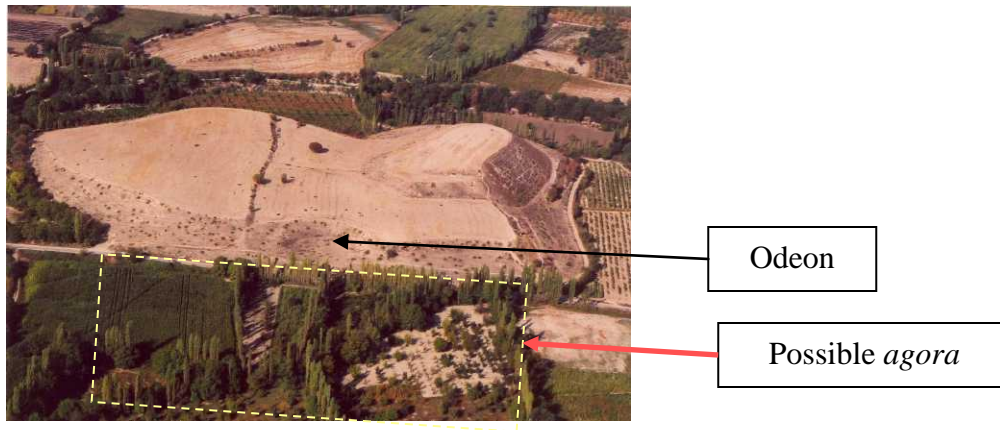


Photo 2: Colossae Tell aerial view.²⁷

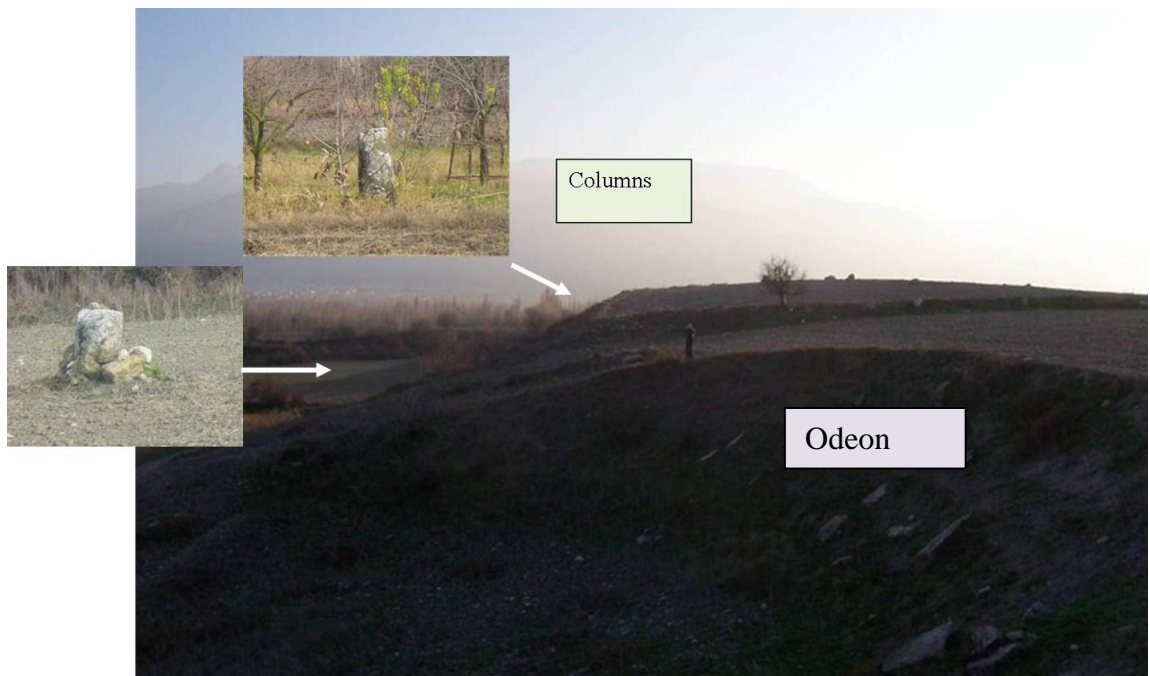


Photo 3: Colossae Tell showing Odeon and column fragment in field.²⁸

These features suggest an *agora* or market place of considerable expanse where conceivably a number of civic buildings, temples and statuary could be found. A large necropolis is evident with varying styles of graves from rock cut tombs, a form of tumulus and dug-in graves. A number of *bomoi* remain on site. Some of these are now

²⁷ Celal Şimşek et al., "Christianity in the Lycos Valley," Ministry of Culture and Tourism Excavating Laodikeia, <http://laodikeia.pau.edu.tr/>. [accessed 22 December 2010]

²⁸ This and subsequent photos that are not otherwise acknowledged are my photos. I hold a letter of permission from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in Turkey for photographs taken on ancient sites and in museums.

badly weathered and hardly decipherable. The limestone has proved too soft to hold the inscriptions and in these days they are extensively pitted and eroded. The variety and span of the necropolis stands testament to the long and continuing use of this site for burial. In turn, this implies that the ancient city of Colossae flourished beyond the first century CE.

The Lycus Valley was a hub for textile production and notable in the first century CE for the excellent sheep with soft “raven-black” wool which brought “splendid revenues” to Laodikeia and Colossae:

The region of Laodikeia bore excellent sheep, not only for the softness of the wool, which also surpasses that of the Milesians, but also for the raven-black color, so that splendid revenues came from it, as do also the neighboring Colossians from the colour which bears the same name.²⁹

Hierapolis was a key area for washing and dyeing due to its excellent springs:

The water at Hierapolis is remarkably adapted also to the dyeing of wool, so that wool dyed with the roots rival those dyed with the coccus or with the marine purple.³⁰

As noted earlier, Colossae is located on a major trade route, one of three that intersect at Laodikeia at “the gate” of the Lycus Valley. This was the first major “knot” of roads after Ephesus and connected through Sardis to Smyrna, through Apamea to Pisidian Antioch and beyond and down to Attalia.³¹ In addition to this there is a fragment of Hipponax which suggests a regular route from Miletus passing up the Maeander and Lycus Valleys.³² This literary attestation in the first century CE gives no indication of the importance of this route. It likely passed opposite Colossae and continued to Apamea-Celaenae through to northern Syria.³³ This route was greatly overshadowed by

²⁹ Strabo, *Geography*, 12.8.16. My translation.

³⁰ Strabo, *Geography*, 13.4.14.

³¹ Caroline A. J. Skeel, *Travel in the First Century after Christ with Special Reference to Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901), 119-21.

³² Hipponax, frag. 36. H. A. Ormerod, "A Note on the Eastern Trade-Route in Asia Minor," *The Classical Review* 26, no. 3 (1912): 76-77.

³³ Ormerod describes finds of archaeological artefacts such as a fragment of a Mycenaean vase, pot sherds and flakes of Melian obsidian in the interior of Asia. He attributes these Bronze Age objects as evidence of the existence of this trade route. Ormerod also notes a mention in Homer of the staining of ivory by Carian and Maeonian as suggesting this route for the transport of ivory from the lower Maeander to northern Syria. Ormerod, "A Note on the Eastern Trade-Route in Asia Minor," 77.

the Royal Road. It is noted here due to its importance to Colossae, offering a trade route through Miletus to the Aegean as well as north to Syria. The existence of this trade route prompts consideration of strategic connections between Colossae and Miletus as well as to cities in Syria.



Map 2: Map of Asia Minor highlighting the trade routes for Colossae and Laodikeia³⁴

With such prime location for interregional trade, the opportunities for co-operation and competition between the three cities of the Lycus Valley were significant. The history of alliances between cities is more illustrative of a changing state of play that needed to be negotiated regularly. The striking of alliance coins between the cities of the region mostly occurred in the second and third century CE. Laodikeia does celebrate an alliance with Smyrna in the reign of Nero, 54-68 CE.³⁵ An alliance is later commemorated between Laodikeia and Hierapolis with the striking of a “*homonoia*” (ὁμόνοια) coin

³⁴ Map adapted from Robin Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (Harmondsworth: Viking, 1986), inside back cover.

³⁵ SNG Copenhagen 614. Republished at "Asia Minor Coins: An online index of ancient Greek and Roman Coins from Asia Minor," <http://www.asiaminorcoins.com>. Coin ID #5514 [accessed 17 February 2011].

representing “political concord” between 117 and 135 CE.³⁶ These same cities are recorded as “twin-cities” via a senator who is called “founder or colonizer of the Laodikeians and Hierapolitans” (οἰκιστὴς Λαοδικεων καὶ Ηιεραπολειτων) in the second or more probably the third century CE.³⁷ Similarly the cities of Colossae, Laodikeia and Hierapolis celebrated a *homonoia* relationship with Aphrodisias.³⁸ The Colossae-Aphrodisias coin is dated to 180 CE. The changing fortunes of the cities, their ability to trade their goods and their relationship with Rome brought them into competition and collaboration.

The textile trade at Colossae and the surrounding Lycus Valley first developed as local trade. The cities’ position on the trade routes placed them in an ideal position to broaden their markets. The opportunity for the expansion of trade was assisted by the promotion of Laodikeia as a strategically important city of the Roman judicial framework, being made *conventus juridicus*.³⁹ This event launched Laodikeia into an interregional export market during the expansion of the Roman empire. Dio Chrysostom (40-112 CE) describes a similar situation for the city of Celaenae in the Phrygian Highlands. He sees it as providing a market for the surrounding area and attracting foreign traders, particularly when the Roman Governor held court there biannually.⁴⁰ A city located on the coast or a major trade route had the opportunity to develop its trade beyond the regional level. These same routes of access brought new visual culture to the region that would assert itself on their landscape, lives, clothing, bodies and identities. The importance of these strategic links to the structuring of identity will be dealt with in more detail in later chapters.

³⁶ *Homonoia* coins and the alliances that they represented were between rival cities. The display of their concord with each other was politically advantageous for their relationship with Rome.

³⁷ The dating of this inscription is a subject of discussion ranging from first to third centuries CE. Michel Christol and Thomas Drew-Bear, "Un Sénateur de Xanthos," *Journal Des Savants* (1991): 213-17.

³⁸ David MacDonald, "The Homonoia of Colossae and Aphrodisias," *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 33 (1983): 26.

³⁹ As an assize city the Roman Governor visited periodically to administer Roman justice. William Barclay, *Letters to the Seven Churches* (London: SCM Press, 1969), 108.

⁴⁰ Dio Chrysostom XXXV.14-16

The region of the Lycus Valley was prone to seismic activity. Strabo (c.63 BCE-c.23 CE) describes Laodikeia as “very subject to earthquakes” and includes “nearly all of the country about the Maeander” as far as Hierapolis as susceptible to earthquake.⁴¹ Tiberius is noted as assisting Laodikeia with funds to restore the city following an earthquake around 14 CE.⁴² Tacitus (56-117 CE) refers to the destruction caused by an earthquake at Laodikeia in c.60-61 CE.⁴³ This contributed to the loss of statuary, funerary monuments and *stelae* of the first century CE. Much was broken and reused in the rebuilding. Furthermore, items made from precious metals, such as ancient bronze statues, might have survived the earthquakes but not the furnace. The value of the metal when melted down sealed their fate.⁴⁴

Today remains of Colossae are still found in use in buildings of the nearby township of Honaz. While visiting the site in 2005 I observed houses with part pillars and other stone fragments in their walls and buildings. Presumably some of these are remains from Colossae considering the proximity of the town to the ancient site. In addition, the extant remains of Hierapolis and Laodikeia significantly date from the second and third centuries CE. With limitations on the availability of recognisable statuary, funerary monuments and *stelae* from the first century CE, the likely mix of visible images needs to be reconstructed with the assistance of correlations with strategically connected cities. The determination of whether a city was strategically connected is based on the existence of *homonioia* and trade relationships with Colossae and the Lycus Valley.

The Religious and Cultic Setting

Colossae is steeped in cultic traditions. Depictions on coins imply worship of Ephesian Artemis, Zeus Laodikeus, Artemis huntress, Asklepios and Hygeia, Leto, Demeter,

⁴¹ Strabo, *Geography*, 12.8.16-17.

⁴² Strabo, *Geography*, 12.8.18.

⁴³ Tacitus, *Annals*, ed. Alfred Church, William Brodribb, and Sara Bryant, Complete Works of Tacitus (New York: Random House Inc, 1942), 14.27.

⁴⁴ Bean explains that most existing life-size bronzes have been recovered from under the sea or at Herculaneum or Pompeii. George E Bean, "A Masterpiece from the Sea," *London Illustrated Times* 1953.

Helios, Selene, Mên, Dionysus, Athena, Tyche, Nike, Zeus, Boule, Isis, Sarapis, and the river god of the Lycus.⁴⁵

The topography of the Lycus Valley with its subterranean caverns, hot springs and vapours was conducive to cultic practices. A temple of Mên Karou existed between Laodikeia and Carura.⁴⁶ Mên Karou was the Carian development of the old Phrygian deity Manes who was the antecedent of Zeus Laodikenos.⁴⁷ The latter is also known as Laibenos in Hierapolis. Also at Hierapolis, in the temple area, hundreds of Hellenistic Megarian style cups were unearthed attesting to libation rites.⁴⁸ There were numerous lamps dated to the late first century BCE and early first century CE indicating cultic rites, possibly held at night.⁴⁹ Marble stele bearing dedications and symbols of Apollo Kareios were also discovered among the pottery.⁵⁰ The Plutonium, adjacent to the temple, was marked as a sacred site by a circular shrine (*aedicula*) in the first century CE.⁵¹ Strabo (c.63 BCE-c.23 CE) records it as a site where bulls were brought as sacrifice, dying immediately from the poisonous vapours.⁵² Only the priests of Cybele (Γαλλοί) were supposedly able to survive the gaseous fumes.⁵³ All these examples point to a long tradition of cultic practice in the Lycus Valley. In the progress of the tradition

⁴⁵ Barclay V. Head, ed. *Catalogue of Greek Coins of Phrygia in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1906), 154-57.

⁴⁶ Strabo, *Geography*, 12.8.20. The temple was assumed to be located at or near Attouda, the town of Attis, according to W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia; being an essay of the local history of Phrygia from the earliest times to the Turkish conquest*, Replica ed., vol. 1, Part 1 (New York: Elibron Classics, 2003), 169. Julie Hooke suggests, in her unpublished paper, that the temple was not at the city of Attouda but in the nearby village of Menos Kome. Julie Hooke, "What were they up to at Attouda?," (Adelaide: Flinders University, 2009). Ramsay notes that the city of Attouda was on higher ground and a "hieron" and market of Men Karou on the plain below the city. W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia: Being an essay of the local history of Phrygia from the earliest times to the Turkish conquest*, vol. 1, Part 2 (Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Publishing, 2004), 413.

⁴⁷ Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, 168.

⁴⁸ Francesco D'Andria, *Hierapolis of Phrygia (Pamukkale): An Archaeological Guide*, trans. Paul Arthur (Istanbul: Ege Yayinlari, 2003), 141. Megarian ware was so named as it was first thought to have originated in Megara. These "mouldmade" bowls likely originated in Athens in the third century BCE and were produced in the Asia Minor cities of Pergamon, Ephesus, Miletus, Iasos and Knidos from around the first century BCE. See Pia Guldager Bilde, "Mouldmade Bowls," in *The Temple of Castor and Pollux II: The finds*, ed. Pia Guldager Bilde and Birte Poulsen, *Occasional Papers of the Nordic Institute* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2008), 187.

⁴⁹ D'Andria, *Hierapolis of Phrygia*, 141.

⁵⁰ D'Andria, *Hierapolis of Phrygia*, 141.

⁵¹ D'Andria, *Hierapolis of Phrygia*, 143.

⁵² Strabo, *Geography*, 13.4.14.

⁵³ Strabo, *Geography*, 13.4.14.

the identities of local gods were developed and subsumed into deities of the dominant culture.

An established Jewish community existed in the Lycus Valley as outlined earlier. The listing in Colossians (Col 3:11) gives precedence to “Greek” indicating the Jewish community as a minority.

Christ communities were established in the Lycus Valley by the Pauline mission via the agency of Epaphras. Colossians mentions both Laodikeia and Hierapolis as having communities where Epaphras ministered (Col 4:13). The Christ community at Laodikeia is apparent in the greetings to the brothers and sisters there (Col 4:15) and as the place where the letter is also to be read (Col 4:16).

The Imperial Cult embedded its own images into these cities. Emperors of Rome were hailed as gods. The juxtaposition of images of people and gods was a deliberate strategy and will be addressed later.

The statuary included images of the emperors, their wives and families to consolidate a picture of the ideal family. These statues communicated the virtues espoused by Rome, and sought to impose an identity for the conformity of good Roman citizens. Indeed Augustus recognised the power of imagery and iconography and deliberately employed a strategy to construct the identity of the quintessential Roman as part of his program of renewal of the values and virtues of Rome.

Augustus set in motion a cultural program that was to renew the religion and custom, *virtus*,⁵⁴ and honor of Roman people.⁵⁵ The vehicle for this cultural program was visual imagery that affected the appearance of the city of Rome in its decoration, furniture and clothing. These iconographic portrayals extended beyond Rome into the cities brought

⁵⁴ *Virtus* is virtue in the sense of physical and moral excellence and is personified by Virtus, the god of virtue. The festival of Virtus was held on 17 July and it was shared by Honos, the personification of honour. Lesley Adkins and Roy Adkins, *Handbook to Life in Ancient Rome* (New York: Facts on File, 1994), 273.

⁵⁵ Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 101.

under Roman control. This system of signs proposed a specific ideology of virtue which could be aligned or contrasted to existing ethics or ethical systems, or create a new standard.

Literary Context

The prime literary context for my exploration of clothing and body imagery is the Letter to the Colossians. This letter is one among the collection of letters written by Paul, his associates and his disciples. Some scholars continue the debate about which letters can be attributed authentically to Paul. I subscribe to the general scholarly agreement that there are seven undisputed letters: 1 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Philippians, Galatians, Romans and Philemon. The remaining letters are nonetheless true to the spirit of Paul as described in the Letter to the Colossians, “For though I am absent in flesh, yet I am with you in spirit...” (Col 2:5). Those letters attributed to but not written by Paul continued his presence as support and encouragement, strengthening the Christ communities. In this way Paul’s teaching and leadership was maintained for the communities’ ongoing development and growth in Christ.

Authorship

Colossians follows the recognisable letter format attributed to Paul. The personalised address, “I, Paul” in Col 1:23 is reiterated with the claim of writing in his own hand in Col 4:18. There is a sense of the familiarity with the Paul we have come to know through the undisputed letters, yet the debate over authorship continues to be enthusiastically contested. Major concepts expounded by Paul, such as righteousness and justification, are missing from this epistle.⁵⁶ Changes in style, theology and language are well documented yet none of these appears to affirm or deny conclusively Paul’s authorship. Where scholars agree is that the differences exist. The argument arises over whether the changes can be attributed to a natural development of language, style and theology in the light of new circumstances. Could or would Paul initiate such a movement from his previous standpoint?

⁵⁶ Margaret MacDonald, *Colossians and Ephesians*, ed. Daniel J. Harrington, vol. 17, Sacra Pagina Series (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2000), 7.

I find that the profound change in the understanding of baptism and the reformulated Christology are instrumental in the amendments to the ecclesiology and eschatology. The author of Colossians expounds baptism as life with the risen Christ: “Since then you have been raised with Christ” (Col 3:1) and “your life is hidden with Christ” (Col 3:3). This is a significant shift in understanding and one I explain more fully below as I extend my argument for an author other than Paul.⁵⁷

Of the thirty-four words that are unique to Colossians (*hapax legomena*), five occur in Col 3:1-17.⁵⁸ Strikingly, one of these words is “visible” (ὄρατός – Col 1:16). Furthermore the phrase “image of God” (εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ – Col 1:15) only occurs again in the Second Testament in 2 Cor 4:4. Both of these examples occur in the Colossian hymn (Col 1:15-20). They are particularly pertinent to the substance of this thesis as Christ is the image of the invisible (ἀόρατός) God (Col 1:15). When the community of Christ followers clothe themselves with the new self, this new self is “being renewed in knowledge according to the image of its creator” (Col 3:10). They are being renewed in Christ.

The statistical analysis of word use is insufficient to delineate the authorship. Galatians also has a high number of *hapax legomena* numbering thirty-one and a further thirty-nine words that are found in the Second Testament but not in the Pauline Corpus.⁵⁹ The inclusion of *hapax legomena* in Colossians appears more related to the argument of the letter than a means to settle authorship.

⁵⁷ Outi Leppa gives considerable attention to style and language differences throughout her monograph. In addition she engages in discussion with the research of both Lohse and Bujard. Outi Leppa, *The Making of Colossians: A Study on the Formation and Purpose of a Deutero-Pauline Letter* (Helsinki: The Finnish Exegetical Society, 2003), 9-11; Eduard Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon: A Commentary on the Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, ed. Helmut Koester, trans. William Poehlmann and Robert Karris (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 90-91; Walter Bujard, *Stilanalytische Untersuchungen zum Kolosserbrief als Beitrag zur Methodik von sprachvergleichen*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973).

⁵⁸ Lohse also locates thirty-four *hapax legomena* and twenty-eight words that appear in the Second Testament but not in the Pauline letters. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, 85-86.

⁵⁹ Leppa, *The Making of Colossians*, 9.

The letter creates a more universal scope with the lordship of Christ explicated into all areas of life.⁶⁰ It builds “changed Christ-rooted perspectives on eschatology, ecclesiology, Christology and baptism”.⁶¹ Col 2:12-13 and 3:1 together impart the radical shift in the understanding of baptism alluded to earlier.⁶² The Christ followers were already risen with Christ. They were no longer living in hope of the resurrection of the dead. They were already participating in life “with Christ”. Baptism is key to their identity in and with Christ. The change from “put on Christ” or “clothe with Christ” to “clothing yourselves” reverberates this current participation in the life of Christ as members of his body.

“The body of Christ” is also reshaped. In Colossians it takes on a global sense of the whole church in the world with Christ at its head.⁶³ The perspective of “the body of Christ” as a “corporate body” of the worldwide church is in contrast to Paul’s common usage.⁶⁴ These two latter points add to the redefined identity of the Christ community in Colossae.

The image of Christ as head of the body (Col 1:18), that is the community assembly (ἐκκλησία), is integral to my proposal of a visual construction of identity through clothing and body imagery. This metaphor of the body of Christ, altered from earlier Pauline writings, allows a comparison to the Roman emperor. The emperor, and representations of him, embodied the Roman identity. This was particularly true of Nero

⁶⁰ Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, 3.

⁶¹ Michael F. Trainor, *Epaphras: Paul's Educator at Colossae*, ed. Bruce Malina, Paul's Social Network (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2008), 3.

⁶² Eduard Lohse explains how different a perspective this is from the view given by Paul in Rom 6:11. See Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, 180.

⁶³ Jerry Sumney, *Colossians: A Commentary* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008), 3.

⁶⁴ This perspective flows from the use of “body” in the hymn (1:18) and this is considered an insertion by many scholars; however the idea is sustained beyond the hymn. For discussion see James Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996), 85, 94-95; Sumney, *Colossians*, 3; Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, 42-43; Eduard Schweizer, *The Letter to the Colossians: A Commentary*, trans. Andrew Chester (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1982), 57-60.

who, as emperor, was postulated as “head” of Rome.⁶⁵ The alignment of these images suggests a dating of Colossians to the reign of Nero, 54-68 CE.

The debate about the authorship of Colossians is complicated. There are no easy solutions. I find myself persuaded, as Lohse, that the major differences in theology between Colossians and the undisputed letters of Paul cannot be ignored.⁶⁶ I concur that the author of the Letter to the Colossians was a disciple of Paul, writing not long after his death. The author writes as one enamoured and inspired by Paul. I imagine the author as a protégé of the great teacher. I see the author as enthusiastically preaching to new communities, teaching and strengthening them in the same manner as Paul. Following Paul’s leadership the writer of the Colossians’ letter communicates as with one heart with Paul. The words ascribed to Paul of the manner of proclaiming Christ as “admonishing and teaching in all wisdom” (Col 1:28) are later given to all those in the body of Christ “to teach and admonish one another in all wisdom” (Col 3:16). The whole community is to act as Paul in the same manner as the writer of this letter. The verses that indicate direct address by Paul assert his leadership and authority. This assertion is crucial at a time of leadership crisis provoked by the death of Paul. The death of a charismatic leader precipitates a crisis for a community temporarily bereft of the focal point of their vision and mission.⁶⁷ The enterprise of Paul’s co-workers to establish their position of authority in the absence of Paul is evident in the combination of Col 1:6-8 and 4:7-18. Preeminent in these verses is Epaphras as “beloved fellow slave” (τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ συνδούλου, Col 1:7), “faithful minister of Christ on your behalf” (ὅς ἐστὶν πιστὸς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διάκονος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Col 1:7), “one of you” (ὁ ἐξ ὑμῶν, Col 4:12), “slave of Christ” (δούλος Χριστοῦ, Col 4:12), “wrestling in prayer on your behalf” (ἀγωνιζόμενος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς, Col 4:12), “he has toiled much on your behalf and for those in Laodikeia and Hierapolis” (ἔχει

⁶⁵ This is discussed further in Chapters 3 and 4.

⁶⁶ Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, 177-83. Other scholars who reach the same conclusion include MacDonald, *Colossians and Ephesians*; Bujard, *Stilanalytische Untersuchungen zum Kolosserbrief als Beitrag zur Methodik von sprachvergleichen*; Leppa, *The Making of Colossians*; Trainor, *Epaphras*.

⁶⁷ Margaret MacDonald draws on Max Weber to elucidate the scenario of the loss of a charismatic leader and the subsequent activity by the remaining leadership to shore up their delegated authority. MacDonald, *Colossians and Ephesians*, 7.

πολὸν πόνον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεραπόλει, Col 4:13). Ephraim shares some of these titles with others in the letter thereby, consolidating his position. No-one else named in the letter is given as much emphasis as Ephraim.

The Letter to the Colossians appears as a transitional text reaching across the void left by the death of Paul to continue the Pauline mission.⁶⁸ Colossians incorporates favourite and foundational concepts and ideas of Paul yet there are also omissions. Some changes inaugurated in Colossians become even more pronounced in the ensuing letters written in the Pauline tradition. An immediately notable difference is the loss in frequency of the address to the community members as “brothers and sisters” (ἀδελφοί). In the undisputed letters of Paul this term appears 112 times, almost once per page.⁶⁹ Brothers and sisters (ἀδελφοί) appears in Colossians in the opening greetings of the letter (Col 1:2) and a second time where the brothers and sisters (ἀδελφοί) at Laodikeia are sent greetings (Col 4:15). Timothy, Tychicus and Onesimus are all referred to as “brother” (ἀδελφός) in Col 1:1 and 4:7,9 respectively. The use of the term “brothers and sisters” (ἀδελφοί) is conspicuous by its absence in the letters after Colossians. Ephesians, which follows Colossians closely, has only one address to the community as brothers and sisters (ἀδελφοί, Eph 6:23). Neither Timothy nor Titus addresses the community this way.

Colossians also heralds significant changes in thinking, particularly in relation to the identity of the Christ community. These changes become further developed and pronounced in the pastoral letters. Paul’s apostleship is post-resurrectional based on his conversion experience with the Risen Christ as recounted in Acts 9:3-19, 22:3-21, 26:9-23, and referred to in 1 Cor 15:8. In this manner Paul is associated with and distinguished from the original twelve who accompanied Jesus in his lifetime. The writer

⁶⁸ James Dunn suggests Colossians as a ‘type of bridge’ and proposes Timothy as the author. See Dunn, *Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 269. This sounds plausible but does not explain the emphasis on Ephraim.

⁶⁹ David G Horrell, "From ἀδελφοί to οἶκος Θεοῦ: Social Transformation in Pauline Christianity," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 120, no. 2 (2001): 311.

of the Letter to the Colossians is conceivably one who has come to be a follower of Jesus through Paul and/or his co-workers.⁷⁰

Epaphras is beloved fellow slave and faithful minister of Christ (Col 1:7-8). The naming of Epaphras in Col 1:7 gives him prominence. He shares the titles of “fellow slave” and “faithful minister” with Tychicus (Col 4:7) and is called “slave of Christ” (Col 4:12) a term which is otherwise reserved only for Paul and Timothy (Rom 1:1; Phil 1:1).

Epaphras is affirmed as working hard for those in Colossae, Laodikeia and Hierapolis (Col 4:13) and so is a roving minister in the style of Paul and Timothy bringing “the word of the truth, the gospel” (Col 1:5). He works to the same aim as Paul to bring all to maturity in Christ (Col 1:29, 4:12). The incorporation of Epaphras in this way suggests he is a likely candidate as author, thereby placing the date of writing in the c.60s CE.

This is my preference, especially in light of a correspondence with Nero’s reign.

However, I also acknowledge the possibility of this letter being written by someone who became a Christ follower through Epaphras and who continues the Pauline teaching in his way.⁷¹

By way of summary, my preference for the authorship of Colossians is that of a close disciple of Paul writing soon after his death. While I favour this line of thought, my thesis is not about the authorship of the letter. Essentially my argument is unaffected by whether Paul or a later writer authored Colossians. There is no dispute about Paul as the implied author.

Pauline Corpus and Other Literature

In Part III, where I undertake an exegesis of Col 3:1-17, I do so in the literary context of the other letters of the Pauline Corpus, cognizant of nuances due to differing authors.

Beyond this I engage the milieu of their contemporary and formative literature. I draw

⁷⁰ These relationships are otherwise described by Bruce Malina as different generations of “Jesus followers” (his terminology) and he summarises them in a table. See Bruce Malina, *Timothy: Paul's Closest Associate*, ed. Bruce Malina, *Paul's Social Network: Brothers and Sisters in Christ* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2008), 47.

⁷¹ This alternative is suggested by Michael Trainor and is plausible in response to the death of Epaphras and the continuance of the Pauline mode of evangelization. See Trainor, *Epaphras*, 4.

on the richness of First Testament writings, concurrent Second Testament texts, apocryphal writings, classical Greek writings and any other literature of the time that brings illumination to the understanding of the text of Colossians. I do this with especial regard to the employment of clothing and body imagery. The literary context is only one part of the equation. All of this will be brought into dialogue with the physical representations of clothing and body visible in the world where the letter was written, heard and read.

The “collection” of Pauline letters I refer to here were circulating in the first century CE between the leadership and the communities of Pauline followers of Christ and between the communities. The instructions in Colossians regarding the exchange and reading of letters (Col 4:16) suggest the circulation of letters as an early practice of the communities. It is difficult to ascertain when the collection could be considered a body of literature or which letters came to be included. Indeed the “Letter to the Laodikeans” is still a mystery and there is inference of an earlier letter to the Corinthians. However, 2 Peter 3:15-16 refers to “all his [Paul’s] letters” thus implying knowledge of the group of letters that later becomes known as the “Pauline Corpus” in the canon. If the date of 2 Peter is accepted as c.68 CE then this body of literature may well have been established at the time of writing of Colossians. The circulating letters along with the preaching and teaching of Paul and his co-workers in the first century were a product of the relationship of Paul and his co-workers with their communities and their mission. I see the combination of these communications as building a “meta-narrative” in the sense of the common understanding of identity “in Christ” for the communities of Christ followers formed by Paul and his team of co-workers. This is not to suggest that it is a concrete framework but a narrative in development and in conversation with the changed times and circumstances of the Christ followers. It is in contrast and tension with the meta-narrative of the Roman empire which also grew and developed in relation to its expansion across regions greatly distant from Rome.

Summary

The geopolitical location of Colossae in the Lycus Valley under the Roman regime is integral to the way that the inhabitants of the region see themselves and name their

identity. The community of Christ followers is identifiable among all who live in this location. In introducing the ethnic milieu, the geopolitical location and the religious and cultic setting of Colossae and the Lycus Valley I have set the stage for discussions concerning how their identity was defined and negotiated.

The Letter to the Colossians is one of a series of letters to communities of Christ followers. These letters written by Paul or in his name serve to address the issues faced by the communities, strengthening the members in their faith and identity. The letters are shaped by the experience of the authors, evident in imagery that draws on their daily existence. These images are neither random nor innocuous. In a world of low literacy the system of signs is designed by and persuasive of the prevailing power and ideology.

In the context of Colossae and the Lycus Valley and with consideration of the context of the letter I now move into the engagement with the visible representations of identities constructed through clothing and body as found in the Lycus Valley in the first century CE.

Chapter 2: Scholarly Context

Introduction

In this chapter I elucidate the scholarship I consider as integral to this thesis. The scholarship I draw upon is multi-faceted and interdisciplinary and for ease of understanding I group it under five headings of investigation as seen below. I identify with the scholars who share a common purpose of reading biblical texts as interactive with the visible material world in which they were written.¹ Together, this group of scholars recognises the sophistication of communication through signs and images in a semi-literate world. They see the biblical text as an interactive part of this communication system. They understand that the metaphors enshrined in the text are accessible through examining the dynamics of the images that undergird their meaning.

For all that these scholars have in common, they are not a cohesive group. Their methods are diverse, sometimes complementary and often still developing. They draw on art history, iconography, exegesis, epigraphy, semiotics and classical studies. This relatively recent mode of interpretation at times represents a departure from traditional exegesis and employment of methodology that is not immediately obvious. The scholarly context I provide is a broad framework from which to launch my own project. I address this scholarly context under the headings:

- i Engaging Images and Texts
- ii Art History
- iii Identity Construction
- iv Visual Imagery of Clothing in the Pauline Corpus
- v Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation

I discuss each of these in turn introducing the scholars and explaining how their findings are relevant to this line of inquiry. Having established the scholarly context I briefly outline the basis for understanding clothing as a sign of identity in Colossians. Finally I enumerate the gaps in the current research which offer an opportunity for my study.

¹ These scholars include Harry Maier, Brigitte Kahl, Davina Lopez and Laura Salah Nasrallah whose work will be discussed in this chapter.

Engaging Images and Texts

Interpretation of biblical texts has been largely a literary pursuit. The advances in social science approaches since the 1960s and 70s have critically engaged the biblical text in the context of the world where it was written, heard and read.² The expansion of interdisciplinary engagement in recent times has blossomed into an array of new critical investigations, a number of which involve the interaction of image and text.

I propose that the clothing imagery evident in the text of Colossians, that of laying aside vices (Col 3:8), putting off the old person (Col 3:9), putting on the new/young (Col 3:10) and clothing themselves with virtues and love (Col 3:12, 14), draws on images available to the community in their daily context and engineered to construct identity. The clothing imagery makes a vital connection between words and material reality, between text and image of clothing, and interacts with the representations of clothing and virtues apparent in the built environment of statuary, monuments, funerary *stelae* and coins.

My proposal contrasts with interpreters who in the main ignore the material images of clothing. Commentators have rightly addressed the taking off of the old self and putting on the new in the context of the rite of baptism but they rarely extend this discussion to visible images of clothing and body familiar to the people of the time.³ Literary and intertextual readings have engaged the virtue and vice lists or puzzled over the distinctions of Greek, Judean, circumcision, uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, slave and free. However, few have considered the visual perspective of the personification of virtue or the communication of ethnicity through clothing as means of interpretation of the text. Scholars from Adolf Deissman to Harry Maier have explored the interplay

² In the social sciences arena John Gager, Wayne Meeks, Gerd Theissen, Jerome Neyrey and Bruce Malina are major contributors to the shape of what is known as social science criticism. For an outline of the development and differences within this field see Dale Martin, "Social-Scientific Criticism," in *To Each its own Meaning: An Introduction to Biblical Criticisms and their Application*, ed. Steven McKenzie and Stephen Haynes (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1999), 125-32.

³ Petr Pokorny, Eduard Schweizer, Eduard Lohse and Margaret MacDonald connect the clothing metaphor to baptism. Markus Barth and Helmut Blanke declare that there is no indication of attributing the taking off of the old self with baptism. See Petr Pokorny, *Colossians: A Commentary*, trans. Siegfried Schatzmann (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991), 169; Schweizer, *The Letter to the Colossians: A Commentary*, 195-96; Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, 142-47; MacDonald, *Colossians and Ephesians*, 136-38; Markus Barth and Helmut Blanke, *Colossians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, trans. Astrid Beck, The Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 409.

between portrayals designed to re-establish the Roman identity and the writings of the “Jesus Movement” that testified to their identity in Christ.⁴ The challenge has been to give greater priority to the visual world. The biblical text records traces of the world in which it was written. Analysis of motifs, symbols, parables, metaphors, allegories and allusions give some insight to the world of the text. Bringing image and text into dialogue will further inform our understanding and interpretation of biblical texts. Maier’s research embraces imperial iconography as a means of reading the texts of the Pauline writings and notably the Letter to the Colossians. I find his approach especially foundational.

In addition, two scholars have recently engaged image and text from a gender critical perspective. Both Davina Lopez and Brigitte Kahl re-imagine Paul and the Galatians respectively understanding the texts from a semiotic reading of imperial reliefs and monuments.⁵ I identify the work of these three scholars as prime examples of how a dialogue between images and text can benefit the interpretative endeavour. I outline these under the following headings:

- Maier and Iconography
- Lopez, Kahl and Re-imagination

Maier and Iconography

The term “iconography” is most readily identified with the “image writing” or painting of religious icons in the Byzantine and Orthodox Christian traditions. Within art history this process of image writing is transformed into a means of interpreting images. Thus iconography has become a tool in the study of images or signs of significance in a particular culture. Iconography intends a critical “reading” of the imagery to investigate social and cultural values.

⁴ Adolf Deissman, *Light from the Ancient East: The New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World*, trans. Lionel R. M. Strachan, 2nd ed. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911); Harry Maier, "Roman Imperial Iconography and the Social Construction of Early Christian Identity," in *SBL Annual Meeting 2006* (Washington DC: SBL, 2006). I am grateful to Dr. Maier for sending me a copy of his paper when I was unable to attend the conference.

⁵ Davina Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered: Re-imagining Paul's Mission* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2008); Brigitte Kahl, *Galatians Re-imagined: Reading with the Eyes of the Vanquished* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009).

In antiquity, where images rather than text dominate, art and iconography were active means of communication. These constructed representations were capable of and instrumental in informing and forming the minds and lives of their viewing audience. From the time of Augustus, imperial images were a vital means to inculcate Roman values across an expanding empire of diverse ethnic origin, languages and levels of literacy. By the first century CE the framework of imperial images was well established, overarching all other identities within its realm. Emerging communities of believers in Jesus Christ established their identity in relation to this existing framework.

Maier argues that the iconographical language employed by Augustus sought to create a moral, spiritual and political renewal of the Roman empire. This imagery was constructed to convince citizens that they belonged to a divinely appointed order ruled by a divinely appointed emperor.⁶ Maier reads the text of Colossians 3:11 in the context of the fullness of the visual imagery of the imperial iconography. This imperial iconography includes “architecture, the imagery of imperial coins, clothing, strategic deployment of images of the emperor and the symbols associated with his reign and ritualized state ceremony”.⁷

Drawing on Tonio Hölscher’s “language of images” and Paul Zanker’s “system of signs”, Maier makes a case for the conscious deployment of images to form identity and power structures. Roman emperors strategically located “visual imagery” at the heart of the arena of social action and public life: in market places, baths, gymnasia and theatres and wherever people gathered and engaged in social commerce.⁸ This was a deliberate process of acculturation of local urban cultures to transform urban imagination. Maier describes the role of clothing within this broader social construction of identity. As a complex, multi-layered and dynamic concept, a socially constructed identity supports a specific ideology or ideologies and fits the culture of which it is a part. The imposition

⁶ Harry Maier, "Barbarians, Scythians and Imperial Iconography in the Epistle to the Colossians," in *Picturing the New Testament*, ed. Annette Weissenrieder, Frederike Wendt, and Petra von Gemunden (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 385.

⁷ Maier, "Barbarians, Scythians," 385.

⁸ Paul Zanker adopts the terminology of “visual imagery” and observes that it can give insight into the cultural imagination of a society that might not be accessible through literary sources. See Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 4.

of Roman rule in Asia Minor in the first century CE had a dramatic effect on the identity of Asia Minor, changing it from a disparate conglomerate of tribes or *ethne* with their own languages and cultures, to a seemingly homogenous group of provinces of Rome, speaking the same language under the consistency of Roman administration and law.⁹ The acculturation process, supported by the construction of a Roman identity, carried the Augustan ideology with its values and beliefs represented in visual imagery including clothing.

Hölscher maintains that visual imagery evolved gradually.¹⁰ For him, this was not a conscious act of engineering. Yet he observed that Greek styles and types of images were “appropriated and exploited with breathtaking flexibility” by the Romans into their own art.¹¹ It was not a systematic inclusion of the structured sequence of Greek periods of art forms. Rather, it was a poaching and utilisation of whichever styles and types most suited the Roman needs. What emerged were different patterns drawn from various periods of Greek art specifically chosen to communicate Roman Imperial ideology and values to subject peoples throughout the empire.

Maier demonstrates that this appropriation and exploitation was a determined process of acculturation. Imperial art was used to train viewers instantly to recognise and take in the imperial image of an empire “centred in piety, benefaction and military prowess of the Emperor”.¹² The centring of these values and virtues in the emperor forms the basis of a social construction of identity.

Maier proceeds to locate motifs of victory, exultation, putting on and off military costume and the uniting of diverse peoples under one rule in the plethora of visible representations pertaining to Roman rule. These motifs become the lens by which Maier approaches Colossians 3:11. He takes the perspective of imperial triumphal iconography

⁹ Stephen Mitchell, "Ethnicity, Acculturation and Empire in Roman and Late Roman Asia Minor," in *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity*, ed. Stephen Mitchell and Geoffrey Greatrex (London: Duckworth and The Classical Press of Wales, 2000), 122-29.

¹⁰ Tonio Hölscher, *The Language of Images in Roman Art*, trans. Anthony Snodgrass and Annemarie Kunzl-Snodgrass (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 2.

¹¹ Hölscher, *The Language of Images in Roman Art*, 16-21.

¹² Maier, "Roman Imperial Iconography and the Social Construction of Early Christian Identity," 3.

of subject peoples.¹³ His reading compares and contrasts images of Roman military triumph over subjugated peoples with motifs of victory and triumph in the text of Colossians used for Christ's triumph of the cross. His alignment of the triumphal motifs in the text with victory processions and military clothing informs the interpretation of Colossians.

As I draw on Maier, I recognise that the conversation between the literary elements of the text and the visible depictions of clothing and body are crucial to a visual construction of identity. This systemization of images, while primarily vested in the emperor, also drew on Greek portrayals, especially those of the Greek elite who became Roman citizens. I encompass the relationship of clothing to body specifically as a vesting of identity in the "corporate" body or "body politic". This "corporate body" is seen epitomised and personified in the body of the emperor, the "*demos*" or Christ. Where Maier's main contrast is between the emperor and Christ, I add the dimension of the *demos* and civic imagery. The identity traits focused in the *demos* and civic elite underpin much of the Roman value system. Emperors sought to annexe their identity to the established infrastructure. I demonstrate instances where the emperor displaces these images and refocuses the identity to himself.

A proliferation of imperial statuary is not immediately evident in the Lycus Valley in the first century CE. Although Laodikeia was a relatively large city, it was not successful in competing against the major cities on the coast such as Ephesus, Smyrna and Pergamon for the honour of building a temple of the Imperial cult. Laodikeia was not awarded "*neokorus*" or temple warden status until the mid second century CE. This means that there was no Imperial Cult temple located in this city until that time. The temple was a prime location for imperial statues. Other locations such as the theatre, nymphaeum and *agora* were likely yet there is little extant evidence of any statues from the first century CE. The destructive effects of earthquakes may well have taken their toll on the statuary. The earliest surviving known imperial statue is one of Trajan who was emperor 98-117 CE. Further discussion of these points will be addressed later.

¹³ Maier, "Barbarians, Scythians," 394-95.

Imperial iconography also features in recent investigations in the “Paul in Critical Contexts Series” which draws on a re-imagination of Paul, his writings and his world, which I now address.¹⁴

Lopez, Kahl and Re-imagination

Brigitte Kahl, in her recently published visual reconstruction of the Galatian world behind Paul’s letter, employs a lens of ancient sources, images, buildings, spaces and performances as she “re-imagines” the historical context where Paul met the Galatians.¹⁵ In the same series, Davina Lopez “re-imagines” Paul as an “apostle to the conquered”. Her approach is a gender-critical re-imagination of Paul.¹⁶ Lopez engages the visual representations of Roman Imperial ideology with the view to “visually literate” readings of the Second Testament.¹⁷ It is in the spirit of this visual literacy that I propose the imagery of clothing and body as a visual construction of identity.

In her “gender-critical reimagination”, Lopez recognises a distinct lack of attention to “Roman Imperial visual representation”.¹⁸ She artfully engages the images of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias as key to the visual representation of the power and oppression of the Roman regime over subject peoples. She illuminates Paul as the “apostle to the conquered”.

Both Lopez and Brigitte Kahl use the same semiotic diagram to map the power relationships illustrated in images.¹⁹ In this way they demonstrate a “reading” of images.²⁰ Kahl, for example, intersects a “visual intertextuality” with a “scriptural

¹⁴ This series focuses on Paul through the lens of ideology, gender and power. Brigitte Kahl and Davina Lopez contribute books on re-imagination and explore images as being as essential to text for interpretation and understanding. Kahl, *Galatians Re-imagined*; Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered*.

¹⁵ Kahl, *Galatians Re-imagined*, 4.

¹⁶ Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered*, 170.

¹⁷ Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered*, 168-70.

¹⁸ Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered*, 11.

¹⁹ This semiotic diagram maps oppositions and was developed by Algirdas Greimas. Both Lopez and Kahl turn his diagram on the side to give a clearer picture of the hierarchical dimensions constructing ideology. See Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered*, 21. Figure 2; Kahl, *Galatians Re-imagined*, 89. Figure 3

²⁰ Lopez uses the relief of Claudius and Britannia at Aphrodisias and the Great Altar at Pergamon to show the hierarchical power relationships through oppositions such as power and submission, male and female, high and low, civilised and barbarian. See Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered*, 21.

intertextuality”.²¹ In this way she establishes a basic exegetical model using the Pergamene imagery and biblical root narratives of exodus and exile to understand Galatians. Through their use of semiotic mapping, images and text interact with each other.

In contrast Laura Salah Nasrallah demonstrates the process of reading images alongside texts by bringing together literary texts and archaeological remains to engage the lived experience of early Christians in the world they inhabited.²² Nasrallah’s study embraces the apologetic writings of the second century CE, juxtaposing them with specific examples of architecture and statuary. She argues that the apologists write about themes of piety, justice and whether humans can be gods, in an environment that visually communicates perspectives on these themes. Indeed humans are depicted as gods and statuary of the emperors claim piety and justice as imperial virtues. Thus the “reading alongside” demonstrates how the static visual statements via art and architecture continue to communicate their message in the midst of literary and oral debate.

The engagement of images with texts has necessitated new language. Already we have seen the employment of “iconography”, “visual literacy”, and “visual intertextuality”. I add to this the terminology of “visual construction of identity” and also draw on Takashi Onuki’s phraseology of “image network”.²³ Onuki’s use of this language is primarily literary. I embrace it as beneficial to the cross-conversation between physical images and literary metaphors.

Summary: Engaging Images and Texts

The context of the Letter to the Colossians is the world of first century Asia Minor under Roman rule. The recognition of the influence of the Roman Imperial culture on the

²¹ Kahl, *Galatians Re-imagined*, 26. Visual intertextuality is also employed in literary interpretation such as Jeffrey Bruner, "Figurative Fiction: Verbal and Visual Intertextuality in Polema Diaz-Mas's "El sueño de Venecia", " *Anales de la literatura española contemporánea* 27, no. 2 (2002): 349-64.

²² Nasrallah, *Christian Responses to Roman Art and Architecture: The Second-Century Church amid the Spaces of the Empire*, 1.

²³ The language of “image network” is central to Takashi Onuki’s book as indicated by its inclusion in the title. Gerd Theissen, in his forward to Onuki’s book, explains the principles of analysis of images. See Takashi Onuki, *Jesus’ Time: The Image Network of the Historical Jesus* (Blandford Forum: Deo Publishing, 2009), xvii-xviii.

writings of the New Testament has grown significantly in recent years. Pauline writings are now best understood in their broadest frame of reference including the context of the Roman empire. This view is now expanded to incorporate images as being as important as texts, with the publication of two key works within a series of publications re-examining Paul and his writings through the lens of power, gender and ideology.²⁴

Maier establishes imperial iconography as a systematic schema for acculturation of subject peoples into the Roman regime. He then locates motifs in the text of the Colossians which interact with this imperial iconography. Brigitte Kahl and Davina Lopez “read” imperial monuments and reliefs using a semiotic square thereby raising the “visual literacy” in biblical interpretation, building on the engagement with imperial iconography.²⁵ My thesis draws upon this field burgeoning with undiscovered horizons and perspectives.

The developments in engaging images as well as text in interpretation of biblical texts are critical here. I draw both on Maier’s methodology of reading Imperial iconography and the re-imagination studies of Lopez and Kahl. The conversation between the literary elements of the text and the depictions of clothing and body are crucial to a visual construction of identity. I recognise that this systemization of images, while primarily vested in the emperor, also drew on the Greek portrayals especially those of the Greek elite who became Roman citizens. This visual intertextuality builds a relationship of meaning between the images and offers multiple access points for interpretation and communication.

²⁴ The series is entitled *Paul in Critical Contexts* so far includes two books that engage images and text in their interpretation: Kahl, *Galatians Re-imagined*; Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered*.

²⁵ Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered*; Kahl, *Galatians Re-imagined*.

Art History

The investigation of the images of clothing and body on statues, monuments and *stelae* is greatly assisted by the field of art history. In-depth study of sculpture and the representation of clothing thereon continue to bring new perspectives to the symbolic nature of garments. By paying attention to the development of style and investigating the meaning that is communicated art historians offer effective means of reading images.

Glenys Davies provides an excellent example of the contribution of art history in her study of the display of men in toga in sculpture.²⁶ She demonstrates that the stature of the man is enhanced through a stance which broadens the folds of the toga. In contrast she shows the statue of Augustus is narrower in keeping with the sculpting of his identity. The narrowness assists in conveying virtues of piety and humility while the elegant strong folds of the toga maintain the dominance of Augustus.

Davis also describes the gender difference displayed via the visual image of the “manly” togate male and the narrower posture types used for women, where their arms are often held into the body. The gender delineation is further accentuated by the bulkier drapery of the toga and its use for public activity for men in contrast to use of the *stola* to define the ideal matron in the time of Augustus. Davis’ argument for the constructed nature of this imagery connects well with this study. These representations are understood as symbolic. The practicality of such dress for everyday wear is clearly ruled out for the majority. The issues of gender are communicated through the style of garment and the way it is worn to show what is manly, effeminate, honourable, ideal or promiscuous.

The resource of categorisation of style and meaning of statues and funerary monuments continues to grow. Peter Stewart’s explication of Roman statues clarifies and categorises styles and body types both east and west, illustrating the use of clothing to convey

²⁶ These comments are in relation to the Via Labicana statue of Augustus. See Glenys Davies, "What Made the Roman Toga *virilis*?", in *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, ed. Liza Cleland, Mary Harlow, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005), 123.

virtue.²⁷ Stewart's study is an examination of the collective of Roman statues as a culture. He aims to elucidate Roman responses to statues in the Roman world. For this reason he draws his evidence from the city of Rome. In noting the narrowness of much of the research in this field he admits his own limits and looks at art history in its social and cultural setting. The purpose of this research and similar studies of statuary specific to areas such as Aphrodisias and Ephesus is to give insight to the world under the Roman regime and to comprehend the function and purpose of the statuary. I use this material to inform our understanding of the "image network" of the Christ communities as they are encountered in the Second Testament texts, especially in the Letter to the Colossians.²⁸

The large body of scholarship in the area of Roman women's clothing, especially with regard to its function in securing virtue and honour for males, offers a rich comparative resource for my research.²⁹ Depictions of Roman identity as featured in sculpture, statuary and art are well documented and provide means of comparison of style for differing constructions of meaning.³⁰ Much of this material is found in Rome and Italy. The degree to which this clothing is adopted and appears in the provinces such as Asia Minor and particularly the Lycus Valley is not so well documented. Significant to this thesis is the detailed explication of the visual imagery of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias. I

²⁷ Peter Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 113-20.

²⁸ The language of "image network" is drawn from Takashi Onuki as described earlier. See Onuki, *Jesus' Time*.

²⁹ Judith Lynn Sebesta, "Women's Costume and Feminine Civic Morality in Augustan Rome," in *Gender and the Body in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. Maria Wyke (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1998), 105-17; Judith Lynn Sebesta, "Weavers of Fate: Symbolism in the Costume of Roman Women," University of South Dakota, <http://www.usd.edu/as/harrington/Sebesta.pdf> [accessed 21 April 2011]; Judith Lynn Sebesta, "Symbolism in the Costume of the Roman Woman," in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonafante (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 46-53; Judith Lynn Sebesta, "The *toga praetexta* of Roman Children and Praetextate Garments," in *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, ed. Liza Cleland, Mary Harlow, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005), 113-20.;

³⁰ See Eve D'Ambra, "The Cult of Virtues and the Funerary Relief of Ulpia Epigone," in *Roman Art in Context: An Anthology*, ed. Eve D'Ambra (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1993), 104-14; Eve D'Ambra, "The Calculus of Venus: Nude Portraits of Roman Matrons," in *Sexuality in Ancient Art*, ed. Natalie Boymel Kampen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 219-32; Eve D'Ambra, "Nudity and Adornment in Female Portrait Sculpture of the Second Century AD," in *I Claudia II: Women in Roman Art and Society*, ed. Diana E E Kleiner and Susan B Matheson (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 101-14; Eve D'Ambra, ed. *Roman Art in Context: an Anthology* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1993); Eve D'Ambra, *Art and Identity in the Roman World* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd, 1998).

profiled the relationship between Aphrodisias and the Lycus Valley in Chapter 1. The strategic connection of these cities is further affirmed in the investigation of clothing and body especially with regard to coins struck to celebrate their alliance.

The majority of the art history publications converge on the explanation of the sculptures and art pieces sometimes in catalogue style and at other times grouping like themes. My use of this material is key to the appreciation of statues, funerary monuments, *stelae* and coins as they relate to the metaphorical use of clothing and body in Colossians. Using the material in this way allows it to speak into the context of the writing, as part of the world view of the hearers of the letter. I intend to set up a visual impression of the imagery that constructed identity in first century CE Lycus Valley and strategically connected cities. I observe the influence of these images on the construction of identity metaphors of clothing and body in the text of Colossians.

Identity Construction

In its basic form identity can be seen as involving ideas of “boundedness, sameness and difference, of continuity, perhaps of a degree of homogeneity, and of recognition by self and by others.”³¹ Identity is a concept we understand in the present day as a twentieth century CE construct. Identity is about how we belong, and who is included and who is excluded, how we describe ourselves and how we are described by others. Among the many ways of distinguishing between identities, clothing offers a means of differentiation. Clothing is often linked with ethnic origin. Clothing is an immediate outward indicator of identity. Changing clothes can signal a change of identity.

In this section I wish to introduce social identity theory as the foundation of how people form identity through group membership that delineates one group from another. Then I move to current scholarship investigating identity in the ancient world in relation to the formation of early communities of Jesus followers. Finally I address how biblical scholars have engaged the clothing imagery in Colossians in relation to identity.

Construction of Identity through Group Membership

My understanding of “construction of identity” is assisted by social identity theory that claims that social identity is an individual’s sense of who they are according to their group membership. This means that group membership gives a sense of belonging to a social world. Henri Tajfel devised this theory, presenting the hypothesis that the in-group will discriminate against the out-group to enhance their self image, thus creating the binary opposition of “them” and “us”.³² Tajfel conceived his theory with present day social interactions in mind. Its application is easily abstracted to antiquity with examples such as the opposition of Greeks and barbarians. While not restricted to ethnic differentiation, belonging to an ethnic group is a prime form of social identity. Clothing is an overt, visual means of communicating that identity. A social construction of

³¹ Judith Lieu, *Christian Identity in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 12.

³² H. Tajfel, *Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in Social Psychology* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 13-56.

identity employing a visual means of communicating that identity becomes, by my deduction, a “visual construction of identity”.

Identity Construction in the Ancient World

The collective view of social identity theory underpins recent investigations of identity in the ancient world. “Collective” identity is that which identifies one group from another, often drawing the boundaries on ethnic or geographical distinctions. It describes what is held in common for that group, whether a common heritage, common geographical location or shared ancestry.³³ Identity theory is concerned with the dynamics of groups to enhance their identity through either a negative or positive view of the groups with which they interact. This dynamic is addressed in a series of essays under the banner of identity and interaction in the ancient world and builds on the work of Stephen Wilson whose work reflected a common theme of the identity of Judeans and Christians.³⁴ Philip Harland, editor and contributor to that collection, further expands his field of investigation of associations in the world of the early communities of Jesus followers to examine the dynamics of identity.³⁵ Harland is interested in the manner in which the differing groups identified themselves. He uses a combination of archaeological, literary and epigraphic evidence to conduct his study. In consideration of the dynamics of identity, Harland concludes for the same use of “techniques of self-definition and differentiation” between some early Jesus communities as observed among other cultural minority groups.³⁶ It is not Harland’s interest to interpret the visual imagery of clothing in Colossians in respect to the identity of the Christ community there. Rather, he is interested in the similarities of Christ communities with associations and how they identify themselves in relationship with each other, negatively and positively to enhance their own identity.

³³ Anthropologist Frederik Barth’s work *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1969), is foundational to this view.

³⁴ Zeba Crook and Philip Harland, eds., *Identity and Interaction in the Ancient Mediterranean: Jews, Christians and Others* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007).

³⁵ Philip Harland, *Dynamics of Identity in the World of the Early Christians* (New York and London: T & T Clark, 2009).

³⁶ Harland, *Dynamics of Identity*, 185.

Harland concentrates on literary sources, both epigraphical and documentary, in his approach to the social construction of identity. He supports his investigation with visual material culture in the form of sarcophagi, *stelae* and statues. In contrast, I focus on the visual material culture and enhance my observations of the images by correlating them with their inscriptions. Harland's study demonstrates the effectiveness of social identity theory as a means to understand the dynamics of identity in the ancient world. These dynamics inform the writings of the Second Testament and later literature. Harland includes an example of the interaction and integration of Judean families and guilds at Hierapolis that shows how local and migrating groups affect each other's view of themselves. Harland gives evidence of informal structural assimilation. The adoption of local funerary practices, such as leaving copies of their inscription in the civic archives, leaving funds for annual "grave-crowning" and entrusting local guild to expedite these matters, reveals significant moves in the sense of belonging and identity for the minority cultural group.³⁷

This informal structural assimilation, attested primarily in the second and third centuries CE, I see as a product of the dynamics of the first century CE, not the reality of that time.³⁸ I am concerned with the engineering of structured assimilation through deliberate construction of identity beginning from the time of Augustus and current in the first century at the time of writing of Colossians. I find Harland's engagement with the use of stereotypes to be crucial to understanding the dynamics of identity construction in the first century CE. Stereotyping of statues and naming identities are key to structuring difference and locating power.

Allied to these dynamics of identity construction is the cultural memory that maintains the collective or group identity. The concept of cultural memory emanates from studies of social memory pioneered by Maurice Halbwachs, and further developed by Jan

³⁷ Harland, *Dynamics of Identity*, 142.

³⁸ Philip Harland devotes a chapter to cultural interactions in relation to acculturation and identity with specific attention to Judean epitaphs at Phrygian Hierapolis in the second and third centuries CE. Harland, *Dynamics of Identity*, 123-42.

Assmann.³⁹ Assmann assigns specific characteristics to cultural memory: “the concretion of identity”, “its capacity to reconstruct”, “formation”, “obligation” and “reflexivity”.⁴⁰ Of importance to the construction of identity is “the capacity to reconstruct” and “obligation”. Assman argues, in relation to the capacity to reconstruct, that cultural memory exists in two modes: potentiality and actuality.⁴¹ The mode of potentiality concerns “the archive whose accumulated texts, images and rules of conduct act as a total horizon.”⁴² The mode of actuality gives the contemporary perspective. The interaction between these modes preserves the cultural memory in light of its current relevance. “Obligation” is a characteristic of cultural memory because the normative self-image of the group engenders a system of values that has a binding effect on the group.⁴³ These two characteristics of cultural memory offer insight to the construction of identity under investigation. The sense of obligation correlates with the formation of the identity in Christ where the members are to clothe themselves in virtues and love which will bind them together. The capacity to reconstruct is integral to the Roman use of Greek style statuary to re-establish the virtues of Roman citizens.

I argue that the combination of social identity theory and the allied concept of collective identity embedded in social and cultural memory form a framework to address the social construction of identity. These concepts are vital to recognise portrayals of identity both in the letter and in the cities of the Lycus Valley.

Primarily social identity theory describes identity construction between and within groups. This process of social construction of identity is open to intervention and manipulation, especially by those in power. The identity of the group can be defined by the leader and promulgated through images. Identity is thus constructed by an individual within the group and extends to other groups via various means of interaction.

³⁹ Santiago Guijarro outlines the development of the concept of cultural memory and concludes that it plays a significant part in the preservation of group identity. Santiago Guijarro, "Cultural Memory and Group Identity in Q," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 37 (2007): 92-93.

⁴⁰ Jan Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique* 65 (1995): 129-32.

⁴¹ Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," 130.

⁴² Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," 130.

⁴³ Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," 131.

Clothing as Identity in Colossians

In the Introduction I established clothing as an immediate sign of identity and the changing of clothes as a meaningful way of signalling change. In Colossians 3:1-17 there are three instances of clothing imagery:

- “to lay aside” or “put off”(ἀποτίθημι, Col 3:8)
- “to strip off” or “to put off” (ἀπεκδύομαι, Col 3:9)
- “to clothe” or “put on” (ἐνδύω, Col 3:10,12 and inferred in 3:14).

Each of these describes the activity associated with putting on or taking off garments. However, the objects of these activities are not items of clothing but the “old self”, “the new self”, virtues and love. The change of clothes in the combination of taking off and putting on indicates a change of identity exemplified through the stripping off of the old self (Col 3:9) and the clothing with the new self (Col 3:10).

Jeremy Sumney attests the imagery of changing clothes as a change of identity that was well known in the first century CE.⁴⁴ He is supported by other scholars such as Lohse who recognise the use of “putting off” and “putting on” of a garment as a ritual widespread in the ancient world, particularly in relation to initiation into mystery cults.⁴⁵ Kim, as already noted, relates the change of garments associated with the initiation of Lucius into the Isis cult in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*. Each significant change in the process is accompanied by Lucius donning a ritual garment.⁴⁶ Clinton Arnold also refers to Lucius’ initiation but is concerned with a cosmic perspective where the initiation offers protection from the “cosmic powers of fate”.⁴⁷ Sumney seeks examples of a change from old to new clothing. He finds no “extra-Christian” examples of the metaphor of taking off *old* clothing and putting on *new* clothing through religious experience or adoption of a philosophy thus he attributes it as a “creation of the early

⁴⁴ Sumney, *Colossians*, 199.

⁴⁵ Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, 141.

⁴⁶ Apuleius’ account belongs to the second century CE but Kim contends that the Isaic mysteries originated in ancient times and were prevalent in the first century in the Graeco-Roman world. See Jung Hoon (Chong-hun Kim) Kim, *The Significance of Clothing Imagery in the Pauline Corpus* (London: T. & T. Clark International, 2004), 81-95.

⁴⁷ Clinton Arnold, *The Colossian Syncretism: The Interface between Christianity and Folk Belief at Colossae* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1996), 176.

church”.⁴⁸ His view affirms the use of clothing imagery in Colossians as an intentional means of communicating identity change.

Sumney recognises the power of differences in clothing. He notes the distinction of various social classes under Roman law citing examples of the dress of the senatorial class. He also observes prescribed differences in clothing for single and married people. Despite this engagement with clothing, he does not enter an argument for the interaction of these differences with the use of clothing metaphors in Colossians. I engage the opportunity to investigate the text in light of the constructed system of identity available through statuary, funerary monuments and the like. I see the visual imagery of clothing and body as interactive with the metaphor of clothing in Colossians. I pursue evidence of visible representations of clothing and body contributing to the construction of identity in the region of the Lycus Valley.

The connection Sumney develops in relation to clothing imagery in Colossians refers to physical garments. He proposes that love as a bond (σύνδεσμος) could be translated as a belt that is put over the other clothes.⁴⁹ In this way love holds all together. The implication is the body of Christ is held together when all its members are dressed in this way. I am particularly interested in the intimate relationship of clothing and body and will explore the expression of this in the concrete forms available in the cities of the Lycus Valley.

The clothing imagery of Colossians is most commonly linked with baptism. Such a general acceptance can stifle new critical thought. Richard DeMaris contests this ready agreement. He argues that baptism was a contentious issue in the first century CE.⁵⁰ He cites 1 Cor 1:14-16 as a case in point where unity of the community is under threat due to factionalism over who is the baptiser. Etienne Nodet and Justin Taylor weigh into this

⁴⁸ Sumney, *Colossians*, 199-200.

⁴⁹ Sumney, *Colossians*, 218.

⁵⁰ Richard DeMaris, *The New Testament in its Ritual World* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 15-17.

debate examining the relationship of John the Baptist to Jesus.⁵¹ The occasion of Jesus' baptism is followed by the theophany declaring Jesus as Son of God (Mat 3:13-17; Mar 4:1-11; Luk 3:21-22). Nodet and Taylor point out that there would be no theophany without the baptism.⁵² The combination of the two allows correspondence between the theophany and the resurrection as well as between baptism and death. Nodet and Taylor conclude that this pairing "expresses the Christian kerygma (Jesus died and has been raised up), and at the same time recalls the mission entrusted to his disciples by the Risen Christ".⁵³ This standpoint aligns with Paul's explanation:

Do you not know that all of us who have been baptised into Christ Jesus were baptised into his death? Therefore we have been buried with him by baptism into death, so that, just as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we too might walk in the newness of life (Rom 6:3-4).

This connection is also made clear in Colossians: "when you were buried with him in baptism, you were also raised with him" (Col 2:12). However, at the beginning of Colossians 3 baptism is not explicitly expressed but inferred through: "Since then you have been raised with Christ" (Col 3:1). This ambiguity is also apparent in the undisputed letters of Paul where participation in Christ's dying and rising is not always used in conjunction with baptism such as in 2 Cor 4:10-11; Gal 2:19-20; Phil 3:10-11.⁵⁴

In light of this, a more critical eye needs to be applied in linking the clothing imagery to baptism in a manner that suggests a well known ritual already in place in the community. The clothing imagery in Colossians is used in putting off the old self (Col 3:9) following the putting to death of the vices of that life (Col 3:5). The movement to putting on the new self (Col 3:10) implies new life. However, more critical observation does show the mix of metaphors regarding clothing and baptism in the Pauline texts.

⁵¹ Etienne Nodet and Justin Taylor, *The Origins of Christianity: An Exploration* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1998), 57-63.

⁵² For the full discussion of the connection of Jesus' baptism with Christian baptism see Nodet and Taylor, *The Origins of Christianity: An Exploration*, 74-80.

⁵³ See Nodet and Taylor, *The Origins of Christianity: An Exploration*, 76.

⁵⁴ This ambiguity is highlighted in a discussion of whether baptism can reasonably be considered a rite of passage. See DeMaris, *The New Testament in its Ritual World*, 19.

Many commentators express baptism as a putting on of a “garment”.⁵⁵ This is a weaving of ideas from the undisputed Pauline writings. The text of Colossians does not include a reference to a garment nor does it refer to the community members as being clothed with Christ. The link between baptism and clothing is made explicitly in Galatians 3:26-29:

for in Christ Jesus you are all children of God through faith. As many of you as were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ. There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus. And if you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham's offspring, heirs according to the promise.

Here the metaphor of putting on Christ is specifically linked with both clothing and baptism in Gal 3:27 and is framed by what it means to be “in Christ”.

²⁶for **in Christ** Jesus you are all children of God through faith.

²⁷As many of you as were baptised into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ.

²⁸There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one **in Christ** Jesus.

The writer of the Letter to the Colossians uses the terminology of being “in Christ” (Col 1:2). It suggests to me an acceptance of “in Christ” as a symbolic representation of the community who are baptised in Christ, that is, have died with Christ and been raised with him. Colossians does not explicitly speak of clothing with Christ. Instead, the writer of Colossians centres the community identity in Christ as the head of the assembly. Clothing imagery is used to define how members belong in the body of Christ. The phrase “in Christ” is transformed and extended in Colossians from the use by Paul in the undisputed letters. It is this difference in the use of clothing imagery that is suggestive of a reinterpretation in the context of the Lycus Valley. My thesis explores how the systematic use of clothing and body, as it constructs identity through representation on statuary, funerary monuments and *stelae*, can inform the transformation through clothing evident in Colossians.

⁵⁵ MacDonald, *Colossians and Ephesians*, 145; Wayne Meeks, "In One Body: The Unity of Humankind in Colossians and Ephesians," in *God's Christ and His People*, ed. Jacob Jervell and Wayne A. Meeks (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1977), 212; Dunn, *Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 221.

Visual Imagery of Clothing in the Pauline Corpus

As we have just observed, the use of clothing imagery is not unique to the Letter to the Colossians. Indeed the significance of clothing imagery in the Pauline Corpus was the subject of an investigation by Jung Hoon Kim. The breadth of the field of comparison meant that Kim's examination of the visual imagery in the Letter to the Colossians was necessarily limited.

Kim's literary based investigation began by examining "the history-of religions-background" to the imagery of clothing.⁵⁶ This encompassed First Testament passages especially Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Zechariah, Judges, Chronicles and Psalms as well as Jewish writings including *1 and 2 Enoch*, *The Books of Adam and Eve*, the works of Philo and some rabbinic literature. Kim also explored clothing imagery in *Joseph and Asenath*, *The Hymn of the Pearl* and *Metamorphoses* where the donning of garments was linked to the change in identity of the wearer.⁵⁷ Kim reflected on Roman apparel specifically in relation to the change of toga for the young Roman male reaching the age of maturity. Kim used these background materials as a means of interpreting the Pauline use of clothing imagery.

Clothing, in the texts Kim interrogated, is used symbolically, holds meaning and ritualises changes in identity. I propose that it is necessary to read or hear these texts in light of the visual reality of the image network with which it interacts. Kim alludes to this at various times in his discussion but does not do so at depth within his study. I will demonstrate the benefits of bringing the visible communication system, structured into the everyday reality of the people of the Lycus Valley in the first century CE, into dialogue with the text of Colossians.

Kim recognises that the dating of the ancient texts other than the First Testament is problematic. For example, the dating of *Joseph and Asenath* is unknown but the earliest it is attested is late fourth century CE and the oldest textual witness is a sixth century

⁵⁶ Kim, *Significance of Clothing*, 8.

⁵⁷ Kim, *Significance of Clothing*, 8-9.

Syriac translation.⁵⁸ Kim argues that the imagery had foundations in earlier practices but makes no specific connection to evidence of first century CE Colossae or indeed to other Pauline community locations. Kim uses the same argument for the other ancient texts.

Kim's engagement with these texts establishes a link with clothing as a sign of transition and change to a new identity. The insights from these stories indicate a familiarity with the need for a process of transition for people to cross the boundaries of ethnicity and religious affiliations. Such a transformation is shown to be enacted through a ritual change of clothing so that they can be seen to belong to a new community. Kim's observations prepare an ideal foundation for reading structured images in conjunction with these texts.

Kim's examination of Roman clothing and identity in the chapter he devotes to "Roman Apparel" is the closest he comes to engaging visible images.⁵⁹ He uses his findings to illuminate the rite of baptism in the first century CE. He concludes that the metaphor of putting on Christ (Gal 3:26-29 and Rom 13:11-14) was *probably* involved in the rite of baptism in the first century CE. Some of the difficulties with this assumption have been addressed in the previous section. Kim cites comparative rituals of the initiation of young Roman boys through the putting on of the *toga virilis* and Lucius' initiation where he dons twelve garments to be united with Isis.⁶⁰ His deductions are plausible yet not sufficiently secured with evidence as to how they were known to the Colossian community or the author of the letter to make a valid link to Col 2:11-12 and 3:8-9.

Kim's discussion of Col 3:8-11 and 2:11-12 embraces the idea that baptism is "identification with Christ's death-and-life".⁶¹ He asserts that the putting on of a new self (Col 3:10) indicates the "incorporation into the church community as the one

⁵⁸ John Collins, "Joseph and Aseneth: Jewish or Christian?," *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 14, no. 2 (2005): 100. Other scholars consider this story to be contemporaneous with the Second Testament. Richard DeMaris cites Randall Chesnutt, Ross Shepard Kraemer and Edith McEwan Humphrey, see DeMaris, *The New Testament in its Ritual World*, 26.

⁵⁹ Kim, *Significance of Clothing*, 9.

⁶⁰ Kim, *Significance of Clothing*, 150.

⁶¹ Kim, *Significance of Clothing*, 170.

organic body”.⁶² He illustrates his conclusions with enumeration of the clothing images he has drawn on from the texts he has examined. I find this is a vital intersection point for the consultation of visible images. The interpretation of the clothing imagery in Colossians, and indeed the other Pauline letters, could be greatly enhanced with recourse to the material environment of the cities where the Christ communities lived.

I come to the clothing metaphors in Paul’s letters from a different angle than Kim’s. I look at the visual imagery of clothing prevalent in the Lycus Valley as a way of appreciating the metaphorical use of clothing in the text of the Colossians, thus firmly connecting the literary imagery to a concrete derivative reality. The combination of these forms of imagery constitutes what I call “visual construction of identity”. I recognise that Kim’s view of the rituals of clothing offer another perspective of visual imagery. Enacted within cults and associations, these rituals were living, observable action and a practical local means of constructing identity through clothing. I draw upon Kim’s intertextual examples in the process of the socio-rhetorical exegesis of Colossians.

Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation

The Socio-Rhetorical approach, espoused by Vernon Robbins, developed from the social analysis field of interpretation. Clifford Geertz and Wayne Meeks were among those of greatest influence in this field.⁶³ Essentially, the social perspective of the interaction of people is brought into dialogue with the patterns of communications among and between individuals and groups.⁶⁴ I am concerned with these patterns of communication to construct identity both in the Letter to the Colossians and via the clothing and body images of the streetscapes known to the author and audience. A socio-rhetorical approach has the capacity to examine the text in the context of its world, customs and behaviours. Reading Col 3:1-17 within the framework of the arenas proposed by Robbins I ascertain a visual construction of identity able to be compared and contrasted with that available from the examination of clothing and body images in the Lycus

⁶² Kim, *Significance of Clothing*, 170.

⁶³ David Gowler also includes M. A. K. Halliday and Roger Fowler with Clifford Geertz and Wayne Meeks as influential in developing the social science perspective. See David Gowler, “Introduction: The Development of Socio-Rhetorical Criticism” in Vernon Robbins and David Gowler, *New Boundaries in Old Territory: Form and Social Rhetoric in Mark* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1994), 4.

⁶⁴ Robbins and Gowler, *New Boundaries*, 4.

Valley in the first century CE. A full account of how I employ the socio-rhetorical approach will follow in the next chapter when I discuss the methodology that I shall engage in this thesis.

The Gaps

Maier's use of imperial iconography engages a range of imperial motifs, among which is military clothing. He relates this motif to Roman triumph and the victory over subject people. His interpretation is broader than the use of clothing imagery and explicitly contrasts the Roman triumph to Jesus' triumph of the cross. I address the visual impact of the representations of clothing and body on the construction of identity of the Christ community in Colossae and the Lycus Valley. I specifically examine the metaphorical use of clothing and body employed in the Letter to the Colossians in the context of a visually semantic world that communicates how citizens are identified within the city and empire that they live.

I present a collage of the depictions of imperial emperors and elite citizens clothed in honour of their virtues that construct the identity of good citizens of the empire. The concrete portrayals of the emperors since Augustus cannot be ignored as a web of images interactive with metaphorical use of clothing and body in Colossians. The rich literary metaphors illuminated by a number of scholars from a wide variety of writings of this time must have a basis in solid material culture. Rather than leave this to conjecture I bring it to the forefront of an investigation of a visual construction of identity.

The analysis of the symbolism of Roman clothing through art and statuary continues to blossom, especially in the area of art history. In recent years the emphasis on women has highlighted their role in the honour system and their capacity to secure status for their husbands and sons. This imagery has not been applied as an interpretive tool for understanding the visual imagery of clothing used in the Letter to the Colossians. I intend to bridge this gap giving priority to the visual imagery of clothing with virtue with regard to women.

The development of a "visual literacy" brings the interaction of image and texts into the forefront of interpretation of biblical texts, yielding new approaches not bound by

previous text-focused investigations. I hope to demonstrate visual images of clothing and body as major foci of meaning for the construction of identity.

Summary

The birth of a field of biblical interpretation where images are as important as texts embraces iconography, “visual imperial representation”, “visual literacy”, “image network” and the re-imagination of people and their world. I use images of clothing and body as a lens to discern the network of images which build a visual construction of identity. I draw upon those scholars who have pioneered approaches to interpretation in this field. I undertake a dialogue between images and metaphor to lift the Colossians text off the page into the three dimensional world of the Lycus Valley in the first century CE. In isolating the visual imagery of clothing it is possible to enter the ancient world view where writing and reading were the privilege of the few so that visual and oral communication served the many. In light of this scholarship and academic endeavour I turn now to the methodology that I shall employ in this research.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

The process of bringing images and text into dialogue is at the heart of this chapter. I describe the methodology I employ to read the visual imagery of statuary, funerary monuments, *stelae* and coins in conjunction with the use of “clothing” and “body” metaphors used in Colossians. Essentially I engage a “visually literate reading” of the available “image network” in order to offer a “visual exegesis” of Col 3:1-17.¹

I compare and contrast the letter’s use of the visual imagery of clothing in conjunction with the body of Christ and the visual construction of identity in the civic public arena, roughly contemporaneous to the writing, via the clothing of statuary, funerary monuments and *stelae* that project the ideal citizens of the Roman empire. Through this comparison of literary visual imagery with visual material culture I will elucidate the meaning intended by the letter’s author. To do this I draw on social-scientific and literary tools employing an adapted form of socio-rhetorical interpretation.² I shall demonstrate how the visual imagery of clothing in the letter to the Colossians can be read in the context of the constructed visual imagery of clothing on statuary, funerary monuments and *stelae* in the Lycus Valley and strategically connected cities in the first century CE.

I embark on this investigation of the construction of identity via clothing imagery in three parts. Firstly, the visual imagery of “clothing” and “body”, is a systematic study of this network of images as they construct identity in the Lycus Valley. The analysis extends to major trade and political partner cities of the Lycus Valley. The catalogue of images includes depictions of clothing and body as represented in statuary, funerary

¹ I combine language drawn from Davina Lopez, Takashi Onuki and Michael Trainor respectively. See Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered*, 168-70. Onuki, *Jesus' Time*, xvii-xviii. Michael Trainor’s gift of the terminology “visual exegesis” is gratefully acknowledged.

² See Vernon Robbins, “Social-Scientific Criticism and Literary Studies,” in *Modelling Early Christianity: Social-scientific studies of the New Testament in its context*, ed. Philip Esler (London: Routledge, 1995), 274-89. Vernon Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts: a guide to socio-rhetorical criticism* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1996), 1-6; Vernon Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse: rhetoric, society and ideology* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 18-43.

monuments, coin and art of the first century CE in the area described. The relationship of body to clothing is scrutinised further in relation to the formation “body corporate” identity such as the city-state (πόλις) or empire.

Secondly, I employ a socio-rhetorical interpretation of the letter to the Colossians that intersects with the visual construction of identity in the material world and the relationship of body to clothing.

Thirdly, the visual construction of identity is illuminated through the dialogue between images and texts. The two parts above become the major participants in the dialogue in which I engage in the final analysis.

Before explicating the methodology that permeates each of these parts, I offer a brief explanation of social identity theory and the “visual imagery of clothing” that underpin my methodology.

Social Identity Theory

In the previous chapter I outlined Henri Tajfel's social identity theory with regard to the construction of identity. It is the application of social identity theory in terms of collective identity that I adopt as an appropriate framework to address the social construction of identity alluded to in Colossians and demonstrated in the visual material culture of the cities of the Lycus Valley and beyond. Furthermore I emphasise the opportunity for an individual with sufficient power, such as an emperor, to converge the identity of the group in his own person and construct an identity that crosses the boundaries of other groupings of identity. This creates a new way of belonging. Augustus created an identity centred in the image and person of the emperor. Augustus portrayed the values necessary for group membership and communicated them through visual imagery. The members of the group are visually reminded of their belonging through the concrete imagery in their cities.

The specific employment of visual imagery as a social construction of identity, which I name as "visual construction of identity", lies at the heart of my methodology. Within this structured formation I recognise and demonstrate the social function of clothing as critical to delineate groups and to communicate values and virtues.

Visual Imagery of Clothing

I adopt the terminology "visual imagery of clothing" to describe both the physical material visual culture of clothing and the metaphor of clothing found in literary texts. Visual culture is the aspects of culture that rely on visual images. It is the array of visual images that confront people going about their lives in the cities where they live. The visual imagery of clothing describes one aspect of this visual culture and refers to both actual clothing and representations of clothing. In the context of the first century CE in Asia Minor this includes the statuary, funerary monuments, *stelae*, reliefs and coins as well as art, architecture and cultic and religious furniture. The study of visual culture crosses the disciplines of art history, anthropology and archaeology and iconography.

In investigating how the visual material culture of clothing informs the imagery of clothing in Colossians, I highlight not only the ancient city of Colossae, but also, its neighbouring cities of Laodikeia and Hierapolis as well as its strategic partners, namely Aphrodisias, Ephesus and Smyrna. The available visual material from the ancient city of Colossae includes *stelae*, *bomoi* and a series of inscriptions and coins that yield local insight.

The clothing that appears on statuary, funeral monuments, coins and art of the first centuries CE is representative and idealised, not what was commonly worn. Apart from these visual images, much of what is known about clothing is gleaned from texts. There are few surviving garments and remnants from this region. Excavations of the terrace houses of Ephesus have not yet discovered any preserved textiles.³ With the lack of garment remains, contrast between the portrayals of clothing on statues and any discernment of the everyday garments worn in the city will not be possible. However, this is not essential to penetrating the meaning of the use of clothing to communicate and form a sense of belonging identity.

For this study the visual culture of statuary, art, funerary monuments and coins holds the key to a constructed identity. The representative portrayals and idealisation are the mechanism of conveying the virtues and values of the social group whether they be honouring local benefactors or presenting the emperor or his wife as the epitome of Roman identity. The lack of garment remnants will mean a paucity of contrast between the constructed identity and the clothing of daily life in the city. The lack of actual garments will not impede the view of the material source of the literary metaphor.

The investigation of this material culture is designed to explore the propensity of the visual imagery of clothing in statuary, art and coin to communicate and construct identity. In antiquity images, rather than text, dominate. For this reason I want to open a

³ Elisabeth Trinkl, "Artifacts Related to Preparation of Wool and Textile Processing Found inside the Terrace Houses of Ephesus, Turkey," in *Ancient Textiles: Production, Craft and Society*, ed. Carole Gillis and Marie-Louise B Nosch (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), 81.

dialogue between “visual imagery”⁴ in material visual culture and in texts as metaphor, as a means of constructing identity. This dialogue is possible through the semiotic potential of all artefacts to be symbolic and reveal the existence of relationships of power and domination.⁵ Iconography studies assist this investigation. “Iconography” refers to the study of images or signs of significance in a particular culture in a manner that implies a critical “reading” of the imagery to investigate social and cultural values.⁶

I compare the visible construction of identity through clothing and body apparent in the representative world of statuary, funerary monument and *stelae* with the corresponding metaphorical imagery in the Colossians. In doing this, I acknowledge that a visual construction of identity through clothing is but one portion of the social construction of identity. It is given priority here as a broad communication tool capable of differentiating identity.

With the appreciation of social identity theory and the visual imagery of clothing let us turn to a brief overview of the methodology.

Overview of Methodology

This thesis argues that the imagery of clothing and body in Colossians 3:1-17 parallels and critiques a systematic visual construction of identity in the cities of the Lycus Valley in the first century CE. My investigation begins in the world of the text, examining the visual imagery of clothing in the region of the Lycus Valley in the first century CE. I then move to explore the relationship between body and clothing. I scrutinise the way they are represented on the visual imagery of statuary and demonstrate how, together, they convey a structured ideal identity. Having established the evidence of visual construction of identity in the world of the text I undertake a socio-rhetorical interpretation of Col 3:1-17. This leads logically to the dialogue between the findings from the examination of the visual imagery of clothing and body in the world of the text

⁴ The idea of reading imagery is championed by Tonio Holscher and Paul Zanker. See Holscher, *The Language of Images in Roman Art*. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*.

⁵ Heather Burke, *Meaning and Ideology in Historical Archaeology: Style, Social Identity and Capitalism in an Australian Town* (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 1999).

⁶ For an example of the application of iconography to the construction of the identity see Maier, "Roman Imperial Iconography and the Social Construction of Early Christian Identity."

with the results from the socio-rhetorical interpretation of Col 3:1-17. The analysis will offer valuable insights to the construction of identity of the Christ communities in the Lycus Valley as well as options for further research especially in light of new and on-going archaeological fieldwork and reconstruction in the area of the Lycus Valley.

I use an adapted socio-rhetorical interpretation model as the prime tool in my methodological approach. I proceed now to an explanation of its implementation in this thesis.

A Socio-Rhetorical Approach

This mode of interpretation grew from literary, rhetorical, social and cultural studies undertaken during the 1970s.⁷ Vernon Robbins' first foray into this field was his interpretation of the social and cultural intertexture of the "we" passages of Acts.⁸ He first named the approach in 1984.⁹ As the champion of this approach, Robbins first published a model in 1995 in an effort to harness the best of literary and social science approaches for biblical interpretation.¹⁰

Robbins describes socio-rhetorical interpretation as a "multi-dimensional approach to texts guided by a multi-dimensional hermeneutic".¹¹ Literary and social science criticisms were seemingly diametrically opposed, with one beginning its focus in the text and the other in the world of the text. The combination of the two in the socio-rhetorical approach provides an "interpretive analytic" for biblical interpretation.¹² This approach

⁷ David Gowler provides an outline of the development of socio-rhetorical criticism in his introduction to Robbins and Gowler, *New Boundaries*. Available at <http://userwww.service.emory.edu/~dgowler/chapter.htm> [accessed 14 March, 2011].

⁸ Vernon Robbins, "The We-Passages in Acts and Ancient Sea Voyages," *Biblical Research* 20 (1975): 5-18.

⁹ Vernon Robbins, *Jesus the Teacher: A Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation of the Gospel of Mark* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984).

¹⁰ First published in Robbins, "Social-Scientific Criticism," Figure 6, 278. Subsequently appeared in Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse*, 21, 31-37.

¹¹ Vernon Robbins, "Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation," in *The Blackwell Companion to the New Testament*, ed. David Edward Aune (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 192.

¹² Vernon Robbins is adamant that socio-rhetorical interpretation is not a method but rather an interpretive analytic that applies as many analytical strategies as might be necessary to illuminate the text. Vernon Robbins, *The Invention of Christian Discourse* (Blandford Forum: Deo Publishing, 2009), 5.

is still evolving. In most recent times this model and the “textures” it engages have underpinned the development of a series of “rhetolects” that describe the “invention of the Christian discourse”.¹³

Robbins’ illustration, reproduced below (Figure 1), shows the dynamic of this interpretation.¹⁴ The strength of this approach is its ability to engage the text in multi-levels of literary meaning within the social and cultural context. This method affords depth and breadth of interpretation. Robbins describes text as a “thick tapestry” which has “multiple textures of meanings”.¹⁵ These textures incorporate beliefs, values, emotions and activities. Robbins’ view contrasts with the concept of a text as a window or mirror. Such a metaphor illustrates a text as a two-dimensional lens giving insight to its historical context. Robbins’ perspective of the tapestry conveys a three dimensional weaving of textures in and out in an interactive array of colour.¹⁶ The “arenas of texture” are distinctive features of the socio-rhetorical mode of interpretation.¹⁷

The rectangles Robbins draws represent boundaries for interpretation. He argues that even the simplest language creates boundaries.¹⁸ To undertake a systematic analysis of a text Robbins insists it is necessary to both construct and deconstruct boundaries. If we look first to the “world of the interpreter” the rectangle around it signifies that the interpreter’s world is limited. No matter what the breadth of view interpreters may take, their experience and knowledge is constrained. They cannot know everything.

The boundary around the “real author”, the “real reader/audience”, the “material data” and the “language” is that of the Mediterranean world. All of these are historical

¹³ Robbins, *The Invention of Christian Discourse*, 7-9.

¹⁴ Vernon Robbins names his model for this interdisciplinary investigation “Socio-rhetorical model of textual communication”. Robbins, “Social-Scientific Criticism,” Figure 6, 278.

¹⁵ Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse*, 18.

¹⁶ Robbins explains the history of this approach in Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse*, 19. He draws on M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953); Murray Krieger, *A Window to Criticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964); and Norman R. Petersen, *Literary Criticism for New Testament Critics* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978), 24.

¹⁷ At this stage of development Robbins had identified four arenas of texture. His later work identifies a fifth as described in Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse*, 24.

¹⁸ Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse*, 20.

phenomena of that world in its time and location. The boundary of the text separates the real author and reader/audience from those implied in the text. Texts imply who the author and the reader or audience are. Texts express the communication between the one sending the message and those receiving it.

Similarly the language in the text is implied language which Robbins denotes as “verbal signs”.¹⁹ It is implied language because the text interacts with that of the whole world but it is not the totality of the language in the world.

So we also see that the material data or information in the Mediterranean world appears as the “represented world” in the text.²⁰

¹⁹ Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse*, 21.

²⁰ Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse*, 22.

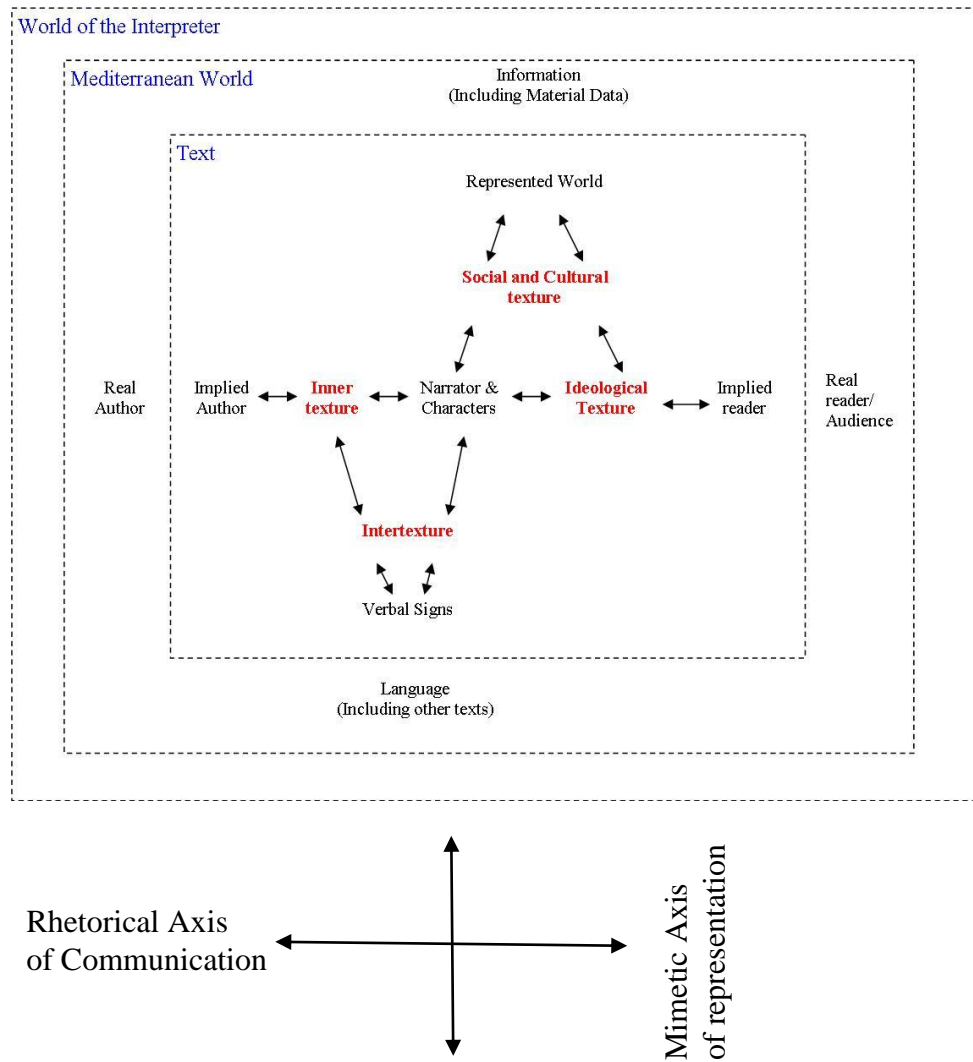


Figure 1: Socio-rhetorical model of textual communication.²¹

It is significant that the rectangles Robbins uses are not constructed with solid lines. The dashed lines around the “text”, “Mediterranean world” and the “world of the interpreter” show the transfer of meaning between these worlds. Whatever boundaries might be adopted for the means of interpretation and explanation, texts are a part of the world, so the world of the interpreter and the Mediterranean world cannot help but be in the text.²² Below the diagram (Figure 1), Robbins adds two axes, namely the “rhetorical axis of communication” and the “mimetic axis of representation”.²³ The rhetorical axis of communication is literally the message or “speaking” of the author through the implied

²¹ Robbins, "Social-Scientific Criticism," 279.

²² Robbins, "Social-Scientific Criticism," 279.

²³ Robbins, "Social-Scientific Criticism," 278-79.

author, narrator and characters that is given “voice” by the real reader/audience through the implied reader, narrator and characters.²⁴ “Mimetic”, drawn from the Greek word *mimesis* (μίμησις), means imitation. The mimetic line of representation refers to the imitation of language and the world in the text.

At right angles to each other, the rhetorical axis runs horizontally in an imaginary line from real author to real reader/audience. At every stage through the process the communication is illustrated with double ended arrows to show that the communication is two-way. The mimetic axis runs vertically between the language and the material data in the world. It is caused, in the diagram, to move at angles as it intersects with the communication between author and reader. This movement demonstrates the dynamic dialogue that occurs between the textures of the text and the world in which the text is written, read and heard. I not only want to show this dynamic connection but to access this dialogue as it creates meaning in the text and constructs identity.

I have adapted Robbins’ model (see Figure 2). My version is immediately distinguishable by the use of circles rather than rectangles. This change conveys the “worlds” as three-dimensional global worlds within which the text exists. I have also changed the world around the text to “Graeco-Roman World” rather than “Mediterranean World” as this more closely describes the world where the Letter to the Colossians was written and delivered. The major difference, though, is the removal of the “narrator” and the “characters”. Robbins created his model based on a narrative text which is mediated through the narrator and characters. He suggests that in a letter the narrator speaks in the first person.²⁵ I find the inclusion of narrator and characters in a letter complicates the interpretation. In a letter the narrator is the implied author and the characters are the implied readers or hearers. In the example of the Letter to the Colossians, the implied author is Paul and the implied readers/audiences are the Christ communities at Colossae, Laodikeia and Hierapolis. An interpreter also sees Paul as the implied author, regardless of authorship debates. The interpreter is also a real reader but

²⁴ Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse*, 23.

²⁵ Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse*, 66.

not the implied reader of the text. To add another layer in this interpretation to name a narrator and characters seems superfluous. In figure 2, I have removed the narrator and characters to give a much clearer picture of the intersection of the rhetorical axis of communication and the mimetic axis of representation.

I am interested in the dialogue of the material data in the Graeco-Roman world with its represented form in the text. Metaphor in literary texts is grounded in reality such as the imagery of clothing is grounded in physically taking off and putting on clothing. Similarly the portrayal of virtues through clothing on statuary is grounded in the person and body of one such as the emperor. The visual image of the emperor communicates the virtues of being Roman through stylised dress. His portrait is not only representative of his own identity but also of the corporate body of the empire. I find the socio-rhetorical mode of interpretation useful in setting up a dialogue between the images of clothing and in the Graeco-Roman world and those in Colossians that interact to construct a sense of identity.

The placement of the other features of Robbins' diagram remains the same. In the centre are the "four arenas of texture" characteristic of the socio-rhetorical approach:

- i inner texture;
- ii intertexture;
- iii social and cultural texture;
- iv and ideological texture.²⁶

To these I have added a further lens of "sacred texture" which includes aspects concerning "deity, holy persons, spirit beings, divine history, human redemption, human commitment, religious community, and ethics".²⁷ These are deeply embedded in each of the four other textures.²⁸ I shall use these five lens to approach the Letter to the Colossians with particular view to the visual construction of identity through clothing.

²⁶ Robbins, "Social-Scientific Criticism," 280.

²⁷ Robbins adds this texture in his later publication but it is not included in his diagrammatical representation of the socio-rhetorical approach. See Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 130.

²⁸ Sacred texture was not included in the first model but is outlined in Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 120-31.

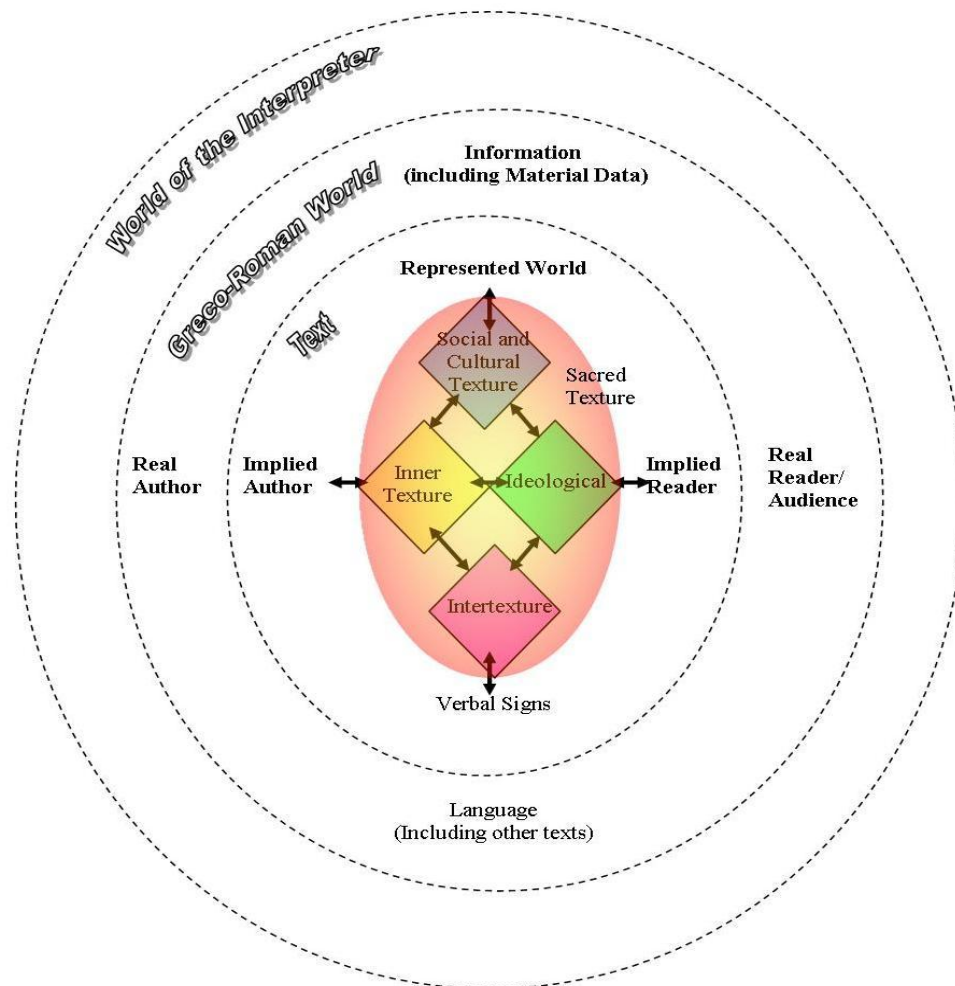


Figure 2: Adapted Socio-Rhetorical Model.

i Inner Texture

The first of these, “inner texture”, is concerned with the way that the words are used and repeated, observing patterns and voices and structures that construct meaning. Robbins challenges interpreters to employ rhetorical resources for the analysis of five kinds of inner texture: repetitive-progressive, narrational, opening-middle-closing, argumentative and sensory-aesthetic.²⁹ The interpreter is at liberty to choose which of these textures interact most readily with the text at hand. My concentration in the inner texture will be the words that signify and construct identity especially in relation to clothing imagery

²⁹ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 7. Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse*, 46.

and body. Thus I have chosen to examine both the repetitive and progressive textures of the inner texture.

ii Intertexture

Intertexture is “the interaction of the language in the text with “outside” material and physical “objects”, historical events, texts, customs, values, roles, institutions, and systems.”³⁰ Robbins identifies four categories of intertexture: oral-scribal, cultural, social and historical.³¹ I will engage all of these areas as they relate to the use of clothing in the visual construction of identity, including the visual material culture of statues, *stelae* and funerary monuments, the inscriptions on these, other texts that describe clothing as a means of changing identity and the “collective identity” culture.

Each of these categories is identified through particular language. I summarise this here as an aid to understanding the interpretation that is employed in Part III.

- Oral-scribal intertexture essentially is “the text’s use of any other text outside itself”.³² This use of another text can occur by a number of means including replication of the exact words or with omissions, recontextualising of words, reconfiguring words, as well as bringing all these techniques together to elaborate an argument.³³
- Cultural Intertexture appears in the text in the form of allusion, reference or echo.³⁴ It “appears in word and concept patterns and configurations; values, scripts, codes, or systems (eg purity, law, covenant); and myths (eg wisdom, Oedipus, Hermes).”³⁵
- Social Intertexture refers to that “social knowledge” that is known to those who live in that location.³⁶ Social knowledge is visible. It is gained from the observable public life of the community. Social knowledge contrasts with

³⁰ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 40.

³¹ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 40-68.

³² Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 40.

³³ Robbins adds “narrative amplification” to this which is more readily found in gospels. For the genre of letters “thematic elaboration” is the more likely means of communication of reasoning and argument concerning pressing issues. See Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 40-58.

³⁴ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 58.

³⁵ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 58.

³⁶ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 62.

cultural knowledge that needs to be learned in accordance with traditions. Social knowledge includes: social role, social identity, social institution, social code and social relationship.³⁷

iii Social and Cultural Texture

The “social and cultural texture” reveals the social and cultural issues for a person living in the world of the text.³⁸ These topics may include the exigencies of honour-shame, dyadic relationships, “limited good” and purity codes. The social and cultural issues addressed in this thesis are those that influence the way identity is constructed. Primarily the issue is the system of dyadic relationships and collective identity. Issues surrounding purity codes and honour-shame dynamics are engaged when people change identities. The mention of “Greek and Judean” and “circumcision and uncircumcision” in Col 3:11 immediately indicates that purity codes may be at issue.

iv Ideological Texture

The “ideological texture” begins at the furthest point from the text inviting reflection on the social and cultural location of the interpreter. This may include a personal individual reflection of the location of the interpreter as well as a group orientation.³⁹ Moving towards the text, this lens then takes into view “modes of intellectual discourse” and “spheres of ideology”. Social-scientific criticism is listed as one of the four modes of intellectual discourse and it is this one that is most relevant to this thesis. Robbins suggests that the ideological texture of this discourse aligns a person with social scientists rather than literary critics or theologians.⁴⁰ My intention in embarking on socio-rhetorical interpretation of the text is to bring both social science and literary approaches into dialogue and to interpret the influence of the visual imagery of clothing available in material culture on the visual imagery of clothing that is employed in the text of Colossians. As an interpreter of this text I am not seeking to stand with any one

³⁷ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 62.

³⁸ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 71.

³⁹ Robbins outlines examples of both individual and group locations in Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 96-105.

⁴⁰ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 107.

discourse but to bring about a dialogue that weaves the insights of social science, literary and theological perspectives.

It is within the “spheres of ideology” that the focus reaches the text and Robbins offers three ways to interpret the ideological texture of the text by analysing the social and cultural location of the implied author, the ideology of power in the discourse and the ideology in the mode of intellectual discourse both in the text and in the interpretation of the text.⁴¹ I will briefly examine the social and cultural location of the implied author and investigate the ideology of power in the discourse but my main approach to the ideological texture emanates from the third option. Col 3:1-17 exhorts the members of the Christ community to clothe themselves with the new self that is renewed in the image of the creator (Col 3:10). This imaging of themselves constructs their identity. It is then further explicated with a framework of values and a manner of relationship to define the identity of the Christ community. Their identity “in Christ” is synonymous with the ideology of the group.

Robbins grounds his perception of ideology in John Gager’s definition.⁴² Gager describes ideology as a “symbolic universe”.⁴³ He notes that for an institution, an ideology synthesises differing “provinces of meaning” producing order for the institution’s “symbolic totality”.⁴⁴ For an individual, it creates order in the sense of putting everything in its right place.⁴⁵ I find this correlation of ideology and symbolic universe adds valuable nuance to the investigation of a visual construction of identity. I also engage the Terry Eagleton’s definition of ideology. He elucidates ideology as an “organising social force”.⁴⁶ As such, Eagleton sees that ideology “actively constitutes human subjects at the roots of their lived experience and seeks to equip them with forms

⁴¹ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 111.

⁴² This definition belongs to John Gager who is foundational to Robbins “spectrum of ideology” which he locates in four places: texts, authoritative traditions of interpretation, intellectual discourse and in individuals and groups. These are described in detail in Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse*, 192-236.

⁴³ Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse*, 192.

⁴⁴ As quoted by Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse*, 192.

⁴⁵ Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse*, 192-236.

⁴⁶ Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: an introduction* (London: Verso, 1991), 221.

of value and belief relevant to their specific social tasks and the general reproduction of the social order”.⁴⁷ This latter definition assists in comprehending the insertion of a new ideology such as that of the Roman regime. The use of visible images to communicate ideology reorders the “symbolic universe” and rather than reproducing the social order, creates a new one.

v Sacred Texture

Finally the “sacred texture” is implicitly woven or “embedded” in each of the preceding textures.⁴⁸ It is for this reason that I have indicated the sacred texture by an encompassing cloud of colour in the diagram (Figure 2).

I critically engage Robbins’ model and offer a nuanced approach. His illustration of the model permits emphasis and entry points at multiple places. I begin in the Graeco-Roman world with the material data of clothing and body as represented on statuary, funerary monuments, *stelae* and coins. Then I embrace the text where this method allows examination of the inner texture of the text revealing repetitions and patterns that construct meaning. It also offers intertextual dialogue with foundational and contemporaneous writings. It provides a means for me to interpret the visual imagery of clothing and body in dialogue with literary imagery.

⁴⁷ Eagleton, *Ideology*, 221.

⁴⁸ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 130.

Summary

Using this stated methodology I first engage the Graeco-Roman world as the environment of the text, examining the material data of clothing and body in the Lycus Valley region in the first century CE. This investigation provides insight into the environment of both the author and reader or hearer of the letter and identifies dialogue points for the socio-rhetorical interpretation which follows. Through the socio-rhetorical interpretation I am able to pursue the network of images regarding clothing and body as they appear in and out of the text through five arenas of texture: inner texture, intertexture, social and cultural texture, ideological texture and sacred texture. The resulting analysis from the dialogue between the visual material culture of clothing and body and the textures found in the text offer a comprehensive interdisciplinary interpretation. The interplay of the metaphors of clothing extant in the material visual culture with the development of the identities depicted will throw light on the function of the visual imagery of clothing in the construction of identity “in Christ” and “with Christ” as well as, and distinct from, other identities constructed in the emperor, through association with cults or by ethnic or social status distinction.

Now I move to examine the images of clothing and body in the built-environment of the Lycus Valley and its strategically connected cities.

Chapter 4: Visual Imagery of Clothing

Introduction

In this chapter I examine the images of clothing in the Lycus Valley and regional cities in the first century CE. I plan to delineate specific examples from the panorama of visual imagery of statuary, *stelae*, funerary monuments and coins that illustrate the use of clothing to set the values of a community and construct their identity. Within a rich resource of images I engage representative examples to observe the effect of the construction of identity through statuary and funerary monument into the architecture and diverse cultural tapestry of Asia Minor as it relates to the Lycus Valley.

The systemized images of clothing conveying Roman and Greek virtue and values were layered into the existing culture of Asia Minor. This recognises that Asia Minor was a place where diverse ethnic groups lived and fought over their boundaries. Asia Minor had a history of ambitious marauding neighbouring kings who, with their armies, sought to extend their reigns. All were well acquainted with a culture of conquest and oppression, acculturation and assimilation. The Roman “takeover” included a realignment of provincial boundaries. This realignment coincided with the advent of an urban culture centred on cities. Expansive urban development was largely possible because of the infrastructure of the Greek *polis*. The consolidation of non-urbanised groups to country towns and small cities nurtured an urban consciousness.¹ The marketplaces and main streets of these burgeoning metropolises became the stage for the Roman cultural and moral reform. The visible replicas of the emperors clothed with the virtues of Rome set the model for the identity of citizens and subject people.

I plan to elucidate how the insertion of Roman images of clothing shifts the focal point of identity. Drawing on the virtues already espoused via Greek clothing, the Roman representations promoted the identity of the emperor. The visual imagery of local civic honorands cemented the ideal of a good citizen of the *polis*. This practical embedded

¹ Mitchell, "Ethnicity, Acculturation and Empire," 122-29.

model was available to be harnessed as an interactive blue-print for good citizenship and the health and unity of the empire.

Clothing was of vital importance to the self-construction of the identity of Roman emperors. Their garb was part of their visibility, communicating their identity and the power of Rome. The replication of their distinctive dress on statues made the emperors visible throughout the empire. The clothing of the Roman emperor communicated his authority and power and epitomized the virtues of *virtus*, *dignitas*, *humanitas*, *gravitas* and *pietas*. These virtues came together in the emperor displaying:

- *virtus* as the epitome of manliness, the virtue of courage, excellence and valour;
- *dignitas* as the visual distinctiveness of status and worth;
- *humanitas* as the virtue of humanity as a state of civilization as against being barbarian;
- *gravitas* as responsibility and attendance to the matters at hand;
- *pietas* as the sense of duty not only to the gods but to the natural, social, political and religious order.

The civic dress of the majority of the population was Greek in style. This is to be expected on the visual imagery honouring civic virtue among the citizens of Asia Minor. The Roman imagery was distinctive in its presence, both contrasting and complementing the Greek style in communicating identity and virtue. In fact, the distinctively styled toga, so representative of Rome, drew on the Greek style of himation. Until the end of the first century BCE Rome adopted the “arm sling” style of toga on statuary which strongly replicated the Greek model of the himation.² Selective appropriation of clothing that carried meaning demonstrates the constructive nature of the communication of identity.

Dio Chrysostom argued that clothing and gait were essential to a public persona.³ The statue was an ideal “public persona” as the clothing or costume and pose could be carved

² Shelley Stone, "The Toga: From National to Ceremonial Costume," in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 16-17.

³ Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes*, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940), 31.162-64.

and moulded to best advantage. Distinctive types grounded in civic tradition embodied desirable social norms such as “personal dignity, moral rectitude and civilian polis culture”.⁴

This backdrop sensitises us to the author’s exhortation to the believers at Colossae to clothe themselves in an identity centred in Christ and as the body of Christ. The metaphorical language invokes images familiar to the readers or audience. These images were underpinned by the models in the cities. Stereotyped representations were built into their range of vision by a Roman regime initiating their own cultural reform. I offer comparisons and contrasts between these two realms, the metaphorical and the physical. I investigate how one informs the other. The same components of body, clothing and virtue construct significantly different identities and define radically disparate power structures and relationships.

As stated in the introduction, Colossae takes the spotlight as the location of the Christ community who first received the letter. From Colossae my scope broadens to Laodikeia where the letter was also to be read (4:16). The city of Hierapolis, the third major city of the Lycus Valley and mentioned in the letter, is closely associated with both Colossae and Laodikeia. I include Ephesus as a strategically linked city and possible location for the origin of the Letter to the Colossians according to a Marcionite prologue.⁵ Even without clarity of authorship Epaphras as “beloved co-slave” (ἀγαπητός σύνδουλος), is named as the one from whom the Colossian “saints and faithful brothers and sisters” learned “the word of truth, the gospel” (Col 1:5). He shares the title of “co-slave” (σύνδουλος) with Tychicus (Col 4:7). Only Paul and Timothy are known as “slave of Christ Jesus” (Rom 1:1, Phil 1:1) but the inference of co-slave linked with the bringing of the gospel suggests that Epaphras was familiar with both Colossae and Ephesus.⁶ The

⁴ R. R. R. Smith and Kenan T. Erim, *Aphrodisias Papers 2: the theatre, a sculptor’s workshop, philosophers, and coin-types, including the papers given at the Third International Aphrodisias Colloquium held at New York University on 7 and 8 April, 1989*, Journal of Roman Archaeology. Supplementary series (University of Michigan, 1991), 35.

⁵ MacDonald, *Colossians and Ephesians*, 10.

⁶ In the Letter to the Colossians Paul is called “apostle of Jesus Christ” and Timothy is called “brother”. This differentiation could indicate that co-slave is not equivalent to the two prime leaders of Paul and Timothy, yet still indicate a missionary role in subsequent generations of disciples.

frequency and length of visits of Paul to Ephesus suggests it as not only the location of a Pauline Christ community but also a hub where Paul's co-workers and later disciples congregated. In Ephesus there was the opportunity for leaders from outlying cities to come and hear Paul's teaching and to engage with each other. They returned to their cities of origin, and travelled beyond, to form and strengthen Christ communities.

Ephesus and the cities of the Lycus Valley operated in a network of relationships with other Asia Minor cities including Aphrodisias and Smyrna. The trade route connections, outlined earlier, were key to these on-going relationships.⁷ People travelled between cities along the trade routes to hawk their goods, transact their business and honour civic, religious and political commitments. The experience of these cities seeped into their imagination and coloured their thinking. Identity is further negotiated within the wider arena of images in these cities. Before going further let us briefly map the location of these cities and their relationships.

Ephesus was located on the western coast of Asia Minor. In the late centuries BCE Ephesus became the major trade port for the greater eastern highway of Graeco-Roman time.⁸ Strabo (c.63 BCE-c.23 CE) records that Artimedorus also uses this road.⁹ Strabo lists its route from Ephesus to Carura through Magnesia, Tralleis, Nysa and Antiochia, then from Carura through Phrygia via Laodikeia, Apameia, Metropolis and "Chelidonian" before going to Holmi, Philomelium and Tyriaeum.¹⁰ The road is intersected many times by other roads travelling north and south including one from Aphrodisias and Heracleia Salbace along the Morsynos River.¹¹ Of these the first major

⁷ See Map 2.

⁸ Ephesus took over from Sinope as the main port to ship the red earth from Cappadocia to Greece and Italy where it was in high demand for ceramics and pottery. See W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, Illustrated ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 28.

⁹ Artimedorus of Ephesus was a geographer of the first century BCE.

¹⁰ Chelidonian is thought to be corrupt in the text. Strabo, *Geography*, 14.2.29. Ramsay expands this list to mention all the stations on the Graeco-Roman highway to the east. His list: Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralleis, Nysa, Mastaura, Antiocheia, Caroura, Attouda, Laodiceia, Colossae, Sanaos, Apameia, Metropolis, Euphorbium, Lysias, Julia, Philomelion, Tyriaion, Laodiceia Katukekaumene, Sauatra, Koropossos, Archelais, Soandos, Salasena, Caesaria, Arasaxa, Erpa, Coduzabala, Ptanadoris, Arabissos, Arga Meltine. See Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, 49.

¹¹ Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, 49.

intersection, as previously noted, occurs at Laodikeia where roads connect from every direction.

Aphrodisias was located two hundred kilometres from the Aegean coast, approximately fifty kilometres west of Colossae.¹² In the first instance it was a city known as Megalopolis due to its size and also known as Ninoe.¹³ The city prospered and flourished in the the first and second centuries CE under the Roman regime. Coins from Aphrodisias were found in Ephesus and Sardis indicating trade connections with these cities.¹⁴ As noted above, a road from Aphrodisias along the Morsynos River intersected the greater eastern highway opening the way for Aphrodisias to trade interregionally and internationally.

Smyrna lay approximately 65 kilometers to the north of Ephesus at the head of a deep gulf on the Aegean coast. Known today as Izmir, it is still a busy city and port. Strabo (c.63 BCE- c.23 CE) described it as “the most beautiful city of all”.¹⁵ Established from the tenth century BCE, the location of the city is one of the most ancient sites of Greek settlement in Asia Minor.¹⁶ Along with Ephesus, Sardis and Pergamon, Smyrna was a centre of provincial assembly reflecting its status under the Roman regime.¹⁷

Given the above background it is possible to highlight depictions of clothing on statues, *stelae*, funerary monuments and coins to build a mural of images that shaped the identity of those who lived in the Lycus Valley, and particularly Colossae, in the first century CE. This rich vista of clothing imagery provides a resource for the visualization of the identity “in Christ”. The chapter concentrates on the visual imagery of clothing in the Lycus Valley in the first century CE. It is divided into the following areas:

¹² Arnold, *Colossian Syncretism*, 196.

¹³ "Aphrodisias," in *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, ed. William Smith (London: Walton and Maberly, John Murray, 1854), 158.

¹⁴ Royal Numismatic Society, "Special Publication," (London: Royal Numismatic Society, 1992), 15-16.

¹⁵ Strabo, "Geography," in *The Geography of Strabo*, ed. H. C. Hamilton and W. Falconer (London: George Bell and Sons, 1903), 14.1.37.

¹⁶ D. S. Potter, "Smyrna," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 73.

¹⁷ Potter, "Smyrna," 74.

- i Statuary
- ii *Stelae*
- iii Funerary Monuments
- iv Coins

Within these areas attention is paid to the focus of identity, the virtues communicated, and the hierarchy of images.¹⁸

¹⁸ Philip Harland discusses the ranking of “out-groups” as it assists the “in-group” to maintain a superior position. The stereotypes developed through this serve to preserve the values of the in-group, in this case the Roman regime. The values and identity of the in-group become the standard against which all others are measured. See Harland, *Dynamics of Identity*, 116-20.

Statuary

To begin the examination of the visual culture some explanation of the nature of statuary in the first century is essential.

The modern common appreciation of statues is as free-standing sculptural representations of a full figure, usually life size or larger. This perception allows statues to be viewed as an homogenous group. Yet the terminology of statuary of the Roman and Greek world suggests nuances to this modern perspective so a brief explanation will facilitate the discussion in this chapter and beyond. In Greek, “*agalma*” (ἄγαλμα) means a statue in honour of a god or the image of a god and can also be any image, expressed by painting or words; in contrast, “*andrias*” (ἀνδριάς) is the image of a man or a statue.¹⁹ The distinction between ἄγαλμα and ἀνδριάς is primarily that of images of deities and human or mortal beings. However, the term “*agalmata*” (ἄγαλματα) is used for cult images, lesser images of gods and, also in the Greek East, for honouring those still living.²⁰ In Latin, “*statua*” refers almost always to free-standing sculptures of mortals; however, it is extended as an umbrella term when the function of the subject is not specified or deemed important. When depicting gods, Latin offers two options: “*simulacrum*” for statues that are the centre of the devotion and “*signum*” for representations of gods.²¹ The term *simulacrum* is closely equivalent in the Greek to “*eidolon*” (εἶδολον), idol.²² The fluidity of the terminology assists the depictions of mortals as gods and particularly as emperors claim god status. I employ the terminology of both statue and statuary as umbrella terms and the nuances of language will be addressed as and when they are significant to the argument.

The Greek and Roman language describing statuary indicates the range of function they served:

- Representing gods: cult images of gods were usually found in shrines and temples.

¹⁹ Henry George Liddell et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

²⁰ Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society*, 25.

²¹ Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society*, 21.

²² Peter Stewart illustrates the complexities of the terminologies in his chapter on “Defining Statues” Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society*, 19-35.

- Commemorating death: statues were one of the means of commemorating death. Images were also engraved on grave *stelae* (tombstones), sarcophagi and other funerary reliefs.
- Honorific monuments: both statues and busts were erected in prominent civic spaces to honor benefactors, patrons, kings and emperors.
- Adorning architectural structures: mythological figures adorn temple roofs, gables and friezes. Nymphaeums, theatres, tombs, treasuries and other civic buildings were decorated with statues.
- Domestic sculpture: this was primarily a Roman practice. Examples of domestic sculpture are evident in the houses in Ephesus.²³

Much of the extant remains of statuary of Asia Minor are of marble and stone. Other materials were used but have not survived being made of wood, wax and precious metals. As noted in the introduction, statues of precious metals were melted down for their value. Gold and silver statues denoted divine honours during the Hellenistic period from the sixth to the first century BCE.²⁴ Examples of these are known in Asia Minor. The people of Elaea (port of Pergamon) raised a gold equestrian statue for Attalus III, the last of the Pergamene rulers. Such gold statues were not only reserved for kings and rulers. Divine honours are awarded to a gymnasiarch Diodorus c.133 BCE and to a priest of the goddess Artemis, Artemidos in the first century BCE at Knidos, Caria.²⁵

The practice of divine honours continued into the first century CE, including the honour of a golden crown and gilded statue to Apollonis, daughter of Prokles at Cyzicus.²⁶ Most

²³ Edward Bispham, Thomas Harrison, and Brian Sparkes, eds., *The Edinburgh Companion to Ancient Greece and Rome* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 184.

²⁴ A gold effigy of Alexander the Great was included in the procession in Alexandria, Ptolemy Soter and Berenice were honoured with three portrait statues in gold chariots. Antonius I Soter was voted a gold equestrian statue by the senate in his lifetime. Attalus I was honoured with a colossal gold statue raised alongside the statue of Apollo in the marketplace at Sicyon in the Peloponnese. For further information on awarding of divine honours see Kenneth Scott, "The Significance of Statues in Precious Metals in Emperor Worship," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 62 (1931): 101-3.

²⁵ For the location of these places please consult the map in Appendix 5.

²⁶ The decree orders that Apollonis be crowned and several statues raised because of the virtue of her parents and husband and for her own prudence (σωφροσύνη). A new translation of this inscription was undertaken in collaboration with the Greek Reading Group at the Adelaide College of Divinity, 2009. See

Roman emperors decried the raising of gold or silver statues in their honour in their lifetime; instead they used the funds to raise statues in honour of the gods. Julius Caesar is attested to giving a golden statue of Eros dedicated to Aphrodite in an inscription on the wall of the theatre at Aphrodisias.²⁷ Augustus used money donated for such honours for statues of Apollo, *Sulus Publica*, *Concordia* and *Pax*.²⁸ All of these statues retained a distinct likeness to Augustus. Notably Caligula (Gaius Germanicus), Nero and Domitian allowed their images to be raised in precious metal in their lifetime.²⁹

This brief outline of the language and function of statuary paves the way for a more in depth investigation of the statuary of the emperors, their wives and civic leaders. In the first instance, I examine the visual imagery of clothing on the statuary of the emperors as represented in the Lycus Valley and strategically connected cities.

The Emperor

The prime means to see the overlay of Roman virtue via clothing is to examine the imperial statuary. The statues of the emperors were of three main styles: togate, cuirassed or naked hero. The fullness of the Roman toga impressed the virtues of Rome. The cuirassed style offered the triumph and power of Rome and was related to the costume of Mars.³⁰ The naked hero emulated the god like qualities of the emperor.

The statues in the spotlight are those of the Julio-Claudian Dynasty. This covers the first five emperors: Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula (Gaius), Claudius and Nero.³¹ Nero was the last of this dynasty reigning as emperor 54-68 CE. His term coincides with my preferred

also M. Seve, "Un Decret de Consolation a Cyzique," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 103 (1979): 327-59; G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity: A Review of the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri published in 1979*, vol. 4 (North Ryde: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, 1987).

²⁷ Kenan T. Erim, *Aphrodisias*, 5th ed. (Istanbul: Net Turistik Yayinlar 1995), 11.

²⁸ Dio Cassius, LIV.35.2 in Scott, "Significance of Statues," 110-11.

²⁹ Commodus and Caracalla are to be added to this list. I note Caligula, Nero and Domitian as Emperors reigning in the first century CE.

³⁰ Shelley Hales, "Men are Mars, Women are Venus: Divine Costumes in Imperial Rome," in *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, ed. Liza Cleland, Mary Harlow, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005), 134.

³¹ Paul Zoch, *Ancient Rome: An Introductory History* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 240-58.

dating of the Letter to the Colossians. Following Nero's suicide there was a quick succession of three emperors, Galba, Otho and Vitellius from 68-69 CE. The Flavian Dynasty began in 69 CE with Vespasian continuing with Titus in 79 CE and then Domitian in 81CE.³²

The task of examining the imperial statuary of the Lycus Valley is complicated. The unexcavated remains of the ancient city of Colossae reveal no large statues or monuments. Even the large female figure, recorded by Pococke at Laodikeia and noted in the introduction, is no longer extant. At nearby Hierapolis, though, the base of a statue of Trajan affirms the presence of imperial statuary.³³ Imposing imperial statuary adorned cities large enough to attract the privileges and honours bestowed from Rome. Cities could also elect to raise statues in honour of the emperors from their own resources to attract status and honour. In 2009 a "prima porta" style statue of Augustus was unearthed at Laodikeia.³⁴

The flourishing city of Laodikeia could expect to rate among the privileged cities in the first century CE. Eleven cities of Asia in 26 CE presented their case to the Senate to build a temple to Tiberius. Laodikeia was disqualified as too insignificant in relation to Smyrna, Sardis and Pergamon.³⁵ Despite being a "conventus" and being awarded the status of "freedom and exemption from taxes" (*civitas libera et immunis*) by Antony for support against Cassius in 43 BCE,³⁶ Laodikeia did not gain the title of "neokorus" until late second century CE.³⁷

³² Zoch, *Ancient Rome: An Introductory History*, 259-66.

³³ This statue was raised between 102 and 116 CE and the base was found within the sanctuary of Apollo. Tullia Ritti, *An Epigraphic Guide to Hierapolis (Pamukkale)* (Istanbul: Ege Yayinlari, 2006), 100-2.

³⁴ This find is reported along with a statue of Aphrodite in Şimşek, "Laodicea: A Long Lived City." News reports are also recorded on the Laodikeia website Şimşek et al., "Christianity in the Lycos Valley." *Prima porta* statues are known in Rome and Thessaloniki. *Prima porta* is a distinctively Greek style portrait of the deified Augustus.

³⁵ Friesen outlines the history of the establishment of imperial cult temples in Asia in conjunction with the reports of speeches from Tacitus. See Steven J. Friesen, *Twice Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family* (Leiden; New York: E. J. Brill, 1993), 16-28.

³⁶ Frank Frost Abbott, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire* (La Vergne: Lightning Source Inc., 2007), 39.

³⁷ The title "neokorus", temple warden, came to be explicitly bestowed on a city with regard to the granting of a provincial imperial cult temple. This honour is notably in evidence from the time of Domitian. The title is used, however, by the city of Ephesus to name itself prior to the time of Domitian.

Laodikeia was also among eight cities of Asia known to have held the provincial games. The association of the games with the Imperial Cult is highly contested. The evidence of the inscription found in Rome listing the victories of the games in Laodikeia suggests the likelihood of commemorative images in celebration of such victories.³⁸ Coins show a temple built by Dioskourides at Laodikeia in honour of the victories from which Domitian assumed the title “Germanicus” in 84 CE.³⁹ Within the temple on these coins the emperor and empress stand facing each other supporting a trophy between them in one style and holding hands in another.

The temple and sacred precinct were often in the prime locations of the cities. A strategy of visibility for the representations of the emperor required either proximate placement to or supplanting of the god or goddess of the city. There is no evidence at Colossae of a temple. From the gods depicted on the coins of Colossae, Apollo, Zeus, Artemis and Mên (Μήν) would be contenders for temples and shrines in the locality. The reconstruction of the temple to Zeus Laodikeus at Laodikeia reveals an impressive building dated to the second century CE. The major rebuilding following the earthquake of 62 CE at Laodikeia provided a prime opportunity for strategic placement of imperial images. The granting of *neokorus* status and the building of an Imperial Cult temple assured a realignment of the power structure in the city.

At Hierapolis the temple of Apollo, identifiable by its marble staircase, lies in the sacred area adjacent to the temple nymphaeum and the Plutonium.⁴⁰ There are two ionic columns and a Corinthian capital along with some other fragments dated to the first century CE. These indicate there was a temple on this site in this period.⁴¹ Two small marble steles were found among fragments of pottery, votives, lamps and cups for libations, dated from first century CE to the end of the first century CE. The steles are

³⁸The other cities known to have held games were Ephesus, Tralles, Kyzicus, Smryna, Sardis, and Philadelphia. See Friesen, *Twice Neokorus*, 114-15.

³⁹ W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), 55.

⁴⁰ D'Andria, *Hierapolis of Phrygia*, 136.

⁴¹ D'Andria, *Hierapolis of Phrygia*, 136.

inscribed with dedications and the symbol of the double axe which was linked to the cult of Apollo *Kareios* or *Karios*, from nearby Caria.⁴² The temple precinct, along with the theatre, nymphaeum, baths and *agora* offered multiple options for a variety of statuary including imperial images. Unfortunately there is little evidence of this.

The few glimpses of the emperors in the Lycus Valley confirm the presence of their images in the first century CE prior to Laodikeia being named *neokorus*. The 2009-10 season on site at Laodikeia reveals progress on the reconstruction of a temple on Syria Street dated to the second century CE. Whether this is built on the site of a first century CE temple to Zeus Laodikeus is unknown.⁴³

These findings suggest the presence of Imperial statuary was not consistently prolific across all the places of the Pauline mission in the first century CE. Indeed a recent article surveying the Imperial Cult in the Pauline cities has recommended a rethink of the influence of this cult.⁴⁴ In this article Miller indicates that the Imperial cult was competing for influence among a diverse range of cultic worship. The pervasion of Roman ideology is not at issue but the presence of an Imperial Cult with all its trappings of statuary and ritual is under question. Along with Miller, I surmise that the visual imperial imagery was more concentrated in some cities than others. This means that the experience of residents or travellers in Ephesus or Rome would be quite different to those in the Lycus Valley.

With little extant evidence of imperial clothing in the Lycus Valley it is necessary to look further afield to the cities of Ephesus, Aphrodisias and Smyrna. Both Ephesus and Smyrna held the title of “first in Asia” (πρώτη Ἀσίας) and Aphrodisias had the status of *civitas libera et immunis*⁴⁵. These three cities were connected with the Lycus Valley through trade and political alliance. They also displayed key relationships with Rome as

⁴² D'Andria, *Hierapolis of Phrygia*, 141.

⁴³ The existence of this temple is verified via an inscription notifying the donation by Q. Pomponius Flaccus of a white marble pavement in front of the temple but there is no record of its location. See Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 50.

⁴⁴ Colin Miller, "The Imperial Cult in the Pauline Cities of Asia Minor and Greece," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 72, no. 2 (2010): 314-32.

⁴⁵ MacDonald, "The Homonoia of Colossae and Aphrodisias," 26.

important ports and prime locations for the images of the emperors to be raised. I examine the representations of emperors in each of these cities in turn.

Statuary of the Emperor at Ephesus

Ephesus was originally founded 1.2 kilometres west of the site of the Artemision at the port of Koressos.⁴⁶ In the sixth century BCE the Ephesians had to leave their fortified port city and settle near the Artemision.⁴⁷ In the time of Lysimachos (361-281 BCE) Ephesus was re-established on the northern slopes of Mount Koressos and on the southern and western slopes of Mount Pion.⁴⁸ It is in this third location that the imperial statuary is impressed in the streetscape of the city. In the time of Augustus (27 BCE-14CE) the upper (State) *agora* was redesigned. Peter Scherrer suggests the cults of Artemis and Augustus were celebrated there.⁴⁹ The placement of Augustus alongside Artemis visibly announced the new order. The discovery of the head of Augustus with *corona civica* and an inscription affirmed the existence of the Sebasteion from as early as 25 BCE.⁵⁰ The three aisled “Basilike Stoa” built between the administrative buildings and the *temenos* or sacred precinct of Divus Julius and Dea Roma was dedicated in 11 CE to Artemis, Augustus, Tiberius and the city of Ephesus.⁵¹ The eastern end of this stoa featured statues of Augustus and Livia and there are indications that other imperial family members were represented here.⁵² This was the dominating precinct in the redesigned upper *agora*, visibly asserting the presence of the Roman emperor.

Triumphal monuments honoring Claudius Memmius and Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa (Photo 4) were added to the Ephesian streetscape in the building after Augustus. These

⁴⁶ Ekrem Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey*, 10th ed. (Istanbul: Net, 2007), 142.

⁴⁷ This second site for the city now lies below sea level. See Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations*, 142-43.

⁴⁸ Under Lysimachos, Ephesus became the most densely populated city in Asia Minor. In Hellenistic times Ephesus was governed by the Seleucids and after 190 BCE, it came under the control of the Pergamene kings. It was during this period, in 133 BCE, that joint rule was established with Rome. See Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations*, 142.

⁴⁹ Peter Scherrer, "The City of Ephesus from the Roman Period to Late Antiquity," in *Ephesos Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to its Archaeology, Religion and Culture*, ed. Helmut Koester (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1995), 5.

⁵⁰ Wilhelm Alzinger, "Ephesiaca," *JOAI* 56 (1985): 62.

⁵¹ The inclusion of Tiberius at first seems anachronistic as Tiberius reigned from 14 CE. In 11 CE Tiberius married Julia, daughter of Augustus so his inclusion in the dedication may well celebrate this. Scherrer describes the restyling of the upper *agora*. See Scherrer, "The City of Ephesus," 5.; *IvE* II 404.

⁵² Scherrer, "The City of Ephesus," 5.

added a layer of Roman military dress and honour to the visual imagery of the city.⁵³



Photo 4: Tomb of Claudius Memmius on Curetes Street.

Placement of this tomb on Curetes Street stakes a claim on the Processional Way that has cultic meaning with regard to Artemis.⁵⁴ Curetes Street takes its name from the inscriptions honouring members of the order of *curetes* on the columns of the Prytaneion found there. It is an Hellenistic road from around the second century BCE used as the processional way to the Artemission. In 29 CE Augustus granted the right to create sacred precincts to Dea Roma and Divus Iulius in Ephesus.⁵⁵

Ephesus cultivated its status and remained “the first and greatest metropolis of Asia” (πρώτης καὶ μεγίστης μετροπόλεως τῆς Ἀσίας), from first to fourth century CE.⁵⁶

Imperial statuary proliferated and it could be expected to find an emperor virtually at

⁵³ Paul Trebilco lists a series of buildings in the streetscape of Ephesus in the time of Paul, many that were renovated or reconstructed since the time of Augustus, all of which were likely adorned with statuary. In addition to those already mentioned, he includes the Temple of Artemis, the Magnesian Gate, the Upper or State *Agora*, the Temple of Dea Roma and Divus Iulius, the Prytaneion, the temple of Isis or Augustus, the monument of Pollio, the theatre, the harbor gate, the Temple of Apollo, the Stadium and the Koressos Gate. See Paul Trebilco, *The Early Christians in Ephesus from Paul to Ignatius* (Grand Rapids: William B Eerdmann's Publishing, 2007), 15.

⁵⁴ See Hilke Thur, "The Processional Way in Ephesus as a Place of Cult and Burial," in *Ephesos Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to its Archaeology, Religion and Culture*, ed. Helmut Koester (Valley Forge, Penn.: Trinity Press International, 1995), 157.

⁵⁵ Trebilco, *The Early Christians*, 14.

⁵⁶ Trebilco, *The Early Christians*, 15.

every corner. Statues of Augustus, Gaius and Lucius and their parents overlooked those who passed through the Mazeus and Mithradates Gate. This gate was dedicated to Augustus and Agrippa in 3 BCE as indicated in the inscriptions over the arches.



Photo 5: Mazeus and Mithradates Gate, Ephesus.

An Equestrian Claudius statue was erected for the opening of the Tetragnos Agora in 43 CE. Busts of Tiberius and Livia were found in a niche of *hanghaus 2* on Curetes Street (Photo 6). Further statues of Livia dated to the first century CE are displayed in the Selçuk Museum (Photo 6).



Photo 6: Busts of Tiberius and Livia now in Selçuk Museum.

It is not until much later, in the 80s CE, that a provincial temple of the Sebastoi was added to one side of the upper *agora*.⁵⁷ There are thirteen known inscriptions in the provincial temple of the Sebastoi in Ephesus from cities throughout Asia including Aphrodisias and Keretapa (Phrygia). These inscriptions follow a regular formula of dedication to Domitian as Caesar but clearly are for the Sebastoi and not to him alone.

⁵⁷ Trebilco, *The Early Christians*, 35-36.

According to the inscription of the dedication by Aphrodisias it is clear that while the temple is in Ephesus it is for the province and Ephesus acts as caretaker or “neokoros”.⁵⁸

The major rebuilding in Ephesus from the time of Augustus created significant places at the centre of the city where statuary of the emperors and Roma would be easily seen. The insertion of this visual imagery of statuary and the clothing thereon communicated the city’s allegiance to Rome. This same visual imagery of clothing shaped the identity of the city and its inhabitants. The establishment of the cult of Dea Roma and Divus Iulius in 29 BCE imaged the deified emperor and the personification of Rome. The statuary of emperors and Roma physically and mentally reoriented the city dedicated to Artemis. This cult was probably the earliest form of the Imperial Cult. Ephesus’ status, wealth and title of “first in Asia” were attributed to Rome and the *Pax Romana*.

Statuary of the Emperor at Smyrna

Strategically connected to the Lycus Valley on the trade route, Smyrna aligned itself with Rome by building a temple to Roma in 195 BCE.⁵⁹ Smyrna was the first city in Asia Minor to build such a temple. As mentioned above, Smyrna was one of eleven contenders including Laodikeia, which vied for the privilege of building a temple to Tiberius. In 29 CE Smyrna was chosen as temple warden, “neokoros” (νεωκόρος). Tiberius’ statue at Smyrna did not replicate the Augustan cuirassed version at Pergamon.⁶⁰ He appeared on contemporary coins clothed in full toga with his head veiled, a ladle-like utensil (*simpulum*) in his right hand denoting him as Roman *pontifex maximus* (highest priest in Rome).⁶¹ The temple is represented on coins in Corinthian style (Photo 7). There are no known remains of the temple.

⁵⁸ Friesen, *Twice Neokoros*, 35.

⁵⁹ Richard Ascough, *Religious Rivalries and the Struggle for Success in Sardis and Smyrna* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005).

⁶⁰ Barbara Burrell, *Neokoroi: Greek Cities and Roman Emperors* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), 40.

⁶¹ Barbara Burrell suggests that the adoption of this title may have been directed by Valerius Naso whom the Senate had placed as commissioner of the Temple at Smyrna. See Burrell, *Neokoroi: Greek Cities and Roman Emperors*, 40.



Photo 7: Temple of Tiberius at Smyrna.⁶²

Statuary of the Emperor at Aphrodisias

Aphrodisias thrived under the Roman regime. The “free and non-taxable” status of *civitas libera et immunis*, granted because of the city’s loyalty to Octavian and Anthony, was reconfirmed by Tiberius in 22 CE.⁶³ The relationship with the Julio-Claudian emperors was immortalised in the three tiered structure of the Sebasteion. Remarkably most of the relief panels and statues of the Sebasteion survived intact, providing a valuable insight into the power relationships and identity formation of this time.⁶⁴ The carved panels are now displayed in the new wing of the museum at Aphrodisias known as “The Sebasteion Gallery”. The impressive hall of reliefs does not emulate the height and placement of these images in the original architectural structure. There are some replica panels rebuilt into the original site to give an idea of the monumental effect of this building. The display of the panels in the hall bears testament to the strategic use of visual imagery to construct identity.

Aphrodisias was home of one of the most important sculpture schools of the period. The widespread acclaim for the sculpture of this city suggests it as a source for images for other cities such as those in the Lycus Valley and beyond. The city of Aphrodisias acted as a showroom of its artistry. Its relationship with Rome suggests opportunities for

⁶² Photo by Joe Geranio. Ionia, Smyrna. Tiberius. 14-37 AD. Æ 22mm (5.66 gm, 11h). P. Petronius, proconsul and Hieronymus, strategus. Struck 29-35 AD. Diademed and draped bust of Senate right vis-à-vis draped bust of Julia Augusta (Livia) left, wearing stephane / Statue of Tiberius as pontifex standing facing within tetrastyle temple set on three-tiered base; shield within pediment. RPC I 2469; Klose Series A (Einenhalbe), - (V-/R27; unlisted obv. die); SNG Copenhagen 1339.

⁶³ Erim, *Aphrodisias*, 11.

⁶⁴ In the late 1950’s photographer Ara Güler came across the ruins of Aphrodisias. His photographs were the catalyst of the involvement of Professor Kenan Erim who excavated the site. Mesut Ilgım and R. R. R. Smith, eds., *Afrodisiyas Sebasteion Sevgi Gönül Salonu/Aphrodisias Sebasteion Sevgi Gonul Hall* (Istanbul: Yapi Kredi Publications,2008), 15.

commissions of emperor images and the like. Their sculpture could be commissioned, copied, traded and taught. It is easy to imagine artisans from the Lycus Valley learning their trade at this school.

The Sebasteion at Aphrodisias was an imposing impressive architectural structure but fashioned as a “new Roman-style Corinthian temple” for the combined worship of Aphrodite and the Roman emperors around 20-60 CE.⁶⁵ This three-tier construction communicated the power and dominance of the Roman regime among a diversity of peoples identified by their clothing. The top two tiers had full length reliefs, incorporating 200 panels of life-size statues, some individual and others in narrative groups of three and four. In the top tier Roman emperors from Augustus to Nero were portrayed as Olympian gods trouncing nations that appear as cowering and distraught barbarian naked women.⁶⁶ These include the most recent “acquisitions” such as Britain and Armenia and the depictions include a trophy. Defeat was shame and in the honour-shame societies such as those in the Middle East that shame was borne by the female and her nakedness conveys that shame. Defeat robbed identity and made non-entities of those defeated, virtually stripping them of their clothes that identified them. The image of Armenia, wearing little more than a cap and a scarf like mantle, shows the arm of Rome assisting to raise the conquered nation. The inclusion of this cap, shaped as the Phrygian Cap, identifies the local people as conquered.

In these depictions (Photo 8) the nakedness of shame is juxtaposed with the heroic nudity of the emperors. The contrast of the personification of Rome and the barbarian is accentuated by the clothed female figure of the personification of Rome against the scantily draped figure of the barbarian woman who has one breast exposed. The tightly controlled coiffure of the personification of Rome adds to the image of the well draped

⁶⁵ Smith and Erim, *Aphrodisias Papers 2*, 44.

⁶⁶ Harry Maier develops an argument for understanding the inclusion of Scythians in the Letter to the Colossians in light of the imperial ideology of subject peoples and triumphal iconography. See Maier, "Barbarians, Scythians," 394-97, 403-6.



Photo 8: (a) Emperor, the personification of Rome and a captive barbarian⁶⁷ (b) Nero and Armenia⁶⁸

persona epitomizing the virtues of the Roman people.⁶⁹ In contrast, the captive barbarian woman has loose curls that add to the disarray of her dress. The spatial difference of the personification of Rome's standing position over the cowering smallness of the barbarian woman lends weight to the all virtue being rested in Rome and epitomized by the image of a togate figure. In the depiction of Nero and Armenia, the naked female body bent below the muscular strength of heroic nudity is stark in contrast. The lack of clothing portrays a power relationship beyond any individual identity through clothing.

The overpowering stance of Claudius (Photo 9) intimates violence and possible rape with the raised arm of Claudius appearing to be in motion of striking and his knee pressed on the thigh. His powerful naked body stands over and comes down on the scantily draped female representation of Britannia.

⁶⁷ Charles Rose identifies these figures as Augustus and the personification of Rome but adds a question mark indicating that there is no confirmation of this. See Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period*, Plate 201.

⁶⁸ Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period*, Plate 209.

⁶⁹ This image is considered togate by Mesut Ilgim and as Atia, mother of Augustus by Charles Brian Rose. Both agree that the image is the personification of Rome and it appears the ambiguity of the dress allows for the differing interpretations. See Ilgim and Smith, eds., *Afrodisyas Sebasteion*, 56. and Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period*, caption to Plate 209.



Photo 9: Claudius and Britannia, Aphrodisias Sebasteion.

Nations subdued by the Roman regime could be depicted as coming to a new life in the empire. It was a life imposed on them. The full assimilation into the Roman empire is characterised by the image of the nation as civilised and free. This is exemplified here in the image of the Ethnos of Crete (Photo 10). Crete yielded to Rome under Metellus around 67 BCE.⁷⁰ The female representation is now fully clothed in classical dress with veil. No longer is the personification of the nation in barbarian dress or naked. Her hands are not crossed.



Photo 10: Ethnos of Crete, Aphrodisias.

This series of images constructs a graphic narrative through clothing that sees a conquered nation stripped of its barbarian clothing, shamed in nakedness, reclothed as

⁷⁰ In 69 BCE “Metellus was awarded a triumph and the title of Creticus with more justice than Antonius, for he actually subjugated the island [Crete]” (Appian, “Sicily and Other Islands,” in *Appian. The Foreign Wars*, ed. Horace White (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899), App. Sic. 1.)

captive and finally able to be fully clothed, civilised and free. This transformation of identity through clothing occurs under violent oppression. The relationship of the members of the Roman regime to their head is one of submission to power.

These images of conquest stand like a concrete press release of the Roman expansion. They are a statement on the state of play in the empire in the first century CE. This is the manner by which Rome secures peace. It is not a new invention but a process that was formed from the beginning of Rome's history. The cultural renewal expedited by Augustus and his successors in the Julio-Claudian dynasty echoed the assimilation of nations by rape and oppression from the beginnings of Rome as told through the mythic tales of Romulus and Remus.⁷¹



Photo 11: (a) Tiberius and captive (b) Nero with captive.

The emphasis on the Julio-Claudian emperors in the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias illustrates the continuation of the ideology of conquest from Augustus. There is a distinguishable variance in depiction across the emperors in the reliefs shown in Photo 9a, 9b, 10, 11a and 11b. All are shown as “naked hero”. Claudius is shown actively engaged in subduing the nations. His brutality is captured by his depiction in contrast to the static naked hero portrayals of the other emperors. The figures of Nero, Photos 9b and 11b show a restraint echoed by Seneca as clemency:

⁷¹Davina Lopez constructs a picture of Rome in history from the stories of Romulus and Remus and the rape of the Sabine women. She establishes a link of this history with the images of the naked female nations depicted at Aphrodisias. See Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered*, 56-70.

You are distinguished, Caesar, by a state free of bloodshed, and this by your great pride in which you glory that no drop of human blood has been shed, for this is very significant and miraculous, since no one was granted the sword at a younger age.⁷²

The image of Nero with Armenia (Photo 9b) is more forceful than the one where Nero stands with a young captive (Photo 11b). Nero with his hand on the arm of the crouching female figure is “hauling away a defeated Armenia”.⁷³

The contrast in the depictions of the captives is striking. The one pictured with Tiberius is standing and male. He is wearing trousers and a cloak. He is not disheveled. The captive is a smaller figure and positioned below Tiberius’ raised hand. Similarly the captive with Nero is also standing and clothed. He is a young boy.

Both Britannia and Armenia are shown as female in a state of undress on the ground under the might of the emperor. Clothing clearly makes a difference here in the identity of those assimilated into the Roman empire. The identity that is vested in the emperor is to be clothed in power and the virtues of Rome. For those who are not Roman citizens, their identity is stripped by submission.

Further communication of virtues is evidenced in reliefs such as that of Claudius and Agrippina (Photo 12). The subject of this relief is imperial concord (*concordia*) with the Roman state. Claudius appears as “naked hero” and wearing a military cloak. He is depicted shaking hands with his wife Agrippina and being crowned by the representation of the Roman People or Senate dressed in a toga.⁷⁴

⁷² Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *De Clementia*, ed. John B. Basore, vol. 1, L. Annaeus Seneca. Moral Essays. (London and New York: Heinemann, 1928), 1.11.3.

⁷³ Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered*, 43.

⁷⁴ Ilgim and Smith, eds., *Afrodisyas Sebasteion*, 44.



Photo 12: Claudius and Agrippina, Sebasteion at Aphrodisias.

The crown is the oak wreath or “citizen crown” (*corona civica*) hailing the emperor as savior of the people. This crown is awarded to Roman leaders for saving citizens’ lives.

Emperors’ Wives

The statues of the wives of the emperors are in stark contrast to the depictions of the nations as female and naked. In the central passageway of the propylon of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias was a colossal statue of Livia, wife of Augustus. Reconstructed in 2003, this statue shows a form of dress different to the “Pudicitia” or “Large Herculaneum Woman” types. The clothing conveys an active public involvement through the combination of the right arm extension with veil that only covers the back of the head and a hip mantle.⁷⁵ The reconstructed statue can be seen to be wearing a short sleeved *chiton*, a sleeveless tunic and an *himation* draped around the left side and back. In addition to these the mantle’s upper edge is folded down and pulled across the body just below the waist and the left end of the *himation* is tucked between the left arm and the body. In this way the folds resemble the Koan arrangement seen for the statues of men when in the oratory pose. This style of statue is expected to have come from the West and its existence is considered to challenge the idealised modest exemplary woman representation most usually associated with Augustan and Julio-Claudian visual imagery. The difference may lie in the *pudicitia* being used to represent mortal women

⁷⁵ J. Lenaghan, "A Statue of Julia Hera Sebaste (Livia)," in *Aphrodisias Papers 4: New Research on the City and its Monuments*, ed. Christopher Ratto and R. R. R. Smith, *Journal of Roman Archaeology/Supplementary Series* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2008), 50.

whereas this statue of Livia incorporates her as Hera, goddess, as described in the inscription on the base.⁷⁶

The “*Pudicitia*” type was developed in the Hellenistic period. There was variation within this type with regard to proportions, weight-leg and choice of hand-to-chin as sign of a privileged statue designed for contemporary women as well as depictions of women on grave reliefs.⁷⁷ The close wrapping and veiling of the female figures with the arms secured close to the body illustrated their qualities of modesty, self-containment and personal discipline (σωφροσύνη) as a good Hellenistic wife.



Photo 13: (a) left: Livia statue first century BCE, Aphrodisias in entrance to propylon of Sebasteion ; (b) centre left: Pudicitia statue first century CE, Aphrodisias; (c) centre: veiled young woman, first century CE, Aphrodisias; (d) centre right : Large Herculaneum Woman, Roman, 40–60 CE, Marble; (e) right: Campana Hera, Roman copy of Hellenistic original possibly second century CE.⁷⁸

The contrast of these figures is easily seen when side by side. For both the *pudicitia* and the Large Herculaneum Woman the right hand holds the veil, either close to the face or above the breast, in a manner that speaks of modesty and the wrapping of the body in the

⁷⁶ Smith, in his description of this statue from the theatre at Aphrodisias, suggests that the dress scheme, posture and closed shoes were associated with mortal women. Smith and Erim, *Aphrodisias Papers* 2, 203.

⁷⁷ Smith and Erim, *Aphrodisias Papers* 2, 203.

⁷⁸ Livia statue: Lenaghan, "A Statue of Julia Hera Sebaste (Livia)," Fig 23, 48.; Pudicitia statue: Smith and Erim, *Aphrodisias Papers* 2, Plate 64. Large Herculaneum Woman: VEX.2007.1.1, Skulpturensammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden; Campana Hera: Louvre No. 2283, Inventory Box 6409.

garments conveys the modest controlled pose. The young woman does not even reveal her hand to hold the veil. The distinctive waist level apron-like crossover of the Livia statue is also observed on the Hera one. The Hera statue also has an open stance that is the usual depiction of her. Hera is the goddess of marriage and women, so this pose for Livia would still align her with the virtues of the good wife, but allow the added perspective of public activity.

Two representations of Livia dated to the first century CE were found in Ephesus and now reside in the Selçuk Museum (Photo 14). The first is a head and the second a bust. The clothing on the bust shows the mantle seemingly draped around her neck before being gathered around the body just below her waist and over her left arm.



Photo 14: (a) Head and (b) bust of Livia, first century CE, Selçuk Museum.

At Aphrodisias, Livia is shown making a sacrifice to Aphrodite (Photo 15). The sacrificial attendant by her side carries a tray of ritual equipment and affirms her action. With her right hand she was pouring a libation onto the altar which is now mostly broken.⁷⁹ This relief represents piety (*pietas*). Livia's clothing is reminiscent of the bust from Ephesus (Photo 14).

⁷⁹ Part of the empress' head is extant to identify her but it is not connected to the figure. Ilgün and Smith, eds., *Aphrodisias Sebasteion*, 34.

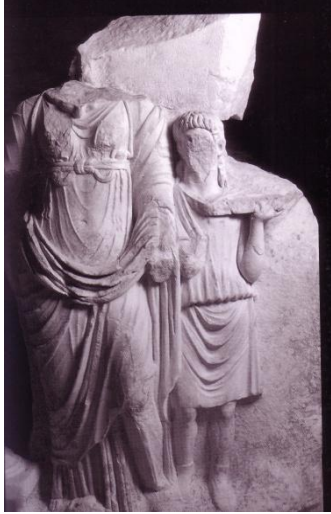
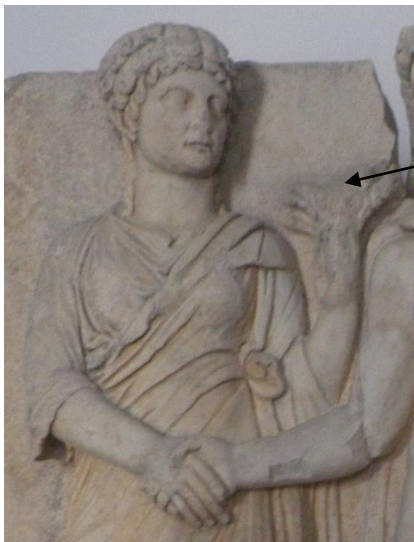


Photo 15: Livia sacrificing, Aphrodisias.⁸⁰

Also at Aphrodisias, Agrippina, wife of Claudius, is modestly draped as seen in full above (Photo 12) and in part below (Photo 16). The wheat ears in her hand suggest emulation of Demeter, goddess of fertility and the sanctity of marriage.



Ears of wheat

Photo 16: Agrippina holding ears of wheat. Claudius and Agrippina relief, Aphrodisias.

Agrippina appears in another relief as mother of Nero where she crowns him with a laurel wreath (Photo 17).⁸¹ She holds a cornucopia illustrative of Fortune.

⁸⁰ Photograph by Mesut Ilgım. Ilgım and Smith, eds., *Aphrodisias Sebasteion*, 35.

⁸¹ The full image of the relief appears in the next chapter. Please see Photo 49.



Photo 17: Agrippina holding a cornucopia, Aphrodisias.

These heavily draped women of substance make all the more plain the dishonour of the naked female barbarian figures. Identification with the Roman regime for subject people meant submission and oppression and a relinquishing of their honour and identity. The imperial women epitomised the virtues of Rome and the emperor and appeared as goddesses.

Young Men

The celebration of coming-of-age for a young Roman boy involved the putting on of the *toga virilis*. It was both a domestic and public event and displayed *dignitas*.⁸² At Aphrodisias a statue of a young man in his toga displays his manhood and *dignitas* (Photo 18).

⁸² J. Albert Harrill, "Coming of Age and Putting on Christ: The Toga Virilis Ceremony, its Paranesis, and Paul's Interpretation of Baptism in Galatians," *Novum Testamentum* 44 (2002): 259.

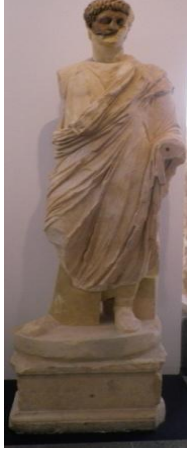


Photo 18: Young man wearing the toga, first century CE, Aphrodisias.

The young man dressed in this way adopts the identity modeled by the emperor. His portrayal is complementary to the emperor showing the continuity of the identity. Conceivably he is the son of an aristocratic Aphrodisian family granted Roman citizenship.⁸³ His fashionable portrait incorporates sideburns sometimes seen in Hellenistic portraits of young rulers and later adopted by the emperor in the Claudian and Neronian period.⁸⁴ The combination of this feature and his dress convey his education, self-control and dual citizenship.⁸⁵ Smith notes thirteen togate statues at Aphrodisias only four of which are near-complete.⁸⁶ The details of the clothing distinguish these statues so that seven are considered to represent imperial figures or senior Roman office holders. Four or five are identified through their footwear to be local people of the early Imperial period. These distinctions are congruent with the hierarchical layers of identity construction under the Roman regime.

Civic

As noted previously, the Roman portraiture was layered upon the Hellenistic civic organisation around the *polis*. The system of benefaction and honour intrinsic to the *polis* included the raising of statues and monuments of the local civic leaders. These stone portrayals communicated the values of the community and influenced the formation of the local identity. The strategic fixation on the emperor built on and

⁸³ Smith and Erim, *Aphrodisias Papers 2*, 104.

⁸⁴ This feature is not observable on the photo but is well described by Smith. Smith and Erim, *Aphrodisias Papers 2*, 106.

⁸⁵ Smith and Erim, *Aphrodisias Papers 2*, 107.

⁸⁶ Smith and Erim, *Aphrodisias Papers 2*, 100.

interacted with the Greek representations. The following examples of such Greek civic honours are of prime importance to this thesis as their provenance is Colossae. Together they provide insight to local identity construction in this ancient city.

I begin with two pedestals that were bases for statues and carried the dedicatory inscriptions which affirm the existence of this level of visual imagery in the city. One such pedestal, dated late first to early second century CE, was recently discovered wedged into the riverbank at Colossae. Honouring Markos son of Markos as chief interpreter and translator for the Colossians, this pedestal is further confirmation of the diversity of the community in this region as mentioned in Chapter 1.⁸⁷ Another pedestal of coarse marble is inscribed in honour of Aurelius Herakleon Karpionus as hero and dated to the second or third century CE.⁸⁸ This inscription includes his mother's request that he be crowned annually.⁸⁹ Presumably both these pedestals bore statues dressed in a style appropriate to the honour of their civic contribution.

The cylindrical marble *bomos*, mentioned earlier in Chapter 1, was discovered recently on Mount Honaz (Cadmus). It honoured Korumbos, repairer of baths at Colossae.⁹⁰ Dowel marks adjacent to the first two lines are indicative of the placement of a standing statue, less than life-size.⁹¹ The juxtaposition of these dowel marks and the name "Korumbos" in the inscription suggests a correlation. Dated from the late first to early second century CE this monument attests to an established pattern of honorific monuments contributing to the local civic identity. The distinction of this monument, being carved of marble, sets it apart from most of the other known inscriptions etched into locally quarried limestone. The generous benefaction of Korumbos is reminiscent

⁸⁷ Cadwallader, "Two New Inscriptions," 115-18.

⁸⁸ W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder, eds., *Monuments and Documents from Phrygia and Caria*, vol. VI, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* (Manchester: The Manchester University Press, 1939), 42.6. Dating is suggested by the three-fold name given for Aurelius' mother. See Alan Cadwallader, *Colossae: The Primary Sources* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, forthcoming).

⁸⁹ Alan Cadwallader, *Colossae: The Primary Sources*, (forthcoming).

⁹⁰ Cadwallader, "Honour for Korumbos."

⁹¹ Alan Cadwallader gives a plausible description of the markings in relation to the honorand of the inscription. See Alan Cadwallader, "Honouring the Repairer of the baths: a new inscription from Kolossai," *Antikthon: Australian Classics Journal* (forthcoming).

of Zoilos at Aphrodisias. Korumbos is dignified with a costly imported marble monument carefully and precisely carved.⁹²

A further inscription from Colossae honours a benefactor of the city. Discovered in the Christian quarter of Honaz, near the fountain, the honour is inscribed into a square stone base.⁹³ This may well have supported a statue of the honorand. At first glance the inscription appears incomplete. The title for this inscription in MAMA is “A Priest of Dionysos”.⁹⁴ This description elucidates Gaius Claudius Menandros as priest of Dionysus, father of Flavian and benefactor of the city.

τοῦ Διονύσου διὰ Γ Κλ[αυδίου] Με-
νάδρου φλαουσανοῦ τοῦ πα-
τρος εὐεργέτου τῆς πόλεως,
ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνεθίκε

...

son of Dionysos by the agency of Gaius Claudius Menandros
father of Flavian, benefactor of the city
raised this from his own resources⁹⁵

The dating of this inscription is made difficult without recourse to the original lettering as the shapes and forms of the letters give clues to the date. The Roman names provide further hints. The use of “Gaius” and “Claudius” in the naming may indicate a first century inscription and the addition of “Flavian” suggests later in the century: 69-96 CE.

The combination of these two inscriptions from Colossae offers significant insight to the civic honorific practice. Both are likely to have supported statues communicating the virtue of those honoured. Together they reveal a duality of identity, Greek and Roman, influencing all who gazed upon them. The images of these benefactors have not

⁹²Cadwallader outlines the intricacies of the decorations of a vine leaf, a leaf with berries, figs or other fruit and a hunting dog as well as the letter forms in Cadwallader, "Honouring the Repairer."

⁹³ Ernest Thorin, "Inscriptions de la Vallée du Meandre," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 11 (1887): No 10. Colosses.

⁹⁴ MAMA Buckler and Calder, eds., *Monuments and Documents from Phrygia and Caria*, 142, No 49.

⁹⁵ The publication of this inscription has no photo, illustration or squeeze. The lettering is given in lowercase which is presumably the author's rendition of the uncial (capital) inscribed letters on the stone. I am grateful for scholarly discussion of this inscription with Alan Cadwallader, February 2011.

survived. Comparisons of these examples from Colossae can be made with extant remains from other neighbouring cities.

Beyond Colossae, in the greater region of the Lycus Valley, ongoing excavations at both Laodikeia and Hierapolis have yielded evidence of civic statuary.⁹⁶ In Hierapolis a series of statue bases attests to the presence of statuary in the late first century CE. These statue bases were raised by a prominent woman named Apphia. The statues that adorned these bases have not survived but one of them is known from the inscription on the base to have been a personification of the people.⁹⁷

A large stone at the west end of the amphitheatre at Laodikeia, discovered by an eighteenth century CE traveler to the site, is inscribed to the honour of Ased:⁹⁸

ΑΣΗΔ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΘΕ΄ ΦΙΛΟΝ***
ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΙΩΝΟΣ ΝΟΜΟΦΥΛΑΚΑ ΕΠΙΤΑΙΣ
ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΣΙΑΙΣ

[ὁ δεμὸ*]
Ασηδ αγιον, θε[ο]φιλον[τον]
καὶ δι' αἰωνος νομοφυλακα ἐπι ταις
εἰς την πατριδα εὐεργεσιαις⁹⁹

⁹⁶ From 1961 there were a series of brief attempts at excavation at the ancient site of Laodikeia: 1961-1963 a French archaeological team from Quebec Laval University, Canada excavated at the Nymphaeum; 1992 the Denizli Museum Directorate conducted a brief excavation at the Syrian Street (Main Street); 1993-2000 an archaeological team from the University of Venice, Italy carried out a survey for a very short period (10-15 days) and in 2000 this work was conducted together with the Pamukkale University. See also Celal Şimşek, *Laodikeia (Laodikeia ad Lycum)* (Istanbul: Ege Yayinlari, 2007). Excavations at Hierapolis commenced under Paolo Verzone of the Politecnico di Torino in 1957. The Italian Archaeological Mission at Hierapolis is currently under the direction of Professor Francesco D'Andria. Ten Italian and four international universities and research institutions are presently engaged in the excavations and collateral research in collaboration with the Italian Archaeological Mission. See also Ritti, *An Epigraphic Guide to Hierapolis (Pamukkale)*; Tullia Ritti, ed. *Museo Archaeologico di Denizli-Hierapolis Catalogo delle iscrizioni greche e latine* (Napoli: Liguori Editore, 2008); Johann Rasmus Brandt and Sven Ahrens, "Excavations at Hierapolis in Phrygia, Turkey," Department of Archaeology, Conservation and History, University of Oslo, <http://www.hf.uio.no/iakh/english/research/projects/hierapolis/index.html>. [accessed 14 February, 2011]; D'Andria et al., *Hierapolis di Frigia 1957-1987*.

⁹⁷ Ritti, *An Epigraphic Guide to Hierapolis (Pamukkale)*, 109.

⁹⁸ Richard Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor: an account of a tour at the expense of the Society of Dilettanti*, Second ed. (London: J. Dodsley, J. Robson, T. Cadell, P. Elmsley and G. Robinson, 1776), 255-56.

⁹⁹ The details of the inscription are found in Richard Chandler, ed. *Inscriptiones antiquae pleraeque nondum editae: in Asia Minori et Graecia, praesertim Athenis, collectae. Cum appendice*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1774), 30.

[the people](raised this)
To Ased, holy friend of god
and guardian of the laws for his lifetime
for his good services to his country.¹⁰⁰

This example records no mention of a statue but in view of similar honours for good services, the words of the inscription allude to an image of a man proudly dressed in his *himation*.

In Aphrodisias 274 inscriptions were identified for honorands with the majority being on statue bases.¹⁰¹ Smith deduces that virtue and office-holding are interdependent. The use of the inscriptions qualifies the visual representation in what he calls a “moral portfolio”.¹⁰² This indicates for local civic honorands that it is the combination of virtues, deeds and family connections that constructs identity. In contrast, the construction of identity via emperors is encapsulated in specific styles as noted as “naked hero”, cuirassed or togate or by specific title such as *Prima Porta*.

Summary of Statuary

In this overview of statuary in the cities of the Lycus Valley and in Ephesus, Aphrodisias and Smyrna I have proposed the assertion of Roman identity into an existing field of influence. The Romans drew on Greek representations, choosing styles specifically to communicate the power and values of the Roman empire. Emperors chose to place their portrayals in the vicinity of the gods they wished to emulate. Their proximate position assisted their claim to deification and raised their power status, challenging any monopoly. The layering of the Roman images into the panorama of the urban landscape created a hierarchy of images in a network that spelled the overarching power and domination of the Romans.

¹⁰⁰ This is my translation and Chandler gives it as “the city or people has erected Ased, a man of sanctity and piety, and recorder for life; on account of his services to his country.” See Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor*, 225-26.

¹⁰¹ These details are recorded in a table compiled in 2003. They date across first to third centuries CE. See Smith and Erim, *Aphrodisias Papers 2*, 75.

¹⁰² Smith and Erim, *Aphrodisias Papers 2*, 75.

The portrayals of women played an integral part in the honour and power hierarchy. Women were sometimes the epitome of virtue. Their representations with men raised the honour and virtue status of the men. At other times the depiction of defeated nations as women was the ultimate designation of shame.

The negotiation of identity was shown through monuments such as that of Zoilus who operated successfully in the civic and imperial arenas.

Stelae

Funerary *stelae* were erected to honour family members and to perpetuate that honour for the present and future generations. These *stelae* often bore images of the deceased and their families. Recent studies of Roman society and culture have revealed the extent to which funerary customs and rituals contributed to the expression, creation, maintenance and negotiation of identities.¹⁰³ This means that the image was specifically chosen to represent the deceased from among multiple and changing identities that the deceased held in life. Such a deliberate choice secured an ongoing memory of the identity of the deceased to the benefit of the family or town. The sculpting of identity in death as in life was politically, socially and culturally aligned.

The *stelae* of Colossae and the Lycus Valley have recently been re-interpreted and translated.¹⁰⁴ The majority of these *stelae* date to a later period than the Letter to the Colossians. Their style follows an established pattern evidenced across Asia Minor from the Hellenistic period and originating in Greece from as early as the fifth century BCE. I offer comparison examples alongside those from Colossae to illustrate the continuity of representation. They can be seen as the development of a practice of depicting virtue through clothing that is well established from the Hellenistic period and embraced by the Roman regime. Despite the later dating of these *stelae* from Colossae, they are not a new form but rather a recognisable tradition. They offer a significant glimpse into the manner that the people of Colossae represented themselves. They are testament to their identity as it has been formed from earlier periods.

It is reasonable to expect that there were steles raised in Colossae from the Hellenistic period. I base this assumption on the existence of examples from this same time period

¹⁰³ Emma-Jayne Graham, "Becoming Persons, Becoming Ancestors. Personhood, Memory and the Corpse in Roman Rituals of Social Remembrance," *Archaeological Dialogues* 16, no. 1 (2009): 51.

¹⁰⁴ The Colossae Project is an interdisciplinary research project of the Flinders University departments of Archaeology and Theology. The principal researchers are Dr. Michael Trainor, Associate Professor Claire Smith and Dr. Alan Cadwallader. A Greek Reading Group initially under the supervision of Dr. Alan Cadwallader concentrated on these inscriptions as well as coins and ancient texts that referred to Colossae. I continued as coordinator of this group following Dr. Cadwallader's appointment interstate. I am a foundation member along with Emily Harding, Nicoloy Moyse, Joan Riley and Julie Hooke. More recently Fr Silouan, Margaret Hokin, Brian Callahan, Susan Caton and Elizabeth Young have contributed. The work of this group spanned the years 2002-10.

discovered at nearby Laodikeia. The stele shown in Photo 20, as one of these examples, indicates this style of recognition of the dead was known and practised in the Lycus Valley.



Photo 19: Stele from Hellenistic period at Laodikeia. ¹⁰⁵

The clothing of these family members (Photo 19) reveals the grounding in Greek infrastructure. The husband is modestly dressed in the Greek “arm-sling” style of *himation* with his wife wearing her *himation* draped over her head. The small figure may be the young son of the couple. His appearance duplicates the father’s dress. The tight wrapping is characteristic of this period. This style lends weight to the modest virtue in the control of the body that it wraps. The wife’s hand to the veil is the suggestion of modesty that is also adopted by the “Pudicitia” and “Large Herculaneum Woman” styles shown previously.

In a similar standard style this second century CE stele (Photo 20) from Colossae reveals a couple wearing the Greek style of clothing yet with a cloth of unusual “crinkled” appearance.¹⁰⁶ The distinctive nature of this cloth is conceivably attributable to the clothing industry that was well known in this region. The wearers are modestly and properly draped in the “arm-sling” style which is a public posture of reserve and discipline, waiting to speak or act.¹⁰⁷ This pose is known from Demosthenes (384-322

¹⁰⁵ Şimşek, *Laodikeia (Laodikeia ad Lycum)*, 324, Photo 122.

¹⁰⁶ Provenance of this stele is given as “Kolossai” Stele di Glykonas - Glykonas'in SteliRitti, ed. *Museo Archaeologico*, 196-99, No 13.

¹⁰⁷ The “arm-sling” is one of two styles used in statuary and identified as such in R. R. R. Smith, “Cultural Choice and Political Identity in Honorific Portrait Statues in the Greek East in the Second Century AD,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 88 (1998): 62.

BCE) as σοφροσύνης παράδειγμα, a model of self-restraint.¹⁰⁸ The honor is given in the inscription to Gluko by the society of friends (ἑταῖροι).



Photo 20: Marble Stele from Honaz¹⁰⁹ (MAMA VI: 47, Plate 10)¹¹⁰

A tall and eye-catching stele, now on view in the garden of the Denizli Archaeological Museum, is noted as being from Laodikeia in the late Hellenistic period (third to the second century BCE). It depicts a woman holding her baby (Photo 21). The woman's name is given in the inscription below as Nikopolis daughter of Mithrabogos, wife of Artemidorus. She is seated and dressed modestly as a matron. Her father, Mithrabogos, has a Persia name, yet the context of this funerary stele is Greek. Above the alcove is a siren, naked and winged, with hands raised to the head showing distress.¹¹¹ In the pediment is a gorgon, often used as sign of protection for the monument.¹¹² The combination of images affirms virtue of the deceased wife and daughter and attributes honour to her husband. Her portrayal in thoughtful remembrance also asserts the family values of a dutiful modest wife and mother.

¹⁰⁸ Demosthenes, "De Falsa Legatione," (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co., 1864), 251.

¹⁰⁹ Honaz is the present day town near the site of the ancient city of Colossae in south western Turkey.

¹¹⁰ Buckler and Calder locate this at Denizli in the Maarif Dairesi Storehouse and indicate that it was brought from Honaz (near Colossae). Buckler and Calder, eds., *Monuments and Documents from Phrygia and Caria*, 47, plate 10.

¹¹¹ This interpretation is affirmed with a first century BCE funerary siren in the Louvre, Myr 148, Department of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Antiquities. This terracotta figurine excavated by the French School at Athens in 1883 made in Myrina, Lemnos, Greece. The figurine shows one arm to the head and the other to the breast in gestures of mourning and distress.

¹¹² Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, *"Reading" Greek Death: to the end of the Classical Period* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 273.



Photo 21: (a) Funerary stele for Nikopolis, Laodikeia, late Hellenistic; (b) enlargement of alcove; (c) detail of siren.¹¹³

A particularly popular style of funerary *stelae* in the time of the Roman empire displayed a banquet scene (Photo 22). They were frequently used in Asia Minor. The examples shown in Photo 22 are from Kadicoy, Istanbul in the first century CE and “Western Asia Minor” in the first century BCE. They are included here to illustrate that this style of stele was well established and widely used before and during the time of writing of the Colossians.¹¹⁴

In Hellenistic culture the meal signified values of community (κοινωνία), equality and friendship (ἰσονομία and φιλία) and grace/generosity/beauty (χάρις) which was indicative of “Symposial-Political Utopia”.¹¹⁵ The use of the meal scene for funerary *stelae* preserves these values as honour to the deceased and as continuing values for the living.

¹¹³ Located in the garden of the Denizli-Hierapolis Archaeology Museum, 2009.

¹¹⁴ Similar *stelae* are found in the Archaeological museums at Manisa, Izmir and Ephesus, to name but a few.

¹¹⁵ Hal Taussig draws on Matthias Klinghardt, *Gemeinschaftsmahl und Mahlgemeinschaft: Soziologie und Liturgie fruehchristlicher Mahlfeiern* where he connects what he sees as the social values of the meal to larger social and political realities. Hal Taussig, "Greco-Roman Meals and Performance of Identity: A Ritual Analysis," in *Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting* (2007). Available <http://www.philipharland.com/meals/GrecoRomanMealsSeminar.htm> [accessed 6 November 2009].



Photo 22: (a) Symposium/banquet style gravestone, Istanbul, first century CE (left); (b) Western Asia Minor Stele, first century BCE (centre)¹¹⁶; (c) North West Asia Minor Funeral Stele (left).¹¹⁷

In the first two examples the honorand is reclining and holds a wreath to crown his wife (Photo 22a, b). In the third, the man is shown reaching down to hold his wife's hand (Photo 22c). In all three the women are seated in the traditional pose and are modestly draped in her *himation*. The inference of the crowning in the first two examples is the honour given to a virtuous wife. In the third example the added image of the woman standing in the arched doorway farewelling her husband shows her fully wrapped in *himation*. The domestic setting of the woman in such modest dress indicates her fidelity and modesty and perhaps her household management when her husband was away. The rider as a heroised young adult male is a funerary type often found in Western Asia Minor.¹¹⁸ Sometimes the rider is a deity or simply depicts a deceased mortal as a horseman. In this instance the latter is the most likely and may honour Hippodorus for his military service.¹¹⁹ This stele is an excellent example of the choice of virtues to be communicated that were important not only to the memory of Hippodorus but also to the honour and virtue of his wife.

¹¹⁶ Photo by kind permission of University of Pennsylvania Museum.

¹¹⁷ Photo by kind permission of University of Pennsylvania Museum.

¹¹⁸ In the main, the rider type steles belong to the Roman Imperial period, ranging first to fourth centuries CE. See G. H. R. Horsley, *The Rider God Steles at Burdur Museum in Turkey* (Armidale: University of New England, 1999), 9-10.

¹¹⁹ There is an example from the first century CE Pergamon of the rider image used to honour Trophimos as good/worthy hero. In this image the rider wears a Phrygian cap and his cape flows out behind resembling the god Mên. This may indicate a link to that cult. Ernst Pfuhl and Hans Mobius, *Die Ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*, vol. 2 (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1979), 327, Plate 199, No 1363.

The banquet scene *stelae* (Photo 23), still extant from Honaz, near Colossae, are dated to around the second to the third century CE. Their similarity to the examples above suggests that these style *stelae* were consistently and commonly available. Imagery of this kind was conceivably available to the Christ followers at Colossae and the Lycus Valley.



Photo 23: (a) left: Stele from Honaz (MAMA IV.48)¹²⁰; (b) right: Stele from Honaz: Marble Stele at Denizli-Hierapolis Museum.

These family scenes affirm identity in the family group. The modest clothing, adds to the goodness engendered in virtuous family relationship bonded closely through the sharing of a meal.

There are cattle shown at the base of the stele shown in Photo 22a. Similarly in Photo 23b there are pigs or “hoglings”. These animals indicate the business of the family. Occupation or trade was an identifying feature of a family. People were born into the trade or business of the family.

To consolidate the picture of continuity of the visual imagery that presents idealised citizens virtue-clad I turn to examples of *stelae* from Laodikeia and Hierapolis.

By the first century CE in Asia Minor *χρηστός* is revealed as a common epithet on *stelae* echoing the use on Attic grave reliefs where it was used in recognition of the

¹²⁰ Buckler and Calder, eds., *Monuments and Documents from Phrygia and Caria*, 18.

deceased's virtues when alive.¹²¹ When applied to a person *χρηστός* has the meaning of a good person and true, good, honest, upright; and of good citizens, useful and deserving.¹²² *Χρηστός* is often found qualifying *ἥρωσ* (hero).¹²³ The honour of *ἥρωσ* (hero) is inscribed in a slab of coarse marble discovered at Honaz in the yard of a house.¹²⁴ It is likely this was quarried from Colossae. The honorand is Marcus Larkius Crispinus. His *tria nomina* (triple name) identifies his citizenship as Roman and assists the dating to the first or second century CE.¹²⁵ Honoured by the council (*ἡ βουλή*) and the people (*ὁ δῆμος*) there is no indication of an accompanying statue or relief. The inscription serves to identify the practice of civic honours and especially the honour of *ἥρωσ* in Colossae in the first century CE.

This practice is well represented among the *stela*e from Laodikeia as seen in the following examples. The combination, *ἥρωσ χρηστός*, is generally applied to males, yet there is one instance of the feminine form, *ἥρωίς χρηστή*, from Smyrna.¹²⁶ This example of a woman, Angelia, honoured as an excellent heroine in a city strategically connected to the Lycus Valley, asserts not only that both genders could be honoured this way, but also that similar examples could be expected in the Lycus Valley as the practice could be commonly known and used between these cities. The connection of the virtue of these lives is made through the clothing that identifies and honours them, sometimes reasonably accredited to their civic contribution through their occupation.

¹²¹ Robert Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*, 2nd ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 10.

¹²² Liddell et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon*.

¹²³ The title of *ἥρωσ* was bestowed in Thessalian and Boeotian funerary inscriptions so commonly as to include people of little to no consequence. Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*, 10.

¹²⁴ Buckler and Calder, eds., *Monuments and Documents from Phrygia and Caria*, Plate 8, No 39. This is another inscription reinterpreted by the Greek Reading Group as part of the Colossae Project.

¹²⁵ From the second century the *cognomen* (family name) took over from the *praenomen* (forename, personal name) so that the *praenomen* was regularly omitted. By the third century CE it had been abandoned altogether. See O. Salomies, "Names and Identities: Onomastics and Prosopography," in *Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History from Inscriptions*, ed. J. Bodel (London; New York: Routledge, 2001), 83-84.

¹²⁶ Raised for Angelia in the Roman Imperial period, Ἀγγελία ἥρωίς χρηστή χαίρε Farewell Angelia excellent heroine. Georg Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*, vol. 1 (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, 1982), 205, No.489, Plate 33. Another instance is available from the island of Samos and this is dated to the first century CE: Διονυσία Μενίσκης ἡρώνη χρηστή χαίρε Ernst Pfuhl and Hans Mobius, *Die Ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*, vol. 1 (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1977), 234, Plate 134, No 902.

A prime example is visible on the stele for Apollonius (Photo 24). The clothing with accompanying articles or weapons raised in his hand and on his belt designate him as “policeman”.¹²⁷ The small round shield, short sword and curved stick are the implements of the group of police known as “*diogmitai*” (δίωγμιται).¹²⁸ These police could be called into military service. Apollonius’ dress indicates his honours are likely military and civic service.



Ἀπολλώνιος ἥρως χρηστὸς
 vacat παροδειταις καίριν
 Apollonius good/worthy hero
 Greetings to the passersby

Photo 24: Apollonius, Laodikeia, first to second century CE¹²⁹

Another Laodikeian hero, Menodotus (Photo 25a), is depicted standing with his right hand emerging from his himation in classic Greek style (arm-sling). On the right is a dog and on the left a strigil. The strigil could well indicate that Menodotus was employed in the gymnasium yet the inclusion of the dog suggests that these two items are symbolic. The dog denotes loyalty which can be understood through Diodorus Siculus, in terms of friendship: “The Pythagoreans laid the greatest store upon constancy toward one’s friends, believing as they did that the loyalty of friends is the greatest good to be found in life.”¹³⁰ The strigil suggests the parallel of life to struggle (ἀγωνία), where the “good man” won the struggle and his soul was crowned with immortality. This echoes Plato: “the true runner comes to the finish and receives the prize and is crowned. And this is the way with the just; he who endures to the end of every action and occasion of his entire life has a good report and comes off with the prize which men have to bestow.”¹³¹

¹²⁷ Thomas Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Laodikeia am Lykos* (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 1997), No. 88, 173.

¹²⁸ Stele di Apollonios/Apollonios/un Steli Ritti, ed. *Museo Archaeologico*, 184-87, No 96.

¹²⁹ Pfuhl and Mobius, *Die Ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*, No. 1195.

¹³⁰ Diodorus, *Diodorus Siculus*, 10.8.1.

¹³¹ Plato, *The Republic*, trans. Paul Shorey (London: Heinemann, 1935). 10.613C

Such a correlation between the imagery of the stele and the text of Plato demonstrates the relationship between image and text in the construction of identity as good and virtuous citizen. The classic dress is accompanied by symbols that accentuate the goodness and excellence of Menedotus' life. This goodness and excellence is echoed in the inscription:

Μηνόδοτος ἥρως χρη[στὸς]
παροδείταις χαίρειν

Menodotos good/worthy hero
Greetings to the passersby



Photo 25: (a) Menodotus, Laodikeia, second Century CE;¹³² (b) Kordianos, Smyrna, First Century CE.¹³³

At Smyrna a stele from first century CE honours Kordianos and his wife Trophime (Photo 25b). The depiction of Kordianos is broken but reveals something of his clothing in a shorter tunic and with a manual implement in his hand, indicating his employment at manual labour. Alongside him is a dog. This shows elements similar to the two *stelae* at Laodikeia. Firstly it is reminiscent of the depiction of Apollonis in his employment as policeman and secondly includes the dog such as the stele of Menodotos. This stele of Kordianos predates both of the examples from Laodikeia establishing that these styles of representation via clothing were in existence in the first century and conceivably were used or known in the Lycus Valley.

¹³² Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Laodikeia am Lykos*, 189.

¹³³ Pfuhl and Mobius, *Die Ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*, 287, Plate 175, No 1168.

These few examples of funeral *stelae* offer a bridge between the available evidence in the Lycus Valley which spans first century BCE to third century CE. These additional images assist in establishing the common practice across Asia Minor of exhibiting imagery where people are clothed in virtue in the style of dress that speaks of modesty and goodness, fidelity and loyalty. Often these depictions are accompanied with a wreath where the honorand is “clothed” with the wreath in honour of his or her virtue. The concentration of examples to the period around the first century CE is deliberate to prepare a foundation for the argument that these solid images are the basis for the metaphor of clothing in the Letter to the Colossians. This practice of imagery on funeral *stelae*, however, is not confined to this period and has its roots in Ancient Greece in the fourth century BCE, such as is seen here in this example (Photo 26) from Piraeus. Melite is greeted by her husband, Onesimos. She is seated and veiled with her himation as a virtuous faithful wife. Onesimos with his himation in the “Koan” arrangement has his right hand free and holds her hand in greeting and honour of her virtue. The intimacy of the relationship is also testament to the foundation of good civic life. The style of depiction of such honour for virtue changes in the context of time and place yet the underlying virtues are clear through to the first century CE.



Photo 26: Melite, wife of Onesimos, 350 BCE.¹³⁴

¹³⁴Christoph W. Clairmont, *Gravestone and Epigram: Greek Memorials from the Archaic and Classical Period* (Mainz on Rhine: Verlag Philipp Von Zabern, 1970), 117-19, Plate 19, No 39.

Funerary Monuments

The region of the Lycus Valley is well noted as susceptible to earthquake and the ensuing devastation. Given this history, it is both surprising and fortunate to discover surviving funerary monuments of grandiose proportions. In this section I concentrate on two specific monuments. The first is a large sarcophagus from Hierapolis and the second is the Zoilos monument from Aphrodisias. Both “*heroon*” date to the first century CE or earlier. Their size offers space to illustrate biographical scenes and civic honours which give insight to specific instances of constructed and negotiated identity.

The remarkable *heroon* at Hierapolis is known as the “Tomba Bella” (Photo 27a). It is dated to the beginning of the Roman empire in the Julio-Claudian period (27 BCE to 68 CE).¹³⁵ Biographical scenes of the deceased adorn the four sides. Unfortunately no inscription has been found to identify the person this *heroon* honours. Originally located in a cemetery, it was preserved when the whole area was transformed following the earthquake of 60 CE.¹³⁶ The honorand is crowned by the personification of Honour (Τιμή). The close-up view (Photo 27b) shows the individual as middle-aged, dressed in an *himation*, tightly wrapped. He is accompanied by his wife. There is very little visual material culture dated to this time still available at Hierapolis so this is a significant example of clothing depiction in this area and at this time. Essentially this *heroon* celebrates the honorand as a hero and cements the allegiance of the hero with the city and its well-being. Clothed with honour and virtue he shares his identity with the city.

¹³⁵ Francesco D'Andria, "The Evolution of Hierapolis of Phrygia," in *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor: New Studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos*, ed. David Parrish, *Supplementary Series Number 45* (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2001), 100-1.

¹³⁶ Evidence of the original cemetery setting is given from simple tombs cut into the bedrock. Following the earthquake this cemetery site became the shopping precinct of Frontinus Street. See D'Andria et al., *Hierapolis di Frigia 1957-1987*, 87.



Photo 27: (a) “Tomba Bella”, Denizli-Hierapolis Museum, Julio-Claudian period; (b) Close up of the honoree and his wife.

The monument to honour Gaius Julius Zoilus at Aphrodisias (Photo 29c) uses clothing to negotiate identity. Dated around 30 to 20 BCE the monument or heroon honours Zoilus as major benefactor of the city through a series of panels.¹³⁷ He is depicted in two costumes (Photo 28a and b): roman toga and long traveling cloak and hat.¹³⁸ Zoilus as a freedman who became a Roman citizen is shown as Romanised but definitively in an Hellenistic context.¹³⁹ The *balteus* toga style is reminiscent of the *himation* however the diagonal line of the lower hem alludes to the semi-circular shape of the toga.¹⁴⁰ As traveller Zoilus is crowned by both the personification of the “*demos*” and “*polis*” while the personification of fortune, Τίμη, crowns the togate Zoilus. The use of this monument to negotiate identity shows the extent of the engineering of identity through the visual imagery of clothing. The honour bestowed upon Zoilus in both identities demonstrates assimilation at its best. The marriage of Roman and Hellenistic values as depicted through clothing is a relationship of success and honour not only for the individual but for the city and its citizens.

¹³⁷ A dedicatory inscription on the stage building of the theatre, dated to the first century BCE, is testament to Zoilos’ gift of the stage (λογεῖον) and stage entrances (προσκήνιον) “to Aphrodite and the People (of the city)”. Erim, *Aphrodisias*, 32.

¹³⁸ Smith suggests a third image of Zoilos modestly enveloped in an *himation*. See Smith and Erim, *Aphrodisias Papers 2*, 41-42.

¹³⁹ Zoilus is described as “freedman of the son of the divine Julius” that is Octavian (not known as Augustus at that time) in the inscription on the stage entrances of the theatre. Erim, *Aphrodisias*, 32.

¹⁴⁰ Smith and Erim, *Aphrodisias Papers 2*, 100-1.

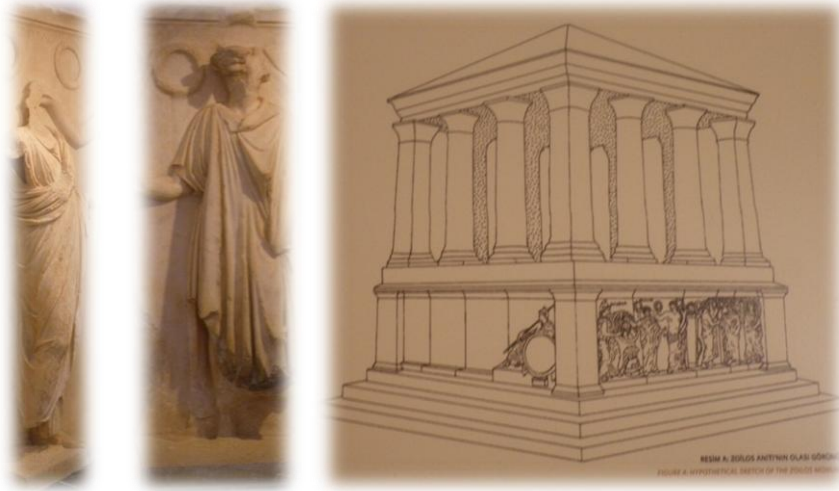


Photo 28: Images of Gaius Julius Zoilus, (a) Roman; (b) traveler and (c) the heroon.¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹ The drawing of this *heroon* is from the display at Aphrodisias Museum.

Coins

From the time of Augustus the number of mints striking coins fluctuates with the change of emperors. In the reign of the Julio-Claudians there were around 150 mints at the time of both Augustus and Nero. In the time of Caligula there were less than fifty.

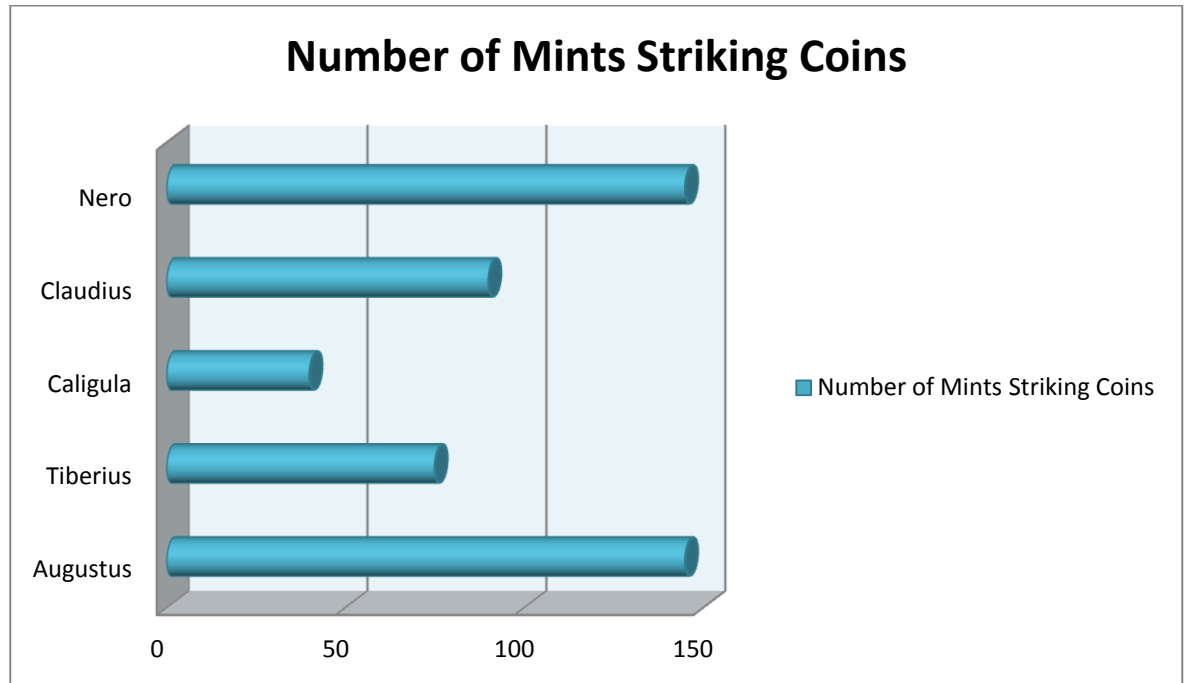


Figure 3: Chart showing the number of Mints Striking Coins during the reign of the Julio-Claudian emperors.¹⁴²

At a glance this chart reflects the importance that both Augustus and Nero placed on having coinage that communicated their image and power throughout the empire.

Simplistically more mints means more coins. In the first century each mint represented a single style in coins.¹⁴³

¹⁴² This chart is adapted from Kenneth Harl's Appendix 1 showing Active Civic Mints from 31 BCE to 276 CE. See Kenneth Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics in the Roman East AD 180-275* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 170.

¹⁴³ This hypothesis is adopted by Harold Mattingly where there is no evidence to suggest that coins of identical patterns were struck from a number of local mints. Mattingly notes a change for the later second century where there is such evidence. See Harold Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum: Vespasian to Domitian*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (London: British Museum Publications Limited, 1976), xii.

Prior to the time of Caesar the obverse of the coin was the realm of the gods.¹⁴⁴ The institution of the reigning emperor on the obverse assisted the perception of the emperor as gods and blurred the lines between humanity and divinity.

An exceptional example of this appears on a coin struck in Rome 62-68 CE where Nero is depicted as Apollo, draped with the flowing robes like the god and holding a *kithara* in his left hand (Photo 29).¹⁴⁵



Photo 29: Illustration of coin: Nero as Apollo.¹⁴⁶

Whatever appeared on the reverse was in the power of, or, an aspect of, the emperor on the other side. This is often affirmed by the inclusion of an alignment with the emperor using the denotation of “AUGUSTI/AUGUSTA/ AUGUSTORUM”.¹⁴⁷

In Colossae, coins from second to the first century BCE were struck with the image of gods. The first has a radiate head of Apollo with a *kithara* on the reverse (Photo 30).¹⁴⁸ The second has a laureate head of Zeus on the obverse and a winged thunderbolt on the reverse (Photo 31).¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁴ A. Wallace Hadriill, "The Emperor and his Virtues," *Historia* 30, no. 3 (1981): 315.

¹⁴⁵ Hadrian replicates this image with himself as Apollo during his reign. Coins bearing Hadrian as Apollo were struck at Smyrna, Sardis and Ephesus mints for dissemination throughout Asia Minor. Larry Kreitzer, *Striking New Images: Roman Imperial Coinage and the New Testament World*, ed. Stanley Porter, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 134 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 207-8. Includes illustration of coin shown at Photo 30.

¹⁴⁶ Kreitzer, *Striking New Images*, 208.

¹⁴⁷ Hadriill, "The Emperor and his Virtues," 315.

¹⁴⁸ "Asia Minor Coins." Coin ID #4471 [accessed 20 September, 2010].

¹⁴⁹ "Asia Minor Coins." Coin ID #7084 [accessed 20 September, 2010].



Photo 30: second-first century BCE, Radiate head of Apollo.¹⁵⁰



Photo 31: second-first century BCE, Laureate head of Zeus.¹⁵¹

These are styled in the manner in use prior to Caesar suggesting that Roman influence had not affected the mint in this locality up to the first century BCE. Colossae exhibits strong Hellenistic character in line with the first mention of “Greek” in the identities listed in Col 3:11. There appears to be no recorded coins for Colossae in the first century CE. Whether their coinage was supplied via Laodikeia is not clear. Coins are again minted bearing “of the Colossians” (ΚΟΛΟCCHΝΩΝ) from the second century CE.¹⁵²

In comparison, Laodikeia has a range of coins for the first century CE. In the reign of Nero 54-68 CE images on the obverse of the coins include the heads of Nero, Agrippina (Nero’s mother), Mên, Demos and Magistrates. On the reverse there are images of Zeus Laodiceus, the *demoi* of Laodikeia and Smyrna and the eagle (Photo 32a). Nero’s head on the same coins as Zeus Laodiceus and the *demoi* of Laodikeia and Smyrna shows him in association with the gods (Photo 32b). He holds the place of the gods on the obverse and indicates his power over and relationship with them.

¹⁵⁰ "Asia Minor Coins." Coin ID #4471 [accessed 20 September 2010].

¹⁵¹ "Asia Minor Coins." Coin ID #7084 [accessed 20 September 2010].

¹⁵² In the Greek rendering of “of the Colossians” the uncial “C” denotes a lunate sigma as it appears on the coins.



Photo 32: (a) Young Nero and Zeus Laodiceus; (b) Nero *homonioia* coin Laodikeia and Smyrna.¹⁵³

Also in the time of Nero a coin struck in Hierapolis echoes the images seen in the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias (Photo 33). Nero's bare head and draped bust on the obverse is associated with the Rape of Persephone on the reverse. It is easy to draw a comparison between Hades carrying off Persephone in his horse-drawn chariot and Nero subduing the nations.



Photo 33: Nero (54-68 CE) and the rape of Persephone.¹⁵⁴

The coins minted in Rome and in the provinces carried depictions of the emperors and their wives continuing the strategy of visually promoting their virtues and identity. In a series of coins in the reign of Tiberius the virtues are literally spelled out in conjunction with depictions of Livia (see Photo 34). She is the personification of *pietas*. The interaction of image and text is conveyed through the draping of Livia's head with a veil on the coin inscribed with the virtue "PIETAS" (Photo 34a). The clothing demonstrates the virtue which is affirmed by the written word. Livia's image is on the reverse of these coins. On the obverse is the decree of the Senate (SC: *Senatus Consulto*) for Tiberius Caesar as Divinus and holding the tribunician powers (TR POT). The relationship of

¹⁵³ Young Nero coin available on Laodikeia page. See "Asia Minor Coins." Coin ID #2545 [accessed 3 October 2010]. *Homonioia* coin of Laodikeia and Smyrna in the time of Nero. SNG Cop 614; "Asia Minor Coins." Coin ID #5514 [accessed 5 September 2009].

¹⁵⁴ This is a rare and perhaps unique coin. See "Asia Minor Coins." Coin ID #4643 [accessed 3 October 2010].

obverse to reverse indicates that Tiberius is attributed with the virtues *pietas*, *iustitia* and *salus augusta* respectively.



Photo 34: (a) Draped Livia, Pietas, 22-23 CE;¹⁵⁵ (b) Crowned Livia, Iustitia, 22-23 CE;¹⁵⁶ (c) Livia, Salus Augusta, 22-23 CE.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ Tiberius Reverse, PIETAS. Minted in Rome. *BMC* 1.133.98. The Fitzwilliam Museum. Accession No: CM.CH.4-R. Ref: 84737.

¹⁵⁶ Tiberius Reverse, IUSTITIA. Minted in Rome. *BMC* 1.131.79. The Fitzwilliam Museum. Accession No: CM.RI.80-R.. Ref: 83953.

¹⁵⁷ Tiberius Reserve, SALUS AVGVSTA. Minted in Rome. *BMC* 1.131.81. The Fitzwilliam Museum. Accession No: CM.RI.81-R. Ref: 83942..

Summary

The examination of the visual imagery of clothing in the Lycus Valley is hampered by the lack of extant remains from the first century CE. The ancient site of Colossae remains unexcavated. Laodikeia and Hierapolis are currently under excavation yet the majority of material culture unearthed so far belongs to later periods. The ravages of earthquakes and reuse of material in rebuilding have taken their toll. It is also apparent that the extent of the proliferation of imperial images was not as concentrated in these more inland cities.

I broadened the investigation to the cities of Ephesus, Aphrodisias and Smyrna which displayed trade and political connections with the Lycus Valley and held significant relationships with Rome. These cities bear the marks of the systematic implementation of strategies to raise the visibility of the emperor in the provinces. Beginning with Augustus, this was an orchestrated renewal of the cultural moral order of Rome. He modelled the values essential to being a Roman citizen symbolised through the wearing of the toga. He replicated his image in statuary which could be employed in Rome and across the provinces of the empire. His plan had merit particularly in Rome where the mandatory wearing of the toga in public arenas reinforced the visual imagery upon the bodies of the Romans. The Romans in the act of clothing put on the virtues of Rome. In the provinces such as Asia Minor the presence of the emperor was signalled through the multiplicity of stereotyped representations strategically located in the public thoroughfares and the civic and sacred precincts of the major provincial cities. In the first century this appears to be more extensive along the western coast regions of Asia Minor. There was little reinforcement of the Roman identity through the wearing of the toga in these cities as that was limited to Roman citizens who only wore them for civic and ceremonial occasions.

The author of Colossians, probably located in Ephesus, was able to reflect more on the clothing imagery context from the place of writing. His experience may have been significantly different to those living in Colossae who had not ventured to major centres such as Ephesus, Aphrodisias or Smyrna.

Within all the cities investigated, the civic honours reflected the strong continuation of Hellenistic virtue and practice which was bound tightly with the *polis* infrastructure. For the most part the images of the Roman emperors were inserted into this Hellenistic scene. The images of Zoilos are of major significance in illustrating a shift to incorporate Roman dress and accompanying virtues into the civic honour visual imagery. The depictions of Zoilos offer a unique insight into the public portrayal of clothing as identity and how a person might honorably span more than one allegiance.

The *himation* with *chiton* combined in either of the two styles, one with the *himation* draped low with a roll of cloth from the right hip to the left forearm, leaving the right shoulder and arm free or, the other “arm-sling” style, carried the shared civic values across the centuries from Classical and Hellenistic times. Of these styles, the arm-sling predominates in the visual culture in Asia Minor and underpins the Roman *virtus*.

The clothing of women emerges as pivotal in defining virtue through clothing. The depictions of women clothed and naked not only define their own virtue but that of men and nations.

The contrast of identities observed through the dress of imperial emperors, Greek elite, local citizens and barbarians accentuates how one defines the other. The meaning of clothing, or lack of it, is made apparent in its relationship to the body, and the identification through the head. It is to this relationship between clothing and body that I now turn.

Chapter 5: The “body” as Visual Location of Identity

Introduction

Current literature engages metaphors of the body which suggest it as writable material. The body is described as being like a surface that can be etched with markings just as a pen scratches ink on a parchment. In one such example the author states: “His body was a map of where he’d been.”¹ A lifetime of surfing had left its impression on this body. Weathered and scarred, muscular and lean, this man’s body reflected the peaks and troughs of his career. By describing his body as a “map” the author assists the mental picture the reader is able to form about this character.

In a similar manner, recent social scientific thought has engaged theories of the body in space and as a surface or a map that can be inscribed.² These concepts of body have grown out of a wealth of scholarship dedicated primarily to women and gender difference. The inscribing of bodies with tattoos and piercing marked out specific identities and group belonging. The body is a primary and easily accessible canvas where identity can be mapped and communicated. In this way the body can be seen as a visual location of identity.

These studies are in the context of the modern world experience of industrialisation and scientific advancement. Such a reality of living is not the experience of those living in Asia Minor in the first century CE. Nevertheless the language and the concepts are useful to interpret the experience of the first century CE. The multiplicity of idealised

¹ Tim Winton, *Breath* (Camberwell: Penguin Books, 2008), 73.

² Linda McDowell, *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 34-70. An eminent contributor to this field is Elizabeth Grosz. See Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Towards a Corporeal Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); Elizabeth Grosz, "Bodies-Cities," in *Sexuality and Space*, ed. B. Columina (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992); Elizabeth Grosz, "Inscriptions and body maps: Representations and the Corporeal," in *Feminine, Masculine and Representation*, ed. T. Threadgold and A. Cranny-Francis (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1990).

and constructed images of bodies in stone, on coin and in art in the ancient world lends itself to an understanding of bodies inscribed with meaning. Immediately the inscription of circumcision on Jewish genitalia comes to mind as an engraving on the body that defines difference and religious identity. Such an inscription relates equally to the individual physical body or to the corporate body of those who are known as Jews. Such an inscription, though, is carried out on the male body so when it is transposed to the corporate or social body of those named as Jewish it means that the female bodies are ascribed to the group yet not inscribed in the same manner as their male counterparts. What is essentially a physical inscription to a physical body becomes a symbolic identifier of the ethnic and religious group. This symbolic identification is adapted by Paul where he suggests that for a Judean, circumcision is a matter of the heart (Rom 2:29). It surfaces again in Col 2:11 where the community members are reminded that they are circumcised with a “spiritual circumcision”.

In this chapter I elucidate the body as a visual location of identity and highlight the relationship between the body and clothing in constructing identity. To do this I examine how the body is represented in the first century CE in relation to individuals and as a corporate social system. I concentrate on how the human physical body of the first century is used as a metaphor for the social body. Interpretation of the replicas of the human physical body of the first century provides an entree into the symbolic meaning of the bodily forms. These representations epitomised the identity of the social body. In the case of personifications, they gave human form to inanimate concepts, allowing them to be the focal point of a collective social identity.

It is difficult to speak of body alone. Clothing and body are intimately linked in the ancient world. Hellenistic sculpture from the archaic period, sixth century BCE, represents this relationship which is then replicated and interpreted by the Romans into the first century CE. This “*kore*” (Photo 35), dated between first century BCE and first century CE from Rome, demonstrates this relationship. Here the drape of the cloth is almost indistinguishable from the young woman’s body in places, particularly as it covers the bust and hugs the lower legs.



Photo 35: Archaistic kore, Italy, first century BCE-first century CE.³

The features of a body reveal gender and ethnic difference. Exaggeration of specific physical traits is possible in the fashioning of images. This art is employed in stereotypes such as barbarians. Clothing adds a classification system that includes gender, social location, and religious designations.⁴ Clothing further defines body from body such as Romans from Greeks, Greeks from barbarians, virtuous from non-virtuous. Clothing, through its association with the body, is a powerful means of constructing identity.

In addressing the body as a visual location of identity I am looking at representative forms and depictions on the statuary, *stelae*, monuments and coins. These public depictions of body construct and form the basis of the model or focus of identity for the social body.

In the previous chapter I outlined the manner in which clothing shaped identity. The clothing on a body representative of a large group defines membership by communicating values, status and power relationships. In this chapter I concentrate on the body, how it was understood in the first century and how one body was distinguished in opposition to another. Within this explication, I address how the ideal body is constructed in contrast to the “other”, the barbarian, slave or captive, body. This highlights how clothing and nakedness of these bodies constitute the mechanics of persuasion in the visual imagery.

³ Gift of Tomas Harris to NGV, 1951, [1045A-D4].

⁴ Jerome H. Neyrey, "A Symbolic Approach to Mark 7 " *Forum* 4, no. 3 (1988): 10.

Finally I conclude how the body acts as a visual location of identity. The field of images available concerning “body” inform and interact with those of “clothing” observed in the previous chapter. The combination of these two image fields forms a visual source for the clothing and body metaphors in the Letter to the Colossians. The summary of their potency in identity construction paves the way for the dialogue between image and text.

Let us begin with an overview of “body” in the first century CE.

The Body in the First Century CE

In relation to a visually constructed identity, the “body” I engage here is the representative body found in statuary, *stelae*, monuments and on coins. These portrayals and descriptions must be understood as subjective and idealised. They are not the full picture of the body as it was understood in the first century CE. These images are deliberately chosen to communicate values and identity. They form a public picture of the body as it is used to construct identity.

In the Lycus Valley in the first century CE there was a diverse range of representations and images of “body”: Greek, Roman and Phrygian, monuments and votives, commemorations of the living and the dead, human forms of the gods, and personifications of state and cities, to name but a few. To cover all the representations of the body in the first century is beyond the scope of this thesis so I have selected a few criteria key to the visual construction of identity which I will subsequently address:

- i Body-types
- ii The Body of the Roman Emperor
- iii Bodies of “Others”: Barbarians and Captives
- iv Social Bodies: Personifications of Nations, States, Cities and “the People”

Body-types

The modelling of body-types for Roman statues often drew from classical Greek sculpture. Greek philosophy expounded the male body as superior to the female. In addition, this philosophy pursued the idea that free men would be those distinguished of body, such as the statues of the gods.⁵ Unfortunately, this was not always borne out in experience. Free men did not always have strong athletic bodies and slaves and barbarians could be of prime physique. Although the human physical body was not compliant with the prevailing philosophy, it was possible to replicate strong, muscular ideal body types in sculpture.

Certainly the statuary of Augustus was etched in the likenesses of Doryphorous of Polyclitus, Apollo and Alexander. Claudius, too, was portrayed as Jupiter. His middle-aged face was incongruent with the muscular, smooth, idealised body of the god.⁶ Dio Cassius (150-235 CE) described Claudius as “sickly in body, so that his head and hands shook”.⁷ The representation of Claudius as Jupiter associated him with the most powerful god, the equivalent of Zeus. Statues of Claudius as Jupiter display him with the type of body appropriate to the ruler of Rome. Together the head and body can be read in terms of the individual portraiture of Claudius as well as the iconography of the idealised body and the allusions to divinity.⁸ This is a form of iconography and intertextuality bringing across the body shape and the meaning ascribed by the connection to the model.⁹ This form of statue Claudius was identified firstly through his head and facial features and associated with the god in divinity and physique. The qualities of Jupiter are transposed to Claudius.

⁵ Aristotle, *Aristotle*, trans. H. Rackman, vol. 21 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1944), 1.1245b.

⁶ Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society*, 49.

⁷ Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, trans. Earnest Cary, Loeb Classic Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924), 7.60.2.

⁸ Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society*, 51.

⁹ Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society*, 236.

The use of body-types for statuary is attested in the contrast of the limited range of body-types found in contrast to the vast number of individualised heads.¹⁰ Pococke recounts an example of the separate head when describing the ten foot statue of a woman at Laodikeia, “the head seems to have been of another piece, there being a socket for it to go in, and, probably it was of a more costly material.”¹¹

Identity is thus commonly linked to the head yet there are significant alignments of identity to be made when the body remains constant for changing heads such as emperors of the Roman empire. The changed head for the succession of a Roman emperor allows for the values of the empire to be continued as a body under a new head. These bodies are distinctly clothed so the differing body types are accompanied by specific styles of dress which convey meaning. The Augustus “Prima Porta” style statue in the Museum at Thessaloniki is reportedly a copy of a bronze statue. It is a stylised half naked hero depiction also described as “Augustus as Jupiter”. The head has been made separately.¹² Another copy of this style statue is held in the Vatican museum where Augustus is clothed in an inscribed cuirass. A replica of this has recently been discovered in Laodikeia in the Lycus Valley.

Body types for statues were used for women as well as men. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the “Pudicitia” and “Large Herculaneum Woman” types emphasised the modesty of women in contrast to the Livia statue where active public involvement is portrayed. The Livia statue shows no indication of a socket for an individually worked head so this was carved in one piece.¹³ The use of body types similar to the Large Herculaneum woman for the virtues ascribed to Tiberius Celsus Polemaeanus at the Celsus Library in Ephesus show a continuing employment of women as the embodiment of virtue. It is clear that these body types also are defined by their clothing.

¹⁰ Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society*, 47.

¹¹ Pococke, “In the East,” 679.

¹² Rev. Dr. Michael Trainor attests the separate head to this statue from his visit to the Museum over a number of years since 2000.

¹³ Lenaghan, “A Statue of Julia Hera Sebaste (Livia),” 39.

The use of body types also alerts us that the head and body of a statue could be conceived separately.¹⁴ They may interact in a complementary way such as with Augustus' use of the model of the body shape of Doryphorous of Polyclitus. The head and face then become the defining features. The identity is located in the head and affirmed and described by the body. The clothing chosen for the body constructs a visual identity congruent with the virtues and values.

The head and the body can also be incongruent as in the case above where Claudius' head has the body of Jupiter. This affirms the fabrication of identity where Claudius is the emperor and head of Rome. His body as Jupiter communicates his identity as Emperor of Rome. It is not his own physical body that portrays the virtue of Rome but the stylised body of a god.

On coins the head is regularly sufficient as identifier. As noted in the previous chapter, after Augustus, the head of the emperor supplanted the head of the gods on the obverse of the coin. The full body and its clothing were recognisable as a composite picture rendering identity, values, status and power relationships.

In summary, the use of body-types allows communication of a particular set of distinguishable values. The repetition of these styles concretises an ideal for the emperor and the regime he represents. Body-types accentuate the use of body and its clothing to construct identity in a systematised manner. Identity is located in the head and qualified by the body type on which it sits.

¹⁴ Peter Stewart suggests that the success of the image is dependent on a separate conception of head and body. See Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society*, 51.

The Body of the Roman Emperor

The physical body of the emperor was inviolable. This distinction, originally claimed by Augustus as part of the tribunician powers (*tribunicia potestas*), was perpetuated by subsequent emperors through to the first century CE and beyond.¹⁵ Augustus extended this inviolability of the physical body (*sacrosanctitas*) to his wife, Livia, and his sister, Octavia. The decree that affirmed their inviolability also declared their privilege to be represented in honorific portraiture. The use of *sacrosanctitas* privileged the bodies of the imperial family with a status and inviolability that set them apart from other people, other bodies. Roman law extended protection beyond the physical bodies of the Imperial family to their images so that beating a slave in the presence of an image of Augustus, changing clothes near his portraits or carrying his image on a coin or a ring into a latrine or brothel became capital crimes punishable by death.¹⁶ Subsequent emperors also adopted the tribunician powers and they are denoted on coins by the abbreviations *trib pot* or *tr p.*¹⁷ In death, when an emperor was overthrown, the emperor's body and its images were no longer protected by *sacrosanctitas* and were vulnerable to mutilation and decapitation.

I have already established the presence of the statuary of the Roman emperors and their families in the cities across the provinces which were part of the Augustan strategy of unity. These statues were continued with individual nuances by successive emperors. The portraits of emperors and their families were, in a unique way, their presence throughout the empire. This shows the fluidity of the sense of "body", where the real physical body and the representation are afforded the same honour and regard.

The body of the emperor was both his physical body and representative of the "*corpus*" of the state and empire. This is illustrated via Augustus as head of the body politic, the state as described by Ovid, one of the poets of that time, where he suggests that the

¹⁵ Eric R. Varner, "Execution in Effigy: Severed Heads and Decapitation Statutes in Imperial Rome," in *Roman Bodies: Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Andrew Hopkins and Maria Wyke (London: The British School at Rome, 2005), 67.

¹⁶ Suetonius, *The Life of Tiberius Nero Caesar/ The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, trans. Alexander Thomson (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1913-18), 58.

¹⁷ Varner, "Execution in Effigy," 67.

imperium possessed a “body” (*corpus*).¹⁸ The metaphor is expanded to parallel *imperium* to “lands” (*terrae*)¹⁹ which possessed an edge (*margo*).²⁰ As the subject of the verb “to rule over” (*regere*)²¹, *imperium* was initiated as a territorial empire.²² After Augustus, Seneca uses the term *corpus imperii*, the body of the empire, and further develops it so that Nero is the head.²³ By the time of Tacitus’ writing, the term *imperium* clearly has geographical boundaries²⁴, parts²⁵ and a vast body (*corpus*)²⁶.

The emperor was head of Rome and Rome was head of the world (*caput mundi*). Thus as head of state, the emperor was linked as head of the world. The head was the location of the power and the identity of the emperor. Primarily this is a male body: the inclusion of female figures incorporates them under a male head.

¹⁸ Ovid, *Tristia*, trans. Arthur Leslie Wheeler, Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, 1924), 2.221-36.

¹⁹ Ovid, *Tristia*, 5.2.47-52.; Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto*, trans. J. A. Richmond (Leipzig: Teubner, 1990), 2.2.61-70.

²⁰ Ovid, *Tristia*, 2.199-204.

²¹ Ovid, *Tristia*, 2.165-6.; Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto*, 3.3.59-62.

²² Richardson argues that this understanding of *imperium* as territorial was in use at least after the time of writing of these poems, that is 8CE. John Richardson, *The Language of Empire: Rome and the Idea of Empire from the Third Century BC to the Second Century AD* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 133.

²³ Seneca, *De Clementia*, 2.2.1.

²⁴ Tacitus, *Annals*, 1.9; 1.11; 2.61.; Tacitus, *Histories*, ed. Alfred Church and William Brodribb, Complete Works of Tacitus (New York: Random House Inc., 1942), 4.48.

²⁵ Tacitus, *Annals*, 13.49.; Publius Cornelius Tacitus, *The Agricola*, trans. Alfred Church and William Brodribb (London: Macmillan and Co., 1869), 24.1.

²⁶ Tacitus, *Histories*, 1.16.

The Bodies of “Others”: Barbarians and Captives

The empire, organized in towns and cities, defined those outside as “uncivilised” and stigmatized them as “barbarians” for they lacked the virtue of *civitas*. What is notable in numismatic iconography is that “barbarians” are recognisable by their physical and unusual physical appearance. The bodies of barbarians are inscribed with difference. The example below (Photo 36) shows the lean angular depiction of an almost naked barbarian kneeling in submission. The head is also angular with a protruding nose and a pointed beard. There is no sign of refinement or strength. The barbarian is everything “other” to the elite refined clean-shaven strong-bodied emperors.



Photo 36: Denarius of Augustus, depicting a Gaul kneeling in submission²⁷

This numismatic iconography is not prevalent in Asia Minor. These images are not struck on the coins minted for the Lycus Valley or Asia Minor in general. These images of captive barbarians may have been carried into these regions via trade and the Roman Army. They are unlikely to have been prolific in this region.

A stele at Uluborlu, north of Burdur, from ancient Pisidia, shows a roughly etched figure of a man holding another man over his head and the inscription includes a name, Gnosilas, and the title “barbaros” shown at the side (Photo 37). These roughly carved figures suggest significant difference in the depiction of barbarian bodies in contrast to those observed of the honoured citizens.

²⁷ Barbara McManus, “VROMA,” <http://www.vroma.org>. [accessed 15 April, 2009]

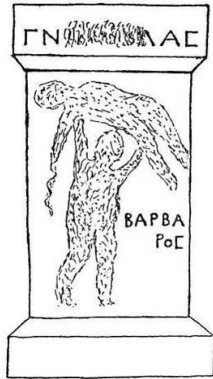


Photo 37: Stele at Uluborlu, Gnosilas – barbaros.²⁸

As seen earlier, some reliefs at Aphrodisias pose barbarians as naked females, stripping them of their own clothing and identity (Photos 8a, 8b, 9). In contrast two captive barbarians are shown standing and clothed. One is a young man and the other a boy (Photo 38a and b).



Photo 38: (a) young boy captive shown in Nero with Captive relief; (b) Young man captive shown with Tiberius, both at Aphrodisias.²⁹

In Photo 38a the young boy who appears with Nero is clothed with the trousers of a barbarian. The young captive barbarian is shown with his hands bound behind him. His trousers are visible below the lower part of his tunic. His clothing is contrasted to Nero as “naked hero” and the military trophy. Nero holds the orb of the world in his left hand indicating he is the ruler of the world. The trophy asserts his victory over the barbarians.

²⁸ MAMA IV, 64.128, Fig 19

²⁹ Full panel photos shown at 11a and b.

Nero towers over the boy barbarian. He represents the might of the empire vested in him as an individual and as head of Rome. The young captive represents the youth of all barbarian nations as captive of the ruler of the world. There is no cowering here. This is a dignified captivity.

The captive alongside (Photo 38b) is a muscular young man, his hands bound behind him. He wears the trousers of barbarians and a cloak. He is diminished in stature beneath the raised arm of Tiberius. This also is depiction of a dignified captivity under the acceptance of the authority of the emperor.



Photo 39: Bound captive, Aphrodisias.

These more noble depictions are countered by another captive, bound to a stake and kneeling (Photo 39). The face is manly in feature. The body is that of a female in the manner of other depictions of the conquered nations. The clothing drapes leaving a breast uncovered, reminiscent of Amazons. The captive's arms are bound to a stake. With one knee raised it is clear the barbarian is kneeling. This figure is in the lowest position in the relief, diminished in size under the trophy and only knee height to the striding goddess inscribing the trophy above.

In the main, bodies representative of barbarians appear without strength, often female and in smaller proportion to other figures. They are often naked or with only strips of clothing material. Any clothing, such as trousers, serves to identify them as other and barbarian. The bodies of barbarians at times depict specific ethnic groups such as shown

of Nero's victory over Armenia or Claudius' conquest of Britannia. In other depictions the captive barbarian is indicative of anyone other than a Roman.

Social Bodies: Personifications of nations, states, cities and “the people”

The Greek πόλις, or city, was the fundamental structure of identity and cohesion for the ancient world. It delineated the functionality of state, citizens and well-being.³⁰ The citizens of the city, “the people” were personified as Demos (Δῆμος) from as early as the fourth century BCE. A cult to Demos was first attested in the first century BCE at Magnesia ad Maendrum.³¹ By the end of the first century CE in Asia Minor the Greek cities were still largely culturally intact yet needed to reassert their status under Roman rule. The Romans appropriated many of the Greek personifications but also created new ones for cities and provinces. The virtues of *concordia* and *homonoia* were played out by personifications of the social bodies in the visual culture.

I return here to the Zoilos monument at Aphrodisias, discussed in the previous chapter, to highlight the personifications depicted. Zoilus is honoured, by both the personifications of the Demos and the Polis. The people of the city, the citizens, are represented in one body of the male personification of Demos (Δῆμος) (Photo 40).



Photo 40: Zoilus Frieze with Demos on the left and Polis on the right of Zoilus in his traveling attire.

³⁰ John Paul Lotz, "The *Homonoia* Coins of Asia Minor and Ephesians 1:21," *Tyndale Bulletin* 50, no. 2 (1999): 176.

³¹ J. Rufus Fears, "The Cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, ed. Hildegard Temporini, Wolfgang Haase, and Victor Ehrenberg (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1981), 852.

As seen in the drawing (Photo 41) below Zoilus is flanked by Demos to the left and Polis to the right. These personifications are identified by the Greek inscriptions at the top of the reliefs: “ΔΗΜΟΣ” and “ΠΟΛΙΣ”. Zoilus is wearing traveller’s clothes. Conceivably this indicates that it is his travels between Aphrodisias and Rome which have contributed honour and prosperity to the city of Aphrodisias. His benefaction proliferated from his successful trade. This set of reliefs also honours Zoilus as a Roman citizen. The body of Zoilos, clothed separately as Greek and Roman, embodies the virtue of *concordia*, the new relationships under the Roman regime.

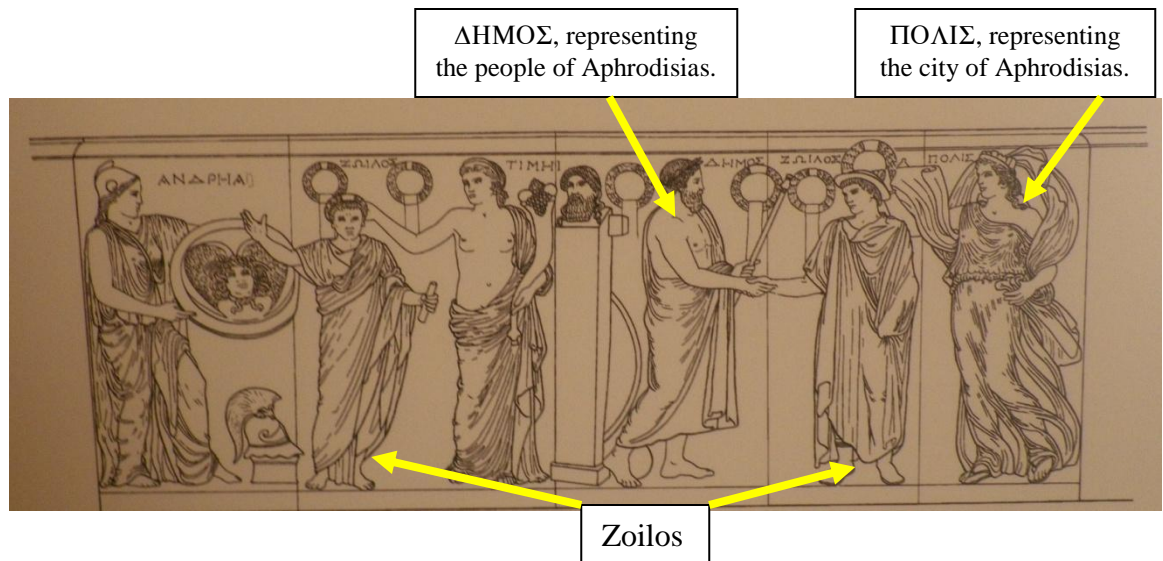


Photo 41: Illustration of the Zoilos relief at the Aphrodisias Museum

The Laodikeian coin below reveals the city of Laodikeia represented by the head of Demos (Photo 42). The identity of the city is focused in the head and the clothing is assumed. On the obverse is Zeus holding an eagle on his right hand.



Photo 42: Laodikeia, in time of Nero (54-68 CE), Demos Laodikean and Zeus Laodikeus.³²

³² Note the similarity of this coin with Photo 32a where the young Nero appears on the obverse with the same reverse of Zeus Laodikeus. Nero replaces the Demos. "Asia Minor Coins." Coin ID #5612 [accessed 11 August 2009].

Dio Chrysostom (c.40-120 CE) uses the body to exemplify concord in a city expounding the strength of a city that uses all the eyes, ears and mouths of its citizens in unity of purpose, for “that body which is in sound health finds advantage in its height and bulk, while the body which is diseased and in poor condition finds a physical state of that kind to be most perilous and productive of severest risk”.³³

Typically in the Lycus Valley, “*homonoia*” (ὁμόνοια) coins representing “political concord” or alliance between rival cities show the two cities on the reverse personified by the gods or goddesses of that city, holding hands. The *homonoia* coin for Laodikeia with Hierapolis is dated between 117 and 135 CE and the one for Colossae with Aphrodisias is dated to the late second century CE.³⁴

The example of the relationship between Laodikeia and Smyrna (Photo 32b), shows the cities represented by the two δῆμοι clasping hands. On the obverse, the head of the Emperor appears. The virtues of “*concordia*” in Rome and “*homonoia*” in Greece were political ideals that were personified in goddesses whose clothed images represented their virtue. Yet these are not characteristically found on the coins of the Lycus Valley. The concord or alliance is indicated by the agreement by hand-shake of the gods/goddesses representing the cities. In the first century CE Plutarch indicated that the greatest responsibility of a politician was to instil “concord and friendship among those who dwell together”.³⁵ This was echoed by one of his contemporaries, Dio Chrysostom, who extended the meaning of *homonoia* from the personal to the cosmic, seeing it as the bond of friendship and harmony that not only existed between husband and wife and

³³ Dio Chrysostom, *The Thirty-ninth Discourse: On Concord in Nicaea upon the Cessation of Civil Strife*, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946), 5.

³⁴ For the *homonoia* coin of Laodikeia and Hierapolis see "Asia Minor Coins." Laodikeia (AD 117-138), Coin ID #2247 [accessed 24 May 2011]. For further details of the Aphrodisias and Colossae alliance coin see MacDonald, "The Homonoia of Colossae and Aphrodisias," 26. In addition *homonoia* coins were struck for Hierapolis and Tripoli in 218-22 CE and between Hierapolis and Ephesus in both 253-60 CE and 244-49 CE. See "Asia Minor Coins." Hierapolis (AD 218-222) Coin ID #2895, Hierapolis (AD 244-49) Coin ID #4651, Hierapolis (AD 253-60) Coin ID #7300 [accessed 24 May 2011]. Also an alliance medallion linking Laodikeia and Tripoli was struck 244-49 CE. See Cornelius C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1968), 164, Fig. 99.

³⁵ Plutarch, "Praecepta gerendae reipublicae," in *Moralia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), 824D.

family members, but also to the fundamental bonds that held the elements of the universe together.³⁶

On this same example (Photo 32b), the use of the head of Nero and the full-bodied representations of the *demoi* has the impression of making the representative cities smaller in stature than the emperor who reigns over the alliance. The handshake of friendship between the *demoi* under the head of Rome, Nero, shows their incorporation and collaboration together under the rule of Rome. The *demoi* shake hands through the letters “ΟΜΗΡΟΣ”. The meaning of this word is marriage or bond of unity.³⁷ This coin struck in the style of *homonioia* indicates an even stronger bond between these cities.³⁸

Where Demos represented the citizens of a Greek *polis*, cities such as Rome could also be personified. Such personifications indicate an intersection of body and place. If Rome can be represented by a female figure, modestly clad, both the body and the clothing reveal something of the nature of the place and communicate virtues and identity. Augustus had equated the avoidance of Roman dress by Romans with the abandonment of the Roman way of life and he re-instituted the *toga* for men and the *stola*, for women. These pieces of clothing charged the wearers with their roles: civic role as “master of the world” for the Roman male, and private role as “protector (*custos*) of her body, its sexuality and her husband’s house/hold” for the Roman female.³⁹ Augustus as the head of Rome epitomised “master of the world” in his togate representations, yet Roma, the personification of Rome, a female body dressed in the *stola*, essentially became “the guardian of Rome itself”.⁴⁰ Such an intersection of body and place assists in understanding how city/state shapes the body and vice versa.⁴¹

³⁶ Chrysostom, *Orations*, 38. 11, 15.

³⁷ Liddell et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon*.

³⁸ Barclay Head, "Digital Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics," www.smbble.org/coins/hn. [accessed 9 November 2010]

³⁹ Sebesta, "Women's Costume," 107.

⁴⁰ Sebesta expands this idea to encompass all females dressed in *stola*. See Sebesta, "Women's Costume," 114.

⁴¹ Elizabeth Grosz, *Space, Time and Perversion: Essays on the Politics of Bodies* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 104.

As seen in the previous chapter, this representation (Photo 43) in Aphrodisias is suggested as the personification of Rome.⁴² The female figure proudly wears the *stola*, as a sign of respectability and tradition and is also draped with the *palla*, a cloak usually worn over the tunic when in public and also signifying respectability. This “personification” is arguably the portrait of the mother of Augustus, who in this picture embodies the respectability and guardianship of Rome as mother of the head of Rome. Her hand towards the head of Augustus, she crowns him in the same pose as another of the reliefs where Nero is crowned by Agrippina. The reiteration of the pose magnifies Nero’s emulation of Augustus.



stola – long sleeveless tunic, usually suspended by straps at the shoulders

palla – long cloak worn over tunic

Photo 43: Personification of Rome at right, Aphrodisias.⁴³

Further intersection of body and place occurs through the Emperor who is head of Rome. The Emperor in physical body and representation is the image of all that is Rome and the empire. Augustus is the “naked hero”(Photo 8a). His right hand is laid upon a representation of the armour of victory, the clothing of power. His naked, upright and strong body is in contrast to the cowering naked female figure located underneath the armour. She is subdued under all the power of the armed might of the Emperor who is representative of Rome.⁴⁴

⁴² Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period*, Plate 201.

⁴³ Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period*, Plate 201.

⁴⁴ The photo of the full relief is shown at Photo 8a.

Claudius, Emperor 41-54 CE, is also depicted as head of Rome as he is crowned by the People of Rome or the Senate. Claudius is “naked hero” and the People of Rome is togate. The power and virtue of Rome is represented through the clothing of the toga that is worn by the representative body of the People of Rome. Claudius holds the hand of his wife Agrippina, indicating the partnership that brings forth the succeeding emperor, Nero (Photo 44). Agrippina is the fourth wife of Claudius and Nero is her son, step-son of Claudius.



Photo 44: Claudius, holding the hand of Agrippina, crowned by the People of Rome/Senate, Aphrodisias.

In contrast, Nero is not depicted as crowned by the Roman People. This is striking as he is proclaimed as the head of the body of Rome.⁴⁵ Nero is crowned by Agrippina bearing a large cornucopia (Photo 45). She resembles Fortune (*Fortuna* or Tyche (Τύχη)). Indeed she is the good fortune for Nero being Emperor. As the great grand-daughter of the divine Augustus, Agrippina crowns Nero with the “civic crown” (*corona civica*).⁴⁶ Augustus was awarded this honour by the Senate in the form of a wreath above his door. Originally this honour was awarded to a Roman who saved the life of a fellow citizen in war and slayed the enemy.⁴⁷ The original honour required the fellow citizen who was saved to name his saviour as “father” (*pater*). The crowning of Nero by Agrippina

⁴⁵ Seneca, *De Clementia*.1.5.2-3, 2.2.1

⁴⁶ The figure crowning Nero is identified as his mother in Ilgum and Smith, eds., *Afrodisyas Sebasteion*, 20.

⁴⁷ Ittai Gradel suggests that the original meaning of the crown may have been lost by the time of Augustus. The allusions to Jupiter remained recognisable. See Ittai Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 50.

connects Nero to Augustus. The crown further asserts this connection. Nero is represented as the father of Rome, having the authority over all.

Nero is dressed in the cuirassed style rather than “naked hero” as with Augustus and Claudius. Dressed in this manner, Nero replicates the personification of Rome, *Roma*, in imperial battle dress. The helmet on the ground to the left of Nero further affirms his battle dress image. This clothing imagery supplants Nero as the personification of Rome. He is clearly the head of the body of Rome.



Photo 45: (a) Nero crowned by Agrippina; (b) Roma in battle dress.

Among the reliefs at Aphrodisias one shows a draped goddess, possibly Honour, Virtue or Courage, inscribing a trophy (Photo 46a).⁴⁸ This imagery of inscribing the clothing on the trophy with victory illustrates clothing communicating honour and virtue. The Augustus of Prima Porta statue (Photo 46b) displays inscriptions of this kind. It is a significant example of the continuing imaging of Rome with the addition of the scenes of the victory of Rome over the Parthians added to this marble statue.⁴⁹ Inscribed on the body of Augustus, via his clothing, is the unity through victory, embodied in the emperor.

⁴⁸ Ilgim and Smith, eds., *Aphrodisias Sebasteion*, 70.

⁴⁹ The marble statue likely set up in 15 CE, the year after Augustus' death, was found in Livia's house and is a copy of the original bronze created in celebration of the return in 20 BCE of the standards captured by the Parthians in 53 BCE.



Photo 46: (a) Goddess inscribing trophy, Aphrodisias; (b) Augustus of Prima Porta.⁵⁰

It is clear that the human body is used metaphorically for social, political and religious bodies. Indeed the metaphor of body was a favourite of the Stoics to describe proper human relationships as a universal humanity.⁵¹ But what “body” is this? Is this “body” amorphous, without gender, ethnicity or status? In a symbolic sense it is possible to conceive of the body as a sum of its constituent members such as head, torso, legs and arms that is an asexual form of indeterminate ethnic origin. Yet this is not the image that is found as representative of the Roman empire.

⁵⁰ Celal Şimşek, "Laodikeia 'da Tekstil Üretimi," *Ekol* 2009, Resim (Picture) 10. Photo from Vatican Museum in Rome made colourful as it may have appeared in its original state.

⁵¹ Runar Thorsteinsson, "The Role of Morality in the Rise of Roman Christianity," in *Exploring Early Christian Identity*, ed. Bengt Holmberg (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 150.

Summary

As we have seen above, the bodies are representations of emperors and their families, civic benefactors, local heroes, barbarians, personifications of virtue and state/city and images of gods. The multiplicity of images indicates a fluidity of thought in relation to body so that “body” can be seen to take on different forms and shapes and is not a static entity. For this reason the term “embodiment” is useful in describing the relationship of body as anatomy and body as social identity.⁵² These representations of bodies are variously clothed and naked, denoting the intrinsic link between clothing and body in communicating social identity and the embodiment of virtue.

In the depictions from Aphrodisias the visible conception of the Roman identity is seen as victorious and powerful, clothed in the virtue espoused in the person of the Emperor. Those outside the empire were naked and “other” yet could be “saved” by becoming clothed in the virtues of the empire, constrained by its rules.

The array of bodies in the statues, coins, *stelae* and monuments reveal unequal membership in the “body” of Rome. The unity provided in the peace of *Pax Romana* is an uneasy picture of the submission and oppression of some and the privileged place of others. The gallery at Aphrodisias acts like a panorama of the membership of the body of the Roman regime. There is tension evident in this construction of identity. The multiplicity of images shows the body as representative of a group identity. The emperor with his sacrosanct status secured his place at the heart of that identity. For its tension, the Roman regime held power.

These last two chapters comprised the second part of my thesis dealing with the imagery of clothing and body in the cities associated with the Letter to the Colossians. The structured system of images which communicated identity supplies one side of the dialogue between images and text. We now move to frame the other side of this dialogue through the investigation of clothing and body imagery in Col 3:1-17. For this part of my thesis I apply the socio-rhetorical approach outlined in the methodology.

⁵² This draws on the definition of terms of body and embodiment as outlined by McDowell, *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies*, 39.

Chapter 6:

Letter to the Colossians 3:1-17

Introduction

Having examined the images of clothing and body as they constructed identity in the first century CE in the Lycus Valley, let us now concentrate specifically on the Letter to the Colossians and then Col 3:1-17. I begin with a brief overview of the letter situating this text within its framework. Then I employ my adaptation of Vernon Robbin's socio-rhetorical approach as outlined in the methodology (Chapter 2). This approach operates at multiple levels of literary meaning within the social and cultural context of the letter. These levels are organised in a complex series of multifaceted lenses referred to as "arenas of texture":

- i inner texture
- ii intertexture
- iii social and cultural texture
- iv ideological texture
- v sacred texture.¹

Taking one arena of texture at a time I build an aggregation of images into a network of meaning. The result of this exegesis provides a basis for the dialogue with the visual imagery of clothing and body identified in Part II (Chapters 3-4).

I concentrate specifically on how the metaphorical use of clothing and body in Col 3:1-17 operates to construct the identity of the members of the Christ community as the body of Christ. I maintain that the imagery in the text is informed by the idealised and representative images of clothing and body apparent in the cities of Lycus Valley and their regional partners in the first century CE. I engage options within the five arenas of texture of the socio-rhetorical approach to highlight what I see as the key elements of

¹ These arenas of texture were outlined in Chapter 2. See also Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 120-31.

this visual construction of identity in Colossians: the focus of the identity, that is, Christ (Χριστός); clothing imagery; and, body as individual and representative of group.

At the beginning of each section, as I address a new arena of texture, I offer a brief reminder of that arena. I also name which specific perspectives I have chosen from those suggested by Robbins as useful for the investigation.² There are multiple strands in each section. Each of the strands is addressed in relation to the key elements of the visual construction of identity. Due to the intricacy of this I map a way through the process with a series of headings and summaries. Although complex, the benefit is the richness and depth of meaning afforded by such expansive interpretation.

The focus text for this exegesis is Col 3:1-17 where the clothing imagery describes how the Christ communities at Colossae and Laodikeia, and conceivably at Hierapolis, are recognisably identified in the body of Christ.³ Within this text is a list of distinguishable identities noted as “Greek and Judean, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, slave, free” that are encompassed within the identity of the body of Christ (Col 3:11). Overarching these is the context of a community subject to the reign of the Roman emperors, who since Augustus, were actively involved in constructing an identity centred on their own persona.

Before entering the heart of the process I provide an outline to the whole letter along with my own translation of the focus text.

The Letter to the Colossians

The Letter to the Colossians is written “to the holy ones and faithful brothers and sisters in Christ in Colossae” (Col 1:2). In the cosmopolitan community of Colossae a significant Judean community underscores the predominance of Hellenism and the

² Within each arena Robbins identifies various categories to assist interpretation. These have been described in the Methodology (Chapter 2).

³ The Christ followers at Colossae are instructed that the Letter to the Colossians is to be read also in the assembly of the Laodikeians (4:16). In addition, Epaphras is attested as working hard for those in Laodikeia and Hierapolis (4:13) which indicates a link between the communities and the likelihood of sharing of teaching and letters such as this.

presence of indigenous Phrygians. In continuity with the pattern of development of Χριστός or Christ communities in the Pauline tradition, “the holy ones and faithful brothers and sisters” are identified “in Christ” and originated in the Judean diaspora. The Judean influence in the Christ communities in Colossae and the Lycus Valley is observed through the mention of circumcision (Col 2:15) and Sabbath (Col 2:16).

Following the characteristic style of letters in the Pauline Corpus, this letter begins with a greeting to the recipients and a thanksgiving, appertains its arguments to the body and concludes with final greetings. Depending on the dating of the letter it may be the earliest letter to include the distinctive “household code”.⁴

The following outline of the letter takes into account the scholarship that has examined the text for its natural breaks and assigned headings in keeping with their reading of the text.⁵ My breakdown is named specifically to highlight the elements of the text that give reference to the construction of the identity of the Christ followers in the community that is the corporate body of Christ.

⁴ Colossians appears in some of the earliest and most reliable manuscripts such as the collection of papyri most usually dated to around 200 CE known as P⁴⁶. More recently P⁴⁶ has been dated to the later first century CE. The palaeographical evaluation of P⁴⁶ revealed that a specific group of forms were distinguished from the dominant group of forms since the time of Domitian. These are form of “α” “β” “ε” “μ” “ρ” “υ” and “ω”. This means that P⁴⁶ was written before the reign of Domitian, that is, before 81 CE. Two significant fourth century codices, Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus, also include Colossians. For further explanation and outlines of these forms see Young Kyu Kim, "Paleographical Dating of P⁴⁶ to the Later First Century," *Biblica* 69 (1988): 248-57. The debate continues with Bruce W. Griffin refuting this early dating in a paper given at Society of Biblical Literature (SBL) in 1996. See Bruce W. Griffin, "The Paleographic Dating of P-46," in *Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting* (New Orleans 1996). Available online <http://www.biblical-data.org/P-46%20Oct%201997.pdf> [accessed 24 May 2011].

⁵ For a diagrammatic representation of the outlines proposed by four contemporary scholars see Appendix 3. See also MacDonald, *Colossians and Ephesians*, v-vi; Leppa, *The Making of Colossians*, 7-8; Sumney, *Colossians*, vii-viii; Douglas Moo, *The Letters to the Colossians and Philemon* (Grand Rapids, Mich/Cambridge, UK: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company/Apollos, 2008), vi.

Greeting

1:1-2 Greeting identifying Paul and the holy ones of Colossae in Christ

Thanksgiving

1:3-8 Thanksgiving for the connection of faith in Christ Jesus bonded in love for all the saints

1:9-14 Prayer for knowledge of God

Body

1:15-23 The identity of Christ

1:24-29 The mystery of Christ in Paul's mission to the saints and gentiles

1:24-2:7 2:1-5 Hope for Colossae and Laodikeia – united in love

2:6-7 In Christ

2:8-15 Centred on Christ

2:16-23 Hold to Christ, nothing else matters

3:1-7 Your life is in Christ, put to death earthly things

3:1-17 3:8-14 Clothe yourselves as the body of Christ

3:15-17 Be as Christ

3:18-4:1 Household code

4:2-6 Be a community of prayer and thanksgiving

Final Greetings

4:7-18 Greetings and connections within the "body"

The Focus Text 3:1-17

The clothing imagery lies in the verses 3:8-14 yet I have chosen to include verses 1-17 in the focus text. Including the broader range of verses allows us to see the centrality of Christ to the identity of the community and the relationship of the clothing imagery to membership in the body of Christ.

¹ Εἰ οὖν συνηγέρθητε τῷ Χριστῷ, τὰ ἄνω ζητεῖτε, οὗ ὁ Χριστός ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ καθήμενος·

² τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖτε, μὴ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

³ ἀπεθάνατε γὰρ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν κέκρυπται σὺν τῷ Χριστῷ ἐν τῷ θεῷ.

⁴ ὅταν ὁ Χριστὸς φανερωθῇ ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν, τότε καὶ ὑμεῖς σὺν αὐτῷ φανερωθήσεσθε ἐν δόξῃ.

⁵ Νεκρώσατε οὖν τὰ μέλη τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, πορνείαν ἀκαθαρσίαν πάθος

¹ Since then you have been raised with Christ, seek the things that are above, where Christ is, seated at the right hand of God.

² Set your minds on things that are above, not on things upon the earth,

³ for you have died, and your life is hidden with Christ in God.

⁴ When Christ who is your life is revealed, then you also will be revealed with him in glory.

⁵ Put to death, therefore, the bodily frame upon the earth,⁶ namely sexual immorality, impurity, passion, evil desire, and the

⁶ This phrase of “bodily frame upon the earth” is more literally translated as “limbs that are upon the earth”. Both translations capture the allusion to body parts and the repetition in the Greek of τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. τὰ μέλη is suggested as “bodily frame” in Liddell et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon*. This reading relies on τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς being taken in apposition to τὰ μέλη. Another rendering is an adjectival use of τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς thus describing the limbs as “earthly limbs” in the sense being used for earthly purposes. See Murray Harris, *Colossians and Philemon*, Exegetical Guide to the New Testament (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991), 146. An alternative interpretation that takes τὰ μέλη as vocative rather than accusative is really unworkable, although possible. This option is discussed in Nigel Turner, *Grammatical Insights into the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1965), 105; Harris, *Colossians and Philemon*, 145-46.

ἐπιθυμίαν κακὴν, καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν,
ἣτις ἐστὶν εἰδωλολατρία,

⁶ δι' ἃ ἔρχεται ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ [ἐπὶ
τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας].

⁷ ἐν οἷς καὶ ὑμεῖς περιπατήσατέ ποτε,
ὅτε ἐζῆτε ἐν τούτοις·

⁸ νυνὶ δὲ ἀπόθεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ πάντα,
ὀργὴν, θυμόν, κακίαν, βλασφημίαν,
αἰσχρολογίαν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ὑμῶν·

⁹ μὴ ψεύδεσθε εἰς ἀλλήλους,
ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον
σὺν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ

¹⁰ καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον τὸν
ἀνακαινούμενον εἰς ἐπίγνθσιν κατ'
εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν,

¹¹ ὅπου οὐκ ἔστι Ἕλληνας καὶ Ἰουδαῖος,
περιτομὴ καὶ ἀκροβυστία, βάρβαρος,

greed that is idolatry,⁷

⁶ on account of these the wrath of God is
coming [upon the children of
disobedience].⁸

⁷ Among whom you also walked then,⁹
when you were living in that way;¹⁰

⁸ but now you must lay aside all these
things: wrath, rage, wickedness, slander
and obscene speech from your mouth.

⁹ Do not lie to one another, seeing that you
have stripped off the old self with its
practices

¹⁰ and have clothed yourselves with the
new self which is being renewed in full
knowledge according to the image of its
creator,

¹¹ where there is no Greek and Judean,
circumcision and uncircumcision,

⁷ This string of accusatives can be considered in apposition to τὰ μέλη agreeing in case but not in number. See Harris, *Colossians and Philemon*, 146.

⁸ Literally “upon the sons of disobedience”.

⁹ The translation of this phrase depends on whether the previous phrase is included or not. My translation works on the assumption that it is.

¹⁰ Literally, “in these things” or “among them” referring to the list of vices when “upon the children of disobedience” is omitted but here “among whom” refers to the children of disobedience.

Σκυθήης, δοῦλος, ἐλεύθερος, ἀλλὰ [τὰ] πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν Χριστός.

¹² Ἐνδύσαθε οὖν, ὡς ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἅγιοι καὶ ἠγαπημένοι, σπλάγχθα οἰκτιρμοῦ χρηστότητα ταπεινοφροσύνην πραύτητα μακροθυμίαν,

¹³ ἀνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλων καὶ χαριζόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς ἐάν τις πρὸς τίνα ἔχη μομφήν· καθὼς καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐχαρίσατο ὑμῖν, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς·

¹⁴ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν δὲ τούτοις τὴν ἀγάπην, ὅ ἐστιν σύνδεσμος τῆς τελειότητος.

¹⁵ καὶ ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Χριστοῦ βραβεύετω ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν, εἰς ἣν καὶ ἐκλήθητε ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι· καὶ εὐχάριστοι γίνεσθε.

¹⁶ Ὁ λόγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνοικεῖτω ἐν ὑμῖν πλουσίως, ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ διδάσκοντες καὶ νουθετοῦντες ἑαυτούς, ψαλμοῖς ὕμνοις ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς ἐν [τῇ] χάριτι ᾄδοντες ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν τῷ Θεῷ·

barbarian, Scythian, slave, free, but Christ is all and in all.

¹² Therefore, as God's chosen, holy and beloved, clothe yourselves with the heart of compassion, kindness, humility, gentleness and patience,

¹³ bearing with one another and graciously forgiving each other if anyone might have a complaint towards another; just as the Lord graciously forgave you, you also do the same;

¹⁴ and over all of these, (clothe yourselves with) love, which is the bond of maturity.¹¹

¹⁵ Let the peace of Christ rule in your hearts, into which also you were called in one body; and be thankful

¹⁶ Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly, teaching and admonishing each other in all wisdom, singing in gratitude in your hearts to God with psalms, hymns, spiritual songs;

¹¹ τελειότης is usually translated as completeness but also means maturity of persons. In Col 1:28 the mission of Paul is to present everyone mature (τέλειος) in Christ and in Col 4:12 Epaphras is wrestling in prayers so that the community stands mature (τέλειος).

¹⁷ καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἐν ἔργῳ, πάντα ἐν
ὀνόματι κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, εὐχαριστοῦντες
τῷ Θεῷ πατρὶ δι' αὐτοῦ.

¹⁷ and all that anyone might do in word or
deed, all in the name of Lord Jesus,
through him giving thanks to God the
Father.

In light of this translation I now engage the arenas of texture.

Inner Texture

The inner texture resides in the verbal texture of the text and examines the way that the words are used and repeated, observing patterns, voices and structures that construct meaning. My engagement with the inner texture centres on the words that signify and construct identity especially in relation to clothing imagery and body.

Beginning with a simple observation of the repetitive texture of words, the high proportion of the use of Χριστός (Christ), and Θεός (God), attracts attention as the centrepiece of this pericope 3:1-17 (see Figure 4).¹²

1	τῷ Χριστῷ	ὁ Χριστός		τοῦ Θεοῦ
2				
3	τῷ Χριστῷ			τῷ Θεῷ
4		ὁ Χριστός		
5				
6				τοῦ Θεοῦ
7				
8				
9				
10				
11		Χριστός		
12				τοῦ Θεοῦ
13				
14				
15			τοῦ Χριστοῦ	
16			τοῦ Χριστοῦ	τῷ Θεῷ
17				τῷ Θεῷ
				κυρίου
				Ἰησοῦ

Figure 4: Table of Progression of Identities of Christ and God in Colossians 3:1-17.

In these verses Χριστός appears alone, unaccompanied by Ἰησοῦς (Jesus). Ἰησοῦς, is linked to κύριος (Lord) in verse 17 identifying “Lord Jesus” distinctly from the κύριοι (masters or lords) of the household code that follows. The highest concentration of Χριστός occurs in the opening lines of the pericope, four times in four verses and in a repeated pattern. Similarly in the opening verses of the letter, Χριστός, is found four times in four verses. Here it is coupled with Ἰησοῦς in three of the uses. In contrast, in

¹² For the examination of the repetitive texture of words I use the Greek as the primary text. This means that in this section I have reversed the usual convention of providing the English word with Greek translation in brackets as observed in the rest of this document. Instead I give the Greek word with the English translation in brackets.

the first four verses of Chapter 3 Χριστός not only stands alone but in two of the instances becomes ὁ Χριστός, (the Christ), the only uses of this form in this letter:

1:1	Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ	3:1	τῷ Χριστῷ, ὁ Χριστός
1:2	ἐν Χριστῷ	3:2	
1:3	Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	3:3	τῷ Χριστῷ
1:4	ἐν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ	3:4	ὁ Χριστός

Furthermore, Θεός (God), appears three times in the first four verses of the letter and twice in the first four lines of Chapter 3 demonstrating a focus on Christ setting the identity of the group in Christ and also in relation to God.¹³ The reiteration of Χριστός in the opening lines of the letter centres the attention on Christ. The repeat of this concentration in Chapter 3 accentuates a purposeful placement of Christ at the heart of this letter and chapter.

Widening the scope of our attention to the concentration of usage of Χριστός in the rest of the letter reveals that in Col 1:24-2:7 Χριστός occurs almost every two verses.¹⁴ These verses, written in first person, follow the inclusion of “Paul” as the identifier of “I” in Col 1:23. This identification of the gospel with Paul authenticates the teaching of Epaphras who has handed it on to the Colossians and sets the scene for the authenticity of their identity in Christ.

In the passage immediately following Col 3:1-17, κύριος (Lord) occurs six times in nine verses and Χριστός (Christ) appears only once in conjunction with κύριος (Lord). These verses, Col 3:18-4:1, are those of the household code and the use of κύριος as “Lord” is juxtaposed with κύριοι as masters and is clearly delineated with the use of κύριος Χριστός (Lord Christ) in Col 3:24. The change in frequency of Χριστός in conjunction with the use of κύριος indicates a different emphasis.

¹³ Jerry Sumney notes the concentration of the use of “Christ” in Colossians 3:1-4 as emphasis on “the centrality of Christ for the believers” reception of eschatological blessings.” Sumney, *Colossians*, 183.

¹⁴ For the Table of Christ Identity Progression in Colossians see Appendix 1.

Repetitive use of words identifying Christ is not unexpected in letters to communities centred on Christ. Such repetition is in line with the collective identity of groups in the ancient world. How the usage in Colossians differs or follows that in other letters of the Pauline tradition will be explored further when examining the oral-scribal intertexture.

These repetitive textures in the text are not conclusive but confirm a centring of the identity of the groups on Christ. In the Letter to the Colossians where identity emerges as an issue, the repetition enhances the focus on the identity of the group of followers as ἐν Χριστῷ, (in Christ, 1:2, 28); ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, (in Christ Jesus, 1:4); σὺν Χριστῷ, (with Christ, 2:20) and τῷ Χριστῷ, (with Christ, 3:1, 3). The identity is balanced with ὁ Χριστός ἐν ὑμῖν (Christ in you, 1:27) and [τὰ] πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν Χριστός (Christ is all and in all, 3:11). The article is only used twice with Χριστός in 3:1 and 3:4.

Significant individuals and arguably leaders and models of the identity of Christ are described: Apostle of Christ (Paul, 1:1), faithful minister of Christ (Epaphras, 1:7) and slave of Christ (Epaphras, 4:12). Tychicus is also named faithful minister and fellow slave in the Lord (Col 4:7) which in the sense of “you serve the Lord Christ” (Col 3:24) includes him with Epaphras and Paul.

The phrase ἐν Χριστῷ (in Christ) is noted as one of Paul’s favoured terms. In Colossians the repetitive pattern of Χριστός creates an auditory effect and cements the heart of their identity, ἐν Χριστῷ, for the hearer. The image of Christ is recalled to mind and visually constructed for the hearers. In addition to this repetition of Χριστός there are various other phrases that intensify the focus on Christ: “in him”, “in the Lord”, “in the body of his flesh” and more.¹⁵ The inclusion of these phrases further intensifies the identity “in Christ”. It is the identity that they have already adopted “since then you have been raised with Christ” (Col 3:1) and which is constantly renewed as Col 3:10 states: “the new self which is being renewed in full knowledge according to the image of its creator”. This “image” is clear from Col 1:15, “He (Christ) is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of creation”.

¹⁵ Charles Talbert provides a survey of “in Christ” in Colossians that includes these other phrases. See Charles Talbert, *Ephesians and Colossians* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 180, Table 10.

The texture of repetition of “Christ” offers a division of verses as:

1-7 your life is in Christ;

8-14 clothe yourselves as the body of Christ;

15-17 be as Christ.

This division reveals the emphasis by repetition of Χριστός in verses 1-7, on clothing imagery that wraps around Χριστός in 8-14 and a return to repeated use of Χριστός in verses 15-17. This highlights the centrality of Christ to the clothing imagery and it is this pattern of repetition of the clothing images in verses 8-14 to which I now turn to further investigate the inner texture.

Clothing Imagery

The clothing imagery in verses 8-14 is constructed with the use of verbs designating the laying aside (ἀποτίθημι), putting off (ἀπεκδύομαι) and putting on (ἐνδύομαι) of garments.¹⁶ The repetition of the use of ἐνδύομαι, meaning to put on clothing or to clothe oneself, in verses 3:10 and 12, is also inferred in 3:14 and often included in the English translation.¹⁷

Layering this clothing imagery over the repetition of Χριστός reveals the only use of Χριστός is centrally located in the section where the clothing imagery appears, 3:8-14 (See Figure 5). This chiastic pattern (vv.10-12) that sees the verbs of clothing wrap around the centrality of Christ, literally clothes him.

¹⁶ Further discussion of these verbs and their use follows in the section on “Intertexture”

¹⁷ Verse 14 is grammatically dependent on the use of ἐνδύομαι, to put on clothing, to clothe oneself, in verse 12. MacDonald, *Colossians and Ephesians*, 141.

1	τῷ Χριστῷ	ὁ Χριστός	τοῦ Θεοῦ	
2				
3	τῷ Χριστῷ		τῷ Θεῷ	
4		ὁ Χριστός		
5				
6			τοῦ Θεοῦ	
7				
8		ἀποτίθημι		
9		ἀπεκδύομαι		
10		ἐνδύομαι		
11		Χριστός		
12		ἐνδύομαι	τοῦ Θεοῦ	
13				
14		(ἐνδύομαι)		
15			τοῦ Χριστοῦ	
16			τῷ Θεῷ	
17			τῷ Θεῷ	κυρίου Ἰησοῦ

Figure 5: Table showing overlay of clothing imagery on Progression of identities of Christ and God in Colossians 3:1-17.

The progression of the three clothing images consists in 3:10 with “having clothed (ἐνδύομαι) yourselves with the new self”, in 3:12 with the encouragement to “clothe (ἐνδύομαι) yourselves with the heart of compassion, kindness, humility, meekness and patience” and in 3:14, “but over all these, (clothe yourselves with) love”. This progression has been aligned to the layers of clothes usually worn in the first century CE namely the underwear of the tunic as the virtues and the outer garment of the himation or toga as the love that is worn over all.¹⁸ This is useful in making a direct link to items of clothing yet these are male garments and such an analogy introduces a gender distinction that is not explicit in the text. Furthermore, this idea only links to the virtues and love and does not include the clothing with the new self in the progression, leaving

¹⁸ David Williams, *Paul's Metaphors: Their Context and Character* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1999), 94.

out an integral part of the clothing imagery.¹⁹ The imagery of clothing with the new self clearly sets the clothing as identity in Christ as the new self “is being renewed in knowledge according to the image of its creator” and Col 1:15 has already established that Christ is the image of God.

There are significant difficulties in connecting the layers with actual clothes.²⁰ The act of clothing themselves is better understood metaphorically, going beyond actual garments, to a manner of being identified in Christ. Wearing compassion, kindness, humility, meekness, patience and love creates a way to relate to one another that is inviting of relationship rather than discriminating by difference.

A more subtle reference to clothing imagery is revealed in the named identities in 3:11. The naming of “Greek”, “Judean”, “barbarian”, “Scythian”, “slave”, and “free” calls to mind visual images regularly distinguished by clothing. The clothing images mark the boundaries between the identities and alert those who know themselves by these designations to matters of honour and impurity and the tensions of co-existence. The use of clothing imagery in the letter redraws the boundary of identity and allows the hearer to bring a breadth of meaning to their perception of identity and boundary crossing that is semantically rich in their experience.

Summary of inner texture

The inner texture of the text of Colossians 3:1-17 reveals the centredness on Christ. The language builds an image of the body of Christ constituted with its members clothed in a manner where they are cohered in Christ and with each other. The death and resurrection of Christ forms the basis of the ritual exit from the identity that they have known. They enter the community that is the body of Christ where previous identities hold no power, only Christ who is all and in all.

¹⁹ Margaret MacDonald suggests that the “therefore (οὖν)” refers back to 3:10 where the new self becomes the basis of the ethical stance. See MacDonald, *Colossians and Ephesians*, 139.

²⁰ As noted in the Summary of Scholarship (Chapter 2) Jerry Sumney attempts an alignment of the clothing imagery with actual clothing. See Sumney, *Colossians*, 218.

The clothing imagery, through the use of the verbs “lay aside” (ἀποτίθημι), “put off” (ἀπεκδύομαι) and “clothe” (ἐνδύομαι), forms a chiasmic pattern that virtually clothes Christ.

The threads apparent in this inner texture, namely the centrality of “Christ” (Χριστός) and the clothing imagery, are only a beginning of the intricate weave of textures that produces a visual construction of identity in the body of Christ in the Letter to the Colossians. This inner texture is coloured by the world of the text. It needs to be interwoven with the other arenas of texture to unravel the intricacy of this clothing imagery in the Letter to the Colossians.

From this inner texture, I turn now to the intertexture to examine how the identity in Christ, the clothing imagery, body and virtue appear in other texts of the same period and general location as Colossians.

Intertexture

“Intertexture” is “the interaction of the language in the text with “outside” material and physical “objects”, historical events, texts, customs, values, roles, institutions, and systems”.²¹ It provides the nexus where visual material culture of the world of the text interacts with the language of visual imagery of clothing and body in the text. This lies at the heart of my thesis. It is precisely because there is a connection between the language of clothing and body in the text and the images of clothing and body in the world of the text that I am able to argue for a visual construction of identity. This intertexture is of prime significance in the visual construction of the identity of the Christ followers in the body of Christ at Colossae and in the Lycus Valley.

Within the arena of intertexture there are four categories.²² I employ three of these as best suited to address the intertexture of Colossians 3:1-17 with the world of the hearer or reader in the first century CE:

- oral-scribal intertexture which addresses the text’s use of any text outside itself;²³
- cultural intertexture that appears in a text in the form of allusion, reference or echo;²⁴
- social intertexture which refers to that “social knowledge” that is known to those who live in that location.²⁵

Rather than treat these categories separately I examine the intertexture of the Colossian text, Col 3:1-17, primarily in regard to “clothing” and “body” and then add some further intertexture insights concerning:

- the focus identity of the body, that is Christ;

²¹ These categories are noted in the methodology (Chapter 2) of this thesis and are elaborated in Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 40.

²² Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 40-68.

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

²⁴ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 58.

²⁵ The fourth category Robbins identifies is “Historical Intertexture”. This concerns events that have occurred at specific times in particular locations. I have not included this category as the focus text, Col 3:1-17, does not stipulate any specific events, linked with time and/or location. See Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 62-63.

- the cultural intertexture of the “virtues”;
- the social intertexture of the named social identities of Col 3:1-17.

Clothing

In addressing the intertexture of clothing in the text of Colossians I begin with the interaction of the language of clothing with texts outside Colossians and look first to the Pauline writings which precede Colossians. With Paul as the implied author of Colossians some intertexture can be expected in writings considered undisputedly as written by Paul.

I then turn to the First Testament where the story of God’s people is often illustrated through the imagery of clothing. The First Testament in the form of Hebrew Scriptures and the Septuagint are sacred texts for Paul, his co-workers and fellow Christ followers. In the Graeco-Roman world of Asia Minor the Septuagint was conceivably available to the primarily Greek speaking communities of the Lycus Valley. It was available to the Second Testament writers who incorporated it into their writings.²⁶

Yet intertexture is not limited to texts and the thrust of my inquiry is to link the images with the text. The foundation of this has already been elucidated when I examined clothing as visual culture (Chapter 4). The major dialogue between the images and text occurs in the next chapter. In preparation for this I note key locations for the intertexture of clothing imagery beyond the use of other texts.

Clothing in the Pauline Writings

In the chapter outlining the scholarly context I looked at the existing research concerning clothing imagery in the Pauline Corpus, undertaken by Jung Hoon Kim. It is not my intention to restate the findings of that work. Rather I draw attention to the specific way that the language of clothing imagery in the Colossians text interacts with the clothing imagery of the Pauline writings that precede it.

²⁶ For a list of clothing references see Appendix 2.

Firstly it is the undisputed letters of Paul to the Romans and Galatians that carry the image of putting on Christ (Rom 13:14, Gal 3:27), using the verb to clothe or put on (ἐνδύω) that is instrumental in Colossians for the clothing with the new self, virtues and love that secure their identity in Christ. In the table below (Figure 6) the comparison of the texts show Romans and Galatians (undisputed letters of Paul) using the exact same language with the addition of “the Lord Jesus” in Romans.

Rom 13:14	ἐνδύοασθε τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν	Put on (clothe yourselves with) the Lord Jesus Christ
Gal 3:27	Χριστόν ἐνδύοασθε	Put on (clothe yourselves with) Christ
Col 3:10	Ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον	have put on (have clothed yourselves with) the new self
Col 3:12	ἐνδύοασθε ... σπλάγχνα οἰκτιρμοῦ χρηστότητα ταπειόφροσύνην πραύτητα μακροθυμίαν	put on (clothe yourselves with) the heart of compassion, kindness, humility, gentleness and patience

Figure 6: Illustration of intertexture of “clothing” in Romans, Galatians and Colossians.

Immediately it is plain that the image of clothing is different in Colossians. Where the communities addressed by the Romans and Galatians letters are to figuratively put on Christ, the Christ followers of Colossae and the Lycus Valley are to clothe themselves in a manner that they may live together as the body of Christ where Christ is the head. The distinction between the images of the body of Christ in these writings will be further explored in the section below dealing with “body”.

The clothing imagery of Rom 13 is preceded by Paul’s insistence that the community not be conformed to this world (Rom 12:2) and his reminder that they are members of one body who are to love one another (Rom 12:9) and live in harmony (Rom 12:16). Rom 13 discusses the issue of authority and being subject only to God, ending with a reminder that salvation is near and the exhortation

- to lay aside (ἀποτίθημι) the works of darkness (13:13);
- put on (ἐνδύω) the armour of light (13:13);
- live honorably (13:13);
- put on (ἐνδύω) the Lord Jesus Christ (13:14).

Colossians reveals a strong correlation with Romans through the laying aside of the works of darkness (Rom 13:13) with the putting off and laying aside of the vices (Col 3:8,10) as well as the synergy of living honourably (Rom 13:13) with the clothing with virtues and love (Col 3:12, 14). Significantly the clothing imagery in Romans conveys clothing as protection with the description of putting on armour. This is in contrast to clothing as identity in Colossians. As such Colossians offers a re-contextualisation of Romans.

In Galatians the clothing imagery (Gal 3:27) is adjacent to the phrase reframing identity as belonging to Christ rather than Jew or Greek, slave or free, male and female (Gal 3:28). The allusion to construction of identity in Christ in Colossians is closely connected to that in Galatians.

The clothing imagery found in Romans and Galatians established clothing as a vital image for the members of these communities to visualise their relationship to Jesus Christ and their identity as a community “in Christ”. Colossians re-contextualises this imagery for the community of Christ followers in the Lycus Valley.

I turn now to the imagery of clothing in the First Testament including Apocryphal texts.

Clothing in the First Testament

Clothing permeates the story of God’s people throughout the First Testament. It is a powerful symbol that is capable of communicating identity and transformation metaphorically, tying together past, present and future, and bridging the gap between mortal and divine.²⁷ At times it is the act of clothing, at others it is the garments themselves and sometimes a combination of both such as the clothing of priests. This

²⁷ N. Rubin and A. Kosman, "The Clothing of the Primordial Adam as a Symbol of Apocalyptic Time in the Midrashic Sources," *Harvard Theological Review* 90, no. 2 (1997): 163-65.

rich clothing imagery is woven into the fabric of the collective memory of the Jewish people and available in the texts and the rituals that have formed their identity through their history.

In this sub-section the aim is to understand the interaction of the language of the clothing imagery in Colossians with a rich heritage of clothing imagery in texts that lie in the background, written into the language of clothing. In Colossians the clothing imagery is comprised of:

- “to clothe” (ἐνδύω), aorist middle indicating the clothing of oneself (3:10, 12 and inferred in 3:14);
- “to lay aside” or “put off” (ἀποτίθημι), (3:8);
- “stripped off” or “put off” (ἀπεκδύομαι), (3:9).

In investigating the interaction of the language of clothing in Colossians with the texts of the First Testament I intend to engage both oral-scribal and cultural intertexture. With regard to oral-scribal intertexture it is possible to identify examples from the Septuagint that use the same verbs as Colossians. Whether these can be reliably seen as one text’s use of another is difficult to ascertain. For this reason I also engage the cultural intertexture which is identified through allusion, reference and echo. This form of intertexture marries well with the concept of cultural memory discussed earlier in Chapter 2. The process of observing cultural intertexture better captures how the language of clothing imagery in Colossians interacts with the Hebrew and Greek texts of the First Testament. Thus I include a breadth of allusion to clothing imagery by extending beyond those associated with the verbs used in Colossians to include others such as: to wrap around (περιβάλλω), to robe (στολίζω) and to clothe (ἀμφιάδζω).²⁸

This yields multiple images of clothing in the First Testament that refer to:

- taking off and putting on clothes (Gen 3:21, 38:14,19; Lev 6:11; Ezek 42:15,44:19; Num 20:26-7; Esth 4:4, 6:9-11,8:15; Zech3:4; Jdt 10:3-4; Bar 4:20, 5:1; 1 Macc 10:21);
- clothing with righteousness (Job 29:14; Is 59:17; Wis 5:18);

²⁸ A comprehensive list of the use of clothing imagery in the First and Second Testaments is found in Appendix 2.

- clothing enemies (Job 8:22; Ps 35:26, 109:29, 132:18);
- clothing priests, (Ex 28:41-2; 29:5,6; 40:13,14; Lev 6:10-11, 8:7,13; 16:13,14,23; 19:19; 2 Chr 6:41; Ps 132:9);
- putting on sackcloth in mourning and for lament, (2 Samuel 3:31; Esth 4:1; Jer 4:8, 6:26, 49:3; Lam 2:10; Ezek 27:13; Joel 1:13; Jonah 3:5; Bar 4:20; 1 Macc 2:14, 3:47);
- clothing as disguise (1 Sam 28:8);
- putting on armour (1 Sam 17:38; 2 Kgs 3:21; Is 59:17; Jer 46:4; Wis 5:18; 1 Macc 3:3);

All of these have the propensity of interacting with the meaning of the text of the Colossians to a greater or lesser extent through the agency of the author and the audience. I engage specific examples of clothing imagery from this list that are likely embedded in the memory of those familiar with the scriptures. The author of the letter and the members of the community who read and pray these scriptures, consciously or unconsciously, interweave their understanding of these images with those offered in the Col 3:1-17. The story of God's relationship with God's chosen people from creation is foundational to the Christ event. The teachings of Paul interpret the scriptures in light of the resurrection. Epaphras and the leaders of the communities are schooled in the Pauline tradition. The images used by Paul as he wrote in the letters to the Romans, Galatians and Corinthians are steeped in the Jewish faith, its scriptures and its rituals. These are interwoven into the images used in Colossians. In this way they are influential in and contribute to the use of clothing imagery as it is used to form the Christ community as the body of Christ.

The clothing of Adam and Eve as the archetypes of the first man and woman presents a reference for the visual construction of identity. God clothes (ἐνδύω) Adam and Eve (Gen 3:21). Adam and Eve become aware of their nakedness after eating the forbidden fruit. They clothe themselves with fig leaves that they sew together (Gen 3:7). Their fig leaf clothing is a visual sign of their knowledge of their nakedness. This clothing indicates to God their disobedience. God makes garments for them from skins and clothes them (ἐνδύω). They strip themselves of the fig leaves and put on their new

clothes and new identity given to them by God. Then they are sent forth from the garden, identified by animal skins. They had been created in the “image of God” with dominion over the animals. Now they are visually identified with the animals covered with animal skins. Interpretation of God’s clothing of Adam and Eve has dwelt on the need for the covering of their shame and as an act of compassion of God. In addition, this change of clothing ritually marks the crossing of the boundary from paradise to the earth, from above to below.

The clothing imagery in Colossians appears as antithesis to that of Adam and Eve. The Christ followers are exhorted to put off their vices (Col 3:8) and seek the things that are above (3:1). They are able to cross from below to above because they have been raised with Christ (3:1). Christ is the first born of creation. Christ followers are renewed in knowledge according to the image of the creator (Col 3:10). In light of this, the clothing imagery of Colossians that identifies the community in Christ, offers the way back into paradise. The inclusion of “upon the children of disobedience” (Col 3:6) heightens the allusion to Genesis.

Another perspective of the change of clothing (“putting off” and “putting on”) in Colossians is the allusion to the ritual clothing (לבוש) of priests (Lev 6:11; Ezek 42:14, 44:19). Also the handing on of the role from father to son is exemplified where Moses strips Aaron of his vestments and puts them on his son (Num 20:26-7). The vestments are holy (Lev 16:4) and the putting on of these to be in the presence of God echoes the putting on of virtues to be identified as members of the body of Christ, “God’s chosen ones, holy and beloved” (Col 3:12).

The clothing that is put on by the Christ followers identifies them as “holy”. The clothing of priests (Ex 28:4) was the robes that they were to wear when they go into the holy place and serve as priests (Ex 28:5).²⁹ On the turban they are to make a rosette

²⁹ Lynda Coon addresses the rhetorical uses of clothing for sacred males as described in the First Testament. She compares this to the humble clothing of the apostles as seen in the Second Testament. Lynda Coon, *Sacred Fictions: Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity*, ed. Ruth Mazo Karras, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 53-56.

inscribed “Holy to the Lord” (Ex 28:36). Similarly in Ezekiel vestments are included in identifying who is ritually pure (Ezek 44:15-27). God instructs Ezekiel that “foreigners and uncircumcised in heart and flesh” are to be excluded from the holy place. The renewal in the image of the creator (Col 3:10) removes this exclusion. Those who have been raised with Christ (Col 3:1) live in the body of Christ. The body of Christ is where all, Greek, Judean, those of circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, slave and free (Col 3:11), are identified as holy.

The verb “לבש” used for the donning of priestly robes is also often used for clothing with moral and religious qualities.³⁰ The clothing imagery of Colossians used metaphorically to clothe or put on virtues and love shares an allusion with the “putting on righteousness” (Job 29:14; Is 59:17; Wis 5:18; Bar 5:2).³¹ “Righteousness” (צדקה) conveys a variety of meanings.³² It is used of human well-being and right behaviour and of God’s order in creation and God’s will in action. In the LXX (δικαιοσύνη) words are usually translated by righteousness (δικαιοσύνη).

Job recalls that he put on (לבש) righteousness (צדקה) and it clothed him (Job 29:14).³³ He describes that being clothed in this way meant that he was “eyes to the blind”, “feet to the lame”, “father to the needy” and “championed the cause of the stranger”(Job 29:15-16). This occurred in the time “when the friendship of God was upon my tent” (Job 29:4). Job’s description of putting on righteousness has similarities to the clothing imagery in Colossians. Clothing as a metaphor is an established means of understanding the right behaviour to one another according to God’s will.

³⁰ P. W. Van der Horst elaborates on the use of this verb. See P. W. van der Horst, "Observations on a Pauline Expression," *New Testament Studies* 19 (1972): 182.

³¹ Baruch may post date Colossians so I have not included any further comment regarding its intertexture with Colossians.

³² There are 523 words derived from the root צדק in the First Testament. See John Reuman, "Righteousness," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 725.

³³ Here righteousness (צדקה) is used in parallel with judgement. This frequent combination of terms indicates the proper order in the life of the people that is constructed by God. See Reuman, "Righteousness," 727.

Christ as “anointed” (χριστός) is the embodiment of righteousness in terms of the description of a new David for those of the Davidic line captive in Babylon (Jer 23:5). The name for the new king who will “deal wisely” and “execute justice and righteousness” will be “The Lord is our righteousness” (Jer 23:5-6).

Putting on righteousness in Is 59:17 and Wis 5:18 is likened to putting on a breastplate. The allusions to royal and priestly investiture are fertile ground for the use of clothing imagery in the Colossians. These allusions demonstrate not only a crossing of boundary to a new identity but also the metaphoric use of clothing. The priestly and royal garments themselves are distinctive and mark the identity beyond the individual to the role. The garments remain the same and convey both identity and authority and take on the function of linking worlds, of bridging the gap between above and below.³⁴ The capacity of clothing imagery to link worlds aligns to the opening of Col 3 where the spatial dimension is announced in the opening line and is strengthened by the clothing imagery that identifies the Christ followers as members of the risen body of Christ (Χριστός).

In sum, the interaction of the language of clothing imagery in Colossians with the First Testament texts reveals a culture of clothing imagery entwined with ritual that defines identity. The mention of clothing, the taking off and putting on, can recall their relationship with God since creation, the covenant with God since Abraham, the friendship of God in which their prophets and ancestors dwelt and their relationship with each other living justly in response to God’s graciousness. I turn now to the intertexture with rituals and events to explore this further.

Intertexture of language of clothing with rituals, events

In my presentation of the story of Joseph and Asenath in Chapter 2, I suggested changing of clothes as a ritual of the change of identity. The donning of a black tunic of mourning represents the death to the previous identity and the grief associated with leaving that life, including family ties. At the request of an angel Asenath puts on a new

³⁴ Rubin and Kosman, "Clothing of the Primordial Adam," 163.

robe with a bright girdle and also takes a new name as she converts to Judaism. The conjectural dating of this story is grounded in its Egyptian provenance and composition by an Hellenised Jew. The date range stretches between the first and third centuries CE.³⁵ The tenuous link to the first century CE is attractive as illustration of the change of clothing as a change of identity enacted in ritual in this period. The centrality of clothing indicates use of a ritual tradition that may have been transmitted orally and that is not restricted to the timing and the provenance of this story.

A useful expansion of the clothing metaphor equates love as the bond with a belt that ties all the virtues together and is upon all the clothes.³⁶ This relies on the translation of σύνδεσμος as “belt”. There is an example in Euripides (480-406 BCE) of σύνδεσμος used as fastenings in relation to skins being worn as clothes,

First they let their hair loose over their shoulders, and secured their fawn-skins, as many of them as had released the fastenings (σύνδεσμοι) of their knots, girding the dappled hides with serpents licking their jaws.³⁷

This could be extrapolated to the use of belt but the verb for “putting on a belt” (ζώννυμι) is more usual and occurs in the following verse, of the same example, in the form καταζώννυμι. As σύνδεσμος is also used in Col 2:19 to denote “ligaments”, the sense of fastening appears more in congruence with this, offering a connection to body in light of the construction of identity that is inferred in clothing the body of Christ. The close relationship between body and clothing, as noted in Chapter 5, is represented in Hellenistic sculpture from the archaic period which began from the sixth century BCE

³⁵ Randall Chestnutt offers a broad range of 100 BCE- 115 CE, Randall Chestnutt, *From Death to Life: Conversion in Joseph and Asenath*, Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha. Supplement Series. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 93. Ross Shepard Kraemer argues for its composition no earlier than the third century CE and no later than sixth century CE. See Ross Shepard Kraemer, *When Asenath met Joseph: A Late Antique Tale of the Biblical Patriarch and his Egyptian Wife* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 238. Edith Humphrey purports a generalised acceptance of Joseph and Asenath as composed in the first century CE, including Kraemer as not having ruled out this possibility. See Edith McEwan Humphrey, *Joseph and Asenath*, Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 30. Richard DeMaris prefers the generalized option of scholars favouring first century CE composition. See DeMaris, *The New Testament in its Ritual World*, 26.

³⁶ This was noted in the Summary of Scholarship. See also Summey, *Colossians*, 218.

³⁷ Euripides, *Bacchae*, ed. Gilbert Murray, vol. 3, Euripidis Fabulae (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 697.

but continued to be interpreted by the Romans into the first century CE.³⁸ This would draw an analogy of love as the fastening (σύνδεσμος) of maturity (τελειότης) with the ligaments (σύνδεσμος) that hold the body together as one. More profoundly, the use of τελειότης here is linked to Paul's mission in Col 1:28 to present everyone mature (τέλειος) in Christ and to Epaphras in 4:12 who wrestles in prayer so the community may stand mature (τέλειος) in everything God wills. A closer examination of τέλειος reveals the verbal form τελειόω offering meanings that convey confirmation in the kingdom, consecration to a sacred office and the coming of age.³⁹ The clothing imagery that places love upon all links that love as the bond of coming of age, confirming membership in the kingdom that is the body of Christ and consecrating them as ministers in Christ. Each of these meanings is immediately visually associated with rites involving clothing that confers identity upon the wearer.

A change of clothing is also the basis of the Roman rite of *toga virilis* which marks the coming of age of a boy into manhood. The rite was enacted in both a domestic and public location.⁴⁰ In the domestic setting the boy stood with his family at the hearth and, in a ritual where his father presided, laid aside the *bulla*, amulet, and his *toga praetexta* and put on the *toga virilis*.⁴¹ The public phase was a procession to the Forum. This ceremony is also noted outside Rome and specifically in Asia Minor where Cicero is requested to celebrate the coming-of-age of Atticus' nephew in Laodikeia.⁴² The "putting on" of the toga was highly ceremonial in the manner that the large amount of cloth needed to be arranged on the body. As described by Quintilian (c.35-c.100 CE), the toga made the body of the wearer "distinguished and manly", giving "the impressive effect of breadth at the chest".⁴³ In this manner the "putting on" of the *toga virilis*

³⁸ Paola Di Trocchio, *Drape: Classical Mode to Contemporary Dress* (Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 2009), iv.

³⁹ The meaning "to confirm in the kingdom" is attested in Herodotus 3.86; "to consecrate to a sacred office" is attested in the Septuagint; "to come of age" is given as the meaning in the passive voice and attested in Plato *Symposium* 192a, *Republic* 466e. See Liddell et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon*.

⁴⁰ Statius, *Silvae* 5.3.118-20 describes the ritual at home and Seneca, *Epistulae morales* 4.2 notes the procession to the Forum.

⁴¹ Harrill, "Coming of Age," 255-6.

⁴² Seneca, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 5.20.9

⁴³ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratorio* 11.3.137-142

displayed *dignitas* and personal power.⁴⁴ Plutarch (c.46-120 CE) suggests the putting on of the *toga virilis* was a wrapping around with philosophy as “the manly and truly mature (complete) dress”.⁴⁵

This ritual of “putting on” the *toga virilis* finds allusions in the text of the Letter to the Colossians. The notions of putting on the new person, of taking off vices and allowing the word (λόγος) of Christ to dwell in them richly align culturally to the coming of age signified by the donning of the *toga virilis*. This period of time brought new freedom but along with that was the danger of errant and irresponsible behaviour. Discourse, like Plutarch’s address to Nicander, often exhorted youth to moral responsible behaviour.⁴⁶

Putting on clothing and virtue in the context of coming to maturity is echoed in Colossians. The Christ followers are to clothe themselves with the new self (3:10) and with compassion, kindness, humility, meekness and patience (3:12) and love (3:14) which is the bond of maturity (τελειότης, Col 3:14). The clothing imagery in Colossians can be seen as a coming of age in the identity of Christ.

What is observed through the intertexture of clothing is a rich culture of clothing as a means of identity and used in ritual for changes in identity, as well as investiture to positions of power and marking the rite of passage to maturity. Literary references to clothing conjure mental pictures of the experiences of rituals and rites of passage. Clothing is closely related to body and it is to this I move now with regard to intertexture.

Body

In addressing the intertexture of body I am concerned with the interaction of the language of body specifically used as the “body of Christ” as a figurative image of the community of Christ followers. Importantly the creation of this visual image that

⁴⁴ Harrill, "Coming of Age," 259.

⁴⁵ ἡ μόνη τὸν ἀνδρεῖον καὶ τέλειον ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐκ λόγου τοῖς νέοις περιτίθησί κόσμον. Plutarch, *Moralia* 37f, *De recta ratione audiendi* 2.

⁴⁶ Plutarch, *Moralia* 37c-e, *De recta ratione audiendi* 1. See also Harrill, "Coming of Age," 265-71.

identifies its members in the identity of one person has allusions in the personification of city and state.

Body of Christ

The “body of Christ” (σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ), is a phrase used by Paul in both the Letters to the Romans and to the Corinthians (Rom 7:4; 1 Cor 10:16, 12:27). The same phrase appears in Colossians in 2:17 yet is often translated as “the substance belongs to Christ”. This is an unhelpful translation as it belies the auditory effect of this phrase in the first century CE. What the first century CE audience heard was “body of Christ” (σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ). The coupling of “shadow” and “substance” may have been a secondary understanding. The substance of Christ is clearly the body of Christ. I maintain the translation of “body of Christ” especially in line with the development of the image of the body Col 2:19. The statement of “body of Christ” (σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ) and the expansion of the image in Col 2:19 underpins the understanding of “body” in Col 3:15.

What is crucial here is that the phrase “body of Christ” (σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ) is found in Romans, Corinthians and Colossians but the image constructed by this phrase differs between texts. In Colossians the image of the body of Christ is assembled with Christ as the head (Col 1:18) and the whole body “is nourished and held together by its ligaments and sinews”, and “grows with a growth that is from God” (Col 2:19). The body of Christ is equated with the community assembly (ἐκκλησία, Col 1:19)⁴⁷. It is the resurrected body of Christ as indicated by “Since then you have been raised with Christ” and “Christ is seated at the right hand of God” (Col 3:1). The capacity of clothing to make a link between above and below, noted in the previous section of clothing, becomes vital to the image of the body of Christ. The members are the living body of Christ, “Christ is all and in all” (Col 3:11).

In contrast, in the first letter to the Corinthians, Paul urges the community to recognise themselves as the crucified body of Christ.⁴⁸ He addresses them saying, “For I decided to know nothing among you except Jesus Christ, and him crucified” (1 Cor 2:2). When

⁴⁷ The community assembly (ἐκκλησία) is not explicitly stated in Col 2:19,

⁴⁸ Yung Suk Kim, *Christ's Body in Corinth* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2008), 5.

the phrase “body of Christ” (σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ) first occurs in this letter, it is in conjunction with the breaking of the bread that is sign of the community partnership or participation (κοινωνία) in the body of Christ (1 Cor 10:16). The explication of the image of a body with many parts is aligned with Christ (1 Cor 12:12) with the inclusion in the Spirit through baptism of Jews, Greeks, slaves and free (1 Cor 12: 13). This diversity in the body is equated with physical external parts such as the foot, hand, ear or eye (1 Cor 12:15-21). Further elaboration describes how the insignificant or unattractive parts are invested (περιτίθημι) with more honour and those private bodily parts (ἄσχημων, often translated as less respectable or unpresentable) are treated with more modesty (1 Cor 12:23). Such detailed use of body imagery provides the perspective of hope for the marginalised and weak members of the community through a crucified body of Christ.⁴⁹

In Colossians Christ is established as head of the body, the community assembly (ἐκκλησία, Col 1:18). This description is a development of the images employed in the undisputed letters of Paul where the body represented the local community. Indeed in Colossians, Christ is a “corporate body” embracing all the communities of Christ and Christ is the head of this cosmic body. The one body of Christ in this manner parallels and contrasts with the corporate body of the Roman regime signified in the body of the emperor. Significantly the representation of the emperor as statue often was made with a detachable head whereby a change of emperor was a change of head, with the body remaining the same. The alignment between Christ and the emperor is made more evident through the use of “the peace of Christ” (Col 3:15) which contrasts with *Pax Romana*.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Yung Suk Kim develops her argument for the consideration of the dimension of the body of Christ as the crucified Christ citing Paul’s view that they have become as the rubbish of the world (1 Cor 4:19). This she sees as a means to view the context of 1 Corinthians as sensitive to the socially marginalised. See Kim, *Christ's Body in Corinth*, 30-31.

⁵⁰ Sumney also notes the differentiation of the use of body and the juxtaposition to Rome. See Sumney, *Colossians*, 3-4, 221-22.

The State as Body

The political and philosophical use of the image of the cosmos or state as “body” was widespread in antiquity.⁵¹ The story of Menenius Agrippa (Consul 503 BCE), urging the plebeians to cease their rebellion by depicting the state as a body of diverse parts including the senators, is recorded by both Dionysius of Halicarnassus (c.55 BCE-7 CE) and Titus Livius, “Livy”, (59 BCE–17 CE).⁵² Dionysius of Halicarnassus flourished in the time of Augustus and this image intersects well with the construction of identity that Augustus began in his cultural renewal program. Livy’s recounting of the tale brings the story into first century CE literature. The body as an analogy of the cosmos and state reverberates in Stoic thought where Seneca (3 BCE-65 CE) has a universal view,

...omne hoc, quod vides, quo divina atque humana conclusa sunt, unum est; membra sumus corporis magni.
...all that you see, that which comprises divine and human are one – we are parts (*membra*) of a great body (*corporis*).⁵³

In *De Clementia* Seneca specifically identifies Rome as the body of Nero and later names Nero as the head of the empire.⁵⁴ This literary imagery is borne out in the statuary where emperors are shown to be personifications of Rome and held the position as head of the body, state and world (*caput mundi*) as explained in Chapter 4.

A fusion of Jewish and Greek thought is found in Philo Judeus of Alexandria (20 BCE-50 CE) who wrote in the first century CE as a Hellenic Jewish philosopher. He expresses that to be disconnected from the Jewish community was “as if they were souls unconnected with the body”.⁵⁵ Although expressed in the negative, this infers an image of Judaism as a body in which all believers were not only parts but intimately connected as souls of the body.

⁵¹ Michelle Lee details the use of this image especially in relation to Paul’s writings and lists other scholars who support this idea. See Michelle Lee, *Paul, the Stoics and the Body of Christ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 8-11.

⁵² Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities*, trans. Earnest Cary, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947), 6.83.2; Titus Livius, *History of Rome. Books I-II*, trans. B. O. Foster (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1915), 2.32.8-12.

⁵³ Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales*, ed. Richard M. Gummere (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917-25), 95.51.

⁵⁴ Seneca, *De Clementia*, 1.5.2-3, 2.2.1. Further discussion is found in Chapter 4.

⁵⁵ Peter Kirby, “Early Jewish Writings”, Philo: *De Migratione Abrahami*, 88-93. <http://www.earlyjewishwritings.com/text/philo/book16.html> © 2001-6. [accessed 12 April 2007].

The body was an accessible image to describe human organisations such as cities and states, as found in literary texts as well as in statues and other objects. This intertexture will be explored in more detail in the next chapter.

Further Intertexture insights

The Focus Identity: Χριστός

In terms of oral-scribal intertexture it is the text's use of any other text outside itself that is the issue. The use of "Χριστός" is easily observed as a favourite title in the Pauline letters.⁵⁶ The formula is never "Jesus the Christ" (Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός). "The Christ" (ὁ Χριστός) does appear twice in Colossians (3:1.4), three times in Romans (9:5, 15:3,7), four in 1 Corinthians (1:13, 10:4, 11:3, 12:12) and five in Ephesians (5:2, 14, 23, 25, 29). This title is adopted in the Graeco-Roman world where it translates at best as "anointed" but does not necessarily carry the sense of "Messiah". In the Septuagint, χριστός is the Greek translation of the Hebrew "מָשִׁיחַ" meaning "anointed (one)". The references in Colossians to Jews and Jewish practices such as circumcision intimates that the communities of Christ followers share an understanding of Χριστός as Messiah to a greater extent than the wider Graeco-Roman world in which they live.

The Hebrew title "anointed one" (מָשִׁיחַ) was used for kings of Israel (1 Sam 2:10, 35; 12:3,5; 16:6; 24:7,11; 26:9, 11, 16, 23), occasionally for a high priest (Lev 4:3, 5, 16; 6:22) and for Cyrus, a pagan king (Is 45:1).⁵⁷ David is anointed (1 Chr 11:3) and is the anointed one (2 Sam 19:20, 22:51, 23:1; 2 Chr 6:42; Ps 18:50; 89:20). A future "David" is envisaged by those of the Davidic line who are led off into captivity in Babylon (Jer 23:5, 30:9). The new David will be called "The Lord is our righteousness" (Jer 23:6). The expectation of a messiah emerges in Dan 9:25. The title, "anointed" (Χριστός) was applied to Jesus soon after his death and resurrection.

In the Pauline writings Χριστός is used 266 times in the undisputed letters, 81 times in the deutero-Pauline and 32 in the Pastorals. As well as specific occurrences of ὁ

⁵⁶ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 40.

⁵⁷ Joseph Fitzmyer, "Pauline Theology," in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*, ed. Raymond Brown, Joseph Fitzmyer, and Roland Murphy (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1989), 1394.

Χριστός, the use of the article “the” with “Christ” is more frequent in Colossians, appearing thirteen times (1:7, 24, 27; 2:6, 11, 17; 3:1, 3, 4, 15, 16; 4:3), than in letters of comparable length such as Galatians, Philippians and 1 Thessalonians where it appears ten times.⁵⁸ These occurrences are formulaic such as “cross of the Christ” (Gal 6:12, Phil 3:18, 1 Cor 1:17) and “gospel of the Christ” (1 Cor 9:12, 2 Cor 9:13, Gal 1:7, Phil 1:27, 1 Thess 3:2). Neither of these two formulae are found in Colossians but “body of the Christ” does appear in Col 2:17, and also in Rom 7:4, 1 Cor 10:16, 12:27, and Eph 4:12. Unique to Colossians are ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Χριστοῦ (the peace of the Christ) (Col 3:15); ὁ λόγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ (the word of the Christ) (3:16) and τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ (the mystery of the Christ) (4:3).⁵⁹ The attribution of these key elements, cross, gospel, body, peace, word and mystery to “the Christ” indicates specific perspectives of the identity of Christ.

There is no particular consistency in the use of these formulae across the letters. The introduction of three unique descriptors, “peace”, “word” and “mystery” in Colossians along with the use of “body of the Christ” alerts the hearer or reader to specific identity traits which are important for this community. The innovation of three different perspectives is a reminder of the authorship debate in the introduction. “Let the peace of the Christ rule in your hearts” (καὶ ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Χριστοῦ βραβεύετω ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις) in Col 3:15 is similar in wording to Philippians 4:7, “the peace of God ... will guard your hearts” (καὶ ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Θεοῦ...φρουρήσει τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν).⁶⁰ Both “the word of God” (ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ) and “the word of the Lord” (ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου) appear in the undisputed letters of Paul (Rom 9:6; 1 Cor 14:36; 2 Cor 2:17, 4:2; 1 Thess 1:8, 4:15). The “word of God”(ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ) also appears in Colossians 1:25 in description of Paul’s ministry, further linking this phrase with Paul and his letters and distinguishing “the word of the Christ” as the addition of the writer of the Colossian letter.

⁵⁸ Sumney is not definitive about the significance of this, suggesting that it may be used in opposition to the visionaries to indicate Christ as the way to God or that Christ is not just a name but a designation. For further discussion of the usage of the article with Christ see Sumney, *Colossians*, 184, note 14.

⁵⁹ “the mystery of God” appears in 1 Cor 2:1

⁶⁰ Outi Leppä suggests the resemblance points to a literary dependence. See Leppä, *The Making of Colossians*, 171.

The mystery of Christ (τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ) in Col 4:3 is a development from Col 1:26-27 where “the word of God” is the mystery that has been hidden (Col 1:25-26) and is revealed as “Christ in you” (Col 1:27).⁶¹ The descriptors of word, peace and mystery are introduced in Colossians as relating to Christ rather than God, adding to the focus on Christ and the identity of the community members in Christ. These descriptors are important to the body of Christ as it is imaged in Colossians and in relation to the visual imagery of body as discussed in Chapter 4.

The frequency of the use of Χριστός in Colossians is surpassed in other Pauline Letters, where an even higher percentage occurs in the first four verses of 1 Corinthians (five times in four verses) and continues only slightly less in intensity in verses 5-9. Here the use of “Χριστός” is in all but one instance, “Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ” and the only exception is the reverse order. Philippians shares a similar frequency to Colossians with six occurrences of “Christ Jesus” and one of “Christ” alone and five uses of “God”. There is slightly less prevalence in the beginning of Romans where the repetition is “Jesus Christ” and “God”. The centring on “Χριστός” through repetition is modelled in the undisputed letters of Paul.

The frequent omission of a qualification of Χριστός with Ἰησοῦς as well as the three unique perspectives introduced in Colossians not only suggests a different author than Paul but also a specific visual image of the identity of Christ to which this community in the Lycus Valley belongs. The understanding of their identity as the body of Christ is interpreted differently here. The implications of this will be dealt with in the next chapter where I bring the social world into dialogue with the text.

The frequency and inclusion of “Χριστός” is not replicated in 1 Thessalonians. The contrast in the opening lines of 1 Thessalonians reveals “ὁ Θεός” (God) used seven times, preceding the use of “Jesus Christ” with the latter only occurring twice in the

⁶¹ Col 1:25-28 correlates with 1 Cor 2:7 sharing the same verb (καταγγέλλω) and four nouns: word (λόγος), wisdom (σοφία), mystery (μυστήριον), and God (Θεός). See Leppa, *The Making of Colossians*, 113-14.

same verses 1-10. Galatians also reveals a less emphatic use of Χριστός in the opening lines where it appears only twice in four verses.

In summary, one of the explicit differences in the Letter to the Colossians is that the emphasis and repetition is more often singularly Christ (Χριστός) and not Christ Jesus (Χριστός Ἰησοῦς) nor Jesus Christ (Ἰησοῦς Χριστός). This difference is highlighted from the oral-scribal intertexture in conjunction with the results of the analysis of the inner texture. The identity of Christ (Χριστός) is specifically defined through the attribution of key elements: cross, gospel, body, peace, word and mystery. The latter three are uniquely descriptive of Christ in the text of the Colossians. As such, peace, word and mystery are vital defining elements of the community as the body of Christ in Colossae.

Cultural Intertexture of “virtues”

The naming of a list of virtues in Colossians echoes lists that are found across a range of literature. These are lists of both virtues and vices. Such lists are found in Qumran Scrolls (IQS 4.2-12, 18-26), Wis 8:7, Philo (Sacr. 32) and Diogenes Laertius (7.110-114, 119).⁶² These lists expound the cardinal virtues of Stoicism: prudence/temperance (σωφροσύνη), insight/prudence (φρόνησις), righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) and “manliness”/courage (ἀνδρεία).⁶³ By the time of Cicero these four are an accepted fact of moral philosophy. These lists do not replicate the virtues found in Colossians yet indicate a culture of ethical living also expounded by Aristotle.⁶⁴

The golden Shield of Virtues (*clupeus virtutis*) which was awarded to Augustus by the Senate and the Roman people c.27 BCE, lists courage (*virtus*), clemency (*clementia*), justice (*iustitia*) and piety (*pietas*) as his virtues.⁶⁵ These have some confluence with the

⁶² Allan Bevere, *Sharing in the Inheritance: Identity and the Moral Life in Colossians* (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), 182.

⁶³ The virtue of courage/“manliness” corresponds to the Roman virtue “*virtus*”.

⁶⁴ Aristotle, *On Virtues and Vices*, ed. Jonathan Barnes, trans. J. Solomon, 2 vols., vol. 2, *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); Aristotle, *Eudemian Ethics*, trans. H. Rackman, vol. 20 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981); Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. R. W. Browne (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853).

⁶⁵ Neil Elliott and Mark Reasoner, eds., *Documents and Images for the Study of Paul* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011), 136.

Greek cardinal virtues but do not replicate them exactly. None of these virtues is regularly repeated together in the reigns of the Julio-Claudians.⁶⁶ Three of them, namely clemency, justice and piety, were inscribed on coins during the reign of Tiberius as seen earlier in Chapter 4.

Nero at thirteen years of age received attention from Seneca (3 BCE-65 CE) for his clemency:

You are distinguished, Caesar, by a state free of bloodshed, and this, by your great pride in which you glory that no drop of human blood has been shed, for this is very significant and miraculous, since no one ever was granted the sword at a younger age.⁶⁷

Seneca appears to be extolling Nero's virtue yet he may also be inferring caution for Nero in case he was tempted to wield the sword.⁶⁸ His reputation through his reign is not synonymous with mercy. Indeed early church tradition held that Paul himself was executed by sword under Nero.⁶⁹ The images of Nero from Aphrodisias depict him as hero and conqueror of nations. His lack of clothing in his portraiture as naked hero does not convey the virtue of clemency. His stance is less violent than the aggressive action captured in the representation of Claudius.

Virtuous living counters disobedience and avoids the wrath of God (Col 3:6). This is echoed in the positive in Ezekiel 18: 9, 22 where obedience to God is to live a virtuous life, "if he lives by my statutes and is careful to observe my ordinances, that man is virtuous and shall surely live, says the Lord" and "he shall live because of the virtue he has practiced". Further intertexture of virtues embraces *stelae* and monuments which expound the virtues of the deceased in words and image.

⁶⁶ Hadrill refutes the idea of the virtues on the Augustan Golden Shield as a "canon" of virtues. He finds no consistency of use of the four virtues listed thereon. See Hadrill, "The Emperor and his Virtues," 299-313.

⁶⁷ Seneca, *De Clementia*, 1.11.3.

⁶⁸ The alternative interpretation is recognised in Elliott and Reasoner, eds., *Documents and Images*, 146-47.

⁶⁹ Elliott and Reasoner, eds., *Documents and Images*, 159.

Among the list of “virtues” in Colossians 3:12 only *χρηστότης* (kindness) is represented widely in its cognate form of *χρηστός* (good, worthy) as an epithet on *stelae* and grave reliefs and used to qualify the virtue so sought in Greek philosophic and Roman Imperial writings. The inscription of *χρηστός* into the visual culture along with images of virtuously clad citizens acts as a significant identity marker of the civic identity. Its incorporation into the identity of the Christ community as clothing of the body of Christ redefines its meaning focusing that new meaning of goodness as friendship that can be ritually donned to define members and is recognisable in their activity as a community.

Χρηστότης has a range of meaning from goodness, excellence, honesty, uprightness, goodness of heart, to kindness.⁷⁰ In the Second Testament *χρηστότης* only appears in the Pauline Corpus of writings: Romans, 2 Corinthians, Colossians, Galatians, Ephesians and Titus where its meaning in English translations is narrowed to kindness and goodness.⁷¹ *Χρηστότης* is used of God (Rom 2:4, 11:22; Tit 3:4), is of the Spirit (Gal 5:22), is manifest in Jesus (Eph 2:7), is one of the qualities of the *διάκονοι*, ministers of God (2 Cor 6:6)⁷² and is counted among the ‘virtues’ with which the Colossians should clothe themselves in Col 3:12. Other derivatives (cognates) of the root *χρηστός* are also found in the Letter to the Romans (2:4) along with *χρηστότης*, in 1 Corinthians 13:4 equating love with being kind/good, and in Ephesians 4:32 as an instruction of how to act toward each other in the community of Jesus followers.⁷³

In the context of first century CE Asia Minor, *χρηστότης* needs to be understood as Greek terminology translated into an environment of diverse local cultures and Roman rule. From Aristotle comes an understanding that virtue, *ἀρετή*, brings harmony to the

⁷⁰ Liddell et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon*.

⁷¹ This conclusion is based on a survey of twenty English versions of the listed texts.

⁷² In 2 Cor 6:4 Paul speaks of himself and his co-workers as the *διάκονοι* who as ministers or deacons, have commended themselves to God through a series of trials and qualities which includes *χρηστότης*, kindness.

⁷³ There are four instances where *χρηστός* appears in the Second Testament outside the Pauline Corpus: in Matthew 11:30 describing the lot or burden of following Christ as ‘easy’; Luke 5:39 qualifying that the old wine is ‘good’, and in 6:35 that God is ‘kind’; 1 Peter 2:3 declaring God as good. These are all likely dated later than the Letter to the Colossians.

soul of each individual and, in turn, contributes to making a good state.⁷⁴ Virtue is a civic matter and χρηστότης, a goodness that implies integrity, excellence and kindness, accompanies virtue in conjunction with friendship relationships to build a state of good citizens. In essence, χρηστότης, is a significant component of the ordered, smooth running πολίς that would underpin the typology of a Roman city. Cicero outlines that ‘friendship can only exist between good men’⁷⁵, and finds virtue as the essence of friendship, concluding that ‘Virtue (without which friendship is impossible) is first; but next to it, and to it alone, the greatest of all things is Friendship.’⁷⁶

The Letter to the Galatians 5:22-23 lists the fruit of the spirit as love (ἀγάπη), joy (χαρά), peace (εἰρήνη), patience (μακροθυμία), kindness (χρηστότης), generosity (ἀγαθοσύνη), faithfulness (πίστις), gentleness (πραΰτης) and self control (ἐγκράτεια). The re-contextualising of these fruit of the spirit to the clothing imagery includes patience (μακροθυμία), kindness (χρηστότης) and gentleness (πραΰτης) in Col 3:12, with love (ἀγάπη) in Col 3:14 and peace (εἰρήνη) in Col 3:15. The heart of compassion (σπλάγχνα οἰκτιροῦ) does not occur in any of the undisputed letters of Paul, although “heart” (σπλάγχνα) appears in Philemon (1:12, 20) and humility (ταπεινροσύνη) is found only in Philippians 2:3.⁷⁷ Clothing with humility is known in rabbinic literature, “the Torah clothes (שבב) with humility and reverence” (Aboth 6.1).⁷⁸

The “virtues” of οἰκτιρμός, χρηστότης, and μακροθυμία are found in the Septuagint as descriptors or qualities of God. In general they appear on their own but in the following instances they are paired:

⁷⁴ Aristotle, *On Virtues and Vices*, 1251b.

⁷⁵ Cicero, *De Amicitia - On Friendship*, ed. Charles W Eliot, trans. Evelyn Shirley Shuckburgh, vol. 9, The Harvard Classics (New York: P F Collier & Son, 1909-14), 5.16.

⁷⁶ Cicero, *De Amicitia - On Friendship*, 27.71.

⁷⁷ I translate σπλάγχνα as “heart” understanding its full meaning as entrails and inward parts giving the sense of the most inward depth or heart of something. In Colossians used with compassion conveys the deepest sense of compassion, from the gut.

⁷⁸ Pirque Aboth was likely written in 200 CE and compiled sayings of the rabbis dating from the third century BCE. For discussion of the use of clothing metaphors in relation to moral and religious qualities see van der Horst, “Observations on a Pauline Expression,” 182.

- Neh 9:17 and Jon 4:2 portray God as both compassionate (οἰκτίρων) and patient (μαχρόθυμος);
- Ps 144:9 describes God’s mercies as compassionate (οἰκτιρμου) and also names God as kind (χρηστός);
- Wis 15:1 images God as patient (μαχρόθυμος) and kind (χρηστός).⁷⁹

In sum, the list of virtues is deliberately chosen for the identity of the Christ community addressed in the Lycus Valley. The members of the Christ community as part of the body of Christ are to put on these virtues as their identity in Christ. The list of virtues resonates with the qualities of God. The addition of gentleness and humility are most pertinent to the relations between the members for their cohesion in Christ, in God.

Social Intertexture of Social Identities

Social intertexture refers to that “social knowledge” that is known to those who live in that location.⁸⁰ Social knowledge is visible and is gained from the observable public life of the community. It contrasts to cultural knowledge that needs to be taught and learned in accordance with the transmission of traditions. This social knowledge includes social roles and identities such as are evident in Colossians.

In Colossians 3:1-17 specific social identities are named as “Greek”, “Judean”, “barbarian”, “Scythian”, “slave” and “free”(Col 3: 11). Earlier, in Chapter 1, I briefly outlined the background of the Judean community in the Lycus Valley and the allusions to the Judean influence in the Letter to the Colossians. As noted in the previous chapter, the Greek cities in Asia Minor were largely culturally intact at the end of the first century CE. The precedence of “Greek” over “Judean” in this sequence in Col 3:11 is a further indication of the mix of the community where “Greek” predominates in language and culture. The cylindrical *bomos* from Colossae, noted in Chapter 1, is predominantly inscribed with Greek names.⁸¹ The evidence on this monument was that other ethnicities were in the minority. Dated from late first to early second century CE the

⁷⁹ For a full list of the occurrence of these “virtues” in the Septuagint see Appendix 4.

⁸⁰ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 62.

⁸¹ Cadwallader, "Honour for Korumbos."

high concentration of Greek names further corroborates the prime placement of “Greek” in Col 3:11. This is in contrast to the order found in binary oppositions in Romans 10:12, 1 Corinthians 12:13 and Galatians 3:28 where “Judean/s” takes precedence over Greek in this sequence.

Greek writers such as Strabo tend to refer to the world as divided between “Greeks” and “barbarians”.⁸² This division is seen from as early as the sixth century BCE where Hermippus records Thales as being grateful for three things: “that I was born a human being and not one of the brutes; next that I was born a man and not a woman; thirdly a Greek and not a barbarian.”⁸³

A similar formula is where a male Judean thanks God that he is not Gentile, a slave or a woman.⁸⁴ The Judean perspective was a split between “Judeans” and “foreigners”. Paul in Romans, 1 Corinthians and Galatians does not deal with the barbarians but only suggests that in Christ Judeans and Greeks are on an equal footing and extends this equality to slave and free (1 Cor 12:13; Gal 3:28) and female (Gal 3:28).

The inclusion of “barbarian” in Colossians is not clear. Anyone not Greek could qualify in this category. In terms of the Roman regime those not yet submissive to Rome would fit the description of barbarian as the images from Aphrodisias, shown in Chapter 4, illustrate so well. More puzzling is the inclusion of “Scythian”. The recent connection of a name on a cylindrical *bomos* from Colossae as “Thracian, even specifically Scythian” is the most concrete evidence of Scythians in the area in the first centuries CE.⁸⁵ Other than this, the conjecture concerning the existence of any Scythians in this region this far outweighs any evidence.

⁸² Strabo, *Geography*, 1.4.9.

⁸³ Diogenes Laertius, *The Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers* trans. Charles Duke Yonge (London: G. Bell, 1915), 1.33.

⁸⁴ *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, trans. S Singer (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1962), 6-7. As quoted in Lee, *Paul, the Stoics and the Body of Christ*, 136. note 114

⁸⁵ Cadwallader, "Honour for Korumbos."

It is possible that “Scythian” had become a term to describe the worst of barbarians. Their name had become synonymous with those whom Josephus (c.37-101 CE) describes as those who “delight in murdering people and are little better than wild beasts”.⁸⁶ Yet Scythian veterans were settled at Scythopolis, the new name given to the rebuilt city of Beit She’an. This could give rise to an identifiable group among the Judean communities. Other possibilities exist through the transportation of Scythians as slaves from the Black Sea regions to Colossae or a connection via the Indo-Scythians along the trade routes. The Scythian state was known from as early as the eighth century BCE but continued to exist until the second or third century CE.⁸⁷

One perspective is to see barbarians and Scythians as the other half of the world to Greeks and Judeans respectively.⁸⁸ In this way it is possible to see that the writer of Colossians includes the world in the body of Christ. The barbarians and foreigners (Scythians) were all those other than Greek and Judean respectively. All are able to be identified with Christ in the body of Christ. In this interpretation “Scythians” are the epitome of “foreigner” for the Judeans.

To be a slave was to be disconnected from kinship, ethnic and religious connections. Slaves were not a homogenous group having no identity with each other. The relationship of the slave was to the master and any identity for the slave was in the ownership by master of the slave. The writings of Heraclitus of Ephesus (c.535- c.475 BCE) provide an exceptional insight into the relationship with slaves:

The Ephesians say, ‘Let not a slave sit with me nor dine with me.’ But I shall pronounce a more just dictum: ‘Let a good man sit with me and

⁸⁶ *Against Apion*, 269, 401

⁸⁷ Karl Jettmar, *Art of the Steppes: The Eurasian Animal Style*, trans. Ann E. Keep (London: Methuen, 1967), 26.

⁸⁸ David Goldenberg explores a Scythian-Ethiopian pairing as geographical extremes and concludes it as a figure of speech equivalent of barbarian-Scythian. See David Goldenberg, "Scythian-Barbarian: The Permutations of a Classical Topos in Jewish and Christian Texts of Late Antiquity," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 49 (1998): 92-93, 97-98. This view is contested by Troy Martin who argues for the inclusion of a barbarian-Scythian pairing in Colossians to address inconsistencies in the philosophies of the opponents. See Troy Martin, "The Scythian Perspective in Col 3:11," *Novum Testamentum* 37, no. 3 (1995): 261.

dine with me...for it is not fortune that makes men equal, but virtue...evil alone makes one a slave, virtue alone free...'⁸⁹

This aligns with the main Roman (Stoic) ideology where the ideal slave would possess reason (λόγος) and virtue (ἀρετή).⁹⁰ There was tension between Greek and Roman understandings according to whether being a slave was a natural state or the fate of domination.

From the time of Aristotle a slave was often referred to simply as a “body” (σῶμα).⁹¹ This indicated that the slave had no inner self but was a tool for the owner. This view was accompanied by stereotypes of slaves as those of weak bodily presence. Such a perspective persisted through to the Hellenistic and Roman times when the difference between the body of a slave and that of a free person was a matter of honour (*dignitas*). The adult male was not a “man” unless he acquired honour (*dignitas*).⁹²

The “master” of the Christ followers is Christ the Lord and the framing of the role of slave in the community as member of the body of Christ who has put off the old self and been clothed with the new can be recognised free by clothing in virtue.

Summary of Intertexture

I have examined the intertexture with particular regard to clothing and body. Beyond these, I highlighted specific further intertextual insights namely: the focus identity of the body, that is, Christ; the cultural intertexture of the “virtues”; and, the social intertexture of the named social identities.

This engagement pinpoints some key words and phrases concerning body, clothing, identities and virtues that elicit images in the mind of the reader and hearer. These words

⁸⁹ Heraclitus 7.25-30, Abraham Malherbe, *The Cynic Epistles: A Study Edition*, ed. Wayne Meeks, Society of Biblical Literature: Sources for Biblical Study (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1977), 213.

⁹⁰ J. Albert Harrill, *Slaves in the New Testament: Literary, Social and Moral Dimensions* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 21.

⁹¹ Harrill, *Slaves*, 20.

⁹² Harrill, *Slaves*, 36.

and phrases are found in some foundational writings yet it is the combination of these words that forms the identity in Christ. As such, Col 3:1-17 offers a specific argument, tailored to the Colossian community of Christ followers. The combination of these words and phrases involves the community members in being convinced to clothe themselves in this way to be identified in Christ. This encouragement is unique to Colossians. It is not found described in other texts in the same manner. It is an elaborate bringing together of ideas that renew them in the image of Christ, an image that is identifiable to the Christ followers within an environment of competing identities, many of which are represented powerfully in the architectural landscape in the form of statues and other visual material.

Intertexture describes interaction not only with texts but also rituals, events and material objects. Here my engagement in intertexture encompasses the interaction with material objects. The interaction with rituals and events is beyond the scope of my thesis. The brief interplay with such intertexture in this chapter prepares the way for the dialogue in the next chapter between the visual imagery of clothing and body elucidated in Chapters 4 and 5 and the visual construction of identity as observed in Col 3:1-17. The allusions and echoes that are not so apparent in the text are those that were spatially and visually present to the implied readers and hearers of the letter as they walked the streets of the cities of the Lycus Valley.

I have argued that the Colossians text 3:1-17 draws strongly from the undisputed Pauline writings that precede it. Col 3:1-17 resonates with a variety of significant Roman, Jewish and Greek, especially Stoic, writings, rituals and practices. Such strong intertexture in the realm of virtues, body and the construction of identity indicates that the imagery is comparable and influential for the implied readers and hearers, the Christ followers of the Lycus Valley.

From the perspective of intertexture we proceed to engage the social and cultural texture that immerses us in the world that is imaged in the language of the text.

Social and Cultural Texture

The social and cultural texture goes beyond the intertexture to engage “the social and cultural “location” of the language and the type of cultural world the language evokes or creates”.⁹³ This involves examining what the text says about what it is like for the readers or hearers to live in the world of the text. This texture explores the agency of people in their world. What is their perception of their environment? Do they think that the world is an evil place? How might they change it? The social and cultural texture is a deeper exploration of what the text says about the religious response to the world.

The Letter to the Colossians provides insight to the world of the implied author and implied reader/hearer. The social and cultural texture of this letter describes the tensions that the community has through the persuasion of other philosophies and angel worship. Their identity as a Christ community is at stake. The encouragement to the community by the implied author renews the members in their response to the world: their identity is in Christ. The letter shapes what the Christ community’s religious response to the world must be “since then you have been raised with Christ” (Col 3:1).

From the outset of Col 3 the distinction is made between “earth” and “above”. What ensues is connection of all vice and evil associated with the earth and the world and its ways. The community of Christ followers have already committed to a different life, a life in Christ and here are exhorted to put to death such human activity that obscures their participation as members of the body of Christ. The list in 3:5 evokes purity laws and systems which act as “maps” delineating “bounded categories” where everything and everyone either fits in or does not, is clean or not.⁹⁴ In the Christ community those who have been raised with Christ (Col 3:1) are called in one body (Col 3:15), so are included within this new boundary. The putting to death of the bodily frame (Col 3:5) and putting off their vices (Col 3:8) secures this boundary in purity terms, yet they are challenged by the purity maps of their other identities. Earlier in Col 2:16 the Christ community at Colossae is told not to allow anyone to sit in judgement of their eating and

⁹³ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 71.

⁹⁴ Bruce Malina and Richard Rohrbaugh, *Social Science Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels*, second ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003), 396.

drinking habits or in observing festivals, new moons or Sabbaths.⁹⁵ Such judgements apply purity maps that are divisive to their community that is the “substance or body of Christ” (Col 2:17).

Yet purity is only one part of the picture. The intertexture revealed a practice of listing virtues and vices and outlining ethical living and the ideals of a virtuous life. The ideal of virtue pervades the cultural world at many levels, prescribing customs of piety to the gods, country and family, stratifying the elite from the lowly, distinguishing identities via the virtues they espouse. The virtues that are to be held in common are worn like clothing and named in Col 3:1-17. The intertexture of these virtues has been highlighted and weaves through the fabric of the social and cultural texture. These strands are further expanded in the ideological texture.

Colossians 3:1-17 frames particular relationships where Christ is known in relation to God (Col 3:1, 3, 17). Christ is already established as head of the body which is equated to the assembly (ἐκκλησία, Col 1:18). Christ holds the place of honour in the community of believers and that place constructs the identity of the group just as a head of household or the emperor are seen to epitomise their “bodies”, whether they be a household or an empire. The Christ followers are “God’s chosen ones, holy and beloved” (3:12) thus defining their cultural location. They have their life and identity in Christ and in God. The allegiance to Christ and identity in Christ takes priority over any other identity, yet living in this body requires constant renewal in that identity and ways of acting which accommodate the difficulties of tension between previous identity boundaries. Christ as the head is the focus of the honour for the community identified in him. The Christ followers clothing themselves with the heart of compassion, kindness, humility, gentleness, and love allows them to emulate the qualities and virtues of God and to relate to one another in a relationship that is not based in transactional benefaction, ethnocentrism, kinship or power. As the Christ followers clothe themselves in these qualities or virtues they are to engage generously and graciously with each

⁹⁵ The use of μή + present imperative demands an action that has begun, be ceased, or as in this case avoided. For further discussion see Harris, *Colossians and Philemon*, 117-18.

other, forgiving in the same manner as “the Lord”(Col 3:13) and as God (Col 2:13). The verb used for forgiveness in these instances is χαρίζομαι which is also used in Philemon for the return of the Onesimus (1:22). Such forgiveness is related to patience and accommodating difference.⁹⁶

The clothing of themselves by the imperative of this letter describes a “counterculture or alternate culture rhetoric”.⁹⁷ This term is best applied in intracultural situations such as in indicated here in Colossians 3:1-17. Such counterculture offers a better way of living for those who participate in it, yet it does not actively seek as a priority to reform the dominant culture. For the Colossians such a counterculture offers them a means of self-sufficiency within the dominant culture.

The potential threat of “philosophy and empty deceit” (Col 2:8) is a challenge to the honour of the Christ community where this community operates like a household and a loss of honour can upset the well-being of the whole group.⁹⁸ The members of this community are urged to be sensitive to shame: “see to it that no-one takes you captive...” (Col 2:8) and “Let no one condemn you ...” (Col 2:18).⁹⁹ Their life is “in Christ” (Col 1:2): “rooted and built up in him” (Col 2:7), their life is “hidden with Christ in God” (Col 3:3) and they “will be revealed with him in glory” (Col 3:4). This glory indicates the honour status they receive for their faithfulness to their identity in Christ. To reassert the identity of the community, rather than attack the challenge, indicates that they are still in control of the situation and thus hold their honour.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Forgiveness (χαρίζομαι) in Col 2:13 and 3:13 is allied to being patient with rather than the reconciliation (ἀποκαταλλάσσω) that God has already effected through Christ’s death on the cross (Col 1:20), a reconciliation through Christ’s “fleshly body”.

⁹⁷ This terminology founded in recent studies of the sociology of culture is employed by Vernon Robbins as the means to decisively identify cultural location. He describes five categories: dominant culture, subculture, counterculture, contraculture and limited culture. The social and cultural texture of Col 3:1-17 emulates a counterculture by this definition. See Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 86-88.

⁹⁸ This understanding of “honour and shame” societies is drawn from Malina and Rohrbaugh, *Social Science Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels*, 369-74.

⁹⁹ This translation is proposed by Clinton Arnold in accord with his translation of ἐμβατεύω in Col 2:18 as undergoing the second or higher stage of a mystery initiation rite. The particle ἐμβατεύων is dependent on the verb καταβραβεύετω and renders the following translation: “Let no one condemn you by insisting on ascetic practices and invoking angels because he “entered the things he had seen”.” Arnold, *Colossian Syncretism*, 120-24.

¹⁰⁰ Malina and Rohrbaugh, *Social Science Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels*, 372.

The change effected in the clothing imagery of taking off the old self and putting on the new (Col 3:8-9) indicates a change of identity from old to new, established from death to life in Col 3:1-3. Rather than a rite of passage it is a ritual for crossing boundaries. Such a crossing indicates where rules or laws are breached and there is need to limit the disruption, redress the imbalances and to restore the equilibrium of the community.¹⁰¹

Summary of the Social and Cultural Texture

The social and cultural texture of Col 3:1-17 reveals the simplicity of identity for the Christ followers when their focus is Christ. They live in a complex mix of identities. The language of the text indicates a stratified society notable for its ethnic, religious and economic differences that is counter to the culture of the Christ community. Ethnic and religious sub-cultures exist within the dominant culture and the Christ community embraces all in the identity of the body of Christ, forming a counterculture.

¹⁰¹ The idea of this change as a rite of passage is discussed and dismissed by DeMaris, *The New Testament in its Ritual World*, 20-23.

Ideological Texture

Ideology is about people rather than texts. Everyone who engages with this text, Col 3:1-17, brings their own bias and opinion, preference and stereotype to the interpretation. It is not my intention to give a detailed analysis of my own ideological bias. Rather I look to the discourse of people as evident in the text. Robbins outlines three ways to examine the ideological texture of a text:

...analyzing the social and cultural location of the implied author of the text; analyzing the ideology of power in the discourse of the text; and analyzing the ideology in the mode of intellectual discourse both in the text and in the interpretation of the text .¹⁰²

I investigate the ideology or ideologies in the social and cultural location of the implied author of Colossians 3:1-17 and scrutinise the ideology of power in this same text.

In Chapter 2 I outlined Robbins' view of ideology. By way of recalling this, let me reiterate his standpoint. Robbins draws on John Gager's definition where he uses ideology and symbolic universe interchangeably. I understand this as illustrated by the ideology of the Roman emperors. They implemented strategies to integrate "different provinces of meaning" in order to assert the "institutional order" of the empire as a unity of power across diverse nations.¹⁰³

I also added to this the perspective of Terry Eagleton. He describes ideology as an organising social force which actively constitutes human subjects at the roots of their lived experience and seeks to equip them with forms of value and belief relevant to their specific social tasks and to the general reproduction of the social order.¹⁰⁴

This indicates that ideology as an "organising social force" can be manipulated and influenced. To continue with the example above of the Roman emperors, we have

¹⁰² Although Robbins' suggests three ways to analyse the ideological texture of a text, he outlines only the first two. The third appears to be demonstrated in the study guide examples. See Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 110-19.

¹⁰³ Here I deliberately use the quotations from Gager which Robbins employs to underpin his explication of ideological texture in order to make a practical connection between the theory and my application of it. See Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 106.

¹⁰⁴ Eagleton, *Ideology*, 221.

already seen how Augustus implemented a cultural renewal program designed to cement the values of Rome as the ideals of the empire.

In light of these definitions we see that the symbolic universe of an individual or a community is not a static framework but a changing sphere of activity. As we engage the ideological texture we need to keep at the forefront of our interpretation of the text that ideology is not a fixed set of beliefs and values but a dynamic process within which groups form their identity.

Ideology in the social and cultural location of implied author

The implied author of Colossians is Paul. By implication the social and cultural location of Paul stretches from Jerusalem through Asia Minor and Greece to Rome encompassing a significant proportion of the Roman empire. Such a broad social and cultural location is likely greater than that of the communities of the Lycus Valley and the real author of the letter.

Robbins explains that insight into the ideological texture of a text can be gained through an analysis of “the spectrum of social and cultural data the implied author builds into the language of the text.”¹⁰⁵ The naming of the identities in Col 3:11 is a significant portion of this social and cultural data. These identities, Greek, Judean, circumcision, uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, slaves and free, name a definitive structure of boundaries for the community. They identify a “system of differentiation” that may be subject to domination.¹⁰⁶ However, the inclusion of “Scythian” has already raised some consternation as there appears little evidence of their presence in the Lycus Valley. In addition, there is no mention of Romans, Phrygians, women or children. The latter two categories feature in the following verses in the household code (Col 3:18-4:1). Indeed this selection of identities seems more congruent with the worldview of Paul than the experience of those in the Christ communities in the Lycus Valley. Such a perspective

¹⁰⁵ Robbins offers a framework for the analysis. Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*, 111.

¹⁰⁶ Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of the Texts*.

could also be applied, as discussed in the debate on authorship, by one who has been a close companion of Paul writing from Ephesus or Rome.

The collection of identities enumerated in Col 3:1-17 illustrates the contingencies of conflict and tension inherent in any organising force encompassing these differentials. The ideology could be, as in the Roman regime, that many peoples can be made one in a hierarchical structure. The model of the Christ communities is not created in this way. The ideology of the Christ communities is one where many peoples become one and none have priority over the other. An identity in Christ orders everyone and everything to Christ. The influence of competing ideologies alluded to in Col 2:8, through being taken captive through philosophy and empty deceit, are counteracted in Christ.

The prime belief system for the Christ followers at Colossae is their shared belief in being raised with Christ. It is this collective identity in the body of Christ that structures their relationships with each other and with God. It is not only a social grouping with a shared ideology but a community with a theology of life in Christ in God. Christ is the organising force and integrates all realms of meaning, for “Christ is all and in all” (Col 3:11). In this way, Christ is the “ideology”.

Within this pericope of Col 3:1-17 various vices and virtues are listed which give insight to the prevailing ideologies, values and beliefs of the social and cultural location of the implied author. The laying aside of vices (Col 3:8) and the clothing with virtues (Col 3:12) represent an ideology of virtue. The Roman ideology of virtue was reinvigorated by the cultural renewal undertaken by Augustus. In this renewal the virtues of the empire were vested in the emperor: the emperor was the ideal citizen and model for the identity of Roman citizens. The Roman schema borrowed from and emulated Greek virtues and values. The Greek ideology of virtue was correlated with the civic elite. Both the Greek and the Roman ideologies of virtue were concerned with a smooth running state.

The prime component of the ideology of virtue for the Colossian Christ community is love, (ἀγάπη). This is not peculiar to Colossians but is well founded in the undisputed

letters of Paul. Love is integral to the identity that is formed in the body of Christ (Col 3:14-15; 1 Cor 12: 9-13) and this love is variously described as love of neighbour (Rom 13:9-10), love of Christ (2 Cor 5:14) and love for one another (1 Thess 3:12). As noted in the oral-scribal texture the virtues listed both identify the Christ followers with the Judaic tradition through qualities of God (compassion (οἰκτιρμός), kindness (χρηστότης), and patience (μακροθυμία)) and offer means of cohesion for the body of Christ into which they are called, exhorting them to humility and gentleness that is borne out through forgiveness and bearing with one another. The significant correlation between the virtues of members of the Christ community and civic virtues has already been noted in the use of “kindness” or χρηστότης. The values or virtues enunciated in the Colossians do not replicate those of the prevailing Roman regime nor Hellenistic ethics. The systematic use of a common set of values and virtues to bring about unity among diverse peoples is a similar pattern of social construction. The friendship that results from the manner of cohesion between members of the body of Christ is not necessarily a political, economic or strategic alliance but a friendship born of love. Further discussion of this occurs in the next chapter as the findings of the exegesis are placed in dialogue with the visual imagery of clothing and body found in the material culture of statuary, *stelae*, funeral monuments and coins.

Ideology of power in the text

Within Col 3:1-17 the ideology of power is one of subversion. Potential opposites with major tension points are invited into acting in conciliatory ways of friendship. God holds the power and it is to God that the community belongs as chosen, holy and beloved (3:12). Christ all in all (3:11) is the peace that is to reign in their hearts forming one body. This ideology is grounded in membership of a “heavenly, not an earthly *civitas*.”¹⁰⁷ The notion of a reign of peace parallels the *Pax Romana* yet there is no overt reference to the Roman regime.

The body is not prominent in Col 3:1-17 yet in Col 1:18 the image of Christ as the head of the community assembly (ἐκκλησία) was introduced. Christ is “the image of God”

¹⁰⁷ Mitchell, "Ethnicity, Acculturation and Empire," 135.

(Col 1:15) and the focus of the identity of the body of believers. As the “first born of all creation” (Col 1:15) he is before all other powers, even the gods that the rulers might emulate. This inserts a level of cosmic power that is further emphasised in Col 2:10 where Christ is head of all rulers and authority. This development on Paul’s image of the body of Christ contrasts to the social and cultural location of Paul as the implied author.

The Christ followers at Colossae hold their power in their relationships with each other and in holding fast to the head (Col 2:19). Their power is in maintaining their identity in the body of Christ and not being split by competing identity markers. In Col 3:1-17 it is the clothing that takes precedence in the construction of their identity in Christ. It is the clothing that is the means of holding the body together and the predominant element of clothing is love. It is love that is the unifier: “your love in the Spirit” (Col 1:8), the desire of Paul that they be “united in love” (Col 2:2) and “over all of these, love” (Col 3:14). In Stoic thought the universe as a body is held together and unified by an all pervading spirit (πνεῦμα/*spiritus*) that makes the universe a body.¹⁰⁸ In Colossians this spirit is love which unifies the body to be mature in Christ.

Summary of the Ideological Texture

In short, in Colossians Christ is the “ideology” in the sense of integrating all realms of meaning and as the ultimate organising force, “Christ is all and in all” (Col 3:11). Christ counters the ideology found in the social and cultural location of the implied author. The worldview perspective of Paul, as implied author, reflects the panorama of constructed images such as deified emperors, glorified deities and honoured elite. Col 3:1-17 reveals no dominant structures in the Christ community; only Christ as the head of the body and the image of God. Membership in this body is lived and maintained in love.

¹⁰⁸ Chrysippus, a stoic philosopher of the third century BCE appears to have developed the doctrine of cosmic πνεῦμα. See Lee, *Paul, the Stoics and the Body of Christ*, 50-51. See also my discussion of the Stoic understanding of body in Chapter 5.

Sacred Texture

What is known of God in Col 3:1-17 is revealed in the context of those who have been raised with Christ. God has Christ in the greatest place of honour, seated at the right (Col 3:1). God encompasses Christ and the life of the believers (Col: 3:3-4). God is relational and capable of anger/wrath (3:6) and the believers belong to God, “chosen, holy and beloved” (Col 3:12). God receives grateful songs of praise and thanks (Col 3:16-17). God is Father (Col 3:17). Identity in Christ is wholly within God, a life hidden with Christ in God (Col 3:3).

In Col 3:10 the Christ followers indicate that they have clothed themselves with the new self which is being renewed in full knowledge according to the image of its creator.¹⁰⁹ This is noted in the discussion of the inner texture in Chapter 6 that Christ is the image of God as established in Col 1:9.

The Christ followers of Colossae and the Lycus Valley have already been transformed through the resurrection as indicated by the words, “Since then you have been raised with Christ...” (Col 3:1). The heart of this pericope, Col 3:1-17, is the renewal of the community in the knowledge of the image of the creator (Col 3:10), that is what it looks like to be in one body with Christ as the head. This passage reasserts the relationship of the community to God and to each other and renews their commitment to their identity in Christ.

The identity in Christ demands a specific mode of ethical living that is communicated in the metaphorical language of clothing. The “virtues” described are those that allow the members to live together with love and in peace.

It is not possible to compartmentalise the sacred texture of Colossians 3:1-17. What I have drawn out here is not the fullness of the sacred texture. Rather I have highlighted the strands of sacred texture which were woven through the other arenas.

¹⁰⁹ See my translation of the focus text Col 3:1-17 in Chapter 6.

Summary

The text and its literary location give insight to the network of images operating in the Lycus Valley in the first century CE. Each texture of the socio-rhetorical interpretation identifies layers of meaning in relation to the construction of identity through clothing and body imagery. These layers can be diagrammatically summarised as shown in Figure 7.

Inner Texture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Centrality of Christ (Χριστός) ⇒ Clothing imagery through use of verbs (ἀποτίθημι, ἀπεκδύομαι, ἐνδύομαι) in a chiasmic pattern, literally clothing Christ
Intertexture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Uses undisputed Pauline texts to underwrite clothing imagery ⇒ Draws, via allusion and echo, on a diverse range of imagery of clothing, body and virtue that, through ritual and practice, construct identity in Greek, Roman and Jewish texts ⇒ Links clothing, body and virtue in a persuasive argument for the way the Christ followers are to maintain their identity with each other and in Christ
Social and Cultural Texture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Presents a counterculture or alternate culture rhetoric in constructing an image of a better way of living ⇒ Does not seek to reform the existing social identities but offers a different model or image, where their “clothing” themselves allows them to live in the reign of the peace of Christ, as members of the body of Christ
Ideological Texture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ The belief system of the community of Christ followers at Colossae and in the Lycus Valley is grounded in being raised with Christ, “Since then you have been raised with Christ...”(Col 3:1) ⇒ The “ideology of virtue”, or being clothed in virtue and love, describes relationships that are forgiving and accommodating of each other with a view to symbiotic relationship in the body that is the assembly (ἐκκλησία) where Christ is the head ⇒ Power is vested in Christ as the head of the body(Col 1:18) and also of all other rulers and authorities (Col 2:10)
Sacred Texture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Emphasis on identity in Christ which is entirely within God ⇒ The Christ followers are “chosen, holy and beloved” of God (Col 3:12)

Figure 7: Table summarizing the layers of texture in Col 3:1-17.

What is revealed in this summary is the framework for an identity focused in Christ and as the body of Christ. The use of clothing as a metaphor provides the audience with the means of understanding their belonging to the community of Christ. The act of clothing themselves forms a boundary marker recognisable in the way they behave toward one another. With their eyes firmly on Christ as the head of their community they have no need to distinguish themselves by other boundary markers.

This summary of the visual construction of identity observable in the socio-rhetorical interpretation of Col 3:1-7 provides a basis for the dialogue that I engage in the next chapter. The results of the investigation of the arenas of texture highlight specific reference points for the ensuing dialogue with the images in the material culture of Colossae and the Lycus Valley of the first century CE.

Chapter 7

A Visual Construction of Identity: dialogue between images and text

Introduction

This chapter brings the visual imagery of clothing and body as found in the cityscapes of the Lycus Valley in first century CE into dialogue with the results of the exegesis of Colossians 3:1-17. Key to this dialogue is the notion of social identity that is formed from a group perspective.

I introduced social identity theory as foundational to my methodology. My application of this theory is based in the formation of the collective identity of the group that was a characteristic of Graeco-Roman societies.¹ This collective identity was constructed both within and between groups as they defined themselves in opposition to each other.² The identity of a collective group can be masterfully constructed by external individuals who locate the identity of that group in their person. This is shown most effectively in the case of the Emperor of Rome. In a limited literate world the power of images is integral to this construction of identity. Images shape the way people see that they belong.

Let me first summarise the images of clothing and body that frame the identity of those living in Colossae and the Lycus Valley in the first century CE. These can then be laid alongside the summary of the visual construction of identity from the exegesis of Colossians 3:1-17. I frame this discussion by considering the imagery of clothing and body as an “image network”.³ To do this I apply the three principles of analysis of imagery previously outlined in the methodology. These principles are:

1. all images must be interpreted as a network in their context;

¹ This is noted in the chapter on methodology and refers to studies by Bruce Malina, Richard Rohrbaugh, Jerome Neyrey and John Pilch.

² Such binary opposition is the basis of social identity theory expounded by Henry Tajfel and explained in Chapter 2.

³ This concept is outlined in Chapter 2 and 3.

2. networks of images also include root metaphors;
3. images are embedded in actions and experiences: “pragmatic connection with life”.⁴

Summary of the Visual Imagery of Clothing and Body

The survey of visual imagery for Colossae and the Lycus Valley in the first century CE began with the assumption that this region, under Roman rule, had Graeco-Roman cities. As such they were adorned with statuary, funeral monuments and other representative figures as were found throughout the Roman empire at that time. Indeed the cities of the Lycus Valley yielded evidence of their Graeco-Roman nature through the architectural remains. What emerged with deeper investigation was limited evidence of Imperial statues or imagery from the first century CE. This finding could not be dismissed simply on the basis of this being a seismically unstable region experiencing frequent earthquakes. Nor was this only on account of the reuse of all available material in rebuilding. There was little trace in the literature of the time to suggest that Roman statuary was a feature in these cities in the first century CE. This situation changed by the second and third centuries CE. In this period the proliferation of statuary and monuments was widespread. It was in this time that Laodikeia attained the status of “*neokorus*”. These later images may suggest a continuity of identity formation.

Nero was Emperor 54-68 CE. His reign and the images that accompany it are most pertinent to the Letter to the Colossians. Nero was the last of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. This dynasty began with Augustus who founded the empire and succeeded through Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius. None of these were a succession via son but rather through adopted heirs. The carved history of these emperors in reliefs such as are seen at Aphrodisias emphasised the engineering of Roman identity instigated through Augustus’ cultural renewal program. The three storey picture-gram of the Sebasteion constituted a network of images.

⁴ These principles are summarised by Gerd Theissen in his forward to Onuki, *Jesus’ Time*, xvii-xviii.

For practical and strategic reasons the location of the cities of the Lycus Valley were not deemed priorities for the establishment of the Imperial cult. As a result the cities along the coast including Ephesus developed a vastly different visual imagery from the more inland cities of the Lycus. Such a difference indicated a variance of experience between the implied writer and the implied reader or hearer. Whether the author was located in Ephesus or Rome, the number and variety of Roman imperial statues was greater than in the Lycus Valley. In the sense of an image network, the diversity of portrayals available across the empire was far greater than in any one location. The selection of depictions in any one place was a calculated and political exercise.

The extant remains intimate that the visual images in the Lycus Valley in the first century CE were primarily Greek. Pedestals engraved with the details of the statues they bore gave rise to an imagined streetscape adorned with statuary of gods, benefactors, imperial officers and magistrates and other honoured elite. These images may be complementary or competing in the formation of identity. The insertion of the emperor as focus identity was an attempt to link hierarchically with all these representations.

Stelae and funerary monuments depicted those honoured in death. The built identity via *stelae* was largely the virtue of the deceased for their own immortality and the continued lives of their family members. They were prime figures of the ideal citizens. They reflected the civic values held not only in their lifetime but in the present. The more spectacular monuments such as “Tomba Bella” at Hierapolis and the *Zoilos heroon* at Aphrodisias gave honour to significant citizens and benefactors of their cities. They served to define good citizenship and negotiated a public and political identity.

The structured images of the emperors, Roman officials and civic elite were integrated into a network of images. Within this array were votives for cultic deities and statues of patron gods and goddesses. The Roman images challenged those of the gods asserting power. At times the juxtaposition of statues showed likeness of the emperor to one such as Apollo. The spatial arrangement of statues maintained the imperial statuary as having precedence.

These images constitute an image network. Their interaction influenced the formation of identity. Among these depictions I concentrated on the common “root metaphors” of clothing and body. I argued for a visual construction of identity through clothing and body. The employment of the root metaphors in both image fields, emperor and Christ, allowed a contrast and comparison between the images and the text. I made this correlation in following areas:

- i the focus identity;
- ii clothing imagery;
- iii body as representative of a group.

Together these three areas constitute a visual construction of identity. For ease of comparison and contrast I provide a table that summarises each of these areas. Further explanation follows for each aspect.

Summary of Socio-Rhetorical approach to Col 3:1-17	Components of a visual construction of identity	Imagery from the Lycus Valley in the first century CE
<p>Centrality of Christ (Χριστός) - in the inner texture.</p> <p>Christ as head of body and the community assembly (ἐκκλησία) established Col 1:18.</p> <p>Christ is head of every ruler and authority (Col 2:10).</p>	<p>FOCUS IDENTITY</p>	<p>Emperor – image network of power. Includes emperors from Augustus (Julio-Claudian dynasty).</p> <p>Nero – head of Rome, empire. 54-68 CE.</p> <p>Depiction of emperors as gods.</p>
<p>Chiastic pattern of verbs referring to clothing wrap around Christ – inner texture.</p> <p>Established meaning of clothing imagery through undisputed Pauline writings – intertexture.</p> <p>Allusion and echo to ritual and practice of clothing that transforms identity – intertexture.</p> <p>“stripping off” (ἀπεκδύομαι) vices is their own action to clothe themselves in virtue and love – remaining in Christ.</p>	<p>CLOTHING</p>	<p>Emperors are portrayed in specific styles of clothing: togate, cuirassed and naked hero.</p> <p>Continuity of meaning from Augustus through the Julio-Claudian line.</p> <p>Reliefs and panels with “storyboard” of the connection of clothing or nakedness in regard to identity.</p> <p>Captives are stripped of their identity and humiliated by their oppressor – emperor/Rome.</p>
<p>Christ is head of the body (Col 1:18) and head of all rulers and authorities (Col 2:10).</p> <p>“the body” is identified as the community assembly (ἐκκλησία).</p> <p>Structure of the body is members in symbiotic relationship through an ideology of virtue.</p> <p>Members of the body are “chosen and beloved of God”, who clothe themselves in virtues and love.</p> <p>Does not seek to reform the existing social identities but offers a different model or image, where their “clothing” themselves allows them to live in the reign of the peace of Christ, as members of the body of Christ.</p>	<p>BODY</p>	<p>Nero is depicted as the personification of Rome. He is representative of the “body” of Rome and the empire. He is head of the body that is Rome.</p> <p>The images of the emperors are strategically aligned with personification of virtues, Rome, Demos, Polis in an image network to give primacy to the emperor.</p> <p>Sebasteion at Aphrodisias presents a network of images incorporating an ideology of conquest.</p> <p>Incorporation into the body of the emperor, Rome and empire, varies by status. For barbarians it is by submission, stripping of their clothes and identity. For civic elite by negotiation, indicated by changing clothes, eg Zoilos.</p> <p><i>Pax Romana</i> is affected through power relationships in an hierarchical structure.</p> <p>The emperor is head of an hierarchy.</p>

Figure 8: Visual construction of identity contrasting and comparing images and text.

This table holds the images and the text together in a web of images which construct identity. From this I demonstrate how the metaphorical use of clothing and body acts as a visual construction of identity informed by the prevailing visual culture of the Lycus Valley in the first century CE. Such a construction draws on the web of images available, capitalising on the root metaphors. The identity in Christ juxtaposed with the identity in the emperor defined their difference. The power vested in Christ was that of God. Christ was head of the body and of the rulers and authorities. The visual image of Christ as body is metaphorical. It is not carved in stone. It is not depicted via statuary but visualised through the cosmos itself. The members belong through their dying and rising with Christ. The depiction of the body is one constituted of members with no distinction by ethnicity, religion or status and clothed with compassion, kindness, humility, meekness, patience and love.

The socio-rhetorical approach illuminated this construction of identity through the layers of texture. The inner texture showed the centrality of Christ. Christ (Χριστός) is the focus identity of the Colossian community of Christ followers. The intertexture revealed a field of images concerned with clothing interactive with body and virtue in texts and ritual practice across a breadth of cultural experience. What is evident in the text of this interplay is grounded in the “world of the text” in a network of images. The social and cultural texture revealed a contrasting method of social organisation. This manner of relating subverts the hierarchy of images evident in the panorama at Aphrodisias. It is supported by the belief system of the Christ community where forgiving and accommodating relationships create unity in the body of Christ. In this body all members are “chosen, holy and beloved of God” (3:12).

We are now in a position to develop the dialogue between image and text for each of the three components of the visual construction of identity.

i The Focus Identity

As described earlier, Augustus embarked on a strategic program of cultural renewal. He understood the power of images and employed them to his advantage. His statues became his presence in Rome and the provinces. The depictions of clothing and body identified him with the virtues and values of Rome. He became the “blueprint” of the ideal Roman citizen. His reign began the Julio-Claudian dynasty that would follow his model and continue to structure the identity of the Roman empire in the person of the emperor. Among his successors, Nero most closely followed his strategies, focusing the empire as the body with him as the head. The visible images of the emperor consolidated the identity for all living under the Roman regime.

The reign of Nero coincided with the writing of the Letter to the Colossians. Nero emulated Augustus and included his name in his title as emperor: Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus. He was one of the few emperors who allowed precious metal statues of himself in his lifetime. There were as many mints operating in Nero’s reign as in that of Augustus. Nero appeared intent on the proliferation of his image throughout the empire. He used the images of the coins and reliefs to supplant the gods with his own image. Among the coins I presented earlier from Laodikeia two coins in his reign have the same obverse of Zeus with the eagle on his right hand. On the reverse one depicted Demos and the other Nero. Nero was at least equating himself with Demos if not replacing him. Similarly in the reliefs at Aphrodisias Nero replicated Roma in battle dress promoting himself as interchangeable with the god of Rome. Nero built a powerful image of himself including alignment with both Apollo and Helios.⁵ He managed this through a network of images which gave him precedence of place.

Despite all his efforts, the proliferation of images of the emperor was not consistent throughout the empire. The expected focus on the emperor through statuary in the cities of the Lycus Valley was not substantiated by the extant remains from the first century

⁵ Nero is acclaimed by inscription as “Emperor Caesar Nero Augustus, New Apollo” and “Emperor Caesar son of a god, Augustus Nero, New Apollo” on the base of statues in Athens. See Edward Champlin, *Nero* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 117.

CE. The lack of evidence is not proof that there were no imperial images. It simply means few remains have been found. The earthquakes and rebuilding in the region certainly took their toll. Evidence of decapitated and mutilated statues of emperors in other regions is suggestive of the fate of similar in the Lycus Valley.

The coins and military standards displayed the heads of the emperors. It was during the empire that the emperor was added to the standard.⁶ These mobile portrayals spread the focus identity widely beyond the public spaces of the cities. The coins crossed the threshold into the domestic sphere. The standards branded the identity of all incorporated into the Roman Army and were visible during military sojourns, battles and processions.

The concentration on the emperor, his family and strategic leaders or commanders was heightened by the profile of the hierarchy of others. The ruling Roman elite as “in-group” maintained this ranking.⁷ The pictorial system available through reliefs and statuary were vital to mapping the relationships. The Greek civic leaders had pride of place in their local cities. They were subject to the emperor. Depictions of negotiating identity as seen with Zoilos at Aphrodisias also indicated the hierarchical structure. The “barbarians” held the lowest place in the hierarchy. Their difference was illustrated by distinctive garb and semi-nakedness. Often depicted as females, they were shown as smaller figures. They were spatially located beneath the powerful bodies of the victors, shown as naked heroes or wearing armour. This spatial differentiation Lopez describes as “structural oppositions constructing reality”.⁸ It is to these that she applies a semiotic diagram to map the power relationships. Kahl notes these as a “clash of images” representative of the “mental wallpaper” that was before everyone’s eyes in the ancient world.⁹ This is the view unfamiliar and hidden to us unless we engage the images along with the text.

⁶ Suetonius notes Artabanus , King of the Parthians, as giving the highest honours “to the eagles, standard and images of the Caesars.” Suetonius, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, trans. J C Rolfe, 8 vols., vol. 8, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1913-18), Caligula 14.

⁷ Harland, *Dynamics of Identity*, 118.

⁸ Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered*, 21.

⁹ Kahl, *Galatians Re-imagined*, 28.

The reference to specific identities in Col 3:11 acknowledged the existence of the hierarchy. The binary oppositions in the text amplified the tensions of assimilation and negotiation.

The Roman identity centred in the emperor relied on the hierarchy and power relationships to establish a unity. Identity in Christ had no such hierarchy. Divisions of Greek, Judean, circumcision, uncircumcision, barbarians, Scythians, slave and free have no bearing on the relationship in Christ. The clothing of love dispelled the hierarchical difference imposed by and inherent in the Roman regime.

The focus on Christ was made visible through the reiteration of the title “Christ” (Χριστός) especially in Col 1:1-4, 1:24-2:7, 3:1-4. The chiastic pattern of the verbs of clothing in Col 3:8-14 marked the centrality of Christ to the identity of the community. This visibility correlated to the multiplicity of images of the emperor. The emperors fashioned their representations in imitation of the gods. They located their statues proximate to statues of the gods whom they emulated. Imperial Cult temples competed in grandeur and location with those of the gods. The relationship of Christ to God was imaged through their relationship: Christ is son of God (Col: 1:3), God’s beloved son (Col 1:13), image of the invisible God (Col 1:15), firstborn of all creation (Col 1:15), in him the fullness of God was pleased to dwell (Col 1:19) and dwells bodily (Col 2:9), and Christ is seated at God’s right hand (Col 3:1).

Both the emperor and Christ are made visible as a focal point of identity through a multiplicity of images, whether concrete or literary, and their relationship to the deity/ies. In this manner the visual construction of identity in Christ was informed by the way the emperors constructed their identity.

Clothing

The clothing imagery in Col 3:1-17 wraps around Christ (Χριστός). This clothing describes the relationships between members that hold them in the body of Christ. These were relationships formed in gentleness, patience, kindness, humility and love. It was

clothing that maintained the new identity in Christ. It overwrote divisions of other identities. It was the new identity since they have been raised with Christ (Col 3:1). The transforming action of clothing in Colossians transcended the social and ethnic boundaries opening the way for all to belong irrespective of status.

In contrast the view of the Roman clothing imagery expressed the power of the emperor over the people. The gallery of images from Aphrodisias and Ephesus exhibited the hierarchy of inclusion in the Roman “body”. Roman citizens and civic elite were depicted clothed in honour. The nakedness of the subject conquered people cringed in opposition to the image of the naked hero or cuirassed emperor. For “outsiders” or barbarians assimilation as members of the “body” of Rome meant being shamed and violently subdued under the armoured and naked heroes of Rome.

Within the civic framework the good citizen was immortalised in stone. Clothed in *himation* or the garb of their occupation they were often depicted in the company of their family. The domestic setting, often a banquet, affirmed the virtue of the one honoured. Epithets of “worthy hero/oine” (ἥρωος χρηστός, ἡρώϊνη χρηστή) qualified the image as that of a good person. The rhetoric of friendship was idealised in “good men”.¹⁰ Cicero further affirmed friendship as a bond of goodwill without which “no house or city will be able to stand”.¹¹ The images of the good citizens were complementary constructions of identity to that of the emperor. Without these good virtuous citizens the body, of which the emperor was the head, would not survive.

As seen in Chapter 4, the clothing of emperors epitomised the virtues of *dignitas*, *humanitas*, *gravitas* and *pietas*. The fullness of the toga encapsulated these virtues. The narrowness of depiction of the emperor’s body, as in the example of Augustus, accentuated his piety and humility.¹² The three styles of statues, togate, cuirassed and

¹⁰ “Friendship cannot exist except between good men” (Cicero, “Laelius, on Friendship and the Dream of Scipio,” (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1990), 5.)

¹¹ Cicero, “Laelius, on Friendship and the Dream of Scipio,” 7.23.

¹² See Chapter 2: ii Art History.

naked hero, gave differing emphasis to the portrayal of the essence of being Roman and the godlike qualities of the emperor.

The use of clothing imagery in Col 3:1-17 was intertextually linked to the collective memory of the Jewish people as recorded in the First Testament. Clothing acted as a conduit of communication between the past and the present. It bridged the gap between mortal and divine. The collective memory enshrined symbolic meaning not only in the text of the First Testament but in the rituals and lived expressions of their identity as God's chosen people and their relationship to God. This meaning is reinterpreted in the Pauline texts and underpins Colossians, realigning identity in Christ. The new identity included gentiles. The changes to symbolic meaning of clothing reverberated in every dimension where identity was defined or represented by clothing.

Similarly the collective visual identity engineered by the Roman imperial propaganda since Augustus composed a field of images conveying specific meanings related to identity and power. We have seen how these built upon and interacted with the established Greek infrastructure: an organisation of city, honour, identity and relationship. The gallery of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias told a story that cemented the Roman identity in that place. The portrayals of clothing and nakedness string together symbolic meaning which visually constructed identity. There was nothing benign about the presence of this network of images in sight of all who frequented the public domain of the city. The celebration of aggressive, oppressive power over outsiders and barbarians secured the hierarchical power structure and contrived a sculptured plan for assimilation.

Body

The imagery of body at Aphrodisias showed Rome embodied in the emperor. The emperor, and thus Rome, subdued other nations. The imagery depicted an ideology of conquest. The visual construction of identity revealed the power of Rome over other nations to bring about peace: *Pax Romana*.

The sculpturing of identity in the Letter to the Colossians allowed them to live in the reign of peace. The community members were exhorted to let the peace of Christ rule in their hearts (Col 3:15). Christ was established as the peacemaker (εἰρηνοποιήσας) in Col 1:20. He was peacemaker through the blood of his cross. This peace had an eschatological dimension.¹³ It was present in the community that forgave each other as the Lord did (Col 3:13). It was future in the creation of a cosmic worldwide peace yet to come.

Nero as head of the body corporate of Rome and Christ as the head of the body, the community assembly (ἐκκλησία), offer parallel and contrasting constructions of identity. The sense of body in the ancient world was malleable to such manipulation.

The Christ community at Colossae and in the Lycus Valley was faced with the loss of their identity. They were in crisis on two counts. The first was that of the leadership. Following the death of a charismatic leader such as Paul, there was need for reconstitution of the membership in their primary reason for existence. In this case they were focused in Christ. The urging and encouragement from Paul, and the emphasis given to Epaphras and Tychicus, combined in the handing on of the leadership. Yet none of these was the head of the body. That position belonged to Christ. The members of the body of Christ were focused in him as the head of the body, the community assembly.

The second is that of the disunity caused through the false teachings and tensions due to the practice of angel worship. The differences in status, food regulations and observation of festivals have accentuated the different identities within the community. The refocus on Christ and their own agency in clothing themselves with virtues and love brings about unity and peace. Their re-“membering” into Christ constructed a metaphorical way for them to image themselves in Christ. The only template for them was Christ. Such metaphorical imagery reconciled with Jewish sensitivity to graven images.

¹³ Clinton Arnold links the naming of Christ as peacemaker to the promise of universal peace in the Servant Songs of Isaiah. He describes the eschatological balance of Colossians where peace is able to be experienced in the present yet is still not fully created as a universal peace. See Arnold, *Colossian Syncretism*, 265.

For a writer familiar with Ephesus and/or Rome, the parallels to the model of the emperor as the head of the unified body of the empire were clear. The engineering of a unified empire in the body of the emperor clothed in the virtues of Rome was evident in the mass production and repetition of images carving the relationship of power into the built environment of the cities. The exhortation to clothe themselves with the means of relating to each other in love metaphorically carved them into living models of their identity in Christ.

Implications

The Christ followers of the Lycus Valley lived in an environment laden with images. Many of these were structured means of communication. Together they formed a web of images that conveyed meaning easily recognised within the system of signs of the first century CE. Their understanding of the letter addressed to them must be read in the context of this web of images.

I name “clothing” and “body” as root metaphors as they were available to the broadest framework of understanding: the human person. Both clothing and body were employed metaphorically in statuary, funerary monuments, *stelae* and coins. In any one group their clothing and body defined their identity within the image network of that group.

With a crisis of identity looming with the Christ communities in the Lycus Valley, the author of the letter redefined their belonging to Christ. The use of clothing imagery drew on the specific image network established for the Pauline communities. It interacted with the broader web of images which prevailed in their cities.

The visual construction of identity in Colossians was not essentially a polemic against the Romans. Rather it was a construction of identity which drew on the components used by the Roman regime to assert itself via images as the omnipresent power. In Colossians there was no doubt that Christ reigned supreme (Col 2:10). Belonging to Christ, being members of his body, they shared this power. There was no need for them to be seduced by other identities and powers. No matter how powerful other groups may have seemed, even those advocating angel worship, they already belonged to the most powerful community: the Christ community.

Realising the body of Christ as the model of the community comes from considering its context. The images of the Lycus Valley and strategically connected cities in the first century CE inform the model. Once understood in this way this model can be released for application to new places, other communities and in every age.

Summary

The dialogue that is possible between the visual imagery of clothing and body in the cityscapes of the Lycus Valley and strategically connected cities is best described in terms of an image network. This language that is most at home in the metaphor of literary texts is easily translated for use with visual culture.

The systematic representation of emperors provided a hierarchy of images within a constructed image network. This network of images intersected and interacted with that of the Christ community. The author of the Colossians urged the community members to construct their own identity in Christ, since they were already raised with Christ (Col 3:1).

Chapter 8:

Conclusions and Further Research

I began with the story of Nel Heyadat and her experience of returning to Afghanistan. Living in London since her early childhood, Nel did not have the confirmation of her identity as Afghani through her clothing or indeed many of the other visual cues. Nel was excited to assume the signs of her belonging as she donned suitable clothing for her travel. Her enthusiasm waned once in the country of her birth. The inadequacy of her garments in the rural area marked her as foreign. Furthermore, she observed that putting on hijab or burqa was not simply an act of belonging to a religious and ethnic community. The meaning of women's clothing was interwoven with a male-oriented and hierarchical power system. As soon as Nel left the confines of the family household she was immediately a member of the wider group of women bound by specific regulations and readily distinguished by her garments. Clothing herself as Afghani made her recognisable as such but had not transformed how she saw herself. Nel did not want to embrace all that these garments implied. Nel's return to England did not resolve the issue of her identity although it answered the question as to whether she wanted to live there. She still needed to negotiate her identity and belonging within the Western culture in which she continued to live.

Her story offered insights to our understanding of the situation in the ancient city of Colossae. Nel reflected the human need for belonging. Her search illuminated the complexities of identity that can be communicated through clothing. I have insisted from the beginning that identity is not static. It is a dynamic concept subject to negotiation and manipulation. More than this, the act of clothing oneself with a new identity needs to be accompanied by a transformation of the heart. Putting on new clothes is not enough. The transformation to a new identity must be accompanied by the acceptance of living a new way of life. The Letter to the Colossians communicates this through the use of metaphor. Founded in a concrete object, metaphors allow a meaning beyond the object that it implies. The imagery of clothing and body in Colossians has parallels to

the mechanics of building identity in the world where it was written. Yet, for the Christ followers, it was not possible just to have the appearance of belonging to Christ. Having clothed themselves with the new self (Col 3:10) and with the heart of compassion, kindness, humility, gentleness, patience and love (Col 3:12, 14), the Christ followers enacted their change of heart. Indeed the new self “is being renewed in full knowledge according to the image of its creator” (Col 3:10). They were members of the body of Christ. The distinctiveness of the clothing of the body of Christ was revealed in the way the members related to one another. The members of the body were glued together in love. Their identity was centred in Christ as head of the body to which they belonged, the Christ community assembly. With this in mind I draw together the conclusions of this investigation and explicate avenues for further research.

The conclusions of this study are as much about the method as the results of the method. I proposed that the imagery of clothing and body in Colossians 3:1-17 parallels and critiques a systematic visual construction of identity in the cities of the Lycus Valley in the first century CE. The implications of the dialogue set up in the last chapter form the basis of the conclusions which I now summarise briefly in connection to proposed further research.

From the outset I asserted dialogue was possible between images and texts as demonstrated in a variety of ways by scholars such as Maier, Lopez, Kahl and Nasrallah.¹ The method I employed diverged from theirs, engaging the visual images of clothing and body in the cities of the Lycus Valley in a conversation with a socio-rhetorical interpretation of Col 3:1-17. Using this method I have been able to clearly illuminate the interaction of the imagery of clothing and body in the text with representations of the same in the world of the time. As a result I contend that any interpretation of a biblical text needs to engage the socio-political visual landscape in which the text was crafted and heard.² The visible schemas of images in such landscapes were deliberate constructions to communicate particular values and shape identity within

¹ The methods employed by these scholars are explicated in the chapter covering the scholarly context.

² In dialogue with me concerning this thesis Michael Trainor suggested that I argue that the interpretation of a biblical text needs to take into consideration the visual/socio-political landscape and coined the term “visual exegesis” which I use with permission.

a specific framework. The insights drawn from the interaction of biblical texts with this structured communication system are vital to our understanding of the text in its time and location. This is the basis of establishing “visual exegesis” as a practical model for analysing biblical texts. Such a tool builds on previous proposals for “visually literate readings” and the use of “visual intertextuality” as a means of interpretation.³ A visual exegesis makes it possible to explore the image networks operating in media such as statuary, funerary monuments, *stelae* and coins as well as in texts. Paying attention to the dialogue and interaction between texts and images honours the semi-literate world in which these texts were written.

The structured visual representations that were such a major part of the communication system were a product of the elite and the powerful. The careful employment of clothing and body imagery in Col 3:1-17 illustrated a way for the author to critique the current power structures and to give the Christ followers a recognisable means of living their identity in Christ.

The location of common points of reference such as “focus identity”, “clothing” and “body” in both texts and images proved to be vital to the investigation of the major issue addressed by the author of the Colossians: the loss of their identity in Christ. These points of reference were not isolated components but integral parts of the image network of the group. This method offers a way forward in understanding the complex weaving of traditions, values, beliefs, ethnicity and status in the defining of identity. The mapping of identity through relationship with Christ transcends other designations such as ethnicity, religious belief and status so that, for instance, a Scythian non-circumcised slave can belong alongside a circumcised Jewish free person.

I see a range of options for research from this point. Firstly, in light of the proliferation of imperial representations in Ephesus, there is opportunity to pursue a visual exegesis of the Letter to the Ephesians. Both letters deal with the identity of the Christ

³ Davina Lopez argued for “visually literate” readings in Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered*, 168-70. Brigitte Kahl employs “visual intertextuality” in conjunction with scriptural intertextuality in Kahl, *Galatians Re-imagined*, 26.

community: Colossians through a specific issue and Ephesians through a more universal perspective. Such an investigation would allow refinements to the method and provide insights to Ephesians and contrasts to this present work on Colossians. Further insights to the interrelationship of these two letters may also be gleaned from the comparison. The broad perspective of Ephesians invites correlations and contrasts across the networks of images in cities where Christ communities flourished.

I limited my investigation in this thesis to the dialogue between images and texts where the images were representative forms of clothing and body. There is no reason to limit it in this way in the future. The broadening of the field of visual imagery could include the realm of ritually enacted visible signs such as processions and initiation ceremonies. These public and private rituals are also preserved in both representative forms through friezes and reliefs as well as textual forms through inscriptions and documents. The interaction of these representations with the texts which describe initiation, identity formation and baptism may further enlighten the early practice of initiation into the Christ community. The present day liturgy of the sacrament of baptism draws significantly from Colossians. Our belonging to the Christian church is still formed by the clothing imagery which defined the identity of the Christ communities in the Lycus Valley of the first century. In the Catholic Church in Australia, and indeed in my local parish of Richmond in Victoria, where I live and worship, we are in need of a renewal of our identity in Christ.

The Letter to the Colossians addressed community members who have already risen with Christ and sought to renew their identity in the midst of the visual paraphernalia of power. We do not need to look far to see this in our present day world. The socio-political visual landscape of the twenty-first century is not confined to statuary, monuments and other concrete portraiture. We live in a multi-layered communication system of images through electronic media transmitted at ever greater speed and available to us twenty-four hours a day wherever we are. Further investigations and interpretations of the influence of image networks and the construction of our identity in Christ offer practical aid to the growth of our communities of faith in this millennium.

Image networks provide a methodological framework for the dialogue between image and text. Reading images as part of a network allowed access to interpreting the construction of identity, assimilation of images and symbols and the interaction of symbolic worlds. Recognition of the systematised connection of specific images such as clothing and body highlighted points of contrast and parallel in the construction of meaning in both physical representations and literary metaphor. The parallels and contrasts within and between the networks show the construction of meaning and offer new insights to the formation of the Christ communities. The mental picture painted in Col 3:1-17 of the identity of the community centred on Christ was an abstraction from existing means of identity construction visible in the cities. The Letter to the Colossians offered a model for strengthening communities that called on each member to take responsibility for their membership. Coming together in love was Eucharistic: the members were exhorted to “be thankful” (εὐχάριστος, Col 3:15). Following this in Col 3:16 appeared the way to offer this thanks when the community was together: “Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly, teaching and admonishing each other in all wisdom, singing in gratitude in your hearts to God with psalms, hymns and spiritual songs”.

Further opportunities abound for the engagement of the image networks in the biblical texts in dialogue with the structured images in the world of the text. The model seen in Colossians can be compared and contrasted with those in other communities in other places.

The concentration on “clothing” and “body” highlights the importance of these two elements not only to the Letter to the Colossians, but to the symbolic world of the Roman empire, and indeed, the entire Graeco-Roman world. As root metaphors “clothing” and “body” are essential and foundational building blocks to identity construction. “Clothing” by its nature is indicative of transformation and communicates identity. “Body” provides a canvas for mapping both the structure of relationship and identity characteristics. I consider this an area of expansion of research for the exploration of other Second Testament writings. What insights could be possible from

the examination of the passion narratives in the context of the visible images of clothing and body in the cities of the authors and their audiences?

I demonstrated the importance of the use of a broad spectrum approach to the text to gain as comprehensive an investigation of all possible points of dialogue with the world of which it is a part. A socio-rhetorical approach allowed investigation of layers of texture of meaning. It opened contact points in the text to make the dialogue between images and text possible. With the aid of these textures the networks of images could be observed as they were built through various traditions and environments. The linking of these textures to networks of images is key to the process of visual exegesis as I perceive it. Furthermore, this intricate weave of traditions of images, established through the writings of the First Testament, opens the opportunity for the investigation of the intertexture of image networks along the lines of the formation of identity through the traditions that come together in the new identity in Christ. Representations from the symbolic world of the First Testament, preserved in the friezes from the Hittite, Assyrian and other kingdoms, offer significant material for such research.

As excavation continues at Laodikeia and Hierapolis, and when it begins at Colossae, further light may be shed on the prevalence of imperial images in the Lycus Valley. The full story may never be known. The ravages of earthquakes and extensive reuse of material in rebuilding leave large gaps in our knowledge of the cityscapes. The recent discovery of a *prima porta* style portrait of Augustus at Laodikeia invites questions of correlation with particular cities of specific status. As noted earlier, *prima porta* statues are known in Rome and Thessaloniki. As a distinctively Greek styled portrait of the deified Augustus, the use of the *prima porta* style may have significant alignment to the identity and power structures in these places.

Visual exegesis takes biblical interpretation to a new nuanced level. It incorporates and interacts with the scholarship across multiple disciplines. The prominence of images as a systematic communication system in conjunction with the written word in a semi-literate

world deserves much more attention. The whole structure of the way people learn, adapt, belong and take their place in the ancient world is predicated by their orientation to it. The visible cues are deeply embedded in the communication process, in the way that power relationships are established and in how individuals know and live their collective identity. In other words, what we see shapes who we are. This is the essence of this thesis.

Appendix 1

Table of Christ Identity Progression in Colossians

	Christ			Father/Son	Lord	God	
1:1	Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ					Θεοῦ	Apostle of Christ Jesus
1:2		ἐν Χριστῷ				Θεοῦ	in Christ
1:3			Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	Πατρί	Κυρίου	τῷ Θεῷ	God the father of our Lord Jesus Christ
1:4	ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ						faith in Christ Jesus
1:5							
1:6						τοῦ Θεοῦ	
1:7		τοῦ Χριστοῦ					faithful minister of Christ
1:8							
1:9							
1:10					τοῦ κυρίου	τοῦ Θεοῦ	
1:11							
1:12							
1:13				τοῦ υἱοῦ			
1:14							
1:15						τοῦ Θεοῦ	
1:16							
1:17							
1:18							
1:19							
1:20							
1:21							
1:22							
1:23							
1:24		τοῦ Χριστοῦ					

1:25						τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ	
1:26							
1:27		Χριστός				ὁ Θεός	Christ in you
1:28		ἐν Χριστῷ					mature in Christ
1:29							
2:1							
2:2		Χριστοῦ				τοῦ Θεοῦ	
2:3							
2:4							
2:5		εἰς Χριστόν					faith in Christ
2:6	Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν				τὸν κύριον		received Christ Jesus the Lord
2:7							
2:8		κατὰ Χριστόν					according to Christ
2:9							
2:10							
2:11		τοῦ Χριστοῦ					of Christ
2:12						τοῦ Θεοῦ	
2:13							
2:14							
2:15							
2:16							
2:17		τοῦ Χριστοῦ					body of Christ
2:18							
2:19						τοῦ Θεοῦ	
2:20		σὺν Χριστῷ					with Christ
2:21							
2:22							
2:23							

3:1		τῷ Χριστῷ ὁ Χριστός				τοῦ Θεοῦ	with Christ the Christ
3:2							
3:3		τῷ Χριστῷ				ἐν τῷ Θεῷ	with Christ in God
3:4		ὁ Χριστός					Christ who is your life
3:5							
3:6						τοῦ Θεοῦ	
3:7							
3:8							
3:9							
3:10							
3:11		Χριστός					Christ is all and in all
3:12						τοῦ Θεοῦ	
3:13					ὁ κύριος		
3:14							
3:15		τοῦ Χριστοῦ					peace of Christ
3:16		τοῦ Χριστου				τῷ Θεῷ	word of Christ
3:17				πατρὶ	κυρίου Ἰησοῦ	τῷ Θεῷ	in the name of the Lord Jesus
3:18					κύριον ἐν οὐρανῷ		
3:19							
3:20					ἐν κυρίῳ		
3:21							
3:22					τὸν κύριον		
3:23					τῷ κυρίῳ		

3:24					ἀπὸ κυρίου τῷ κυρίῳ Χριστῷ		serve the Lord Christ
3:25							
4:1							
4:2							
4:3		τοῦ Χριστοῦ				ὁ Θεός	mystery of Christ
4:4							
4:5							
4:6							
4:7					ἐν κυρίῳ		
4:8							
4:9							
4:10							
4:11						τοῦ Θεοῦ	
4:12	Χριστοῦ [Ἰησοῦ] ¹					τοῦ Θεοῦ	slave of Christ (Jesus)
4:13							
4:14							
4:15							
4:16							
4:17					ἐν κυρίῳ		
4:18							
	3(4)	19	1		13	21	

Notes:

- Three occurrences of “in Christ”
- One occurrence of “Lord Christ” and one of “Lord Jesus”

¹ “Christ Jesus” has the greatest textual support of the manuscripts see also MacDonald, *Colossians and Ephesians*, 181.

Appendix 2

Table of “Clothe” References

ἀμφιάδζω	clothe
ἀμφιέννυμι	clothe
ἀπεκδύομαι	strip off, put off
ἀποτίθημι	lay aside
ἐνδύω	put on(a garment) wear, clothe, be clothed
ἐκδύω	strip off
ἐπιβάλλω	throw or place on or upon
περιαίρέω	remove
περιβάλλω	put on(a garment) wear, clothe, be clothed
περιζώννυι	gird yourself
στολίζω	to dress, adorn
שב	clothe, put on
ש	put
טשפ	strip off
גנ	gird
גא	gird, encompass, equip
כס	cover
כסכ	covering

Reference	Verse	Hebrew	Greek
Genesis 3:21	And the Lord God made garments of skins for the man and for his wife and clothed them (ἐνεδυσεν – aorist active)	שב	ἐνδύω
Genesis 38:14	She (Tamar) put off (περιαίρέω)her widow’s garments, put on (περιβάλλω)a veil, wrapped herself up and sat down at the entrance to Enaim on the road to Timnah;	כס	περιαίρέω περιβάλλω
Exodus 28:41	(40: For Aaron’s sons you shall make tunics and sashes and headdresses...) 41: You shall put them on (future indicative active) your brother Aaron, and on his sons with him, and shall anoint them and ordain them so that they may serve as priests.	שב	ἐνδύω

Reference	Verse	Hebrew	Greek
Exodus 29:5	Then you shall take the vestments and put on (indicative future active) Aaron the tunic and the robe of the ephod and the ephod and the breastpiece and gird him with the decorated band of the ephod	לבש	ἐνδύω
Exodus 29:6	Then you shall bring his sons and put tunics on them	שים	ἐνδύω
Exodus 40:13	And put on Aaron the sacred vestments...	לבש	ἐνδύω
Exodus 40:14	You shall bring his sons also and put tunics on them	לבש	ἐνδύω
Leviticus 6:10	The priest shall put on his linen vestments after putting on his linen undergarments next to his body;	לבש	ἐνδύω
Leviticus 6:11	Then he (the priest) will take off (ἐκδύω) his vestments, and put on (ἐνδύω) other garments, and carry forth the ashes outside the camp to a clean place.	לבש	ἐκδύω ἐνδύω
Leviticus 8:7	He <i>put the tunic on</i> him. Fastened the sash around him, <i>clothed him</i> with the robe and put the ephod on him....	לבש	ἐνδύω ἐνδύω
Leviticus 8:13	And Moses brought forward Aaron's sons and clothed them with tunics and fastened sashes around them....	לבש	ἐνδύω
Leviticus 16:4	He (Aaron) shall put on (ἐνδύω) the holy tunic, and shall have the linen undergarments next to his body, fasten (ζωννύω) the linen sash/belt, and wear (περιτίθημι) the linen turban; these are the holy vestments. He shall bathe his body in water, and then put them on (ἐνδύω).	לבש	ἐνδύω περιτίθημι
Leviticus 16:23	Then Aaron shall enter the tent of meeting, and shall take off (ἐκδύω) the linen vestments that he put on when he went into the holy place, and shall leave them there	טפש	ἐκδύω
Leviticus 19:19	You shall keep my statutes...nor shall you put on a garment made of two different materials		ἐπιβάλλω
Numbers 20:26	Strip (ἐκδύω) Aaron of his vestments (ἱμάτιον) and put them on his son, and Aaron shall be gathered to his people, and shall die there.	לבש	ἐνδύω

Reference	Verse	Hebrew	Greek
Numbers 20:27	Moses stripped Aaron of his vestments and put them on his son Eleazar, and Aaron died there on the top of the mountain.		ἐνδύω
Deuteronomy 22:5	A woman shall not wear a man's apparel, nor shall a man put on (ἐνδύω) a woman's garment, for whoever does such things is abhorrent to the Lord your God		ἐνδύω
Deuteronomy 22:12	You shall make tassels on the four corners of the cloak with which you cover (περιβάλλω) yourself.	תוסב	περιβάλλω
Ruth 3:3	Now wash and anoint yourself, and put on (περιτίθημι) your best clothes and go down to the threshing floor, but do not make yourself known to the man until he has finished eating and drinking.	שׂים	περιτίθημι
Ruth 3:9	He said, 'Who are you?' And she answered, 'I am Ruth, your slave, spread (περιβάλλω) your cloak over your slave, for you are next-of-kin		περιβάλλω
1 Samuel 17:38	Saul clothed David with his armour, he put a bronze helmet on his head and clothed him with a coat of mail	לבשׁ	ἐνδύω
1 Samuel 28:8	So Saul disguised himself and put on (περιβάλλω) other clothes and went there...	לבשׁ	περιβάλλω
2 Samuel 3:31	Then David said to Joab and to all the people who were with him, "Rend your clothes, and put on (περιζώννυμι) sackcloth and mourn before Abner."	תנח	περιζώννυμι
2 Kings 3:21	When all the Moabites heard that the kings had come up to fight against them, all who were able to put on (περιζώννυμι) armour, from the youngest to the oldest, were called out, and were drawn up at the frontier.	תנח	περιζώννυμι
2 Chronicles 6:41	...Let your priests be clothed with salvation ...	לבשׁ	ἐνδύω
2 Chronicles 28:15	Then those who were mentioned by name got up and took the captives and with the booty they <i>clothed</i> all the naked among them, <i>they clothed</i> them, gave them sandals, ...	לבשׁ	περιβάλλω ἐνδύω

Reference	Verse	Hebrew	Greek
Esther 4:1	When Mordecai learned all that had been done, Mordecai tore his clothes and put on (ἐνδύω) sackcloth and ashes...	לבש	ἐνδύω
Esther 4:4	When Esther's maids and her eunuchs came and told her, the queen was deeply distressed, she <i>sent</i> garments <i>to clothe</i> Mordecai, so that he might <i>take off</i> his sackcloth; but he would not accept them	לבש	στολίζω
Esther 6:9	...let him robe the man whom the king wishes to honour...	לבש	στολίζω
Job 8:22	Those who hate you will be clothed with shame, and the tent of the wicked will be no more	לבש	ἐνδύω
Job 10:11	You clothed (aorist active) me with skin (δέρμα) and flesh (κρέας - meat), and knit me together with bones and sinews (νεῦρον)	לבש	ἐνδύω
Job 13:28	One wastes away like a rotten thing, like a garment that is moth-eaten.	בגד	ἱμάτιον
Job 29:14	I put on righteousness, and it clothed me; my justice was like a robe and a turban	לבש	ἐνδύω ἀμφιάδζω
Job 39:19	Do you give the horse its might? Do you clothe its neck with mane?	לבש	ἐνδύω
Job 40:10	“Deck yourself with majesty and dignity, clothe yourself with glory and splendor	לבש	μφιέννυμι
Psalms 30:11	You have turned my mourning into dancing; you have taken off (torn/ripped) my sackcloth and clothed me with joy	זיח	περιζώννυμι
Psalms 35:26	...let those who exalt themselves against me be clothed with shame and dishonor	לבש	ἐνδύω
Psalms 65:13	The meadows clothe themselves with flocks, the valleys deck themselves with grain, they shout and sing...	לבש	ἐνδύω
Psalms 73:6	Therefore pride is their necklace; violence covers them like a garment		περιβάλλω
Psalms 109:18	He clothed himself with cursing as his coat, may it soak into his body like water, like oil into his bones	לבש	ἐνδύω
Psalms 109:29	May my accusers be clothed with dishonor; may they be wrapped in their own shame as in a mantle	לבש	ἐνδύω περιβάλλω
Psalms 132:9	Let your priests be clothed with righteousness, and let your faithful shout for joy	לבש	ἐνδύω

Reference	Verse	Hebrew	Greek
Psalms 132:16	Its priests I will clothe with salvation...	לבש	ἐνδύω
Psalms 132:18	His enemies I will clothe with disgrace...	לבש	ἐνδύω
Proverbs 23:21	For the drunkard and the glutton will come to poverty, and drowsiness will clothe them with rags	לבש	ἐνδύω
Proverbs 31:25	Strength and dignity are her clothing, and she laughs at the time to come	לבש	ἐνδύω
Isaiah 22:21	20: On that day I will call my servant Eliakim son of Hikiah 21: and will clothe him with your robe and bind your sash on him, I will commit you authority to his hand...	לבש	ἐνδύω
Isaiah 50: 3	I clothe the heavens with blackness, and make sackcloth their covering	לבש	ἐνδύω
Isaiah 51:9	Awake, awake, put on (ἐνδύω) strength, O arm of the Lord....	לבש	ἐνδύω
Isaiah 52.1	Awake, awake, put on (ἐνδύω) your strength, O Zion! Put on (ἐνδύω) your beautiful garments, O Jerusalem, the holy city, for the uncircumcised and unclean will enter you no more.	לבש	ἐνδύω
Isaiah 59:17	He put on (ἐνδύσατο – middle aorist) righteousness like a breastplate, and a helmet of salvation upon his head; he put on (περιβάλλω aorist middle) garments of vengeance for clothing and wrapped himself in fury as in a mantle	לבש	ἐνδύω
Jeremiah 4:8	Because of this put on sackcloth, lament and wail...	גנן	περιζώννυι
Jeremiah 4:30	And you, O desolate one, what do you mean that you dress in crimson	לבש	περιβάλλω
Jeremiah 6:26	O my poor people, put on (περιζώννυι) sackcloth, and roll in ashes...	גנן	περιζώννυι
Jeremiah 46:4	Harness the horses; mount the steeds! Take your stations with your helmets, whet your lances, put on (ἐνδύω) your coats of mail	לבש	ἐνδύω
Jeremiah 49:3	Wail O Heshbon, for Ai is laid waste! Cry, O daughters of Rabbah! Put on (περιζώννυι) sackcloth, lament and slash yourselves with whips...	גנן	περιζώννυι

Reference	Verse	Hebrew	Greek
Lamentations 2:10	The elders of the daughter of Zion sit on the ground in silence; they have cast dust on their heads and put on (περιζώννυι) sackcloth...	גָּן	περιζώννυι
Ezekiel 7:18	They shall put on (περιζώννυι) sackcloth, horror covers them; shame shall be upon all faces, baldness on all their heads	גָּן	περιζώννυι
Ezekiel 7:27	The king shall mourn, the prince shall be wrapped in despair...	לְבַשׁ	ἐνδύω
Ezekiel 16:10	I clothed you with embroidered cloth and sandals of fine leather, I bound you in fine linen and covered you with rich fabric	לְבַשׁ	ἐνδύω
Ezekiel 16:39	I will deliver you into their hands, and they shall throw down your platform and break down your lofty places; they shall strip you of your clothes and take your beautiful objects and leave you naked and bare.	פָּשַׁט	ἐκδύω ἱματιόν
Ezekiel 18:7	...and covers the naked with a garment	כָּסָה	περιβάλλω
Ezekiel 26:16	...They shall clothe themselves with trembling....	לְבַשׁ	ἐνδύω
Ezekiel 27:31	They make themselves bald for you, and put on sackcloth...		
Ezekiel 34:3	You eat the fat, clothe yourselves with the wool, you slaughter the fatlings, but you do not feed the sheep	לְבַשׁ	περιβάλλω
Ezekiel 42:14	When the priests enter the holy place, they shall not go out of it into the outer court without laying there the vestments in which they minister, for these are holy; they shall put on (ἐνδύω) other garments before they go near to the area open to the people.	לְבַשׁ	ἐνδύω
Ezekiel 44:19	When they go out into the outer court to the people, they shall <i>remove</i> the vestments in which they have been ministering, and lay them in the holy chambers; and they shall <i>put on</i> other garments so that they may not communicate holiness to the people with their vestments	פָּשַׁט לְבַשׁ	ἐκδύω ἐνδύω
Joel 1:13	Put on (περιζώννυμι) sackcloth and lament, you priests; wail, you ministers of the altar. Come pass the night in sackcloth, you ministers of my God! ...	גָּן	περιζώννυμι
Jonah 3:5	And the people of Nineveh believed God; they proclaimed a fast and everyone, great and small, put on (ἐνδύω) sackcloth	לְבַשׁ	ἐνδύω

Reference	Verse	Hebrew	Greek
Zephaniah 1:8	And on the day of the Lord's sacrifice I will punish the officials and the king's sons and all who dress themselves in foreign attire.	לבש	ἐνδύω
Zechariah 3:4	The angel said to those who were standing before him "Take off his filthy clothes" And to him he said, "See, I have taken your guilt away from you, and I will clothe you with festive apparel."	לבש	ἐνδύω
Zechariah 3:5	And I said, "Let them put a clean turban on his head." So they put a clean turban on his head and clothed him with the apparel; and the angel of the Lord was standing by.	לבש	περιβάλλω
Zechariah 13:4	On that day the prophets will be ashamed, every one, of their visions when they prophesy; they will put on a hairy mantle in order to deceive	לבש	ἐνδύω
Matthew 6:29	Yet I tell you, even Solomon in all his glory was not clothed like one of these		περιβάλλω
Matthew 6:30	But if God so clothes the grass of the field, which is alive today and tomorrow is thrown into the oven, will he not much more clothe you – you of little faith?		ἀμφιέννυμι
Mark 6:9	But to wear sandals and not to put on (ἐνδύω) two tunics		ἐνδύω
Mark 15:17	And they <i>clothed</i> him in a purple cloak; and after twisting some thorns into a crown, they <i>put it on</i> him		ἐνδύω περιτίθημι
Luke 7:25	What then did you go out to see? Someone dressed (ἀμφιέννυμι) in soft robes? Look, those who put on (ἐνδύω) fine clothing and live in luxury are in royal palaces.		ἀμφιέννυμι ἐνδύω
Luke 15:22	But the father said to his slaves, "Quickly, bring out a robe – the best one – and put it on him; put a ring on his finger and sandals on his feet.		ἐνδύω
Luke 17:8	Would you not rather say to him. "Prepare supper for me, put on your apron and serve me while I eat and drink, later you may eat and drink"?		περιζωννυμι
John 13:12	After he had washed their feet, had put on (λαμβάνω) his robe, and resumed his place, he said to them, "Do you know what I have done to you?"		λαμβάνω

Reference	Verse	Hebrew	Greek
John 21:7	That disciple whom Jesus loved said to Peter, “It is the Lord!” When Simon Peter heard that it was the Lord, he put on (διαζώννυμι) his clothes, for he was stripped for work and sprang into the sea.		διαζώννυμι
Acts 12:8	The angel said to him, “Fasten your belt and put on (ὑποδέομαι) your sandals.” He did so. Then he said to him, “Wrap your cloak around you and follow me.”		ὑποδέομαι
Acts 12:21	On an appointed day Herod put on (ἐνδύω) his royal robes, took his seat on the platform and delivered a public address to them.		ἐνδύω
Romans 13:12	The night is far gone, the day is near. Let us then <i>lay aside</i> the works of darkness and <i>put on</i> the armour of light		ἀποτίθημι ἐνδύω
Romans 13:14	Instead <i>put on</i> the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh, to gratify its desires		ἐνδύω ἐνδυσσασθε
1 Corinthians 12:23	And those members of the body that we think less honourable we clothe with greater honour, and our less respectable members are treated with greater respect		περιτίθημι
1 Corinthians 15:53	For this perishable body must <i>put on</i> imperishability, and this mortal body must <i>put on</i> immortality		ἐνδύω ἐνδύω
2 Corinthians 5:2	For in this tent we groan, longing to be clothed		ἐπενδύομαι
2 Corinthians 5:4	For while we are still in this tent, we groan under our burden, because we wish not to be <i>unclothed</i> but to be further <i>clothed</i> , so that what is mortal may be swallowed up by life		ἐκδύω ἐπενδύομαι
Galatians 3:27	As many of you as were baptised into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ		ἐνδύω ἐνδυσσασθε
Ephesians 4:24	And to clothe yourselves with the new self, created according to the likeness of God in true righteousness and holiness		ἐνδύω
Ephesians 6:11	Put on the whole armour of God, so that you may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil.		ἐνδύω ἐνδυσσασθε
Ephesians 6:14	Stand therefore, and fasten the belt of truth around your waist and put on the breastplate of righteousness.		ἐνδύω ἔδυσάμενοι

Reference	Verse	Hebrew	Greek
Colossians 3:9	Do not lie to one another, seeing that you have stripped off the old self with its practices (see also 2:15) ἀπεκδυσάμενος he disarmed the rulers and authorities and made a public example of them, triumphing over them in it.		ἀπεκδύομαι ἀπεκ- δυσάμενοι
Colossians 3:10	And have clothed (ἐνδύω) yourselves with the new self, which is being renewed in knowledge according to the image of its creator		ἐνδύω ἔδυσάμενοι
Colossians 3:12	As God's chosen ones, holy and beloved, clothe (ἐνδύω) yourselves with compassion, kindness, humility, meekness and patience		ἐνδύω ἐνδυσασθε
1 Thessalonians 5:8	But since we belong to the day, let us be sober, and put on (ἐνδύω) the breastplate of faith and love, and for a helmet the hope of salvation.		ἐνδύω ἔδυσάμενοι
1 Peter 5:5And all of you must clothe yourselves with humility in your dealings with one another....		ἐγκομβόομαι
Revelation 3:18	...and white robes to clothe you and to keep the shame of your nakedness from being seen...		περιβάλλω
Revelation 19:8	To her it has been granted to be clothed with fine linen, bright and pure...		περιβάλλω
Judith 10:3-4	She removed (περιαιπέω) the sackcloth she had been wearing , took off (ἐκδύω) her widow's garments, bathed her body with water, and anointed herself with precious ointment. She combed her hair, put on (ἐπιτίθημι) a tiara/headband and dressed (ἐνδύω) herself in the festive attire that she used to wear (στολίζω) while her husband Manasseh was living. She put (λαμβάνω) sandals on her feet, and put on (περιτίθημι) anklets, bracelets, rings, earrings, and all her other jewellery. Thus she made herself very beautiful, to entice the eyes of all the men who might see her.		περιαιρέω ἐκδύω ἐπιτίθημι ἐνδύω στολίζω λαμβάνω περιτίθημι
Judith 16:8	She fastened her hair with a tiara/headband and put on (λαμβάνω) a linen gown to beguile him.		λαμβάνω
Wisdom 5:18	He will put on (ἐνδύσεται – future middle) righteousness as a breastplate, and wear (περιτίθημι – future middle) impartial justice as a helmet.		ἐνδύω περιτίθημι

Reference	Verse	Hebrew	Greek
Sirach 50:1	When he put on (ἀναλαμβάνω) his glorious robe and clothed (ἐνδιδύσκω) himself in glorious splendour, when he went up to the holy altar, he made the court of the sanctuary glorious.		ἀναλαμβάνω ἐνδιδύσκω
Baruch 4:20	I have taken off (ἐκδύω) the robe of peace and put on (ἐνδύω) sackcloth for my supplication; I will cry to the Everlasting all my days.		ἐκδύω ἐνδύω
Baruch 5:1	Take off (ἐκδύω) the garment of your sorrow and affliction, O Jerusalem, And put on (ἐνδύω) forever the beauty of the glory from God		ἐκδύω ἐνδύω
Baruch 5:2	Put on (aorist middle) the robe of the righteousness that comes from God; put on (aorist middle) your head the diadem of the glory of the Everlasting;		περιβάλλω ἐπιτίθημι
1 Maccabees 1:9	They all put on (ἐπιτίθημι) crowns after his death, and so did their descendants after them for many years; and they caused many evils on the earth.		ἐπιτίθημι
1 Maccabees 2:14	Then Mattathias and his sons tore their clothes, put on (περιβάλλω) sackcloth, and mourned greatly.		περιβάλλω
1 Maccabees 3:3	He extended the glory of his people. Like a giant he put on (ἐνδύω) his breastplate; he bound on (σουζώννυμι) his armour of war and waged battles, protecting the camp by sword.		ἐνδύω σουζώννυμι
1 Maccabees 3:47	They fasted that day, put on (περιβάλλω) sackcloth and sprinkled ashes on their heads, and tore their clothes.		περιβάλλω
1 Maccabees 8:14	Yet for all this not one of them has put on (ἐπιτίθημι) a crown or worn purple as a mark of pride		ἐπιτίθημι
1 Maccabees 10:21	So Jonathon put on (ἐνδύω) the sacred vestments in the seventh month of the one hundred sixtieth year, at the festival of booths, and he recruited troops and equipped them with arms in abundance.		ἐνδύω
1 Maccabees 10:62	The king gave orders to take off Jonathon's garments and to clothe him in purple, and they did so		ἐνδύω

Reference	Verse	Hebrew	Greek
1 Maccabees 11:13	Then Ptolemy entered Antioch and put on (περιτίθημι) the crown of Asia. Thus he put two crowns on his head, the crown of Egypt and that of Asia.		περιτίθημι
1 Maccabees 11:54	After this Trypho returned, and with him the young boy Antiochus who began to reign and put on (ἐπιτίθημι) the crown.		ἐπιτίθημι
1 Maccabees 12:39	Then Trypho attempted to become king in Asia and put on (περιτίθημι) the crown, and to raise his hand against King Antiochus.		περιτίθημι
1 Maccabees 14:9	Old men sat in the streets; they all talked together of good things, and the youths put on (ἐνδύω) splendid military attire.		ἐνδύω
1 Maccabees 14:44	“None of the people or priests shall be permitted to nullify any of these decisions or to oppose what he says, or to convene an assembly in the country without his permission, or to be clothed (περιβάλλω) in purple or put on (ἐμπορπόομαι) a gold buckle.		περιβάλλω ἐμπορπόομαι
4 Esdras 2:20	“Guard the rights of the widow, secure justice for the ward, give to the needy, defend the orphan, clothe the naked		
4 Esdras 2:45	He answered and said to me, “These are they who have put off mortal clothing and have put on the immortal, and have confessed the name of God. Now they are being crowned, and receive palms.		
4 Maccabees 13:16	Therefore let us put on the full armour (καθοπλίζω) of self-control, which is divine reason.		καθοπλίζω

Appendix 3: Outlines of Colossians

In basic outline:¹

Margaret MacDonald	Outi Leppa	Jerry Sumney	Douglas Moo
1: 1-2 Greeting	1:1-14 The Beginning of the Letter	1:1-2 Epistolary Greeting	1:1-2:5 The Letter Opening: “Just as you have Received Christ Jesus as Lord...”
1:3-8 Thanksgiving for the Colossians		1:3-23 Introductory Thanksgiving and Prayer	
1:9-14 Prayer on Behalf of the Colossians			
1:15-20 The Christ-Hymn		1:15-2:5 The Lord of the Church and Paul’s Ministry	
1:21-23 Application of the Hymn to the Situation in Colossae			
1:24-2.7 Paul’s Authority in Colossae and Laodicea		1:24-2:5 Paul is the Trustworthy Bearer of the True Gospel	
2:8-15 Debate with the Opponents: The Power of the Risen Christ	2:6 -23 Immunisation against Dangers	2:6-23 Remain Faithful to the Gospel You Received	2:6-4:6 The Letter Body: “...Continue to Live Your Lives in Him”
2:16-23 Debate with the Opponents: Warnings against Ascetic Practices			
3:1-4 New Life in Light of the Resurrection	3:1- 4:1 The Rule of Christ in the life of the Believers	3:1-4:6 Granted Holiness in Baptism	

¹ Outlines drawn from the “Contents” pages: Moo, *The Letters to the Colossians and Philemon*; MacDonald, *Colossians and Ephesians*; Leppa, *The Making of Colossians*; Sumney, *Colossians*.

3:5-17 Ethical Guidelines for a New Life			
3:18-4:1 The Households of Believers			
4:2-6 Prayer, Mission and Contact with Outsiders	4:2-18 Conclusion of the Letter		
4:7-18 Conclusion: Personal Notes and Greetings			

In more detailed outline:

Margaret MacDonald	Outi Leppa	Jerry Sumney	Douglas Moo
1: 1-2 Greeting	1:1-8 Introductory Greeting and Thanksgiving	1:1-2 Epistolary Greeting	1:1-2 Prescript
1:3-8 Thanksgiving for the Colossians		1:3-8 The Initial Thanksgiving	1:3-14 The evidence of the Gospel's power among the Colossians
1:9-14 Prayer on Behalf of the Colossians	1:9-14 Intercession	1:9-12 Intercession for the Colossians	
			1:13-14 God's Saving Acts
1:15-20 The Christ-Hymn	1:15-20 Christ the Lord in Creation and Redemption	1:15-20 Poetic Confession of the Place of Christ	1:15-20 The heart of the Gospel: the supremacy of Christ in creation and redemption
1:21-23 Application of the Hymn to the Situation in Colossae	1:21-23 Reconciliation Accomplished and Applied	1:21-23 You have been Reconciled and Forgiven in Christ	1:21-23 The hope held out in the Gospel
1:24-2.7 Paul's Authority in Colossae and Laodicea	1:24-2:5 The Apostle as the Proclaimer of God's Mystery	1:24-29 Paul Suffers for the benefit of the Church	1:24-2:5 The mystery of Christ in Paul's ministry and Christian experience
		2:1-5 Paul toils to help the Church remain faithful	
2:8-15 Debate with the Opponents: The Power of the Risen Christ	2:6-15 Christ in all his Fullness	2:6-7 Hold on to the faith	2:6-7 The Heart of the matter: centred on Christ
		2:8-15 Reject the visionaries' teaching because you already possess God's blessing	2:8-2:15 Spiritual fullness in Christ
2:16-23 Debate with the Opponents: Warnings against Ascetic Practices	2:16-23 A Defense of Christian Liberty	2:16-23 Reject the visionaries' practices and judgements against you	2:16-23 The empty promise of the false teaching
3:1-4 New Life in Light of the Resurrection	3:1-17 Catalogs of Vices and Virtues	3:1-4 Seek the things above	3:1-4 Heavenly thinking
3:5-17 Ethical Guidelines for		3:5-11 Put away the old life	3:5-11 Putting off the

a New Life			practices of the “Old Self”
		3:12-17 Put on the new self	3:12-17 Putting on the practices of the “New Self”
3:18-4:1 The Households of Believers	3:18-4:1 Household Rules	3:18-4:1 The Household Code	3:18-4:1 The Lordship of Christ in earthly relationships
4:2-6 Prayer, Mission and Contact with Outsiders	4:2-6 Final Admonitions	4:2-6 Concluding exhortations	4:2-6 Exhortation to prayer and Christian witness
4:7-18 Conclusion: Personal Notes and Greetings	4:7-18 Personal Greetings and Instructions	4:7-18 Final greetings and instructions	4:7-18 The Letter closing, greetings, plans and instructions

Appendix 4: “Virtues”

<p>σπλάγχνα οίκτιρμου Heartfelt compassion, tender mercy.</p>	<p>The combination of these only occurs here in Colossians. However οίκτιρμός is frequently used as a descriptor of God. Ex 34:6; Deu 4:31; 2 Chr 3:19; 12:10; Neh 9:17,31; Ps 24:6, 50:3, 69:16, 78:38, 85:15, 102:8, 108:12, 110:4, 144:8; Dan 4:27; Joel 2:13; Jon 4:2; Zech 1:16, Sir 2:11.</p>	<p>Both Neh 9:17 and Jon 4:2 portray God as both οίκτιρμός, compassionate and μαχρόθυμος, patient.</p>
<p>χρηστότης Kindness, goodness.</p>	<p>Occurrences of both χρηστότης and χρηστός are included here. χρηστότης 1 Edras 5:61; Pss 5:13,14,18; 8:28; 9:7; 18:1; Ps 21:4, 24:7, 30:19, 84:13, 145:7. χρηστός 2 Macc 1:24, Ps 25:8, 33:9, 85:5, 99:5, 106:1, 119:60, 136:1, 144:9; Wis 15:1</p>	<p>In Ps 144:9 God is also described as οίκτιρμός,merciful. In Wis 15:1 God is also described as μαχρόθυμος, patient.</p>
<p>μακροθυμία Patience</p>	<p>Both μακροθυμία and μαχρόθυμος are listed. Μακροθυμία Isa 57:15, Jer 15:15 μαχροθυμος Ex 34:6; Num 14:18; Neh 9:17; Ps &:12; Wis 15:1; Sir 5:4; Joel 2:13; Jon 4:2; Nah; Dan 4:27.</p>	

Figure 9: Table of the virtues as descriptors or qualities of God.

Appendix 5

Map of Asia Minor¹



¹ Map adapted from map insert to Fox, *Pagans and Christians*.

Appendix 6: Glossary

<i>chiton</i>	woollen loose-fitting tunic worn by women and men.
<i>chrestoi</i>	the dead as <i>χρηστοι</i> – on Attic grave reliefs. The expression “farewell good one” (<i>χρήστη χαίρη</i>) sometimes coupled with the title “hero” (<i>ἥρωας</i>) is found from the fourth century BCE onwards especially in epitaphs from Boetia, Thessaly, Asia Minor and Cyprus. ¹
<i>conventus</i>	a gathering together of people – held at fixed urban centres where the provincial governor held court.
epigram	short, witty saying usually for an inscription on a gravestone or dedication of a monument.
<i>heroon</i>	(<i>ἥρώων</i>), also called <i>heroum</i> , was a shrine dedicated to a Greek or Roman hero and was used for the commemoration or worship of the hero. It was often erected over his supposed tomb. The heroon containing the bones of the hero was the focus of the cultic activities.
<i>himation</i>	(<i>ἱμάτιον</i>) outer garment, woolen or linen rectangle of material worn as a cloak.
<i>kosmos</i>	(<i>κόσμος</i>) generally any attire or specifically the attire in which the corpse was laid out during prosthesis. ²
midden	a mound or deposit containing shells, animal bones, and other refuse that indicates the site of a human settlement.
<i>palla</i>	long cloak worn over the tunic when outside and often drawn up over the head. This was a sign of respectability in public.
<i>Sarapeion/ Serapeum</i>	Temple of Sarapis/Serapis. Serapis integrated Egyptian and Greek religious concepts combining Osirus and his Apis bull. Originated in Alexandria under Ptolomy I. Combinations of Serapis-Zeus, Serapis-Helios and Serapis-Amun are known. ³

¹ Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*, 135n.

² Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*, 130.

³ D. M. Murdoch, *Christ in Egypt: The Horus-Jesus Connection* (Seattle: Stellar House Publishing, 2009), 234.

<i>simpulum</i>	ladel-like utensil used ceremonially for liturgical purposes in the Roman cult.
<i>stele</i>	an upright stone or slab with an inscribed or sculptured surface, used as a monument.
<i>stoa</i>	colonnaded roofed walkway in the commercial <i>agora</i> or marketplace, often with shops along the back, also known as portico.
<i>stola</i>	sleeveless tunic usually suspended from the shoulders with short straps and worn over another tunic. This garment is the equivalent of the Roman toga for males. Women don this garment at the time of marriage. The stola became symbolic of a Roman matron. ⁴
<i>temenos</i>	a sacred enclosure or precinct.
<i>toga</i>	styled like the mantle worn by Greek men, the toga was curved at the lower edge. Originally it was the main garment for women and men with no tunic underneath. By the second century BCE it was worn with a tunic and only by men. During the late first century BCE and early first century CE the toga was developed into a much larger garment of around five metres of cloth. It was worn only by Roman citizens, became ceremonial dress and was symbolic of Roman citizenship. ⁵

⁴ A. T. Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd, 2002), 151.

⁵ Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion*, 42-44.

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