

ONE GOD, ONE PEOPLE

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ONE GOD, ONE PEOPLE

Oneness and Unity in Early Christianity

Edited by

Stephen C. Barton and Andrew J. Byers

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Abbreviations

Primary Sources

<i>Ab urbe cond.</i>	Livy, <i>Ab urbe condita</i>
<i>Abr.</i>	Philo, <i>De Abrahamo</i>
<i>Adv. Jud.</i>	Tertullian, <i>Adversus Judaeos</i>
<i>Adul. amic.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur</i>
<i>Aen.</i>	Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i>
<i>Aet.</i>	Philo, <i>De aeternitate mundi/On the Eternity of the World</i>
<i>Agr.</i>	Cicero, <i>De Lege agraria</i> ; Philo, <i>De agricultura</i> ; Tacitus, <i>Agricola</i>
<i>A.J.</i>	Josephus, <i>Antiquitates judaicae</i>
<i>Alex.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Alexander</i>
<i>Alex. fort.</i>	Plutarch, <i>De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute</i>
<i>Anab.</i>	Arrian, <i>Anabasis</i>
<i>Ann.</i>	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i>
<i>Ant. rom.</i>	Dionysius of Halicarnassus, <i>Antiquitates romanae</i>
<i>Antid.</i>	Isocrates, <i>Antidosis</i> (Or. 15)
<i>Apoc.</i>	Seneca, <i>Apocalyntosis Claudii/The Pumpkinification of Claudius</i>
<i>Apol.</i>	Justin, <i>Apologia/Apology</i> ; Tertullian, <i>Apologeticus/Apology</i>
<i>Ath. pol.</i>	Aristotle, <i>Athēnain politeia/Constitution of Athens</i>
<i>Att.</i>	Cicero, <i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i>
<i>Aug.</i>	Seutonius, <i>Augustus</i>
<i>b.</i>	Babylonian Talmud
<i>Bell. civ.</i>	Appian, <i>Bella civilia</i>
<i>Bell. gall.</i>	Caesar, <i>Bellum gallicum/Gallic War</i>
<i>Ber.</i>	Berakot

B.J.	Josephus, <i>Bellum judaicum/Jewish War</i>
Cam.	Plutarch, <i>Camillus</i>
C. Ap.	Josephus, <i>Contra Apionem/Against Apion</i>
Carm.	Horace, <i>Carmina/Odes</i>
Cat.	Cicero, <i>In Catalinam/Against Cataline</i>
CD	Cairo Genizah copy of the Damascus Document
Cher.	Philo, <i>De cherubim/On the Cherubim</i>
Civ.	Augustine, <i>De civitate Dei/City of God</i>
Clem.	Seneca, <i>De clementia</i>
Clu.	Cicero, <i>Pro Cluentio</i>
Comm. Jo.	Origen, <i>Commentarii in evangelium Joannis</i>
Conf.	Philo, <i>De confusione linguarum/On the Confusion of Tongues</i>
Contempl.	Philo, <i>De vita contemplativa/On the Contemplative Life</i>
Cor.	Demosthenes, <i>De corona/On the Crown</i>
Cyr.	Xenophon, <i>Cyropaedia</i>
De arch.	Vitruvius, <i>De architectura</i>
Decal.	Philo, <i>De decalogo/On the Decalogue</i>
Demosth.	Dinarchus, <i>In Demosthenem/Against Demosthenes</i>
Deo	Philo, <i>De Deo/On God</i>
Did.	Didache
Diatr.	Epictetus, <i>Diatribai (Dissertationes)</i>
Ebr.	Philo, <i>De ebrietate/On Drunkenness</i>
Ecl.	Calpurnius Siculus, <i>Eclogae</i> ; Vergil, <i>Eclogae</i>
Ep.	Seneca, <i>Epistulae morales</i>
Eph.	Ignatius, <i>To the Ephesians</i>
Epigr.	Marital, <i>Epigramma/Epigrams</i>
Epod.	Horace, <i>Epodi/Epodes</i>
Eth. nic.	Aristotle, <i>Ethica nicomachea/Nicomachian Ethics</i>
Evag.	Isocrates, <i>Evagoras (Or. 9)</i>
Exc.	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Excerpta ex Theodoto/Excerpts from Theodotus</i>
Fast.	Ovid, <i>Fasti</i>
Flacc.	Philo, <i>In Flaccum/Against Flaccus</i>
Fug.	Philo, <i>De fuga et inventione/On Flight and Finding</i>
Geogr.	Strabo, <i>Geographica/Geography</i>
Georg.	Vergil, <i>Georgica</i>
Gig.	Philo, <i>De gigantibus/On Giants</i>

<i>Haer.</i>	Irenaeus, <i>Adversus haereses (Elenchos)/Against Heresies</i>
<i>Har. resp.</i>	Cicero, <i>De haruspicum responso</i>
<i>Her.</i>	Philo, <i>Quis rerum divinarum heres sit/Who Is the Heir?</i>
<i>Herm. Vis.</i>	Shepherd of Hermas, Vision(s)
<i>Hist.</i>	Diodorus Siculus, <i>Historiae</i> ; Herodotus, <i>Historiae</i> ; Polybius, <i>Historiae</i> ; Tacitus, <i>Historiae</i>
<i>Hist. eccl.</i>	Eusebius, <i>Historia ecclesiastica/Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>Hist. rom.</i>	Dio Cassius, <i>Historiae romanae</i>
<i>Il.</i>	Homer, <i>Iliad</i>
<i>Inv.</i>	Cicero, <i>De inventione rhetorica</i>
<i>Ios.</i>	Philo, <i>De Iosepho/On the Life of Joseph</i>
<i>LAB</i>	Liber antiquitatum biblicarum
<i>Leg.</i>	Cicero, <i>De legibus</i> ; Philo, <i>Legum allegoriae/Allegorical Interpretation</i> ; Plato, <i>Leges/Laws</i>
<i>Leg. man.</i>	Cicero, <i>Pro Lege manilia</i>
<i>Legat.</i>	Philo, <i>Legation ad Gaium/Embassy to Gaius</i>
<i>Let. Aris.</i>	Letter of Aristeas
<i>Lysis.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Lysistrata</i>
<i>m.</i>	Mishnah
<i>Magn.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To the Magnesians</i>
<i>Med.</i>	Marcus Aurelius, <i>Meditations</i>
<i>Mem.</i>	Xenophon, <i>Memorabilia</i>
<i>Metam.</i>	Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i>
<i>Mos.</i>	Philo, <i>De vita Mosis/On the Life of Moses</i>
<i>Mur.</i>	Cicero, <i>Pro Murena</i>
<i>Mut.</i>	Philo, <i>De mutatione nominum/On the Change of Names</i>
<i>Nat.</i>	Pliny the Elder, <i>Naturalis historia</i>
<i>Nem.</i>	Pindar, <i>Nemeanikai/Nemean Odes</i>
<i>Nic.</i>	Isocrates, <i>Nicocles (Or. 3)</i>
<i>Num. Rab.</i>	Numbers Rabbah
<i>Od.</i>	Homer, <i>Odyssey</i>
<i>Off.</i>	Cicero, <i>De officiis</i>
<i>Ol.</i>	Pindar, <i>Olympionikai/Olympian Odes</i>
<i>Op.</i>	Hesiod, <i>Opera et dies/Works and Days</i>
<i>Opif.</i>	Philo, <i>De opificio mundi/On the Creation of the World</i>
<i>Or.</i>	Aelius Aristides, <i>Orationes</i> ; Dio Chrysostom, <i>Orationes</i>

<i>Pan.</i>	Pliny, <i>Panegyricus</i>
<i>Panath.</i>	Isocrates, <i>Panathanaicus</i> (Or. 12)
<i>Paneg.</i>	Isocrates, <i>Panegyricus</i> (Or. 4)
<i>Phaedr.</i>	Plato, <i>Phaedrus</i>
<i>Phil.</i>	Cicero, <i>Orationes philippicae</i>
<i>Phld.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To the Philadelphians</i>
<i>Phys.</i>	Aristotle, <i>Physica/Physics</i>
<i>Plant.</i>	Philo, <i>De plantitione/On Planting</i>
<i>Pol.</i>	Aristotle, <i>Political/Politics</i>
<i>Post.</i>	Philo, <i>De posteritate Caini/On the Posterity of Cain</i>
<i>Praec. ger. rei publ.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Praecepta gerendae rei publicae</i>
<i>Praem.</i>	Philo, <i>De praemiis et poenis/On Rewards and Punishments</i>
<i>Princ. iner.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Ad principem ineruditum</i>
<i>Prob.</i>	Philo, <i>Quod omnis probus liber sit/That Every Good Person Is Free</i>
<i>Prom.</i>	Aeschylus, <i>Prometheus vinctus/Prometheus Bound</i>
<i>Prot.</i>	Plato, <i>Protagoras</i>
<i>P.W.</i>	Thucydides, <i>Peloponnesian War</i>
<i>QE</i>	Philo, <i>Questiones et solutiones in Exodum/Questions and Answers on Exodus</i>
<i>QG</i>	Philo, <i>Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim/Questions and Answers on Genesis</i>
<i>Quint. frat.</i>	Cicero, <i>Epistulae ad Quintum fratrem</i>
<i>Ran.</i>	Aristophanes, <i>Ranae/Frogs</i>
<i>Rep.</i>	Cicero, <i>De republica</i>
<i>Res gest. divi Aug.</i>	Res Gestae divi Augusti
<i>Resp.</i>	Plato, <i>Respublica</i>
<i>Rom.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To the Romans</i>
<i>Sacr.</i>	Philo, <i>De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini/On the Sacrifices of Cain and Abel</i>
<i>Saec.</i>	Horace, <i>Carmen saeculare</i>
<i>Sat.</i>	Petronius, <i>Satyrica</i>
<i>Shabb.</i>	Shabbat
<i>Sib. Or.</i>	Sibylline Oracles
<i>Silv.</i>	Statius, <i>Silvae</i>
<i>Smyrn.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To the Smyrnaeans</i>
<i>Somn.</i>	Philo, <i>De somniis/On Dreams</i>
<i>Spec.</i>	Philo, <i>De specialibus legibus/On the Special Laws</i>

<i>Strom.</i>	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Stromateis/Miscellanies</i>
<i>Suppl.</i>	Aeschylus, <i>Supplices/Suppliant Women</i>
T. Benj.	Testament of Benjamin
T. Dan	Testament of Dan
T. Gad	Testament of Gad
T. Iss.	Testament of Issachar
T. Lev.	Testament of Levi
T. Naph.	Testament of Naphtali
<i>Theaet.</i>	Plato, <i>Theaetetus</i>
<i>Theb.</i>	Statius, <i>Thebais/Thebaid</i>
<i>Theog.</i>	Hesiod, <i>Theogonia/Theogony</i>
<i>Ti. C. Gracch.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Tiberius et Caius Gracchus</i>
<i>Tib.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i>
<i>Tr.</i>	Ovid, <i>Tristia</i>
<i>Trall.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To the Trallians</i>
<i>Vesp.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Vespasianus</i>
<i>Virt.</i>	Philo, <i>De virtutibus/On the Virtues</i>

Secondary Resources

AB	Anchor (Yale) Bible
ABRL	Anchor (Yale) Bible Reference Library
ABR	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
ANRW	Temporini, Hildegard, and Wolfgang Haase, eds. <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> . Part 2, <i>Principat</i> . Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972–.
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
BBET	Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie
BCAW	Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World
BCILL	Bibliothèque des cahiers de l'Institute Linguistique de Louvain
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums

BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovanien- sium
BHAW	Blackwell History of the Ancient World
BHQ	Biblia Hebraica Quinta
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BibSem	Biblical Seminar
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BMC	Head, Barclay V., and Reginald Stuart Poole. <i>Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia</i> . London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1892.
BMSEC	Baylor-Mohr Siebeck Studies in Early Christianity
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
<i>BurH</i>	<i>Buried History</i>
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Tes- tament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wis- senschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CC	Continental Commentaries
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Berlin, 1862–.
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Classical Journal</i>
<i>CIQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CRBS	<i>Currents in Research, Biblical Studies</i>
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
DK	Diels, Hermann, and Walther Kranz, eds. <i>Die Frag- mente der Vorsokratiker</i> . 7th ed. Berlin: Weidmann, 1954.
ECL	Early Christianity and Its Literature
EDNT	Balz, Horst, and Gerhard Schneider, eds. <i>Exegeti- cal Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . 3 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990–1993.
EGF	Davies, Malcolm, ed. <i>Epicorum Graecorum Frag- menta</i> . Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988.

EGGNT	Exegetical Guide to the Greek New Testament
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
<i>FGrHist</i>	Jacoby, Felix, ed. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . 3 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1954–1964.
FJTC	Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary
frag(s).	fragment(s)
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>GIBM</i>	Newton, C. T., Edward Lee Hicks, and Gustav Hirschfield, eds. <i>The Collection of Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum</i> . 4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon: 1874–1916.
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>HBT</i>	<i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i>
HCS	Hellenistic Culture and Society
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
IBC	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , Editio Minor. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1924–.
<i>InvM</i>	Kern, Otto, ed. <i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander</i> . Berlin: Spemann, 1900.
<i>JAJ</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Judaism</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JBLMS</i>	Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
<i>JHebS</i>	<i>Journal of Hebrew Scriptures</i>
<i>JHI</i>	<i>Journal of the History of Ideas</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JPTSup</i>	Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>

JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
JTI	<i>Journal of Theological Interpretation</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KAV	Kommentar zu den Apostolischen Vätern
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LCM	<i>Liverpool Classical Monthly</i>
LIMC	Ackerman, H. Christoph, and Jean-Robert Gisler, eds. <i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> . 8 vols. Zurich: Artemis, 1981–1997.
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
MH	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
Mionnet Suppl. 6	Mionnet, Théodore Edme. <i>Description de médailles antiques, grecques et romaines, avec leur degré de rareté et leur estimation</i> . Supplement 6. Paris: Testu, 1833.
MnemosyneSup	Mnemosyne Supplements
NIB	Keck, Leander, ed. <i>New Interpreter's Bible</i> . 12 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1994–2004.
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NRTh	<i>Nouvelle Revue Théologique</i>
NSBT	New Studies in Biblical Theology
NTL	New Testament Library
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
ÖBS	Österreichische biblische Studien
OGIS	Dittenberger, Wilhelm. <i>Orientalis graeci inscriptiones selectae</i> . 2 vols. Lipzig: Hirzel, 1903.

OTP	Charlesworth, James H., ed. <i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> . 2 vols. ABRL. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983–1985.
par(r).	parallel(s)
PNTC	Pillar New Testament Commentary
PRSt	<i>Perspectives in Religious Studies</i>
PTMS	Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series
PTSDSSP	Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project
QD	Quaestiones disputatae
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RBS	Resources for Biblical Study
RelSoc	Religion and Society
RevExp	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>
RIC	Mattingly, Harold, et al. <i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i> . London: Spink, 1923–1967, 1984.
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
ScrHier	Scripta Hierosolymitana
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SDSS	Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature
SEG	Supplementum epigraphicum graecum
SIMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
SJ	Studia Judaica
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SNTSU	Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt
SNTW	Studies of the New Testament and Its World
SP	Sacra Pagina
SPhA	Studies in Philo of Alexandria
SPhilom	Studia Philonica Monograph Series
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum/Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StHell	Studia Hellenistica
SVTG	Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
SymS	Symposium Series

TDNT	Kittel, Gerhard, and Gerhard Friedrich, eds. <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976.
TDOT	Botterweck, G. Johannes, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry, eds. <i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> . Translated by John T. Willis et al. 17 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974–2021.
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TPAPA	<i>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</i>
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
TynBul	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
UTB	Uni-Taschenbücher
VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
VCSup	Supplements to <i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to <i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
Weimarer Ausgabe	Hermann, Rudolf, Gerhard Ebeling, et al., eds. <i>D. Martin Luthers Werke</i> . 120 vols. Weimar, 1883–2009.
WTJ	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
YCS	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>
ZAC	<i>Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum/Journal of Ancient Christianity</i>
ZBK	Zürcher Bibelkommentare
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

Introduction:
Oneness and Unity in
Worlds Contemporary and Ancient

Andrew J. Byers

While pondering how to introduce this volume on oneness and unity in early Christianity and its wider historical contexts, I took time over a lunch break to watch the first debate of the 2020 US presidential election. As an American living in the United Kingdom, the painful longing to be engaged in the political crises of this cultural moment tussled with the relief over my distance from the virulent fray. Yet I was awaiting news on an application for Indefinite Leave to Remain, the right to reside permanently in my host country. Given the anti-immigrant sentiment that gave shape to so many of the policies and guidelines, the waiting was fraught with anxiety. The entire process seems designed to remind applicants that they are outsiders viewed with suspicion. As many immigrants know, to join another society formally requires the negotiation of serious bureaucratic and financial obstacles.

That presidential debate was so disturbing not only because the candidates were slinging ad hominem remarks and persistently interlocked in rhetorical fisticuffs; the most troublesome part of the debate was the reminder of the larger-scale reality that behind the sparring was a society at bitter odds with itself. The candidates openly embraced representative roles, emblemizing a nation coming apart and ostensibly unwilling to seek reconciliation. Further, I was watching the polemics unfold while living in another country that openly criticizes American plans for a border wall yet continues to raise the height of its own walls figuratively through increased immigrations controls. One country has claimed to be “one nation, under God,” and the other is hailed as a kingdom “united.” The latter had just voted to leave a much larger union, and the one nation

of “united” states appeared more divided than ever, with the political maps streaked in defiant hues of red and blue.

Maintaining a union, shoring up unity, and defining oneness are not, of course, projects limited to contemporary societies. My reading during the week I watched the presidential debate included Plutarch’s *bioi* of Lycurgus and Solon, two ancient Greek leaders who established core institutional and cultural norms for Sparta and Athens, respectively. I also read Augustine’s profile of the character and duties of a Christian emperor reflecting the values and aims of a different city, the city of God (*Civ.* 5.24). In my leisure reading, I came across the foreboding remarks of John Adams, the first US vice president, that “there is nothing I dread so much as a division of the Republic into two great parties, each arranged under its leader and converting measures in opposition to each other.”¹ I was also reading through the final drafts of the essays included in this book. The coinciding of the 2020 US presidential debate, my anxious waiting to hear about my immigration status, and the reading of historical and contemporary writers accentuated the significance of studying ancient texts for the sake of understanding our own times.

Oneness and unity, variously defined by disparate writers and groups over the centuries, are not only political and sociological ideas. For most ancient thinkers and for many today, they are also *theological* ideas. In the tradition of the Abrahamic faiths, so influential on the emergence of later Western empires and on the development of the modern nation-state, the oneness and unity of a people correspond in some fashion with the oneness and unity of God. This collection of essays examines the connections between divine and social oneness and unity throughout a range of texts from a wide spectrum of cultural milieus. Though the sharper focus falls on early Christianity, those early Christian writers were shaped by the scriptures of Israel, the moral treatises and political propaganda of the Greeks and Romans, and the theological reflections on social identity in early Jewish literature. Exploring these important texts from antiquity, and especially from the period of early Christianity, holds promise for resourcing the ongoing quest in human societies to generate unity in a world divided.

1. Found in a letter to William Smith (May 20, 1790); cited in David McCullough, *John Adams* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001), 422.

An increased interest in the connections between social unity and theological oneness has taken root in the study of biblical texts and early Christianity. Though earlier studies viewed New Testament oneness theologies as deriving from Greco-Roman sources, there is a growing consensus that the early Christian writers were drawing primarily on the Jewish confession that “God is one.”² An increasing number of scholars relate this classic formula from the Shema (see Deut 6:4) to key New Testament texts that envision allegiance to Christ (who somehow participates in divine oneness, see, e.g., 1 Cor 8:6 and John 10:30) as the basis for social harmony and group solidarity.³ The Jewish theological conviction that “God is one” features significantly in many of the essays in this volume, but prior interpreters were right to explore potential connections between the New Testament’s language of unity and oneness with other instances in the wider cultural streams. Our volume’s range of focus honors the complexity of ideas about divine and social oneness and the inevitable interchange of those ideas across the cultures of antiquity.

2. See, e.g., Erik Peterson, *Heis Theos: Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Antiken “Ein Gott”-Akklamation*, *Ausgewählte Schriften* 8 (Würzburg: Echter, 2012); and Mark L. Appold, *The Oneness Motif in the Fourth Gospel: Motif Analysis and Exegetical Probe into the Theology of John* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011).

3. Some of these studies will appear in the footnotes of the relevant chapters, but for now, see by way of example John J. R. Lee, *Christological Rereading of the Shema (Deut 6.4) in Mark’s Gospel*, WUNT 2/533 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020); Alan J. Thompson, *One Lord, One People: The Unity of the Church in Acts in Its Literary Setting*, LNTS 359 (London: T&T Clark/Bloomsbury, 2013); Christopher R. Bruno, “God Is One”: *The Function of Eis Ho Theos as a Ground for Gentile Inclusion in Paul’s Letters*, LNTS 497 (London: Bloomsbury, 2013); Kim Huat Tan, “Jesus and the Shema,” in *Handbook for the Study of the Historical Jesus*, ed. Tom Holmén and Stanley E. Porter, 4 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 3:2677–2707; Tan, “The Shema and Early Christianity,” *TynBul* 59 (2008): 181–206; Erik Waaler, *The Shema and the First Commandment in First Corinthians: An Intertextual Approach to Paul’s Re-reading of Deuteronomy*, WUNT 2/253 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008). Earlier studies include Birger Gerhardsson, *The Shema in the New Testament: Deut 6:4–5 in Significant Passages* (Lund: Novapress, 1996); Joel Marcus, “Authority to Forgive Sins upon the Earth: The Shema in the Gospel of Mark,” in *The Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel*, ed. W. Richard Stegner and Craig A. Evans, JSNTSup 104 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994), 196–211; N. T. Wright, “Monotheism, Christology, and Ethics: 1 Corinthians 8,” in *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 120–36; Johannes Beutler, “Das Hauptgebot im Johannesevangelium,” in *Das Gesetz im neuen Testament*, ed. Karl Kertelge, QD 108 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1986), 226–29.

Summary of Chapters

The book is divided into four parts. In part 1, “Oneness and Unity in the Scriptures of Israel,” Walter J. Houston offers a fitting opening chapter by studying the fundamental ideas of divine and social oneness in the Pentateuch. He shows that the claim “God is one” is both inclusive and exclusive. The former dimension is demonstrated throughout the creation and patriarchal narratives in the generic name Elohim by which this divine being appropriates identities and functions of other gods and thus engages with broader humanity; exclusive oneness is demonstrated in the Moses narrative through Israel’s unique vocation of binding itself to this Lord whose name is revealed as YHWH. Houston claims that both the inclusive and exclusive components of God’s oneness are stitched into the Pentateuch to address disunity among God’s people.

Anna Sieges-Beal explores the tension between inclusivity and exclusivity as social corollaries of divine oneness in the postexilic prophetic literature. As monotheistic faith developed in the crucible of exile, a question that rose to prominence concerned the relationship of Israel’s one God to the nations. The particularity of this God could be used to justify the exclusiveness of Israel’s election, as in Joel and in later portions of Isaiah. If God is one, the descendants of Abraham alone constitute a corresponding one nation. The particularity of YHWH, however, was also deployed to resource a more universalistic vision in which any and all nations may offer worship and thereby share in the benefits of Israel. Sieges-Beale features Jonah as the ironic exemplar of this view in which the one God of Israel is for all people spanning all places.

In part 2, “Oneness and Unity in the Classical World,” Lynette Mitchell challenges recent trends that perceive a rigid dichotomy between ancient Greeks and the Other. After the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization, disparate Greek communities throughout the Mediterranean world adopted practices of identity formation that forged boundary lines that were permeable and even inclusive. The hosting of shared cultic events at recognized sanctuaries established unifying regional networks. The telling of foundation stories and the crafting (or discovery) of common genealogies reinforced the idea of one Hellenic identity comprising diverse strands and encompassing vast geographical space. Greek ideas of oneness and unity thus accommodated a broad range of diversity over several centuries.

This inclusive kind of social oneness, however, could be exploited for imperial agendas. James R. Harrison’s essay picks up where Mitchell’s ends

with Alexander the Great imposing a unity of humankind for the purpose of establishing autocratic power. Roman ideas of unity and oneness are varied, but they provided a rhetoric for asserting authority over barbarians and other people groups on the borderlands. Though Cicero called for a more magnanimous oneness, the Greek idea of *οἰκουμένη* became synonymous with the Roman idea of *imperium*. In the agonistic politics and civil wars leading up to the *pax* of Augustus, seeking unity among the vying ancestral houses and interest groups was political folly. But the unity of Rome eventually provided in the Julio-Claudian dynasty was enacted through oppression and domination, however grandly portrayed in the writings and iconography of the day.

The chapters in part 3, “Oneness and Unity in Early Judaism,” focus on Qumran, Philo, and Josephus. Studies on the Essene community behind the Dead Sea Scrolls often focus on the sectarian social features that reinforced their sense of separation from the world around them. In his chapter on this early Jewish group, Carsten Claussen focuses on those exercises and ideas that bound them together in a *yahad*, a self-identification connoting unity and togetherness. Their theological convictions underwrote a carefully organized social life. Requirements for admission, purity practices, property sharing, torah study, table etiquette, regular meetings, and calendar observance all served the consolidation of group identity while enforcing intergroup boundaries.

Jutta Leonhardt-Balzer makes a unique contribution in her analysis of Philo’s carefully reasoned and often surprising understanding of oneness. While he draws on a range of philosophical traditions, Philo’s rationale is chiefly grounded in an arithmological theology in which “one” signifies God. Like the Creator, “one” is the independent, unmixed, and ungenerated generator of the other numbers. It is only when human beings are unified in their worship of the one God that their collective oneness is welcome, and this unity can include not only faithful Jews but proselytes from other ethnicities. Oneness is therefore sourced in the one God and finds proper social expression as humans orient their lives and worship around him.

Kylie Crabbe shows that, in the works of Josephus, unity is extolled as a virtue and linked to the singularity of the Jewish God whose oneness is signified by the one temple and distilled socially through the practice of Jewish law. In his portraits of various Jewish groups, evaluations align with the degree of internal concord (as among the Pharisees and Essenes) or discord (as among the Sadducees). Since Roman rule is divinely sanc-

tioned, Josephus decries the Jewish revolutionaries for inciting *στάσις* and posits that the disunity that plagued their ranks assured their defeat. In spite of his pro-Roman rhetoric, however, Crabbe discerns a continuity across Josephus's treatment of unity and social concord in which Jewish particularism is celebrated and the eventual reign of God is anticipated.

The largest section of the book is part 4, "Oneness and Unity in the New Testament and Early Christianity." Elizabeth E. Shively and Max Botner open this arena of study by examining the synoptic evangelists' positioning of the Shema's command to love God with all of one's being alongside the command to love one's neighbor in Lev 19:17–18. Such a collocation is a christological reconfiguration of the scriptural and early Jewish coordination of piety and worship (*εὐσεβεία*) alongside just and honorable treatment of others (*δικαιοσύνη*). In order to practice *εὐσεβεία*, one must recognize Jesus's identification with the one God; in order to practice *δικαιοσύνη*, one must honor one's neighbor (Mark), even one's enemy (Matthew) and the Other (Luke) within the ethical model Christ commands and embodies. Such a Christocentric anchoring of love for the one God with love for others gives shape to the Christian community envisioned by each evangelist, erecting confessional social boundaries while demolishing others.

My own essay explores the significance of oneness for the Fourth Evangelist. In John's Gospel, Jesus's prayer at the end of the farewell discourse "that they may be one, as we are one" follows a sophisticated sequence of development. Two sets of oneness texts from scripture, the Shema (Deut 6:4–9) and Ezek 34 and 37, imbue Johannine oneness with connotations that are theological, christological, and ecclesiological. In John 17, Jesus is not just praying for unity or social harmony (for an allegedly fragmented Johannine community); instead, he is praying that his disciples might be incorporated into the one people of the one Davidic Shepherd who shares in the divine identity of Israel's one God. Moreover, the name that Jesus prays his followers will share with him and with the Father is the circumlocution "one." I close the essay arguing that Deut 6:4–9 serves as a subtext underlying the entire gospel. Just as Israel's inception was premised on love for the one God expressed in the honoring of his words, a Johannine Israel is formed through the reception of the Word who is one with God.

Alan J. Thompson's essay on Acts argues that Luke's thematic pairing of early Christian unity alongside Jesus's universal lordship is premised on a widely recognized link in political discourse between kingship and con-

cord. Since a unified populace was symptomatic of a praiseworthy reign, Roman emperors were keen to preserve and enforce social cohesion. Luke's narrative portraits of Christian community and his attention to conflict resolution highlight the reign of Christ, the true royal lord whose unifying forces of forgiveness, love, and the Holy Spirit are more effective than the unifying forces of military threat or harsh governance. Unity in Acts thus articulates a political reality revelatory of the divine.

Stephen C. Barton offers a comprehensive account of oneness and unity in 1 Corinthians. Paul's most divided community was so heavily moored to the agonistic and competitive social systems of the dominant culture that he has to persuade them toward a reconfiguration of values and a reaffirmation of their mutual participation in the one body of Christ. The language of oneness and a diverse range of unitive terms and ideas are strategically deployed not simply to beckon a fractured social group back into cohesion, but to align their new eschatological existence with the "one God" of Israel, the "one Lord" of Christian faith, and the "one and the same Spirit" of their baptism.

For Robbie Griggs, the leitmotif of oneness in Galatians sheds light on some of the knottiest conundrums in Pauline theology. The antithesis between Christ and the law is not ultimately grounded in a human inability to comply with its demands, or in Israel's failure to live by its commands, or in a dogmatic preference for the Christ-event, or even in a new eschatological moment in redemptive history. For Paul, there is one God with one soteriological plan announced by a singular gospel that generates one people who are neither Jew nor gentile *per se*. The role of torah is thus temporally fixed and enduring until the definitive work of Jesus. For Paul, it is only within the church—a culturally diverse people who are nonetheless one—that the law's moral vision can find its intended teleology in a corporate embodiment of the "one word" of neighbor-love.

With some parallels to Thompson's chapter, Julien C. H. Smith understands the theme of unity in Ephesians and Colossians as grounded in the vision of the ideal king in biblical, early Jewish, and Greco-Roman political ideology. Smith identifies and explores a tension in this ecclesial unity: If the oneness is enabled by divine and royal decree, how can it be maintained by the community? Smith demonstrates that Christ not only establishes a cosmic unity in which the church participates, but also distributes gifts as a benefactor of virtue by which social barriers are dissolved. By putting on the moral character of Christ the king, Christian communities distinguish themselves from others within their Mediterra-

nean milieu. This distinctiveness is not antagonistic but winsome in its social manifestation of concord and peace.

Nicholas J. Moore provides a wide-ranging analysis of several themes throughout the Catholic Epistles and Hebrews collectively treated under the rubric of “on(c)eness.” His essay opens with a discussion of divine oneness in James and the letters of John that have direct social and ethical consequences. Since God is one, Christian devotion to this singular God must also be singular and wholehearted as expected of Israel in the Shema of Deut 6:4–9. Within James’s polemical sights are divided loyalty, disrupted community, and double-mindedness, expressed with the use of the δι- prefix, that fall short in honoring the one God. Though the Shema is not directly referred to in the Johannine Epistles, Moore makes the case that divine oneness underlies the double love commands to love God and one another. Turning to Jude, 1 Peter, and Hebrews, attention is drawn to the theologically significant “oneness.” In related but varying ways, these writers deployed the term ἄπαξ (and its cognates) to express the singularity of a divine event (whether a revelation, Christ’s death, or Christ’s entrance into heaven) that bears implications for the life of Christian communities.

Oneness is sometimes preserved by expedient acts of exclusion. T. J. Lang considers Clement of Rome’s exhortation to the disruptive party in Corinth to remove themselves in a noble act of self-imposed exile. Using the imagery of a “social surd,” Lang argues that there were some social scenarios in early Christianity that evaded established tactics for securing unity. The Corinthian situation addressed in 1 Clement required a creative solution that went beyond Pauline practice. Rather than shunning, ostracizing, or excommunicating those who were disrupting ecclesial harmony, Clement offered an alternative option that gave honor and fame to the disturbers of peace and assured them that they would be welcome elsewhere.

The most ardent proponent of Christian unity in the eastern part of the empire was surely Ignatius of Antioch. John-Paul Lotz’s study on the sociopolitical dimensions of Ignatius’s theologically ordered ideas of oneness and unity forms a suitable capstone chapter, closing the volume with reflections on a highly developed idea of Christian unity that prompts questions for ongoing studies. To situate Ignatius within the intellectual and political climate of the Second Sophistic, Lotz opens with an overview of the term *ὁμόνοια*/*concordia* and then compares the Syrian bishop with the writings of a contemporary. Dio Chrysostom’s *Orations* shed light on Ignatius’s *Epistles*, where the bishop-in-bonds creatively deploys the lan-

guage and images of his cultural milieu to consolidate ecclesial unity in the person and office of the bishop and in a shared commitment to orthodox doctrine.

We offer these studies in the hope that they will contribute rich resources from the worlds of the scriptures, Greco-Roman and Jewish antiquity, and early Christianity to ongoing reflection on ideas and practices conducive of the unity of humankind. In a dangerously divided world, what is needed more than ever are imaginations able to conceive what it will take to build bridges rather than walls. Fresh readings from our cultural, political, and religious forebears are a good place to start.

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