

Assembling Early Christianity

In this book, Cavan Concannon explores the growth and development of Christianity in the second century. He focuses on Dionysios of Corinth, an early Christian bishop who worked to build a network of churches along trade routes in the eastern Mediterranean. Using archaeological evidence and analyzing Dionysios' fragmentary letter collection, Concannon shows how various networks and collectives assembled together and how various Christianities emerged and coexisted as a result of tenuous and shifting networks. Dionysios' story also overlaps with key early Christian debates, notably issues of celibacy, marriage, readmission of sinners, Roman persecution, and the economic and political interdependence of churches, which are also explored in this study. Concannon's volume thus offers new insights into a fluid, emergent Christianity at a pivotal moment of its evolution.

Cavan W. Concannon is Assistant Professor of Religion at the University of Southern California. He is the author of *“When You Were Gentiles”: Specters of Ethnicity in Roman Corinth and Paul’s Corinthian Correspondence* (2014).

Assembling Early Christianity

*Trade, Networks, and the Letters of Dionysios
of Corinth*

CAVAN W. CONCANNON

University of Southern California



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-19429-8 — Assembling Early Christianity
Cavan W. Concannon
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
4843/24, 2nd Floor, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, Delhi – 110002, India
79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.
It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of
education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107194298
DOI: 10.1017/9781108155373
© Cavan W. Concannon 2017

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written
permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2017

Printed in the United States of America by Sheridan Books, Inc.

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-1-107-19429-8 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of
URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication
and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain,
accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-19429-8 — Assembling Early Christianity
Cavan W. Concannon
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

*To Patt Concannon
with all my love and to the memory
of Helmut Koester*

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i> viii
<i>List of Tables</i>	ix
<i>Preface</i>	xi
Introduction	I
1 Connecting Dionysios: Connectivity and Early Christian Difference	25
2 Placing Dionysios: Corinth in the Second Century	66
3 Defining Dionysios: Ecclesial Politics and Second-Century Christianity	88
4 Debating Dionysios: Sexual Politics and Second-Century Christianity	122
5 Conjuring Crisis: Plague, Famine, and Grief in Corinth	155
6 Responding to Rome: Patronage, Kinship Diplomacy, and Dionysios’ Letter to the Romans	178
Conclusion: After Dionysios – Collecting, Linking, and Forgetting Early Christian Networks	209
<i>Appendix A The Fragments of Dionysios</i>	233
<i>Bibliography</i>	239
<i>Index</i>	261

Figures

0.1	Recipients of Dionysios' Letters	<i>page 4</i>
2.1	Acrocorinth from Northeast of the Corinthian Forum	70
2.2	The Mole of the Corinthian Port of Kenchreai	71
2.3	View of Corinthian Forum (center) and the Corinthian Gulf from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth	72
2.4	Provenance of Corinthian Pottery Imports (ca. 125)	75
2.5	Provenance of Corinthian Pottery Imports (ca. 200–225/50)	76
3.1	View of the Isthmus from Acrocorinth	97
3.2	Map of Route from Corinth to Athens in June	97
3.3	Map of Route from Corinth to Amastris in June	105
4.1	Map of Route from Corinth to Crete (Chersonasos) in June	138
6.1	Map of Route from Corinth to Rome in June	181
7.1	Zone Map of Corinth (measured in travel time by weeks)	220
7.2	Distance Cartogram Showing Practical Distance between Corinth and Ephesos in June	221
7.3	Map of Route from Corinth to Ephesos in June	221
7.4	Cities in the Networks of Dionysios and Ignatius	222
7.5	Christian Collectives in Asia Minor alongside Collectives Associated with Dionysios	224
7.6	Early Christian Networks in Asia Minor (first to second centuries CE)	226

Tables

1.1	Travel Costs from Corinth in June	63
2.1	Travel Costs from Corinth in June to Sparta, Crete, and Athens	79

Preface

This project began in the spring of 2009. At the time I was a fellow at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA). One evening, while working away on what was undoubtedly an erudite footnote for a book on Paul, it occurred to me that I did not really know anything about what happened to the collective of Jesus followers in Corinth after the letter known as 1 Clement. A quick library search introduced me to Dionysios of Corinth for the first time. It would take a few more months before I found myself at the dig house for the American School's Corinth Excavations with a little extra time after a long day of excavating. With a glass of Nemean red in my hand, I found a tattered Loeb edition of Eusebius and sat down with a view of the Corinthian Gulf to read about Dionysios and his letter collection. Almost immediately I was struck by what I found, recognizing right away that there was something important here in the pages of Eusebius, something that Eusebius did not even quite seem to know that he had in his library at Caesarea. Here was a letter corpus from the second century that bore witness to a network bigger in geographic terms than that of Paul of Tarsus or Ignatius of Antioch, messy clashes over the kinds of issues that roiled through other Christian texts of the period, and a complicated financial exchange, like Paul's collection for Jerusalem, between Corinth and Rome. The almost utter obscurity of Dionysios and his network in the study of early Christianity was shocking to me. As I dug deeper, I noticed that even Eusebius lacked information about Dionysios, suggesting that within only a century this large network had not only fallen apart but had been largely forgotten outside of a dusty tome that sat on Eusebius' shelf.

It was the dissolution of this network that explains why it was forgotten by early Christians and modern scholars alike, but the existence of a failed network of early Christian collectives is also something to dwell on. Scholarship on Christian origins, both ancient and modern, has long been caught in the discourse of Christianity's surprising success, its conquest of the Roman Empire, its spread throughout the Mediterranean, and its defeat of other forms of religious practice. This discourse is accustomed to some forms of Christianity that did not make it because they "lost" to the growing forces of "orthodoxy," be they Gnostics, Marcionites, Montanists, or any of the other boogeymen conjured by the early here-siologists. But in Dionysios we find a figure who Eusebius claims was orthodox, who fought with other "orthodox" bishops, and who ultimately failed to create a lasting network of collectives. In Dionysios the narratives of orthodox unity and success and of heretical failure begin to fall apart. Sitting among the remains of Dionysios' hometown it became clear to me that Dionysios was deserving of the same scholarly treatment that has attended other second-century Christian authors, not just because of the scope of his influence but also because early Christian historiography needs to be reminded that the "spread" of Christianity around the Mediterranean was far from a linear phenomenon or the advance of a conquering army of pious martyrs. Moving like the tangled, knotted, and confusing root system of a bamboo shoot, the cultural flow that was early Christianity made its way across the Mediterranean along strikingly rhizomatic avenues. Neither a conquering army nor a field of runners racing for the finish line of imperial dominance, early Christianities came together and fell apart, only to build and rebuild again.

While this project began at the ASCSA and its Corinth Excavations, this book is the result of the support of a number of institutions and colleagues. I was able to lay the groundwork for much of what appears in the book while holding a post-doctoral fellowship in Early Christianity in the Department of Ancient History at Macquarie University. There I benefited from a number of colleagues who responded to several early drafts of what became chapters in this volume: Brent Nongbri, Edwin Judge, Malcolm Choat, Lea Beness, Chris Forbes, Tom Hillard, Mary Jane Cuyler, Rachel Yuen-Collingridge, Sean Durbin, James Unwin, Brad Bitner, and Jack Tsonis. In particular, I would like to thank Larry Welborn and Alanna Nobbs for their support and encouragement. This book was begun at Macquarie but began to come together at Duke University where I was an ACLS New Faculty Fellow and Visiting Assistant Professor in the Departments of Religious Studies and

Preface

xiii

Classical Studies from 2011–14. My colleagues and students at Duke profoundly shaped this work and offered sharp critiques that made the project better. I want to thank Mark Goodacre, Carol and Eric Meyers, David Morgan, Luc Van Rompay, Mel Peters, Hwansoo Kim, Laura Lieber, Tolly Boatwright, Peter Burian, Carla Antonaccio, Jacques Bromberg, Jed Atkins, William Johnson, Josh Sosin, Clare Woods, Lindsey Mazurek, Katie Langenfeld, Maria Doerfler, Brittany Wilson, Joel Marcus, Bart Ehrman, Julia Kelto Lillis, Erin Walsh, Travis Proctor, Emanuel Fiano, Jennifer Kryszak, Jeremiah Bailey, Daniel McKinney, and Adrienne Krone. I would also like to thank James Rives for his friendship and for his invitation to present on what would become Chapter 5 at UNC Chapel Hill. I am similarly grateful for the tough readers at Bart Ehrman's CIA group. I would particularly like to thank Liz Clark, for whose friendship and support I am deeply thankful. A kind note from her prior to my arrival at Duke was what finally convinced me that this project had a future.

Since coming to the University of Southern California, I have been lucky to be surrounded by wonderful colleagues in the School of Religion and in the university more broadly. In particular, I would like to thank: Sheila Briggs, Jessica Marglin, Lynn Dodd, Ann Marie Yasin, David Albertson, Bruce Zuckerman, Lisa Bitel, James McHugh, Lori Meeks, Jason Webb, Rongdao Lai, Don Miller, Sherman Jackson, Duncan Williams, Josh Garroway, Daniel Richter, Christelle Fischer-Bovet, Thomas Habinek, Claudia Moatti, Greg Thalmann, Peter Mancall, and John Pollini. I also have benefited from having great colleagues in the Los Angeles area, including Andrew Jacobs, Ra'anana Boustani, Scott Bartchy, Kristi Upson-Saia, Chris Hoklotubbe, and Shane Bjornlie.

This book and its individual chapters have all benefited from colleagues who have listened to and commented on earlier drafts. I would like to thank John Fitzgerald and the Early Christianity and the Ancient Economy Section of the SBL, where I presented several early forays into Dionysios' letters; the Columbia New Testament Seminar, who had to listen to me struggle through my early attempts to understand Deleuze and Guattari; and Warren Carter, Colleen Conway, and the Jesus Traditions, Gospels, and Negotiating the Roman Imperial World Section of the SBL. Similar thanks go to Beth Digeser and Claudia Moatti for their invitations to speak about this project. I would also like to thank Laura Nasrallah for helping me develop ways of integrating the study of early Christianity with classical archaeology and L. Michael White for his friendship and support. I am also deeply indebted to Karen King for her mentorship and

the work that she has done on reframing the study of early Christian identity.

I would like to offer particular thanks and sympathies to those who read and responded to drafts and papers, particularly Jennifer Knust, Robyn Walsh, and Geoffrey Smith.

I would like to thank Beatrice Rehl and the staff at Cambridge University Press for their work in putting this book together and to the external reviewers for their encouraging and challenging feedback. I would also like to thank the Wittenberg-Livingston Co. who helped support the production of this book by offering me a space to write over several summers.

Finally, this book is dedicated to my mother Patt Concannon and to Helmut Koester. My mother has been a constant support in the long and winding road that has taken me to and from the Mediterranean so many times. I am constantly amazed by her unending love and strength, her ability to endure, thrive, and give through good times and bad. It is hard to imagine a stronger role model for myself and for my daughters. I am forever grateful to her.

It was Helmut Koester who first led me out into the lands that have featured so centrally in this project and who taught me how to think about the archaeology of the ancient world alongside the study of early Christianity. It is hard to overestimate the impact that Helmut made on the study of early Christianity and harder still to measure the impact that he made on my own life and work. I will always treasure our time together, whether it was over martinis at Chang Sho or retsina under the shade in a Greek village. Though he did not live to see this book completed, he lives in its pages and in the hearts of those of us who had the privilege to study, travel, and drink alongside him.