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Numismatic Insights into Pauline Ethics: ΕΥΕΠΤ- on Roman Provincial, Parthian and Seleucid Coinage

Michael P. Theophilos 

School of Theology, Australian Catholic University, East Melbourne, Australia
Email: michael.theophilos@acu.edu.au

Abstract

Numismatic inscriptional evidence consistently employs the ΕΥΕΠΤ- word group in describing a superior providing some material public benefit to an inferior, typically an entire city, nation or kingdom. This is evidenced in the present study's comprehensive survey of several hundred numismatic types, extant in many thousands of specimens from the second century BCE to the first century CE. Within this context, 1 Timothy 6.2 is discussed, wherein it is noted that the apparent identification of a slave's labour as εὐεργεσία not only heightens the significance and value of that service but is a deliberate inversion of expected social and linguistic norms.

Keywords: 1 Timothy 6.2; numismatics; Roman coins; lexicography; ethics; Greek inscriptions

I Introduction

The critical inclusion of numismatic evidence in modern discussions of Pauline ethics is virtually absent in current New Testament scholarship. The paucity of numismatic interaction is more likely a symptom of a wider neglect of coinage as evidence for ancient history in general, and New Testament studies in particular, rather than an actual absence of relevant material.¹ Numismatic material has, at times, been drawn upon for contributing to clues which illuminate the iconographic and symbolic world of the New Testament,² but rarely has such analysis extended to the linguistic level of inscriptions upon the coins themselves as informing semantic domains of Hellenistic Greek terminology and, as a consequence, the lexicographer's inclusion of this material in a lexicon. Although there are positive signs of academic engagement in this research area,³ the methodology

¹ See further Christopher Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins* (London: Routledge, 1995); Michael P. Theophilos, *Numismatics and Greek Lexicography* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020) 3–16.

² Richard Oster, 'Numismatic Windows into the Social World of Early Christianity', *JBL* 101 (1982) 195–223; Richard Oster, "'Show Me a Denarius": Symbolism of Roman Coinage and Christian Beliefs', *ResQ* 28 (1986) 107–15; Larry J. Kreitzer, *Striking New Images: Roman Imperial Coinage and the New Testament World* (JSNTSup 134; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996); Marius Reiser, 'Numismatik und Neues Testament', *Biblica* 81 (2000) 457–88.

³ Frank Thielman, 'God's Righteousness as God's Fairness in Romans 1:17: An Ancient Perspective on a Significant Phrase', *JETS* 54 (2011) 35–48. Also see the extended methodological discussion in Theophilos, *Numismatics*, 3–101; and case studies such as M. P. Theophilos, 'John 15:14 and the ΦΙΛ- lexeme in Light of Numismatics Evidence: Friendship or Obedience?' *New Testament Studies* 64 (2018) 33–43; M. P. Theophilos, 'Κτίστης (1 Peter 4.19) in Light of the Numismatic Record' in *Biblical Greek In Context*, eds T. Evans and

and robust application of it to numismatic contributions to lexicography is in its infancy. This study seeks to analyse the numismatic evidence for insights into Pauline ethics, in particular the ΕΥΕΡΓΙ- word group (εὐεργετέω [to serve as benefactor], εὐεργέτης [benefactor], εὐεργεσία as it pertains to 1 Timothy 6.2.⁴

The concept of benefaction was intrinsically woven into the fabric of the Greco-Roman world. The expectation that people occupying prominent social, religious, or political positions would provide some kind of benefaction for their community was presupposed. Whether it was an enthroned king seeking political capital,⁵ a Hellenistic ruler desiring public displays of loyalty,⁶ or benefaction which enhanced social standing and election to public office,⁷ it was assumed in the ancient mind that such provisions of benefaction would be transactional.⁸ This typically took the form of something desirable provided by the elite (military or territorial protection, financial subsidies, local civic benefits, acclamations) in exchange for some desired return (political loyalty, advancement of social status, honorific inscriptions). Sophocles captures this dynamic in *Ajax* 522 where he notes χάρις χάριν γὰρ ἔστιν ἢ τίκτουσ' ἄει (trans. 'for it is always one favour that begets another').⁹ Such activity was recognised as εὐεργεσία 'benefaction' and the one who provided the contribution as the εὐεργέτης 'benefactor'.¹⁰ Failure to adhere to appropriate etiquette in these social or political constructions was considered catastrophic. One Jewish writer expresses the view that anyone who is guilty of impiety towards a benefactor, as much as towards God or one's parents, deserves death (Philo, *Hypoth.* 7.2). It is significant to note that by the late Hellenistic period acclamations and inscriptions bestowed further honours on such individuals, referring to them as 'saviours', 'founders', and 'fathers of the city'.¹¹ Sviatoslav Dmitriev observes that, 'Roman desire to connect the social prominence of local elites with their financial responsibilities...fell on well-prepared ground'¹² and that the elites 'continued to pose as εὐεργέται of their cities during the

J. Aitken (Leuven: Peeters, 2015) 191–205; M. P. Theophilos, 'ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ (Rev 17.14; 19.16) in Light of the Numismatic Record' *New Testament Studies* 65 (2019) 526–51.

⁴ The terms 'Paul' and 'Pauline' are used in the current discussion as a shorthand method of referring to material attributed to Paul without implying a definitive position on the issue of authorship. I am positively disposed towards scholarship which highlights variation across the traditional corpus, but there is not sufficient evidence to deduce that this variation is fundamentally in tension with genuine Pauline authorship, but rather could be attributed to a variety of sociolinguistic factors: see for example, Jermo van Nes, *Pauline Language and the Pastoral Epistles: A Study of Linguistic Variation in the Corpus Paulinum* (Linguistic Biblical Studies 16; Leiden: Brill 2018).

⁵ For example, Ptolemy III, on whom see K. Bringmann, 'Grain, timber and money: Hellenistic kings, finance, buildings and foundations in Greek cities' in *Hellenistic Economies* (ed. Z. H. Archibald, J. Davies, V. Gabrielsen, and G. J. Oliver; London: Routledge, 2001) 205–14.

⁶ See Polybius 5.88–90 for the obligations of the inhabitants of Rhodes after an earthquake in 227 BCE.

⁷ Sviatoslav Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 34–63.

⁸ For a discussion of the complex socially-layered interactions benefaction engendered see M. L. Satlow, *The Gift in Antiquity* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013); John M. G. Barclay, *Paul and the Gift* (Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 2015).

⁹ Hugh Lloyd-Jones, *Sophocles. Ajax. Electra. Oedipus Tyrannus* (LCL 20; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 79–80.

¹⁰ Inscriptional evidence of benefaction is copiously attested in the epigraphic record. In addition to our discussion below see F. W. Danker, *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field* (St. Louis: Clayton Publishing House, 1982); Adolf Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East the New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1910) 248.

¹¹ Filippo Canali de Rossi, *Filius publicus. ΥΙΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ e titoli affini in iscrizioni greche di età imperial* (Rome: Herder, 2007).

¹² Sviatoslav Dmitriev, 'Benefactors', *Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (vol 2; ed. R. S. Bagnall et al.; Wiley-Blackwell: 2012) 1084.

Roman imperial period'.¹³ The significance of such activity is highlighted by J. H. M. Strubbe's observation that benefits for citizen benefactors could even include cultic veneration.¹⁴ The numismatic evidence illuminates several key themes within the ancient social matrix of benefaction, not least the extent and significance of the concept at the civic level. We thus first turn to an analysis of the relevant extant coinage.

2 Numismatic Evidence

Roman Provincial Coinage of the Julio-Claudian period preserves over sixty unique Greek honorific titles spanning the full breadth of the Mediterranean world.¹⁵ Prominent titular attestations include: ἀγνός 'pure' (Sebaste: RPC I. 3153; Temnus: RPC I. 2447), ἀγωνοθέτης 'president of the games' (Aegae: RPC I. 2427–2428; Cotiaenum: RPC I. 3222, 3224), ἀντιστράτηγος 'commander' (Cyrenaica and Crete: RPC I. 919–920), ἀρχιερεύς 'arch-priest' (Hierocaesarea: RPC I. 2389–2390; Ephesus: RPC I. 2570–2574, 2585–2592 et al.), γραμματεὺς 'secretary' (Hypaepa: RPC I. 2543–2555; Nicaea Cilbianorum: RPC I. 2564 et al.), ἱερεὺς 'priest' (Nysa: RPC I. 2666–2667, 2671; Heraclea: RPC I. 2858–2862), κτίστης 'founder' (Prymnessus: RPC I.3200), φιλόκαισαρ 'loyal to the emperor' (Philadelphia: RPC I. 3027–3031; Tripolis: RPC I. 3054–3055; Synnada: RPC I. 3179, 3181, 3190). One title that is especially favoured on the coinage of Asia Minor, and the focus of our current discussion, is εὐεργέτης 'benefactor'. The epithet is found on 11 coin types of Roman Provincial Coinage attested in 80 specimens within the leading international museum and university collections (see Table 1). The numismatic title is also prominently found on Parthian coinage (see Table 2) and extremely popular on Seleucid coinage during the period 152–88 BCE (see Table 3), in addition to at least 74 specimens (see Table 4) on the earliest coinage of the Hasmonean dynasty under John Hyrcanus I (see Table 4). The tabulation of attested evidence in Tables 1–4 below concretely demonstrates the significant extent and spread of relevant coinage in circulation, both in terms of geographic attestation and relevant chronological period.

Andrew Burnett, Michel Amandry, and Ian Carradice, editors of the magisterial collection of Roman Provincial Coinage (RPC I and II), propose a convincing historical reconstruction of the chronology of Neronian coins at Laodicea between 60–68 CE.¹⁶ RPC I. 2920–2923 are dated to 62 CE based on specific iconographic features, including the association with Poppaea and the absence of the 'steps' portrait.¹⁷ The reverse inscriptions of RPC I. 2920–2922 have ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ ('Ioulios Andronikos, benefactor'), and RPC I. 2923 expands this with an additional reference to location, ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ('of the Laodiceans'). The date, location, and honorific (εὐεργέτης) are suggestive that Ioulios Andronikos was given this title in response to his financial support of the city after the earthquake of 62 CE.¹⁸ Ioulios Andronikos also reappears on the coinage of Laodicea in the 70s under Vespasian (RPC II. 1269–1270) bearing the same honorific title.¹⁹

¹³ Sviatoslav Dmitriev, 'Benefactors', *EAH* 2: 1084.

¹⁴ J. H. M. Strubbe, 'Cultic Honors for Benefactions in the Cities of Asia Minor', in *Roman Rule and Civic Life: Local and Regional Perspectives*, eds. L. De Ligt, E. A. Hemelrijk, and H. W. Singor (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 2004) 315–330.

¹⁵ Andrew Burnett, Michel Amandry, and Ian Carradice, *Roman Provincial Coinage: Volumes 1–2* (London: British Museum, 1992–1999). Hereafter abbreviated as RPC I and RPC II.

¹⁶ RPC I, 476.

¹⁷ RPC I, 476.

¹⁸ See further, Ulrich Huttner, *Early Christianity in the Lycus Valley* (trans. David Green; Leiden: Brill, 2013) 102.

¹⁹ W. Weiser, 'Quintus Corellius Rufus und Marcus Marcius Rufus in Asia: Flavische Münzen aus Hierapolis und Ephesus', *EA* 20 (1992) 117–24.

Table 1: ΕΥΕΡΓ- Word Group on Roman Provincial Coinage

	Reference	Reign	Issued by	Location	Issued	Description	Specimen(s) ²⁰
1.	RPC I. 2920	Nero	Ioulios Andronikos	City: Laodicea ad Lycum Region: Phrygia Province: Asia (conventus of Cibyra)	62 CE	Obverse: ΒΟΥΛΗ ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ; veiled bust of Boule facing laureate head of Demos. Reverse: ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ; Zeus Laodiceus standing facing left, with eagle and staff.	6
2.	RPC I. 2921	Nero	Ioulios Andronikos	City: Laodicea ad Lycum Region: Phrygia Province: Asia (conventus of Cibyra)	62 CE	Obverse: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ; laureate head of Demos facing right. Reverse: ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ; Zeus Laodiceus standing facing left, with eagle and staff.	12
3.	RPC I. 2922	Nero	Ioulios Andronikos	City: Laodicea ad Lycum Region: Phrygia Province: Asia (conventus of Cibyra)	62 CE	Obverse: ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ; laureate head of Demos facing right. Reverse: ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ; Zeus Laodiceus standing facing left, with eagle and staff.	6
4.	RPC I. 2923	Nero	Ioulios Andronikos	City: Laodicea ad Lycum Region: Phrygia Province: Asia (conventus of Cibyra)	62 CE	Obverse: ΝΕΡΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ; bare head of Nero, r. Reverse: ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ; Zeus Laodiceus standing, l., with eagle and staff	22
5.	RPC I. 3527	Augustus	Magistrate: Ioulios Biton	City: Apollonia Mordiaem Region: Pisidia Province: Galatia	27 BCE–14 CE	Obverse: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ; laureate head of Augustus facing right; Reverse: ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΚΡΥΩΝ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ; goddess seated facing left.	3
6.	RPC I. 3528	Tiberius	Cornutus	City: Apollonia Mordiaem Region: Pisidia Province: Galatia	14–37 CE	Obverse: ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ; laureate head of Tiberius facing right; Reverse: ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ ΚΟΡΝΟΥΤΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ; head of Cornutus, bound with taenia facing right.	2

7.	RPC I. 3740	Nero	King Polemo ²¹	City: Olba Region: Cilicia (Cilicia Trachea) Province: Cilicia	68 CE	Obverse: ΑΥΤΟΚΡ ΝΕΡΩΝΑ ΤΟΝ ΕΥΕΡΓ ΣΕΒΑΚΤ ΚΑΙΣ; laureate head of Nero; Reverse: Μ ΑΝΤ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ; winged caduceus and two serpents.	15
8.	RPC I. 3741	Galba	King Polemo	City: Olba Region: Cilicia (Cilicia Trachea) Province: Cilicia	Late 60s	Obverse: ΑΥΤΟΚΡ ΣΕΓΙΟΝ ΓΑΛΒΑΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΥΕΡΓ ΣΕΒΑΚΤΟΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ; bare head of Galba facing right. Reverse: Μ ΑΝΤ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ; helmeted Athena, standing facing left with spear and shield.	4
9.	RPC I. 3843	Uncertain	Artavasdes III or Artavasdes IV	City: Kingdom of Armenia Region: Armenia Province: Kingdom of Armenia	5–2 BCE or 4–6 CE	Obverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΟΥΑΣΔΟΥ; diademed head of Artavasdes III/IV; Reverse: ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ; laureate head of Augustus facing right.	4
10.	RPC II. 1269	Vespasian	Vespasian Magistrate: Ioulios Andronikos	City: Laodicea ad Lycum Region: Phrygia Province: Asia (conventus of Cibyra)	69–79 CE	Obverse: ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ; laureate head of Vespasian facing right; Reverse: ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ; Zeus Laodiceus standing facing left.	1
11.	RPC II. 1270	Vespasian	Vespasian Magistrate: Ioulios Andronikos	City: Laodicea ad Lycum Region: Phrygia Province: Asia (conventus of Cibyra)	69–79 CE	Obverse: ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ; laureate head of Vespasian facing right; Reverse: ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ; Zeus Laodiceus standing facing left.	5

²⁰ This count has been manually calculated based on the published holdings of the Staatliche Museen (Berlin); Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge); Nationalmuseet (Copenhagen); Hunterian Museum (Glasgow); British Museum (London); Staatliche Münzsammlung (Munich); American Numismatic Society (New York); Ashmolean Museum (Oxford); Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris); Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna). In addition to RPC I and RPC II see P. Ripollès, A. Burnett, M. Amandry, I. Carradice, and M. Spoerri, *Roman Provincial Coinage: Consolidated Supplement I–III* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1992–2015); M. Amandry, A. Burnett, A. Hostein, J. Mairat, P. P. Ripollès, and M. Spoerri Butcher, *Roman Provincial Coinage: Supplement 4* (London: British Museum Press, 2017); M. Amandry, A. Burnett, A. Hostein, J. Mairat, P. P. Ripollès, and M. Spoerri Butcher, *Roman Provincial Coinage: Supplement 5* (London: British Museum Press, 2019).

²¹ On the critical issues of identification of Polemo see Sviatoslav Dmitriev, ‘Claudius’ Grant of Cilicia to Polemo’, *The Classical Quarterly* 53 (2003), 286–91; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950) 1407; D. Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King. The Character of the Client Kingship* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1984) 48.

Table 2: ΕΥΕΡΓΓ- Word Group on Parthian Coinage

	Reference ²²	Reign	Location	Issued	Description
1.	Sellwood 29.1–3	Mithradates II	Ecbatana	123–88 BCE	Silver Drachm; Obverse: bearded bust left wearing tiara; single or double pellet-ended torque; circular border of pellets; Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΓΕΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝ
2.	Sellwood 30.1–3	Unknown king	Seleucia on the Tigris	80–70 BCE	Silver Tetradrachm; Obverse: bearded bust left wearing diadem, hair in four horizontal rows of curls covering ear; circular border of pellets; Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΓΕΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ
3.	Sellwood 32.1	Unknown king	Seleucia on the Tigris	80 BCE	Silver Tetradrachm; Obverse: bearded bust left wearing tiara, circular border of pellets; Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΓΕΤΟΥ
4.	Sellwood 34.1–9	Sinatrucus	Ecbatana	c. 75 BCE	Obverse: bearded bust left wearing tiara decorated on side with fleur de lys, circular border of pellets; Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΓΕΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ
5.	Sellwood 35.1–18	Darius	Ecbatana	c. 70 BCE	Obverse: short-bearded bust facing wearing diadem and necklet with medallion; circular border of pellets; Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΓΕΤΟΥ
6.	Sellwood 36.1–27	Darius	Seleucia on the Tigris	c. 70 BCE	Obverse: short-bearded bust facing wearing diadem and necklet with medallion, circular border of pellets; Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΓΕΤΟΥ
7.	Sellwood 37.1	Darius	Seleucia	c. 70 BCE	Obverse: short-bearded bust left wearing tiara decorated on side with horn, circular border of pellets; Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΓΕΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ
8.	Sellwood 38.1–29	Phraates III	Mithradatkart	70–57 BCE	Obverse: long-bearded bust left wearing diadem; circular border of pellets; Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΓΕΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ
9.	Sellwood 39.1–22	Phraates III	Seleucia	70–57 BCE	Obverse: long-bearded bust left wearing tiara with circular border of pellets; Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΓΕΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ

10.	Sellwood 41.17	Mithradates III	Court at Rhagae	57–54 BCE	Silver Drachm; Obverse: short-bearded bust left wearing double-banded diadem and segmented necklet with medallion; behind bust, crescent above star; circular border of pellets; Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΔΙΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΦΡΑΑΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ ΥΟΣ
11.	Sellwood 45.1–45; 46.1–29; 47.1–47; 48.1–32.	Orodes II	Ecbatana	57–38 BCE	Obverse: short-bearded bust left wearing diadem with circular border of pellets; Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ
12.	Sellwood 49.1–4	Pacorus I	Ecbatana	39 BCE	Obverse: beardless bust left wearing diadem and pellet-ended torque; Nike flying left behind holding wreath; Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ
13.	Sellwood 55.1–11	Tiridates I	Seleucia	29–26 BCE	Obverse: bust left with pointed beard wearing diadem and three-band torque; Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ
14.	Sellwood 56.1–15; 57.1–14	Phraataces	Seleucia	2 BCE–4 CE	Obverse: bust left with pointed beard wearing diadem; Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ
15.	Sellwood 59.1	Orodes III	Seleucia	6 CE	Obverse: diademed bust of king left, pointed beard; Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ
16.	Sellwood 60.1–4	Vonones I	Seleucia	8–12 CE	Obverse: bust of king left, long beard, ear visible, border of dots, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΟΝΩΝΗΣ; Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ
17.	Sellwood 61.7; 62.1–11, 63.6	Artabanus II	Seleucia	10–38 CE	Obverse: bare-headed bust left with medium square cut beard, wearing diadem with loop at the top; Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ
18.	Sellwood 64.1–31	Vardanes I	Seleucia	40–45 CE	Obverse: bare-headed bust left with short pointed beard wearing diadem with loop at the top; Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ

(Continued)

Table 2: (Continued.)

	Reference ²²	Reign	Location	Issued	Description
19.	Sellwood 65.1–37; 66.1–3.	Gotarzes II	Seleucia	40–51 CE	Obverse: bare-headed bust left with long pointed beard; Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ
20.	Sellwood 68.1–11; 70.1–14; 71.1–4	Vologases I	Ecbatana	51–78 CE	Obverse: bare-headed bust facing, head left with pointed beard; Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ
21.	Sellwood 69.1–14	Vardanes II	Ecbatana	55–58 CE	Obverse: bust left with very short beard wearing diadem and spiral torque; Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ

²² David Sellwood, *An Introduction to the Coinage of Parthia* (London: Spink & Son, 1971). Specimen tallies for the vast quantities of extant Parthian coinage are notoriously difficult to calculate due to dispersion and catalogue records, and thus have been excluded from table 3.

Table 3: ΕΥΕΡΓ- Word Group on Seleucid Coinage Arranged by Authority

	Authority	Location and reference ²³	Date range	Reverse inscription
1.	Alexander I Balas	Seleuceia ad Calycadnum: SC II.1776; Soli (Pompeiiopolis): SC II.1177; Tarsus: SC II.1178; Mallus: SC II.1179; Antioch: SC II.1180-85; Sidon: SC II.1829; Ptolemais-Ake: SC II.1841; Seleuceia ad Tigrim: SC II. 1858-1863; Ecbatana: SC II.1869-1878; Uncertain: SC II.1797, 1811-1813, 1856-1857, 1864, 1880, 1882	152–145 BCE	SC II. 1776: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΙΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ; 1777-1785, 1797: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ; 1811-1813: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ; 1829, 1841, 1858-1863, 1869-1878, 1797, 1811-1813, 1856-1857, 1864, 1880, 1882: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΙΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ
2.	Antiochus VII	Seleuceia ad Calycadnum: SC II. 2049; Soli (Pompeiiopolis): SC II. 2050-2051; Tarsus, Royal Workshop: SC II. 2053, 2055-2057; Antioch: SC II. 2061-2064, 2067-2068, 2071, 2073; Seleuceia Pieria: SC II. 2075; Damascus: 2096-2098; Byblus: 2099; Sidon: 2101; Tyre: 2107-2108; Ptolemais-Ake: 2118-2119; Jerusalem: 2118-2119; Seleuceia ad Tigrim: 2127-2131, 2134-2135; Uncertain: SC II.2052, 2076-2093, 2093.1, 2094-2095, 2095A, 2095B, 2095C	138–129 BCE	SC II. 2049-2053, 2055-2058, 2061-2064, 2066-2068, 2071, 2073, 2075-2093, 2093.1, 2094-2095, 2095A, 2095B, 2095C, 2096-2099, 2101, 2107-2108, 2118-2119, 2123, 2127-2131, 2135: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ; SC II. 2134: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ
3.	Ariarathes VI	Uncertain: SC II. 2148	130–100 BCE	SC II. 2148: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ
4.	Ariarathes VII	Uncertain: SC II. 2149	116–95 BCE	SC II. 2149: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ
5.	Ariarathes VIII	Uncertain: SC II. 2150	100–85 BCE	SC II. 2150: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ
6.	Uncertain	Cappadocia: SC II. 2136-2147	130–80 BCE	SC II. 2136-2147: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ
7.	Deme trius III	Seleuceia Pieria: SC II. 2447-2449; Uncertain: SC II. 2444	88–87 BCE	SC II. 2447-2449: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΥ; SC II. 2444: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ

²³ Arthur Houghton and Catharine C Lorber, *Seleucid Coins. A Comprehensive Catalogue. Part 2, Seleucus IV Through Antiochus XIII* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 2008).

Table 4: ΕΥΕΡΓ- Word Group on Hasmonean Coinage

	Reference ²⁴	Reign	Location	Issued	Description	Specimen(s) ²⁵
I.	SC II.2123 Hendin 1131 TJC p.30	John Hyrcanus I	Judaea, Jerusalem	Year 181 = 132–131 BCE.	Bronze Prutah Obverse: Lily on stem; Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ; Anchor with flukes upward.	74

²⁴ D. Hendin, *Guide to Biblical Coins, 5th ed.* (Jerusalem: Amphora, 2010); Ya'akov Meshorer, *A Treasury of Jewish Coins* (Jerusalem: Amphora Books, 2001).

²⁵ This count has been manually calculated from published catalogue records including Ya'akov Meshorer, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: The Collection of the American Numismatic Society, Pt. 6. Palestine-South Arabia* (New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1981); Houghton and Lorber, *Seleucid Coins*; Hendin, *Guide*, 185; Meshorer, *Treasury*, 30, and all available numismatic auction catalogues over the last decade including Agora Auctions, Naville Numismatics, Ira & Larry Goldberg Coins & Collectibles, Bertolami Fine Arts, Harlan J. Berk, Roma Numismatics Ltd, Numismatik Naumann, Nomos AG, Dmitry Markov Coins & Medals, Classical Numismatic Group, VAuctions, and Heritage World Coin Auctions.

The coinage of Apollonia Mordiaem survives in only five specimens in two types, one from the time of Augustus (RPC I. 3527) and the other from the time of Tiberius (RPC I. 3528). Remarkably both have the title εὐεργέτης for the individual named on the reverse of the issue: Ioulios Biton on RPC I. 3527 and Cornutus on RPC I. 3528. On the latter, we also have two inscriptions of the first century which honour a certain C. Julius Patruinus Cornutus φιλόπατρις (MAMA IV 163.2 and 163.3),²⁶ two fragments of an architrave block inscribed in both Greek and Latin recording the name Iulus Cornutus,²⁷ whom S. Mitchell identifies as a member of the local elite.²⁸ Among other inscriptional evidence (PIR² S 566 in IGR III 315),²⁹ the name on RPC I. 3528 is clearly consistent with an eminent Asiatic family deeply engaged in public benefaction over multiple generations.

In 248 BCE a tribal chieftain named Arsaces led a nomadic Central Asian tribe to invade and control Parthia. Quite remarkably, autonomous coinage was struck by the new power almost immediately. As might be expected the coinage produced shared iconographic similarities with its Seleucid predecessor but also incorporated significant elements from its Irano-Central Asian background.³⁰ Typically, the obverse depicts the royal bust, and the reverse portrays a seated archer, perhaps inspired by the Seleucid seated Apollo. Towards the end of the first century BC, the reverse portrays evolve into more complex victory scenes representing the king's triumph over rivals to the throne.³¹ The innovative square arrangement of the reverse inscription typically permitted up to seven unabbreviated inscribed words, sometimes more. From Orodes II (57–38 BCE) until the end of the Arsacid coinage, the reverse inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ is attested on every drachm and tetradrachm. A notable feature of the coinage of Mithradates II (123–88 BCE) is the introduction of the title ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ. This title was adopted, in part, due to his military success, which included significant territorial expansion (and re-acclamation, e.g., Sakastan) and the pacification of historic political enemies, most notably the tribes in Bactria who were responsible for the death of his predecessors. One remarkable feature preserved in the numismatic record is Mithradates' subjugation of Characene (Hyspaosines) whose coins are physically overstruck with the die of Mithradates II (e.g., Alram 491.2 overstruck with Sellwood 27.1).³²

Early Seleucid monetary policy allowed, and even encouraged an open financial system, whereby all external currencies (in the form of tetradrachms) were accepted for internal payments.³³ As Seleucid territorial expansion stabilised and state administration was

²⁶ W. H. Buckler, W. M. Calder and W. K. C. Guthrie, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua IV: Monuments and Documents from Eastern Asia and Western Galatia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1933).

²⁷ G. Labarre, M. Özsaıt, N. Özsaıt, I. Güceren, 'La collection du Musée d'Uluborlu: Nouvelles Inscriptions d'Apollonia Mordiaon', *Anatolia Antiqua* 20 (2012) 121–46.

²⁸ S. Mitchell, 'The Plancii in Asia Minor', *JRS* 64 (1974) 27–39.

²⁹ *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saec. I. II. III* (second edition) (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1933–2015); R. Cagnat, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes* (3 vols; Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1906–27).

³⁰ V. S. Curtis, 'The Parthian Costume and Headdress', In *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse / The Arsacid Empire: Sources and Documentation. Beiträge des Internationalen Colloquiums, Eutin (27-30 Juni 1996)* (ed. Josef Wiesehöfer; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1998) 61–73.

³¹ Fabrizio Sinisi, 'The Coinage of the Parthians', in *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage* (ed. William E. Metcalf; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) 277.

³² Richard N. Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran* (München: C.H. Beck, 1984) 213; Neilson C. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938) 40; A. Alram, *Iranisches Personennamenbuch. Nomina Propria Iranica in Nummis* (Wien: Verl. der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1986).

³³ For hoard evidence of the circulation of mixed silver currencies in the early period see G. Le Rider, 'Les Alexandres d'argent en Asie Mineure et dans l'orient Séleucide au IIIe siècle av. J.-C. c. 275–c. 225: Remarques sur le système monétaire des Séleucides et des Ptolémées', *Journal des Savants* (1986) 3–58.

regularised, coinage was more intentionally systematised.³⁴ Significant developments are evident in iconographic and inscriptional features, especially from the middle of the second century BCE onwards. From Antiochus IV onwards, the complexity of visual imagery increased especially in regard to mythological origins and military victory, but also in the royal bust, to which Antiochus IV added a radiate crown in assimilation to Helios (e.g., SC II. 1406).³⁵ Inscriptions too, increased in length and complexity. Antiochus IV adds ΘΕΟΥ ‘god’ to his coinage minted at Ecbatana (SC II. 1539, 1541–1542), ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ‘god manifest’ (SC II. 1396–1476) on bronze and silver coinage, and ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ‘god manifest, bringer of victory’ (SC II. 1398–1401, 1420, 1474–1476). Rulers that follow similarly enhance the inscription to convey a specific message of their rule, such as the addition of ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ‘the great’ by Timarchus in 164–161 BCE (SC II. 1588–1608), or ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ‘saviour’ by Demetrius I in 155–150 BCE (SC II. 1623, 1627–1632, 1640–1657). Alexander Balas I introduces the title ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ‘benefactor’ onto his coinage in 152–145 BCE, and subsequent rulers for approximately the next century followed suit.³⁶ As it stands, ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ is attested on the reverse inscriptions on 116 Seleucid coin types represented by more 6,100 extant specimens.³⁷

John Hyrcanus I (Yehonanan), son of Simon the Hasmonean and nephew of Judah the Maccabee (1 Macc 13.53; 16.1–10; Jos. *BJ* 1.51–3; *AJ* 13.225–7), served as a general in his father’s army until 135 BCE. After Simon’s assassination by his son-in-law Ptolemy in 135/134 BCE, Hyrcanus seized power in Jerusalem and installed himself as high priest. Soon after Hyrcanus’s failed attempts to rescue his mother and brothers from Ptolemy, Antiochus VII led the Seleucid army against Jerusalem (1 Macc 16.11–22; Jos. *BJ* 1.54–60; *AJ* 13.228–35). It is of significance that Josephus explicitly contrasts the negative actions of Antiochus IV (167 BCE) and the positive actions of Antiochus VII (132 BCE). Whereas the former, upon besieging the city, ἐλὼν ὕς μὲν κατέθυσεν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν, τὸν νεῶν δὲ τῷ ζῶμῳ τούτων περιέρρανε συγγέας τὰ Ἰουδαίων νόμῳ (‘offered swine upon the altar, and sprinkled the temple with the broth of their flesh, in order to violate the laws of the Jews’, Jos. *AJ* 13.243), Antiochus VII not only permitted seven days respite to allow Jewish celebration of the feast of tabernacles but sent θυσίαν...μεγαλοπρεπῆ (‘a magnificent sacrifice’) with παντοίων ἄρωμάτων, ‘every kind of spice’ (Jos. *AJ* 13.242). Antiochus VII was also apparently agreeable to the negotiations of Hyrcanus who offered tribute (hostages and silver) which averted the siege against a range of Judean cities (Jos. *AJ* 13.247). As a political measure of fidelity and gratitude in 131 BCE, John Hyrcanus I (under Antiochus VII) issued a bronze prutah (SC II.2123) on which

³⁴ Arthur Houghton, ‘The Seleucids’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage* (ed. William E. Metcalf; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) 235.

³⁵ Houghton, ‘The Seleucids’, 235; P. Iossif, and C. Lorber, ‘Celestial Imagery in the Eastern Coinage of Antiochus IV’, *Mesopotamia* 44 (2009) 129–146; P. Iossif, and C. Lorber, ‘The Cult of Helios in the Seleucid East’, *Topoi* 16 (2009) 19–42.

³⁶ Attestation of the lexeme is also evidenced in two items of Ptolemaic coinage. SNG Cop 651–652 (= A. Kromann and O. Mørkholm, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Denmark. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum. Part 40. Egypt: The Ptolemies* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1977)) are bronze Hemidrachms of Ptolemy VIII from 163–145 BCE with a diademed head of Zeus Ammon to right, with a ram’s horn in his hair and over the diadem on the obverse. The reverse has an eagle standing on a thunderbolt with wings spread accompanied by ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ.

³⁷ This estimate has been derived from the holdings of the following collections: American Numismatic Society; Bibliothèque nationale de France; Harvard Art Museums; The Fralin Museum of Art; State Coin Collection of Munich; Münzkabinett Wien; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Münzkabinett Berlin; Numismatic Collection of the Archaeological Seminar of the Philipps-Universität Marburg; British Museum; Ashmolean Museum; Archäologisches Museum der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität; Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg.

was inscribed ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ('of King Antiochus, benefactor').³⁸ It is no surprise then, the year after (129 BCE), that Hyrcanus agreed to march alongside Antiochus VII against Parthia (Jos. AJ 13.250–252).³⁹

3 ΕΥΕΡΓ- Word Group in Hellenistic Greek

The ΕΥΕΡΓ- word group is used extensively in Hellenistic Greek sources and can be applied alike to gods and humans. First-century CE documentary and literary texts commonly employ the word group as a publicly bestowed title (εὐεργέτης) for an individual's civic contribution and description of such benefit (εὐεργεσία).⁴⁰ Danker notes that the title recognises 'unusual merit, as manifested by esteemed members of narrower or broader community, with the response made by the beneficiaries of such merit'.⁴¹ The papyrological record contains hundreds of attestations of the ΕΥΕΡΓ-word group (898 on the last count) which are commonly used in the context of appeals, gift deeds, loan contracts and petitions. One such petition is SB 16.12714⁴² (5–6 CE) where Isidoros from Sophthis in the Memphite nome appeals to Publius Ostorius Scapula, the πάντων εὐεργέτην ('benefactor of all', lines 13–14) for action against the illegal activities of Tryphon, the strategos of the Arsinoite nome. Doing so would, we are told, would result in Isidoros εὐεργετημένος ('being benefited', line 17). In another petition, P.Oxy 38⁴³ (49–50 CE), a different Tryphon appeals to the prefect Gnaeus Vergillius Capito for legal intervention against Syrus who apparently μὴ βουλομένου ἐνμείναι τοῖς κεκριμένοις ('refuses to comply with the judgement', line 16) of Pasion relating to the identity of a child (details of which are fortuitously preserved in P.Oxy 37). Tryphon addresses Gnaeus as benefactor, ἀκολούθως τοῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ τοῦ εὐεργέτου προστεταγμένοις ('in accordance with what had been enacted by you, my benefactor', lines 13–14).

The LXX has 23 occurrences of the ΕΥΕΡΓ-word group, Philo has 136, Josephus has 108 (see Table 5), and typically refers to favour or benevolence. In this Jewish context, the word group is commonly employed with reference to God in verbal form (Ps 56:3, κεκράξομαι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὑψίστον, τὸν θεὸν τὸν εὐεργετήσαντά με ('I will cry to God most high; the God who has benefacted me')), or as a noun (Ps 77:11, καὶ ἐπελάθοντο τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν θαυμασιῶν αὐτοῦ, ὧν ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς ('and they forgot his benefactions and his wonders which he had shown them')), yet the LXX avoids the titular εὐεργέτης for God. Philo, however, has no such inhibitions and liberally

³⁸ See further D. Barag, 'New evidence on the foreign policy of John Hyrcanus I', *Israel Numismatic Journal* 12 (1992–93) 1–12.

³⁹ Contemporaneous with the Hasmonean coinage, the Kingdom of Paphlagonia issued two coins between 133–130 BCE of relevance to our discussion. SNG BM 1550 (= M. J. Price, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Great Britain 9. The British Museum: Part 1. The Black Sea* (London: The British Museum, 1993)) is a bronze coin of Pylaimenes dated to 130 BCE which depicts a bust of Pylaimenes as Herakles facing right with a club over shoulder and lion's skin around neck. The reverse has Nike standing left, holding wreath in right hand, palm in left accompanied by the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΥΛΑΙΜΕΝΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ. SNG BM 1555 (133 BCE) has a bull's head facing on the obverse and a winged caduceus with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΥΛΑΙΜΕΝΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ on the reverse. Taken together with tables 1–4 above, this is a comprehensive record of the ΕΥΕΡΓ- stem on extant ancient coinage at the time of writing.

⁴⁰ On euergetism in general see A. Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire: Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁴¹ Danker, *Benefactor*, 26; Stephen Joubert argues for distinction between benefaction and patronage, see Stephan Joubert, *Paul as Benefactor: Reciprocity, Strategy and Theological Reflection in Paul's Collection* (WUNT 124; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000) 17–72.

⁴² Friedrich Preisigke and Friedrich Bilabel et al, eds. *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten XVI: 12220–13084* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1985–1988) ad loc.

⁴³ B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri I* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898) 81–82.

Table 5: ΕΥΕΡΓ- Word Group in LXX, Josephus and Philo

Source	Lexeme	Reference	Number of references
LXX	εὐεργέτης	Esth 16.3, 13; 2 Macc 4.2; 3 Macc 3.19; 6.24; Wis 19.14; Sir 0.25	7
	εὐεργεσία	2 Macc 6.13; 9.26; 4 Macc 8.17; Ps 77.11; Wis 16.11, 24	6
	εὐεργετέω	Esth 16.3; 2 Macc 10.38; 4 Macc 8.6; Ps 12.6; 56.3; 114.7; Wis 3.5; 11.5, 13; 16.2	10 Total: 23
Philo	εὐεργέτης	Opif 1.169; Legum 1.96; 2.56; 3.137; Cher 1.73; Sacr 1.127; Post 1.154; Deus 1.110; Plant 1.87, 90; Sobr 1.55, 58; Congr 1.38, 97, 171; Mut 1.28; Somn 1.163; los 1.46, 99; Moys 2.198, 256; Decal 1.41, 165–166; Spec 1.152, 209, 221, 272, 300; 2.3, 174, 219, 226–227, 229, 234; 4.58; Virt 1.41; Prob 1.118; Flacc 1.48, 74, 81, 103, 126; Legat 1.22, 118, 148–149; Hypoth 7.2; IQGen 2.13	52
	εὐεργεσία	Legum 1.95; 3.78, 215; Cher 1.99; Sacr 1.10, 60, 131, 133; Deus 1.7, 76; Agr 1.178; Ebr 1.32; Migr 1.30, 118; Her 1.29, 32–33; Congr 1.173; Fug 1.66; Mut 1.28, 53, 59, 61, 64, 232, 269; Somn 1.143, 162–163, 179; los 1.47; Moys 1.183, 199; 2.41, 207, 259; Spec 1.169, 225, 283; 2.231; Virt 1.94; Praem 1.97, 101, 108, 124; Legat 1.86, 268, 284, 287, 323; IQGen 2.16	51
	εὐεργετέω	Opif 1.23; Det 1.54; Post 1.140; Deus 1.80, 108; Plant 1.86–87, 89, 130; Migr 1.73; Fug 1.96; Mut 1.18, 24, 28, 40, 129; Abr 1.146; Spec 1.152; 2.84–85; 3.197; Virt 1.72; Legat 1.50, 60, 283, 297; IQGen 1.89; 2.13; 4.191; IQEx 2.49	33 Total: 136
Josephus	εὐεργέτης	AJ 2.136, 195; 4.187; 5.250; 6.208; 11.278; 12.158, 206, 261; 13.214; 14.257; 15.19, 190, 193, 233; 16.98, 212; 17.45, 109, 117, 243, 327; 19.184; 20.253; JW 1.215, 388, 530; 2.538, 607; 3.459; 4.113, 146; 5.536; 7.71; Life 1.244, 259; Apion 2.48	37
	εὐεργεσία	AJ 2.143, 242, 262; 3.14, 312; 5.30, 115; 6.60, 211, 251, 326, 341; 7.112; 8.278, 300, 387; 9.93, 168; 11.213, 273; 12.54; 13.229; 14.384, 398; 15.37; 16.24–25, 51, 140, 146, 150, 159; 17.193; 18:95; 20:66; BJ 1:284, 293, 520, 632; Life 1:16, 60	41
	εὐεργετέω	AJ 2.261; 4.213, 317; 6.211; 7.206, 258, 291; 10.166; 11.274; 13.115, 318; 14.183, 212, 253, 269, 370; 16.49, 195, 212; 17.109, 115, 234–235; 18.38, 358; JW 1.428, 625; 5.333; Life 1.429	30 Total: 108

applies the title to humans and God (e.g., Philo, *Opificio* 169, διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα θεὸν ἀχαριστίαν ('because of its ingratitude to God its benefactor and its Saviour')). Josephus similarly uses the word group to refer to both human (AJ 2.262) and divine agents (AJ 3.14).

Of particular relevance for our present discussion is the regular pairing of related terminology within the word group, where for example, εὐεργεσία ('benefaction') is directly identified as the outcome of the activity of an εὐεργέτης ('benefactor') or an individual who is said to εὐεργετεῖν ('benefact'). Such association is broadly attested

in both literary and documentary texts. For example, in Philo's philosophical treatise on Genesis 17.1–5, 15–22 entitled *De Mutatione Nominum*, he contrasts God's absolute existence with his relative potency, and in one sentence uses two forms of the noun, the adjective, and verb while describing the divine activities, §28b records, 'and of the powers which he has extended towards creation for the advantage (εὐεργεσία) of the world which is thus put together, some are spoken of, as it were, in relation to these things; as for instance his kingly and his beneficent (εὐεργετικήν) power; for he is the king of something, and the benefactor (εὐεργέτης) of something there being inevitably something which is ruled over and which receives the benefits (εὐεργετούμενου)'. Similarly, Philo *Somniis* 1.163 associates God as εὐεργέτην and the one who performs the εὐεργεσίας.⁴⁴ Z. A. Crook notes that, for Philo, 'God is, indeed must be, the supreme benefactor because all things are God's alone; nothing else, or no one else, has anything to give.'⁴⁵

Josephus avoids any explicit reference to the eternal covenant between God and Israel.⁴⁶ H. W. Attridge proposes that the concept of God's relationship with Israel in Josephus is primarily expressed in terms of benefaction which intentionally replaces the covenantal understanding.⁴⁷ Attridge's proposal is consistent with Josephus employing benefaction language in relation to Israel over fifty times throughout the extant corpus. For example, Joshua's speech in *Jos. AJ* 5.115 includes exhortation of his listeners to remember, τὰς τε εὐεργεσίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπάσας ('all the benefactions of God'), referring to the Exodus emancipation and entry into the land.⁴⁸ Josephus also regularly uses a combination of the ΕΥΕΡΓ- word group to refer to historical human figures, both biblical and contemporary. Examples include Joseph, son of Jacob (εὐεργέτης *AJ* 2.136, 195; εὐεργεσία *AJ* 2.143); Moses (εὐεργετέω *AJ* 2. 261; 4.317; εὐεργεσία *AJ* 2. 242, 262); Joshua (εὐεργεσία *AJ* 5.30); Herod the Great (εὐεργέτης *AJ* 16.212; εὐεργεσία *AJ* 16.150; 17.109; *BJ* 1.184, 520; εὐεργετικός *AJ* 16.150).

The close linguistic and practical relationship between the εὐεργέτης and the εὐεργεσία they perform is similarly very prominent in broader Hellenistic literary texts too. Among many other possible examples, Aelian's second-century Greek work entitled *On the Characteristics of Animals* is a collection of observations concerning animals and provides a satisfying and interesting example. A unifying theme throughout Aelian's work is how the untaught but reasoning animals ironically provide a paradigm of virtue for humans who are regularly thoughtless and selfish. In book 4.44 Aelian addresses the apparent capacity of animals, in particular cats, wasps, crocodiles and hawks, to remember benefaction. He notes, ἀλλὰ εὖ παθόντα ἀπομνησθῆναι τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ...καὶ οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἐπίθοιτο τοῖς εὐεργέταις τοῖς ἐαυτῶν, τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ συμφυοῦς τε καὶ συγγενοῦς ἅπαξ παραλυθέντα ('but when well-treated they are good at remembering benefaction...they would never set upon their benefactors once they have been freed from their congenital and natural temper').⁴⁹ This disposition is

⁴⁴ See the association of the noun εὐεργεσία and adjective εὐεργετικός in Philo, *Praemiis* 97.

⁴⁵ Z. A. Crook, *Reconceptualising Conversion. Patronage, Loyalty, and Conversion in the Religions of the Ancient Mediterranean* (BZNW 130; Berlin, New York: De Gruyter, 2004) 87.

⁴⁶ T. Franxman notes that the 'the notion of eternal covenant has little meaning for Josephus' and 'God's covenant with Abraham and with his descendants to be their God is not part of Josephus' religious purview', T. W. Franxman, *Genesis and the 'Jewish Antiquities' of Flavius Josephus* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1979) 140–141.

⁴⁷ H. W. Attridge, *The Interpretation of Biblical History in the Antiquitates Judaicae of Flavius Josephus* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976) 79–91.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Jos. AJ* 3.14, 312; 4.213; 5.115; 6.60

⁴⁹ A. F. Scholfield, *Aelian. On Animals, Volume I: Books 1–5* (LCL 446; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958) 264–265.

Table 6: εὐεργέτης and εὐεργεσία in Epigraphic Inscriptions

Region	Lexeme	Refs	Frequency	Lexeme	Refs	Frequency
Attica (IG I-III)	εὐεργέτης	383	0.0296%	εὐεργεσία	99	0.0077%
Peloponnesos (IG IV-VI)		83	0.0331%		45	0.0180%
Central Greece (IG VII-IX)		347	0.0545%		98	0.0154%
Northern Greece (IG X)		46	0.0258%		19	0.0107%
Thrace and the Lower Danube (IG X)		58	0.0285%		15	0.0074%
North Shore of the Black Sea		50	0.0598%		10	0.0120%
Aegean Islands, incl. Crete (IG XI-XIII)		540	0.0474%		134	0.0118%
Asia Minor		839	0.0685%		297	0.0243%
Cyprus ([IG XV])		32	0.1090%		46	0.1567%
Greater Syria and the East		27	0.0445%		7	0.0115%
Egypt, Nubia and Cyrenaica		61	0.0273%		49	0.0219%
Sicily, Italy, and the West (IG XIV)		29	0.0210%		19	0.0138%

contrasted with humanity who can become ‘the bitter enemy of a friend and for some trifling and casual reason blurt out confidences to betray the very man who trusted him’ (4.44).

In addition to the literary texts noted above, scores of inscriptions exist which employ ΕΥΕΡΓ- terminology for a range of documents including resolutions drawn up by civic bodies, honours by private associations, honoured deities, and heads of states (see the high-level summary of evidence in Table 6). By way of example, SEG 46, 710⁵⁰ is a decree from Akrothooi in Chalcidice (196-180 BCE) in which the city honours Dorotheos from Alexandria, who ἀναθεῖναι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν (‘dedicated the temple’, lines 4-5) and is recognised as εὐεργέτην (line 3) because of his εὐεργεσίαν (line 4).⁵¹ Likewise, an inscription from Pydna, SEG 43, 451 (168 BCE) honours Karponidas and Alexiphaes as εὐεργέταις (line 22) because of the restoration of the statue of Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δεκαδρύου (‘Apollo Dekadryos’, line 5). The result of the εὐεργετούσα (‘benefaction’ line 14) was recorded in the monument as ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν φαίνεται (‘our city shines’, line 14).⁵² OGIS 666² is an Egyptian inscription dated to 54-59 CE and records honours for Tiberius’ first prefect of Egypt. As with other material noted above, this inscription also uses the noun and verb in close co-ordination, namely in reference to Nero’s status and action as ὁ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων τῆς οἰκουμένης, σὺν ἅπασιν οἷς εὐεργέτησεν ἀγαθοῖς τὴν Αἴγυπτον... ἔπεμψεν ἡμῖν Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Βάλβιλλον ἡγεμόνα (‘the good genius of the world in addition to all the other benefactions he has conferred on Egypt... sent to us

⁵⁰ *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Leiden, 1923-1971; Amsterdam, 1971-).

⁵¹ See further M. V. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings* (2 vols; Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, 1996) 2.63, no. 43.

⁵² See an identical phrase in SEG 1, 127, an honorific decree for the Athenian musicians Hegesimachos and his son Hegesimachos.

Tiberius Claudius Balbillus as prefect'), after which the prefect's χάριτας καὶ εὐεργεσίας ('favours and benefactions')⁵³ are noted.

4 ΕΥΕΡΓ- Word Group in the New Testament with a Focus on 1 Timothy

The noun εὐεργέτης appears once in the New Testament and is used in the traditional sense of an honorary title (Luke 22.25). There it refers to that which Jesus' disciples should reject, namely the exploitation of power, cf. Luke 22.26, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐχ οὕτως... ('but not so with you...'). The verbal form occurs in Acts 10.38, εὐεργετέω and refers to the apostolic testimony of Jesus' deeds. The noun εὐεργεσία is used in Acts 4.9 and denotes the healing of the sick by the name of Jesus (cf. Acts 4.10) and in 1 Timothy 6.2 as a description of the service of a slave toward their Christian master.

For the purposes of our present discussion, we will focus on the sole reference in material traditionally attributed to Paul, namely 1 Timothy 6.2. However, as was demonstrated above in the discussion of Hellenistic Greek attestations of the ΕΥΕΡΓ- word group, individual lexemes in that group are commonly used in close association and inter-relation. So much so, that when the presence of one lexeme appears, it suggests that the writer had in mind aspects or nuances of the other terms in the word group. In the current discussion of attempting to delineate numismatic implications for Pauline ethics, we will posit that the εὐεργεσία is performed by an implied, but carefully defined εὐεργέτης.

Let us proceed by considering the larger unit in which 1 Timothy 6.2 is situated, namely 5.1–6.2. This pericope consists of an address to four groups: people of differing ages (5.1–2); widows (5.3–16), payment and discipline of elders (5.17–25), and slaves (6.1–2). To the final group (6.1–2) it is stressed that they should not be disrespectful to their Christian masters but rather serve them [their masters] all the more because οἱ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀντιλαμβάνόμενοι ('those benefiting from [their] benefaction' 6.2) are believers. A. T. Hanson argues that 'the author might be using the word [εὐεργεσία] deliberately in order to stress the ultimate equality of slaves and masters in God's eyes',⁵⁴ a thought echoing John Calvin's view that 'it is no small honour that God has made us equal to the lords of this earth'.⁵⁵ E. K. Simpson captures this idea more poetically when he similarly notes, 'the slave is raised from a chattel to a spiritual equal in grace'.⁵⁶ However, these conclusions do not go far enough in doing justice to the nature and meaning of εὐεργεσία, which rather than connoting equality, is indicative of the absence of equality.

Evidence as wide-ranging as public monuments (epigraphic), philosophical (Philo), historical (Josephus) and theological texts (LXX), as well as a range of other documentary (papyrological) and literary sources, employs the ΕΥΕΡΓ- word group in descriptions of an act or service by a superior to an inferior. In light of our comprehensive numismatic discussion above, we can now add and give full credence to the numismatic material. As noted, the lexeme was found to be attested on coinage from the second century BCE to the end of the first century CE, in hundreds of types, preserved in many thousands of specimens. The implication of this extant record of coinage has yet to be fully appreciated by New Testament scholarship. I propose, in no uncertain terms, that the author's direct identification of 'εὐεργεσία' in 1 Timothy 6.2 as a slave's servitude/benefaction towards

⁵³ W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae. 2 vols* (Leipzig: Hildesheim, 1903–1905).

⁵⁴ A. T. Hanson, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982) 105.

⁵⁵ John Calvin, *The Second Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians and the Epistles to Timothy, Titus and Philemon* (trans. T. A. Smail; Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1964) 271.

⁵⁶ E. K. Simpson, *The Pastoral Epistles* (London: Tyndale Press, 1954) 82.

a master was a deliberate and shocking inversion of expected social and linguistic categories.

This is not to say that commentators have completely overlooked this interpretive possibility. Indeed Danker, who was immersed in the epigraphic evidence, describes the phenomenon of an author using εὐεργεσία in description of an inferior's actions toward a superior as a 'dramatic language event'.⁵⁷ Also, as far back as 1910 Deissmann briefly noted the possible connection between benefaction in Luke 22.25 and 'Syrian and Phoenician coins'.⁵⁸ However, Deissmann and others could never have predicted the sheer volume and quality of numismatic discoveries that the 20th century would produce, and the impact which they would have on our understanding of language and culture. Perhaps equally impressive are the prodigious scholastic developments, aided by technology,⁵⁹ in the systematic analysis, categorisation and publication of over one million numismatic specimens.

When 1 Timothy 6.2 refers to slave labour, using a term customarily employed in description of benefaction by an honoured εὐεργέτην, we agree with C. Spicq's view (although he arrives at it through a different line of argument) that Paul transforms the obedience of servitude into the giving of a noble benefit.⁶⁰ In so doing, the central assumption of Greco-Roman social structure involving slaves and masters is inverted. Paul's tacit reversal of Roman social order in 1 Timothy 6.2 is a more radical expression of his exhortation to Philemon to receive Onesimus back 'no longer as a slave but more than a slave, as a beloved brother' (Philemon 16). One might paraphrase the revolutionary corollary sentiment in 1 Timothy 6.2 as a (hyperbolic) exhortation for masters to consider their slaves 'no longer as slaves, but as their benefactor!' P. H. Towner captures an element of this when he notes, 'Paul has turned the tables. The slaves serve, but in God's surprising *oikonomia* they do so from a position of power; nobility and honour, the rewards of benefaction, are accorded here implicitly to the slaves.'⁶¹ This is not to suggest that Paul was attempting to instil negative superiority toward the master, as this would undermine his impetus in the immediately preceding verse that instructs slaves to regard 'their masters as worthy of all honour' (1 Tim 6.1). When Paul exhorts slaves to respect and honour their masters, he continues in the same breath (v2a) to grant status and dignity via the 'benefaction' that the slaves provide. Although the corollary is not explicitly stated, i.e., that masters ought to love and respect their slaves (cf. Eph. 6.2–9; Col 3.22–4:1), our proposal can be understood, at the very least, as a nuanced and non-confrontational rhetorical mechanism for addressing the master's attitude of appropriate respect toward the slave. Taken to its logical conclusion, the identification of the slave providing εὐεργεσία is suggestive of an implicit critique of the contemporaneous master-slave social hierarchical relationship, and potentially the structure of the system itself.

5 Conclusion

The goal of this study has been to immerse ourselves in this numismatic world (diachronically and synchronically) in order to bring clarity to one aspect of Pauline (or 'Pauline')

⁵⁷ Danker, *Benefactor*, 324.

⁵⁸ Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 249.

⁵⁹ For example, Sven Aagaard and Michael Märcher, 'The Microscope Drawing Tube Method (MDTM): An Easy and Efficient way to Make Large Scale Die Studies', *Numismatic Chronicle* 175 (2015) 249–262; Maryse Blet-Lemarquand, Guillaume Sarah, and Bernard Gratuze, 'Nuclear Methods and Laser Ablation Inductively Coupled Plasma Mass Spectrometry: How Can These Methods Contribute to the Study of Ancient Coinage?', *Cercetări Numismatice* 15 (2009) 43–56.

⁶⁰ C. Spicq, *Les Épîtres Pastorales* (Paris: Gabalda, 1947) 124.

⁶¹ P. H. Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006) 390.

ethics in 1 Timothy 6.2. In surveying the extant numismatic record, including Roman, Parthian, Seleucid, and Hasmonean coinage, it became abundantly evident that benefaction was a significant theme celebrated and communicated through the medium of coinage from the second century BCE through to the end of the first century CE. The basic pattern of benefaction on coinage which emerged was strengthened through correlation with related forms of linguistic and archaeological evidence. Papyri, inscriptions and literary material evidenced the currency of the idea of benefaction in the Roman world with the employment of εὐεργεσία as a direct result of an εὐεργέτης. Broad attestation and close relationship between these terms in our investigation enabled a deeper reading of 1 Timothy 6.2. Namely, that 1 Timothy's identification of a slave's servitude as εὐεργεσία was not indicative of a move to equality (as is periodically argued), but something more radical: a deliberate inversion of Greco-Roman social and linguistic categories.⁶²

Our underlying methodological assumption in this study has been that linguistic material on coins should, and must, be included as *one* part of the primary source materials for interpreting the New Testament. Such evidence is not the *only* relevant linguistic evidence, or indeed, necessarily the most important, but it is one form that deserves not to be omitted. In employing such a methodology, it is hoped that our present discussion has both provided illumination of 1 Timothy 6.2 and also contributed more broadly to our understanding of ancient views and responses to slave/master hierarchies, or in the case of 1 Timothy 6.2, their attempted inversion.

Competing interests. The author declares none.

⁶² For the paradoxical inversion of masculine roles in Pauline thought see J. P. Brown, 'Inversion of Social Roles in Paul's Letters', *Novum Testamentum* 33 (1991) 303–325.

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