Table of Contents

Volume 67 2022

Articles

Book Reviews

THE ROMAN TIBER RIVER INSCRIPTION AND THE CYPRIOT PROCONSUL SERGIUS PAULUS

BRYAN WINDLE

This article analyzes the Tiber River Inscription which names L. Sergius Paullus as one of the commissioners of the Tiber River, quite possibly the same Sergius Paulus who became the proconsul of Cyprus and was evangelized by the Apostle Paul in Acts 13. This inscription is advantageous in that it can be dated with confidence, unlike other inscriptions potentially related to this biblical proconsul. The author of this article discusses the role of a commissioner and where it fits in the *cursus honorum*, the sequence of offices typically held by men of senatorial rank. Furthermore, an analysis of other men named in the inscription demonstrates that Roman officials from important families could see their careers advance from being a commissioner of the Tiber River to becoming a proconsul. Finally, an overview of other Sergius Paulus inscriptions is given – establishing the prominence of the Sergii Paulii family. The author concludes that a plausible link can be made between the Tiber River inscription and the Cypriot Proconsul of Acts 13.

KEY WORDS: Sergius Paulus, proconsul, Paphos, Pisidian Antioch, Tiber River, *cursus honorum*

INTRODUCTION

Paul and Barnabas met Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of Cyprus, during their first missionary journey. Acts 13:6–7, records, "when they had gone through the whole island as far as Paphos, they came upon a certain magician, a Jewish false prophet named Bar-Jesus. He was with the proconsul, Sergius Paulus, a man of intelligence, who summoned Barnabas and Saul and sought to hear the word of God." Sergius Paulus eventually put his faith in Jesus Christ (Acts 13:12) and, after leaving Cyprus, Paul and Barnabas immediately made their way to Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:14).[1]

An established identification[2] of the Cypriot proconsul, Sergius Paulus, would provide additional information about the career of this Roman official, as well as add yet more evidence to the broader debate surrounding the accuracy of Luke as a historian. While numerous inscriptions have been identified which may refer to the man in question,[3] the present article will analyze only one in detail: a monument from Rome naming L. Sergius Paullus as a curator of

[1] Mark Wilson points out that Pisidian Antioch should be understood as "Antioch towards Pisidia" since the city was actually located in Phrygia, not Pisidia. However, the title Pisidian Antioch is commonly used to distinguish it from 15 other cities that were also named Antioch (Wilson 2020, 102), and so this author will use it too.

[2] Lawrence J. Mykytiuk has proposed that researchers need to address the following three questions before making a positive identification of a biblical person using extra-biblical inscriptions: 1) Are the inscriptional data reliable? 2) Do the settings of the inscriptional person and the biblical person match? 3) Does the combination of specific identifying marks of the individual eliminate, or at least render negligible, the chance of confusing two different persons? (2004, 38). Mykytiuk successfully uses these principles to identify political and non-political historical figures mentioned in the New Testament (2017; 2021).

[3] A summary of the five inscriptions that may refer to Sergius Paulus can be found on my website under the title "Sergius Paulus: An Archaeological Biography" at https://biblearchaeologyreport.com/2019/11/15/sergius-paulus-an-archaeological-biography/. Other scholars have connected the Tiber River Inscription with the biblical Sergius Paulus (Witherington III, 1998; Weiß, 2009; Cooper, 2016). This paper furthers the study of this inscription by analyzing all men listed on it and connecting the role of Commissioner to the *cursus honorum* in an attempt to strengthen the identification of L. Sergius Paullus with the Cypriot proconsul of Acts 13.

the Tiber River – hereafter referred to as the Tiber River Inscription.[4]

ROMAN NOMENCLATURE

First century trends in Roman nomenclature provide the background to understanding this inscription. Generally, Roman men had three names: a praenomen/personal "first name", a nomen/gens or clan name, inherited from father to son, and a cognomen/family name (Morris 1963, 34). Gaius Julius Caesar is a good example. With Sergius Paulus, only his nomen and cognomen are given in Acts 13, not his praenomen (Witherington 1998, 399). It was common in the first and second century to refer to proconsuls primarily by their nomen and cognomen. This author has examined every reference to proconsuls named in Tacitus' *Annals* and found that he usually refers to them by their nomen and cognomen. For example, Tacitus refers to the death of "Junius Silanus, proconsul of Asia" (Marcus Junius Silanus), who died when Nero became emperor in AD 54 (*Annals* 13.1). Luke's reference to the proconsul of Cyprus by his nomen and cognomen follows the accepted use in his day and is evidence of his attention to detail as a historian. Since the praenomen of Sergius Paulus is not given in Acts 13, any inscription naming the Sergii clan and the Paulii family (the Latin forms of his names include a double "i") should be considered in attempting to identify the former proconsul of Cyprus.

Figure 1: The Apostle Paul visited the Island of Cyprus on his first missionary journey. He and Barnabas landed at Salamis and traveled as far as Paphos, where they encountered the proconsul, Sergius Paulus, map credit, bibleatlas.org.

[4] The Latin spelling of Paulus includes a double "l." Due to the very limited number of first names commonly used among men in Rome, it is virtually certain that L. stands for Lucius (Brunn and Edmondson, 2015, 799). Thus, his full name was Lucius Sergius Paullus.

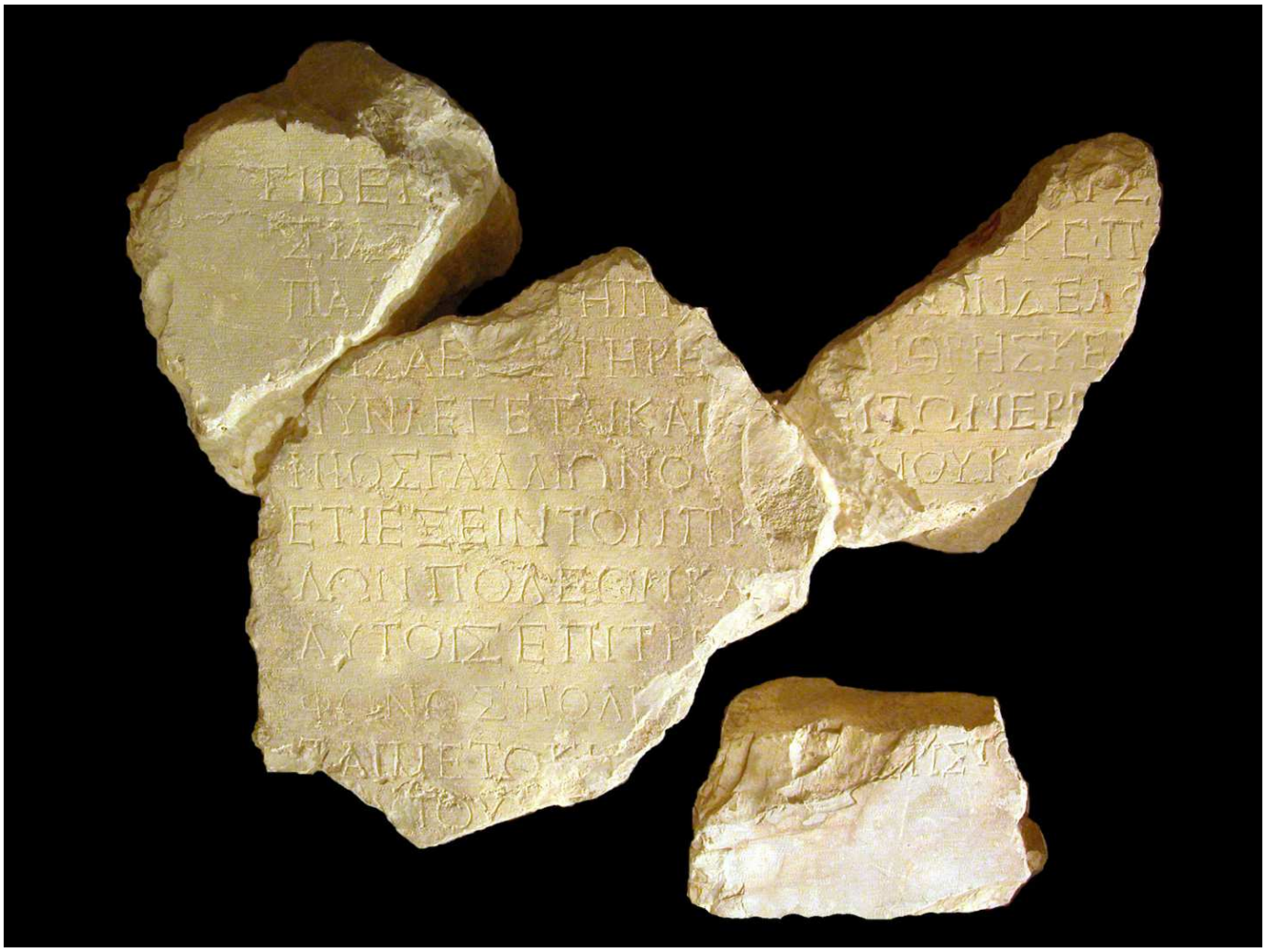

Figure 2: The Gallio Inscription from Delphi, Greece. This inscription is part of a letter from the emperor Claudius to the city, addressing the problem of their sparse population. The inscription was likely attached at one time to the walls of the Temple of Apollo and confirms L. Junius Gallio as proconsul of Achaia. Since the letter can be dated to the Spring of AD 52, and proconsuls only served one-year terms, it is the primary chronological anchor for dating the Apostle Paul's life and ministry. The inscription is currently housed in the Delphi Archaeological Museum. Photo credit, Todd Bolen/BiblePlaces.com.

CHRONOLOGY

Pauline chronology is primarily anchored by the Delphi Inscription in Greece, which names L. Junius Gallio as the proconsul of Achaia when Claudius had been "acclaimed Imperator for the 26th time." Since Proconsuls usually took office on July 1st and generally served one-year terms,[5] Gallio was likely appointed to serve as Proconsul of Achaia from July 1, 51 to June 30, 52 (Murphy-O'Connor 1983, 146). However, Seneca, Gallio's brother, notes that he did not serve a full term, but left by ship claiming a malady, "not of body, but of place" (*Letters,* 104:1). Thus, it's likely Paul was brought before Gallio by the Jewish leaders sometime in autumn of AD 51, as recorded in Acts 18:12–17.

Working backward, one can approximate when Paul was in Cyprus during his first missionary journey. In order to account for Paul's year and a half in Corinth (Acts 18:11), as well as

[5] Proconsuls *generally* served one-year terms, although there were times this was extended. Christian Marek notes several times proconsuls served multiple one-year terms, including Publius Petronius who served as proconsul of Asia from AD 29–35 (Marek 2016, 582).

his itinerary in Acts 15:41–17:34, his second missionary journey likely began in the early months of AD 49. Between Paul's first and second missionary journey one major event occurred – the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15:1–35). Assuming that this was the Jerusalem visit Paul mentioned in Gal 2:1–10,[6] the church council likely occurred sometime in very early AD 49, or more likely, sometime late in AD 48. Paul's first missionary journey took, at minimum, two years, but more likely longer, given the distance traveled and the chronological clues in Acts 13–14.[7]

In reality, Paul and Barnabas likely traveled for three years sharing the gospel, from early AD 45 to early AD 48. Since their visit to Cyprus occurred at the beginning of their journey, this would mean that they met Sergius Paulus sometime in early AD 45. However, given the imprecise nature of some of the key chronological phrases (i.e., "for a long time," "no little time," and "after some days"), it could have been later than this. The vagueness of the chronological markers in the biblical text has led to various conclusions for the date of Paul's encounter with Sergius Paulus: AD 45 (Hogarth 1889, 115), mid-late AD 45 (Stienmann 2011, 343), AD 45–48 (Riesner 1998, 322), AD 46–48 (Mitford 1947, 205), AD 47–48 (Finegan 1998, 402). The apostle Paul likely met Sergius Paulus on Cyprus sometime in early-to-mid AD 45, although the ambiguity in some of the biblical data may allow for a date as late as AD 48.

THE TIBER RIVER INSCRIPTION

In 1887, a largely intact travertine *cippus* (stone marker) was discovered, lying face-down on the bank of the Tiber River in Rome. It was likely one of a number of boundary stones that had been set up by the commissioners of the Tiber River who had been appointed by the emperor Claudius to mark the riverbank from the Trigarium to the Pons Agrippae, or Bridge of Agrippa (Gordon and Gordon 1958, 97). The boundary marker measures 1.60 m in height, 0.76m wide and 0.24m thick, and bears the following Latin inscription (*CIL* 6.31545), which reads:

P*A*VLL*VS* FABIV*S* P*E*RS[ICVS]
C(assius) EGGIVS MARVLL[VS]
L(ucius) SERGIUS PAVLLVS
C(assius) OBBELL[I] *VS* RV[FVS]
L(ucius) SCRIBONI *V*[S LIBO ?]
*C*VRATOR[ES RIPARVM]
ET ALV[EI TIBERIS]
EX AVCTORITA[TE]
TI(beri) CLAVDI CAESARIS
AVG(usti) GERMANIC[I]
P*RI*NCIPIS S[VI ?]
RIPAM CIPPIS PO*S*[ITIS]
TERMINAVERVNT A TR[IG]AR[IO]
AD PONTEM AGRIPP[AE]
(Gordan and Gordan 1958, 97).

The reconstructed translation reads:

"Paullus Fabius Persicus
Gaius Eggius Marullus
Lucius Sergius Paullus
Gaius Obellius Rufus
Lucius Scribonius Libo (?)
The commissioners of the banks and beds of the Tiber, by the authority of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus [the emperor Claudius], leader of the Senate (?), marked the boundaries [of the Tiber floodplain] by placing boundary stones on the bank from the Trigarium to the Pons Agrippae."[8]

[6] Steinmann has an excellent summary of the various opinions regarding which visit to Jerusalem Paul is referring to in Galatians 2:1-10, and why Paul is likely referring to the Jerusalem council (2011, 306-320).

[7] For example, they remained at Iconium "for a long time, speaking boldly for the Lord" (Acts 14:3).

[8] This translation was provided by Wendy Watkins, the curator of the Center for Epigraphical and Palaeographical Studies, The Ohio State University, by personal email on Nov. 5, 2019.

Figure 3. The Tiber River Inscription (CIL 6.41545), dating to the mid-40's, names L. Sergius Paullus as one of the commissioners of the banks and beds of the Tiber River. It is currently housed at the Baths of Diocletian, in the National Museum in Rome. Photo credit, Center for Epigraphical and Paleographical Studies, The Ohio State University.

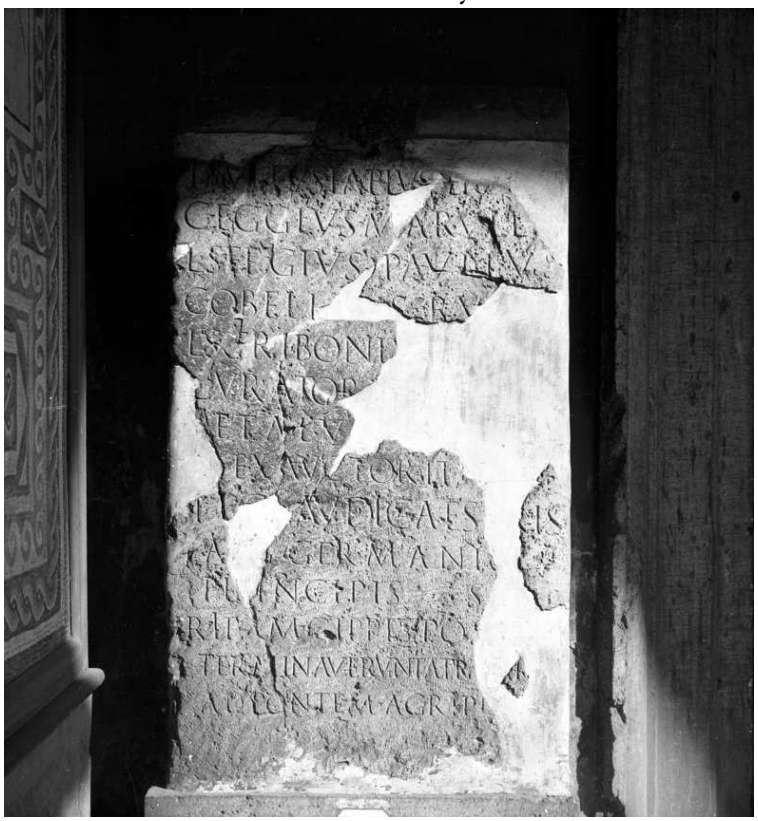

Figure 4. The name L. Sergius Paullus is third from the top on the Tiber River Inscription. Due to the very limited number of first names commonly used among men in Rome, it is virtually certain that L. stands for Lucius (Brunn and Edmondson, 2015, 799). Photo credit, Center for Epigraphical and Paleographical Studies, The Ohio State University.

THE ROLE OF A COMMISSIONER AND THE *CURSUS HONORUM*

The typical career path of men from senatorial families followed similar trajectories. This was called the *cursus honorum,* or course of honor, and was a sequence of appointments a magistrate would rise through in the government of the Roman empire (Abbott 1901, 374). After a period of military service as a tribune, he would hope for a series of appointments to offices of greater responsibility and prestige: quaestor, aedile, praetor, consul, and proconsul. The *cursus honorum* developed in the era of the Roman Republic and continued to evolve throughout the period of the Roman Empire. For example, aediles were sometimes replaced by a board of commissioners comprised of senatorial men who oversaw public infrastructure, such as aqueducts and sewers (Abbott 1901, 358). Caesar Augustus replaced the aediles in charge of the grain supply with a board of commissioners (Abbott 1901, 378). It appears, therefore, that a commissioner of the Tiber River was one of the magistrates on the lower rung of the *cursus honorum*, on par with an aedile.

There is no known description of the role of a commissioner of the Tiber River; the inscription itself simply notes oversight of the "banks and beds" of the river. Likely this involved ensuring regular maintenance was completed and the shipping channel was kept in serviceable order. Cooper suggests it may have also involved removing rubbish and corpses from the riverbanks (2016, 96). While a commissioner was not necessarily a highly prestigious role in the Roman Empire, it was a stepping stone to more important offices, and a necessary prerequisite for a man of senatorial rank, such as Sergius Paulus, who was progressing to his goal of becoming a proconsul.

THE DATE OF THE INSCRIPTION

The inscription dates to the reign of the emperor Claudius (AD 41–54), although the only title given him in the inscription is *princeps*, or leader of the senate. The titles given to Claudius in various inscriptions are enlightening and help in dating them. For example, it is generally accepted that Claudius assumed the title *censor* in AD 47 (O'Neil 2020, 216). Suetonius claims Claudius resurrected this old title which had not been used in some time (*Claudius,* 16.1). Tacitus also describes Claudius as being "engrossed by his censorial function" in his account of year AD 47 (*Annals,* 11.13). Additional inscriptions from AD 47–54 ascribe this title to him (Gordon and Gordon 1958, 97). Thus, the title *censor* is a key factor in determining the date of inscriptions related to Claudius: those before AD 47 do not use it, many after AD 47 do. The fact that he is called *princeps* and not *censor* in the Tiber River Inscription indicates that it was from the early part of his reign, that is, before AD 47. For this reason, Roman historian Edmund Groag assigned it a date of between AD 41–47, which was before the censorship of Claudius (Gordon and Gordon 1958, 97). The Tiber River Inscription, therefore, dates to the general timeframe during which the Sergius Paulus of Acts 13 served as an important Roman Official.

THE MEN OF THE TIBER RIVER COMMISSION

When one explores the historical details known for each of the men named on the Tiber River Inscription, it becomes apparent that all belonged to prominent families in the Roman empire. Of the five names listed as commissioners of the Tiber River, Paullus Fabius Persicus is perhaps the most famous. His family was part of the Roman aristocracy; his father, Paullus Fabius Maximus, was a senator and his mother, Marcia, was a cousin of Caesar Augustus (Syme 1989, 172). He held several important roles in the Roman empire, including that of consul in AD 34 (Syme 1989, 122) and proconsul of Asia in AD 44 (Stevenson 2001, 75). According to Weiß, this clarifies the dating of the Tiber River Inscription given the proconsulate of Asia was a prestigious office, and one that tended to

be held near the end of a Roman official's career, Paullus Fabius Persicus was likely one of the commissioners of the Tiber River before he was proconsul of Asia in AD 44 (Weiß 2009, 190-192). Since Claudius began his reign in AD 41, this would mean the Tiber River Inscription should be dated to AD 41–43.

The other commissioners named on the Tiber River Inscription also bore prominent nomina and cognomina. Gaius Eggius Marullus may be the ancestor of his namesake, described by Cassius Deo as serving as tribune in 44 BC (*Roman History*, 44.9.3). Gaius Obellius Rufus was of the Obellii gens; while not much is known about this clan, their name appears in numerous Roman inscriptions. Lucius Scribonius Libo was a member of the famous Libos, one of the principal families of the Scribonius Gens (Smith 1870, 758). Numerous Roman officials bore the name Lucius Scribonius Libo, including the man who served as consul with Mark Antony in 34 BC (Anthon and Smith 1860, 439). Another Lucius Scribonius Libo was a "senator of the first distinction" during the reign of Tiberius (Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 25); his son of the same name may be the L. Scribonius Libo in the Tiber River Inscription, likely at the beginning of his career.

In short, each of the other commissioners of the Tiber River were men who came from well-known families in the Roman Empire, and Paullus Fabius Persicus went on to hold the position of proconsul of Asia. This is helpful background for exploring the fifth commissioner of the Tiber River: Lucius Sergius Paullus.

LUCIUS SERGIUS PAULLUS

Inscriptional evidence demonstrates that a man of the Sergii Paulii bore a distinguished Roman gens and cognomen (Smith 1870, 787). At least two inscriptions from Pisidian Anitoch name L. Sergius Paulus, one of which specifies that both father and son bore the same name. William Ramsay and J.G.C. Anderson discovered the father/son inscription in 1912; it reads, "To L(ucius) Sergius Paullus, the younger, son of Lucius, one of the four commissioners in charge of the Roman streets, tribune of the soldiers of the sixth legion styled Ferrata, quaestor..." (Ramsay 1915, 151). Ramsay speculated that this L. Sergius Paullus (the younger) was the son of L. Sergius Paullus the proconsul of Cyprus.[9]

The other inscription is currently located at the Yalvac Museum near Pisidian Antioch in modern-day Turkey; the names Pauli and Sergi are clearly visible, along with the initial L (Cristol and Drew-Bear, 2002, 185). It appears that the estate of the senatorial Sergii Paulii family was located northwest of Pisidian Antioch (Wilson 2020, 107). Interestingly, upon leaving Cyprus, the Apostle Paul and Barnabas immediately made their way to Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:13–14), possibly at the urging of Sergius Paulus, who wished his family to hear the gospel.

A Greek inscription discovered in 1877 at Soloi, on the northern coast of Cyprus mentions a proconsul named Paulus; no other names are given. Hogarth dated this inscription (IGR III, 930), to the middle of the first century (1889, 115). Mitford wrote, "...on epigraphic grounds this inscription, while it cannot be earlier [than Hogarth's date], is in all probability considerably later" (1947, 205). Depending on which date is correct, it may refer to Sergius Paulus, the proconsul whom Paul and Barnabas led to faith in Christ, or to one of his descendants. In either case, it links the Paulii family to the island of Cyprus.

Another L. Sergius Paullus became consul in AD 70 (Mitchell and Waelkens, 1998, 10), and yet another of the same name served as a consul in the second century, during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The latter may have been the great-

[9] Ramsay also discovered another inscription near Pisidian Antioch, which refers to a lady named Sergia Paula, whom he identifies as the daughter of L. Sergius Paullus, the proconsul of Cyprus. It should be noted that Ramsay based his identification on his speculation of the dates of the inscriptions and the possible ages of each individual and should be viewed as only a hypothesis.

grandson of the proconsul of Cyprus, whom Paul and Barnabas met (Birley 1993, 155).

In summary, historical references to men bearing the name Sergius Paulus establish Sergii Paulii as a prominent family in the first and second centuries AD. As with the other men who served as commissioners of the Tiber River, Lucius Sergius Paullus, came from a family of important social rank.

CONCLUSION

The Tiber River Inscription provides a potentially important link to the biblical text. Lucius Sergius Paullus, one of the commissioners of the Tiber River, may well have been the same man whom the Apostle Paul encountered a short time later as the proconsul in Cyprus.

Three factors converge to make this identification plausible. First, all the men listed belonged to prominent families who had important roles in the Roman empire. Next, the dating of the inscription fits within the timeframe of Sergius Paulus's consulship on Cyprus (ca. AD 45–48). Indeed, there is good evidence that the Tiber River Inscription dates to AD 41–43, just a few short years prior to Sergius Paulus's time on Cyprus. It is doubtful that there would be two important Roman officials named Sergius Paulus at the same time in the empire. Finally, the role of commissioner of the Tiber River fits within the *cursus honorum* and was likely a position Sergius Paulus held on his way to becoming proconsul of Cyprus. The fact that Paullus Fabius Persicus went on to become proconsul of Asia is evidence that such a progression in careers occurred. As Witherington notes, "Given what we know about the Roman career patterns of the time it is quite feasible that a curator of the Tiber might have before or after his curatorship served as proconsul on Cyprus" (1998, 400).

It is plausible to conclude the L. Sergius Paullus of the Tiber River Inscription and the Sergius Paulus of Acts 13 are one and the same man. If this identification is correct, the Tiber River Inscription affirms the historicity of Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of Cyprus, and provides further insight into the career trajectories of officials in the Roman Empire during the first century. Moreover, Luke's record of the Cypriot proconsul Sergius Paulus is consistent with the types of roles members of the important Sergii Paulii family held in the first century. It is yet more evidence that when Luke writes of specific Roman officials, he does so accurately.

Figure 5: The Sergius Paulus inscription at the Yalvac Museum near Pisidian Antioch. Photo credit, Carl Rasmussen/HolyLandPhotos.org.

REFERENCES

Abbot, Frank Frost. 1901. *A History and Description of Roman Political Institutions.* Boston: Ginn and Co.

Anthon, Charles and William Smith. 1860. *A New Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, Mythology and Geography.* New York: Harper.

Birley, Anthony. 1993. *Marcus Aurelius: A Biography*. London: Routledge.

Brunn, Christer and Jonathan Edmondson. 2015. *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cooper, Bill. 2016. "Who Was Sergius Paulus?" *Bible and Spade.* 29/3: 96–98.

Cristol M. and Thomas Drew-Bear. 2002. "Les Sergii Paulli et Antioche." In T. Drew-Bear, M. Tashalan and C.M. Thomas, eds. *Actes Du 1er Congress International Sur Antioche De Pisidie*. Lyon: Université Lumière-Lyon. 177–189.

Finegan, Jack, 1998. *Handbook of Biblical Chronology.* revised edition. Peabody: Hendrickson.

Foakes-Jackson, F. J., Kirsopp Lake (eds.) 1933. *The Beginnings of Christianity: Part 1 - The Acts of the Apostles.* London: Macmillan.

Gordon, A.E. and J.S. Gordon. 1958. *Album of Dated Latin Inscriptions.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hogarth, D. G. 1889. *Devia Cypia.* London: Oxford.

Marek, Christian. 2016. *In the Land of a Thousand Gods: A History of Asia Minor in the Ancient World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mitchell, Stephen and Marc Waelkens. 1998. *Pisidian Antioch: The Site and its Monuments.* London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd.

Mitford, T. B. 1947. "Notes on Some Published Inscriptions from Roman Cyprus." *The Annual of the British School at Athens*. 42: 201–230.

Morris, John. 1963. "Changing Fashions in Roman Nomenclature in the Early Empire." *Listy Filologické / Folia Philologica,* 86/1: 34–46.

Murphy-O'Connor, Jerome. 1983. *St. Paul's Corinth: Text and Archaeology.* Wilmington: Michael Glazier, Inc.

Mykytiuk, Lawrence J. 2004. *Identifying Biblical Persons in Northwest Semitic Inscriptions of 1200–539 B.C.E.* Boston: Brill.

_____. 2017. "New Testament Political Figures Confirmed." *Biblical Archaeology Review* 43/5: 50–65.

_____. 2021. "New Testament Religious Figures Confirmed." *Biblical Archaeology Review* 47.2: 38-47.

O'Neill, Joseph R. 2020. "Claudius the Censor and the Rhetoric of Re-Foundation." *The Classical Journal* 116/2: 216-240.

Ramsay, W.M. 1915. *The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament.* London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Riesner, Rainer. 1998. *Paul's Early Period: Chronology, Mission, Strategy, Theology.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Smith, William. 1870. *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*. Vol. III. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company.

Steinmann, Andrew E. 2011. *From Abraham to Paul: A Biblical Chronology*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House.

Stevenson, G. 2001. *Power and Place: Temple and Identity in the Book of Revelation.* New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Sullivan, Rob. 2016. "Cypriots, Sorcerers, and Sergius," *Associates for Biblical Research.* https://biblearchaeology.org/research/chronological-categories/new-testament-era/4899-cypriots-sorcerers-and-sergius.

Syme, Ronald. 1989. *Augustan Aristocracy.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Thiele. Ewin R. 1983. *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings.* Grand Rapids: Kregel.

Van Elderen, Bastiaan. 1970. "Some Archaeological Observations on Paul's First Missionary Journey." In W. Ward Gasque and Ralph P. Martin, eds. *Apostolic History and the Gospel. Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F.F. Bruce*. Exeter: The Paternoster Press. 150–161.

Weiß, Alexander. 2009. "Sergius Paullus, Statthater von Zypern." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 169: 190–192.

Wilson, Mark. 2020. *Biblical Turkey: A Guide to the Jewish and Christian Sites of Asia Minor*. Istanbul: Ege Yayinlari.

Witherington III, Ben. 1998. *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.