

MELISSA J. BARCIELA

The Suffering Body as a Site of Virtue Formation in Philippians

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe
655*

Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

Herausgeber / Editor

Jörg Frey (Zürich)

Mitherausgeber / Associate Editors

Markus Bockmuehl (Oxford) · Ruben Bühner (Bonn)

James A. Kelhoffer (Uppsala) · Christina M. Kreinecker (Leuven)

Tobias Nicklas (Regensburg) · Janet Spittler (Charlottesville, VA)

J. Ross Wagner (Durham, NC)

655



Melissa J. Barciela

The Suffering Body
as a Site of Virtue Formation
in Philippians

Mohr Siebeck

MELISSA J. BARCIELA, born 1994; 2016 MDiv (Palm Beach Atlantic University); 2021 MLitt in Biblical Languages and Literature (University of St Andrews); 2024 PhD in New Testament (University of St Andrews); Assistant Professor of New Testament at Palm Beach Atlantic University.
orcid.org/0009-0002-2050-7872

ISBN 978-3-16-164316-3/eISBN 978-3-16-164317-0

DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-164317-0

ISSN 0340-9570/eISSN 2568-7484 (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 2. Reihe)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; e-tailed bibliographic data is available on the Internet at <https://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2026 Mohr Siebeck Tübingen, Germany.

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations and storage and processing in electronic systems. The right to use the content of this volume for the purpose of text and data mining within the meaning of Section 44b UrhG (Urheberrechtsgesetz) is expressly reserved.

Printed on non-aging paper.

Mohr Siebeck GmbH & Co. KG, Wilhelmstraße 18, 72074 Tübingen, Germany
www.mohrsiebeck.com, info@mohrsiebeck.com

For Marcos

ὡς πάντοτε καὶ νῦν μεγαλυνθήσεται Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ σώματί μου,
εἴτε διὰ ζωῆς εἴτε διὰ θανάτου (Phil 1:20)

Acknowledgments

The present study is a revised version of my doctoral dissertation submitted in May 2024. I am deeply grateful for the support and encouragement of the many people involved in the original submission and the journey to publication. The majority of the research took place at the University of St Andrews and I am grateful to St Marys College for sponsoring the project. It is now a great joy to have the revised thesis accepted into the *WUNT II* series. Many thanks go to everyone involved at Mohr Siebeck, especially for the guidance of the senior editor Dr. Jörg Frey.

It takes the support of many to write a book. A number of individuals are owed my gratitude for their influence on this project. Deep gratitude is due to my primary supervisor, Dr. Matthew T. Sharp, whose guidance helped see this project to completion and whose interest in Paul's ancient philosophical landscape is contagious. I also owe a debt of gratitude to my secondary supervisor, Dr. Madhavi Nevader, for her generous mentorship and indispensable assessment of the present study. Many thanks go to Dr. David J. Johnston, who provided invaluable feedback at every stage of the journey, and Dr. T. J. Lang, who guided the initial stages of this research and whose confidence in the topic gave me courage to carry it through. I also wish to note my gratitude for the insightful feedback of my doctoral examiners, Dr. David M. Moffitt and Dr. Matthew V. Novenson, which refined and strengthened the present argument.

I am indebted to many educators who have formed me over the years, whose names would fill many pages. Dr. Michael Lyons' and Dr. William Tooman's respective expertise in Hebrew Bible and generous gifts of their time have sharpened various aspects of the present work. My inclusion in the Hebrew Bible "Yahad" discussions during my doctorate program provided friendship and academic enrichment during post-pandemic life. Many colleagues and friends are also due credit for their endurance of conversations about the suffering body in Philippians, especially my colleagues in the Bannerman office: Josh Johnson, Eric Foster-Whiddon, Emily Page, and Stefanie Conradt. My thanks also go to Kevin Boyle, Jesse R. Grenz, Jasmine and Keith Pinckney, Julia Glanz, Clayton Mills III, Tyler Hoagland, Dante Clementi, and Chris Whyte, among many others. There are many other wise teachers who have shaped my reading of Paul's letters, including Dr. E. Randolph Richards and Dr. Justin Hardin. Dear friends have also graciously supported my doctoral journey, including Gerald Wright, Ron and Catherine Hilliard, Busi and Selu Mdalose, Kim and Davidson Paul, Annie Dougherty, Emma and Chadd Feyas,

Jessica Queres, and Gianira Canova. My appreciation also goes to Ryan Mandala, who greatly supported this work. My friends in the Persian Diaspora that I spent time with during my research also left their mark on this project. Their bodily suffering for the sake of their faith has taught me much.

I owe a great debt of gratitude to my family. My parents, Ramon and Jeanna Barciela, have lovingly supported all my academic pursuits since my adolescence. Family across the US have also provided great encouragement. Alina and Alfredo Malagon have faithfully supported my academic life and all its related pursuits. I am lucky to have them in my life. Agradezo moito o ánimo da miña familia galega e a paz que me deu a nosa terra durante estes anos. A vida da miña tía Marina, a súa situación de sufrimento e luz de alegría, estivo no meu corazón mentres escribía este libro.

Last, I am eternally grateful for my elder brother and “buddy,” Marcos Ramon Barciela, whose life was marked by exemplary joy and deep peace in the midst of intense bodily pain. My project, scholarship, and life are marked by his gentle touch in innumerable ways. With a deep longing to meet again in renewed bodies, I dedicate this work to him.

Melissa J. Barciela
February 2026

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	VII
List of Abbreviations	XIII
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
<i>1.1 Overview</i>	1
<i>1.2 Methodology</i>	3
1.2.1 Approach	3
1.2.2 Scope	6
<i>1.3 Currents in Embodiment Scholarship</i>	7
1.3.1 Corporeal Focus in Humanities Research	7
1.3.2 Somatic Interest in Pauline Scholarship	12
<i>1.4 Currents in Pauline Studies on Suffering</i>	16
1.4.1 Studies on Suffering in Other Pauline Epistles	16
1.4.2 Studies on Suffering in Philippians	18
1.4.3 Assessment	19
<i>1.5 Definitions of Key Terms</i>	20
1.5.1 Suffering Body	20
1.5.2 Site	22
1.5.3 Virtue Formation	26
1.5.4 Way of Life	27
<i>1.6 Plan</i>	29

Chapter 2: The Virtue Tradition and Philippians	31
2.1 Introduction	31
2.2 Aristotelian Origins and Definition of Terms.....	36
2.3 Ancient Philosophical Virtue Reasoning as Central to Philippians	39
2.3.1 Evidence of the Virtue Tradition in Philippians 1:3–11	39
2.3.2 Evidence of the Virtue Tradition in Philippians 4:8–9	50
2.4 Summary.....	58
 Chapter 3: The Suffering Body in Graeco-Roman Philosophical Virtue Traditions.....	 59
3.1 Introduction	59
3.2 Plato's <i>Phaedo</i>	60
3.2.1 Ethics.....	62
3.2.2 Anthropology	64
3.2.3 The Suffering Body and Virtue.....	70
3.3 Seneca's <i>Epistles</i>	72
3.3.1 Ethics.....	74
3.3.2 Anthropology	75
3.3.3 The Suffering Body and Virtue.....	77
3.4 <i>Fourth Maccabees</i>	82
3.4.1 Ethics	84
3.4.2 Anthropology	85
3.4.3 The Suffering Body and Virtue	87
3.5 <i>Social Formation and Virtue Traditions</i>	89
3.6 Summary.....	93
 Chapter 4: The Imprisoned Body: Paul's Body as a Site of Righteous Suffering	 95
4.1 Introduction	95

4.2 Ancient Incarceration and the Imprisoned Body.....	96
4.3 The Joban Tradition and Paul in Dialogue.....	101
4.3.1 The Joban Tradition and Its Reception	101
4.3.2 The Suffering Body in Job	104
4.3.3 Methodological Parameters for an Intertextual Reading	106
4.3.4 Job as a Dialogue Partner in Philippians.....	112
4.4 The Joban Suffering Body in Philippians.....	116
4.4.1 Paul's Imprisoned Body as a Site of Faithful Suffering (Phil 1:20b–21)	116
4.4.2 Paul's Suffering Body as a Means of Moral Formation (Phil 1:22–26)	119
4.4.3 Social Aspects of the Suffering Body	123
4.5 Summary.....	124
Chapter 5: The Exemplary Body: Christ's Suffering Body as an Ethical Model.....	125
5.1 Introduction.....	125
5.2 Graeco-Roman, Philosophical Exemplarity.....	126
5.3 Christ as a Philosophical Moral Exemplar (Phil 2:1–13)	129
5.3.1 Action: Jesus' Humble Other-Regard.....	130
5.3.2 Evaluation: God as a Witness	145
5.3.3 Commemoration: Christ's Incarnation as a Textual Monument.....	146
5.3.4 Norm-Setting: Christ's Exemplarity as a Social Force.....	147
5.3.5 Other Features.....	149
5.4 Christ's Exemplary Suffering Body.....	150
5.4.1 The Suffering Body as a Site of Virtue Formation (Phil 2:1–13)	150
5.4.2 The Embodied Exemplarity of Paul (Phil 3:17–4:1)	153
5.4.3 A Constructive Ethic of the Suffering Body.....	157
5.5 The Suffering Body as a Site of Social Formation	159
5.6 Summary.....	160

Chapter 6: The Athletic Body: The Apostolic Body as a Site of Virtue Formation	161
6.1 Introduction	161
6.2 <i>The Graeco-Roman Athletic Body</i>	162
6.2.1 The Perfect and Virtuous Greek Athletic Body.....	162
6.2.2 The Pained Athletic Body and Virtue.....	166
6.3 <i>Paul's Athletic Body as a Means of His Virtue Formation (Phil 3:12–15)</i>	170
6.4 <i>Paul's Athletic Body as a Conduit of the Philippians' Moral Transformation (2:16b–18)</i>	175
6.4.1 The Philippians in the Athletic Arena of Moral Formation (Phil 1:27–30)	176
6.4.2 Paul's Ethical Message (Phil 2:14–16a)	179
6.4.3 Paul's Suffering Body as a Libation (Phil 2:16b–18).....	182
6.5 <i>A Constructive Ethic of the Suffering Body</i>	187
6.6 <i>The Suffering, Athletic Body as a Social Marker</i>	188
6.7 <i>Conclusion</i>	189
 Chapter 7: Conclusion: Paul as an Apostle of the Suffering Body.....	191
7.1 <i>Summary</i>	191
7.2 <i>Paul's Constructive Ethic of the Body in Pain</i>	192
7.3 <i>Contribution and Avenues for Further Research</i>	193
 Bibliography	197
Critical Editions and Translations of Sources	197
Secondary Sources.....	199
 Index of Ancient Sources	217
Index of Authors	231
Index of Subjects	237

List of Abbreviations

All abbreviations adhere to *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Biblical Studies and Related Disciplines*, ed. Billie Jean Collins, Bob Buller, and John F. Kutsko, 2nd ed. (Atlanta: SBL, 2014). Any abbreviations not included in *The SBL Handbook of Style* are listed below.

<i>AcC</i>	<i>Acta Classica</i>
<i>APB</i>	<i>Acta Patristica et Byzantina</i>
<i>APR</i>	Ancient Philosophy and Religion
<i>AHPST</i>	<i>Archive of the History of Philosophy and Social Thought</i>
<i>ARA</i>	<i>Annual Review of Anthropology</i>
<i>CSRT</i>	Cambridge Studies in Religious Traditions
<i>CGL</i>	Cambridge Greek Lexicon
<i>EC</i>	<i>Early Christianity</i>
<i>ERAW</i>	Edinburgh Readings on the Ancient World
<i>ESRA</i>	Edinburgh Studies in Religion and Antiquity
<i>EuroJPh</i>	<i>European Journal of Philosophy</i>
<i>FrPsy</i>	<i>Frontiers in Psychology</i>
<i>HPT</i>	<i>History of Political Thought</i>
<i>JAJ</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Judaism</i>
<i>JP</i>	<i>Journal of Philosophy</i>
<i>JSJSup</i>	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
<i>LDiff</i>	<i>Lectio Difficilior</i>
<i>NLH</i>	<i>New Literary History</i>
<i>NTP</i>	Novum Testamentum Patristicum
<i>NSHL</i>	The New Synthese Historical Library
<i>NovTSup</i>	Novum Testamentum Supplements
<i>OJT</i>	<i>Ogbomoso Journal of Theology</i>
<i>OSCC</i>	Oklahoma Series in Classical Culture
<i>OPC</i>	Oxford Philosophical Concept Series
<i>OSACR</i>	Oxford Studies in Ancient Culture and Representation
<i>PAS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society</i>
<i>Philos.</i>	<i>Philosophy</i>
<i>PRA</i>	<i>Philosophy Research Archives</i>
<i>RV</i>	<i>Revista Bíblica</i>
<i>RW</i>	<i>Reformed World</i>
<i>SAM</i>	Studies in Ancient Medicine
<i>SJCH</i>	<i>Studies in Jewish and Christian History</i>
<i>SNTSMS</i>	Studies for New Testament Monograph Series
<i>WestJ</i>	<i>Wesleyan Theological Journal</i>

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Overview

Paul suffered, and his emotional and physical suffering was experienced as an embodied person. While incarcerated, Paul writes to a gathering of believers in Philippi: “Christ will be magnified *in my body* (ἐν τῷ σώματί μου)!” (Phil 1:20). In other letters, Paul similarly writes, “We always carry around *in the body* (ἐν τῷ σώματι) the death of Jesus, so that the life of Jesus may also be revealed *in our body* (ἐν τῷ σώματι ἡμῶν)” (2 Cor 4:10).¹ Paul frequently draws attention to the suffering bodies of believers and himself. Yet, the category of the suffering body is largely unexamined in Pauline scholarship. Even in studies of Paul’s body language, these bodily references are often read as synecdoche for the self or one’s life at large, and the suffering body itself has been largely ignored.² Although Paul’s descriptions of and engagement with the suffering body are not nearly as graphic nor lengthy as later Christian martyr accounts, the body in pain appears in important ways in his letters, especially in his correspondence with the Philippians. Furthermore, Paul’s concern for the body in pain shows connections with ongoing ancient philosophical reflection, not only on the physical body but also on how the pained body relates to moral formation. Other fields of scholarship, such as Classics and Ancient Philosophy, have launched embodiment inquiry and examined the body in pain in ancient literature.³ The present study builds on this scholarship within Bib-

¹ For additional references to the body in pain, see Phil 1:20, 27–30; 2:17; 3:10–11, 20–21; 1 Cor 4:9–13, 15:43–49; 2 Cor 3:18, 4:7–15, 5:1–5. Cf. Col 1:24, 3:4; 2 Tim 2:3.

² Analysis of suffering body language or imagery is largely omitted from theologies of the body, such as John W. Kleinig, *Wonderfully Made: A Protestant Theology of the Body* (Bellingham, MA: Lexham, 2021); John A. T. Robinson, *The Body: A Study in Pauline Theology* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977). Dale B. Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), makes mention of suffering and pain separately, but not the suffering body. For “the body” as a synecdoche, see Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, trans. Kendrick Grobel, vol. 1 (London: SCM, 1952), 194. For “the body” as synecdoche in Phil 1:20, see F. F. Bruce, *Philippians* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), 25.

³ James I. Porter, ed., *Constructions of the Classical Body*, *The Body in Theory: Histories of Cultural Materialism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999); Catharine Edwards, “The Suffering Body: Philosophy and Pain in Seneca’s Letters,” in *Constructions of the Classical Body*, ed. James I. Porter, *The Body, in Theory* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 252–68; P. J. Jordaan, “Suffering Bodies in 2 Maccabees 3,” *IDS* 50.4 (2016): 1–7; Gert Prinsloo, “Suffering Bodies – Divine Absence: Towards a Spatial

lical Studies to examine the place of the suffering body in Paul's letter to the Philippians.

Philippians is the most suitable letter for the investigation because it consistently highlights the apostle's embodied experience. It is a substantial and undisputed letter written from prison and is framed by that bodily experience of incarceration.⁴ It is not only the place of authorship but also the content of the letter that make Philippians a body-centred text. Within the first chapter, Paul draws attention to his incarcerated status four times (1:7, 13–14, 17), wrestles with his bodily state (1:21–26), claims that his body is a conduit for the growth of the Philippians (1:24), discusses his suffering more broadly (1:28), and employs bodily athletic imagery (1:30). Further, the apostle writes to a gathering of believers themselves experiencing suffering, most likely in the form of religious persecution (1:30).⁵ Throughout the letter, there are numerous other points where Paul makes clear that his bodily suffering is both for Christ and with Christ, participating in his sufferings (1:27–30). For instance, Paul presents his embodied suffering through the vivid image of “being poured out like a drink offering” (2:17). Even Paul's hope of resurrection is expressed in these bodily terms in Philippians, as he awaits the time when Christ will “transform our lowly bodies so that they will be like his glorious body” (3:10–11, 20–21). Paul's use of body imagery is an important tool employed in the letter's argument, serving rhetorical purposes of persuasion and revealing his anthropological view that the suffering body is a significant means of moral formation.

The present work poses one central question: What is the place of the suffering body in Paul's letter to the Philippians? I argue that Paul engages the philosophical tradition of virtue ethics to present the suffering body as a means of virtue formation for both Paul himself and the Philippians. The body in pain presents an opportunity for virtue, both as a conduit for the cultivation of virtue (moral formation) and, in turn, locates the Philippians within a particular way of life (social formation).⁶ There is a point of distinction between Philippians and the philosophical sources I assess, namely that Paul's anthropological vision includes a constructive ethic of the present suffering body. Virtue formation does not occur *in spite of* the physical body, as a number of philosophical thinkers contemporary to Paul contend. The finite, pained body awaiting future resurrection has an important function as a locative site of virtue formation in the present life of the ancient believer. This view, as I will argue in

Reading of Ancient Near Eastern Laments with Reference to Psalm 13 and an Assyrian Elegy (K890),” *OTE* 26.3 (2013): 773–803. For a more detailed history of scholarship, see 1.3.

⁴ The present study works from a seven-letter Pauline canon: Romans, 1–2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians, and Philemon.

⁵ “Believers” is employed in the present study for Jewish and gentile followers of Jesus. The majority scholarly view, which the present study agrees with, is that the believers at Philippi were facing some unspecified form of persecution for their Christ faith (cf. Phil 1:30).

⁶ For definitions of key terms, see 1.5.

chapter 5, is rooted in and made possible by Christ's incarnation and virtuous exemplarity. By closely exploring the three key depictions of the suffering body in Philippians – the imprisoned body, the exemplary body, and the athletic body – and placing the body imagery in its ancient philosophical context, my goal is to bring the significance of the body in pain in the ancient world to bear on modern interpretations of Philippians.

1.2 Methodology

1.2.1 Approach

The present study draws on the interdisciplinary approaches of embodiment studies to provide a mode of reading that pays attention to the body as a text to be read and inscribed with meaning.⁷ Embodiment, at its simplest definition, is the acknowledgement that all of human life is experienced by persons in physical bodies. Yet, this obvious proposition often causes bodies to be taken for granted and overlooked in favour of assumedly higher endeavours in modern scholarship, such as enquiries into the mind, spirit, soul, or the relationship between these three. Bryan S. Turner rightly asserts,

[W]e cannot take 'the body' for granted as a natural, fixed and historically universal datum of human societies. The body has many meanings within human practice, and can be conceptualized within a variety of dimensions and frameworks.⁸

The value and depictions of the body do not have a single, universal iteration. Rather, they greatly vary based on socio-cultural contexts. These varieties are often called "constructions" in embodiment literature, highlighting that the body takes a particular shape based on its social and cultural context both in antiquity and today.⁹ These contexts determine its boundaries, value, and function. Further, constructions arise in particular and distinct ways in ancient texts and are wielded for rhetorical and argumentative purposes. A hermeneutic of embodiment brings the depictions of the body to the fore of the investigation of a biblical text, like the present study's focus on Philippians. As Judith König notes, studies like the one at hand take the view of "Körperlichkeit als herme-

⁷ The idea and language of the body as a text to be read builds on Judith Perkins' idea that the suffering body is a text upon which a god writes. See Judith Perkins, "The 'Self' as Sufferer," *HTR* 85.3 (1992): 261.

⁸ Bryan S. Turner, "The Body in Western Society: Social Theory and Its Perspectives," in *Religion and the Body*, ed. Sarah Coakley, CSRT 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 17. For acknowledgment that the body has a history, see Catherine Gallagher and Thomas Laqueur, "Introduction," *Representations* 14 (1986): vii.

⁹ Porter, ed., *Constructions of the Classical Body*.

neutische Zugangsperspektive.”¹⁰ Corporeality is a hermeneutical entrypoint for exegetical discussion.

Importantly, therefore, the suffering body is a text to be read *in ancient context*. The context the present study assesses is Paul’s first-century, ancient philosophical context of virtue ethics. Because of the many resonances with ancient virtue ethics in the letter, as I will demonstrate in the next chapter, this is the key context in which to locate Paul’s anthropology of the body in pain in Philippians. I approach the task of contextualization from a historical, comparative lens.¹¹ My aim is to engage in historical inquiry and analyse Paul in comparison with three particular, ancient philosophical works that, in the course of their respective interests, engage the suffering body and link the suffering body to virtue. Establishing the place of the suffering body in relation to ancient philosophical virtue ethics requires one to unravel three interwoven concepts in Graeco-Roman moral inquiry: the suffering body, moral formation, and the social world of the pained body. To put it another way, ancient bodies and, relatedly, suffering body rhetoric were tethered to moral and social transformation. The present study will address the moral and social implications of Paul’s presentation of the suffering body in each chapter. The primary interest will be the moral focus with secondary commentary on social implications of such body-related discussions.

Regarding my approach to the apostle within ancient philosophy, I understand the historical Paul as embedded within a Graeco-Roman society replete with philosophical conversation and traditions. Turning away from the Protestant tendency of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to view philosophy as a corruption of early Christian movements, several scholars have argued that Paul’s letters demonstrate quite close resemblance to ancient philosophical ethics, anthropology, and cosmology.¹² It is now little contested that

¹⁰ Judith König, *Die basileia tou theou im Markusevangelium*, WUNT/2 607 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2024), 54. König’s study of βασιλεία του θεού in the Gospel of Mark utilises a body hermeneutic rooted in phenomenology with a focus on spatial and temporal situatedness in a social environment.

¹¹ “Moral formation / transformation” and “virtue formation” are used interchangeably in relation to ancient, not modern, philosophical virtue ethics in the current study. On New Testament and modern virtue ethics, see Daniel J. Harrington and James F. Keenan, *Paul and Virtue Ethics: Building Bridges Between New Testament Studies and Moral Theology* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010).

¹² For a critique of the “Protestant trope,” see Stanley K. Stowers, “Paul and the Terrain of Philosophy,” *EC* 6.2 (2015): 141–42. Cf. Jonathan Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity*, Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion 14 (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1990), 7–22; Stanley K. Stowers, *Christian Beginnings: A Study in Ancient Mediterranean Religion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2024), 24–28. For other readings of Paul participating in his ancient philosophical context, see Abraham J. Malherbe, *Paul and the Popular Philosophers* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989); Matthew T. Sharp, *Divination and Philosophy in the Letters of Paul*, ESRA (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023). For a Stoic reading, see Adolf Friedrich Bonhöffer, *Epiklet und das Neue Tes-*

the apostle was influenced by philosophical ideologies to some degree. Rather than merely “appropriating” philosophical terminology for his own missiological purposes, I take the view that he fully participated in this environment as a religious expert and as a distinct thinker among many.¹³ As Heidi Wendt writes, “[A]ll freelance actors [including religious experts] were participating in a shared intellectual milieu that might crystallize in different ways.”¹⁴ For instance, I will argue in the next chapter that the pursuit of virtue is a central theme of Philippians. Paul crystallises these ideas in light of his gospel and in so doing participates in ancient moral discourse on virtue formation.

Ancient virtue ethics has its formal roots in Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*, though precursors of virtue ideas can be found in Plato’s dialogues. I not only present Aristotle as a dialogue partner, but I also draw similarities and distinctions between Paul, Seneca the Younger, and Plato in chapter three. The inclusion of various philosophical schools may lead one to ask if Paul was an Aristotelian, Platonist, Stoic, or something else. An understanding of the ancient philosophical terrain of the Hellenistic period will elucidate the tension. While philosophical schools and key teachers remained largely sectarian in the Hellenistic period, Stowers describes a “popular intellectual climate that [teachers and schools] stimulated, a new intellectual environment of educated people.”¹⁵ The popular climate resulted in a continual blending of philosophical ideas where thinkers were regularly borrowing concepts.¹⁶ Such terrain was fertile ground for Jewish thinkers to combine philosophical streams of conception, as evidenced in Philo’s writings. The philosophical setting lent itself to a Paul who, as Emma Wasserman notes, “adapts fairly high-level intellectual traditions without regard for systems of thought, boundaries, or interschool polemics.”¹⁷ Paul was not a moral philosopher adhering to a particular sectarian school with complete fidelity, which few thinkers did anyway. Paul’s reasoning is steeped in various modes of philosophical conception. Although Philippians is not an anthropological or moral tractate, but rather a contingent letter, readers can still glean anthropological reasoning from the letter. By using body

tament (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1965); Joseph R. Dodson and David E. Briones, eds., *Paul and Seneca in Dialogue*, APR 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2017); Troels Engberg-Pedersen, *Paul and the Stoics* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2000); Annalisa Phillips Wilson, *Paul and the Jewish Law: A Stoic Ethical Perspective on His Inconsistency*, APR 8 (Leiden: Brill, 2022). For a Platonic reading, see George H. van Kooten, *Paul’s Anthropology in Context: The Image of God, Assimilation to God, and Tripartite Man in Ancient Judaism, Ancient Philosophy and Early Christianity*, WUNT 232 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008); Emma Wasserman, *The Death of the Soul in Romans 7: Sin, Death, and the Law in Light of Hellenistic Moral Psychology*, WUNT/2 256 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008).

¹³ Cf. Heidi Wendt, *At the Temple Gates: The Religion of Freelance Experts in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 136.

¹⁴ Wendt, *Temple Gates*, 136. Cf. Stowers, *Christian Beginnings*, 27.

¹⁵ Stowers, “Paul and the Terrain,” 145.

¹⁶ Stowers, “Paul and the Terrain,” 146, 149.

¹⁷ Emma Wasserman, *Apocalypse as Holy War: Divine Politics and Polemics in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 190.

rhetoric and drawing on virtue ethics, Paul's letter naturally participates in an ongoing conversation in ancient philosophy about the place of the body in relation to ethics, specifically for the believers at Philippi. Understanding these contexts illuminates how Paul fits amongst his contemporaries.¹⁸

Further, a foundational premise of comparative approaches, such as Paul's philosophical reasoning in comparison with the three sources analysed in chapter three, is that by entering a tradition and then returning to the main source of investigation, new questions and categories arise.¹⁹ The comparativist and her readers engage in higher-order analysis (by this, though, I do not mean superior to other assessments of the texts) that challenges one to rethink where the body is and its function in the argument at hand.²⁰ Heeding Jonathan Z. Smith's warnings, this book is not focused on defending the ontological superiority or 'uniqueness' of Paul's view as opposed to the philosophers.²¹ Indeed, readers will find that, Paul's words in Philippians share much in common with Graeco-Roman philosophical depictions of the body and suffering, but even these each have their own distinctives. Paul, too, will have distinctive elements. Thus, both differences and similarities between Paul and his broader ancient context will be noted as I seek to answer the primary question: what is the place of the suffering body in Paul's letter to the Philippians?

1.2.2 Scope

The scope of the study and selection of sources are limited to body rhetoric in Paul's letter to Philippi for the reasons already established. To add to these, works that analyse aspects of Paul's anthropology tend to lean heavily on the *Hauptbriefe*, especially Pauline texts like 1 Cor 15 and 2 Cor 4–5. I have chosen a different starting point for this anthropological inquiry, and I seek to read Philippians on its own terms. Regarding ancient sources, the body and its experiences of pain are prolific in ancient texts, opening the methodological danger that anywhere there is a human person or bodily practice, the source becomes a viable conversation partner.²² Because the present investigation is not a query on the history of the ancient body in general, guardrails must be estab-

¹⁸ See also John M. G. Barclay, "'O Was Some Pow'r the Giftie Gie Us, To See Ourselves as Others See Us!' Method and Purpose in Comparing the New Testament," in *New Testament in Comparison: Validity, Method, and Purpose in Comparing Traditions* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2020), 9–22.

¹⁹ Cf. Barclay, "'O Was Some Pow'r the Giftie Gie Us,'" 20.

²⁰ On comparison as dialogue: Jonathan Linebaugh, "Relational Hermeneutics and Comparison as Conversation," in *The New Testament in Comparison: Validity, Method, and Purpose in Comparing Traditions*, ed. John M. G. Barclay and B. G. White (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2020), 143–58.

²¹ On this warning, see Smith, *Drudgery Divine*, 42–45.

²² Cf. Porter, James I. "Introduction." In *Constructions of the Classical Body, The Body, in Theory* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 4. For a sampling of these lenses, see Dominic Montserrat, ed., *Changing Bodies, Changing Meanings: Studies on the Human Body in Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 1998).

lished. Thus, I engage with Graeco-Roman Jewish and non-Jewish sources that, to some degree, interact with the three themes central to the present work – virtue, suffering, and the body. While I am primarily interested in three influential philosophical moral traditions contemporary to Paul (represented by Plato’s *Phaedo*, Seneca’s *Epistles*, and 4 Maccabees) that fit these criteria, the study does draw on additional literary and material evidence to inform the broader ancient Graeco-Roman context and its conceptions of the body in pain.

1.3 Currents in Embodiment Scholarship

1.3.1 Corporeal Focus in Humanities Research

The current investigation enters a vibrant conversation across the humanities on embodiment and the suffering body as a particular category of investigation. Embodiment inquiry, also known as body studies, has a lengthy history with many distinct questions of interest. Entering this space of research requires a brief sketch of the history of the body to provide a conceptual framework of embodiment. To situate the aims of this book at large, a brief review of the historical development of embodiment inquiry is necessary, and specifically the suffering body, in the humanities, biblical and theological studies, and Pauline research. Throughout the book, I will also engage in a number of other subfields in scholarship, such as suffering in Pauline studies and virtue ethics. I will situate the conversation appropriately at those junctures.

Embodiment inquiry has ancient roots in the philosophical, theological, and cultural discourse of the Graeco-Roman philosophical landscape. Classicists and philosophers alike have noted that interest in the body, including its form and function, arose around the fifth century BCE and continued beyond the first century CE. Varying conceptions arose from medical, philosophical, and theological angles, all grappling with the embodied nature of human existence. In many ways, the human body itself has a history. Writing on the ancient body in Greece, Brooke Holmes underlines the point:

We are often so focused on locating the origins of the “modern” body (e.g., in Descartes or the clinic) or tracing points of similarity or difference in the formulation of the mind-body problem that we take the category of the physical body itself for granted, forgetting that it, too, has a genealogy. [...] The physical body is not timeless. It crystallizes as an object of thought and praxis in ancient Greece.²³

While embodiment inquiry has sharply risen in modern scholarly interest, there is an ancient, classical foundation that many scholars self-admittedly

²³ Brooke Holmes, “The Body of Western Embodiment: Classical Antiquity and the Early History of a Problem,” in *Embodiment*, ed. Justin E. H. Smith, OPC (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 19–20.

build from.²⁴ Of course, the body also has a history outside of the Western classical world. For instance, the medical and magic texts of the ancient Near East evidence an inquiry into the human body and its pain that far predates the classical attestations.²⁵ However, given Paul's ancient Mediterranean context and the limits of the present study, it is the classical history that is highlighted here for contextualisation.

Despite ancient foundations, interest in embodiment inquiry in the humanities remained fairly latent until the so called "corporeal turn" of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. At that point, interest in embodiment in religious studies sharply increased.²⁶ The widely acknowledged "catalyst" for the new-found interest in body inquiry was the work of the French poststructuralist philosopher Michel Foucault on discipline and the body.²⁷ Scholars credit Foucault for moving the discussion of embodiment from the realm of philosophy to sociology and the humanities, situating the body as a "proper subject of historical inquiry."²⁸ Foucault's argument that the body was inscribed upon in the political field by knowledge and power was the catalyst of such new scholarly energy.²⁹ He argued that the body is an object of history and social malleability.³⁰

Further, Foucault describes the body as a site or location of activity and social inscription that can be analysed. Daniel Punday calls it Foucault's "body-as-site" trope.³¹ In "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," Foucault writes,

The body is the inscribed surface of events (traced by language and dissolved by ideas), the locus of a dissociated Self (adopting the illusion of a substantial unity), and a volume in perpetual disintegration. Genealogy, as an analysis of descent, is thus situated within the

²⁴ Porter, "Introduction," 1–2, writes, "The classical inheritance is central to today's return to the body for two good reasons: the body in its canonical form was, so to speak, 'invented' for the first time in classical antiquity; and much of the body's subsequent history has revolved around the image and ideal of the classical body inherited from antiquity."

²⁵ For analyses of key sources, see H. F. J. Horstmanshoff, Marten Stol, and C. R. van Tilburg, eds., *Magic and Rationality in Ancient Near Eastern and Graeco-Roman Medicine*, SAM 27 (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Laura M. Zucconi, *Ancient Medicine: From Mesopotamia to Rome* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2019).

²⁶ For a discussion of this shift, see Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "The Corporeal Turn," *JQR* 95.3 (2005), 447–61.

²⁷ Gloria Ferrari, "Introduction," in *Bodies and Boundaries in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*, ed. Thorsten Fögen and Mireille M. Lee (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 1.

²⁸ Ferrari, "Introduction," 1.

²⁹ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 25–26.

³⁰ Some have levied strong critique against the idea of a preinscribed body. See Judith Butler, "Foucault and the Paradox of Bodily Inscriptions," *JP* 86.11 (1989): 602. Butler raises an important question about the ontological significance of "the" in "constructions of the body." For a challenge of Butler's critique, see David Dudrick, "Foucault, Butler, and the Body," *EuroJPh* 13.2 (2005): 226–46.

³¹ Daniel Punday, "Foucault's Body Tropes," *NLH* 31.3 (2000): 510.

articulation of the body and history. Its task is to expose a body totally imprinted by history and the process of history's destruction of the body.³²

Though Foucault's focus was on the role of genealogy, it is particularly his idea of the body as a surface of inscription and a culturally and socially bound site of activity that roots the modern discussion of the body as a construction.³³ Thus, I have made two key points about embodiment inquiry: first, there are constructions of the body. The body is shaped by society and culture, appearing in distinct ways across literary and non-literary evidence.³⁴ Second, the body can be described as a "site" or a distinct place of activity. In this sense, human bodies are texts to be read, revealing both their presentations and embedded cultural information.

The history of the body subfield is marked by a diverse range of contributors who explore the body through the lenses of feminist hermeneutics, postcolonial critique, disability studies, sociology, anthropology, queer theories, classical studies, and phenomenology.³⁵ Somatic interest takes many forms, including

³² Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2021), 148.

³³ For a feminist critique, see Lois McNay, "The Foucauldian Body and the Exclusion of Experience," *Hypatia* 6.3 (1991): 125–39. Many scholars reflecting on embodiment derive their language from Foucault. Cf. Tyson L. Putthoff, *Gods and Humans in the Ancient Near East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 3–6.

³⁴ As Michel Feher, "Introduction," in *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, ed. Michel Feher, Ramona Naddaff, and Nadia Tazi, Zone 3 (New York: Zone, 1989), 11, states, "[T]he history of the human body is not so much the history of its representations as of its modes of construction." Chris Shilling, *The Body and Social Theory*, 3rd ed. (Los Angeles: Sage, 2012), 211, terms it the "absent presence" of the body.

³⁵ On the various approaches, see Katherine Mason and Natalie Boero, "Toward a Sociology of the Body," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Sociology of Body and Embodiment*, ed. Natalie Boero and Katherine Mason (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 1–2. See also Michel Feher, Ramona Naddaff, and Nadia Tazi, eds., *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, Zone 3–5 (New York: Zone, 1989); Linda Kalof and William Bynum, eds., *A Cultural History of the Body*, 6 Parts (London: Bloomsbury, 2014); Willemijn Ruberg, *History of the Body*, Theory and History (New York: Macmillan, 2020); Bryan S Turner, *Routledge Handbook of Body Studies* (London: Routledge, 2017).

For example, divided by discipline: Sociology: Jacqueline Low and Claudia Malacrida, eds., *Sociology of the Body: A Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); John O'Neill, *Five Bodies: The Human Shape of Modern Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985); Bryan S. Turner, *The Body and Society: Explorations in Social Theory*, 2nd ed., Theory, Culture & Society (London: Sage, 1996). Anthropology: Margaret Lock, "Cultivating the Body: Anthropology and Epistemologies of Bodily Practice and Knowledge," *ARA* 22 (1993): 133–55; Frances E. Mascia-Lees, ed., *A Companion to the Anthropology of the Body and Embodiment*, BCA 13 (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011). Psychology: Albert Newen, "The Embodied Self, the Pattern Theory of Self, and the Predictive Mind," *FrPsy* 9 (2018): 1–14. Philosophy: Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Justin E. H. Smith, ed., *Embodiment*, OPC (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). Disability Studies: Tanya Titchkosky, *Reading and Writing Disability Differently: The Textured Life of Embodiment*

investigating conceptions of the body with respect to illness, gender and sexuality, habits, and civilising the body. The cross-disciplinary interest is described by Catherine Gallagher and Thomas Laqueur as “a new historical endeavour” that bridges a variety of scholarly approaches, including historical, anthropological, philosophical, and theoretical approaches.³⁶ For instance, in *Constructions of the Classical Body*, historians and classicists explore depictions of the body in the classical Graeco-Roman world and its texts.³⁷ Important among these contributions is Catharine Edwards’ chapter entitled, “The Suffering Body: Philosophy and Pain in Seneca’s Letters.”³⁸ Edwards offers an assessment of the imagery of the suffering body in Seneca’s *Epistles* and notes how he participates in Roman discourse on the spectacle of pained bodies. Edwards claims that the human body becomes an arena, a site, where “bravery can be exercised, displayed, and observed” and the reader’s mind becomes a stage for the bodily performance.³⁹ She also observes that the body in pain becomes “a route to philosophical progress” and an “analogy for mental weakness,” driven towards bodily transcendence.⁴⁰ Overall, Edwards takes an interest in Seneca’s paradoxical presentation of the body in her publications.⁴¹ She demonstrates how Seneca’s graphic body language is marked by Roman conceptions of the body, yet he reworks these within a paradigm of philosophical progress. She suggests the body in pain in Senecan conception may even present an opportunity for virtue.⁴²

Within biblical and theological studies at large, the corporeal turn has become evident in areas such as liberationist and Latin American theology, fem-

(Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007); Nicholas Vlahogiannis, “Disabling Bodies,” in *Changing Bodies, Changing Meanings. Studies on the Human Body in Antiquity*. (London: Routledge, 2011), 13–36. Classics: James I. Porter, ed., *Constructions of the Classical Body, The Body in Theory: Histories of Cultural Materialism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999).

³⁶ Gallagher and Laqueur, “Introduction,” viii.

³⁷ Porter, ed., *Constructions of the Classical Body*.

³⁸ Catharine Edwards, “The Suffering Body: Philosophy and Pain in Seneca’s Letters,” in *Constructions of the Classical Body*, ed. James I. Porter, *The Body, in Theory* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 252–68.

³⁹ Edwards, “Suffering Body,” 263.

⁴⁰ Edwards, “Suffering Body,” 253, 257–59.

⁴¹ This is evident not only in her chapter “Suffering Body,” but also in Catharine Edwards, “Archetypally Roman? Representing Seneca’s Ageing Body,” in *Roman Bodies: Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Andrew Hopkins, Maria Wyke, and British School at Rome (London: British School at Rome, 2005), 13–22; “Letters from an Invalid Philosopher: The Fallibility of Mind and Body in Seneca’s *Epistulae morales*,” in *Fallibility and Fallibilism in Ancient Philosophy and Literature: Proceedings of the 24th Conference of the Karl and Gertrud-Abel Foundation Munich, March 25th-26th, 2021*, ed. Therese Fuhrer and Janja Soldo, *Philosophie der Antike 45* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2023), 127–46; “Visualizing Pain: Psychotherapy, Emotion, and Embodied Cognition in Seneca’s Letters,” *Classical Antiquity* 40.2 (2021): 221–48.

⁴² See also King, Daniel. *Experiencing Pain in Imperial Greek Culture*. Oxford Classical Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

Index of Ancient Sources

Old Testament

<i>Exodus</i>		7:5	104
20:26	154	7:11	120
		8:6	114
<i>Leviticus</i>		8:22	115
5:18	117	10:1	120
18:6	154	12:1–25	118
		13:12	118
<i>Deuteronomy</i>		13:15–16	118
29:18	85	13:16	103, 106
32:5	180–181	14:14–17	118
		16:4	107
<i>Job</i>		16:20	114
1	104	19	114
1:1	103	19:3	115
1:8	103, 105	19:9	115
2	104	19:13–20	115
2:3	105	19:25–27	118, 121
2:4–8	104	20	120
2:5	105	20:13	120
2:9	103, 120	20:25	118
2:10	105	27:4	103
3:3–4	121	30:19	106
3:16–19	121	31:23	120
3:17	118	32:21	115
3:24	120	33:17	118
13:16	112	34:14	120
4:9	103	36:8	120
4:10	103	36:19	114
5:1	103	36:28	118
5:13	103	38:2	120
6	117	40:32	118
6:4	106, 117–118	41:9	120
6:8	115	42:2	106
6:9	117	42:5–6	106
6:11–12	117	42:6	106
6:20	115	50:2	103

<i>Psalms</i>		53:13	141, 152
13	2		
16:4	185	<i>Jeremiah</i>	
28:6	88	13:21	88
73	102	22:33	88
		27:43	88
<i>Proverbs</i>		<i>Ezekiel</i>	
3:9	45	16:36–37	154
4:12	183	23:10	154
11:30	85		
26:9	85	<i>Daniel</i>	
<i>Isaiah</i>		3:76	85
3:16	151	4:10	85
40:30	183	12:2–3	86
4	142, 144	12:3	180–181
45:22–23	142	<i>Hosea</i>	
45:23	141–142, 144	13:13	88
45:23–24	141	<i>Amos</i>	
49–55	143	6:12	45
49:6	142	<i>Micah</i>	
52	152	4:9	88
52:13	140–141, 152	<i>Nahum</i>	
52:13–53:12	141	3:3	117
52:14	152		
52:15	152		
53	102, 143		
53:2–3	151		
53:2–12	151		

New Testament

<i>Matthew</i>		7:11	51
26:28	185	7:12	51
<i>Mark</i>		7:15–20	148
14:24	185	8:33	143
<i>Romans</i>		9:1–5	181
1:5	144	10:16	143
1:9	48	11:1–16	181
1:10	114	12:1	185
2:7	50	12:2	119
3:1–2	181	12:19	148
5–8	17, 140	13:1–2	51
5:12	144	14	141
7:4	51	14:11	143
		14:25	143
		15:8–9	144

15:18 144
 15:18–19 51
 15:21 143
 15:26 49
 15:28 49
 16:17–20 12
 16:26 144
 16:25–26 144

1 Corinthians

1:7 51
 1:9 49
 2:4 181
 2:16 119
 3:19 103
 4:9–13 1
 6 14
 6:20 116
 7:29 53
 7:31 151
 8 14
 9:24–26 162
 9:24 183
 9:26 183
 10 14
 10:6 49
 10:10 180
 10:14 148
 10:24 132
 11 14
 11:12 48
 11:24 185
 12:12–14 135
 12:13 136
 12:18 116
 12:25 116
 13:5 132
 15 6, 14
 15:2 181
 15:40 155
 15:43 1
 15:50–57 51
 15:50–58 51
 15:58 51, 148
 16:19 177

2 Corinthians

1:8 51
 1:11 114

1:18 181
 2:6 49
 2:14–33 17
 3:18 1
 4–5 6, 195
 4:7–15 1
 4:8–9 117
 4:10 1, 116–117
 4:11 116
 5:1 155
 5:1–5 1
 5:6 116
 5:19 181
 6:2 143
 6:6–8 53
 6:14 49
 7:1 148
 8:4 49
 8:6 49
 8:11 49
 9:8 50
 9:13 49
 9:14 114
 12:19 148
 13:11 52
 13:14 49

Galatians

1–2 140
 1:6–7 113
 1:15 143
 1:24 143
 2:2 162, 183
 2:9 49
 2:10 176
 3:1 113
 3:3 49
 4:12–5:1 140
 4:27 143
 5:7 162, 183
 5:16–26 132
 5:17 177
 5:22–23 53
 6:17 53, 116–117

Ephesians

1:13 181
 2:10 50
 4:32 53

5:9	53	1:21–26	2
6:10	52	1:22	117
		1:22–26	95, 119–120, 159, 182
<i>Philippians</i>			
1	96, 101, 106, 108, 112, 142, 185	1:23–24	120
1:3	48	1:24	2, 117
1:3–6	48–49	1:24–25	122
1:3–8	39	1:25	123–124, 136
1:3–11	29, 32, 39, 44, 58	1:25–26	156
1:5	41, 48	1:26	123
1:5–6	49	1:27	32, 41, 51, 101, 122, 130, 135, 148, 157, 177, 182
1:6	38, 48–50		148
1:7	2, 41, 99, 119, 136	1:27–28	1, 2, 176–177, 179
1:7–8	48	1:27–30	52
1:8	41	1:27–2:5	2, 15, 31, 38, 148– 149
1:9	32, 38, 40–41, 43, 118	1:28	176
1:9–11	39, 44–45, 47–50, 95, 180	1:29	176, 178
1:10	38, 54	1:29–30	2, 120, 122, 130, 178
1:11	46	1:30	131, 144, 149, 174, 182, 186
1:12	113, 122	2	49, 131, 182
1:12–14	95, 113	2:1	32, 38, 41, 130
1:12–16	100	2:1–2	132–133, 135–137, 144, 153
1:12–18	19	2:1–5	130, 137, 148
1:13–14	99	2:1–13	29, 125, 129, 131, 145, 150, 159–160, 179–180
1:14	113, 181	2:2	51, 119, 130–131
1:15	113	2:3	131, 137
1:15–17	101	2:3–4	131–132
1:15–18	95, 113	2:3–5	32
1:17	31, 99–100, 103, 113	2:3–13	38
1:17–30	19	2:4	132–133, 153
1:18	52, 113–114, 123	2:5	38, 118–119, 130– 131, 136–137, 139, 154, 160, 175
1:18–26	109–110, 124, 186	2:5–11	19, 129, 131, 138, 175
1:18–20	95, 115, 119–120	2:5–12	153
1:18–21	95	2:6	137, 150
1:18–26	96, 123, 124	2:6–8	132, 137, 139–141, 144–145, 151
1:19	103, 106, 108–110, 112–116, 118, 124, 148	2:6–9	140–141, 145, 150
1:19–26	62		
1:20	1, 95, 106, 110, 112, 115–119, 124, 159, 176, 181, 192		
1:20–21	116		
1:20–30	32		

2:6–11	125–126, 130–131, 140, 145–149, 151, 153, 157, 160	3:7–11	19, 171
2:6–13	141, 157, 174	3:8	118, 173
2:7	138–139, 143, 150– 151, 153	3:8–9	171, 173
2:7–8	138, 174	3:8–11	35, 38
2:8	137, 152, 156, 181	3:8–15	175
2:8–9	139	3:9	123, 172, 174
2:9	140–141, 144, 146, 152	3:9–10	67
2:9–10	146	3:10	19, 49, 119, 181
2:9–11	137, 139, 141, 144– 145	3:10–11	1, 2, 38, 153, 156, 171, 174–175
2:10–11	141–142, 144–145	3:12	171–172
2:11	144, 146	3:12–14	174
2:12	147, 180	3:12–15	161, 170–171, 174– 175, 187
2:12–13	149, 179	3:13–14	170
2:12–16	38	3:14	161, 173
2:13	149	3:15	32, 119, 136, 174– 175
2:14	180, 182, 185–186	3:16	38
2:14–15	32	3:17	38, 101, 154, 175
2:14–16	176, 179–182, 186	3:17–19	101
2:14–18	161, 170, 179, 181, 187	3:17–21	12, 31, 154, 156
2:15	179–183	3:17–4:1	125, 153, 159
2:15–16	181	3:18	174
2:16	143, 161, 181–183, 186	3:19	116, 119
2:16–18	175–176, 179, 182– 183	3:20	38, 135, 177
2:17	1, 2, 52, 123, 183, 186–187	3:20–21	19, 51
2:17–18	186	3:21	153–154, 156, 174
2:18	187	4	48–49
2:19–30	38, 52, 153	4:1	38, 51, 156–157
2:21	153	4:1–3	51
2:25	154	4:1–7	51, 53
2:27	181	4:2	32, 119
2:28	52	4:2–3	38, 51
2:29	154	4:3	181
2:30	181	4:4	38
3	113, 154, 174, 186	4:4–7	51
3:1	52	4:7	53
3:1–4	155	4:8	50, 53–55
3:1–6	31, 101, 174	4:8–9	29, 32–33, 39, 50– 53, 55–58, 123, 136
3:6	179	4:9	33, 54, 56–57
3:7	136, 171	4:10	119
3:7–9	156, 171	4:10–20	49
		4:14	48
		14:14–19	52
		4:17–19	39
		4:22	114
		13–14	2

17	2	4:12	53
20–21	1–2	4:16	181
<i>Colossians</i>		<i>2 Timothy</i>	
1:5	181	1:8	101
1:10	50	2:3	1
1:15	147	2:22	53
1:24	1, 143	3:10	53
1:25	181	4:6	185
1:29	183	<i>Titus</i>	
3:4	1	1:9	181
3:12	53	<i>Philemon</i>	
3:16	181	4	48
4:3	181	6	49
<i>1 Thessalonians</i>		<i>James</i>	
1:2	48	3:17	53
1:10	15	3:18	45
2:13	181	5:10–11	103
3:1	181	5:11	103
3:6	48	<i>1 Peter</i>	
3:13	180	2:9	54
5:1–11	15	3:8	53
5:8	103	<i>2 Peter</i>	
<i>2 Thessalonians</i>		1:3–5	54
2:8	103	1:5–7	53
3:1	52	<i>Revelation</i>	
<i>1 Timothy</i>		16:15	15
1:15	181		
2:8	100		
3:16	147		

Ancient Authors – Greco Roman

<i>1 Clement</i>		16.2	65
1:1	102	23.1	65
4:16–5:5	102	25.1	65
5:5–7	101	28.4	63
11:2–3	102	Alexander of Aphrodisias	
15:15	10	<i>De mixtione</i>	
Alcinous		4.216.1–13	75
<i>Didaskalikos</i>		4.217.32	7
1.1	65		

Antiphon		8.12.1	41
		9	40
<i>On the Murder of Herodes</i>		9.1–4	40
5.17–18	100	9.8.2	41
		9.9	43
Anonymous		9.9.5–7	4
<i>Anthologia Graeca</i>		10.4.1	171
16.54a	164	10.4.6–7	171
		10.5.1–2	171
Apuleius			
		<i>Politics</i>	
<i>De dogmate Platonis</i>		1.1.11	44
2.6–7	64	3.4.3	135
		3.6	135
Aristides		7.1.1324.40	177
<i>Orationes sacrae</i>	26	8.1.1337.30–40	177
Aristotle		<i>Rhetoric</i>	
		1.33	55
<i>De partibus animalium</i>		2.4.4	134
1.1	151		
		Cicero	
<i>Ethica Eudemia</i>		<i>Academica</i>	
2.1.10	55	1.26–37	75
<i>Magna moralia</i>		<i>De finibus bonorum et malorum</i>	
1.9.10	55	3.20	74
		3.26	74
<i>Ethica Nicomachea</i>		3.44	76
1.2.1–8	37	3.50–51	75
1.7.5	34	3.58	75
1.7.8	37	3.64	135
1.8.10–11	42		
1.12.6	55	Demosthenes	
2.1.1–2	37	<i>Epitaph</i>	
2.1.8	37	60.2	55
5.3	172		
5.17–18	134	Dio Chrysostom	
8–9	37	<i>De virtute</i>	
8	40–41	8	167
8.1.1	42		
8.1–2	40	<i>De pulchritudine</i>	
8.1.1–5	45	21.2	55
8.2.4	41		
8.3.6–9	41	<i>Isthmiaca</i>	
8.5	40	9	167
8.5.5	41		
8.8.4	41		

<i>Melancomas I</i>		4.1.159–70	128, 139
29.17	167	4.1.165	129
		4.1.169	129
Diodorus of Siculus		4.1.170	129
		4.5.1–7	128
<i>Bibliotheca historica</i>		4.7.28–30	159
1.4	55	5.19–21	145
8.13	55	9.8.1	151
17.7	55	9.8.16	151
38.9	56	9.11.24	151
		19.20–26	58
Diogenes Laertius			
<i>Lives</i>		<i>Enchiridion</i>	
3.78	63	33.12–13	159
3.37	90	51	175
7.1	74	51.3	159
7.1.85–88	74		
7.1.89	74	Eusebius	
7.1.87–88	74		
7.1.92–93	74–75	<i>Praeparatio evangelica</i>	
7.1.94–98	74	15.4	46
7.1.102–106	76		
7.1.123	81	Ignatius	
7.1.125–126	75		
7.1.157	76	<i>Letter to the Romans</i>	
		2.2	185
Early Greek Philosophy (ed. Laks/Most)			
T39b	47	Livy	
		<i>Ab urbe condita</i>	
Epictetus		2.10.12–13	160
<i>Discourses</i>		Lucan	
1.3.3–6	75		
1.4.18–22	122	<i>Pharsalia</i>	
1.26.15	43	2.72–74	99
1.27.17	43		
2.2.9–10	171	Lucian	
2.8.25	151		
2.18.8	43	<i>Anacharsis</i>	
2.18–21	159	1–3	167
2.19.18	151	5	167
2.19.24–25	91	18	164
2.20.31	43	12	165
2.24.13–4	101	13	168
3.5.8	43	14	168
3.13.17	76	20	168, 177
3.24.56–57	133	21	168
4.1.16	151	24	168
4.1.159	128	29–30	168
		36	168

<i>Toxaris</i>		65d–66a	68, 70
30	100	66c	70
		66e–67b	69
<i>The Passing of Peregrinus</i>		67d	65
12–13	100	68c	69
		68c–d	69
Marcus Aurelius		69b	69
		78c1–5	64
<i>Meditations</i>		79a	67
1.1–17	128	79c–80a	67
6.30	180	80a	67
		81c–d	71
Nemesius		82c–d	69
<i>On the Nature of Man</i>		82e	70
2.20.15	76	83a–b	67
		83c–e	70–71
Philo		84a	71
		84a–b	71
<i>De specialibus legibus</i>		114c	69, 71–72
2.12.45	177	115b–c	90
		115d–e	90
<i>Legum allegoriae</i>		<i>Protagoras</i>	
1.43–55	85	329c	63–64
<i>De Abrahamo</i>		329d	64
1.4–5	171		
Pindar		<i>Republic</i>	
		4.432b	177
<i>Olympian Odes</i>		5.462a–c	135
7.80–93	164	5.462d–e	135
7.85–95	163	8.556b–c	177
		9.576d	177
<i>Isthmian Odes</i>		10.613a–b	64
6	184	427a–444e	63
		<i>Theaetetus</i>	
<i>Fragments</i>		156b	43
209	47	66.1–2	80
		176a–c	63
Plato		<i>Timaeus</i>	
<i>Leges</i>		44e	66
822e	55	40a–c	86
<i>Phaedo</i>		Plotinus	
64–80	67	<i>Enneads</i>	
64c	65, 67	1.1.10.5	65
64e	67	1.1.11.10–15	65, 194
65b–c	68		

Plutarch		<i>De ira</i>	
<i>Amatorius</i>		2.31.7	35
4e	47	<i>De providentia</i>	
		4.6	97
<i>Aratus</i>		4.8	97
10	47		
30.4–5	180	<i>De vita beata</i>	
<i>Bruta animalia ratione uti</i>		23.3	47
3	47	<i>Epistulae morales</i>	
<i>Cato Minor</i>		3.4	101
64.2	43	9.8–9	100
		11.9–10	128
<i>De virtute morali</i>		14.2	76
3	63	24.3	128
<i>Moralia</i>		24.4–5	128, 139
81b	151	24.4–8	128
84f	151	24.4–9	101
84c	55	24.9	159
165e	99	24.6	127
439.1	180	24.16–17	76, 78
<i>De sera numinis vindicta</i>		54.1	72
5	64	57.1	169
		58.28	78
Propertius		64.9–10	146
<i>Elegies</i>		64.21–22	76
1.10.27	133	64.24	75
		65.1	73
Quintilian		65.16	76
<i>Institutio oratoria</i>		65.20–22	76
1.1.36	46	66.1–2	158
12.2.29–30	128	66.2–3	158
		66.8	158
Seneca		66.18	78
<i>De beneficiis</i>		66.27	78
4.13.1–3	134	67	128
		67.1–2	72
<i>De clementia</i>		67.7	128
2.5.3	134	67.12–13	128
		71.1–3	80
<i>De constantia sapientis</i>		71.5–6	80
5.4	78	71.8	80
9.1.7	100	71.22	78
16.2	78	71.26–27	76
		71.27–28	80
		71.29–30	79
		71.31	74
		71.37	80

78	73	Theognis of Megara	
78.10	76		
78.10–13	76	<i>Elegiac Poetry</i>	
78.16	81	147–48	47, 172
78.16–17	80, 169		
78.19	78	Valerius Maximus	
78.20	81		
82.1–3	73	<i>Memorable Sayings</i>	
82.10–11	81	3.3.7	128
92.13	76		
94.39	181	Theon	
95.53	134	<i>Progymnasmata</i>	
95.65–67	56	7.46	92
98.13–14	153	11.9–11	92
104	128	11.166	93
104.1	72	11.168	93
106.4–5	78	118	92
120.14	76		
120.16	72	Xenophon	
		<i>Agesilaus</i>	
<i>Troades</i>		11.11	133
120	47		
		<i>Memorabilia</i>	
Suetonius		4.8.1–3	139
<i>Vita Tiberii</i>			
56.4–6	98		

Ancient Authors – Jewish

<i>1 Enoch</i>		<i>3 Enoch</i>	
8:3	86	14:3–4	86
18:15	86, 181	38:1–2	86, 181
21:6–7	86, 181	46:1–3	86, 181
71:3–4	86		
80:7	86, 181	<i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i>	
86:1	86, 181	19:9	86, 181
104:1–3	182	20:5–6	86, 181
<i>2 Enoch</i>		<i>Shepherd of Hermas, Similitudes</i>	
4:1–2	86	9.19.2	45
<i>2 Baruch</i>		<i>Letter of Aristeas</i>	
51:10	86	156	43
		213	43

Philo		<i>Sirach</i>	
<i>De agricultura</i>		47:19	117
5.25	46	<i>Testament of Job</i>	
<i>Allegorical Interpretation 2, 3</i>		4:10	103
1.14	43	4:10–11	102
1.19	53	5:1	103
<i>On Virtues</i>		27:4	103
23.120	43	27:2–5	102
<i>Moses 1, 2</i>		50:2	103
13.66	46	<i>Testament of Naphtali</i>	
<i>De mutatione nominum</i>		2.8	43
10.72–76	46	<i>Testament of Reuben</i>	
<i>De plantatione</i>		3.3	43
33.134	46	6.1	43
<i>Quod omnis probus liber sit</i>		<i>Qumran</i>	
10.69	46	1QS	53
<i>De somniis</i>		11Q10	102
1.42.246–47	43	2Q15	102
Josephus		4Q99	102
<i>Antiquities of the Jews</i>		4Q157	102
4.330–331	56	4Q286	53
8.5	55	<i>3 Baruch</i>	
15.268–76	163	11:9	50
<i>Jewish Wars</i>		14:2	50
4.491	133	15:2	50
Pseudo-Andronicus		<i>2 Maccabees</i>	
<i>On Affects</i>	53	6:12–7:42	82
<i>Pseudo-Philo</i>		<i>4 Maccabees</i>	
31:15	86, 181	1:1–3:18	82
<i>Sententiae e papyris</i>		3:19–18:24	82
541.42	46	1:2	84
541.48	46	1:3	85
<i>Sibylline Oracles Fragments</i>		1:4	85
3.23	43	1:6	85, 88
		1:8	88
		1:15–16	85
		1:15–18	83
		1:17	85
		1:18	84
		1:20	85
		1:20–30	85–86
		1:29	86

1:35	86	10:9	88
2:1	85	10:10	88
2:2	86, 92	10:17	87
2:1–6	86	11:20	88
2:6	85	11:26	88
2:16	85	13:1	85
2:17	92	13:6–7	92
2:17–18	92	13:9	92
2:18	92	13:13	88
2:21–23	85	13:22	83
2:22–23	86	13:27	101
3:1	86	14:7	88, 92
3:1–18	92	15:15	88
3:17	88	15:16–17	88
3:19–18:24	82	15:19–24	88
4:15	87	15:22	88
4:21	87	15:23	101
5:1	87	15:29	169
5:3	82	16:1	85
5:5	87	16:14	88
5:11	83	17:1	89
5:16	87	17:5	86
5:18	86	17:5–6	182
5:22	83	17:9–12	89
5:23	101	17:11	88, 169
5:31–37	88	17:12	86, 169
6:7–9	87	17:10–15	169
6:7–10	88, 169	17:15	169
6:9–10	169	17:18	86
6:30–31	87	17:23	87
7:1–5	87	18:1	92
7:11	92, 169	18:1–5	92, 101
7:15	169	18:2	85
7:18	86	18:5	87
8:2	82	18:20	92
8:10–11	87	18:23	86, 89, 92–93
8:27–28	88	18:23–24	169
9:8	88, 169		
9:18	86	<i>Wisdom of Solomon</i>	
9:21	92	3:7	86
9:23	92–93, 139	14:25–26	53
10:4	85		
10:5–8	87		

Index of Modern Authors

- Abrahamsen, Valerie A. 184
Ademollo, Francesco 77
Adkins, Lesley 184
Adkins, Roy 184
Ahrensdorf, Peter J. 61–62
Alkier, Stefan 113
Annas, Julias 62–64
Argyriou-Casmeridis, Antiopi 166
Arnold, Bradley 32, 49, 132–133, 161–162, 173, 177–178
Arzt, Peter 50
- Barclay, John M. G. 6
Barnett, Paul 117
Barrow, R. J. 165
Bartchy, S. Scott 136
Barth, Karl 43, 178
Bartsch, Shadi 73
Basson, Alec 105
Baur, Ferdinand Christian 31
Beale, Gregory Kimball 155
Beare, Francis Wright 47–48, 50, 55, 57, 146, 177–178, 180, 183, 185
Becker, Eve-Marie 119, 129, 132–133, 147, 152
Belleville, Linda L 131
Ben Zvi, Ehud 92
Berquist, Jon L 11, 21
Bertolín Cebrián, Reyes 168
Bertschmann, Dorothea 38, 174
Bickerman, Elias Joseph 60
Bird, Michael F 114
Black, David Alan 147, 153
Bloomquist, L. Gregory 17–18, 32, 140
Bockmuehl, Markus 31–32, 39, 43, 48, 53–54, 56, 112–115, 122, 133, 136, 141–142, 145, 150, 154, 173, 175, 177–178, 183, 185
Boero, Natalie 9
- Bojorge, Horacio 56–57
Bonhöffer, Adolf Friedrich 4
Bostock, David 68
Bowens, Lisa M. 12
Bowman Thurston, Bonnie 47
Boyer, James L 186
Boys-Stones, G. R. 60, 62–63
Brennan, Tad 64
Briones, David E. 5, 48–49
Broadie, Sarah 64, 67
Brock, Brian 14
Brookins, Timothy A. 75
Bruce, F. F. 1, 47–49, 52, 95, 113–114, 116, 149, 177–178, 180–181, 183
Bultmann, Rudolf 1, 12, 117
Burkert, Walter 184–185
Burnet, John 61
Butler, Judith 8, 14, 23–25
Bynum, William 9
- Cadwallader, Alan H. 162–163
Caird, George Bradford 47–50, 52, 55, 183, 185
Campbell, Douglas A. 31
Campbell, Douglas R. 67–68
Carlson, Åsa 24
Carroll R., M. Daniel 36
Cassidy, Richard J. 98, 100
Castagnoli, Luca 98, 100
CERCL Writing Collective 22
Chappell, Sophie Grace 33
Charles, J. D. 53–54
Charlesworth, James H. 60, 85
Cohick, Lynn H. 88
Collange, Jean-François 173, 176, 179, 181
Collins, John J. 82
Collman, Ryan D. 11
Cook, John Granger 152

- Costera Meijer, Irene 25
 Cousar, Charles B. 131–132
 Croy, Clayton N. 121
 Currie, Bruno 114
 Curzer, Howard J. 172

 De Joode, Johan 104
 DeSilva, David A. 83–84, 89, 91–93
 Devereux, Daniel 63
 Dingeldein, Laura B. 27, 33, 35, 37
 Dodd, Charles Harold 109
 Dodson, Joseph R. 5
 Dorter, Kenneth 61–62, 67–71, 90
 Droge, Arthur J 121
 Dudrick, David 8, 24
 Dunn, James D. G. 118, 138–139
 Dunne, John Anthony 17, 38, 140
 Dyer Williams, Lesley-Anne 194

 Eastman, Susan G. 12, 126, 139
 Easton, Burton Scott 53, 57
 Edsall, Benjamin 147
 Edwards, Catharine 10, 20, 25, 73–74,
 77–78, 81
 Eilberg-Schwartz, Howard 11
 Engberg-Pedersen, Troels 5, 28, 57, 72,
 74–75, 84, 132–133, 182
 Erickson, Amy 105, 121–122
 Esler, Philip F. 36, 38–39, 159, 178
 Evans, R. J. 22

 Fee, Gordon D. 40–41, 43, 45, 47, 49,
 52, 55, 112–113, 122, 126, 131, 136–
 138, 142, 146–147, 149–150, 152,
 155–156, 160, 171, 173, 175, 179–
 180, 183, 186
 Feher, Michel 9
 Ferrari, Gloria 8
 Fewster, Gregory P. 125, 146
 Fishbane, Michael A. 106–107, 110
 Fitzgerald, John T. 18, 32, 41, 132
 Fitzmyer, Joseph A. 146
 Fletcher-Louis, Crispin H. T. 43, 126,
 131, 138, 140, 150, 157
 Focant, Camille 47, 131, 133
 Foot, Philippa 36
 Forger, Deborah 11
 Foster, Paul 109–111
 Foucault, Michel 8–9, 23–24

 Fowl, Stephen E. 31, 39–40, 43, 47, 52,
 112–113, 131, 133, 148, 177, 180–
 181, 185
 Fox, Michael V. 105–106, 114
 Fredriksen, Paula 144
 Fuller, Reginald H. 140
 Furnish, Victor Paul 36–37, 40

 Gaifman, Milette 184
 Gallagher, Catherine 3, 10
 Gard, Donald H. 104
 Geiger, Abraham 107
 Gillmayr-Bucher, Susanne 11
 Gloer, Hulitt 147
 Goldingay, John 141, 144, 152
 Goranson Jacob, Haley 18, 132
 Granados Rojas, Juan Manuel 173
 Granados, José 20
 Graver, Margaret 74, 91
 Griffin, Miriam T. 72
 Griffin, Ryan Kristopher 145
 Grube, G. M. A. 61, 63, 66
 Gundry, Robert Horton 12
 Gupta, Nijay K. 40–42, 114, 121

 Hadot, Pierre 27–29, 91
 Hafemann, Scott J. 17
 Hamori, Esther J. 11
 Haralambakis, Maria 102
 Hargreaves, John 114, 178
 Harrington, Daniel J. 4, 26, 47
 Hawthorne, Gerald F. 31, 40, 113, 131,
 137, 148, 171, 173
 Hays, Richard B. 106–109, 111–112,
 114, 116, 139, 143–144
 Head, Peter M. 111
 Hedwig-Jahnow-Forschungsprojekt 11
 Hellenic Republic–Ministry of Culture
 and Sports 98, 163
 Hellerman, Joseph H. 31, 40, 43, 47, 49,
 52, 54–57, 113, 116, 122–123, 133,
 144, 152, 154, 172–173, 175, 180–
 181, 183, 185
 Henning, Meghan 11
 Henten, Jan Willem van 60, 82–83, 92
 Henze, Matthias 106–107
 Hewitt, J. Thomas 34
 Holloway, Paul A. 20, 44, 51
 Holmes, Brooke 7

- Hooker, Morna D. 143, 155, 178
Horstmanshoff, H. F. J. 8
Hughes, Julie A. 102, 112–113
Hughes Gerard J. 34
Huitink, Luuk 93
Hurst, Lincoln D. 138
Hursthouse, Rosalind 36
Hurtado, Larry W. 126
- Inwood, Brad 76, 91
- Jackson, Jean 104
Jacobs, Irving 102
Jaggar, Alison M. 66
Janssen, Claudia 12, 14, 120, 194
Jedan, Christoph 75
Jenkins, Ian 165–166, 188
Jeremias, Joachim 141
Jewett, Robert 12
Jones III, Edward Allen 115
Jones, Christopher P. 98
Jordaan, Pierre J. 1
- Kahn, Charles H. 133
Kalof, Linda 9
Kamionkowski, S. Tamar 11
Kamtekar, Rachana 33–34
Karatzoglou, Orestis 65–66, 157, 195
Käsemann, Ernst 12, 126, 130, 145–147
Keenan, James F. 4, 36
Kenny, Amy 195
Kim, Wonil 11
King, Daniel 10
Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara 8
Klaiber, Walter 117
Kleinig, John W. 1
König, Jason 162, 164–166, 188–189
König, Judith 3–4, 11, 21–22
Konstan, David 40–41
Kooten, George H. van. 5, 83, 119
Kotva, Joseph J. 39
Kraft, Robert A. 110
Kraut, Richard 40–42, 45
Krentz, Edgar M. 177
Kuhn, Annika B. 136
Kuo-Yu Tsui, Teresa 138–139, 148
Kwon, Jiseong J. 104
- Landman, C. 22
- Lange, Armin 102
Langlands, Rebecca 126, 128, 130, 149, 159
Laqueur, Thomas 3, 10
Lee, Michelle V. 135
Leivestad, Ragnar 133
Levinsohn, Stephen H. 136
Lightfoot, J. B. 54, 148, 150–151, 183
Lim, Kar Yong 16–17, 19, 144
Lincicum, David 106
Linebaugh, Jonathan 6
Litwa, M. David 182
Lock, Margaret 9
Loh, I-Jin 40
Lohmeyer, Ernst 146
Long, A. A. 75, 77, 79, 89
Longman III, Tremper 106, 121
Lorenz, Hendrik 65, 67
Low, Jacqueline 9
Lyons, Michael A. 107, 141, 143
- MacIntyre, Alasdair C. 36
Majithia, Roopen 42
Malacrida, Claudia 9
Malherbe, Abraham J. 4, 53–54, 56, 177
Marchal, Joseph A 13
Markschies, Christoph 11
Martin, Dale B. 1
Martin, Michael Wade 138
Martin, Ralph P. 31, 47–48, 50, 53, 56–57, 95, 114, 116, 122, 125–126, 133, 146, 176–178, 183–184
Martyn, J. Louis 28
Mascia-Lees, Frances E. 9
Mason, Katherine 9
McAuley, Davis 139, 142
McNay, Lois 9, 23
McWhorter, Ladelle 24
Mearns, Chris 154
Mermelstein, Ari J. 91, 93
Meyer, Susan Sauvé 36–37, 74–75, 79
Miller, Stephen G. 162–164, 166, 169
Moffitt, David M. 113
Montserrat, Dominic 6
Moore, Darnell L. 22
Morgan, Teresa 46
Morrison, Donald 135
Moss, Candida R. 11

- Moss, Jessica Dawn 43
 Moule, C. F. D. 126, 136, 138, 146
 Moyise, Steve 111

 Nadar, Sarojini 20
 Naddaff, Ramona 9
 Najman, Hindy 128
 Nash, Bryan 174
 Nasrallah, Laura Salah 184
 Nervegna, Sebastiana 46
 Newby, Zahra 162, 164, 166, 188
 Newen, Albert 9
 Newsom, Carol A. 102
 Nida, Eugene A. 40
 Nijf, Omno van 162, 166, 188
 Nikki, Nina 32
 Nock, A. D. 28
 Novakovic, Lidija 40, 47–48, 52, 113,
 133, 136–137, 178, 183, 186
 Novenson, Matthew V. 144
 Nussbaum, Martha C. 40, 44

 O'Neill, John 9
 Oakes, Peter 32, 114, 130, 177
 Oropeza, B. J. 108

 Pao, David W. 50
 Park, Joseph S. 86, 182
 Pasco-Pranger, Molly 159
 Patton, Kimberley Christine 164, 184–
 185
 Paul, Shalom M. 152
 Perkins, Judith 3, 11–12, 26, 73
 Peterman, G. W. 49
 Petersen, Anders Klostergaard 83–84
 93
 Pfitzner, V. C. 183
 Philips Wilson, Annalisa 5, 38, 44
 Pleket, H. W. 162
 Pobee, John Samuel 18
 Porter, James I. 1, 3, 6, 8, 10, 21, 26
 Porter, Jean 36
 Porter, Stanley E. 36
 Portier-Young, Anthea 82–83
 Prins, Baukje 25
 Prinsloo, Gert 1
 Pritchard, David 165
 Proudfoot, C. Merrill 17
 Punday, Daniel 8

 Putthoff, Tyson L. 9

 Rabinoff, Eve 43–44
 Rapske, Brian 99–100
 Reed, Annette Yoshiko 92
 Reid, Heather L. 169
 Remes, Pauliina 194
 Reumann, John Henry Paul 40, 43, 49–
 50, 131, 148, 175, 177–178, 185
 Reynolds, Kent Aaron 87, 92
 Richards, E. Randolph 111, 121
 Robinson, John A. T. 1
 Roller, Matthew B. 126–130, 144–146,
 149, 159
 Rowe, C. Kavin 28, 61–62, 67, 69
 Rowley, H. H. 105
 Ruberg, Willemijn 9
 Runge, Steven E. 51, 136
 Russell, David S. 92
 Ryan, Judith 47

 Sandbach, F. H. 74
 Sandnes, Karl Olav 12–13, 116, 153–
 155
 Scarry, Elaine 9
 Schellenberg, Ryan S. 15, 96–98, 101
 Schmitt Pantel, Pauline 185
 Schofield, Malcolm 65
 Schroeder, Donald N. 43
 Schubert, Paul 50
 Schweitzer, Albert 15, 17
 Sedley, David 62–63
 Seitz, O. J. F. 53
 Sellars, John 74–75
 Sharp, Matthew T. 4, 34
 Shaw, Brent D. 96
 Shilling, Chris 9
 Silva, Moisés 47, 54, 122, 176–178, 185
 Smit, Peter-Ben 14, 22
 Smith, Andrew 194
 Smith, Barry D. 18
 Smith, Jonathan Z. 4, 6, 22
 Smith, Julien 38
 Smith, Justin E. H. 7, 9
 Snow, Nancy E. 36
 Snyman, Andries H. 173
 Söding, Thomas 42
 Soon, Isaac T. 12
 Souseelva, J. M. Sharath 22

- Southwood, Katherine E. 104–105
Spivey, Nigel Jonathan 164, 166
Standhartinger, Angela 119
Stanley, Christopher D. 108–111, 143
Stavropoulou, Francesca 11
Stergiou, Gianna 168
Stol, Marten 8
Stowers, Stanley K. 4, 27–28
35
Sunney, Jerry L. 131, 136
- Tabor, James D. 121
Támez, Elsa 50, 97–98, 100
Taylor, Alfred Edward 61
Taylor, Joan E. 12
Tazi, Nadia 9
Thekkara, Mathew 138
Thiessen, Matthew 182
Thompson, James 39
Thorsteinsson, Runar M. 72
Titchkosky, Tanya 9
Tolonen, Anna-Liisa 83
Turner, Bryan S. 3, 9
Turner, Victoria 165–166, 188
- Uusimäki, Elisa 83
- van Tilburg, C. R. 8
Veillard, Christelle 76
Verhoef, Eduard 163
Vesely, Patricia 37
Vicchio, Stephen 102
Vlahogiannis, Nicholas 10
Voorwinde, Stephen 41–42
- Wallace, Daniel B. 53
- Wannenwetsch, Bernd 14
Wansink, Craig S. 97–100
Ware, James P. 140–143, 152
Wasserman, Emma 5
Waterfield, Robin 90
Watson, Francis 154
Webb, Ruth 93
Weed, Ronald 172
Weigold, Matthias 102
Wendt, Heidi 5, 97
Wengst, Klaus 132–133
White, Benjamin L 21
White, Joel 143
White, L. Michael 126, 132
Wildberg, Christian 194
Williams, Gareth 73
Williams, Logan 133–135
Williamson, Hugh G. M. 142
Willis, Wendel 55, 57
Wilson, Annalisa Phillips 5, 38, 44
Wilson, Brittany E. 11, 194
Wilson, Marcus 73, 91
Winter, Bruce W. 113
Witherington III, Ben 50, 142, 152, 155,
176–177
Wong, Teresa 174
Wright, Gerald 31
Wright, N. T. 86, 89, 138–139, 194
Wu, Siu Fung 17, 140
- Xianzhong, Huang 172
- Zaidman, Louise Bruit 184
Zoller, Coleen P. 65–67, 157, 194
Zucconi, Laura M. 8
Zunz, Leopold 10

Subject Index

- allusion 96, 102–103, 106, 108–109, 111–115, 118, 124, 139–143 *see also* *intertextual methodology*
- ancient athletics 163, 171, 183–184
- arena 10, 25, 130, 169, 174, 177–179, 184, 187, 189
 - games 162–164, 167–168, 173, 177, 188–189
 - imagery 2, 5–6, 29, 81, 130, 161–163, 167, 169–173, 175, 179, 182–183, 185, 187, 189, 191–192
- ancient incarceration 2, 15–16, 26, 29, 31, 61–62, 65, 71, 73, 79, 96–101, 113–116, 118–120, 122, 145, 148, 159, 161, 175–177, 185–186, 191–192, 194–195
- ancient sculpture/statuary 23, 91, 146, 159, 162, 164–168, 187–189
- Antiochus Epiphanes IV 2–83, 87, 93, 169
- Aristotle 150–151
- ethics of 5, 32–38, 40–47, 55, 74, 83, 134–135, 171–172
- astral embodiment 86, 174, 182 *see also* *stars*
- body
- eschatological 51, 153, 157, 159, 195
 - of Christ 40, 140, 144–145, 150–153, 156, 160–161, 189, 191, 193
 - of Paul 95–96, 100–101, 112, 116–121, 156, 159, 170, 174–176, 179, 182–187
 - of Seneca 10
- chains 99–100, 118, 120 *see also* *incarceration*
- chronic pain 11, 25, 72, 104, 194
- circumcision 17, 154–156, 174
- citizenship 29, 85, 98, 135–136, 148, 155, 168, 176–178, 188
- comparative methodology 4, 6, 16, 21, 33, 35, 59–60, 192, 196
- consolation 20, 44, 51, 70, 97
- constructive body ethic 2, 29, 35, 119, 125–126, 157–161, 187–189, 191–193
- Corinth 31
- Corinthians 48
- corporeal turn 8, 10
- covenant 181
- dualism (austere) 62, 66–67, 70, 86, 89–90
- ethical 77, 91, 158
 - normative 66–67, 84, 86–87, 89, 196
- echo 12, 106, 108–109, 111, 113, 139–140, 143, 174, 180 *see also* *intertextual methodology*
- Eleazer 82
- embodiment (constructions of) 3, 9–10, 21, 23–26
- hermeneutic of 3–4, 10–12, 14–16, 22–23, 26, 150, 160, 194
 - modern studies of 7–10
- Epaphroditus 31, 140, 153–154
- Ephesus 31
- Epictetus 43, 58, 76–77, 91, 122, 125, 128–129, 145, 151, 175
- eschatology 17, 18, 38, 49, 113–115, 143–144, 148, 157, 159, 175, 181
- eudaimonia 34, 36–37, 62, 74, 77, 79, 91
- Euodia 32, 51

- exaltation (of Christ) 119, 129, 139–141, 143–146, 148, 152–153, 160, 192
 exemplarity 3, 35, 56, 62, 100–101, 119, 123, 125–129, 157, 159–160, 171
 – in 4 Maccabees 88, 91–93
 – in Job 103
 – in Seneca's writings 73, 80, 158
 – of Christ 57, 118, 125, 129–150, 153, 139–140, 153, 157, 174–175, 179, 191
 – of martyrs 91–93
 – of Paul 15, 56–57, 119–123, 153–157, 161, 191

 financial gifts 32, 39, 48–49
 friendship 28, 32, 40–42, 44–45, 47, 51, 127, 135

 heaven(s) 62, 86, 135, 142, 155, 177, 181 *see also astral embodiment*
 humility 32, 38, 128, 130–134, 136–139, 141, 145–146, 148, 152, 154, 156, 174, 179–180

 illness 10, 70, 72–73, 79–81, 91, 99, 102, 104, 170, 194–195
 imitation 66, 95, 123, 125, 139, 157, 174
 incarnation 3, 138, 146, 150–151, 153, 157–158, 160, 187–188, 191, 193
 intertextual methodology 106–113, 140

 Jerusalem collection 49
 Joban tradition 95–96, 101–104, 108, 111, 115, 120–121, 124
 joy 38, 48–49, 51–52, 101, 120, 122–123, 130–131, 154, 157, 183
 justice 38, 42, 47, 63, 75, 84–85, 88, 105, 134, 142, 171–172, 179

 libations 123, 176, 182–187
 love 28, 45, 74, 76, 80, 88, 134
 – in Philippians 28, 32, 38–45, 47–48, 50, 95, 130
 Lucilius 73, 79, 91, 159, 169

 Marcus Aurelius 11, 73, 128, 180

 martyrdom 12, 17–18, 22, 82, 87–88, 91, 93, 97, 101–102, 157, 183, 185
 Middle Platonism 60–65, 68, 72
 mind 3, 7, 10, 28, 51–52, 68–69, 75, 77–78, 80–81, 85, 89, 91, 118–119, 129–132, 136, 158, 169, 175, 187, 192, 195
 moral progress 10, 33, 35, 77–78, 81–82, 89, 91, 96, 104
 – of the Philippians 26, 38, 104, 120, 122–123, 156, 181, 183, 185

 Neoplatonism 65–66, 72, 193–194

 opponents (of Paul) 31–32, 95, 100–101, 113, 116, 118–119, 122, 124, 148, 154–157, 173–174, 177–178, 180–181
 other-regard 38, 125, 128–137, 140–141, 143–146, 148, 152–154, 156–158, 160, 174, 179–180, 193

 persecution 2, 17–18, 32, 61, 96, 115, 117
 phenomenology 4, 9
 Philippi 98, 163, 167
 Platonism 60, 90, 194
 Polykleitos 165–166
 – ideal of 166–167, 187, 189

 quotations 107–108, 111–113, 143 *see also intertextual methodology*

 race 162, 164, 170, 172, 174–176, 187
 reason 43, 52, 54, 56, 59, 61–70, 74–75, 77–81, 83–94, 96, 118–119, 157, 160, 169, 174, 187, 189, 192–193
 resurrection 2, 14, 34, 38, 86, 121, 139, 152–154, 156, 160, 170–171, 173–174
 righteousness 35, 39, 45–48, 55, 63, 85–86, 148
 – fruit of 39, 45–48
 Rome 31, 72, 127, 163

 salvation 38, 49, 112–114, 130, 140, 142, 144, 147–149, 176, 179
 self/selfhood 1, 11, 77, 95, 112, 116–117, 132–134, 162, 172

- shame 89, 96, 100, 106, 115, 152, 154–155
- site (of the body) 2, 8–10, 15, 20, 22–26, 31, 78, 92, 95–96, 100–101, 105–106, 116, 118–119, 124, 150, 153, 159, 161, 163, 187, 191, 193, 195
- social division 13, 61, 135, 139, 145, 175
- social formation 4, 19, 22–23, 27–29, 57–58, 89–93, 105, 116, 123, 159–160, 188–189, 191
- social shame 89, 96, 100–101, 106, 115, 152, 154–155, 180
- social unity 29, 32, 38, 51, 88, 114, 130, 132–137, 145, 148–149, 156–157, 160, 177–178, 186, 189, 192
- sociology 8–9
- soul 3, 12, 24, 41–42, 61–72, 75–77, 79–80, 84–86, 89–91, 93, 97, 128, 148, 158, 164, 167, 169, 176–180, 187–188, 194–195
spirit 3, 12, 41, 80, 148, 157, 165, 195
- Spirit (of God/Christ) 24, 112, 114, 130, 176, 178, 182
- stars 86, 181–182
- Stoicism 58, 72–75, 91, 134
- anthropology of 22, 75–80, 86
 - virtue ethics of 32, 34, 44, 63, 74, 78, 122, 129, 175
- suffering servant motif 16, 102, 139–144, 151–153, 156, 160
- Syntyche 32, 51
- telos 28, 32, 34–35, 38, 48, 58, 62, 64, 77, 79, 86, 93, 118, 171–174, 188
- Timothy 140, 153
- virtue list 32–33, 50–58, 63, 75, 84, 123
- way of life 13, 17, 19, 27–29, 36, 59–60, 63, 73, 83, 89–94, 123, 159–160, 179, 189, 191–192
- wilderness 180–181