ANGELA STANDHARTINGER

Paul in Contexts

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
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Collected Essays on Philippians
and Other Pauline Letters

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Den deutschsprachigen Neutestamentlerinnen
der European Society of Women in Theological Research
(ESWTR)

Preface

This volume brings together seventeen published and three previously unpublished individual studies on Pauline theology. They were written over a period of more than twenty years. They were written at a time when I prepared my commentary on Philippians in the series "Handbuch zum Neuen Testament" and intend to deepen the historical and theological reconstruction of Pauline theology, ecclesiology, and ethics and their historical impact up to the third century CE. Throughout I read Pauline theology in its contexts: in the reality of an ancient prison in a Roman province, in the context of ancient political philosophy, in dialogue with Jewish wisdom and apocalyptic thought, in the perception of early Jewish discourses on slavery and gender constructions, and in the history of its influence in the emerging collections of Paul's letters and the diverse Jewish and early Christian identity formations with which Pauline theology grapples. The previously published essays have not been changed in content, so the square brackets have been added to the original pagination. They have, however, been standardized in form and spelling, and minor errors have been corrected.

This volume would not have been possible without discussions with colleagues and their active support. I would particularly like to mention Dr Timo Glaser, Prof Dr Aliyah El Mansy, Fiona Magill, Sophie Hecht, and Julia Haas. My special thanks also go to Dr Claus-Jürgen Thornton for preparing the manuscript and providing much helpful advice, and to the publishers, Mohr Siebeck, for including it in the series "Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament."

I dedicate this volume to scholarly context that has accompanied and encouraged me since the beginning of my doctoral studies, the German speaking New Testament scholars in the "European Society of Women in Theological Research."

Marburg, Easter Monday 2025 Angela Standhartinger

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Abbreviations

In English language articles of this book, abbreviations used for biblical and other ancient writings, modern journals and series, etc. follow *The SBL Handbook of Style*, Second edition (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014). In German language articles of this book, the abbreviations used follow Siegfried M. Schwertner, *Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete*, 3rd edition (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017).

For additionally used abbreviations, see below the appendix to the following list.

AB/AncB	Anchor Bible
AcBib	Academia biblica
AE	*Année épigraphique*
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AJP/AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
AnBib	Analecta biblica
AncSoc	Ancient Society
ANF	*Ante-Nicene Fathers*
ANRW/ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung. II. Principat*. Edited by Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972–
ANTC	Abingdon New Testament Commentaries
ANTF	Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung
ANTZ	Arbeiten zur neutestamentliche Theologie und Zeitgeschichte
APF.B	Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete. Beiheft
ARelG	Archiv für Religionsgeschichte
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BDAG	Frederick W. Danker, Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 3rd edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000
BDF	Friedrich Blass, Albert Debrunner, and Robert W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961
BETL/BEThL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium
BEvT	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
BGrL	Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur

BGU/BGU	*Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Griechische Urkunden*. 15 vols. Berlin: Weidmann, 1891–1937
BHTh	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
Bib	*Biblica*
BibInt/BibInt	*Biblical Interpretation*
BibInt/BiInS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BibSem	The Biblical Seminar
BKV	Bibliothek der Kirchenväter
BLASS-DEBRUNNER	Friedrich Blass/Albert Debrunner, Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch, bearb. von Friedrich Rehkopf, Göttingen ^{17}1990
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BSac	*Bibliotheca Sacra*
BSGRT	Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana
BTB/BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
BThSt	Biblisch-theologische Studien
BThZ	Berliner theologische Zeitschrift
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ/BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CB.NT	Coniectanea biblica. New Testament series
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ/CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*. Berlin: Reimer/de Gruyter, 1862–
CJ/CJ	*The Classical Journal*
CQ	The Classical Quarterly
CRINT	Compendia rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium
CSCT	Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition
DCLY	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook
DNP/DNP	*Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*. Edited by Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. 12 vols. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996–2002
DÖAW.PH	Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse
DtPfrBl	Deutsches Pfarrerblatt
ECL	Early Christianity and Its Literature
EKKNT/EKK	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
ET	The Expository Times
ETL	*Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses*
EvT/EvTh	*Evangelische Theologie*
EWNT	*Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*. Edited by Horst R. Balz and Gerhard Schneider. 3 vols. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1980–1983
FC	Fontes Christiani

FGH	*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Edited by Felix Jacoby. 3 parts. Leiden: Brill, 1954–1969
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GaR	Greece & Rome
GNT	Grundrisse zum Neuen Testament
GTA	Göttinger theologische Arbeiten
HBS	Herders biblische Studien
Hist.	Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte
HThKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTR/HThR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUTh	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
IBS	*Irish Biblical Studies*
IG/IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
IGSK	Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien
JBL/JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JECS	Journal of Early Christian Studies
JHC/JHC	*Journal of Higher Criticism*
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JÖAI	Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts Wien
JRS/JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods
JSJSup/JSJ.S	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods. Supplements
JSNT/JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSup/JSNT.S	Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplements
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JTS/JThS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
Jud.	Judaica
KAV	Kommentar zu den Apostolischen Vätern
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
KNT	Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
KuI	Kirche und Israel
LCL	The Loeb Classical Library
LIMC/LIMC	*Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*. 9 vols. Zurich: Artemis, 1981–1999
LNTS	The Library of New Testament Studies
LSJ	*A Greek-English Lexicon*. Compiled by Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott. New (9th) edition revised and augmented throughout by Henry Stuart Jones. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996
MDAI	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung*
MnS	Mnemosyne. Supplementum
MoBi(G)	Le monde de la bible (Geneva)
MThSt	Marburger theologische Studien
NedTT	*Nederlands theologisch tijdschrift*

NET	Neutestamentliche Entwürfe zur Theologie
NewDocs	*New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity.* Edited by Greg H. R. Horsley and Stephen Llewelyn. North Ryde, NSW: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University
NICNT	The New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NKZ	*Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*
NovTSup/NT.S	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NovT/NT	*Novum Testamentum*
NPNF^{2}	*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*. Series 2
NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTOA	Novum testamentum et orbis antiquus
NTP	Novum testamentum patristicum
NTS/NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NTTSD	New Testament Tools, Studies, and Documents
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OGIS	Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae. Edited by Wilhelm Dittenberger. 2 vols. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1903–1905
OSAP	Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy
OTP	*Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Edited by James H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1983–1985
ÖTK	Ökumenischer Taschenbuch-Kommentar
PG	Patrologia Graeca (= *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Graeca*). Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. 217 vols. Paris: Migne, 1844–1864
Ph.	Philologus
PhAnt	Philosophia Antiqua
PhWS	Philologische Wochenschrift
PKNT	Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament
PW	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. New edition by Georg Wissowa and Wilhelm Kroll. Stuttgart: Druckenmüller, 1894–
QD	Quaestiones disputatae
RAC/RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*. Edited by Theodor Klauser et al. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950–
RB/RB	*Revue biblique*
RGG^{4}/RGG^{4}	*Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.* Edited by Hans Dieter Betz, Don S. Browning, Bernd Janowski, and Eberhard Jüngel. 4th edition. 8 vols. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998–2005
RThSt	Rostocker theologische Studien
SaPaSe	Sacra Pagina series
SB/SB	*Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten.* Edited by Friedrich Preisigke et al. 21 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1915–2002
SB	Shackleton Bailey
SBB	Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge

SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSBS/SBSt	Society of Biblical Literature Sources for Biblical Study
SCBO	Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis
SCHNT	Studia ad Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti
SCI	Scripta Classica Israelica
SEG	Supplementum epigraphicum graecum
SemeiaSt	Semeia Studies
SHAW.PH	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse
SIG/SIG	*Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum.* Edited by Wilhelm Dittenberger. 4 vols. 3rd edition. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1915–1924
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SNTSMS/MSSNTS	Monograph Series. Society for New Testament Studies
SNTU.A	Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt. Serie A
SPhiloA	Studia Philonica Annual
SR/SR	*Studies in Religion*
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
StBibLit	Studies in Biblical Literature
StPatr	*Studia Patristica*
STSex	Studies in Theology and Sexuality
StUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVF	*Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*. Edited by Hans von Arnim. 4 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1903–1924
TANZ	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter
TB	Theologische Bücherei
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976
TENTS	Texts and Editions for New Testament Study
THKNT/ThHK	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
ThTo	*Theology Today*
TQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift*
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TUAT.NF/TUAT NF	*Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments.* Neue Folge. 9 vols. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2004–2021
TWNT/ThWNT	*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. 10 vols. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933–1979
TynBul/TynB	*Tyndale Bulletin*
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
UALG	Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte
VC	*Vigiliae Christianae*
VWGTh	Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WdF	Wege der Forschung

WGRW	Writings from the Greco-Roman World
WGRWSup	Writings from the Greco-Roman World Supplement Series
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
WZJ/WZ(J).GS	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller Universität Jena: Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*
ZNT	Zeitschrift für Neues Testament
ZNW/ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZPE/ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
ZTK/ZThK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*

For abbreviations used for papyri and ostraca, see https://papyri.info/docs/checklist; for inscriptions, see G. H. R. Horsley and John A. L. Lee, "A Preliminary Checklist of Abbreviations of Greek Epigraphic Volumes," *Epigraphica* 56 (1994): 129–69, https://www.academia.edu/3705359/_With_G_H_R_Horsley_A_Preliminary_Checklist_of_Abbreviations_of_Greek_Epigraphic_Volumes_Epigraphica_56_1994_129_69?auto=download.

In addition, the following abbreviations are used:

Bauer/Aland, Wb.	Walter Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur*. 6., völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage herausgegeben von Kurt Aland und Barbara Aland. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1988
CEL	Paolo Cugusi, *Corpus epistularum latinarum*. 3 vols. Papyrologica Florentina 23. Florenz: Gonelli, 1992
ChLA	*Chartae latinae antiquiores*
CIPh II.1	Cédric Brélaz, *Corpus des inscriptions grecques et latines de Philippes. Tome II: La colonie romaine. Partie 1: La vie publique de la colonie*. Paris: École française d'Athènes, 2014
GRA I	John S. Kloppenborg, *Greco-Roman Associations: Texts, Translations, and Commentary. I. Attica, Central Greece, Macedonia, Thrace*. BZNW 181. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011
GRA II	Philip A. Harland, *Greco-Roman Associations: Texts, Translations and Commentary. II. North Coast of the Black Sea, Asia Minor*. BZNW 204. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014
GRA III	John S. Kloppenborg, *Greco-Roman Associations: Texts, Translations, and Commentary. III. Ptolemaic and Early Roman Egypt*. BZNW 246. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2020
IBM	*Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.* 4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1874–1916
ICG	Inscriptiones Christianae Graecae: Eine Datenbank frühchristlicher Inschriften, https://icg.uni-kiel.de
IGRR	*Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes*. Edited by René Cagnat et al. 4 vols. Repr. Chicago: Ares, 1975

ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*. Edited by Hermann Dessau. 3 vols. Berlin: Weidmann, 1892–1916 (2nd edition 1954–1955)
IOSPE	*Inscriptiones antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae*. Edited by Basilius Latyschev. 3 vols. Reprint Hildesheim: Olms, 1965
NA^{27}	Nestle-Aland: Novum Testamentum Graece post Eberhard Nestle et Erwin Nestle communiter ediderunt K. Aland, M. Black, C. M. Martini, B. M. Metzger, A. Wikgren. 27th edition. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993
NA^{28}	Nestle-Aland: Novum Testamentum Graece. Begründet von Eberhard und Erwin Nestle. 28. revidierte Auflage. Herausgegeben vom Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung Münster/Westfalen unter der Leitung von Holger Strutwolf. 6. korrigierter Druck. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2020
NRSVUE	New Revised Standard Version: Updated Edition
O.Mon.Epiph.	Ostraca of the Monastery of Epiphanius, in: *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, Part II: Coptic Ostraca and Papyri*. Edited by Walter E. Crum. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1926
PSI	*Papiri greci e latini*. Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la recerca dei papyri greci e latini in Egitto. Edited by Girolamo Vitelli et al. Firenze: Enrico Ariani, 1912–1957
SIA	*Supplementum inscriptionum Atticarum*. Volume 6 edited by M. C. J. Miller. Chicago: Ares, 1992
TAM	*Tituli Asiae Minoris*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1901–
VCSup	Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae

Introduction: Paul in Contexts

"The proconsul Saturninus said: 'What things are in your bookcase?' Speratus said: 'Books and letters of Paul, a just man.'"[1] The scene is part of the Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs. One would love to glance into this cylindrical case (*capsa*) for book rolls, which the martyrs carried into the courtroom, and find out which Pauline letters the seven men and five women brought with them. Did they hope to convince the Roman official of their virtue and righteousness or even harmlessness with these texts, or did they expect comfort from the words of the one who had faced a Roman martyrdom before them?

The question must remain unanswered. The proconsul is not interested and changes the subject. Yet if this literary scene is based on some historical memory, the *capsa* of the Scillitan martyrs would be one of three pieces of explicit evidence for a collection of Paul's letters in the second half of the second century.[2] We do not know which letters the collection contained. However, the scene clarifies that Paul's letters gained new accents and meanings in different contexts.

The essays in this volume originated between 2003 and 2024, and three are published here for the first time in a revised English version. Most of the following chapters concern Paul's correspondence with the saints in Philippi and its reception history. Their context of origin is my German commentary on Philippians for the series 'Handbook of the New Testament.'[3] The articles in Part I examine the material contexts in which Paul wrote to the Philippians, namely from prison, and the redaction of the correspondence at Philippi in the aftermath of Paul's martyrdom. Writing from prison helps to decode the metaphor "those from the house of the emperor" who greet in Phil 4:22. Part II is dedicated to Philippians' theology in context, that is, the philosophical and political discourse on concord, the function of the Philippian hymn (Phil 2:6–11) in the context of the letter, the recommendation of Timothy, and the genre of the letter of recommendation, the reception of the biography of the sage from

[1] Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs 12. Translation: Herbert A. Musurillo, *Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), 86–90, at 89.

[2] The Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs are dated to 180 CE. The two other collections of Pauline letters are the *Apostolos* of Marcion (with a concrete list by Tertullian) and 2 Pet 3:16 without any specification.

[3] *Der Philipperbrief*, HNT 11/I (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021).

Jewish wisdom theology in Paul's stylized biography in Phil 3:2–17, and his self-modeling as an apocalyptic seer in Phil 3:18–21. Part III focuses on the reception and impact of the Philippian correspondence in the city of Philippi, in the Acts of the Apostles, and the context of Pauline collections of letters.

All contributions are involved in the discussion about the so-called "New Perspective on Paul" and its further development as Paul within Judaism. The observation that Phil 3:6 contrasts with the Lutheran view of the role of the law for faith and claims that one can be blameless according to the righteousness that is in the law was one of the initial observations for what later had been the "New Perspecitve on Paul."[4] The last five contributions in Part IV of this collection discuss passages from 1 Thessalonians, Galatians, and Romans that played a significant role in examining the so-called parting of the ways between Judaism and Christianity. This part collects analysis of religion, status, and gender in crucial passages of this debate, namely 1 Thess 2:14–16; Gal 4:21–31; Gal 3:27–28; Rom 7:1–6 and 13:1–7. This introduction will outline the following chapters.

Part I: The Making of Philippians

The first contribution, "'Join in imitating me' (Philippians 3:17): Towards an Interpretation of Philippians 3," compares the fragment hypotheses that were already proposed in the 19th century and again became prominent since the 1950s and its refutation by those who, since the 1980s, argue for the letter's so-called integrity with the help of epistolography or structuralist and rhetorical analyses. Due to the abrupt change of mood in Phil 3:2 and contradicting information about Epaphroditus's health in Phil 2:25–30 and 4:18, some argue convincingly, in my view, that today's canonical Philippians was made of three letter fragments sent initially by Paul from prison in Ephesus to Philippi in a short period. Letter A in Phil 4:10–20 is a receipt for the gift brought by Epaphroditus from Philippi to Paul. Letter B in Phil 1:1–3:1 and 4:1–7+21–23 is Paul's thank you for the Philippians' loyalty and help in his imprisonment. And letter C in Phil 3:2–21, sometimes called the "combat letter," is his early farewell or testament in a moment when he had to face his immediate execution (cf. 2 Cor 1:8–10). What has not been answered so far is why the letter was edited in its present form, when, and by whom. Epistolary, structural, and rhetorical analyses argue that there is either no structure in a letter of friendship or a strong composition to be observed by statistics of word repetitions. However, those statistics could be carried out even more convincingly with other letters of Paul (e.g., Phil 1:1–3:1 and 2 Cor 7:5–16). More important is the observation

[4] Krister Stendahl, *Paul among Jews and Gentiles, and Other Essays* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), 79–80.

that an interpretation of the individual fragments, A, B, and C, and the canonical Philippians results in different images of Paul and the theology and ethics the letter develops. Moreover, the Philippian correspondence of Polycarp documents that the Philippians themselves promoted their correspondence and had it forwarded to Antioch, the city of the famous martyr Ignatius. Therefore, at the beginning of the second century, the Philippian community compiled the fragments and formed the correspondence around the farewell words of its famous martyr Paul and exchanged it with the community of another famous martyr, Ignatius of Antioch (Pol. *Phil*. 13:1–2).

No one doubts that at least letter A (Phil 1:1–3:1 and 4:1–7+21–23) was written from prison. "Letter from Prison as Hidden Transcript: What It Tells Us about the People at Philippi" asks how a prisoner in the ancient world could write letters and what conditions and circumstances he or she had to face. Like most ancient prisoners, Paul is in pretorial custody; his first court hearing at the seat of the governor in a *praetorium* (Phil 1:13), most likely in Ephesus, was a failure, at least in terms of his release from prison (Phil 1:7, 12–14). His imprisonment caused conflicts (Phil 1:13–14, 18), and imminent execution had become a realistic danger (Phil 1:21–24, 27; 2:17–18; 3:20–21). Paul is by no means the only ancient prisoner to have written letters from jail. In addition to presumably mainly fictitious examples, papyrus letters have been preserved in which prisoners urgently call for help in the face of hunger and approaching death, search for witnesses, or present defenses. To perceive Paul as an ancient prisoner, however, one must free oneself from the image of Paul's imprisonment in the Acts of the Apostles. Even though Acts' Paul stays almost as long in captivity as in freedom (Acts 21–28), his imprisonment hardly affects him. Instead, it gives him the opportunity to make a lasting impression on the tribune of the temple cohort (Acts 22:24–30), the governor Festus and the client king Agrippa (Acts 24:23–26:32), and the centurion of the Augustan Cohort, Julius (Acts 27:1). The Letter to the Philippians, on the other hand, reveals the actual conditions of imprisonment for ordinary people. Most ancient prisoners were in pretorial custody, awaiting their trials, which were held only on a few days of the year by the governors or their representatives at the *praetorium* of the province, especially in the provincial capitals (here Ephesus). The prisoners had to endure overcrowded, dark prisons without sanitary facilities, which could well cause deadly diseases (Phil 2:28). The prisoners were supplied by friends who could bribe the guards and bring the prisoners food and other relief. The support of the church in Philippi was therefore urgently needed. At the same time, prison letters were read by spies and prosecutors, which explains the style and content of the letter. Keywords such as "progress," "gospel," and "joy" can be recognized as code words that secretly share common convictions.

"Greetings from Prison and Greetings from Caesar's House (Philippians 4:22): A Reconsideration of an Enigmatic Greek Expression in the Light of the Context and Setting of Philippians" shows how a creative metaphor was

misinterpreted in the history of research and how it can be better interpreted in the context of the ancient prison. Like all of Paul's letters, the Philippians also convey greetings to the community. In the 19th century, the greeting from those "from the house of the emperor" offered Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792–1860) a final reason to doubt the Pauline authorship of Philippians. In line with the interpreters up to the early Middle Ages, he identified "those from the emperor's house" with relatives of the emperor and inhabitants of the imperial court, among whom the historical Paul was hardly at home. Only in the Pseudo-Clementine writings, dated by Baur to the second century, did Christianity move to this highest elite of the empire.[5] Therefore, for Baur, Philippians was forged in the second century. To oppose Baur's thesis on Philippians, Joseph Barber Lightfoot and Adolf Deissmann argued that "those of Caesar's house" (οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας) is a Greek equivalent for the Latin *familia Caesaris* and thus means the imperial staff in Rome (Lightfoot) or imperial slaves found throughout the Roman Empire (Deissmann). However, *familia Caesaris* is a modern artificial expression coined by scholars for a group that was called in antiquity either *servi Caesaris* (slaves) or *liberti Augusti* (freedpersons). The two *liberti Augusti* who embellished the forum in Philippi with statues for the Caesars in the first century belonged to the city's elite. Therefore, the earliest documented interpreters of Phil 4:22 in late antiquity identified "those from the house of the emperor" either with the emperor's relatives or with the inhabitants of the imperial palace. They located Paul in these circles and admired that Paul seemed to have more influence at his time than the elite of the now-state church had on the Christian Caesars. However, from a historical point of view, it is improbable that Paul indeed entered Caesar's palace beyond his prison and courtrooms. Therefore, the identity of those who greet from the house of Caesar remains a riddle. By analogy with similar metaphors in Tertullian and the account of Perpetua's martyrdom, the article suggests they are either fellow prisoners or guards of Paul.

Part II: Philippians' Theology and Ethics in Contexts

The chapters of this section are devoted to the theological passages of Philippians. "Die paulinische Theologie im Spannungsfeld römisch-imperialer Machtpolitik. Eine neue Perspektive auf Paulus, kritisch geprüft anhand des Philipperbriefs" asks in which respect Paul must be perceived as a political thinker. This letter, in which the church is called upon "to take part in government" (πολιτεύσθαι, πολίτευμα, Phil 1:27; 3:20), has been identified by many as Paul's most political letter. The article first discusses three models of reading

[5] Today the Pseudo-Clementine writings are dated to the fourth century CE and are no longer read as historical but as fictional writings.

Paul politically recently attributed to Philippians. However, archaeological and literary evidence is insufficient to reconstruct conflicts between the community and the urban society. What can be exposed, however, is how the Philippian hymn is inscribed in the political discourse. Comparable to a hymn of praise (*encomium*), which ancient *theologians* and *sebastologists* would recite in the imperial cult, the hymn describes Christ in the image of Alexander the Great as a self-emptying, world-reconciling figure. Unlike Alexander, however, Christ is not taken up among the gods shortly before the completion of his worldwide work of reconciliation but actually dies on the cross. The installation of this crucified Jesus in heaven is the beginning of a world-changing time of salvation. At the beginning of the end of time, when the crucified is integrated and installed in heaven, the church in Philippi reflects this new heavenly reality. Philippians 2:13–14, two sentences that seemingly contradict everything else that Paul has to say on the justification of the impious and human free will, reflects what was described in the hymn. They can "work on your salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God who is at work in you, enabling you both to will and to work for his good pleasure" (Phil 2:12–13, NRSV). As Christ Jesus acts alone in Phil 2:6–8, God acts on Jesus in Phil 2:9–11. In this way, the Philippians become the early model of this new heavenly reality, shining stars that can guide the world for the better. The imagery of the shining stars is actually an adoption of contemporary political language. However, the provocative thesis is that not the rulers elevated to this divine status but rather the Philippians reflect God's solidarity with humanity and can, therefore, enact among themselves and for the world the political hope for a better world.

The article "Christus als Bild Gottes. Reflexionen zur Darstellbarkeit Christi in Gal 3–4 und Phil 2,6–11" argues that the Philippian hymn gives some clues about the content of Paul's gospel as it is characterized in Gal 3:1: "It was before your eyes that Jesus Christ was publicly exhibited" – or more literally "printed" (προγράφειν) "as crucified" (Gal 3:1, NRSV). Paul speaks of his physical and somatic performance of the message of Christ elsewhere, as the apostles' frailty and weakness accompany the public proclamation of Christ (Gal 4:12–19; 1 Cor 4:9–10; 2 Cor 4:7–15; 12:8–12, etc.). At the same time, Paul calls Christ the "image" (εἰκών) of God. The idea of God's image is part of Jewish wisdom theology. Wisdom accompanies the biblical Joseph to the place of his greatest humiliation (Wis 10:13–14; cf. Gen 39), but she does not identify with the suffering sage. Christ not only disguises himself as a slave (Phil 2:7), but he actually dies a slave's death at the cross (Phil 2:8). The question of when the heavenly, earthly, and underworldly powers have acclaimed or will yet acclaim the crucified Jesus as Lord in heaven is conspicuously left open by the hymn. The confession of Jesus Christ as Lord is one of the oldest acclamations of the risen one in Rom 10:9; 1 Cor 8:6; 12:3; 2 Cor 4:5; Rom 1:4. and so on. There is much to suggest that the hymn looks back on an event that has already occurred, in that with the exaltation of the crucified one, the

world and heaven have changed. The last part of this essay discusses feminist critiques of obedience unto death on the cross. It shows that here, too, everything hinges on whether one reads this sentence as an invitation to submission or, as many liberation-theological approaches do, as God's solidarity with the suffering.

The place of Philippians in its contemporary philosophical and political discourse is also discussed in "Eintracht in Philippi. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Funktion von Phil 2,6–11 im Kontext." As others have already observed, Phil 1:27–2:4 entails a dense sequence of almost all catchwords and motives of the ancient discourse on concord as the condition of possibility for any stability and survival of a political body. Strikingly, Phil 1:27–2:4 leaves out the most programmatic term ὁμόνοια. The theme of ὁμόνοια (Latin *concordia*) was popular in political philosophy since the fifth century BCE. The essay places Phil 1:27–2:4 in the discussion that has taken place since Herodotus, Xenophon, and Aristotle, in Hellenism, the Stoa, the Roman Republic, and the imperial period, both in political philosophy and rhetoric and in the historiography and manuals of good governance. It turns out that Paul draws more on the republican and utopian parts of the discourse than on the imperial call to unity under one leader or Caesar. One characteristic shared by both the more democratic and the imperial parts of the concord discourse is the idea that the divine arrangement of the starry sky provides a master model to any harmonious society. With "Let the same mind be in you that was [also] in Christ Jesus" (Phil 2:5), Paul also points to the divine origin of concord. In this way, the Philippian hymn (Phil 2:6–11) functions as a divine-mythological archetype for the harmonious coexistence Paul has in view. Indeed, the hymn describes the cosmic framework in which concord originates in mutual respect for Christ, who humiliates himself unto the cross, and God, who elevates him into heaven. However, the hymn does not account for an eternal, immutable order but rather the eminent change that occurred when the crucified Jesus was installed as Lord of the world. What enables concord and peace in Philippi is neither human virtue nor submission to a heavenly ordinance but mutual respect reflecting divine perceptions of human suffering and humiliation.

Why was Paul's coworker Timothy, cofounder of the community at Philippi according to 1 Thess 1:1 and 2:2, and co-sender according to Phil 1:1, recommended to the community that knew him very well? Against the background of a detailed study of the genre of the letter of recommendation and its use in documentary papyri and literary letter collections, "'Receive him as you would me': Philippians 2:19–24 in the Context of Ancient Letters of Recommendation" argues that Paul uses the genre because it places the sender, the addressees, and the recommended person into a network of friendship and power. The letter of recommendation reflects the influence, status, and sympathy of the recommending person and its addressee. It demonstrates that the recommended person should be known to the addressee because he, she, or her patron is

known by the person who recommends. Therefore, the letter of recommendation involves the recommendation in this *amicitia* triangle. When Paul praises Timothy's devotedness to gospel and the community in front of the Philippians, Paul establishes a network between himself and the community. However, by reflecting Paul's own concerns and efforts for those at Philippi, Timothy's genuine care for the community, the gospel, and Christ likewise recommends Paul.

"'Honor those alike' (Philippians 2:28): Praise and Honor in the Realm of the Democratic *Ekklēsia*" argues that praise and honor are neither part of an allegedly ancient honor-and-shame culture nor only part of a completion among the city elite and aristocrats. To the contrary, with recent research on the long-living democratic institutions in the Hellenistic Greek cities until the earliest Roman imperial times, this article seeks to demonstrate that it is the body of citizens, the ἐκκλησία, that confirms or denies honor for its benefactors and thereby frames what true citizenship means for them. In this political process, not only male free citizens had the right to vote, but rather everybody gathered in the local ἐκκλησίαι in a given theater to influence the decision. In light of this recent research, one can observe that even Paul takes part in a similar democratic practice and proposes to the ἐκκλησία of Philippi to honor their liturgist and ambassador Epaphroditus appropriately even though his embassy almost went wrong (Phil 2:25–28). Similarly, Paul proposes to add Timothy to the already elected delegates for the collection to Jerusalem in 2 Cor 8. All this proves that it is not only the apostle who leads an ἐκκλησία but also the ἐκκλησία that honors its benefactors and thereby frames their idea of the apostle that deserves their praise.

As many interpreters have observed since late antiquity, the seemingly autobiographical section with an apocalyptic outlook in Phil 3:2–21 appears to be a supplement after receiving new information. Most likely, in my view, it originated as a (premature) farewell or testament Paul wrote when in view of a death sentence he had to face in his imprisonment at Ephesus (2 Cor 1:8–10). The article "Weisheitliche Idealbiografie und Ethik in Phil 3" demonstrates that Paul presents his biography in the model of the ideal biography of the Jewish sage or wise person according to Sir 51:13–30 and Wis 6–9. Both forsake all advantages of their noble birth and education for intimate knowledge of Wisdom, which cannot be obtained unless she gives herself to the sage (cf. Phil 3:6–14). Similar to the model from Jewish wisdom theology, Paul describes how noble birth and acquired virtues (Phil 3:6) prove to be vain in comparison to the overwhelming gain that Christ can offer. Nevertheless, the path to wisdom remains a lifelong pursuit that ends only when Christ gives himself to those who search for him (Phil 3:12–14). Like the sage and the wise king, also Paul calls his disciples to his school of wisdom and invites them to imitate this biography of the wise one (Sir 6:18–37; 51:23–30; Wis 6:1–21). The word used here, "imitation" (*mimēsis*), does not mean to copy but rather to undergo a process of creative appropriation.

Philippians is not the main source for the apocalyptic Paul. However, after Paul invites his readers into the school of Christ (Phil 3:17), the optimistic atmosphere suddenly changes to urgent warnings, and Paul takes up the role of a crying prophetic or apocalyptic seer. "Apocalyptic Thought in Philippians" argues that Phil 3:18–21 is indeed best understood as not a warning for some concrete enemies but a short apocalypse. The pericope entails a weeping prophet who looks to the future (Phil 3:18) and proclaims the misfortune of the unrighteous and godless (3:18–19) and the eschatological salvation for the saints (Phil 3:20–21). What is striking compared to other earlier or contemporary apocalyptic texts, such as the books of Enoch or 4 Ezra, is that the description of the unrighteous and their suffering remains quite general and stereotypical. And unlike elsewhere in Jewish apocalypticism, salvation is described in political images. Philippians 3 confirms that Jewish wisdom and apocalypticism are closely linked.

The article "Philippians and Philemon" originated in a volume on the historical Paul. It reconstructs the biography of the historical Paul from these two letters. Besides Gal 1:10–2:15, Phil 3:2–17 provides one of the two most extensive passages on Paul's biography and more details on Paul's early years before and after he was called by Christ. Yet, as seen more extensively before, Paul's biography is modeled according to the biography of the wise person and entails little actual biographical information. Philippians 4:10–20, however, provides information on the congregation's founding at Philippi and its institutions and the history of the beginning of Paul's "independent" missionary efforts after he was thrown out from Antioch by Barnabas and Peter and likely others. Like Philippians, the Letter to Philemon was also written in prison. But here, Paul's situation seems less severe and affected inwardly and outwardly by prison conditions. Therefore, it is worth considering whether Philemon was written from a different imprisonment than Philippians.

"Ethics in Philippians" provides an overview of the ethical themes of the letter. With the keyword τὰ διαφέροντα (i.e., "what really matters"; Phil 1:10) and the emphasis on autarky and self-sufficiency (Phil 4:11–13), the letter seems to borrow from Stoic ethics. On closer inspection, however, both passages contain refractions that assign Phil 1:9–11 to political ethics. And while Paul's self-presentation in Phil 4:11–13 resembles indeed that of Epictetus or Seneca, he completely drops his Stoic mask in Phil 4:14–19, when he admits how much he is overwhelmed by the help brought by Epaphroditus. Many have observed that Phil 1:27–2:16 reflects political ethics. Therefore, humility in Philippians is collective ethical advice, not individual advice. The church as a whole imitates Christ and thereby becomes a political figure, just as, in other places, politicians and emperors are a model for the world (Phil 2:12–16). The ethics of Philippians also ties into the ancient concept of imitation (Phil 3:17), which does not mean copying. At the same time, Phil 4:8–9 offers an example of genuine virtue ethics that includes the cardinal virtue ἀρετή ("virtue") and

the apostle as a larger-than-life master model of his moral advice. The paper argues that Phil 4:8–9 is a later addition to the text from post-Pauline times when Paul was transformed from one apostle to the apostle and paragon of Christian moral life (cf. Eph 3:1–4; 4:1–3; 2 Thess 3:15; 1 Tim 1:12–17, etc.)

Part III: Receptions of Philippians

The history of the reception of the letter begins with the editorial work on the canonical Letter to the Philippians that happened likely in Philippi in the early second century (cf. Pol. *Phil.* 13:1–2) and the insertion of the apostle's image as a master model of all virtue (Phil 4:8–9). The article "'The Beloved Community' after Paul: Early Christianity in Philippi from the Second to the Fourth Century" collects all the information from the community from the second to the early fourth century when Bishop Porphyrios dedicated a church in the center of the city to Paul. The church was converted into an octagon at the end of the fourth century, the architecture of a martyr's shrine. By then, the community had taken root in the urban upper class. The community to which Paul wrote his Philippian correspondence was, according to Phil 4:10–19 and 2 Cor 8:1–2, poor and could not collect enough money to sustain the missionaries for their short stay in Thessalonica (1 Thess 2:9). It is striking that there are no overlaps of persons in two more writings that narrate Paul's mission in Philippi (Acts 16; Acts of Paul in Heidelberg Papyrus 42), nor in the later letter(s) to Philippi by Polycarp (Pol. *Phil.*). At the same time, all sources have a story of Paul's imprisonment, and Polycarp knows Paul as a martyr (Pol. *Phil.* 9:1–2). The connection between Paul, prison, and martyrdom seems to have originated early in Philippi. This tradition probably made the city attractive as a pilgrimage place to remember Paul's martyrdom close to the newly founded capital city, Nea Roma, that is, Constantinople, at the time when the first church in Italian Rome was dedicated to the martyrdom of Peter and Paul.

The historical facts behind the Philippi episode in Acts 16:11–40 cannot be identified with certainty. The overlap with Philippians is meager. Yet the episode takes place at the beginning of Paul's independent mission after his separation from Barnabas and the Antiochene community (Acts 15:39; cf. Phil 4:14–15). However, none of the persons mentioned in the letter reappear in Acts, and Philippi was not the "leading city of the district of Macedonia" (*pace* Acts 16:12). The article "Better Ending: Paul at the Roman Colonia Philippi in Acts 16" examines the function of the Philippian episode in Acts' narrative account. Paul's stay at Philippi marks a turning point through the nocturnal vision by the Macedonian man. Philippi is singled out in Acts by this designation as Roman *colonia*, even though *colonia* would have applied as well to other cities of Paul's mission, like Corinth. Above all, in Philippi, Paul reveals his Roman citizenship for the first time and is miraculously freed from prison,

like Peter twice before him in Acts 5 and Acts 12. Initially, however, Paul and Silas are beaten, tortured, and chained like ordinary prisoners. It is only after an earthquake and the jailer's conversion that Paul reveals his citizenship to the magistrates, who are shocked by his now apparent status. The story can be interpreted symbolically in various ways, as a story of martyrdom and reappearance after resurrection and as an anticipation of the end of Paul, which is known but not told in Acts. When the magistrates of the Roman *colonia* finally escort him with honors to the next city, Acts indicates an end that the falsely accused apostle and his helpers would have deserved but were not entitled to before their execution.

Already in late antiquity, some suspected that Paul's "writing the same thing to you" in Phil 3:1 referred to a further letter or that the following section was addressed to the church leaders and no longer to the entire church. Since the 19th century, many have explained the radical mood change between Phil 3:1 and 3:2 by the arrival of new messages. With or without editorial hypotheses, the Philippian correspondence is already a small collection of letters. The article "Der Philipperbrief und die Entstehung der Paulusbriefsammlung" contextualizes this observation in the context of ancient letter collections. The vast majority, if not all, of the letters handed down from antiquity are available to us in letter collections. The article discusses techniques of archiving letters in papyrus archives, as well as recent research on Cicero's letter collections and their ancient receptions. A comparison of Paul's and Epicurus's epistolary work (P.Oxy. LXXVI 5077) shows that Paul did not intend any collection or aftereffect of his letters. Based on these material testimonies and the oldest known collections of Paul's letters, it is plausible that they grew together from small local collections. Three phases can be distinguished in the development of the nine (excluding 2 Thessalonians), or ten or thirteen (including the Pastoral Epistles), or fourteen (including Hebrews) letters collections. The letters addressed by Paul to the church – three shorter letters to Philippi – marks the first phase. The second is their editing, which typically separates pre- and postscript and which, according to Pol. *Phil*. 13:1–2, was undertaken in Philippi at the beginning of the second century. The third phase integrates Philippians into Paul's letter collections, first by Marcion, respectively the time of Tertullian and likely also at other places later. The repeated clustering of Philippians, Ephesians, and Colossians (with and without Philemon), which was carried out in different ways, suggests an early reception of these letters as the farewell words of a martyr. In the course of the collections, the letters were also universalized. Commented collections of Pauline letters from the fourth to sixth century recommend Philippians as a letter to insiders or as a testimony of a community that proved its resistance to all false apostles. Either way, the letters of each collection interpret each other reciprocally and thus equally convey a new character image of their author, addressees, and respective shared history.

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