

Theology Update

Meeting Paul Anew: Rereading an Old Friend in a New Age

By Edgar Krentz

Anyone who speaks on Paul must have courage, not as much as the one who speaks on Jesus, to be sure, but courage nonetheless. For Paul challenges the interpreter more than any figure in the New Testament outside of Paul's Lord. Other writers have left us only one book, but Paul a corpus of at least seven and possibly more letters. To survey the literature on Paul is a Sisyphean task. The mountain of publications in English alone each year is daunting. No one any longer can claim to know all of the important literature published on Paul. As Solon of Athens put it, "I grow older, learning all the while"—only I still seem to fall behind.¹

all homos, "but nevertheless," a phrase that occurs often in Euripidean Greek tragedy, one must make the attempt. After all this essay honors Prof. Everett Kalin, a long-time friend, a treasured colleague, and a meticulous interpreter of Paul, as two generations of students and more can testify. He also can point out easily the gaps, the over simplifications, and the misinterpretations as we speak about "Meeting Paul Anew." While I am not a prophet and would hesitate to predict what is going to happen, I can raise some of the issues that the next generation(s) of pauline studies should or—at least—may address. To make the topic manageable I propose to do it using Philippians, one of Paul's smaller letters, as the case study with side glances now and then at other pauline letters. Philippians is, in my opinion, the last of the letters Paul certainly wrote.² Philippi is a quite unusual city in the first century, a Roman military colony,

with Roman army veterans the local elite, first settled there by Mark Antony in 42 B.C., after the Battle of Philippi in which he and Octavian defeated the army of Brutus and Cassius. Octavian recolonized the city, naming it Colonia Julia Augusta Philippensis, after defeating the army of Mark Antony and Cleopatra at the Bay of Actium in 31 BC.

The title of this article is "Meeting Paul Anew." Implicit in that title is the recognition that Paul is not simply an interesting historical figure of antiquity, such as Musonius Rufus, Epictetus, Dio Chrysostom, or Lucian of Samosata, figures who fascinate me immensely, roughly contemporaneous with Paul. Interest in Paul the Apostle arises out of his significance in the history of early Christianity, the conviction that his letters are foundational documents of the Christian faith, and the role his letters have played in the on-going life of the church.³

But today voices question or even attack that classical position of Paul's thought. Last year a major news journal published an article under the title "Reassessing an Apostle: The quest for the historical St. Paul yields some surprising new theories."⁴ The topic is relevant. The challenges come from different directions. The most recent quest for the historical Jesus is certainly one contributing factor. Interpreting Jesus as a wandering Cynic teacher of wisdom or as the social revolutionary who challenges all the entrenched powers of his day on behalf of the marginalized poor—including the Roman oppressors in Palestine—calls into question the Paul of Romans 13 [or the views of

Edgar Krentz is Christ Seminary Seminex Professor Emeritus of New Testament at the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago (LSTC) and a visiting professor at Pacific Lutheran Theological Seminary in Berkeley (PLTS). He wrote the Augsburg Commentary on *Galatians* (1985) and the "Pentecost Season" for *Proclamation Series C* (forthcoming). This article was originally an address at the PLTS Spring Theological Conference, April, 28, 2000.

1 Peter 2, for that matter]. Paul, it is argued, is a resource for those who support a system of political authoritarianism.

Recent Surveys

Not long ago Hans Hübner did an extensive survey in *ANRW*.⁵ At about the same time Victor Furnish did one for the Society of Biblical Literature.⁶ Somewhat later Joseph Fitzmyer summarized the biographical data on Paul⁷ and gave an excellent terse summation of Paul's theology.⁸ And in a book recently edited by Mark A. Powell,⁹ three chapters survey "The Life and Writings of Paul" (Marion L. Soards, pp. 86-99), "Pauline Theology" (James D. G. Dunn, pp. 100-109), and "The Disputed Letters of Paul" (Richard P. Carlson, pp. 110-120). The article by Hans Dieter Betz in the *Anchor Bible Dictionary* is a masterful summary of Paul's life and theological development.¹⁰ They provide helpful guides to Pauline studies.

New Technology

New technology now makes new research possibilities possible. A few weeks ago I downloaded from the internet a 180 page bibliography on women in the ancient world from a home page in Missouri. One can access hundreds of papyrus texts on the Duke University Home Page and color photographs of Oxyrhynchus Papyri from Oxford University's web site, including the recently published fragments of the Apocalypse,¹¹ while the Perseus Project makes the ninth edition of Liddell-Scott-Jones *Greek Lexicon* available in a searchable form, along with many Greek and Latin texts with translations, and extensive files of Greek art and archaeology.¹² One can, for example, query it for all Greek terms that are translated in English by "hate." The TLG CD-Rom makes available almost the entire corpus of Greek literature from Homer to 800 A.D., including Christian authors,¹³ while the two Packard Humanities CDs make available the smaller corpus of classical Latin literature and extensive collections of papyri and inscriptions. Oxford University is in the process of putting photographs of all of the Oxyrhynchus papyri on line. The

CETEDOC CD Rom makes the corpus of Latin Patristics available for research, which Davka does for the Mishna, the Babylonian Talmud, and many Midrashim. The University of California Press is putting the complete text of selected books on line. At present, for example, one can read Daniel Boyarin's work on Paul on line, in a mirror copy of the original.¹⁴ Add that my laptop has on it the entire *Anchor Bible Dictionary*¹⁵ and the 10 volume *Unabridged Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*¹⁶ and you may agree that the well-dressed computer is as important a resource as the thousands of books that gather dust in my office and home study.

All of this suggests that we are in a period of reappraisal of the theological resources which primitive Christianity has to offer, a sort of Copernican shift—and that implies the need for looking at both the prospects in Pauline studies and the promise Paul holds for the next generation(s) of theological reflection.

Old Questions Never Die

The Historical Paul: Chronology and Life

Recent surveys of Paul's life and career differ greatly. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, Ben Witherington III, and Calvin Roetzel have done the latest interpretations. Murphy-O'Connor titles his work *Paul: A Critical Life*.¹⁷ He sets Paul within his social world, informed by a detailed knowledge of Palestinian and Greek archaeology of the Early Roman Empire period. He accepts the hypothesis of an Ephesian imprisonment. As a result he develops an unusual chronology for Paul's life, having him travel to Galatia, Macedonia and Corinth before the conference in Jerusalem, which he dates late, in October of 51 CE. He accepts 2 Thessalonians, Colossians and 2 Timothy as authentic Pauline letters, divides 1 Thessalonians into two letters by Paul. Witherington says that this "work deserves to be seen as the current benchmark by which other studies of the life of Paul should be evaluated," high praise indeed.¹⁸

Witherington's book, titled *The Paul Quest*, appeared in 1997, as did Roetzel's. Both control the modern literature, but the Paul who emerges is quite different. Witherington presents an informed review

of Paul's life and person based on a conservative historical approach. Witherington accepts all thirteen Pauline letters as authentic, including the Pastoral Epistles.¹⁹ His book covers Paul as personality, citizen, Jew, writer and rhetorician, theologian, and ethicist. Well worth a read, even though his conservative defense of the deutero-pauline letters is not persuasive.

Calvin Roetzel has published more than one work on Paul.²⁰ In his *Paul: The Man and the Myth* he raises a series of issues.²¹ He doubts, for example, that Paul was a Roman citizen, though influenced both by his native Judaism and the Hellenism with which it interacted in Tarsus. "His language, method of argumentation, Scriptures, anthropology, and literary style all reflect the Hellenistic influence of a vibrant, cosmopolitan setting" (p. 42). He interprets Paul's thought as dialogical interactions with his readers. Read together with the preceding two works, one gains a view of Paul that fascinates and challenges.²²

Philippians contains an immense quantity of material on Paul's own life—as do all his letters. But think for a moment about this letter in particular. Phil 1:3-26 gives us a glimpse at Paul in chains, still speaking the gospel. He reckons with the possibility of his death, while 3:4ff. recaps his life as Jewish Christian. Set this material into Paul's life story and you immediately face difficulties of two kinds: (1) How do you locate Paul in the chronological history of the early church? (2) Just where is he in prison and what does such imprisonment mean? Such problems have more than merely biographical interest, since solutions to these difficulties affect one's reconstruction of the history. Development in Paul's theology? eschatology? ecclesiology? Also has implications for authorship of the deutero-paulines.

(1) Chronology. Two recent books typify the variation. Both agree that Paul made only three trips to Jerusalem [not five as in Acts]. Robert Jewett, *A Chronology of Paul's Life*. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979). Gerd Luedemann, *Paul, Apostle to the Gentiles; Studies in Chronology*. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984). Travel with Jewett and Paul arrives in Philippi in 48, travels on to Thessalonica in 49 and writes Philippians while in prison in Ephesus about 54-55 CE. Follow Paul according to Luedemann and he arrives in Macedonian Philippi in the later 30s (p.

238). Luedemann does not date the writing of Philippians, but it could be a good bit earlier than Jewett suggests. And both vary a great deal from the date arrived at when the outline of Paul's ministry in Acts becomes the framework for chronological discussion, à la Gordon Fee, from Rome about 60-62 CE.²³

Such divergences have broad significance for understanding the development and conceptual integrity of Paul's thought far beyond their implications for the interpretation of Philippians. For example, is this letter our last glimpse into Paul's view of the gospel, his eschatological conclusions, and therefore, possibly, the starting point for understanding Paul? Or do the Corinthian letters and Romans come later, so that they, especially Romans, become the basis for interpreting Paul's thought?²⁴ The balloting is not over; the politicking is only now under way on issues of pauline biography.

(2) Paul the prisoner. One needs to forget the American penal system to appreciate Paul's imprisonment. Wansinck recently published an illuminating book on imprisonment in the Roman world.²⁵ Prisoners had to provide their own food. Sleeping and eating were difficult. (Apparently no bed roll or cot was supplied.) Despair easily arose. Imprisonment was so debilitating that prisoners often preferred suicide to imprisonment. Now think of Paul's words in Phil 1:[21-]22: "And what I shall choose, I do not know" (*kai ti hairesoimai ou gnorizo*). Wansinck argues that Paul faced an authentic choice between suicide and life on behalf of others. He elects life as part of his moral exhortation to the Philippians to endure suffering—even though he really prefers death (1:23)! Recently Arthur Droge and James D. Tabor investigated suicide in the ancient world and suggested that early Christians did not abhor it.²⁶ In spite of the long Christian tradition against suicide, one must now reckon with the possibility that Paul seriously considered it.

Paul the Jew: Hero or Traitor

In Phil 3:2-16 Paul makes two claims that have occupied Pauline scholars a great deal, at least since Ferdinand Christian Baur. Paul details his life as Jew

over against Jewish Christian opponents.

(4) If anyone else thinks that they have confidence in the flesh, I have more: (5) in circumcision on the eighth day, from the ethnic group Israel, from the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew born of Hebrew parents, according to the standard of the Torah a Pharisee, (6) according to the standard of zeal one persecuting the assembly, according to the righteousness which is in the Torah (*dikaioymen ten en nomo*) being blameless. . . . (8) But in fact I even regarded all these things as loss . . . in order to gain Christ (9) and be found in him, not having my own righteousness (*emen dikaioynen ten ek nomou*), the one from the Torah, but rather the one through the fidelity of Christ,²⁷ the one from God on the basis of faith. (my own translation)

Paul here, as elsewhere, looks back at his pre-Christian life in Judaism as a success.²⁸ Krister Stendahl has persuaded most of us that Paul did not become a Christian because he failed as a Jew.²⁹ We no longer speak of Paul's conversion, but his call. As Stendahl put it, he did not worship a different God after Damascus, but recognized and accepted God's action in Jesus as a new revelation. It is striking that Paul does not pray to Jesus, but to God; does not utter doxologies to Jesus, but to God; calls people to believe in God, not in Jesus. (Cf. Rom 4: 5, 17, 24; 10:9)

Did Paul actually turn his back on Judaism? Alan Segal recently raised that question in a form that challenges all students.³⁰ He recognizes that Paul's thought constantly flowed in a Jewish stream bed, that Paul's predicaments and opinions reflect some of the same issues that face Judaism today. Paul, says Segal, did not think he was leaving Judaism, even when he recognized that some of his views appeared to be transgressions. But he actually did, when he accepted Jesus as the Christ.

Daniel Boyarin, in *Paul and the Politics of Identity*, on the contrary, holds that Paul remained a Jew, but a radical one.³¹ This is more than a matter of definition. Recently Shaye Cohen demonstrated the difficulty of determining a person's Jewishness in *The Beginnings of Judaism: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties*.³² He concluded that it was extremely difficult in the first century. One challenge that faces Jewish and

Christian scholars in the near future is an interpretation of post-conversion Paul as Jew.

That will not be an easy task, since Paul sends mixed messages here. What is at stake? In Romans 9-11 Paul agonizes over what the future of his people, only to conclude that God's fidelity concluded all alike under disobedience in a process which will conclude: "and so all Israel will be saved." (Rom 11:26). Segal says at one point that "At a decisive moment, Paul's experience and writings allowed the church to analyze and solve the problem of its Jewish past by coming to terms with its gentile future" (p. 275). That means that the church has had a pauline cast ever since. Paul stands as an on-going challenge to the church to acknowledge and to express its debt to Judaism.

Paul the Proclaimer: Paul and the Law

Paul's own description of his attitude toward "righteousness according to the law" in Philippians 3 raises a second issue: does Paul understand or correctly interpret Judaism and the role of the Torah after his call to preach to the gentiles "for the obedience of faith"? Here scholarship divides. The question was raised by E. P. Sanders in *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* and reinforced in *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*.³³ Sanders described the role of the Torah under the catch phrase "covenantal nomism," by which the law describes Israel's response to God's initial act of grace. Sanders holds that Paul misinterprets the role of the law.

After Sanders others entered the discussion: Hans Hübner, *Law in Paul's Thought*, argues for a development in Paul's view of the law, correlating it with the "righteousness of God" manifested in Jesus Christ. "In Romans 'the righteousness of God' means that gift of God which manifests itself in essence in its character as power." (p. 130).³⁴ It is really a question of what Lord one has. He leans on Ernst Käsemann here. His contribution is more positive than that of Heikki Räisänen.³⁵ Stephen Westerholm analyzed a long series of contributions in *Israel's Law and the Church's Faith. Paul and His Recent Interpreters*. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988). Robert Gundry challenged the adequacy of Sanders' reading of Paul.³⁶ James

Dunn has called this the new perspective on Paul, and passed a judicious verdict on it.³⁷ And most recently of all R. Barry Matlock surveyed the discussion in “A Future for Paul?”³⁸ He concludes, in effect, that one must judge Paul on his own terms, not on an aprioristic notion of what Paul should say. The issue here is still *sub iudice*.

All this of course has immense significance for Lutheran theology in the future. And here we can recognize the special contribution of Jack Reumann in his “*Righteousness in the New Testament*” (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982), a contribution to the American Lutheran–Roman Catholic Dialogue, and in his article “The ‘Righteousness of God’ and the ‘Economy of God’: Two Great Doctrinal Themes Historically Compared,” contributed to *AKSUM-THYATEIRA. A Festschrift for Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain*.³⁹

Are there theological resources in contemporaneous Judaism for understanding Paul? Do Jews such as Aristobulus, Philo, and others in the Hellenistic diaspora aid in understanding Paul? Torrey Seland recently called attention to the gap in research in studies that compare Philo and Paul on the Torah.⁴⁰ Given the fact that the gap between Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism is largely gone,⁴¹ there is a broad field for investigation about Paul as Jew and his relation to Judaism.

The Unity of Paul’s Thought: The Copernican Revolution in Pauline Theology

A group of scholars discussed Paul’s theology for almost ten years at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, seeking the unity that is in Paul’s thought. They were not able to come to agreement. Various proposals have been made, surveyed by Jouette Bassler.⁴² Approaches have been through individual letters and through syntheses. Some have found unity in the “kerygmatic story of God’s action through Jesus Christ” presupposed by Paul (Richard Hays, N. Thomas Wright), based on an intertextual reading of Paul and the Old Testament. Others find a form of *Heilsgeschichte* (Robin Scroggs), or claim unity via a consistency of method in theologizing, J.

Christian Beker’s contingency and coherence, for example. In spite of the frustrating experience of the Pauline Theology Group, Bassler still notes that:

There seems to be a pattern, a center, a commitment, a conviction, a vision, an underlying structure, a core communication, a narrative, a coherence—something—in Paul’s thoughts or behind them that dispels any abiding sense of mere opportunism or intellectual chaos on the part of the apostle. (p. 6).

Paul and a Lutheran Bias?

It has been striking to me that in this discussion the “Lutheran Understanding” is often rejected out of hand—though it seems to come back unrecognized. What is rejected is the view that “justification by faith” is the key to Pauline thought. My own view is that the lens through which Paul views everything he summarizes in the term *euaggelion*, which occurs throughout his authentic letters. It is important in 1 Thessalonians, runs through Corinthians and Galatians, and significant in both Romans and Philippians [the two candidates for Paul’s last letter. Track it through Philippians, for example.]

In Phil 1: 5-7 Paul thanks God for the Philippians’ “partnership in the gospel” from the beginning down to the present (1:3). They have been partners with him “in the defense and ratification of the gospel of grace” (1:7). In fact his imprisonment has led to the progress of the gospel (*eis prokopen tou euaggeliou*), using a term from both military and philosophical language (1:12) since others are stimulated to preach the word. Paul himself is destined for the defense of the gospel (1:16).

He summons the Philippians to live out their lives as citizens in a manner worthy of the gospel (1:27), praises Timothy because, with Paul, he was a slave to the gospel (2:22), and commends the Philippians for their partnership at the beginning of the gospel when he left Macedonia (4:15-16).

Paul’s message in any given situation moves out from the gospel of Christ, whether it is his own self-understanding, his situation, his summary of the faith (1 Cor 15:1-5), his urging to action, his recommendation of a colleague, or his refutation of a false view

of the church (Peter in Galatians); Paul starts from the gospel, and evaluates all by the gospel. The attempt to put Paul's letters into a single, coherent structure may frustrate, but then, as Emerson said, "Idle consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds." And Paul's mind is anything but little. In my opinion it is gospel that is the unifying motif in Paul's thought—and if that is Lutheran, so be it! Wrestling with the contours of Paul's thought will occupy the church long; whether successful or not, Paul will be studied, and in that I rejoice.

Lutherans tend to read all Paul in terms of the theology of the cross. And there is some justification for that in 1 Cor 2:1-5. But that is not all Paul, not even in 1 Corinthians. One can make a strong case for putting the resurrection at the center of Paul's thought, from his earliest letter (1 Thess 1:9-10) to the last (Phil 3:19-21). Psa 110:1 is a frequently cited OT verse in the NT. (See *inter alia* 1 Cor 15:25, Col 3:1; Heb 1:3, 13:8:1, 10:12). Or one might make the case that Paul's entry point is his belief in God as the creator.⁴³ James D. G. Dunn stresses that one must be dialogical in studying Paul's theology, but finds the center in Christ.⁴⁴

The Cutting Edge(s) in Pauline Studies: New Questions, New Methods, New Insights

Paul was a citizen, so to speak, of three worlds—as was our Lord. The superscription over Jesus' cross was written in Hebrew, and Greek, and Latin. Paul, a Jew born of Jews, spent most of his life in the Hellenized world of the Eastern Mediterranean, ruled over by the Roman emperor: Augustus, Tiberius and Caligula in his youth, Claudius and Nero in his more mature years. The cities to which he came as apostle for the obedience of the Gentiles were varied in their character. Ephesus, provincial capital of Asia, an old Greek city with a long and distinguished history; the towns of Galatia [Ancyra, Pessinus, and Tavium], populated by descendants of those Celtic invaders who caused so much worry to the Greek cities of the Ionian coast, until defeated by the armies of Pergamum; Athens, a sleepy university town living off its past glory; Corinth, refounded by Julius Cae-

sar as a Roman colony and capital of Achaia, settled by lower-class Roman citizens who become the local aristocracy; Thessalonica, unimportant Greek city elevated to the capital of the province of Macedonia; and Philippi, Roman military colony founded by Mark Antony in 42 BCE and refounded by Octavian, i.e. Caesar Augustus, in 31 BCE; and last, but by no means least, Rome itself, the center of the empire, whose reach unified the Mediterranean area, imposed peace, imported the food and luxury goods produced by the provinces and beyond. "They make a devastation and they call it peace.," an evaluation Tacitus puts into the mouth of a defeated British ruler at the end of the first century. Paul is clearly embedded in the Eastern Mediterranean World. A Jew? Yes indeed, a diaspora Jew. But as a diaspora Jew Paul is at home in the major urban centers of the time, the great *poleis* like Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth—yes, and Thessalonica and Philippi.

Two major manuscript discoveries shaped New Testament Research after the Second World War. When I attended my first meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in 1956, it seemed that every paper discussed something in the New Testament in the light of the newly published Jewish sectarian texts from Qumran. They also stimulated the study of Paul. Suddenly Paul's stress on the *dikaïosyne theou*, the righteousness of God, did not appear so novel or isolated, when one read the Hodayoth of Qumran. Such insights shaped the great Romans commentary of Ernst Käsemann⁴⁵ and led to his critique of Bultmann's reconstruction of Paul's theology.

Paul and Hellenism

The second manuscript discovery was the gnostic library at Nag Hammadi. In the early twentieth century the issue was raised in two or three ways. Wilhelm Boussett, in *Kyrios Christos*, interpreted Christ as the hero of a new Greek mystery religion.⁴⁶ Erich Petersen, Richard Reitzenstein and others brought gnosis into Pauline studies, which influenced Rudolf Bultmann's presentation in his *Theology of the New Testament*.⁴⁷ And then came the documents from Nag Hammadi, Chenoboskion, a whole library of Gnostic and other texts. Where in the 30s everyone knew what gnosti-

cism was, by the 70s of the last century, no one any longer knew. And that had effects on the interpretation of Paul. Today Walter Schmithal's "Gnosis, Gnosis, Everywhere" seems very out of date. Instead one speaks of a form of syncretism, the borrowing of categories and the like, that does permeate Paul's language and thought.

What do we make of this? On the one hand, Paul is at home in the world of Hellenistic philosophy, yet committed to the ethical imperative of holiness.⁴⁸ Thus in 1 Thess 3:11-4:8 Paul finds his parenthesis in God who demands holiness, yet makes use of standard Hellenistic motifs in discussing sexual relationships. Note the call for holiness (*hagiosyne*) in 3:13 and the triple use of *hagiasmos* (holiness) in 4:3, 4, and 7. Paul contrasts the holiness God demands with the *pathos epithymias* of the gentiles (the emotion of desire)—a condemnation that contemporary Stoicism made much earlier.⁴⁹ And he then goes on to discuss life in the *polis* in categories that arise from contemporary Stoicism, Cynicism, and Epicureanism! Paul is a true cosmopolitan—as Roetzel and Malherbe suggest.

Paul's Letters in Context: Archaeology

Scholars are reading Paul's letters in new ways. First of all archaeological data are coming into prominence in New Testament studies. Archaeological data help one to reconstruct more precisely the specific character of a site. For example, archaeological evidence for a Jewish presence at Thessalonica does not exist before the third century CE. While this raises questions about the historicity of the Jewish role in Acts 16:1-9, it helps to clarify the almost total absence any Old Testament or Jewish elements in 1 Thessalonians.⁵⁰ And it lends some support to Birger Pearson's proposal that 1 Thess 2:13-16 is an interpolation.⁵¹

Urban life in the Roman empire was not like urban life today. And while there are commonalities that run throughout ancient urban life, cities differ from one another, much as San Francisco and Berkeley differ from New Orleans and Boston. Pauline scholars are beginning to isolate local phenomena that recover the specificity of local society. Scholars are ransacking the epigraphic corpus to interpret specific

aspects of ancient life. Frederick Danker, for example, used honorific inscriptions to interpret the significance of benefaction in ancient urban life,⁵² while Anthony Bash, more recently, examined 84 inscriptions dating from 27 BCE that describe embassies in the eastern Mediterranean.⁵³ He then examines NT texts that use ambassadorial language, e.g. 2 Cor 5:20, for the function of some of Paul's companions. Do they only represent Paul or are they mediators between Paul and others?

But Philippians is a parade case of the value of such study.⁵⁴ Recently a number of books have challenged, or better, changed the way we read that letter, by giving attention to surviving cult centers, inscriptions, and the like, to the nature of a Roman military colony and the population that makes it up. Why is it that Philippi has the only known cult center to Silvanus, the minor Roman agrarian deity, in all of Greece. There are only four in Asia Minor? What is the significance of the great Silvanus inscription cut into the face of Acro-Philippi that lists many names. What is the effect of the fact that all Roman colonists are member of the same tribe, the *Voltinia*?

Does Paul follow Roman custom when he identifies himself in Phil 3:5 by race and tribe as Peter Pilhofer has written in one of the most important works on Philippians of recent years.⁵⁵ In his research he gathered all known inscriptions discovered in the city territory of Philippi. He is the first to pay significant and comprehensive attention to the epigraphic evidence scattered in *CIL* and in the *BCH* over the years, to interpret the coinage of the city, and to correlate well the evidence with the letter to the Philippians. He describes to economic, social, ethnic and religious character of this "little Rome in the East," a Roman military colony. He uses epigraphic evidence to determine the territory belonging to the city, study the ethnic character of the population, examine its economic base, and look at its religions. He demonstrated the Roman, Latin character of the city, the prevalence of Roman religious deities,⁵⁶ and the superiority of the Roman colonists and their descendants from 42 BCE to about 200 CE. They belonged to the Roman tribe of the Voltinii under the right of *ius Italicum*.

Lukas Bormann, writing about the same time, added a stress on Roman ruler cult at Philippi, bas-

ing his argument on a series of inscriptions.⁵⁷ Clearly the language of Phil 3: 20-22 and parts of 1:27-30 are shaped in opposition to this cult (cf. Phil 2:9-11). His work is one of the most significant contributions to understanding the local history and character of any pauline city, a model of what archaeology can contribute to Pauline studies.

Add to these Lilian Portefaux's study of women in non-Christian Philippi and in the Philippian church and there is immense light cast on Euodia and Syntyche in Phil 4:2-4.⁵⁸ Add the prevalence of inscriptions testifying to the presence of Roman soldiers and a rather detailed picture of Philippi results, a picture that could not be gained from ancient literary texts alone.

At this point the contributions that Holland Hendrix and Helmut Koester are making great contributions to the understanding of Paul in the publication of *Archaeological Resources for New Testament Studies*.⁵⁹ New Testament scholars are slowly learning what their colleagues in classics have long known, that there is no substitute for knowledge of a site, with the accompanying artifacts, for understanding ancient events and texts. And this should not be done on the basis of outdated books. Pilhofer uses Paul Collart, but corrects him at many points, while today scholars must read the volume on Philippi edited by Charalambos Bakirtzis and Helmut Koester.⁶⁰ *The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting*, a six volume series, makes valuable contributions to the understanding of the Pauline corpus. Volume 2, *Graeco-Roman Setting* discusses individual cities, the religious climate, and notes the significance of colonization in numerous places.⁶¹

Paul's Letters in Context: Epistolography

Years ago Gustav Adolf Deissmann read the newly discovered papyrus texts from ancient Egypt (Oxyrhynchus, the Fayum, Tebtunis, and the like) and argued that letters and epistles were two different things.⁶² That distinction seemed to be common coin until people began to study Paul's letters in the light of ancient epistolary theory and actual letters. The picture is much more complicated and interesting than Deissmann's binary opposition between let-

ters and epistles.

Abraham Malherbe published the Greek text with translation of Pseudo-Demetrius, Pseudo-Libanius, and other "Ancient Epistolary Theorists."⁶³ While scholars still recognized the value of non-literary papyri for understanding the semantics and syntax of Paul's letters,⁶⁴ they also read the surviving "literary letters" in Rudolph Hercher's massive collection titled *Epistolographi Graeci*⁶⁵ and in editions of collections like the Cynic Epistles.⁶⁶ Special studies of the uses of letter writing in antiquity⁶⁷ and publication of ancient literary letters in translation⁶⁸ led to new questions about Pauline letters. Pseudo-Demetrius identified twenty one different letter genres, Pseudo-Libanius forty one. What happens when one tries to put a pauline letter into a letter genre. Clearly, Rom 16:1-2 resembles the letter of recommendation (Pseudo-Libanius type 4, §8). Robert Jewett identifies Romans as an ambassadorial letter, a type not listed in any ancient theorist.

Take Philippians as an example: is it a letter of friendship, a hortatory letter, a consoling letter, a commendatory letter, a letter of thanksgiving? Is it a form of "official" letter, when Paul does not identify himself as an apostle? Letter theory itself will not answer such a question.

One answer has come from a group studying the relation of Hellenistic Ethics and the New Testament at the Society of Biblical Literature. They began by studying the understanding of friendship, including *philia* and other terms formed on the same stem, in Graeco-Roman antiquity. They drew on classical scholars who had worked in the area as resources.⁶⁹ Their first volume concentrated on friendship in such ancient figures as Aristotle, Cicero, Plutarch, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Lucian, and Philo of Alexandria.⁷⁰ A final essay looks for use of the *topos* on friendship in the New Testament. All this is background to the key volume, *Friendship, Flattery, and Frankness of Speech*, in which the data from the first volume are applied to Philippians.⁷¹ Friendship allows frankness of speech, the giving of advice, but not from above. It is the alternative to the flattery of the sycophant. In that light a series of scholars now call Philippians a letter of friendship. L. Michael White argues that Paul uses friendship *topoi* to urge morality in the period before the eschaton.⁷² Stanley

K. Stowers argues that it is a hortatory letter of friendship, exhortations being accepted from friends.⁷³ Based on an analysis of the language John Fitzgerald regards the letter as Paul's friendly letter of correction of the Philippians' idea of friendship.⁷⁴ Abraham Malherbe finds Phil 4:10-20 full of the conventions of friendship; then Paul's statement of self-sufficiency makes clear that he did not regard their gift in a simple "utilitarian manner."⁷⁵ Ken L Barry treats the same paragraph as Paul presenting himself as an example to be followed.⁷⁶ In the face of this apparent consensus John Reumann argues that the letter uses the *topoi* of friendship, but does not meet the description of an *epistole phylake* (the letter of friendship).⁷⁷ This is one of the frontiers of Pauline studies today. I have given a larger sample of scholarship to show the prevalence of this new form of epistolary analysis.

Paul as Rhetorician

Rhetorical analysis has burgeoned in recent years. Duane Watson was the first to provide a rhetorical analysis of Philippians.⁷⁸ Others have followed after him. Ben Witherington III, structures his commentary on Watson's analysis,⁷⁹ while Gordon Fee also makes use of it in his recent commentary.⁸⁰ But that is scarcely the whole story. They concentrate on the rhetorical genre and structure. Markus Bockmuehl questions the utility of these approaches. One could add that we need a study of the rhetorical means of persuasion and the *topoi* used in the letter and an evaluation of the rhetorical devices Paul may have used.

Paul in Context, The Social Setting

One of the most exciting developments of recent years concentrates on the social world of antiquity. A large body of theoretical literature clarifies the approach. This runs the gamut from an interest in the socio-political setting from which Paul comes and for which he writes [social description] to the application of anthropological models of urban or village societies or religious sects [e.g. millenarian], using such concepts as purity and boundary maintenance for the interpretation of biblical texts and communities. And

a rapidly growing body of literature illuminates our understanding of the social structure of the ancient city.⁸¹ Two British classicists provide a good general introduction in *The Three Worlds of Paul of Tarsus*.⁸² Wayne Meek's seminal work *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983) introduced many to this approach. More recently, Bruce J. Malina and Jerome H. Neyrey examined the concept of person in the light of ancient writers on the encomium, the public defense speech, and physiognomics.⁸³ They conclude that Mediterranean culture does not prize individualism and introspection as does modern psychology. Rather the ancient person existed in a dyadic society in which the view that the general group in which one lived and the in-group of which one was a part were more significant than one's self-evaluation. They speak of the native cultures of different areas, of Hellenization of the near east, and of Roman rule in the near east as the contexts within which Paul lived and worked. Jerome H. Neyrey applies this method to the Pauline corpus in *Paul in Other Words*, examining order and purity, rituals and boundary maintenance, body language, sin and deviance, cosmology, suffering, and witchcraft.⁸⁴ Does Paul in Gal 3:2 imply that the Galatians felt he had the "evil eye," the "Lure of the Leer," as Jack Elliott called it not too long ago?⁸⁵

This approach can be allied to many areas: fictive family language, social order, the language of warfare and/or the games. It promises new tools for the understanding of Paul's letters. The growth of this approach could be seen by comparing two books. Werner Straub, *Die Bildersprache des Apostels Paulus* and David J. Williams, *Paul's Metaphors*.⁸⁶ Straub's approach is literary, considering the nature of metaphor, parable, simile, etc. Williams approaches Paul's language in the light of social description of life in the city and country, the family, aspects of physical existence, slavery and freedom, citizenship, manufacturing and marketing, travel, warfare, cult, and public spectacles. His notes are a valuable guide to modern secondary literature. Dale B. Martin examined the social status of slaves to illuminate Paul's use of slavery terminology.⁸⁷

An examination of how this has influenced our interpretation of Philippians may demonstrate the

validity of this evaluation. Philippians as a Roman military colony was, as suggested above, a miniature Rome in the East. The Philippian descendants of the original colonists were *de iure* citizen of Rome. But Roman society, like most ancient societies, was structured in a social pyramid. Two recent diagrams illustrating this pyramid are revealing.⁸⁸ In this pyramid the emperor was at the top, below him came the upper classes (senatorial and equestrian), and then the lower classes (freeborn and manumitted), then the slaves, and finally the expendables (beggars, actors, prostitutes, etc.). Such a structure was replicated in cities of the empire, where local elites ran the city, with the peasant class beneath it. City populations were superior to the agrarian workers, who were often either tenant farmers, day laborers, or slaves.

Bruce Martin examines Phil 1:27-2:18 in light of the need for concord (*homonoia*) in a city. He interprets Paul's stress on unity in the light of citizenship responsibilities.⁸⁹ He sets Phil 2:1-4 within the context of urban civil unrest, citing Dio Chrysostom's oration to Prusa (38), his home town. Prusa is in a contest with Nicaea for leadership in Nicomedia. It shows envy (*phthonos*) as it contends for primacy (*huper proteuwn agonizomenos*); that is a struggle for *kenodoxia*, vainglory. Against such struggles for priority Dio urges unity, *homonoia*. He concludes his 39th oration with a prayer for such unity:

that from this day forth they [the gods] may implant in this city yearning for itself, a passionate love, a singleness of purpose, a unity of wish and thought: and, on the other hand, that they cast out strife and contentiousness and jealousy, so that the city may be numbered among the most prosperous and noblest for all time to come.⁹⁰

Experiencing the divisions caused by his imprisonment Paul takes steps to insure the unity of the community in Philippi, as the magnificent passage cited above makes clear. Margaret Mitchell makes the case for a similar understanding of 1 Corinthians in her outstanding dissertation on that letter.⁹² Martin stresses the role of the citizen in Plutarch's *politika paraggelmata* (*Political Precepts*) and Dio Chrysostom [thirteen orations take up the theme of concord] as the background for Paul's call for unity (*concordia*,

homonoia) at Philippi.⁹³ Urban life in the Eastern Roman Empire is the necessary backdrop for understanding Paul.

I personally argued that in Phil 1:27-30 Paul plays on the history of the city and the presumed background of the population by using military metaphors, as popular philosophy did, to rouse his audience to unified heavenly citizenship. I interpret Paul's language in Phil 1:27-30 as modeled on a commander's harangue urging soldiers to fight in good military unity against the enemy. In that way they achieve victory (*soteria*) and keep their oath of allegiance (*pistis*) to their Lord. This illuminates the extended demand for self-denial in Phil 2:1-4, the call for obedience in Phil 2:12, the strange language in Paul of "producing one's own salvation," i.e. victory, in Phil 2:12, and interpreting his possible death as the sacrifice before battle in Phil 2:17.⁹⁴ But much more can be said. In battle generals were expected to be present in the forefront, and their example encouraged the rank and file to fight courageously. Alexander the Great is the prime example, as the famous mosaic of the battle of Issos makes clear. Paul asks for obedience whether he is present or absent (Phil 2:12; cf. 1:27).

Both Winter and I illuminate the background of the *hapax legomenon* "*politeuesthe*" ("live your life as a citizen") in Phil 1:27. Add to that that the language of Phil 3:20-21 is also written in political language that reminds the Philippians that their true "citizenship" is owed to the commonwealth that is under the Lord who is to come. In many ways Paul uses the language of Roman citizenship and military life against itself. One of my students, Timothy Geoffrion, expanded my argument in his doctoral dissertation *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Action*,⁹⁵ putting the military language inside the framework of a Roman military colony. Paul urges the Philippians to become co-imitators of him and of Christ.⁹⁶

Paul and Christian Ethos

There has long been interest in pauline ethical teaching, as the recent reader edited by Brian Rosner, *Understanding Paul's Ethics. Twentieth Century Approaches* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995) makes

clear.⁹⁷ Yet, in 1960 E. A. Judge complained that interest in discovering the “principles of social obligation” in the New Testament had largely declined. But the social interpretation of the New Testament brought new interest to this area, as the SBL Group devoted to Hellenistic Ethics and the New Testament makes clear.

Scholars have used social history to set Paul squarely in the context of the Greco-Roman world. Abraham Malherbe⁹⁸ outfitted students of Paul with a collection of texts in translation that illustrate ancient moral exhortation, while Wayne Meeks⁹⁹ *The Moral World of the First Christians* caught the attention of American scholars and brought into play the ethical teaching of Early Roman Empire ethics in a new way. He expanded this into a major work, *The Origins of Christian Morality. The First Two Centuries*,¹⁰⁰ which illustrates the trend to read Paul’s parenthesis in the light of contemporaneous moral thinking—as do the more specialized essays edited by Troels Engberg-Pedersen under the title *Paul in His Hellenistic Context*.¹⁰¹ He himself argues that Paul has picked up Stoic themes in Philippians.¹⁰² He points to unusual language: good work, 1:6; in knowledge and all perception 1:9; to approve the outstanding things 1:10; progress 1:12, for example. The description of the church in Philippi is reminiscent of the Stoic ideal community. Engberg-Petersen also holds that the motif of partnership (*koinonia*) is clarified by comparison with the stoic idea of community, characterized by unity of purpose, friendship, and freedom (*S VF 1.263: homonoia, philia, eleutheria*). In Phil 4:8-9 one finds a list of outstanding things (*diapheronta*), which has no specific Christian content to it (cited below).

Elizabeth A. Castelli holds that Paul presents himself as a model in *Imitating Paul. A Discourse of Power*. (Louisville: Westminster / John Knox, 1991), a topos that runs throughout the ancient world, since Aristotle had already argued that models for imitation were one of the methods of proof in argumentation. Note how Paul presents himself as one to imitate in Phil 3:17 and 4:9, right after presenting a list of virtues, including the only occurrence of the technical term virtue (*arete*) in Paul:

Finally, brothers and sisters, whatever things are true, whatever are revered, whatever are just,

whatever are pure, whatever are held dear, whatever have a good reputation, if there is any virtue and if any praise, reckon the total of these things (*logizesthe*). And what you learned and received and hear and saw in me, produce these things, and the God of peace will be with you.

Friendship allows one to speak about one’s self more openly than does casual acquaintanceship. But self-praise was as invidious then as now. For that reason the study of Plutarch’s treatise “On Inoffensive self-praise” in his *Moralia* is helpful to understand under what conditions Paul’s boasting (2 Corinthians, Philippians) might appear defensible in the first century world.

J. Paul Sampley suggests a different form of partnership, basing his argument on Roman law.¹⁰³ *Societas consensualis* is a partnership in which 2 or more parties agree to contribute to a common goal. Their contributions need not be equal. So long as each party continues their contribution, the partnership remains in force. Breaking the partnership is justifiable, even though no formal documentation or registration or legal process to form the partnership is necessary. Sampley suggests that Paul and the Philippian ecclesia have entered into such a partnership. Hence Paul acknowledges receipt of the money brought by Epaphroditus, but does not need to thank them for it. And in chapter one he argues that his imprisonment has not impeded his carrying out of his role in the partnership, since it has led to the advance of the gospel.

Paul and the Christian Community: The Question of Ecclesial Leadership

The problem presented by the reference *syn episkopois kai diakonois* in Phil 1:1 is well known. The phrase is customarily translated “together with the bishops and deacons.” John Reumann’s contribution to the Festschrift for John C. Hurd is only the last in a long series of discussions arguing against reading the later significance of the two terms back into the mid-first century. Instead one should ask what these people might do in the house church(es) of

Philippi. The household in the Roman world is led by its head [usually a male, but not universally], who functions as the protector-patron (*prostatis*) of the household. Reumann suggests that the *epitropos* (bishop) probably arose within that context.¹⁰⁴ But other contexts are possible, that of the supervisor in various societies or other groups in the Greco-Roman world (à la Lietzmann); or the Stoic-Cynic philosopher as reflected in Epictetus 3.22. I myself have suggested the role of supervisors in the military. What is striking is that Paul nowhere in the letter asks the *episkopoi kai diakonoi* to do anything in respect to situation(s) he addresses in Philippi. (See the case of Euodia and Syntyche below.)

The bishops and deacons are one case. Timothy and Epaphroditus another. Paul describes Timothy as one who is equal in soul (*isopsychon*) to himself (2:20). The Philippians know his *dokime*, that is, that he is tested and approved publicly—again a term that comes from civic life (2:22). There is no trace of Paul claiming a higher status than Timothy.

Paul describes Epaphroditus in terms that are highly commendatory. He is Paul's brother and co-worker and co-soldier (2:25), but "your apostle and liturgist of my need" (2:25). Paul uses terminology from civic life to describe him as their agent and one who fulfills a public benefaction.¹⁰⁵ Ambassadors often paid their own expenses. On their return they received public honor (*time*) for carrying out a public commission. Paul urges the Philippians: "Therefore welcome him (Epaphroditus) in the Lord with all joy and regard such people as worthy of public recognition (*entimos*)," since he risked his life on behalf of the gap in your public service (*leitourgia*) to me (2:29-30). What is striking in all this is that there is actually no suggestion of a developing hierarchical clergy!¹⁰⁶

The Philippian Contribution to Paul

Scholarship moves forward as new questions arise. There is a unique character to Philippians which has led to a new formulation of an old question: What did Paul gain from the Philippians? The obvious answer seems to be money. Inside of such a structured society, what did the giving of a gift imply? G. S. Peterman examines the Philippians' sending of money

to Paul in the light of social reciprocity, the relationship of benefactors to donees, etc., to highlight Paul's language in Phil 4:10-20.¹⁰⁷ Paul crafts his response deliberately "to teach the Philippians the proper meaning and significance of their gift" in relation to their partnership in the gospel (p. 121).

J. Paul Sampley holds that one should understand the relationship of the Philippians to Paul from Roman Law as an expression of a *societas consensualis*. Philippi has the *ius Romanum*, the right to Roman citizenship and so to Roman law. The city was essentially Roman. Paul and the Philippians entered into a consensual partnership in the gospel, in which they supplied money, while Paul was to advance the Gospel. Paul writes his letter, in part, to assure them that he is still carrying out his side of the partnership, even though he is in jail.¹⁰⁸

Paul and the Other Half of Humanity: Feminist Womanist Interpretation

There is good reason to think through modern interpretations of Paul. Social movements affect pauline studies. Modern feminism has had a very healthy influence, since feminist/womanist theologians have taught us to put new questions to the text—and in the process we have recovered the significant role that women played in the earliest Christian churches. I think at once of only one example. In Romans 16:7 Paul says *aspasasthe Andronikon kai Iounian tous suggenous mou kai synaichmalotous mou, hoitines eisin epishmoi en tois apostolois, hoi kai pro emou gegonen en Christo*. Male presuppositions about the role of women in the early church led translators to infer a non-documented male name, Junias, rather than the clear feminine Junia.¹⁰⁹ The new third edition of Bauer's lexicon, revised by Frederick Danker, will note that the name can only be a feminine, widely attested in antiquity.¹¹⁰ This more accurate philology is reflected in more recent translations.¹¹¹ But that has also led some to hold that Paul's letters have been the great resource for putting women into a position of subservience in the church and society. [That view often disregards the distinction between Paul and the subsequent Paulinists, including 1 Peter].

But what raises the problem of unity in Philippi?

One might suppose that it is the situation which some read out of Paul's caustic remarks in Phil 3:2-4. That third chapter has long been a problem for interpreters of this letter. But the only specific case is that of Euodias and Syntyche (Phil 4:2-4).

I exhort [beseech, *parakalo*] Euodia and I exhort [beseech] Syntyche¹¹² to think the same thing in the Lord. And I request you, noble Syzyge, to support them; they are women who fought together with me in the gospel, along with Clement and my remaining co-workers, whose names are in the scroll of life.

Lillian Portefaix's book is the only full scale study of Paul on women in Philippi.¹¹³ She scours the Philippian countryside for epigraphic evidence of the role of women, investigates the anaglyphs on Acro-Philippi, and correlates Acts 16 with Paul's letter. While I have many reservations about her book, I applaud the concern—and not just because it is politically correct these days, or because I have a daughter in the public ministry of the church. I applaud it because it reflects an interest in reading the scriptures in favor of the voiceless, and because it is helping us to recover the significant role of Lydia, Phoebe, Chloe, Prisca, and Euodia and Syntyche in the earliest churches.

And what a role! How do we evaluate these two? We too often transliterate names in the ancient world rather than hear them. In this paragraph we have Fair Traveler, Lucky, Yoke-fellow, and Clement. Look how they are identified. Are these women perhaps among the *episkopoi kai diakonoi* named in Phil 1:2? They are equal to Clement and the other co-workers of Paul, such as Timothy. We need to add these two women, Syzygos and Clement to the names of leaders in the early church. Is this why there is no appeal to "bishops and deacons" to intervene?

Modern Problematic: Cultural Interpretation

Add to the growth of feminist interpretation the rise of cultural interpretation and a new world of interpretation exists. Latino liberation theology, Afro-American theology,¹¹⁴ all very understandable in the

post-modern revolutionary world, and interest moves from Paul to those parts of the NT [and the OT] that appear to be resources for these movements: the historical Jesus, James, Luke, the Exodus account, and the great prophets of the Old Testament. The result is that Paul moves to the periphery from the theological center in such interpretive approaches. Or Paul is read in different ways. Elsa Tamez reads Paul from the perspective of Latin American needs for justice, while Neil Elliott does much the same from a North American *Sitz im Leben*.¹¹⁵

Pauline Peroration

So where have we come? There are numerous gaps in this survey, not the least of them the disregard of the major Pauline letters. But this may serve to move Philippians more into the center of our interest in Paul. Still, there are some general conclusions that we can draw, based on what we have said till now:

1. All of this put together shows that we need to read Paul in new ways. No longer do we think of Paul as the great innovator, the one who turned the simple gospel of the Galilean peasant/artisan Jesus into a sophisticated Hellenistic, rarefied religion. He is not a solitary figure in the history of early Christianity, but stands within the earlier tradition that he inherited from his predecessors in the faith. I say this not to detract from his importance, but to underscore his significance.

2. At the same time Paul is now clearly anchored securely in the *polis* of the Greek east, with his feet squarely in the cultural and social context of his day. Where a generation or so ago people interpreted early Christians [and with them Paul] as members of the marginalized lower classes, today we regard Paul as a person at home in the urban culture of his time—which means acquainted with the rhetoric, political thought, the commonplaces of contemporary ethical teaching, and the religions of his time. His letters betray all that!

3. The attempt to find a consistent unified theology in Paul's letters is difficult, if not impossible. Paul is not a theologian, but a missionary pastor. He "shoots the birds where they fly and plucks the flowers where they grow," a formulation I owe to my quondam

teacher, colleague, neighbor and friend, Martin Franzmann. New Testament interpreters prize that variety.

4. Just as there is no single system in Paul, so there is no pauline all-court press for uniformity of language or confession. Indeed, he can formulate contradictory statements about the cross to the very same congregation.

5. And yet, there runs through all of Paul's letters, from 1 Thessalonians to the last, whether that be Romans as many hold or Philippians as I am convinced, the purple stripe on the toga that is called gospel. For all the variety in his letters, each is concerned with that gospel for those particular people.

Paul describes the "thorn in the flesh," the "angel of Satan," that was given to him to prevent him from pride in the superiority of the revelations he received in 2 Cor 12:6-10. That phrase "thorn in the flesh" might just as well describe Paul and the history of Christianity. Despite all attempts to domesticate him, from the Pastoral Epistles to the "common sense" theology of our time, Paul's striking interpretation of God's creative action in Christ continues to challenge the church. What is the promise Paul holds for the next millennium?

When Ernst Käsemann's commentary *An die Römer* appeared in 1973, the headline over a review in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, a great newspaper, read: "Die große Glocke läutet wieder" ["The great bell is sounding again."]. It reminds me of the day that *die Tübinger* brought in a new bell to hang in the tower of the Stiftskirche in Tübingen, built in 1477, renovated in the 1970s. Following European tradition, they gave a name to the bell: "Gloria Dei." So it is with the study of Paul in the new millennium. While scholars investigate the urban character of Greek cities in the eastern Mediterranean, while interest in the patron-client relationship or the role of the elite in liturgies for the city is relevant for the study of Paul, the final concern in seminary and church must be to hear the great bell of pauline thought sound again, to give God glory.

Endnotes

¹ *geraskō d' aei polla didaskomenos.*

² Markus Bockmuehl has a useful discussion of the date and place of Philippians in *The Epistle to the Philippians* (BNTC; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1998) 25-32; he holds that Rome is the least problematic of the possible places, implying a date after 60 and most likely after 62. Like many scholars I hold that Paul did not write Colossians, Ephesians, 2 Thessalonians, or the Pastoral Epistles.

³ From 2 Peter's recognition that Paul wrote things hard to understand through Marcion's concentration on him as *the* Apostle, Luther's *Turmerlebnis* that flowed from Paul's citation of Habbakuk 2:4, Melancthon's use of Romans as the structure for his *Loci Theologici*, the bellwether of Lutheran systematic theology, John Wesley's experience at Aldersgate, F. C. Bauer's assessment of Paul as the figure who moved Christianity from a Jewish sect to a world-religion of its day, down to the present recent agreement with Roman Catholicism on justification, Paul's letters have played and continue to play a decisive role in all discussions of Christian theology. Whether he is regarded as the one who perverted the pristine message of the Palestinian Jewish Jesus into a Hellenistic hero religion or as the one who forged the essential and necessary transformation of the disciple community into a ecumenical missionary faith in the realm of *mare nostrum*, whether, that is, one regards him as theological villain or hero, Paul straddles the discussion of and interpretation of early Christianity like the Colossus of Rhodes. His authentic letters, after all, make up some 16 or 17% of the NT; add in the deutero-Pauline letters that arose in his shadow and the corpus is some 22% of the New Testament. Only Luke-Acts occupies more space in the Nestle-Aland Greek Testament than Paul, some 27% of the whole. Between them, about half of the New Testament.

⁴ *The U. S. News and World Report*, (5 April 1999), 52-55.

⁵ Hans Hübner, "Paulusforschung zeit 1945 Ein kritischer Literaturbericht," *ANRW* II.25.4 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1987) 2649-2840.

⁶ Victor Paul Furnish, "Pauline Studies," pp. 321-50 in *The New Testament and Its Modern Interpreters*, ed. Eldon Jay Epp and George W. MacRae (Philadelphia: Fortress Press; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989).

⁷ Joseph Fitzmyer, "Paul," *NJBC* 1329-1337.

⁸ *NJBC* 1417-1426. Republished as *Paul and His Theology: A Brief Sketch* (2nd. ed.; Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1989).

⁹ Mark Allen Powell, ed., *The New Testament Today* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999).

¹⁰ Hans Dieter Betz, "Paul (Person)," *ABD* V, 186-201.

¹¹ <http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk/POxy/>

¹² <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/>

¹³ TGL: Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, CD Rom E (Irvine: University of California, Irvine, 2000).

¹⁴ Daniel Boyarin, *Paul and the Politics of Identity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994). They also have available Peter Green, *Hellenistic History and Culture* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 199x). The URL is <<http://www.ucpress.edu/scan/>>.

¹⁵ *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, CD-ROM (Oak Tree Software, 1999). This is for the Macintosh; the Windows version is published by Abingdon Press.

¹⁶ CD-ROM for Windows by Logos Research Systems, Oak Harbor, WA, 2000.

¹⁷ Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul: A Critical Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996). I omit such popular, journalistic works as A. N. Wilson, *Paul: The Mind of the Apostle* (New York, London: W. W. Norton, 1977).

¹⁸ Ben Witherington III, *The Paul Quest: The Renewed Search for Paul of Tarsus* (Downers Grove: Intervarsity Press, 1997) 16.

¹⁹ Witherington. 110-15.

²⁰ See *The Letters of Paul: Conversations in Context* (4th ed. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998) for a standard survey of the Pauline letters in historical context.

²¹ Calvin Roetzel, *Paul: The Man and the Myth*. Studies on Personalities of the New Testament (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998; reprint, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999).

²² The most detailed investigation of Paul's early life is in Martin Hengel and R. Deines, *The Pre-Christian Paul* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press, 1991) and Martin Hengel and Anna Maria Schwemere, *Paul Between Damascus and Antioch: The Unknown Years* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997).

²³ Gordon Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians* (NICNT. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1995). Bockmuehl, 32, dates it after 62 CE.

²⁴ See, for example, James D. G. Dunn, "In Quest of Paul's Theology: Retrospect and Prospect," *Pauline Theology Volume IV: Looking Back, Pressing On*, ed. E. Elizabeth Johnson and David M. Hay (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 95-115.

²⁵ Craig Wansinck, *Chained in Christ: The Experience and Rhetoric of Paul's Imprisonments* (JSNTSS 130; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996). See also Brian Rapske, *Paul in Roman Custody* (The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting 3; Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans; Carlisle: The Paternoster Press, 1994). While Rapske deals primarily with Acts, his discussion of imprisonment has broader implications.

²⁶ Arthur J. Droge and James D. Tabor, *A Noble Death: Suicide and Martyrdom Among Christians and Jews in antiquity* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1992).

²⁷ I do not understand *pistis Christou* as an objective genitive, though the use of this genitive is still a hotly contested issue in Pauline studies,

²⁸ See also Gal 1:13-14 and 2 Cor 11:22.

²⁹ See his magisterial work *Paul Among Jews and Gentiles* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), especially the chapter that gives the book its name (pp. 1-77) and "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West" (pp. 78-96).

³⁰ Alan Segal, *Paul the Convert: The Apostolate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

³¹ Daniel Boyarin, *Paul and the Politics of Identity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994).

³² Shaye Cohen, *The Beginnings of Judaism: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999)

³³ E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977); *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983).

³⁴ Hans Hübner, *Law in Paul's Thought* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1984 = German, 1978).

³⁵ Heikki Räisänen, *Paul and the Law* (WUNT 29. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1983). See also Bruce L. Martin, *Christ and the Law* (NT Supp. 62; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989).

³⁶ Robert Gundry, "Grace, Works, and Staying Saved in Paul," *Biblica* 66 (1985) 1-38

³⁷ James D. G. Dunn, "The New Perspective on Paul," *BJRL* 65 (1982-83) 95-122; reprinted in *Jesus, Paul and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990) 183-214, including an "Additional Note" summarizing the discussion that followed on his article.

³⁸ R. Barry Matlock, "A Future for Paul?" *Auguries: The Jubilee Volume of the Sheffield Department of Biblical Studies*, ed. David J. A. Clines and Stephen D. Moore (JSOT Sup 269; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998) 144-83.

³⁹ (Athens, n.p., 1985) 615-36.

⁴⁰ In a submission to the Ioudaios list on 23 March 1996: I have not found many studies comparing Philo and Paul on the Law in a comprehensive way. It's strange to see that in the works of Räisänen, Westerholm or Thielman, to mention some of the latest, there is not much about Philo. There are some interesting articles out that perhaps should be pursued further; for instance S. Westerholm's on "Torah, nomos and Law: A Question of Meaning," *Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses* 15 (1986), pp. 194-199, and A. Reinhartz, "The Meaning of nomos in Philo's Exposition of the Law," *Studies in Religion* 15 (1986), pp. 337-345. Several of Borgen's studies are relevant here too.

⁴¹ See most recently the survey by Lee I. Levine, *Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity: Conflict or Confluence* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999).

⁴² "Paul's Theology, Whence and Whither?" in *Pauline Theology* vol. 2: *1 & 2 Corinthians*. Ed. David M Hay. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993) 3-17.

⁴³ So John L. White, *The Apostle of God: Paul and the Promise of Abraham* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999).

⁴⁴ James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids, Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 1998). This 737 page treatment of Paul's theology is long, but repays careful study.

⁴⁵ Ernst Kaesemann, *An die Römer* (HNT 8a, 4th ed.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1980; 1st ed. 1973; *Commentary on Romans*, (Geoffrey W. Bromiley, tr.; Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1980).

⁴⁶ Wilhelm Boussett, *Kyrios Christos* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970).

⁴⁷ New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1952.

⁴⁸ See among others Abraham Malherbe, *Paul and the Thessalonians: The Philosophic Tradition of Pastoral Care* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987); *Paul and the Popular Philosophers* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989); Troels Engberg-Pedersen, ed. *Paul in His Hellenistic Context* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995).

⁴⁹ See, inter alia, Arius Didymus, *Epitome of Stoic Ethics* 10, (ed. Arthur J. Pomeroy, Society of Biblical Literature, Texts and Translations 44, Graeco-Roman Series 14. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999) 56-57 = 2.88 Wachsmuth, SVF 1.205, 206, and 211.

⁵⁰ See Craig Steven de Vos, *Church and Community Conflicts: The Relationships of the Thessalonian, Corinthian, and Philippian Churches with their Wider Civic Communities* (SBLDS 168; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997) 130-31.

⁵¹ Birger Pearson, "1 Thessalonians 2:13-16: a Deutero-Pauline Interpretation," *HTR* 64 (1971) 79-94; reprinted in Birger Pearson, *The Emergence of the Christian Religion: Essays on Early Christianity* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1997) 58-74.

⁵² Frederick W. Danker, *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field* (St. Louis: Clayton Publishing House, 1982).

⁵³ Anthony Bash, *Ambassadors for Christ: An Exploration of Ambassadorial Language in the New Testament* (WUNT 2.92; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1997).

⁵⁴ One might also select 1 Corinthians. See Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *St. Paul's Corinth: Texts and Archaeology* (Good News Studies 6; Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1983).

⁵⁵ Peter Pilhofer, *Philippi*. Band I: *Die erste christliche Gemeinde Europas* (WUNT 87; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1995). A second volume will contain the epigraphic corpus.

⁵⁶ Silvanus (the only cult center devoted to him in Greece), Liber Pater, Hercules.

⁵⁷ Lukas Borman, *Philippi Stadt und Christengemeinde zur Zeit des Paulus* (NovTSup 78; Leiden, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1995) 48-54.

⁵⁸ Lilian Portefaix, *Sisters Rejoice: Paul's Letter to the Philippians and Luke-Acts as Received by First-Century Philippian Women* (ConBNT 20; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1988).

⁵⁹ 2 vols. of color slides with full commentary, Valley Forge: Trinity Press International.

- ⁶⁰ Charalambos Bakirtzis and Helmut Koester, *Philippi at the Time of Paul and After His Death* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998).
- ⁶¹ Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1994.
- ⁶² G. Adolf Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East: The New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World* (Lionel R. M. Strachan, Tr.; New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1924; translated from 4th ed. of the German, 1922).
- ⁶³ Citations from Demetrius, *De elocutione*; Cicero, Seneca. See Abraham Malherbe, "Ancient Epistolary Theorists," *Ohio Journal of Religious Studies* 5 (1977) 3-77; republished as *Ancient Epistolary Theorists* (SBLBS 19; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988).
- ⁶⁴ See John L. White, *Light from Ancient Letters* (Foundations and Facets; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986).
- ⁶⁵ Rudolph Hercher, ed., *Epistolographi Graeci* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1873; rep., Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1965).
- ⁶⁶ Abraham J. Malherbe, *The Cynic Epistles* (SBLBS 12; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977).
- ⁶⁷ M. Luther Stirewalt, Jr., *Studies in Ancient Greek Epistolography* (SBLBS 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993).
- ⁶⁸ Stanley K. Stowers, *Letter Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (Library of Early Christianity 5; Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1986) gives examples of different types of letters in antiquity.
- ⁶⁹ Edward N. O'Neil of the University of Southern California; Frederick M. Schroeder of Queens University, Kingston, Canada; Johan C. Thom of the University of Stellenbosch in South Africa; and David Konstan of Brown University, who later published *Friendship in the Classical World* (Key Themes in Ancient History; Cambridge: and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997) were among them.
- ⁷⁰ *Greco-Roman Perspectives on Friendship: Studies on Friendship in the New Testament World*, ed. John T. Fitzgerald (SBLBS 34; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997).
- ⁷¹ *Friendship, Flattery, and Frankness of Speech*, ed. John T. Fitzgerald. (NovTSup 82; Leiden, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1996).
- ⁷² L. Michael White, "Morality Between Two Worlds: A Paradigm of Friendship Philippians," *Greeks, Romans, and Christians: Essays in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe*, ed. David L. Balch, Everett Ferguson, and Wayne A. Meeks (Minneapolis: fortress Press, 1990) 201-15.
- ⁷³ Stanley K. Stowers, "Friends and Enemies in the Politics of Heaven: Reading theology in Philippians," *Pauline Theology Volume I: Thesalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon*, ed. Jouette M. Bassler (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991) 105-21.
- ⁷⁴ John T. Fitzgerald, "Philippians in the Light of Some Ancient Discussions of Friendship," *Friendship, Flattery, and Frankness*, 141-60.
- ⁷⁵ Abraham J. Malherbe, "Paul's Self-Sufficiency (Philippians 4:11)," *Friendship, Flattery, and Frankness*, 125-39.
- ⁷⁶ Ken L. Barry, "The Function of Friendship Language in Philippians 4:10-20," *Friendship, Flattery, and Frankness*, 107-24.
- ⁷⁷ John Reumann, "Philippians, Especially Chapter 4, as a 'Letter of Friendship': Observations on a Checkered History of Scholarship," *Friendship, Flattery, and Frankness*, 83-106.
- ⁷⁸ Duane Watson, "A Rhetorical Analysis of Philippians and Its Implications for the Unity Question," *NovT* 30 (1988) 57-88.
- ⁷⁹ Ben Witherington III, *Friendship and Finances in Philippi. The Letter of Paul to the Philippians* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1994).
- ⁸⁰ Gordon D. Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1995).
- ⁸¹ John H. Elliott, *What Is Social-Scientific Criticism?* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993) is a useful survey of the method with a comprehensive bibliography.
- ⁸² Richard Wallace and Wynne Williams, *The Three Worlds of Paul of Tarsus* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998).
- ⁸³ *Portraits of Paul: An Archaeology of Ancient Personality* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996).
- ⁸⁴ Jerome H. Neyrey, *Paul in Other Words: A Cultural Reading of His Letters* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1990).
- ⁸⁵ John H. Elliott, "Paul, Galatians, and the Evil Eye," *CurTM* 17 (1990), 262-73.
- ⁸⁶ Werner Straub, *Die Bildersprache des Apostels Paulus* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1937); David J. Williams, *Paul's Metaphors: Their Context and Character* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999).
- ⁸⁷ Dale B. Martin, *Slavery as Salvation: The Metaphor of Slavery in Pauline Christianity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990).
- ⁸⁸ Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988) fig. 121, p. 152, gives the social structure pyramid first presented by G. Alföldi, *Römische Sozialgeschichte* (3rd. ed.: Wiesbaden, 1984; James Malcolm Arlandson, *Women, Class and Society in Early Christianity* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997) 22, presents the Gerhard Lenski model, as revised by Dennis Duling. Both are highly revealing.
- ⁸⁹ Bruce W. Winter, "Civic Responsibility: Philippians 1:27-2:18," *Seek the Welfare of the City: Christians as Benefactors and Citizens* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans; Carlisle: The Paternoster Press, 1994) 81-104.
- ⁹⁰ Or. 39.8, cited by Winter, 93.
- ⁹¹ Margaret Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991 = Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1990).
- ⁹² Bruce Winter, 82-104.
- ⁹³ Edgar Krentz, "Military Language and Metaphors in Philippians," *Origins and Method: Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity. Essays in Honour of John C. Hurd*. (JSNT Sup 86; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993) 105-27.
- ⁹⁴ Timothy Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Action*. (Lewiston: Mellon Biblical Press, 1993).
- ⁹⁵ John Reumann, "Justification and the *Imitatio* Motif in Philippians," pp. 17-29, 92-99 in *Promoting Unity. Themes in Lutheran-Catholic Dialogue*, ed. H. G. Anderson and James R. Crumley, Jr. (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1989).
- ⁹⁶ Brian Rosner, *Understanding Paul's Ethics. Twentieth Century Approaches* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995).
- ⁹⁷ Abraham Malherbe, *Moral Exhortation, A Greco-Roman Sourcebook*. Library of Early Christianity 4 (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986)
- ⁹⁸ Wayne Meeks, *The Moral World of the First Christians*. Library of Early Christianity 6 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986).
- ⁹⁹ Wayne Meeks *The Origins of Christian Morality. The First Two Centuries* (New Haven: Yale, 1993).
- ¹⁰⁰ Troels Engberg-Pedersen, *Paul in His Hellenistic Context* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995)
- ¹⁰¹ "Stoicism in Philippians," pp. 256ff.
- ¹⁰² Sampley, Paul. *Pauline Partnership in Christ*. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980).
- ¹⁰³ John Reumann, "Church Office in Paul, Especially in Philippians," *Origins and Method. Toward a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity*. JSNTSup 96 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993) 82-91.
- ¹⁰⁴ Anthony Bash, *Ambassadors for Christ: An Exploration of Ambassadorial Language in the New Testament* (WUNT, 2. Reihe, 92; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1997).

¹⁰⁵ Margaret Mitchell, "New Testament Envoys in the Context of Greco-Roman Diplomatic and Epistolary Conventions: The Example of Timothy and Titus," *JBL* 111 (1992) 641-662, places the roles of Timothy and Titus in 1 Thessalonians and 2 Corinthians within the context of ancient envoys who deliver oral communications. She does not discuss the roles of Timothy and Epaphroditus in Philippians.

¹⁰⁶ G. W. Peterman, *Paul's Gift from Philippi: Conventions of Gift Exchange and Christian Giving* (SNTSMS 92; Cambridge: Camb. Univ. Press, 1997).

¹⁰⁷ John Reumann expanded our understanding of this relationship in a highly significant way. In an important major address to the International Society of New Testament Scholars at Madrid in 1993 he discussed the "Contributions of the Philippian Community to Paul and to Earliest Christianity," *NTS* 39 (1993) 438-457.

¹⁰⁸ The *NEB*, for example, in 1970 translated "Greet Andronicus and Junias, my fellow-countrymen and comrades in captivity. They are eminent among the apostles, and were Christians before I was." The *RSV*, *NJB* and *NIV* are similar.

¹⁰⁹ To be published by the University of Chicago Press in fall, 2000.

¹¹⁰ So the *NAB* (1986), the *REB* (1989), the *NRSV* (1989), *The Holy Bible: New Living Translation* (1996).

¹¹¹ The repetition of exhort give a rhetorical gravitas to Paul's words.

¹¹² Lillian Portefaix, *Sisters Rejoice. Paul's Letter to the Philippians and Luke-Acts as Received by First-Century Christian Women*. Coniectanea Biblical, New Testament Series 20. (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1988).

¹¹³ Caine Hope Felder, *Stony the Road We Trod* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991).

¹¹⁴ Elsa Tamez, *The Amnesty of Grace. Justification by Faith from a Latin American Perspective* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993); Neil Elliott. *Liberating Paul: The Justice of God and the Politics of the Apostle* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1994).

Salvation as Justification and Theosis: The Contribution of the New Finnish Luther Interpretation to Our Ecumenical Future1. Skip to Main Content. Save to Library. by Nurlan Zhumaev. â€œ Dialog. Meeting Paul Anew: Rereading an Old Friend in a New Age. Save to Library. Download. Photograph: Paul Bradbury/Getty Images/Caiaimage.Â Although it can be tricky and nerve-racking, making new friends as an adult can also be rewarding: a message Jacqueline Thomas, 52, is keen to share. Moving to the Warwickshire village of Bulkington in 2015 with her partner David, who is soon to retire, she relished the opportunity to start anew. â€œWeâ€™ve had to start from scratch because we didnâ€™t know anybody here.Â Meet in a neutral place. Once you have taken the first step and are moving on to meeting outside the initial environment where you made a connection, chose a neutral public space. This can lessen the pressures that, say, hosting at home can bring, and give you time to focus on each other. 6 A How was that new restaurant you went to? B Well, the food was overpriced, but the manager gave us champagne because it was my birthday! Phrasal verbs 10 Literal and idiomatic meanings Phrasal verbs sometimes have a literal meaning, and sometimes an Idiomatic meaning:-Literal 1 Complete the sentences with a particle from the box.Â D boyfriend 2 D dad's chicken curry 3 D friends from home 4 0 living in a house 5 0 being looked after by parents 6 0 family pet 2 rt1 Listen again. Mark the sentences true (,) or false (X). 1 D Nancy's mum bought her a cake. 2 D Nancy likes the chips in the canteen.Â He created a new identity and set up numerous bank accounts. He printed flawless fake cheques and managed to cash them at the banks. Meeting Paul Anew: Rereading an Old Friend in a New Age. By Edgar Krentz. Opening session of the 2019 International Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature (SBL), Rome, July 1, 2019. Discussion: "The Importance of Biblical Studies". By Michel Segatagara Kamanzi, SJ. A Spiritual Economy: Gift Exchange in the Letters of Paul of Tarsus. By Thomas R. Blanton IV. Download pdf. Â—Close.

Theology Kit App Update!!! A simple,concise and systematized biblical truths all in one App. With Theology Kit, systematic theology is never boring nor cumbersome. Why Theology Kit ? Our knowledge of God and our faith in God influences every aspect of our life.The Just shall live by faith- thus faith is a lifestyle,hence itâ€¦ My theological writing got overtaken by vocation and life. I am currently at university and on placements in hospitals, training to be a nurse. I am also exploring vocation to become a nun in a contemplative order. And then there is life, and prayerÂ Each day is gift, but writing theology has not been my priority recently. May we each know the grace and presence of Jesus Christ among us and within us. God be with you The Theology App has hit the apple app store with its first major update. Here are some of the new features: * The app is now completely mobile.Â * The Theology App is now a universal app! Buy it once and install it on an iPhone and iPad. The app is now a full-screen iPad app. The next update will take the iPad experience to even a greater level. The slides and workbooks have never looked better on the large iPad screen. * You now have the ability to take any screen of the app to fullscreen.