

Military Images in Paul's Letter to the Philippians

by

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

Doctor of Philosophy in Theology
Department of New Testament Studies

Submitted to
The Department of New Testament Studies
Faculty of Theology
University of Pretoria

Under the supervision of Prof. Gert Steyn

July 2013

Declaration

I declare that this doctoral thesis, which I hereby submit for the degree “Doctor of Philosophy in Theology” at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution.

Signature: -----

Date: 12 July 2013

Abstract

The city of Philippi was founded as a Roman military colony in 42 BC, directly following one of the largest battles of antiquity, the civil war battle of Philippi. This study shows that one hundred years later, at the time of writing of Paul's letter to the Philippians, the identity of the city was still deeply connected to its military history.

The apostle Paul found in the historical and sociological ties of the Philippians with the military reasons for drafting his letter in a rhetorical arrangement similar to the historical reports of commander's speeches to his assembled troops before battle. Not only does the vocabulary of Paul's ethical commands parallel the general's harangues, as has been previously pointed out by Biblical scholarship, but in Paul's letter one also finds correspondences to the three largest motifs of the general's speeches: the objective of the war, the confidence for victory and the rewards for courage and obedience.

The major unified theme of Philippians is the mutual military-partnership for the advance of the gospel in a hostile context (Phil. 1:7-12; 1:20; 2:19-24; 2:25-30; 3:12-15; 4:3; 4:10-19). Paul in his letter to the Philippians uses consistently military imagery – and not once athletic imagery, as typically assumed by exegetical scholars – to demonstrate that the courageous sharing of the faith will always result in victory for the one who proclaims Christ. This victory is guaranteed through the unsurpassable abilities of the supreme general, Jesus Christ, whose death on the cross and whose resurrection is portrayed as a military victory and whose exaltation by God the Father acknowledges Christ as the victorious general in an universal extent (Phil. 2:8-11). The victory of the gospel campaign is further guaranteed by the LORD's initiation of the war for the spread of the faith and by His presence with those who fight in His behalf for the spread of the good news (Phil. 1:5-7; 2:12-13; 2:14-15; 3:1; 4:4). Victory in the Philippian context means either the reception of the gospel by unbelievers or the death of the messenger on account of rejection of and opposition to the gospel; the suffering of the emissary of the gospel serves to glorify Christ and it is compensated by the superior enjoyment of Christ at the resurrection (Phil. 1:19-25). The reward, which God promises to the messenger of the gospel is several times stated in Philippians to be the exalted experience of fellowship with Christ at the resurrection (Phil. 1:21; 3:8-11; 3:20-21; 4:3).

The reading of Philippians in light of the appropriation of military terminology confirms that Paul's main purpose in writing Philippians is to encourage his partners to continue to take

risks, to be unafraid of suffering and to make sacrifices in order to boldly testify about Christ and to continue to financially contribute to the mission of spreading the faith.

The book of Philippians challenges the contemporary self-centred prosperity culture of the church to take risks and make sacrifices for the proclamation of Christ to unbelievers, sacrifices, which are supremely compensated by a life for the glory of Christ and the surpassing promise of the enjoyment of the glory of God in His Son Christ Jesus.

Key words:

- Philippi
- Military colony
- Philippians
- Exegesis
- Military terminology
- Military metaphors
- Deliberative rhetoric
- Advance of the gospel
- Victory
- Emperor

Acknowledgement

Although this doctoral thesis grew to its present form mainly in solitary hours in the library, my attic office or in the shade of pine trees (how I love your creation, Lord!), I am indebted to numerous people and institutions in South Africa, the USA and Germany for their assistance and support throughout the years of my study. I would like to express particular gratitude to:

Prof. Dr. Gert J. Steyn from the University of Pretoria for his enthusiastic support of this project. He has been a true *Doktor-Vater* to me, sincerely interested in the success of his son. I am grateful for his encouragement and wisdom, especially in the beginning stages of the investigation. I appreciated the freedom I had during the course of the years to “experiment” and find my own way. At the conclusion of the doctoral thesis I benefited from his meticulousness, critical thinking and practical wisdom – always communicated with a smile and a loving heart – making me eager to improve the work just a little more.

Dr. Alan Tomlinson from Midwestern Theological Seminary in Kansas City, who provided the initial inspiration for a focus on military terminology in Philippians. Dr. Tomlinson taught me to treasure the original sources and to “live in the first century” when looking at a New Testament text. He forgot lunch, faculty meetings and time to go home when he could sit with students and show them in the Greek text how the flow of the argument of a book in the New Testament develops. His passion for truth inspired me to love the joy of discovery.

Dr. Sam Storms from whom I inherited a passion to know and delight in the grandeur and sovereignty of God. I stood in awe of the majesty of God during every class he taught. Dr. Storms is the reason why I wanted to become a teacher of the Word of God and he is the reason for my continued fervent prayers that God would grant me this grace: to preach among the nations the unsearchable riches of Christ (Eph. 3:8)!

Michael Kailus, who taught me to enjoy exegesis and to wrestle with thoughts. He has been an example of someone who not only shared the truth, but his very life with me (1 Thes. 2:8).

The *Freistaat Sachsen* (Free State of Saxony) and the *Technische Universität Dresden* for the use of their first-class library (*Slub Dresden*) during the time of the writing of this thesis.

I would also like to thank several people who helped me in a non-academic fashion, but without which I would never be able to have come this far:

Wilfred Damsell (1932 – 2004). We had never met before when William set down next to me in a commuter train to Cape Town on that fateful day in January of 1993 and read to me the first chapter of the book of John. He told me about Jesus and the Lord opened my

heart for the gospel (Acts 16:14). This thesis is about men like him: Christians who take risks for the advance of the gospel so that Christ might be magnified (Phil. 1:20).

David and Nicki Warnick with their family, who hosted me for five years during my undergraduate study in Kansas City (Psa. 68:6 NKJV).

Bruce and Jo-Lyn Williamson from California with their family, to whom I have been like a son in their home during my graduate studies.

Dolf and Sulia Kleynhans – staying with you during my research time in South Africa has every time been like coming home! “How precious is your steadfast love, O God” (Psa. 36:7 NRS) has become a tangible reality in my life because of your kindness toward me.

Nadia Mueller, my beloved wife. I am reminded daily that gifts as precious as she is, come only by the marvelous grace of God. It is a privilege to walk together as the closest of companions in the pursuit of the glory of our Lord. A big thank you will not sufficiently convey my gratitude for her support of my dream of writing this doctoral thesis. Nadia never said a word that despite our tight budget the mailman came several times weekly with new books. Only a wife like her can understand that the best manuscripts of 1 Tim. 6:8 read “having food and clothing **and books**, with these we shall be contend” (1 Tim. 6:8).

Last, but not least, I will not forget that all that I am and all that has been accomplished is a work of the grace of God (1 Cor. 15:10). I started this research mainly because I wanted to spend intensive study time to go deeper with God. Both the times of frustration and the times of glorious discovery have brought me nearer to Christ. The mistakes I made are mine and I trust in His forgiveness for the things I might have written in error. Whatever truth has come to light through this research, is due to His grace.

Ἀποκαρδοκία καὶ ἐλπίς μου ἐστὶν ὅτι ἐν παντὶ καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν μεγαλυνθήσεται Χριστός.

Abbreviations

Secondary Works: Reference Works, Periodicals

<i>AA</i>	<i>Αρχαιολογικον Δελτιον</i>
<i>AÉ</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
<i>AEMΘ</i>	Αρχαιολογικο Εργο στη Μακεδονια και Θρακη (Archaeological Work on Macedonia and Thrace)
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt</i> . Ed. Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
<i>BDF</i>	<i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament</i> , ed. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and R. W. Funk
<i>BDAG</i>	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . Ed. W. Bauer, F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich
<i>BE</i>	<i>Bulletin Épigraphique</i>
<i>BMC</i>	<i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> . Ed. Harold Mattingly
<i>BMR</i>	<i>Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum</i> . Ed. Herbert A. Grueber
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>Collart</i>	Paul B. Collart. <i>Philippes, ville de Macédoine, depuis ses origins jusqu'à la fin de l'époque romaine</i> .
<i>Collart/ Ducrey</i>	Paul B. Collart/ Pierre Ducrey: <i>Philippes I. Les Reliefs rupestres</i> . <i>BCH Suppl.</i> 2.
<i>C SCT</i>	<i>Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition</i>
<i>DNTT</i>	<i>Dictionary of New Testament Theology</i>
<i>DPL</i>	<i>Dictionary of Paul and His Letters</i>
<i>EWNT</i>	<i>Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>EQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>ES</i>	<i>Epigraphische Studien</i>
<i>FRLANT</i>	Forschung zur Religion und Literatur des AT und NT
<i>Gaebler</i>	Hugo Gaebler, <i>Die Antiken Münzen von Makedonia und Paionia</i> .
<i>IGRR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i>
<i>Deissmann, LAE</i>	Adolf Deissmann, <i>Light from the Ancient East. The New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World</i> .

<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSNTSupp</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>JTS (NS)</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies (New Series)</i>
Keppie, 1983	Keppie, L. J. F., <i>Colonization and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47–14 BC.</i>
Keppie, 1998	Keppie, L. J. F., <i>The Making of the Roman Army.</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
Lemerle	Paul Lemerle. <i>Philippes et la Macédoine orientale à l'époque chrétienne et byzantine. Recherches d'histoire et d'archéologie.</i>
LN	Louw, Johannes P., and Eugene A. Nida. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains.</i>
LSJ	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , ed. Liddell, H. G., Scott, R., Jones, H. S.
MM	Moulton, J. H. and Milligan, G., <i>The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament: Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-literary Sources.</i>
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
<i>NIDNTT</i>	<i>New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology</i>
<i>ND</i>	<i>New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity</i>
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NovTSupp</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum Supplements</i>
<i>OCD</i>	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i>
Pilhofer, 1995	Peter Pilhofer, <i>Philippi. Band I, Die erste christliche Gemeinde Europas.</i>
Pilhofer, 2009	Peter Pilhofer, <i>Philippi. Band II, Katalog der Inschriften von Philippi.</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RIC</i>	<i>The Roman Imperial Coinage.</i> Ed. H. B. Mattingly, et al.
<i>RMR</i>	<i>Roman Military Records on Papyrus.</i> Ed. Robert. O. Fink
<i>RPC1</i>	<i>Roman Provincial Coinage, Volume I in two parts</i>
<i>RPCS1</i>	<i>Roman Provincial Coinage Supplement I</i>
<i>RPCS2</i>	<i>Roman Provincial Coinage Supplement II</i>
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>SIG</i>	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
<i>SP</i>	<i>Select Papyri: Non-Literary Papyri</i> , eds. Arthur S. Hunt and Campbell C. Edgar. LCL.
Thayer	Thayer's Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament

TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Ed. Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich
TLNT	Theological Lexicon of the New Testament
<i>TynBul</i>	Tyndale Bulletin
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
<i>WB</i>	<i>Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden</i> . Ed. Friedrich Preisigke
<i>WUNT</i>	<i>Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>ZNT</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Theologie</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
<i>ZThK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

English Translations of the Bible

ASV	American Standard Version
GNB	Good News Bible
KJV	King James Version
NASB	New American Standard Version
NCB	New Century Bible
NEB	New English Bible
NIV	New International Version
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
TNIV	Today's New International Version

Classical, Hellenistic and Latin Literature, Christian Writings

Aelian	
Ael. <i>Var. Hist.</i>	<i>Varia Historia</i>
Aeneas	
Aen. <i>Tact.</i>	Aeneas Tacticus
Aeschines	
Aeschin. 1	<i>Against Timarchus</i>
Aeschin. 2	<i>On the Embassy</i>

Aeschin. 3	<i>Against Ctesiphon</i>
Aeschylus	
Aesch. <i>Ag.</i>	<i>Agamemnon</i>
Appian	
App. <i>BC.</i>	<i>The Civil Wars</i>
App. <i>Gall.</i>	<i>The Gallic History</i>
App. <i>Hann.</i>	<i>The Hannibalic War</i>
App. <i>Hisp.</i>	<i>The Spanish Wars</i>
App. <i>Ill.</i>	<i>The Illyrian Wars</i>
App. <i>Ital.</i>	<i>Italy</i>
App. <i>Mac.</i>	<i>The Macedonian Affairs</i>
App. <i>Mith.</i>	<i>The Mithridatic War</i>
App. <i>Praef.</i>	<i>Preface</i>
App. <i>Pun.</i>	<i>The Punic Wars</i>
App. <i>Syr.</i>	<i>The Syrian Wars</i>
Aristotle	
Aristot. <i>Rh.</i>	<i>Ars Rhetorica</i>
Arrian	
Arr. <i>Alex.</i>	<i>The Anabasis of Alexander</i>
Arr. <i>Tact.</i>	<i>Ars Tacticus</i>
Augustus	
Aug. <i>RGDA.</i>	<i>Res Gestae Divi Augusti</i>
Julius Caesar	
BC	<i>The Civil Wars</i>
BG	<i>The Gallic War</i>
Cicero	
Cic. <i>Att.</i>	<i>Letters to Atticus</i>
Cic. <i>Fam.</i>	<i>Letters to his friends</i>
Cic. <i>Man.</i>	<i>On Pompey's Command</i>
Cic. <i>Phil.</i>	<i>Philippics</i>
Cic. <i>Ver.</i>	<i>Against Verres</i>
Cic. <i>ad Brut.</i>	<i>Letters to Brutus</i>
Cic. <i>Oct.</i>	<i>Letter to Octavian</i>
Cic. <i>Or.</i>	<i>On the Orator</i>
Cic. <i>pro Font.</i>	<i>Oratio Pro M. Fonteio</i>
Cic. <i>pro Leg. Man.</i>	<i>Cicero Pro Lege Manilia</i>

<i>Cic. in Pis.</i>	<i>Oratio in L. Pisonem</i>
<i>Cic. pro Plan.</i>	<i>Pro Plancio</i>
Quintius Curtus Rufus	
Curt.	<i>The History of Alexander</i>
Dionysius Halicarnassus	
DH.	<i>The Roman Antiquities</i>
Corpus Iuris Civilis	
<i>Dig.</i>	<i>Corpus Iuris Civilis, Digesta</i>
Cassius Dio	
Dio.	<i>Roman History</i>
Dio Chrysostom	
Dio Chrysost. <i>Or.</i>	<i>Orations</i>
Diodorus Siculus	
DS.	<i>History</i>
Epictetus	
Epict. <i>Diss.</i>	<i>Epicteti Dissertationes ab Arriano Digestae</i>
Euripides	
Eur. <i>Her.</i>	<i>Heracles</i>
Florus	
Flor.	<i>Epitome</i>
Frontinus	
Fron. <i>Strat.</i>	<i>The Strategems and Aqueducts of Rome</i>
Aulus Gellius	
Gell.	<i>Attic Nights</i>
Hesiod	
Hes. <i>Op.</i>	<i>Works and Days</i>
Herodian	
Her.	<i>History of the Empire</i>
Herodotus	
Hdt.	<i>The Histories</i>
Horace	
Hor. <i>Ars.</i>	<i>Ars Poetica</i>
Hor. <i>Carm.</i>	<i>Odes</i>
Hor. <i>S.</i>	<i>Satires</i>
Flavius Josephus	
Jos. <i>AJ.</i>	<i>Jewish Antiquities</i>

Jos. <i>Ap.</i>	<i>Against Apion</i>
Jos. <i>BJ.</i>	<i>The Jewish War</i>
Jos. <i>Vit.</i>	<i>Life of Josephus</i>
Homer	
Hom. <i>Il.</i>	<i>The Ilead</i>
Livy	
Liv.	<i>The History of Rome</i>
Lucan	
Lucan	<i>The Civil War</i>
Lucian	
Luc. <i>Anach.</i>	<i>Anacharsis</i>
Luc. <i>Hermot.</i>	<i>Hermotimus</i>
Lycurgus	
Lyc. 1	<i>Against Leocrates</i>
Martial	
Mart.	<i>Epigrams</i>
Menander	
Menand. <i>Mon.</i>	<i>Monostichoi</i>
Onosander (Onasander)	
Onos. <i>Strat.</i>	<i>Strategikos (The General)</i>
Oppian	
Oppian. <i>Cyn.</i>	<i>Cynegetica</i>
Ovid	
Ovid. <i>Pont.</i>	<i>Ex Ponto</i>
Ovid. <i>Meta.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>
Pausanias	
Paus. <i>Descr.</i>	<i>Description of Greece</i>
Flavius Philostratus	
Phil. <i>VA.</i>	<i>Vita Apollonii (Life of Apollonius)</i>
Philo	
Philo <i>Vit. Mos.</i>	<i>De Vita Mosis</i>
Philo <i>Sacr. AC.</i>	<i>De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini</i>
Plato	
Pl. <i>Alc.</i>	<i>Alcibiades 1, 2</i>
Polybius	
Plb.	<i>The Histories</i>

Pliny the Younger

 Plin. *Ep.*
Epistulae

 Plin. *Nat.*
Naturalis Historia
Plutarch

 Plut. *Aem.*
Aemilius Paullus

 Plut. *Ages.*
Agesilaus

 Plut. *Agis*
Agis

 Plut. *Alc.*
Alcibiades

 Plut. *Alex.*
Alexander

 Plut. *Ant.*
Antonius

 Plut. *Arat.*
Aratus

 Plut. *Arist.*
Aristeides

 Plut. *Art.*
Artaxerxes

 Plut. *Brut.*
Brutus

 Plut. *CG*
Gaius Gracchus

 Plut. *Caes.*
Caesar

 Plut. *Cam.*
Camillus

 Plut. *Cat. Ma.*
Marcus Cato

 Plut. *Cat. Mi.*
Cato Minor

 Plut. *Cic.*
Cicero

 Plut. *Cim.*
Cimon

 Plut. *Cleom.*
Cleomenes

 Plut. *Cor.*
Gaius Marcius Coriolanus

 Plut. *Crass.*
Crassus

 Plut. *Dem.*
Demosthenes

 Plut. *Demetr.*
Demetrius

 Plut. *Dio.*
Dion

 Plut. *Eum.*
Eumenes

 Plut. *Fab.*
Fabius Maximus

 Plut. *Flam.*
Titus Flamininus

 Plut. *Luc.*
Lucullus

 Plut. *Lyc.*
Lycurgus

 Plut. *Lys.*
Lysander

 Plut. *Mar.*
Gaius Marius

 Plut. *Marc.*
Marcellus

 Plut. *Mor.*
Moralia

Plut. <i>Nic.</i>	<i>Nicias</i>
Plut. <i>Num.</i>	<i>Numa</i>
Plut. <i>Per.</i>	<i>Pericles</i>
Plut. <i>Phil.</i>	<i>Philopoemen</i>
Plut. <i>Pomp.</i>	<i>Pompey</i>
Plut. <i>Pyrrh.</i>	<i>Pyrrhus</i>
Plut. <i>Sert.</i>	<i>Sertorius</i>
Plut. <i>Sol.</i>	<i>Solon</i>
Plut. <i>Sull.</i>	<i>Sulla</i>
Plut. <i>TG</i>	<i>Tiberius Gracchus</i>
Plut. <i>Them.</i>	<i>Themistocles</i>
Plut. <i>Thes.</i>	<i>Theseus</i>
Plut. <i>Tim.</i>	<i>Timoleon</i>
Polyaenus	
Polyaenus	<i>Strategems of War</i>
Propertius	
Prop. <i>El.</i>	Propertius, <i>Elegies</i>
Quintilian	
Quint. <i>Inst. Or.</i>	<i>Institutio Oratio</i>
Sallust	
Sal. <i>Jug.</i>	<i>War with Jugurtha</i>
Sal. <i>Cat.</i>	<i>War with Catiline</i>
Seneca	
Sen. <i>Ep. Mor.</i>	<i>Epistulae Morales</i>
Sen. <i>Cons. Polyb.</i>	<i>de consolatione ad Polybium</i>
Strabo	
Strab.	<i>Geography</i>
Suetonius	
Suet. <i>Cae.</i>	<i>Lives of the Caesars</i>
Suet. <i>Aug.</i>	<i>Augustus</i>
Suet. <i>Cal.</i>	<i>Caligula</i>
Suet. <i>Cl.</i>	<i>Claudius</i>
Suet. <i>Dom.</i>	<i>Domitianus</i>
Suet. <i>Jul.</i>	<i>Julius</i>
Suet. <i>Tib.</i>	<i>Tiberius</i>
Tacitus	

Tac. <i>Ag.</i>	<i>Agricola</i>
Tac. <i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annales</i>
Tac. <i>Dial.</i>	<i>Dialogus</i>
Tac. <i>Ger.</i>	<i>Germania</i>
Tac. <i>Hist.</i>	<i>Historiae</i>
Tertullian	
Ter. <i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologeticus</i>
Thucydides	
Th. <i>Pel.</i>	<i>History of the Peloponnesian War</i>
Theophrastus	
Theo. <i>Caus Plant.</i>	<i>Enquiry into Plants</i>
Valerius Maximus	
V. Max.	<i>Facta et Dicta Memorabilia</i>
Flavius Vegetius Renatus	
Veg. <i>Epit.</i>	<i>Epitoma Rei Militaris</i>
Velleius Paterculus	
Vell.	<i>Historiae Romanae</i>
Vergil	
Verg. <i>A.</i>	<i>Aeneid</i>
Xenophon	
Xen. <i>Ages.</i>	<i>Agésilus</i>
Xen. <i>Ana.</i>	<i>Anabasis</i>
Xen. <i>Hell.</i>	<i>Hellenica</i>
Xen. <i>Cyn.</i>	<i>Cynegeticus</i>
Xen. <i>Cyr.</i>	<i>Institution Cyri (Cyropaedia)</i>
Xen. <i>Mem.</i>	<i>Memorabilia</i>
Zonaras	
Zon. <i>Epi.</i>	<i>Epitome Historiarum</i>
Zosimus	
Zs.	<i>History of Zosimus</i>

General Abbreviations

AD	<i>anno Domini</i>
BC	before Christ
c.	century
ca.	<i>circa</i> , approximately
cf.	compare
ed.	edited by
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> , for example
ibid.	<i>ibidem</i> , in the same place, i.e. the same literary work
i.d.	<i>idem</i> , from the same author
i.e.	<i>id est</i> , that is
LXX	Septuagint
ms., mss.	manuscript(s)
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
P.	papyri
v./ vs.	verse(s)
vol./ vols.	volume(s)

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. The socio-historical background of Philippi as a military colony

1.1.1. Character of New Testament literature: directly dependent on Greco-Roman historical and cultural background

Had Julius Caesar not been assassinated in 44 BC, Paul's letter to the Philippians would never have been written!

The redemptive history of God accomplished through the death and resurrection of Christ did not happen in a historical vacuum, but all of God's supernatural interactions with humanity happened in interaction with and dependent upon "secular" history. Jesus working miracles, the calling of His disciples, the preaching of the nearness of the Kingdom of God, His death by the most brutal execution methods of Roman rule, as well as His vindication through His resurrection, and the spread of the gospel through the Holy-Spirit-empowered apostles did not happen "in a corner."¹ They were firmly integrated into the historical-cultural background of Mediterranean life in the first century. Equally so was the formation of the letters of the New Testament. They are a product of the historical developments of Greek and Roman history and are thoroughly integrated into the language and thought patterns of first-century Mediterranean culture.

1.1.2. The historical background for the founding of the Roman colony of Philippi

On March 14th 44 BC Philippi was a rather insignificant and declining village in rural Macedonia. It's golden times as a Greek colony fortified by Philip II after its humble start as a Thracian village and a gold-mining town had long passed. One hundred years later and the place would have been a typical little farming community along the *Via Egnatia* similar to many other undistinguished settlements along the one thousand–one hundred kilometre long

¹ "For the king knows about these things . . . and none of these things escaped his notice, for this was not done in a corner." Paul to king Agrippa and the Roman governor Porcius Festus in a judicial hearing in Caesarea Maritima. Acts 26:26.

stretch of road whose memories have become untraceable as history took its course. Hardly the place for a stop of the apostle Paul, whose missionary strategy focused on the political or economic centres of the Roman Empire and who bypassed more significant Macedonian towns such as Neapolis, Amphipolis or Appolonia. March 15th 44 BC came and it looked as though in Rome and its Empire everything would continue as usual. Julius Caesar did not feel well that morning and had almost dismissed the scheduled meeting of the senate to rest and cure himself. He changed his mind and decided to be carried there on a litter. Moments later he lay dead in front of Pompey's statue, struck down by the daggers of Casca, Bucolianus, Cassius and Brutus.² It would have taken months for the few Greek farmers of Philippi to receive the news. When they did, they likely did not care. But everything was about to change drastically, particularly for Philippi.

In the meantime Rome had been plunged into a civil war. Antony, Caesars former junior colleague in the consulship, reinforced the legions under his command and vied for supreme power. So did Octavian, the heir according to the will of Julius Caesar. A senatorial build-up of legions followed promptly under the leadership of Hirtius and Pansa, waging war against Antony at Mutina.³ Two years passed with constant shifting of fortunes between Antony, Octavian and the senate, since no decisive victory of either side could be claimed, the political power balance being complex and legions regularly shifting their allegiance. The hope of senatorial restoration of the Roman republic was crushed when Antony came to terms with Octavian and the second triumvirate was created with Lepidus as partner.⁴ As a consequence Rome experienced a horrific massacre of its leading citizens through conscription initiated by the triumvirate.⁵ The only hope for the defence and the survival of the age-old Roman senatorial rule was now with Brutus and Cassius to whom the Senate had previously voted the important provinces of the east: Macedonia, Illyria and Syria with the legions stationed there.⁶

Both Brutus and Cassius had wasted not a minute of time since their arrival in the east and had focused on a massive build up of their own legions – at the cost of the rich eastern provinces being ravished.⁷ The decision concerning the future of the Roman Empire was made in the direct clash of the troops of the assassins of Caesar, Cassius and Brutus and the heirs of Caesar, Octavian and Antony. The latter gathered their impressive accumulation of forces in the summer of 42 BC and crossed the Adriatic into Macedonia for a frontal assault on the legions of Brutus and Cassius. The two armies met for a dramatic

² App. BC. II.16.111-17.

³ App. BC. III.8.67-10.76.

⁴ App. BC. IV.1.1-4.

⁵ App. BC. IV.2.5-6.51.

⁶ App. BC. III.8.63.

⁷ App. BC. III.11.78-79.; IV.8.56-11.85.

showdown and a battle, whose significance for the future of the Greco-Roman world was unrivalled. What Gettysburg was for the USA, what Stalingrad was for Russia, the battle of Philippi in 42 BC was for the future of the Greco-Roman world. Brutus and Cassius had arrived in the vicinity of Philippi first and anticipating the arrival of their enemies along the *Via Egnatia*, had chosen the south eastern hills of the precipices of the *Panagion* Mountains, on which Philippi is located, (including two smaller hills to the east of Philippi) as a strategically advantageous position for a confrontation with Antony and Octavian.⁸ The latter had to settle with the inferior position of encamping on the flat land to the east with the swamps to their south.

According to Appian, both sides had nineteen legions at their disposal, although Brutus' and Cassius' were not filled to maximum strength of six thousand men in each. The triumvirs had thirty-three thousand cavalry, the Republican forces seventeen thousand cavalry, both sides were certainly accompanied by a significant number of auxiliaries.⁹ Brutus and Cassius, besides occupying the superior strategic position, had the better support of supplies on their side, whatever was needed was provided via the harbour of Neapolis, just 20 kilometres south of their encampment. The forces of the dictators were hard pressed by sickness and scarcity of provision. Octavian was ill during most of the campaign and could hardly be counted as contributing personally to the operation.

It was the audacity of Antony, which won the day for the triumvirs. Antony had pushed his soldiers through the marsh, attacking the fortifications of Cassius initiating the first battle occurring in the first week of October 42 BC. The battle ended balanced, with both sides claiming victory. Brutus' troops had captured Octavian's camp, his soldiers fleeing the scene, but reforming later, as the troops of Brutus were sidetracked with plundering the camp. On the other side Antony had captured Cassius' camp, the latter had re-rallied his troops on the hill of Philippi. Here a tragic mistake made by Cassius was likely the decisive factor in turning the outcome of the war. Cassius, unable to see well on account of the dust, mistook the nearing of shouting soldiers as enemies instead of rejoicing troops bringing the news of victory on Brutus' side. Fearing capture, this able commander killed himself and the Liberator's army was left without his best strategic mind. Brutus combined the remains of the two armies under his command. On the same day the Republican fleet intercepted and destroyed the reinforcements and supplies of the triumvirs in a naval battle. Urged by hunger, Antony's forces kept on pressing through the swamp on the south side. Brutus' defensive position and blockading position were still intact. He wanted to starve his

⁸ App. *BC*. IV.13.105-106.

⁹ App. *BC*. IV.14.108. The Republican forces had 17 legions on site at Philippi, two legions were stationed with the fleet. Brutus is said to have eight, Cassius nine legions, (since they were not full, they amounted to 80,000 footsoldiers present at Philippi on the Republican side) (App. *BC*. IV.11.88). The triumvirs are present with 19 complete legions, about 110,000 footsoldiers.

opponents into submission or retreat, but his soldiers became restless and edged him on for open battle.

The second battle of Philippi took place on October 23rd. The close combat between well-trained veterans resulted in much slaughter, but eventually Brutus' attack was repulsed, his ranks broken, his army routed, his camp captured. Brutus committed suicide, making the victory of Antony complete.¹⁰ The far-reaching consequences for the Roman Empire for the next five hundred years were laconically described by Appian as:

ἐκρίθη γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ πολιτεία παρ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔργον μάλιστα . . . ¹¹	Their form of government was decided chiefly by that day's battle . . .
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With the end of the civil war between the Republicans and the triumvirs the small settlement of Philippi would remain famous on account of the turning point which Roman history experienced, decided by the legendary battle of Philippi. Not only that, Philippi's own future would be significantly altered through an immediately proceeding event, only days after the battle at its doors. Many time-served soldiers had to be discharged and had to be awarded with land and money. While Octavian travelled to Italy to wholesale confiscate prosperous towns for his veterans, Antony settled a portion of his veterans right there and then: founding a Roman colony by the name *Colonia Victrix Philippensium*.¹²

In 30 BC after the breakdown of the triumvirate and after Antony was defeated by his rival Octavian in the battle of Actium (31 BC), Octavian re-founded the colony in his own name, populating the colony with his own veterans, among them a cohort of Praetorians, and some civilian supporters of Antony.¹³ Philippi was renamed *Colonia Iulia Philippensis* and after Octavian received from the senate the title *Augustus* in 27 BC, the colony took the name *Colonia Iulia Augusta Philippensis*¹⁴ and was awarded the prestigious title *ius Italicum*, thus reinforcing the city's distinct Roman character.

In the first century BC, Philippi would not only be firmly in Roman hands, but firmly in the hands of military veterans as well. The rank one held in the legion as a soldier was transferred to the positions and class structures of the newly formed colony. The Philippian

¹⁰ App. *BC*. IV.16.-17.

¹¹ App. *BC*. IV.17.138.

¹² Collart, 227.

¹³ Walter C. G. Schmitthenner, *The Armies of the Triumviral Period: a Study of the Origins of the Roman Imperial Legions*. D. Phil. Thesis, Oxford: University of Oxford, unpublished, 1958, 62-64. Peter A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower, 225 BC – AD 14*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971. Keppie, Lawrence. *Colonization and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47–14 BC*. London: The British School at Rome, 1983, 36-37. Beside the initial settlement of military men, Peter Oakes correctly notes that over the years not only Romans settled in Philippi, but Greek and Thracian traders, migrant workers and slaves (of numerous nationalities). Peter Oakes, *Philippians: From People to Letter*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 110. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 14.

¹⁴ Collart, 240-41.

elite was made up of previously high ranking officers of the legion and one's identity, station in life and relationship to others in the community were parallel to the previous authority structures of the army.

1.2. The research history: the influence of the military socio-historical situation into the exegesis of the letter

In the recent past there has been a renewed interest in the political, social and historical background of the city of Philippi and its influence to the understanding of the letter. Commentators have rightly called attention to the importance of the life-setting of Paul's letter for proper exegesis. The significance of the historical context for a correct interpretation was summarised succinctly by Moisés Silva: "The epistle to the Philippians did not appear out of time-space vacuum; it was written by a historical person to a historical church in a particular historical period, and every effort must be made to identify those historical features as precisely as possible."¹⁵

The military character of Philippi in the first century BC was early recognised by exegetes and theologians. The history of research can be grouped into four categories: a) exegetes who were aware of the military history and character of the Philippi, but drew no conclusions out of the knowledge of the social situation in first century BC, b) interpreters who were aware of the military character of Philippi and who highlighted potential military terminology in the letter, but made no significant alterations in the interpretation of the letter because of military terminology, c) a number of scholars in the "quest for military images." Within this group we find scholars who intentionally reinterpret certain passages in Philippians in the light of alternative possible readings of vocabulary and discovered allusions to the military. Included in this category are scholars who take over the discoveries of the quest for military images in their own works without adding significantly to the thematic understanding of the letter. Finally, there are d) the critical voices of military images, i.e. scholars who disavow that Paul positively influenced the Philippians theologically through an appropriation of military nomenclature.

¹⁵ Moisés Silva, *Philippians*. Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Baker: Grand Rapids, 2005, 1.

1.2.1. Military character of Philippi acknowledged, but without influence into the reading of Paul's letter

The majority of the larger and scholarly German or English commentaries point out to their readers in an introductory section the military nature of Philippi: its identity based on one of the decisive battles in history and its founding as a Roman military colony.¹⁶ Although the battle of Philippi and the foundation of the colony with military veterans is brought to attention as highly significant for the background of the city, no further implications from the history or the social composition of the city are drawn for the interpretation of the letter, aside from mentioning the obvious, that words like *πραιτώριον* (Phil. 1:13), *σωτηρία* (Phil. 1:19), *συστρατιώτης* (Phil. 2:25) originate from military usage or are used as military metaphors.

1.2.2. Military metaphors in Philippians discovered, but without influence into the interpretation of Paul's letter

Early on some interpreters recognised military metaphors in Philippians beyond the few overtly perceptible termini such as *συστρατιώτης* or *πραιτώριον*. Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin already recognised in 1983 a cluster of military-related words, mentioning *στήκεω*, *συναθλέω*, *ἄγων*, *πάσχω* in 1:27-30, but the commentary from the *Word Biblical Commentary Series* kept the implications of the findings purposefully vague, to let the reader decide if he should attribute the imagery to battle terminology or terminology from the athletic games. Hawthorne and Martin use their discovery for illustration only when they write, "One is tempted to compare Paul with a commanding officer or a coach who is determined to

¹⁶ See e.g., Peter T. O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. The New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 4: "In 42 BC Philippi became famous as the place where Mark Antony and Octavian defeated the Roman Republican forces . . . the victors settled a number of their veteran soldiers there . . ." Gordon D. Fee, *Philippians*. New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995, 25-26: "Our interest in the history of the city stems particularly from 42 BCE, in which year two major battles were fought nearby in the plain . . . following these victories Octavian honored Philippi by 're-founding' it as a Roman military colony." G. Walter Hansen, *The Letter to the Philippians*. Pillar New Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009, 2-3. Markus Bockmuehl, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. Black's New Testament Commentary. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1998, 3-4.; Joachim Gnllka, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. Leipzig: St. Benno-Verlag, 1969, 1-2: ". . . Philippi . . . wird im Oktober 42 Zeuge der Doppelschlacht . . . durch die die Stadt in die Weltgeschichte eingeht." Ernst Lohmeyer, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. In *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953, 1: "Ihr [Philippi's] Charakter ist bestimmt . . . von römische Veteranen, durch die die einstige Königstadt der Makedonier zur römischen Militärkolonie geworden ist." Ulrich B. Müller, "Der Brief des Paulus an die Philipper." In *Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament*. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1993, 1: "Erst mit der Schlacht . . . im Jahr 42 v. Chr . . . tritt Philippi ins hellere Licht der Weltgeschichte. Schon Antonius beginnt bald nach der Schlacht, die Stadt mit entlassenen Legionssoldaten zu besiedeln . . ."

inspire his troops . . .” The commentary does not make any exegetical inferences from the previous discovery of military language.¹⁷

Gerhard Friedrich goes one step further with his commentary published in 1985. He clearly sees Phil. 1:27-30 dominated with military expressions and interprets the section accordingly as a battle which the Philippians fight through their suffering for the faith:

<p>Die von Gott geschenkte Einheit gilt es zu bewähren, darum sollen die Philipper mit einer Seele kämpfen durch den Glauben, den das Evangelium bei ihnen wirkt . . . In diesem Krieg ist der Glaube, für den sie im Kampfe stehen, gleichzeitig ihr Bundesgenosse; denn durch ihn wird die Gemeinde eine Einheit, die dem Gegner widerstehen kann Ihr Kampf besteht im Leiden (V.29), und durch ihr Leiden breiten sie das Evangelium aus Bei diesem Kampf geht es nicht um Sieg oder Niederlage, sondern viel radikaler: um Errettung und ewiges Verderben. Der Abschnitt ist gefüllt mit Ausdrücken aus dem politischen und militärischen Leben. Das ist eine Sprache, die die alten Soldaten in Philippi verstehen.¹⁸</p>	<p>This God-given unity, it is supposed to be kept and proven, therefore all Philippians are to fight with one soul by faith, which is caused in their lives by the gospel . . . In this war the faith for which they are in battle is at the same time their ally, because by him the church becomes a unity that can resist the enemy Their struggle consists in tribulation (v. 29), and through their suffering they spread the gospel This fight is not about victory or defeat, but more radically about salvation and eternal perdition The section is filled with expressions from the political military life. That is a language, which the old soldiers in Philippi understand.</p>
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An initial attempt to understand the nature of the conflict in Phil. 3:1-11 in light of the sociological composition of Philippi as made up of former military veterans was undertaken by Mikael Tellbe in his short article *The Sociological Factors behind Philippians 3.1-11 and the Conflict at Philippi*.¹⁹ Brief references to potential military metaphors are also made by Samuel Vollenweider, who claims that ἀντίκαιμενοι (Phil. 1:28) is soldier's terminology and

¹⁷ Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 1983, 54; reprinted in 2004, 66-67.

¹⁸ Gerhard Friedrich, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. Das Neue Testament Deutsch. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985, 146-47.

¹⁹ Mikael Tellbe, "The Sociological Factors behind Philippians 3.1-11 and the Conflict at Philippi." In *JSNT* 55. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publication, 1995, 108.

that Paul presents himself as a fighter for the gospel.²⁰ That Phil. 1:27-30 consists not of athletic imagery, but is made up of “soldier's language” has been noted by Uta Poplutz. She correctly highlights that the τῶν ἀντικειμένων are never in ancient literature fellow athletes, but hostile enemies and often direct synonyms for τοῖς ἐχθροῖς (e.g. Ex. 23:22; 2 Sam. 8:10; 1 Mac. 14:7; 2 Mac. 10:26 LXX). The military imagery is completed with στήκειν (“the determination of a soldier . . . not to depart one meter from his post”), συναθλέω (“to fight in war”) and πτόρω (“the fear of enemies”).²¹

In these works elementary steps were taken in order to highlight the potential, which military terminology has for understanding Philippians, they stopped short, however, of a fuller examination of the terminology of Philippians and its potential consequence for understanding Paul's intention of communication.

1.2.3. Military terminology causes a significant re-reading of Paul's letter

Knowledge of the historical background had limited influence on the reading and interpretation of Paul's letter to the Philippians until 1993, when Edgar Krentz published his groundbreaking article, “Military Language and Metaphors in Philippians.”²² In hindsight it is surprising that – given the importance of the military in the history of the city of Philippi and given the significant influence military veterans played in the formation of the sociological values of Philippi, simply because of the prominent status the veterans had in the sociological strata of society – the discovery that many words in Philippians may carry military nuances came so late.

Edgar Krentz opened up a new world of possibilities by demonstrating (before turning to the Philippian situation in particular) that military language was a very familiar *TOPOS* in philosophic argumentation for conveying ethical ideals in military metaphors, being utilised

²⁰ Samuel Vollenweider, “Philippenerbrief.” In *Erklärt - Der Kommentar zur Zürcher Bibel*. Vol. 3. Eds. M. Krieg and K. Schmid. Zürich: TVZ, 2010, 2461.

²¹ Uta Poplutz, *Athlet des Evangeliums. Eine motivgeschichtliche Studie zur Wettkampfmotaphorik bei Paulus*. Freiburg: Herder, 2004, 301-04, 326-28.

²² Edgar Krentz, “Military Language and Metaphors in Philippians.” In *Origins and Method: Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity*. Ed. Bradley H. McLean. Journal of the Study of the New Testament Supplement 86. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993, 265-286. Before Krentz attempted in 1993 to prove the existence of military connotations and war metaphors in 1:27-30 through linguistic analysis, Lilian Portefaix had already raised the attention to military language in two short, but significant pages within her book *Sisters Rejoice*. She noted the military connotation of the word ἀγών (Phil. 1:30) as one suited for the inhabitants of the military colony and correctly summarises the message of Phil. 1:12-30 as illustrated by a war metaphor in which combatants fight shoulder to shoulder in mass formations, in which solidarity is essential for victory. The individual fighter, by the command “στήκετε ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι” (Phil. 1:27), is called not to break the line of battle, unlike the “bad soldiers” Euodia and Syntyche, who had broken rank and quarreled between themselves. (Lilian Portefaix, *Sisters Rejoice: Paul's Letter to the Philippians and the Luke-Acts as Received by First-Century Women*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1988, 140-141.)

both by Romans and Greeks (such as Tacitus, Socrates, Epictetus, Hierocles and Seneca). He logically concluded that one should not be surprised to find similar use of military language in Paul's letters. By focusing on Phil. 1:27-30 he proceeded to show that in the aforementioned passage Paul made consistent and clear use of military and not athletic language. Krentz based his conclusion on the appearance of key terms in Phil. 1:27-30 and in the military records of historians (Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus, Appian, Arian), orators (Lysias, Aeschines, Demosthenes), the biographer Plutarch, writers of military tactical manuals (Aeneas Tacticus, Asclepiodotus, Onosander, Polyaeus), as well as in inscriptions.

According to Krentz ἀξίως τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (Phil. 1:27) parallels how the Athenians "fought worthily" of the record through engaging in close ranks the barbarians (Hdt. VI.112). ἵνα εἴτε ἐλθὼν καὶ ἰδὼν ὑμᾶς εἴτε ἀπὼν (Phil. 1:27) is reminiscent of the general, who genuinely wants to fight beside and share the danger of the soldiers. And ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πάσχειν, τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγῶνα ἔχοντες, οἷον εἶδετε ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ νῦν ἀκούετε ἐν ἐμοί parallels a commander of the army encouraging his officers to set an example of enduring hardship (Xen. *Ana.* III.1.37). στήκετε ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι, μιᾷ ψυχῇ συναθλοῦντες (Phil. 1:27) is military terminology reminding the reader of the importance for the soldier to remain in line and not to break ranks (Onos. *Strat.* XXVII.; Xen. *Cyr.* V.3.58.; Veg. *Epit.* I.26.), στήκετε being an antonym of to flee (φυγεῖν) and ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι, μιᾷ ψυχῇ describing the unity of mind, purpose and action necessary to achieve military victory. Krentz also points out that both συναθλοῦντες (Phil. 1:27) and ἀγῶν (Phil. 1:30) are not to be regarded as athletic or gladiatorial images, but in a military context are to be translated "fighting together" and "battle" respectively. (Hdt I.67.1.; VII.212.; Th. I.143.2.; Xen. *Cyr.* IV.5.49.; Pl. *Alc.* 119e.1-2.). There is evidence for πτυρόμαι (Phil. 1:28) being employed in a military context of horses being frightened (Plu. *Fab.* III.1.; DS. II.19.; XVII.34.6.) and πάσχειν (Phil. 1:29) is regularly used for suffering harm from a military opponent (Onos. *Strat.* XXXVI.2.). Krentz summarised his findings with the conclusion that the convergence of such a large amount of military language demonstrates that Paul is using a consistent linguistic field to describe Christians as those engaged in a battle that demands unity of mind and action.²³

Edgar Krentz's initial article was followed in the same year by the publication of Timothy C. Geoffrion's doctoral dissertation with the revealing title "The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians."²⁴ Geoffrion, having been mentored by Krentz, proceeds on the heels of Krentz's publication to show that military terminology plays

²³ Krentz expanded his original article significantly through the publication of "Paul, Games, and the Military." In *Paul in the Greco-Roman World*. Ed. J. Paul Sampley. London: Trinity Press International, 2003, 344-383.

²⁴ Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993.

a major role in the organisation of the whole of Philippians and not just of Phil. 1:27-30. Geoffrion's aim is to demonstrate that one overarching rhetorical purpose, one dominant unifying theme is evident throughout the whole book of Philippians. Combining research on the integrity of the letter of Philippians and on linguistic analysis, Geoffrion seeks to prove that Paul utilises political and military language to weave together individual rhetorical devices for one dominant unifying theme: steadfastness in the face of intimidating outside pressures. Inherent in the complex theme of steadfastness is the call to hold on to the gospel, not accepting a false gospel (Phil. 3:2, 18-19) and to carry on the work of "contending for" (i.e. "proclaiming") the gospel (Phil. 1:28; 4:2-3).

Relying on Duane F. Watson's rhetorical analysis of Philippians as a carefully constructed letter, "being organised and written according to the principles of Greco-Roman rhetoric,"²⁵ Geoffrion attempted to show that all other sections of Philippians are ultimately related to the dominant purpose expressed in the *narratio* (Phil. 1:27-30) of the letter. This unifying purpose is presented throughout Philippians in military terminology as "steadfastness in the gospel." Geoffrion considered Phil. 1:27-30 structurally the centrepiece of the letter because the *narratio* in Greco-Roman rhetoric presents the chief concerns and propositions. Thus, he starts his linguistic analysis in this section. Besides repeating and reinforcing some of Krentz's findings concerning military terminology of the section, Geoffrion demonstrates that ἀξίως πολιτεύεσθε (Phil. 1:27) has political/ military connotations, being used as the basic notion of what it meant to be a citizen and denoting exemplariness in fighting on the battlefield.²⁶ Furthermore, σωτηρία and ἀπώλεια (Phil. 1:28) are allusions to soldier/ citizens, standing in battle against their adversaries, who are hoping for victory/ deliverance from their enemies.²⁷ Also μιᾶ ψυχῇ συναθροῦντες (Phil. 1:27) conjures up the notion of soldiers standing side-by-side, ready to face the enemy as a single unit.²⁸ Geoffrion concludes his section of the linguistic analysis concerning Phil. 1:27-30 noting that many of the terms, cognates and general concepts occur repeatedly in historical accounts of military conflict and that Paul uses this meaningful language to residents of a Roman colony with a prominent military history to encourage the Philippian Christians to remain steadfast in the gospel.²⁹

Next, Geoffrion takes on the challenge to demonstrate how important subthemes such

²⁵ Duane F. Watson, "A Rhetorical Analysis of Philippians and Its Implication for the Unity Question." In *NovT* 30. Leiden: Brill, 1988, 57-88 and Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 20-22.

²⁶ Hdt. VI.112.; Xen. *Cyr.* VI.4.20.; Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 42-48.

²⁷ Hdt. VII.172.; Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 56-58.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 61.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 81-82, 220-222.

as κοινωνία, joy and unity are subordinate and supporting to the overarching purpose of steadfastness. In his findings he highlights that κοινωνία is employed in contemporary literature as a political/ military concept, amongst others referring to those who fought together in a common military cause.³⁰ Thus, Paul uses the κοινων- word group and related images to highlight the partnership he and the Philippians have for standing firm in and advancing the gospel.

In a section titled “Historical Use of Examples,” Geoffrion demonstrates that Paul uses, as communicators in antiquity often did, examples to educate and persuade. Paul himself, Christ, Timothy and Epaphroditus, as well as Euodia and Synthyche (by what they once were) are positive examples to emulate. Some of the examples Paul uses are described in military terminology (Epaphroditus in Phil. 2:25 is called the συνεργὸν καὶ συστρατιώτην, Euodia and Synthyche are συνήθλησάν (Phil. 4:3, cf., Phil. 1:28)). These men and women are to be considered as role models, the command to “look at such” is again couched in military terminology (σκοπεῖτε) (Phil. 3:17)).³¹ The language and the concepts of military role models reinforce the steadfastness-theme of the letter. Geoffrion’s work on the pervasive use of military language throughout Philippians is the most comprehensive up to date and his findings are now applied in various ways in commentaries and textbooks.³² After Geoffrion, a number of scholars have added to or modified the previously published knowledge of Paul’s use of military terminology in Philippians.

In 1997, John Paul Schuster submitted his PhD dissertation titled, “Historical Situation and Historical Reconstruction in Philippians.” His comparative thesis highlights similarities in words and military concepts between Paul and sources describing the battle of Philippi, such as Appian and Dio Cassius. He claims that historical allusions to the battle of Philippi would have an immediate rhetorical effect on the readers of the letter, who would be familiar with the history of their city. Schuster’s main contributions to the subject of the use of military language are the following: ἔργον (Phil. 1:6, 2:30) has a semantic field of meaning in the military context and is consistently used by historians as the word for “battle,”³³ φρονέομαι

³⁰ Jos. BJ. IV.348., II.253., III.485.; Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 91-92.

³¹ Xen. Cyr. II.26.; Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 156.

³² For example see: Martin Ebner and Stefan Schreiber, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2007, or J. Paul Sampley, *Paul in the Greco-Roman World*. London: Trinity Press, 2003, or Charles B. Cousar, *Reading Galatians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians: a Literary and Theological Commentary*. Macon: Smyth & Helwys, 2001.

³³ Jos. BJ. III.103.; App. BC. IV.117-118.; John Paul Schuster, *Historical Situation and Historical Reconstruction in Philippians*. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1997, 53-55.

(Phil. 3:15) indicates the attitudes of soldiers, their mindset,³⁴ προκοπή (Phil. 1:25) can have the meaning of “advancement in a military campaign;”³⁵ and ἄγων (Phil. 1:30) is used consistently as a choice word of historians for a battle.³⁶ Schuster’s conclusion is a modification of Geoffrion’s “steadfastness theme.” He sees the emphasis of the letter as a more active advance of the gospel: “they must fight the same battle that he [Paul] is fighting, presumably to advance the gospel in a hostile environment. There are also those who are trying to sway the Philippians from a lifestyle of sacrifice for the gospel to one that leads to destruction.”³⁷

Also in 1997, Raymond Hubert Reimer submitted his dissertation focusing on research of the lexical background of the πολίτευ- cognate domain and its impact on interpreting Phil. 1:27-30 and Phil. 3:20-21. Together with research about the socio-political context of Philippi as a military veteran colony, he sees the emphasis of Paul’s use of the πολίτευμα- language as having political connotations, thus assuming that Paul’s major intent in the employment of such language was to build identity. The Philippians were first and foremost citizens of heaven and were to adopt a standard of living fitting with their identity.

1997 was also the year in which Craig Steven de Vos published his thesis regarding church and community conflicts in the churches of Thessalonica, Philippi and Corinth.³⁸ His aim was to reconstruct, through a socio-scientific methodology, which conflicts between the wider local community and the churches led to the problems addressed in Paul’s letter to these churches. His studies led him to a presentation of the nature of Roman Philippi in the first century AD, which will be beneficial in our present study. De Vos mentioned that Paul envelops his arguments in military language and imagery, but De Vos did not develop the imagery much further.³⁹ His studies concerning conflict limits his interest to the unity terminology, in which he sees allusions to the importance of unity in the military system.⁴⁰

The importance of numismatic evidence for the interpretation of Paul’s letter to the

³⁴ App. BC. IV.349.; IV.98.8.; John Paul Schuster, *Historical Situation and Historical Reconstruction in Philippians*. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1997, 56-57.

³⁵ 1 Mac. 8:8 LXX; John Paul Schuster, *Historical Situation and Historical Reconstruction in Philippians*. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1997, 57-59.

³⁶ App. BC. IV.90.1.; John Paul Schuster, *Historical Situation and Historical Reconstruction in Philippians*. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1997, 88-90.

³⁷ Ibid., 161.

³⁸ Craig Steven de Vos, *Church and Community Conflicts: The Relationship of the Thessalonian, Corinthian, and Philippian Churches with Their Wider Civic Communities*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999.

³⁹ Ibid., 277.

⁴⁰ Ibid. Although the recognition of the importance of unity in the military system is correct, the reason de Vos states for the importance of unity is not formulated accurately. “. . . since it relied on numbers, not on individual skill” puts too much emphasis on sheer numbers in the Roman military. Rome’s armies most of the time fought their battles against the odds numerically. Individual skill was highly prized and individual acts of bravery were highly rewarded. See Adrian Keith Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War. 100 BC-200 AD*. Oxford Classical Monographs. Oxford: Bookcraft, 1996, 277-282.

Philippians was demonstrated by Detlef Hecking in his article “Elitesoldaten und SklavInnen, der ‘Staatsgott’ Augustus und der Messias Jesus,” published in 2009.⁴¹ Hecking pictures one copper and three bronze coins minted in Philippi during the reigns of Augustus until Claudius. He described the military images depicted on the Philippian coins and drew parallels to Phil. 2:5-11. Although, in my opinion, he drew inadequate conclusions from the existing parallels of the images that are evoked by the coins and the Philippian text,⁴² he rightly pointed out the continued military propaganda preceding the time of the writing of Paul’s letter to the Philippians. The numismatic military propaganda and its corresponding military images to passages in Paul’s letter to the Philippians demand a closer consideration for the interpretation of the book.

In 2003, ten years after his spearheading article “Military Language and Metaphors in Philippians,” Edgar Krentz argued with fresh evidence that military terminology is the primary genre on which Paul draws to communicate his message to the Philippians.⁴³ In his later article, Krentz did not limit himself to Philippians 1:27-30 as previously, but showed how Paul made extensive use of military language in other sections of Philippians and how that military language parallels military speeches of ancient military commanders. Although Krentz’s article overlaps to some extent with passages already covered by Geoffrion,⁴⁴ important new considerations are his proposals to translate σωτηρία in Phil. 1:19 and 2:12 as “victory” instead of “deliverance” and “salvation” respectively.⁴⁵ This possibility would be of immense importance for a potential new understanding of Phil. 2:12, a passage which formerly seemed to have been difficult to harmonise with Paul’s otherwise rigorous insistence on the complete inability of men to achieve their own religious salvation. Other important suggestions of Krentz are that εἰ καὶ σπένδομαι ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ λειτουργίᾳ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν in Phil. 2:17 parallels references made to the sacrifices before battle.⁴⁶ Thus, instead of considering Paul’s death as a setback for the religious struggle of the Philippians, Paul might be suggesting that his potential death could be – as the religious sacrifices before battles were believed to be – an influential factor into turning a struggle into a victory. The ἐπισκόποι

⁴¹ Detlef Hecking, “Elitesoldaten und SklavInnen, der ‘Staatsgott’ Augustus und der Messias Jesus.” In *Bibel und Kirche* 64 (1). Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2009, 23-33.

⁴² For a comment on Hecking’s article see chapter one, section 1.5.4. “Departure from contemporary exegetical methods.”

⁴³ Edgar Krentz, “Paul, Games, and the Military.” In *Paul in the Greco-Roman World*. Ed. J. Paul Sampley. London: Trinity Press International, 2003, 344-383.

⁴⁴ Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993.

⁴⁵ Edgar Krentz, “Paul, Games, and the Military.” In *Paul in the Greco-Roman World*. Ed. J. Paul Sampley. London: Trinity Press International, 2003, 350, 356. In the military context σωτηρία can have the meaning “victory.” See Aeneas Tacticus, Introduction to *On the defence of Fortified Positions*.

⁴⁶ Edgar Krentz “Paul, Games, and the Military.” In *Paul in the Greco-Roman World*. Ed. J. Paul Sampley. London: Trinity Press International, 2003, 357.

in Phil. 1:1 could have a military reference.⁴⁷ Paul's comments on his absence from Philippi (Phil. 2:12) might have the military background of the expectation of the troops that the commander would be present to guarantee victory.⁴⁸ Also, the command to do "all things without grumbling" parallels military descriptions of the evil soldier, who follows his commander only with grumbling.⁴⁹ On account of the many parallels with military speeches made by generals to their troops, Krentz maintains that Paul not only draws on military images in his rhetoric, but "one can interpret much of Philippians as the pre-battle harangue of a general . . . normally present with his troops."⁵⁰

1.2.4. Criticism toward a positive utilisation of military images by Paul

The first critical assessment of Paul's employment of military language was done by Joseph A. Marchal, first in his article, "Her Master's Tools?"⁵¹ which was followed up one year later, in 2006, by his book "Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation."⁵² Marchal does not deny the prominent occurrence of military imagery as described by Krentz, Geoffrion and others, but questions if such imagery was well received by the Philippian congregation. Marchal's methodology is not based on authorial intention, but more on a feminist reader-response basis. Although this present study does not share Marchal's premise regarding the methodology of interpretation, I agree with Marchal that questions about possible attitudes or reactions to military images by the Philippian recipients of the letter have to be answered. How would former soldiers have reacted to military images in a work as the letter of Philippians if:

- a) Veteran loyalty was a complex issue after the years of civil war and settlement of veterans was often problematic.⁵³
 - b) Roman military service was not always voluntary and was met with some resistance.⁵⁴
- How would non-soldiers have received military imagery, especially women, since military imagery presumes and includes violence, blood and death?⁵⁵

If Paul used military language in the composition of his letter, what would have been

⁴⁷ Ibid., 360.; Xen. *Ana.* II.3.2.; Xen. *Cyr.* VI.3.21.

⁴⁸ Edgar Krentz, "Paul, Games, and the Military." In *Paul in the Greco-Roman World*. Ed. J. Paul Sampley. London: Trinity Press International, 2003, 355.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 357.; Sen. *Ep. Mor.* CVII.9-10.

⁵⁰ Edgar Krentz, "Paul, Games, and the Military." In *Paul in the Greco-Roman World*. Ed. J. Paul Sampley. London: Trinity Press International, 2003, 355.

⁵¹ Joseph A. Marchal, "Her Master's Tools? Feminist and Postcolonial Engagements of Historical-Critical Discourse." In *Society of Biblical Literature*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005.

⁵² Joseph A. Marchal, *Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation. A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Power Dynamics in Paul's Letter to the Philippians*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006.

⁵³ Ibid., 53-62.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 59-60.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 51-53.

the appeal of the military imagery across the diversity of the Philippian community?⁵⁶ Marchal claims that a letter containing allusions to the military would not have a positive reception among the Philippian community. Marchal suggests that either Paul intentionally misused military allusions in order to force his male-dominated rule on the congregation or that he unintentionally created a letter with inappropriate terminology, which was outright rejected by a sensitised Philippian community, particularly by the female portion of the congregation. Unfortunately, for Marchal's readers, he leaves his suggestions open and does not come to a decisive conclusion of what kind of reception a letter containing military terminology would have had in the church. It suffices to restate for the purpose of this study, that Marchal rejects the a-priori assumption that since allusions of Paul's vocabulary to the military might be detected in the letter, these would contribute to the positive reception of Paul's thoughts and intentions among the believers of Philippi.

1.3. The two-fold research gap: the historical relevance and the content of military images

1.3.1. Is the military character of Philippi still relevant in the first century AD?

Asking how effective calls to obedience through allusions to military steadfastness would be to the first audience of Paul's letter to the Philippians reveals the research gap. Krentz, Geoffrion and the scholars following in their footsteps have so far argued only for the existence of military terminology with regard to Paul's ethical persuasion of the Philippians to adhere to a certain lifestyle. The Philippians are to stand fast like soldiers in a unit facing battle (Phil. 1:27). They are to overcome fear and live out their duty as soldier/ citizens (Phil. 1:27-28). They are to obey in the presence or absence of their commander (Phil. 2:12). They are to give up strife in order to achieve a unity necessary to fight together as one army (Phil. 4:1-3) so that the military advancement of the gospel can be achieved (Phil. 1:12, 25). Why such "orders" wrapped in military image would have an appeal to the Philippians has not been researched or answered. What was the incentive that would make the Philippians want to be obedient to Paul's exhortations? What motivated the Philippian congregation to be eager to heed his commands if he sounded like a bossy military general shouting orders?

The question for the appeal of military language has to be answered from at least two perspectives.

First, it has to be answered with regards to the potential reception of military terminology by its first audience. Marchal's questions were pointed in the direction of

⁵⁶ Ibid., 62-64.

considering the multi-faceted audience of Philippi in the second half of the first century AD, instead of assuming a sociological strata consisting mainly of military men. One can reasonably deduce that a letter containing military nomenclature would constitute powerful evocative metaphors if that letter was read by the settlers of Philippi in the thirties or twenties BC, but Paul's letter was written roughly one hundred years after the battle of Philippi, one hundred years subsequent to the two-phased settlement of Philippi by mainly army veterans! One simply cannot assume that after roughly one hundred years after the initial settlement, the population still consists uniformly of military men and their direct descendants to whom military images would make an immediate favourable imprint. Research into the social, cultural and political make-up of Philippi in the second half of the first century AD is here necessary, particularly in regard to the influence of the Roman military on the general population. The possibilities have to be explored, whether a multicultural audience of Philippian Christians would have recognised, understood and appreciated military images.

1.3.2. Content of military images: the contents of military harangues of generals

Second, the question for the appeal of military language has to be answered from the text itself. Even if the general population of the first century would not have objected to calls for obedience communicated in military nomenclature, that is far from saying that "military commands" are in themselves appealing to adhere to! What makes exhortations in military language attractive? Are there incentives to obedience placed within the text that are also couched in military language? The pattern of Pauline literature is usually to state beforehand the theological rationale for later moral dictates or calls for loyal conformity of our character and actions to the nature of God. Does Paul conform to his usual pattern in Philippians as well or will Philippians be an exemption to his usual method of firmly covering the theological reasons before ethical demands are made?

Furthermore, previous scholarship has argued that Paul's letter to the Philippians is a linguistically and conceptionally arranged analogous to the pre-battle speeches of the generals of antiquity. Edgar Krentz asserts: "Paul, in the language of Phil. 1:27-4:2, does for the Philippians what Onosander encourages the general to do for the army."⁵⁷ Geoffrion likewise argues that Paul patterns Philippians after the speeches of the Hellenistic and Roman military generals:

Particularly noteworthy, however, is the fact that clusters of similar concepts occur in speeches of encouragement or instruction given by commanders to their troops,

⁵⁷ Edgar Krentz, "Military Language and Metaphors in Philippians." In *Origins and Method: Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity*. Ed. Bradley H. McLean. Journal of the Study of the New Testament Supplement 86. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993, 114.

especially when the soldiers appear intimidated or discouraged. On the eve of a battle or in the face of defeat, field generals addressed the issues of standing firm and fighting. Thus, Paul's rhetoric finds parallels not only along the lines of common language and concepts, but also in terms of the genre of a political/military leaders speech of encouragement to his troops.⁵⁸

If Paul's rhetoric finds parallels in a military leader's speech to his troops, one would expect similarities not only in ethical exhortations, as Edgar Krentz and Timothy Geoffrion have demonstrated, but perhaps also in the main themes or the form in which these speeches are made. A survey of the extant military speeches from the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman period, which are more than fifty in number,⁵⁹ reveals a quickly observable and astonishingly consistent paradigm.⁶⁰ Only less than 10 per cent of the volume of material within the literary device "general's speeches" consists of exhortation, what the soldiers are to do and how they are to fight. The bulk of the material, over 90 per cent in terms of the quantity of words used in general's speeches are spent on three great thematic categories: a) the general lists reasons why he believes his troops will in the coming battle be victorious and b) the general lists the rewards, which will be distributed to the troops if they obey him, fight courageously and win the battle. Many times c) the military objective⁶¹ of the battle is also stated.

This observation exposes the research gap. If scholarship has established that the contents of 10 per cent of the volume, which military commanders utilise in their pre-battle speeches mirrors Paul's rhetoric in Philippians, what about the central characteristic of the remaining 90 per cent? If the premier characteristic of the bulk of military speeches consist of the military objective, reasons why the army will win the battle and what the rewards for obedience and courage will be, then scholarship needs to investigate if these grand themes are also utilised by Paul's rhetoric in the formation of the book of Philippians.

⁵⁸ Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 54, and Edgar Krentz, "Paul, Games, and the Military." In *Paul and the Greco-Roman World*. Ed. J. Paul Sampley. London: Trinity Press International, 2003, 349, 355, 363.

⁵⁹ The precise number is hard to establish as the distinction between a short speech report and a proper speech is fluent and a rigorous distinguishing between the two would be arbitrary. The survey of the content of the lengthier speeches can be found in chapter three, 3.6. "Overview of the contents of the three functional categories in Greek and Latin literature."

⁶⁰ For the idea that military pre-battle speeches follow standard outlines and regular traditional forms of argumentation, see also Edgar Krentz, "Paul, Games, and the Military." In *Paul and the Greco-Roman World*. Ed. J. Paul Sampley. London: Trinity Press International, 2003, 349 and Theodore C. Burgess "Epidictic Literature." In *Studies in Classical Philology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1902, 211-14.

⁶¹ A military objective is the clear statement of why the campaign is waged. The primary purpose of an army is to defeat the enemy in battle and thus to force a decision, mostly in the political realm. Cf., Adrian Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War: 100 BC - AD 200*. Oxford Classical Monographs. Oxford: Bookcraft, 1996, 3, 117. Questions for the military objective in Philippians ask what is to be accomplished through the ethical command of standing fast.

1.4. The thesis question of the research

This thesis therefore asks if Paul in his letter to the Philippians makes use of military images, which he picked up from contemporary thoughts of the Greco-Roman world (as evidenced in Greco-Roman literature, inscriptions, numismatics and archaeology) and from his knowledge of the Old Testament in order to state in what kind of battle the Philippians are involved in, what confidence Paul has that they will win this battle and what the rewards will be for following his ethical commands. If it can be established that Paul does make use of these military images, the consequences for the understanding of the development of Paul's argument need to be stated. Before the question of evidence in the text for military vocabulary and images can be researched, a preliminary study is necessary in order to find out if the social composition of the church and the contemporary mindset of its members toward the military preclude them from a positive reception of linguistic appeals to military customs.

1.5. The methodology of the research

1.5.1. The philosophical background for choosing the methodologies of this research

The thesis question has a two-fold emphasis. It asks first, for the kind of reception military language would have had as a form of rhetorical argumentation by its first audience and second, if a positive reception can be assumed, what this first audience would have understood the text to mean. For the two different accentuations of the thesis questions, two different methodologies will be adopted. For the question concerning the reception of military terminology a historical-sociological approach will be utilised that attempts to reconstruct the first century Philippian attitude towards the Roman military. For the question concerning the meaning of individual words, phrases and verses in Philippians in the light of military nuances these words and metaphors may carry, I choose mainly a synchronic lexical analysis, i.e. a study into the range of meaning the Philippian vocabulary can have. If a particular word from the Philippian text has attestation for a meaning in the semantic domain of the military, further questions will be asked if it is likely that Paul intended a reference to the domain of the military in the context of the use of the word.

Although the proposed methodologies are distinct approaches, they share the same philosophical understanding concerning how language and the communication of truth functions.

The philosophical base on which they depend assumes that relevant truth (i.e. mental concepts, which have a positive influence on the lives of successive generations) is created in (or revealed to) the mind of a writer and his intentions can accurately, without altering the meaning, be communicated to human beings across time and culture. Language, however, the vehicle of communication of this accurate and timeless truth, is culturally and historically conditioned and is able to communicate truth only to the degree in which both the sender and recipient share the same code of deciphering the symbols by which truth is communicated.

That Paul worked within this philosophical framework is indicated for example by a military metaphor, which he uses in 1 Cor. 14:8. There he compares his own teachings and instructions to the use of the military trumpet (σάλπιγξ). Unclear sounds, says Paul, do not cause any soldier into action, unclear sounds do not cause him to get ready for battle. Implicit in the metaphor is that Paul's teaching does have its intended effects on his hearers. The general wants the cohorts, let's say, to move forward in marching speed. He communicates "move forward in marching speed" to the trumpeter. The trumpeter gives a signal, let's say, three short blows, three long blows. All the soldiers hear three short and three long blows and all of the soldiers move forward at marching speed. The intention of the general has been accurately communicated and it has had its desired effects on the hearers. The simple illustration reveals Paul's philosophical understanding of communication.

Language can accurately convey the intention of the author. The author expects to be understood by all hearers in the same manner. There is no room for private interpretation. If contradicting interpretations exist, miscommunication has occurred. The initiator and the recipient of the verbal or written communication must have an implicit agreement of what the symbols of communication (i.e. words, phrases and allusions) mean and what the desired effect of the communication is. At this point the importance of choosing the appropriate methodology becomes clear. The Scriptures of the New Testament developed in the context of first century Mediterranean culture were proclaimed, written down, and disseminated not in a historical vacuum, but directly dependant on the Greco-Roman culture of the first century.⁶² A methodology for the understanding of a New Testament text thus has to focus on recognising and explaining the relevant aspects of the social atmosphere of the author and audience of the Scriptures. "The natural human tendency to interpret all things according to one's own location, culture and worldview poses a threat to good Biblical interpretation."⁶³

⁶² Ulrich Victor, Carsten Peter Thiede and Urs Stingelin, *Antike Kultur und Neues Testament*. Basel: Brunnen Verlag, 2003, 25.

⁶³ Craig L. Blomberg and Jennifer Foutz Markley, *A Handbook of New Testament Exegesis*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2010, 63.

1.5.2. Historical-sociological approach for the question concerning the reception of military terminology

In the quest for how the Philippians would have reacted to words and allusions from the military, a historical-sociological approach is appropriate to recreate the potential ideological background in which the Philippians lived. Their attitude towards the military determined the rhetorical effect military terminology would have had on them, because words do not only carry a denotative meaning, but also a connotative meaning, the latter depending on the context in which the word is set and on the emotional disposition of the hearer towards the semantic domain, from which the word is drawn.

The word “father” denotes a male human who procreated a child. Depending on the context, several connotative meanings may be intended by the use of the simple sentence “I am the father!” The answer to the question “why are you spanking the boy” may convey the authority a father has over a child, while a bowed head and a sheepish look may indicate that a teenager is confessing to be the culprit-cause of a pregnant teenage class mate. Not only contextual setting, but the historical-cultural disposition has a huge influence on what the word “father” may mean to a specific audience. Say the word “father” and images of a loving dad who hugged me when coming home from work and who built miniature trains come to my mind, while the majority of Mongolian kids will probably shudder in fear of the word as they remember nothing but drunkenness and violence.

In the search for how words derived from military usage would have been received, this thesis investigates what the military experience of the first settlers of Philippi was like, as their attitude towards the legions and toward war would have been passed down to a significant portion of the Philippian population. To simply assume from a war-weary twenty-first century viewpoint that all sorts of violent confrontation must have created abhorrent memories in the minds of the first century men and women is a grave exegetical mistake. Hardly anyone of the English-speaking world has sympathies for tauromachy, the Hispanic bullfight in the amphitheatre, not to mention the idea of humans fighting to death in a stadium. Just the suggestion of the latter idea would stir in our contemporary culture nothing but loathsome outrage. Yet, in the first century the arenas were regularly packed up to the last seat for such spectacles.

To note these differing cultural perspectives warrant a careful investigation into how all things military would have been mentally and emotionally evaluated by the Philippian inhabitants of the first century.

Two important sociological groups will be scrutinised in this research. First, the veteran settlers themselves, as their memories of the military would greatly influence the opinion of their descendants many generations later. Second, the civilian population of

Philippi will receive due attention, particularly the non-Roman part. As many relevant primary sources as possible will be consulted to paint as accurate a description as possible of how the Philippians would have seen the military: literary sources, inscriptions, numismatics and archaeology. Concerning the veteran settlers, this thesis will investigate what kind of troops were settled at Philippi and what their combat and military experience was like. For instance, would these men have looked back on their six-year service proudly or with shame? Was their settlement and the payout of their cash-bonus problematic or satisfactory? Was their draft involuntary and resisted or was it culturally accepted to know one has to serve as citizens in the legions? Did these men benefit from their service as soldiers? An overall look and answer to these questions will be indicative of the outlook of the Roman section of Philippi toward military terminology.

Concerning the non-Roman section of society different questions need to be asked. The people without citizen-status were in the majority in Philippi and consisted mainly of Greeks and Thracians. Two hundred and fifty years before Paul wrote Philippians, the Greek states lost their independence due to the Roman military victory over them. Did this lead to a general resentment among the Greek population toward the Roman military that lasted until the first century or is there evidence that the Greeks continued to be a warlike nation, now fighting on the side of the Romans? Did all Thracians resist Roman rule or were certain tribes attracted to all things Roman, including their military? How much did the Roman elite influence the attitude of the lower strata of the population of Philippi? Here again the literary sources, the Philippian inscriptions, numismatics and sociological models of the nature of the first century Macedonian cities and the nature of interaction of social classes will be consulted to recreate the most likely model of the potential attitude of the non-Roman population towards military images.

I chose the somewhat vague formulation “the most likely model of the potential attitude” purposefully. Although it indicates that with some confidence a reconstruction of the first century Philippian situation is possible, it is not an exact and infallible technique. In spite of the wealth of original sources, our knowledge of the original setting in which Paul’s letter was received is fragmentary. We have no direct witness of how the Philippians welcomed Paul’s instructions from his letter. No secular or church historian provides us any indication to the degree of positive attention the letter might have had in the Philippian church. In the absence of any direct allusions in later literature, one has to argue on the grounds of general probability on the basis of the prevalent historical and social situation. Scholarship has to reconstruct the historical, political and social situation of the average inhabitant of Philippi and from that we estimate how military imagery was likely to be received. Although to some that might not appear as a science exact enough, it is the only method available of

ascertaining the probable response from the Philippians. The method might not be inerrable, but through it one comes much closer to the truth than by leaving the matter un-debated, open to plain speculation or by transferring our twenty-first western worldview on a Greco-Roman society that lived, thought and felt considerably different from we do today.

1.5.3. Synchronic lexical analysis for the question concerning the meaning of individual words, phrases and verses in Philippians

In the research for the possibility of Paul adopting the themes of the speeches of the military generals from antiquity in the configuration of his letter to the Philippians the meaning of individual words, phrases and verses in Philippians have to be reconsidered in order to see if Paul's words and metaphors may carry military nuances.

A synchronic lexical analysis, i.e. a study into a potential meaning in the semantic domain of the military of the particular Philippian vocabulary is the adopted method for this section of the research. The lexical analysis is set within a particular framework however, and is conducted on the basis of insights from previous scholarly investigation. Fundamentally, this thesis relies on and adopts the rhetorical analysis of Duane Watson and Timothy Geoffrion of Philippians as deliberative rhetoric.⁶⁴ While Timothy Geoffrion and previously Edgar Krentz have focused on Phil. 1:27-30, the *narratio*, which sets forth the proposition which Paul will argue through the remainder of the letter, this thesis centres its attention on the *exordium* (Phil. 1:3-26) and the *probatio* (Phil. 2:1-4:3), where Paul's situation as he writes and the proposition from the narration is argued through the use of examples, respectively. In this section large gaps exist concerning research in the potential use of military terminology.

Parallels in Philippians to the three cardinal themes of the secular military speeches will be considered in individual chapters. Thus, the three *leitmotifs* of military speeches, the question for the objective of the war, the confidence of victory and the rewards of obedience are treated separately. I proceeded methodologically in the following way: I read the volumes of Hellenistic and Roman historians, historical biographers and military tacticians (Aelian, Aeneas Tacticus, Appian, Arrian, Augustus, Dio Cassius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus, Herodian, Herodotus, Flavius Josephus, Julius Caesar, Lucan, Onosander, Plutarch, Polyaeus, Polybius, Sallust, Suetonius, Tacitus, Thucydides, Velleius Paterculus and Xenophon), as well as some letters (Cicero and Seneca) and the Septuagint,

⁶⁴ Duane F. Watson, "A Rhetorical Analysis of Philippians and Its Implication for the Unity Question." In *NovT* 30. Köln: Brill, 1988, 57-88 and Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993.

paying particular attention to the themes of the military speeches and the use of the vocabulary, which we find in Philippians, by the historians. Where conceptual parallels were theoretically possible, I proceeded with an in-depth lexical analysis of the passage in question to see if Paul truly transmits his theology in military motifs. Some imagined parallels had to be discarded, as they either did not hold up under close scrutiny or because the evidence was not very strong in its support.

The centre of the work of this thesis consists of a synchronic lexical analysis, that is, a study in the sense of a word known to be current of the time (or at least near to the time) of the writing of Philippians. If certain nomenclature had references in the semantic domain of the military, these were noted, but only considered a potential option of Paul utilising the word with a reference to the military. It was not yet considered definite in order to avoid the current mistake of parallelomania. Further criteria had to be met in order to make it likely that Paul is drawing upon the domain of the military, instead of another field of reference. These criteria will be discussed shortly below. After the stage of noting that Pauline vocabulary in Philippians could potentially have a “military meaning,”⁶⁵ the major exegetical works of Philippians from the English, German and French authors of the last one hundred years were consulted in order to check the traditional assignment of meaning to words, phrases and metaphors in question and to understand the suggested interpretative options. Where traditional interpretative options were unsatisfactory (for most of the verses of Philippians a wide divergence of mutually contradictory interpretation is suggested by previous exegetes) due to the assignment of unattested meanings to words in Philippians, unproven assumptions concerning the background of passages and particularly the lack of the ability to explain the flow of Paul’s argument, new possibilities of interpreting certain passages in light of military terminology were explored.

⁶⁵ A word may take up a specific meaning in reference to the semantic domain of the military even if it has its origin from another sphere of reference. The criteria for evaluating if a word may have taken up a “military meaning” are: a) can it be shown that the classical authors wish to impart a connotation to the word particularly to the field of the military; b) do shades of connotation from the original semantic domain of the word fade in the new context; c) is the word in question used widely with its military connotation; d) is the word set in a context of other military terminology. For example, although the word “friend” originally described comrades well known to one another with a high degree of mutual trust and willingness to assist the other, in the semantic domain of social networking of the 21-st century the word “friend” looses all connotations of trust, reliability and readiness to assist the other in times of need. In the context of “facebook” the word “friend” through widespread use developed its own meaning of “social network acquaintance.” Similarly, although *σύζυγος* may have originated from the semantic domain of agriculture, it is not an exclusively agricultural metaphor. Agricultural connotations have receded and do not come to mind any more in the context of someone reading a grave inscription of a husband and a wife in the first century. *Σύζυγος* has become autonomous and displays unique connotations (which form part of the inherent meaning of the word) in the domain of family (faithful husband/ wife union), arena (the gladiator's enemy), military (close comrade), etc.

In order not to make the exegetical fallacy of reading into words meanings, which the author was unlikely to intend, a balanced mix of approaches was taken to ensure an exegesis close to the true intent of the text. The following criteria served as restraints for excessive preoccupation with military parallels:

- A potential military reference of a word in question was only adopted if in the near vicinity of that word other military nomenclature occurred. If that is the case, it increases the likelihood of Paul consistently developing metaphors and allusions. Contrary to much theological opinion, Paul does not erratically jump with his ideas or switches metaphors abruptly.⁶⁶ If a so-called drastic shift in argument or metaphors occurs, it is due to the lack of us understanding Paul, instead of him vacillating unreasonably his ideas. The primary reference made to Paul's blunt switch of metaphors in 1 Cor. 3:9 is a classical example. There Paul tells the Corinthians that they are God's field (θεοῦ γεώργιον), God's building (θεοῦ οἰκοδομή) – a supposedly abrupt shift from an agricultural metaphor to an architectural metaphor. The shift is there, as Paul described himself and Apollos in the immediately preceding paragraph as planting, watering and God causing agricultural growth (1 Cor. 3:6-8). Immediately following Paul compares his work to the job of a wise master architect, building a foundation, describing building material and the inspection process at the end of the building process (1 Cor. 3:10-15). But the shift is neither sudden, nor constitutes a sharp break in Paul's argument, but develops very naturally as Paul does not have any agricultural work in view, nor some secular building process, but he compares his work to the building of a holy temple to God. In the ancient world many temples were part of a larger sacred area with consecrated fields or groves attached to them, which were exclusively tended as part of the hallowed worship of the gods.⁶⁷ The two-partite metaphor of planting/ building was never in the first place a shift in distinct metaphors, but the elaboration of a single and unified metaphor, namely work in the holy precincts of God, with Paul being the worker and the Philippians the material out of which the sacred temple area of God is being formed. That Paul has this unified concept of the sacred precincts of God in view, is drastically confirmed by the summary statement at the end of the section of 1 Cor. 3:5-17: "Do you not know that you are God's temple . . . !" Unless one wants to argue for another drastic shift of metaphors, the principle becomes clear: Paul does **not** randomly vacillate between metaphors and ideas – he develops them very consistently and the discovery of an allusion to a particular area of Greco-Roman life should prompt the interpreter to pay particular attention to the extent of the unfolding of the allusions in the text. For our present concern in Philippians this means that

⁶⁶ Contra Craig L. Blomberg and Jennifer Foutz Markley, *A Handbook of New Testament Exegesis*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2010, 28.

⁶⁷ The temple structure proper and the dedicated fields were not separate entities in the ancient world, but formed a unified sacred temple complex. For an illustration see the picture of the sacred fields of Apollo of Delphi and the temple structures situated in the midst of them in "Appendix A."

once military terminology is discovered in a certain subsection, the likelihood of Paul intending surrounding nomenclature to be read in respect to the military is high. In the following section this principle will be called “clustering of military terminology.”

- Does grammar, the “connective tissue,” which forms individual words into meaningful thought structures allow the use of military terminology?

- Does military terminology allow in its interrelationship with surrounding vocabulary each other word to have a sensible attested meaning or does it force on other words lexically impossible or unlikely meanings? This criterion will be one of my main criticisms of firmly established and yet faulty interpretative traditions, such as assigning to Phil. 3:12-15 allusions to athletic imagery. There *διώκω* appears in close correlation to *καταλαμβάνω*. Although *καταλαμβάνω* is widely attested as a word with reference to athletic races, *διώκω* is not at all. The close juxtaposition of the two words thus makes a race-metaphor impossible and alternative semantic domains have to be explored, where both words are at home!

- Does military terminology reveal in the text a clearly observable structure or literary devices, such as chiasms, parallelism, the development of contrasting ideas, etc.? If military terminology makes such literary structures apparent, which otherwise would remain obscure, then the likelihood of Paul intending references to military usage of words and phrases increases.

- Does military terminology contribute to a proper contextual fitting of the present paragraph with the series of paragraphs in which it is located, with subsections in the book and the overall message of Philippians (diachronical synthesis)? This factor is probably the most decisive in determining the proper meaning of a word or sentence. It can be reduced to the pithy saying “context is king.” Paul’s letters are not a cocktail of otherwise unrelated sayings of wisdom that stand independently, each for its own interpretation. His letters are more like a puzzle, where each sentence, each paragraph smugly contribute to a unified and coherent picture. Only when one can explain the function of each piece to the development of thought in the subsection and only when one can explain the function of the subsection in the context of the whole book is one’s interpretation of smaller sections likely to be correct. The more “rough edges” one encounters, the greater the possibility that the exegete has not understood the individual paragraph on its own. Thus, military language has to contribute to the correct understanding of:

- the immediate context (words immediately preceding and following)



- the paragraph in which the text is embedded



- the subsection and the function of the paragraph in the book



- the overall message of the book.

It is “king context,” which will kill most parallelomania, as most innovative ideas concerning allusions to a particular Greek or Roman custom or literary strand will be plausible on its own, but they mostly fail when the inventors of such allusions have to explain the function of their discovery in the context of the whole book. They either cannot or they will contradict clear statements made elsewhere in the letter.

1.5.4. Departure from contemporary exegetical methods

This thesis significantly departs from the prevalent custom of assigning to words of Paul a generic definition for a term that could allegedly be applied across the pages of the New Testament. Such word studies give “theological significance to individual words rather than to words in the context in which they appeared. Such studies failed to consider adequately how many different ways an author can use the same word . . . individual words merely function with the rest of the words in a given context . . .”⁶⁸

Symptomatic of such illegitimate “concept transference” to words of the New Testament are the existence of *Theological Dictionaries* and their excessive use for the interpretation of passages of the New Testament. Theological Dictionaries, no matter if it is the much cherished Kittel’s *TDNT*, Balz and Schneider’s *EWNT*, or smaller works, who from the start rely on an “exegetical procedure,” which although claiming to rest upon a knowledge of Greek, gravely distort the linguistic evidence of the Greek language as it is used in the Bible. They contain essays on the history of ideas and try to paint a holistic picture of how broad theological themes in the New Testament developed and existed (in itself a commendable enterprise), but these theological themes are then presented as though they are the inherent meaning of the words under which entry they are listed. Only theologians, never linguists could come up with an idea as entirely foreign to the function of language. The original title of the German edition highlights the confusion of the incompatible merging of methodologies. *TDNT* is called a *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, but instead of presenting **word**-substitutions, i.e. English equivalents of the meaning of Greek words – the proper function of a *Wörterbuch* – essays on the history of ideas are presented. These give the reader the impression that the package of the history of the idea is inherent in the use of the word by Biblical authors.

Balz and Schneider’s *Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* is an even worse misnomer as it suggests that lexicographical equivalents for the exegesis of the entry of each word are found, but here again are presented the broad history of ideas instead of a

⁶⁸ Craig L. Blomberg and Jennifer Foutz Markley, *A Handbook of New Testament Exegesis*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2010, 123.

lexicographical entry of word-substitutes. The use of Theological Dictionaries – which should better be called *Lexicons of Theological Concepts* – for exegesis has long ago been criticised by James Barr⁶⁹ and the critique was renewed by Moisés Silva.⁷⁰ Barr explains the core of the faultiness of Theological Dictionaries to lie here:

. . . the attempt to relate the individual word directly to the theological thought leads to the distortion of the semantic contribution made by words in contexts; the value of the context comes to be seen as something contributed to the word, and then it is read into the word as its contribution where the context is in fact different. Thus, the word becomes overloaded with interpretative suggestions . . .⁷¹

The interpretation of Philippians has suffered greatly from such “illegitimate totality transfer of theological concepts “into a single word used by Paul. For example, why should Paul’s use of σωτηρία in Phil. 1:28; 2:12 contain as its meaning the broad spectrum of the theology of Christian salvation if in both passages the word is set within a context of the semantic domain of the military – and therefore might take up the meaning, which the word regularly has in its Hellenistic use in that semantic domain – a meaning not even considered by Theological Dictionaries, as it apparently does not contribute to the “theological determination” of the word?

One hundred years ago Adolph Deissmann advocated a much surer path to sound Biblical exegesis, namely that the language of the New Testament was the ordinary language of the time and it should be treated linguistically as though the semantics of the New Testament were the semantics of the language of the streets of first-century Mediterranean people speaking and writing – without imagining that Christianity immediately infused religious meaning to the common vocabulary!⁷² Biblical language is not different from any other language as though belonging to a different kind – a word in Biblical language carries in itself not broad theological concepts and infuses those into the meaning of the text, whenever the word is used. Standard knowledge of linguistic science (unencumbered by theological confusion) is that a word may take up a different meaning according to the different semantic domains in which it is at home and the “only one that will emerge into consciousness is the one determined by the context. All the others are abolished, extinguished, non-existent. This is true even of words whose significance appears to be

⁶⁹ James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language*. London: SMC Press, 1983.

⁷⁰ Moisés Silva, *Biblical Words and Their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994.

⁷¹ James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language*. London: SMC Press, 1983, 233-34.

⁷² Adolf G. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1909. Id., *Light from the Ancient East; the New Testament illustrated by recently discovered texts of the Graeco-Roman World*. Transl. by Lionel R. M. Strachan. New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1923.

firmly established.”⁷³ Although the path of Deissmann is the narrower and less travelled one in the last one hundred years, it is the one which does not lead (like the broad and widely used one) to the destruction of the meaning of the text, which Paul intended. None of Paul’s letters are abstract theological reasoning utilising special religious vocabulary. On the contrary, Paul depends heavily on metaphors from and allusions to every-day Greco-Roman life to convey his powerful theological statements to his readers.

In the methodology of exegesis this paper thus relies first and foremost on the possibility of what words and phrases could mean in the secular setting of the first century and investigates how Paul uses these nomenclatures as metaphors and allusions to transport theological content. The familiarity with well-known Biblical words in the twenty-first century should not blunt our perception of the original impact on the Philippian addressees.⁷⁴ It is a familiarity that focuses on a very narrow section of possible meaning of words and this “tunnel-vision” has excluded a broad range of meanings, which the first century had at their disposal and we do not. Thus, one of the exegete’s responsibilities is to rediscover the non-religious meaning of words in a secular setting and to explain the impact these words had in the context on their hearers.

Second, this thesis will depart from the contemporary excessive mirror reading of small textual subsections. It has been the habit of twentieth-century theologians to imagine behind every statement of Paul a problem that needed to be addressed. Although mirror reading is a necessary exercise to reconstruct the contextual setting of a letter, boundaries need to be set in place and excess, as for example to infer from the occurrence of a single (!) word, namely *τελειόω* in Phil. 3:12, that the Philippians had problems with perfectionism, needs to be avoided. I rather propose that before “demons behind every bush” are discovered in the text, one first asks the question if and how smaller sections contribute to an apparent overall theme of the book, before imagining that Paul is subtly addressing a plethora of problems in such a small letter through the mentioning of just a few words.

Third, this study departs from the tendency of recent scholarship to see in every metaphorical allusion to Greco-Roman culture a purposed anti-statement concerning the metaphor Paul is mentioning. That means when Paul is using the normal secular language of Mediterranean day-to-day life and if he is communicating his theology packed in

⁷³ Joseph Vendryes, *Language: A Linguistic Introduction to History*. Transl. by Paul Radin. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925, 177. Found in Moisés Silva, *Biblical Words and Their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994, 139.

⁷⁴ Andrie B. du Toit. “Forensic Metaphors in Romans and their Soteriological Significance.” In *Salvation in the New Testament. Perspectives on Soteriology*. Ed. Jan. G. van der Watt. SNT 121. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005, 219.

metaphorical language from every-day life of first century cities and villages, as we have advocated above, why should Paul automatically intend to communicate a contrasting value to the field of life from which he draws his metaphors? Why should every mention of words from day-to-day life in the Roman Empire contain a secret anti-message of the social and political values of the day? It reads more into the text than there really is and it is simply not the way metaphorical language works. Linguistic imagery and symbols of speech function in such a way that an idea is described in comparison, analogy, etc. to a common vivid imagery for the rhetorical effect to evoke an intense understanding and identification with the idea to be communicated. The original referent of the imagery is left uncommented in this process!⁷⁵

Thus, when Paul is using the terminology of sonship and inheritance rights from first century customs, he is making a positive statement that all those who belong to Christ inherit because of their status as sons (Gal. 4:7). At no moment in the rhetorical unfolding of the argument does Paul want to critique the secular custom of excluding slaves or women from an inheritance in the Greco-Roman world. Paul at this point is not a social activist, he is a preacher of the gospel and wants the Galatians to trust in the free grace of Christ through which they have become full participants of the inheritance of God.

Similarly, when Paul is using military imagery in Philippians, he is not on a mission to critique the Roman legions, the imperial aggressive expansion politics or anything else of a political or military nature. The political/ military language is just the vehicle through which theological content is communicated, the original referent of the metaphor is at that moment of no interest to Paul.

A recent example of misunderstanding the rhetorical use of military imagery is Detlef Hecking's article "Elitesoldaten und SklavInnen, der 'Staatsgott' Augustus und der Messias Jesus" in the journal *Bibel und Kirche*.⁷⁶ Although the article takes an excellent start as it highlights the importance of Philippian numismatics for understanding passages in Paul's letter to the Philippians, the conclusions constitute nothing but a twenty-first century political worldview read into Paul's words to the Philippians. Hecking argues from parallels he sees in the images of the coins and the text of Phil. 2:5-11 that Paul purposefully draws a picture of Jesus being an anti-model (*Gegenbild*) to Augustus and Paul's rhetoric as anti-sketch (*Gegenentwurf*) to empirical propaganda. The thesis fails on several grounds. First, it reads into the propaganda of the numismatics a modern distaste for self-exaltation. It is, however,

⁷⁵ Paul's farming metaphors (e.g., 1 Cor. 3:6) do not critique first century agriculture, his marital images (e.g., 2 Cor. 11:2) are not an attack on the Greco-Roman family nor are his building imagery (e.g., 2 Cor. 5:1) a veiled antistatement to Mediterranean architecture. Political/ military imagery is utilised by Paul no different than his other imagery. Some aspect of the original referent positively illustrates spiritual reality - without hidden comments on the source of the imagery.

⁷⁶ Detlef Hecking "Elitesoldaten und SklavInnen, der 'Staatsgott' Augustus und der Messias Jesus." In *Bibel und Kirche* 64 (1). Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2009, 23-33.

not to be assumed that first-century viewers of the coins would observe a crowned Augustus with a distaste for self-exaltation. More likely the exaltation of Augustus was felt to be the natural consequence of his extensive victories and political accomplishments. Second, Hecking has failed to integrate the military imagery, which he correctly points out in Phil. 2:5-11 with the flow of the argument of the military imagery of the rest of the book. In all the rest of Philippians military imagery is used positively to compare the Christian life with that of the soldier. Military imagery is used throughout Philippians as a picture (i.e. a *Bild*) for the Christian way of life, not as an anti-picture (*Gegenbild*). To assume an anti-picture without indication from the text itself militates against Paul's consistent method of utilising military imagery to convey meaning.

The method of reading a secret critique of the political, social, military or religious circumstances of the first century into the text every time a metaphor from the secular life of the Greco-Roman world is used by Biblical authors, without further indications that a critique is intended, is linguistically an unsound methodology.⁷⁷

1.5.5. Modification of previous exegetical methods of exploring military terminology

Previous research into military language relied heavily on linguistic analysis and the search for parallels of individual terminology in contemporary literature and inscriptions. I will continue a similar procedure, but I will modify previous research methodology somewhat in that I widen my approach by looking not only at selected words, but also at broad themes that are paralleled in literature, inscriptions, or are evoked through numismatic or archaeological evidence. A proper understanding of the Pauline literature can only be achieved if the reconstruction of the literary world surrounding Paul is as broad as possible and if it considers all written sources, as well as images of contemporary thought propagated through other means than classical literature, for example coins, grave inscriptions, etc.⁷⁸

In order to discover the semantic domain of words employed in Paul's letter to the Philippians, it is necessary to consult (1) the surviving texts from the city and its surroundings

⁷⁷ Cf., also Samuel Vollenweider: "Die Interpretation sollte sich mit Vorteil davor hüten, bei jedem potentiell politischen Schlagwort unter der Hand eine virtuelle Antithese zu postulieren . . . der Philipperbrief bietet m.E. aber nur wenige für die damalige Leserschaft erkennbare Signale, dass er ein Gegenprogramm zum römischen Herrschaftssystem entwirft . . . Häufig bietet sich an der Stelle des Modells der Antithese dasjenige der *Überbietung* an, also der besseren Alternative. . ." Samuel Vollenweider, "Politische Theologie im Philipperbrief?" In *Paulus und Johannes. Exegetische Studien zur paulinischen und johanneischen Theologie und Literatur*. Eds. Dieter Sänger and Ulrich Mell. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006, 468, cursive original.

⁷⁸ The trend to consider non-literary sources for a proper understanding of Biblical literature was significantly put into motion by Adolf Deissmann and still gathers momentum in contemporary scholarship. See Adolf Deissmann. *Light from the Ancient East; the New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World*. Transl. by Lionel R. M. Strachan. New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1923, 2-9.

to which Paul's letter was written (thus to pay close attention to inscriptions); (2) earlier literature read in the standard education of the time; (3) texts contemporary or slightly earlier or later than Paul's letter.⁷⁹ Even slightly later writers may reflect usage of earlier times. It may be safe to presume that words with meanings in the semantic domain of military language are not specialised terminology shared only by military experts, if these words have a somewhat repeated occurrence in the literary sources surrounding the first century. Gerald Downing has demonstrated that there is no culture gap between the highly literate aristocracy who produced the extant primary literature we are using, and the masses.⁸⁰ If words in the semantic domain in the field of the military occur in the historical, biographical, poetic literature or in military manuals available to the public, we can be certain that the differentiated meanings of these words would be picked up by the general population of the first century. The present study will not restrict itself to semantic domains of words, however.

It is my conviction that literary dependence does not occur on the level of semantic domains of individual words only. A writer like the apostle Paul would be able to draw on ideas, life-styles, cultural conventions, or thought-concepts related to the arena of the military life even when the reproduction of the image is not in precisely the same terminology as we find it in the literary sources. It is obvious that writers are able to allude to a certain image with different words. Images in rhetoric are not only evoked through exact parallelism of words, but also through allusions to broad themes. Thus, this present study will consider military concepts when clusters of military terminology appear, even when the linguistic parallelism is not exact. We may thus consider evidence of military images on the basis that certain ideas are widely shared through a common culture, and not only through strict terminological dependence. Such evidence would be images on coins, artistic depictions on tombstones, and the Latin literary sources.

Of especial importance would of course be literary evidence, which in content relates in particularly meaningful ways to the history and identity of the Philippian population. Since the battle of Philippi was of supreme importance as the deciding mark of the history of the Roman world and for the founding of the city, authors covering the civil war (Appian, Plutarch, Dio Cassius, Suetonius and Velleius Paterculus) would be of distinct relevance for our study. The consciousness of the past military developments leading up to the present

⁷⁹ This is also the approach of Krentz, who in pointing out the occurrence of military language in Phil. 1:27-30, consulted historians (Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus, Appian, Arrian), orators (Lysias, Aeschines, Demosthenes), biographers (Plutarch), writers of military tactical manuals (Aeneas Tacticus, Asclepiodotus, Onosander, Polyaeus) and inscriptions. Edgar Krentz, *Military Language and Metaphors in Philippians*. In *Oringens and Method: Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity*. Ed. Bradley H. McLean. JSNTSupp 86. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 105-27.

⁸⁰ F. Gerald Downing, *A Bas les Aristos. The Relevance of Higher Literature for the Understanding of the Earliest Christian Writings*. In *NovT* 30 (3). Leiden: Brill, 1988, 212-30.

political and civic situation would be especially prominent in the Roman colony of Philippi. Worthy of consideration as well would be literature dealing with significant military developments in the history of Rome, both Greek and Latin. Even the Greek historians of the previous four centuries were widely read and had much more than a geographic or periodic restricted relevance. By the first century there existed an “international character of cultural life.”⁸¹ “Whether one came from Spain, Gaul, Libya, Pontus, Antioch, Alexandria or Rome, one would include a very similar list of authors to listen to or to read; and that would be so, even if one had an extensive literature in one’s native Latin . . .”⁸²

Finally, this thesis departs in its methodology from previous studies in that it researches whether Paul uses military allusions to the Old Testament. Since Paul does not cite from the Old Testament in the book of Philippians and since there is little evidence of a Jewish component in the Philippian church, most scholars have assumed that the influence of the Old Testament in the development of Philippians is negligible or non-existent.

However, there is evidence that Paul purposefully alludes to the Old Testament and expects his readers to understand the rhetorical device.⁸³ Although direct quotations do not exist in Philippians, I will research the possibility of Paul alluding to specific passages or broad themes of the Old Testament, especially the LXX.⁸⁴ Of course with the possibility of allusions to the Old Testament the question arises, if the Philippian congregation, consisting in the majority of non-Jewish converts to Christianity, would have understood them?

For the answer to the question the scenario has to be recreated, how much the Philippians could have acquainted themselves with Old Testament knowledge by the time they received Paul’s letter. If Paul visited Philippi between AD 49 and 50, then depending on the provenance of Philippians as from Ephesus (AD 52-55), Caesarea (AD 58-60) or Rome (AD 60-62), a minimum of three to five years had passed since the establishment of the

⁸¹ Helmut Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament*. I, 97-101. Quoted in F. Gerald Downing, *A Bas les Aristos. The Relevance of Higher Literature for the Understanding of the Earliest Christian Writings*. In *NovT* 30 (3). Leiden: Brill, 1988, 214.

⁸² F. Gerald Downing, *A Bas les Aristos. The Relevance of Higher Literature for the Understanding of the Earliest Christian Writings*. In *NovT* 30 (3). Leiden: Brill, 1988, 214.

⁸³ For example, Fee observes that each of the insults in Phil. 3:2 represents a reversal of fundamental Jewish concerns: dogs (denoting impurity) are contrasted with purity, evil workers with good works and mutilation is contrasted with circumcision. (Gordon D. Fee, *Philippians*. New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995, 295-296). O’Brien points out that Paul uses a scathing description of circumcision (κατατομή instead of περιτομή) in Phil. 3:2, thus using a paronomasia (wordplay) purposefully alluding to pagan cuttings of the body, which was forbidden by the law of Israel (Lev. 19:28; 21:5; Deut. 14:1; Isa. 15:2; Hos. 7:14). (Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 357.) Paul’s point is that there are people claiming to be the special people of God through circumcision, but they have in reality cut themselves off from any claim to be God’s people at all. The Philippians would need to have at least a rudimentary knowledge of the Old Testament to understand Paul’s point.

⁸⁴ “In some instances conceptual rather than strict verbal correspondences suggest that Paul has an OT passage or theme in mind.” Moisés Silva, “Philippians.” In *A Commentary of the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament*. Eds. Greg. K. Beale and Donald. A. Carson. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007, 836.

church from its first converts. Would the Philippian Christians spend these years in theological idleness, waiting just for more information from Paul himself? The idea is unlikely. More credible is a scenario in which a hunger to know more about the newfound religion prompted an interest in the reading of the Old Testament, the only Scripture available at the time, among the Philippian converts. Contact to resources would have been likely through Lydia, a Gentile “God fearer” and adherent to the Jewish faith (σεβομένη τὸν θεόν) (Acts 16:14). Although certainly theological finesse could not be expected as it would have been in the case of Jewish recipients of a letter, basic theological knowledge, such as the involvement of the LORD in the holy wars of Israel, could certainly be expected three to five years after the conversion of a Gentile to the Christian message.

1.6. Overview of the following chapters

Chapter Two contains a socio-historical study to determine the likelihood of military terminology being positively received by a Philippian Christian audience. The chapter demonstrates that military imagery was an appropriate rhetorical device for the recipients of the letter.

The chapter starts with a brief survey of the possibilities where Paul might have gained his knowledge of military nomenclature. It becomes evident that military vocabulary was not a specialised terminology restricted to a narrow people group. It could have been gained from contact with the ubiquitously present soldiers in the first century, but particularly from historical writings and from rhetorical speeches, which widely utilised references to the military.

Then the critique of the use of military terminology in Philippians by Joseph Marchal is taken up point by point and the mindset of the original veteran settler, as well as the impact on the local population is re-evaluated. This study concludes that the soldiers settled at Philippi likely viewed their own military service as a positive experience. They had served a comparatively short time, did not experience shifts of loyalty due to changes of commanders, they were awarded unusually high donatives due to the dynamics of the civil war and were quickly settled. Their retirement as veterans granted them economic privileges and a social standing far better than the average citizen could claim. A negative impact of the settlement on locals was minimal, as the area was not highly populated in 42 BC. On the contrary, the settlement with its high cash influx (from the military donatives) was likely an economic chance for many locals who moved to Philippi in order to make a living. A study of the Philippian inscriptions reveals that soldiers proudly immortalised their military service on tombstones. The inscriptions reveal that not only the ones who set up the inscription valued

military service positively, but the large number of inscriptions indicate that a general atmosphere existed among the Philippian population, which approved and esteemed the military.

A sociological study on the relationship between the higher class and the lower classes concludes that, although veterans were numerically in the minority in the middle of the first century AD, since they constituted the top of society, they had a huge impact on public opinion concerning the military. Social values in the ancient world trickle down from top to bottom and the numismatic evidence points to the fact that local Greeks and Thracians were all too eager to adopt a Roman standard of living and its outlook on life.

The civic identity of Philippi, something of tremendous value in the first century, as the cities in Greece viciously competed with each other for rank, status and privileges, was – according to our present day knowledge – entirely wrapped up in its status as the city of the battle of Philippi. All coins minted from the inception as a Roman colony until the time of the writing of Philippians contain a military motif, even though other symbols were readily available. As a border town only eight kilometres away from volatile Thracia and Macedonia experiencing ongoing incursions from Thracian and Pannonian tribes, the local inhabitants would likely to have viewed the Roman military as their means of safety, their assurance of not being plundered and thus military terminology was in all likelihood positively received by the wide strata of inhabitants in the first century AD.

Chapter Three constitutes a short investigation into the importance, prevalence and content of the literary category “the general’s speech.” The chapter established that the overwhelming quantity of argument brought forward in the speeches of the generals serves three functional categories: the military objective (what this war is about), confidence of victory, and the rewards of obedience. The remainder of this thesis inquires if the rhetoric in Philippians parallels these three functional categories of the classical general’s speeches.

Chapter Four investigates whether the military objective, i.e., a description of what the battle is for, is taken up by Paul in Philippians. Since Philippians is deliberative rhetoric, heavily relying on stating examples for a motivation of altered conduct or action (Philippians consists in volume to more than fifty per cent of statements of exemplary behaviour), this study focus on this section. It will be shown that all the examples cited (except for the example of Christ, who through his exemplary behaviour constituted the content of the gospel), have one thing in common: they all exist to commend behaviour, which serves **the advance of the gospel**.

The first example of Paul (Phil. 1:20-22) is written to show that Paul’s unwavering mission was to preach the gospel. In reliance on a famous double of a military triad (retreat – save one’s life – shame *versus* boldly fight – die – honour) the basic message of the section

wrapped up in military terminology reads: “it is better to die for the glory of God while boldly fighting the enemy rather than suffer shameful disgrace by cowardly flight.”

The example of Timothy (Phil. 2:19-24), although not, or not exclusively in military terminology serves as an example of commitment to the advance of the good news.

Epaphroditus (Phil. 2:25-30), with vivid military allusions is commended to have risked his life for the battle of Christ, which is the battle for the spread of the gospel.

The second example of Paul (Phil. 3:12-15) is – contrary to previous scholarly opinion – not conveyed in athletic imagery, but throughout the passage consistently in military imagery. Serving as an elaboration of Phil. 1:20-22, the passage highlights Paul’s focused concentration on pursuing unbelievers with the gospel in the hope of capturing them for Christ, as he himself experienced a supernatural encounter and was captured for Christ.

The bundling together of Euodia, Syntyche, Clement, a loyal military comrade and other fellow soldiers (Phil. 4:2-3) demonstrates the unified corporal effort which the Philippians were and are supposed to show again in advancing the gospel.

Finally the Philippians themselves are upheld (Phil. 4:10-19) as a positive precedent who gave financially to the partnership that exists between them and Paul to advance the gospel.

Chapter Five demonstrates that the theme “confidence of victory” plays a prominent role in the rhetorical argument of Philippians. Threatened with setbacks such as the apostle Paul being imprisoned and potentially dying (Phil. 1:12-23), a significant amount of persecution against their own lives (Phil. 1:29-30) and a potential disaster of Epaphroditus dying during his mission to support Paul in order that the gospel can be advanced, the Philippians needed encouragement, that God has not left the mission to spread the faith to the abberation of circumstances. Philippians therefore persistently repeats the victory-theme, i.e., reasons why the mission for the advance of the gospel will ultimately be victorious.

Most prominently in the development of the theme functions the argument that God is with the Philippians in their battle for the gospel. Alluding to a prominent motif from the Old Testament, “the LORD”⁸⁵ is depicted as the One who initiated the military campaign for the gospel and – according to Old Testament precedent – is therefore the surest guarantee that a God-instituted “war” to succeed (Phil. 1:5-7). The concurring theme of “the LORD in your midst” is taken up in Phil. 2:12-15 to serve as an encouragement that God will sway the battle when his people are numerically outnumbered. A close examination of this section will advance a solution to the theological conundrum of previously translating τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν

⁸⁵ For the deliberate usage of the designation “the LORD” for the God of Israel in this thesis please consult “A note on the usage of the designation “the LORD” (LORD in capital letters) for YHWH, the God of the Old Testament.” found in footnote 15 of chapter five.

κατεργάζεσθε as “work out your salvation.” In the context, the phrase means more likely “fight for victory-deliverance” and alludes again to the campaign of the advance of the gospel.

A further strong reason for believing in the ultimate success of the gospel is the description of Christ in Phil. 2:9-11 in stereotypical military imagery as “super-victorious general.” In light of military associations in which the exaltation of Christ is described, it becomes evident from the text that the death of Jesus on the cross constituted a military victory, which was acknowledged by God the Father in publicly displaying Christ as victorious general in universal extent.

Further indications for the victory of the operation “gospel advance” are the commands to rejoice (a common Old Testament and secular reaction at the moment of a successful conclusion of the war), thus the rejoicing anticipates victory (Phil. 3:1; 4:4).

The mention of a crown by Paul (Phil. 4:3) might also serve to indicate the evidence of the success of the gospel.

Chapter Six establishes that incentives for a renewal of the sacrificial life of advancing the gospel are present in Philippians. Utilising κέρδος, in a secular military context describing the military gain distributed to the victorious troops after a successful conclusion of the military operation, Paul portrays the face-to-face encounter and enjoyment of Christ at the resurrection as the ultimate reward for the soldiers in the campaign.

Paul himself expects and orientates his life in view of this grand promise (Phil. 1:21; 3:8-11) and promises that the Philippians are eligible for the same reward (Phil. 3:20-21).

The eligibility is expressed through the term πολίτευμα, which in a military context may connote privileges of receiving particularly attractive military *dona*, reserved for the citizen-soldiers only. Phil. 4:3 refers in language used in a military context to a military register, in which all soldiers belonging to a certain unit were inscribed, the military register in Philippians, through the genitival addendum ζωῆς guarantees eternal life to all those inscribed in it.

These statements of future benefits in Phil. 1:21; 3:8-11; 3:20-21 and 4:3 structurally always related to the previous exhortation or encouragement by example to actively and courageously share the gospel in a hostile environment. The content of the promise – consistently laid down as eternal life in the presence of the glory of Christ at the resurrection – serves as the primary motivation for fearless evangelism in Philippians.

Chapter Seven attempts to accomplish a short synthesis of the various parts of Philippians in order to retrace the intended thrust of Paul’s argument in the book.

Chapter Eight suggests implications for Pauline theology from the reading of Philippians through the perspective of military terminology. The most significant contributions of Philippians to Paul's theology are in the area of evangelism. Philippians challenges the prevalent western notion of a private faith, which is exercised only in hope of protection from misfortune and in hope of financial and circumstantial blessing.

The underlying teaching of Philippians is that every Christian should do (according to his abilities) the utmost for the spread of the faith to unbelievers – even if that entails disadvantages on account of one's efforts. Such a life devoted to the advance of the gospel is only possible however, if the Christian has a sense of the issues at stake: eternal destruction on the one hand for those who do not embrace the gospel – and the unrivalled promise of eternal life in the face-to-face presence with the glory of the Lord Jesus Christ. The effort to advance the gospel, according to Philippians, is neither the responsibility of a few select professionals, nor the individualistic effort of believers. Evangelism, according to Paul, is a united community effort. Paul's vision of a Christian community is one where strong loyalties and commitments for each other's well being are in place and where the whole church lives with a vision to magnify Christ through a bold sharing of the gospel.

Chapter 2

Military nomenclature – Appropriate terminology to majoritively convey Christian doctrine and ethics to the Philippian congregation?

2.1. The use of military terminology requires knowledge and emotional agreement between the writer and recipient of a letter

The works of Edgar Krentz,¹ Timothy Geoffrion² and John Paul Schuster,³ and those who follow them in their exegetical suggestions, as well as the present work, suggest that Paul's letter to the Philippians cannot be appropriately understood without paying due attention to its inherent military nomenclature and metaphors. The proposed extensive use of military metaphors in the letter presumes that not only Paul was capable of expressing his theological convictions with distinctive military vocabulary, but also that the young Philippian Christian congregation would have been able to understand Paul's intended message, which was couched in military words, phrases and metaphors. The Philippians must have shared with Paul a congruent knowledge of the semantic field of the military, enabling them to understand the words and phrases in question. The user's meaning of words and their accumulation into sentences must coincide with the hearer's meaning attached to them; if they do not, nothing more or less than a failure of understanding, a breakdown of communication has occurred.⁴

Furthermore, the Philippians not only had to have attached the same lexical definitions to the words and phrases employed by Paul, but the emotional impact of these words had to conform to Paul's intention as well. "Besides their definition, all words (and not just the obviously expressive or evocative ones) have to a greater or lesser degree an aura

¹ Edgar Krentz, "Military Language and Metaphors in Philippians." In *Origins and Method: Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity*. Ed. Bradley H. McLean. Journal of the Study of the New Testament Supplement 86. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993, 265-286. Edgar Krentz, "Paul, Games, and the Military." In *Paul in the Greco-Roman World*. Ed. J. Paul Sampley. London: Trinity Press International, 2003, 344-383.

² Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993.

³ John Paul Schuster, *Historical Situation and Historical Reconstruction in Philippians*. Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1997.

⁴ George B. Caird, *The Language and Imagery of the Bible*. London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 1980, 40.

of feeling about them, which can properly be regarded as part of their public meaning.”⁵ A single word may indeed evoke a widely different sort of feeling, depending on the previous association and experience of the audience with this word. This would be particularly true with military terminology. While to some listeners words related to war might arouse emotions of security, as they associate them with thoughts of their own military forces who protect them from aggressors, to others war terminology might provoke emotions of fear or loathing. The scholars championing the reading of Philippians with special attention to possible military phraseology have not yet adequately examined how the people in the Philippian church community would have received this militaristically flavoured letter from Paul.

Joseph A. Marchal uses precisely this omission of a detailed exploration of how the “average Philippian” in the first century AD would have emotionally reacted to military terminology to present a severe critique on the reading of Philippians with attention to military metaphors. In two publications⁶ Marchal dismisses a potential reading of Philippians from the perspective of the use of military linguistics because he argues that the Philippians would be abhorred by the use of aggressive, war-like terminology to convey Christian beliefs, values and exhortations. Although it is true that a study into the reception of military terminology by the Philippians is vital and necessary, the results of Marchal’s investigation appear to stem to a great degree from a biased reading of the Philippian situation based on a particular twentieth-century worldview rather than a fair evaluation of the available evidence, as will be demonstrated below.

Thus, before advancing in later chapters new proposals of how previously undiscovered military metaphors influence the reading of Philippians, it is imperative to first re-evaluate how the Philippian Christians (men or women, Roman, Greek or Thracian by ethnic origin) would have received rhetoric modelled on military speeches and customs. After a brief overview of where Paul might have acquired such knowledge of military terminology, this study will examine each point of the critique brought forward by Marchal and examine the sociological make-up of the Philippian church with regard to its possible reception of martial images and analogies.

⁵ Ibid., 48.

⁶ Joseph A. Marchal, “Her Master’s Tools? Feminist and Postcolonial Engagements of Historical-Critical Discourse.” In *Society of Biblical Literature*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005. Ibidem, *Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation. A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Power Dynamics in Paul’s Letter to the Philippians*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006.

2.2. Paul had sufficient contact with the military to be able to communicate military terminology effectively

The ability of Paul to draw extensively upon military terminology, military customs, and military history in order to utilise such secular martial language for the formation of military metaphors has not been questioned by scholarship – probably rightly so. It has generally been assumed that Paul, although growing up in Syro-Palestine, would have been familiar enough with the Roman military and would have possessed a sufficient knowledge of Greek nomenclature to express himself to a Greco-Roman audience eloquently with the same phraseology. Paul's extensive knowledge of military terminology would have come from several sources: daily life in the eastern part of the Roman Empire would have provided ample contact with Roman soldiers; Paul would have had knowledge of the history of Tarsus, Jerusalem, Judea and other parts of the empire to which he had travelled – all of which had significant military operations as crucial deciding factors in their history; Paul knows the Septuagint, which utilised Greek military nomenclature to quite some extent;⁷ and Paul's education would have included the knowledge of Greek and Roman military history.

2.2.1. Contact with the Roman military and its auxiliary in the daily life of a Hellenistic Jew

2.2.1.1. The pervasive presence of the Roman military in the eastern Roman empire

The eastern provinces of the Roman Empire of Cilicia, Syria and Judaea, in which Paul lived most of his life until the start of his Gentile missionary endeavour toward the west, were marked with a noticeable presence of the Roman army and its auxiliary. The pervasive presence of soldiers and contact with them on a regular basis ensured a consciousness of the general population about the military and its concerns. In contrast with modern armies in the western world, the presence of soldiers in the first century was not restricted to their barracks, safely tucked away from civilian life. Roman soldiers were on sight and their activities were within the presence of the civil population. Raymond Collins summarises succinctly the influence of soldiers on Paul:

⁷ It is not necessary to elaborate on the occurrence of military themes in the LXX, as an overview over the books of the Old Testament, as well as the apocryphal books of the LXX would make it swiftly apparent that vast portions of it deal with the military history of Israel, now narrated in Greek. I judge it superfluous at this point to summarise all the narrative and poetic portions that self-evidently deal with military matters. The interested reader may simply consult the Septuagint on its own. Portions of the LXX with military terminology relevant to the exegesis of Philippians are pointed out in chapters four, five and six of the present work.

Paul lived under the shadow of Rome's military might and spent much of his time in the presence of soldiers. No doubt the military presence was more conspicuous in some parts of the empire than in others. For example, when Paul and Barnabas visited Pisidian Antioch, the city was the centre of operations against the clans who held the highlands between it and the Pamphylian coast. The province of Syria, in which Paul spent so much of his time, was held by a standing of four legions plus auxiliary forces. But wherever he was, there was no escaping the presence of soldiers. As he travelled, he was likely to meet them on the march or pursuing bandits or escorting prisoners.⁸

2.2.1.2. *The Roman army in Jerusalem and Judea*

During his stay in Jerusalem as a youth and student of Gamaliel, Paul would have had ample opportunity to see and interact with the troops of the Roman prefects. From AD 6, with a little interlude of the reign of Agrippa from AD 41–44, Judea was ruled as a Roman province by a prefect as the direct representative of Augustus from the equestrian rank. He did not have a whole legion under his disposal, but was granted a garrison of auxiliary forces to ensure internal stability.⁹ Although with the transformation into a Roman province the military and governmental headquarters were shifted from Jerusalem to Caesarea, an infantry regiment was regularly stationed in Jerusalem¹⁰ and a significant number of troops had their winter quarters there.¹¹ The regular military strength available to the prefect seems to have been five cohorts, one of them stationed at Jerusalem.¹² The commander of this cohort carries the title *χιλίαρχος τῆς σπειρίας* (Acts 21:31) and could possibly suggest that at least this cohort was a *cohors milliaria*, an auxiliary cohort one thousand men strong.¹³ That Claudius Lysias in

⁸ Raymond F. Collins, *The Power of Images in Paul*. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2008, 215.

⁹ For the presence of auxiliary forces in Judea see Denis B. Saddington, *The Development of the Roman Auxiliary Forces from Caesar to Vespasian: (49 BC – AD 79)*. Harare: University of Zimbabwe, 1982, 91-106.

¹⁰ Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson, Ed., *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*. München: C. H. Beck, 1980, 306.

¹¹ Jos. AJ. XVIII.55.

¹² George H. Allen and Bruce F. Harris, "Army, Roman." In *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*. 4 vols. Ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979, I:297. Cf., Matt. 27:27; Mark 15:16. The first Roman procurator of Judea, Cuspius Fadus, takes over one ala of cavalry (either five hundred or one thousand men strong) and five cohorts of auxiliary infantry (also either five hundred or one thousand men strong) from Agrippa on the latter's death in AD 44 Agrippa had likely received the same troops three years prior from the Roman prefect of Judea. Jos. AJ. XIX.365.

¹³ The alternative for auxiliary cohorts is a *cohors quingenaria*, nominally five hundred men strong. The commander of the more frequent quingenary regiments were called prefects. See Denis B. Saddington, "Roman Military and Administrative Personnel in the New Testament." In *ANRW* II.26.3. Ed. Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter Verlag, 1996, 2416.

The objection to *χιλίαρχος τῆς σπειρίας* as referring to a commander of a thousand men strong auxiliary since *χιλίαρχος* usually in the NT simply refers to a high ranking officer (cf., Mark 6:21, Acts 25:23) (so Rudolf Haensch, "Das römische Heer und die Heere der Klientelkönige im Frühen Prinzipat." In *Neues*

Acts 23:23 has two centurions, two hundred infantry, seventy cavalry and two hundred spearmen to spare in order to guard the transport of Paul to Caesarea indicates the strength of the Roman army during festival days in Jerusalem. Surely Claudius Lysias would have only sent a fraction of his available forces and would have kept sufficient troops on site to ensure order and stability during the festival of weeks (Acts 20:16; Exod. 34:22-23; Deut. 16:10).¹⁴ In addition, there certainly was the seconding of small units around the country for policing, guarding, taxing and garrisoning purposes.¹⁵

2.2.1.3. *War in Arabia during Paul's missionary endeavour*

Paul may have witnessed the Roman military not only in Jerusalem during times of relative peace, but may have even been more personally affected by the turmoil of active warfare. Shortly after his conversion Paul undertook a missionary endeavour in Arabia (Gal. 1:17). Martin Hengel thought it likely that these missionary attempts fell within the timeframe of AD 34–36,¹⁶ the very time where the border skirmishes between Aretas, king of Petra and the tetrarch Herod Antipas in their dispute over the territory of Philip led to a full blown war that ended disastrously for Antipas, his whole army getting annihilated. Antipas promptly complained to the emperor Tiberius, who ordered Vitellius, the Syrian legate to intervene militarily.¹⁷ Hengel believes that it was these military tensions that forced Paul to abandon his Arabian mission and return to Damascus.¹⁸

2.2.1.4. *Roman troops in the province of Syria*

In the decade that followed, Paul's new sphere of missionary effort took place in Syria and Cilicia (Gal. 1:21). Cilicia and Syria up to the time of Nero formed a kind of "double province,"

Testament und Antike Kultur. Ed. Kurt Erlemann, Karl-Leo Noethlich, Klaus Scherbereich and Jürgen Zangenberg. Vol. 1. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2004, 163, footnote 36.) is not conclusive, because the genitival construction *χιλίαρχος τῆς σπειρης* seems to be a more technical term and distinct from the simple occurrence of *χιλίαρχος*.

¹⁴ However, only the horsemen accompany Paul in full strength to Caesarea. The other troops only travel to Antipatris and return the next day to Jerusalem. Cf., Acts 23:32.

¹⁵ Note for example the unit who garrisoned the fortress of Masada. Cf., Jos. *BJ*. II.408., Jonathan Roth, "The Army and the Economy in Judaea and Palestine." In *The Roman Army and the Economy*. Ed. Paul Erdkamp. Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 2002, 377-78.

¹⁶ Martin Hengel and Anna Maria Schwemer, *Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien*. WUNT 108. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1998, 182.

¹⁷ Jos. *AJ*. XVIII.119-24.

¹⁸ Martin Hengel and Anna Maria Schwemer, *Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien*. WUNT 108. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1998, 183.

Cilicia being administered by Syria.¹⁹ Except for the borders of Germany, no other province had such a high concentration of Roman legions as Syria. Originally three legions were stationed in the province: the strength of the Roman army was increased once more under Caligula by the transference of *Legio XII Fulminata* to the region, being added to *Legio III Gallica*, *Legio VI Ferrata* and *Legio X Fretensis*.²⁰

2.2.1.5. Jewish sentiments toward the Roman military in the first half of the first century

In the first half of the first century AD the life of the Jewish population together with their Roman overlords was occasionally tense and the tendency for armed rebellion was certainly present,²¹ but under the first Roman governors, Pilate being an exception, the relationship of the Jewish people with the Roman Empire was not particularly hostile.²² The auxiliaries stationed in Judea were mainly composed of recruits from Syria, many from Caesarea and Sebaste.²³ Although the Hellenised Syrian population had their serious quarrels with the Jews and looked at the Jewish religious practice with contempt, the evidence of the soldier's derogatory attitude toward the Jews stems from the time close to the Jewish revolt, where Jewish/ Roman and Jewish/ Greek relations deteriorated in general.²⁴

One should not imagine that the relationship of the soldier in the service of Rome toward the Jewish civil population consisted exclusively of grim looks, if not outright hostility. The soldier's duty of policing, guarding and perhaps seasonal work in construction would have caused daily contact with the civilian Jewish population, often, no doubt, quite friendly contact. In Capernaum of Galilee, a centurion had donated a good-sized amount of money for the building of a local synagogue. In turn, he received the favour of the elders of the

¹⁹ Adrian N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969, 56.

²⁰ Jos. *BJ*. II.39.; Strab. XVII.1.12, 30.; H. M. D. Parker, *The Roman Legions*. Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1980, 118-140. George. R. Watson, *The Roman Soldier*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1985, 13-16. Emil Ritterling, "Legio." In *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaften*. Ed. Georg Wissowa and Wilhelm Kroll. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1924-25, Vol. XII/1.1235-1243, 1706. Thomas. R. S. Broughton, "The Roman Army." In *The Beginnings of Christianity, I: The Acts of the Apostles*. Vol. 5. Ed. Frederick J. Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake. London: MacMillan, 1933, 427-45.

²¹ N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996.

²² Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson, Ed., *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*. München: C. H. Beck, 1980, 310. Ben-Sasson summarises the conditions of the first 40 years of the first century succinctly: "After the first outburst of rebellion (which occurred after the first Roman census) had subsided, no bloodshed occurred in Judea, as far as we know, - until the days of Pilate . . . The Roman authorities initially tried to maintain the peace in Judea by increased consideration for the religious feelings of the Jews."

²³ Thomas. R. S. Broughton, "The Roman Army." In *The Beginnings of Christianity, I: The Acts of the Apostles*. Vol. 5. Ed. Frederick J. Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake. London: MacMillan, 1933, 439-40.

²⁴ Jos. *BJ*. II.222-33. (AD 48); Jos. *BJ*. II.266-70. (AD 59-60)

Jewish population, who acted as emissaries for him.²⁵ Luke's narrative of the mutual granting of favours would not have been a singular event, but a consistent interaction of the local Jewish community with their "patron" would be likely. As a "lover of the Jewish nation," this centurion would have ensured the benevolent attitude of his inferiors in command towards the civic community. Similarly, Cornelius, a centurion of the Italian cohort, stationed in Caesarea, won the respect of the Jewish community by his acts of charity.²⁶ He, with the soldiers under him, would certainly have upheld a comparatively normal level of communication with the general populace. All of Paul's contacts with the military as described in Acts involve conversations with soldiers, the request for granting of favours and even giving advice.²⁷ The narrative of Acts presumes that in spite of a soldier/ prisoner – relationship, the interactions between soldiers and the Jewish people are characterised by an impression of comparatively normal human interaction with each other. The soldier/ civilian relationship at the time of Paul's life would not be one where either side had fears of contact with the other. Even if the Syrian auxiliary and the Jewish civilian might encounter each other with dislike, over the course of the years, there would have been plenty of opportunity for both sides to become acquainted with each other, to talk and listen to each other, so that one knew another's particularities and became acquainted with each other's vernacular.

On the many travels which Paul undertook, ample contact with the Roman military would have been possible, "at important points, and especially at knots in the road system, permanent military guards in special guard-houses were stationed. These *stationes* were charged not merely with the care of the roads, but still more with the keeping of them safe from robbers and brigands, and in general with the safety of the public in the region around."²⁸ The more important of these *stationes* housed the presence of a centurion *regionarius* and in light of Paul's awareness of trouble on the road and his own suffering from highway robbers (cf., 2 Cor. 11:26), he certainly was very appreciative and positively inclined towards the presence and activities of soldiers along the imperial roads.

²⁵ Luke 7:1-5.

²⁶ Acts 10:1-2, 22.

²⁷ Acts 21:37-40; 23:16-23; 27:1-3; 27:9-11; 27:31-34; 28:16.

²⁸ William M. Ramsey, Sir. "Roads and Travel (in NT)." In *A Dictionary of the Bible*. Ed. James Hastings. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1988, 392.

2.2.1.6. Close contact with soldiers during Paul's imprisonment

If the provenance of Philippians is Rome and if Paul writes at a later stage of his imprisonment from there – a view, which despite its demurrers, is still likely²⁹ – then Paul would have had plenty of close contact with the military to personally learn from the soldiers guarding him about their stories, their customs and their language. Paul would have been accompanied by soldiers who kept watch over him for two years in Caesarea (Acts 23:23 –

²⁹ For Philippians being written from Ephesus, see Heinrich Lisco, *Vincula Sanctorum: Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung der Gefangenschaftsbriefe des Apostel's Paulus*. Berlin: J. Schneider & Co., 1900.; Adolf Deissmann "Zur ephesinischen Gefangenschaft des Apostle Paulus." In *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsey*. Ed. William H. Bucker and William M. Calder. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1923, 121-27.; George S. Duncan, *St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry. A Reconstruction with special reference to the Ephesian Origin of the Imprisonment Epistles*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1930.; Ulrich B. Müller, "Der Brief des Paulus an die Philipper." In *Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament*. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1993.; Joachim Gnilka, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. Leipzig: St. Benno-Verlag, 1969. and Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004.

For a Corinthian provenance see Stanislas Dockx, "Lieu et date de l'épître aux Philippiens." In *Revue Biblique* 80. Jerusalem: École Biblique, 1973, 230-46.

For Caesarea as the place of writing see Ernst Lohmeyer, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. In *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953.

The main critique of the traditional view, namely Rome as the place of writing, consists in the geographical distance between Rome and Philippi and the unfeasibility of covering that distance five times in a short period of time. The five travels would involve (a) news reaching the Philippians from Rome that Paul was imprisoned there; (b) Epaphroditus travelling to Rome from Philippi with financial support; (c) someone travelling from Rome to Philippi informing the Philippians about Epaphroditus' illness (Phil. 2:26); (d) some Philippian walking to Rome and informing Paul (and Epaphroditus) how worried the Philippians are about the latter's sickness; and (e) Paul's letter being carried to Philippi. Three additional journeys would be envisioned in the future, namely Timothy coming to Philippi to see how things are and reporting back to Paul (Phil. 2:19) and Paul himself visiting Philippi (Phil. 2:24). Too much has been made of the supposed impossibility of frequent communication between Rome and Philippi. First, not all five journeys are necessary. The Philippians could have heard that Paul was on the way to Rome on account of his appeal to Caesar much earlier than him arriving there. Any sensible person in the first century would have concluded that someone is needed to feed him, once he gets there, and would have summoned help. Second, Epaphroditus need not have fallen ill in Rome, but much earlier on the way. He would have pressed on while being sick, meanwhile sending one of his travel companions (one rarely travelled alone in antiquity) back to Philippi. No communication is necessary for Paul to imagine correctly that the Philippians are worried that Epaphroditus is severely ill and might have died (Phil. 2:26). Thus, only two full journeys are necessary: Epaphroditus' trip to Rome and Paul's letter being carried back. Even if more journeys took place, they easily have been made within two months each. Caesarea is altogether unlikely, since the distance to Rome is not shorter (and the suggestion would not solve any supposed problems) and Paul would have not envisioned himself in the life-or-death situation as described in Phil. 1:19-26. Paul could have simply appealed to Caesar. Ephesus and Corinth are doubtful. Both suggestions are purely based on conjecture, no positive evidence exists that Paul was imprisoned there. Paul could not have written from Corinth or Ephesus that he has no-one trustworthy to send to Philippi, as Priscilla and Aquila, self-sacrificial to the core (Rom. 16:3-4) would have been available (Acts 18:1-2, 18, 24-26, 1 Cor. 16:19). Neither in Ephesus or Corinth were troops under an imperial commander present, thus praetorian soldiers would not have been there. See Gordon D. Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians*. New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995; Peter T. O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991. Moisés Silva, *Philippians*. Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Baker: Grand Rapids, 2005; and Markus Bockmuehl, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. Black's New Testament Commentary. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1998.

24:27), been on the road with them from Caesarea to Rome (Acts 27:1 – 28:16) and would have had a soldier guarding him twenty four hours a day, seven days a week at the private house, which he had rented in Rome (Acts 28:16). If the gospel penetrated through the ranks of the praetorian guard (πραίτωριον) (Phil. 1:13), we should not imagine Paul exclusively delivering one-way eulogies, through which soldiers and their superiors were becoming believers, but there would be a two-way communication, no doubt Paul listening, asking questions and familiarising himself with all kinds of military matters.

2.2.2. Knowledge of the history of Tarsus, Jerusalem, Judea, etc. contains knowledge of their military history

Paul was a citizen of Tarsus and beside the initial years after his birth in this city he spent several years in Tarsus and the surrounding regions between his conversion and the call to ministry in Antioch. During his conversation with the military tribune, who arrested him in Jerusalem, Paul exhibited great pride of being a citizen of Tarsus.³⁰ In the first century BC Tarsus had allied itself with Caesar in the latter's strife against Pompey, taking up the name Juliopolis in his honour.³¹ With the assassination of Caesar in 44 BC, Tarsus was plunged into the middle of a civil war between Cassius and the triumvirs. The city played a significant part in the war in 43 BC and suffered dramatically from the war effort. On account of its pro-Caesarian commitment, Tarsus supported Dolabella, the enemy of Cassius and actively engaged in a small-scale military operation against Tillius Cimber, Cassius' military partner.³² Cimber besieged Tarsus, which eventually had to surrender. Cassius, in retribution forced upon the city a levy of 1,500 talents, an amount beyond the ability of the Tarsians to deliver. After all public, private and religious possessions were sold, the magistrate of the city had to sell some of their inhabitants into slavery.³³ The fortunes of the city turned again with the victory of Antony and Octavian at the battle of Philippi in 42 BC. Antony took over the province of Syria and brought relief to the cities who suffered the most under Brutus and Cassius. Tarsus received the status of "free city," became entirely tax-exempt and by an order of Antony those formerly sold were freed from slavery. Augustus continued this favourable attitude of imperial Rome toward Tarsus and the city was granted several political privileges during his reign.³⁴

³⁰ Acts 9:11; Acts 22:3; Acts 9:30 cf., Acts 11:25; Acts 21:39.

³¹ Dio. XXXVII.26.

³² Dio. XXXVII.30-31.

³³ App. BC. IV.64.

³⁴ App. BC. V.7.; Dio. Chrysost. XXXIV.7.

Since the people of antiquity had a strong awareness of tradition and were well acquainted with their history, a citizen of Tarsus with above average education, such as Paul, would certainly be informed concerning the city's involvement in the Roman civil war and about the civil war in general. He would know about the decisive stages of the war, the outcome of the most important battles and would – since they are part and parcel of every good classical military history – be able to recite the content of some of the speeches of the generals involved in the war. From oral tradition, local written sources and inscriptions, Paul would no doubt have had knowledge of the most significant events of what Appian later narrates in his *Bellum Civile*.

The same case can be made by Paul's knowledge of the history of Jerusalem and Judea. Not only because Paul lived in Jerusalem during his later childhood years and while he studied under Gamaliel (Acts 22:3), but particularly because of the paramount religious importance of Jerusalem to the worshipper of YHWH, the average Jew would be well acquainted with the military history of the city during the last two centuries.³⁵ Following the Maccabean revolt 167-160 BC, the Hasmonean period of Judaic "self rule" was by no means a peaceful era. Josephus describes continued warfare against the Seleucid overlords, wars against the Samaritans, war against Arabia, against Ituraea, against cities in Syria and Palestine and plenty of civil war.³⁶ Jerusalem had its first significant contact with the Roman military because of the civil war between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, which led to the attack and capture of Jerusalem under Pompey in 63 BC and caused Judea henceforth to be a client kingdom under tribute to Rome.³⁷

From then on the fortunes of Jerusalem and Judea were closely intertwined with the changes of rulers due to civil war in Rome³⁸ and with the wars of the Romans. Now the Jewish armies supported the Roman campaigns against Parthia and Egypt or paid for its war effort – occasionally by such devastating means as Crassus robbing the temple of Jerusalem of its treasure.³⁹ The turmoil of the Roman civil war between the triumvirs and the Republicans directly involved Judea and caused Herod to become tetrarch and eventually king of Judea, but not without much civil war on Judea's own soil.⁴⁰ Meanwhile Jerusalem

³⁵ The same would be true not only of the last two centuries, but also well beyond that. Jerusalem was from the occupation of the tribes of Israel a city constantly involved in warfare. This fact will be considered below.

³⁶ Jos. *AJ.* XIII.; Jos. *BJ.* I.48-132.

³⁷ Jos. *BJ.* I.133-58.; Jos. *AJ.* XIV.3.-4.

³⁸ For example, while Pompey supports Antipater in the Jewish civil war against Aristobulus, Caesar favours Aristobulus and grants him two legions with orders to transfer the province of Syria to Caesarian rule. Jos. *BJ.* I.160-74. Cf., Jos. *BJ.* I.180-86.

³⁹ Jos. *BJ.* I.175-78.; Jos. *AJ.* XIV.7-8.

⁴⁰ Jos. *BJ.* I.218-50.

suffered an attack of the Parthians on the city in 40 BC.⁴¹ Herod captured Jerusalem in 37 BC.⁴² Herod secured his realm through his military prowess, and yet had to wage several wars during his reign, amongst them the famous war against the Arabs and his support of Octavian in the Egyptian campaign.⁴³

The descriptions of these wars, civil and foreign, were certainly not special knowledge shared only by a select few. Josephus describes the abundance of historians during the Jewish revolutionary war in AD 66–70 and – although criticised for their inaccurate and biased views – an abundance of such historians no doubt is applicable to the beginning of the first century as well.⁴⁴ Historical accounts of wars, armies, speeches of generals were certainly abundantly available. Even if they were not all historically accurate – one point still holds true: military terminology and knowledge of military events would be common knowledge for a Jewish person with an average level of education. The inhabitants of Jerusalem in the first century did not live in pacifistic bliss ignorant of all things military. Towers, citadels, fortification walls, the presence of soldiers and the whole way of life of rulers supported by the military and under the shadow of Rome reminded one daily where the nation had come from and how it got to where it was now – the history of its warfare would have been familiar stories.

2.2.3. Paul's rhetorical education involved knowledge of military history

2.2.3.1. *The rhetorical abilities of Paul imply some form of formal rhetorical education*

Paul's education, particularly his rhetorical education, would have familiarised him extensively with military history, the speeches of military generals and the language utilised in military narratives and speeches. Although the debate concerning the extent of Paul's rhetorical education is ongoing,⁴⁵ the testimony of Paul's preaching habits in the book of Acts

⁴¹ Jos. BJ. I.265-73.

⁴² Jos. BJ. I.282-363.; Jos. AJ. XIV.12-16.

⁴³ Jos. BJ. I.364-397.; Jos. AJ. XV.5.

⁴⁴ Jos. BJ. I.1-2.

... τὸν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον . . .
 οἱ μὲν οὐ παρατυχόντες τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀλλ'
 ἀκοῇ συλλέγοντες εἰκαῖα καὶ ἀσύμφωνα
 διηγήματα σοφιστικῶς ἀναγράφουσιν, οἱ
 παραγενόμενοι δὲ ἢ κολακείᾳ τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους
 ἢ μίσει τῷ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους καταπεύδονται τῶν
 πραγμάτων . . .

... The war of the Jews against the Romans . . .
 has not lacked its historians. Of these, however,
 some, having taken no part in the action, have
 collected from hearsay casual and
 contradictory stories which they have then
 edited in rhetorical style; while others, who
 witnessed these events, have, either from
 flattery of the Romans or from hatred of the
 Jews, misrepresented the facts . . .

⁴⁵ For an overview of the history of scholarship positively inclined toward Paul utilising specialised knowledge of rhetorical techniques see Peter Lampe, "Rhetorical Analysis of Pauline Texts – Quo Vadit?"

and the evidence of his letters seem to shift the scales in favour of Paul undergoing some form of advanced rhetorical education. Thus, the comment of Ronald F. Hock appears to allow an overall statement to hold true:

[Paul's] letters, given their length, complexity, and power, clearly point to an author who had received sustained training in composition and rhetoric . . . the letters themselves betray such a command of the Greek language and such a familiarity with the literary and rhetorical conventions of Greek education that only a full and thorough education in Greek on Paul's part makes sense of the evidence . . . while Paul cannot be placed alongside a sophist, like Polemo, which he himself admitted when he said he was a rank amateur when it came to speaking (2 Cor. 11:6; cf., 2 Cor. 10:10), he was certainly closer to Polemo in his educational achievements than he was to the boy just beginning to write his letters.⁴⁶

2.2.3.2. A proper Greek rhetorical education possible in Jerusalem

The sources of Paul's rhetorical education are possibly twofold: they stem from his early education in Jerusalem and later improved while staying in Tarsus. Ever since the publication of van Unnik's *Tarsus or Jerusalem: the City of Paul's Youth*,⁴⁷ the scholarly trend has favoured Jerusalem as the city of Paul's upbringing in contrast to Tarsus. Van Unnik has convincingly shown that Luke, in utilising the three participles γεγεννημένος, ἀνατεθραμμένος and πεπαιδευμένος, is making use of a typical Greek triad that formed a fixed literary unit describing the successive biographical stages from birth via early parental upbringing in the home to later schooling. Thus, according to Acts 22:3 and van Unnik's interpretation, Paul was born in Tarsus, received his upbringing in the parental home in Jerusalem, where he

In *Paul and Rhetoric*. Ed. Peter Lampe and J. Paul Sampley. London: T & T Clark, 2010, 3-23. Or R. Dean Anderson Jr., *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*. Revised Edition. Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1988. For an extensive bibliography on rhetorical criticism of the New Testament, which assumes that Paul was familiar with rhetoric either through formal education or through interaction with oral and written Hellenistic culture permeated with rhetorical practice see Duane F. Watson, and Alan J. Hauser, *Rhetorical Criticism of the Bible. A Comprehensive Bibliography with Notes on History and Method*. Köln: E. J. Brill, 1994, 101-205.

⁴⁶ Ronald F. Hock, "Paul and Greco-Roman Education." In *Paul in the Greco-Roman World*. Ed. J. Paul Sampley. London: Trinity Press International, 2003, 198, 209, 215. If Paul did not undergo formal rhetorical training, he achieved his advanced level of rhetorical ability through the extensive knowledge of literary works and speeches. As Carl Joachim Classen argues: "Anyone who could write Greek as effectively as Paul did must have read a good many works written in Greek, thus imbibing applied rhetoric from others, even if he never heard of any rules of rhetorical theory; so that even if one could prove that Paul was not familiar with the rhetorical theory of the Greeks, it could be hardly denied that he knew it in applied form." Carl Joachim Classen, *Rhetorical Criticism of the New Testament*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000, 6. In the case Paul did not receive thorough rhetorical education himself, the argument for Paul knowing military history and secular speeches in which rhetors utilised military history for their argument would thus still be valid.

⁴⁷ Willem Cornelis van Unnik, *Tarsus or Jerusalem: The City of Paul's Youth*. London: Epworth Press, 1962.

was later schooled at the feet of Gamaliel.⁴⁸ If Paul received his education in Jerusalem, possibly in the surrounding and influences of Hellenistic Jews living in Jerusalem, one should not imagine Paul growing up in an Aramaic religious bubble. Paul was at home in the Greek Bible and his language differs significantly from the more modest, at least in part semitically coloured Greek of Mark or the Johannine literature.⁴⁹ A good Greek education would have easily been possible in Jerusalem.⁵⁰ The metropolis was unable to escape Greek influence in the first century AD and not every form of Hellenisation was resisted among the Jewish people. Martin Hengel, in his significant study on the Hellenisation of Judea in the first century after Christ, writes about Greek education in Jewish Palestine:

The larger cities, primarily Jerusalem, but also Sepphoris and Tiberias, had Greek schools which presumably went as far as an elementary training in rhetoric. An institution like the temple must have had a well-staffed Greek secretariat for more than two centuries . . . a basic elementary instruction by the γραμματιστής . . . could also be given in Judaea. However, the influence of Greek education and literature extends very much wider . . . The building of a gymnasium at the foot of the temple mount . . . show how far the 'Hellenization' of the upper class through the *paidaia* had already developed by that time We must expect that already at that time, at the beginning of the second century BC, there will have been a very effective elementary school in Jerusalem, since Greek 'basic education' was the necessary precondition for a gymnasium and the training of the ephebes in accordance with

⁴⁸ Van Unnik's interpretation coheres with the intent of Paul's speech to demonstrate that "from early on, from youth" Paul was a faithful Jew of the metropolis Jerusalem and not some heresy infected diaspora Jew. For a critique of von Unnik see Nigel Turner, *Grammatical Insights into the New Testament*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1965, 83-86. For a critique of Turner on the subject see Christopher R. Little, *Mission in the Way of Paul. Biblical Mission for the Church in the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Lang, 2005, 7-30. Besides Paul's self-description of his upbringing, the decision of where Paul was brought up rests mainly on the proposal concerning where Paul could have obtained both his knowledge of Aramaic as mother-tongue (cf., Acts 21:37, 40; 22:2) and his superior mastery of Greek. The suggestion of Martin Hengel that Paul is a genuine Palestinian Jew (Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων, cf., Phil. 3:5 in contrast to the Ἑλληνιστής of Acts 6:1), growing up in the atmosphere of Greek-speaking Jews living in Jerusalem is a possible solution that deserves attention. Yet, Hengel himself does not want to rule out Tarsus categorically as a possible location of Paul's early education. Martin Hengel, "Der vorchristliche Paulus." In *Paulus und das antike Judentum*. Ed. Martin Hengel and Ulrich Heckel. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1991, 68-156.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 129.

⁵⁰ Ben Witherington III, *The Paul Quest: The Renewed Search for the Jew of Tarsus*. Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1998, 60: "Judaism in general was Hellenised in Paul's day, even in Palestine. Paul could well have got the rudiments of a good Greco-Roman, as well as Jewish education right in Jerusalem." Similarly Klaus Haaker summarises the evidence: "A wealth of literary and archaeological evidence has led to the realization that since the reign of Herod the Great, Judea and Galilee, particularly as regards the cities, are to be regarded as a 'Hellenistic area,' in which the education of the upper-class hardly lagged behind the other eastern Mediterranean countries. This includes, among other things, not only Greek grammar, but also the ability to obtain training in rhetoric and the presence of a library containing the works 'world literature.'" Klaus Haacker, *Paulus: Der Werdegang eines Apostels*. Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 171. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1997, 47-48.

Greek custom . . . Acts 24.1 indicates that there was advanced rhetorical training in Jerusalem towards the middle of the first century; it depicts how the high priest Ananias came down from Jerusalem with some members of the Sanhedrin and the orator Tertullus to accuse Paul before Felix. The orator will hardly have earned most of his pay – like most of his colleagues in the Roman Empire – simply by making speeches in trials; teaching will have been the main source of his income.⁵¹

How much a Greek education was welcomed even among the strict Pharisaic sect of Judaism is exemplified through Flavius Josephus. He was the son of a priest and had royal Hasmonean blood in his veins on his mother's side.⁵² When he was nineteen, he became a Pharisee.⁵³ At age 26 he was chosen to embark on a mission to the imperial court in order to secure the release of priests bound by Felix. Through the favour of the empress Poppaea the mission became successful.⁵⁴ As Hengel comments, "No one would have ever been chosen for such a purpose whose Greek was tortuous."⁵⁵ Since imperial decisions were often made in response to speeches who argued along historical precedents, I may want to add to Hengel's review: No one would have ever been chosen for such a purpose whose knowledge of Roman history was deficient. Paul, although a generation earlier than Josephus, grew up in similar circumstances and most likely enjoyed a similar education as Josephus, including a rhetorical education. Rhetorical education should not be considered as one subject among many of a good education beyond primary level. By the first century literary and oratory skills had achieved increasing importance in a good Greco-Roman education.⁵⁶

2.2.3.3. *The knowledge of literature, particularly historical narrative, was part of rhetorical training*

In learning his oratory and literary skills in Greek, Paul would have read Greek literature, particularly historical narratives, because " . . . history was the most important prose genre of the Hellenistic age; we know of more than 800 now lost Greek historians who wrote in this

⁵¹ Martin Hengel, *The 'Hellenization' of Judaea in the First Century after Christ*. London: SCM Press, 1989, 17, 21-22, 26.

⁵² Jos. *Vit.* 1-8.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 13-16.

⁵⁵ Martin Hengel, *The 'Hellenization' of Judaea in the First Century after Christ*. London: SCM Press, 1989, 23.

⁵⁶ Bernhard Schwenk, *Geschichte der Bildung und Erziehung von der Antike bis zum Mittelalter*. Weinheim: Deutscher Studien Verlag, 1996, 138-39.; Henri I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*. Transl. by George Lamb. Maddison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982, 171-75.

time. Of the historical writings produced from the second century BC to the second century AD, most took some period of Rome's history as a subject."⁵⁷

Training in rhetoric did not only involve the teaching of grammar and the fine tuning of one's voice or literary competency, in fact, these skills were developed late in the curriculum of Greco-Roman rhetorical education. After speech theory, the actual content of speeches was part and parcel of a proper rhetorical education. Thus, one read and was taught literature,⁵⁸ which contained already works with scientific subjects, medicine, geography and history.⁵⁹ If one was trained in rhetoric, since one might have to speak on any subject and one could find illustrative material from a wide array of spheres of life. Rhetorical education had to include a knowledge of history.⁶⁰ Cicero specifically points out the necessity of knowing history for the student of oratory: "The student of oratory must acquire knowledge of a great many things, without which knowledge fluency of speech is empty and ridiculous He must, moreover, memorize all of history and a wealth of precedents, and not neglect knowledge of the laws" ⁶¹

⁵⁷ Everett Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003, 123.

⁵⁸ The suggestion of Martin Hengel ("Der vorchristliche Paulus." In *Paulus und das antike Judentum*. Ed. Martin Hengel and Ulrich Heckel. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1991, 127-28) that Paul "did not read classical Greek literature in any significant way . . . since not even traces of Plato or any other Hellenistic writer have been detected in the correspondences of him" is a *non sequitur* and not convincing, since the argument rests on silence. One could similarly argue that Paul knew nothing of the imperial family in the first century, since he alludes to none of them by name. Or that he was unfamiliar with the Greek myths, since they are not mentioned in his correspondences. Yet it was virtually impossible to escape the encounter with the imperial family through its representation on coins, inscriptions and the daily interaction of counsels of cities and regions in politics. Similarly, the ancient myths were ubiquitous in the Greek world, scenes from them were sculptured on temples and public buildings, painted on the walls of private houses, served as motifs on drinking vessels and all sorts of kitchen wear and there was hardly a Greek city or island in the first century that did not boast in an occurrence from the myths as their *raison d'être*. The subject matter of Paul's letters simply was such that any appeal to the Greek myths and Plato or other secular writers were unnecessary and out of place. As far as I can tell, there are no traces of Plato in Appian either, yet it is unlikely that Appian was ignorant of the famous philosopher.

⁵⁹ Joseph Dolch, *Lehrplan des Abendlandes. Zweieinhalb Jahrtausende seiner Geschichte*. Ratingen: Aloys Henn Verlag, 1965, 52-53.

⁶⁰ Everett Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003, 111. Quint. *Inst. Or.* I.4.2.: "It is not sufficient to have read only poetry. Every kind of writer must be thoroughly investigated, and not simply for his topic and theme, but for his vocabulary . . ." In Jo-Ann Shelton, *As the Romans Did: A Sourcebook in Roman Social History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, 113. In the LCL the passage is found in I:104-05.

⁶¹ Cic. *Or.* I.6.20. Found in Jo-Ann Shelton, *As the Romans Did: A Sourcebook in Roman Social History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, 119.

2.2.3.4. *Greek and Roman historical narrative consists mainly of the history of wars*

If Paul had some rhetorical education, he certainly got acquainted with Greco-Roman historical narrative and with such literature, as a necessary consequence, he was accustomed with military history and military terminology, since – at a glance in any historical work of antiquity will overwhelmingly reveal – Greco-Roman history consists to the greater extent not of economical data or stories of peaceful negotiations, but of the history of wars, battles, the preparation and the results of them.

The importance of the knowledge of military history for rhetorical training is attested to when one considers the content of declamations and the practical exercises of the students of rhetoric. Education in rhetoric dealt with all three branches of oratory: the deliberative, the epideictic and the judicial. Declamations in deliberative and epideictic oratory are called *suasoria*, declamations in judicial oratory, *controversia*. *Controversia* was always considered more advanced, more difficult and more important than *suasoria* and was practiced after the student had mastered the *suasoria*.⁶² Since Paul demonstrates skilful ability in the book of Romans for arguing along the lines of judicial *controversia*, his competence in deliberative or epideictic oratory can be taken for granted.⁶³ The topics of practice-declamations of the *suasoria* are known to us and consist of a confounding degree of military matters. In the *suasoriae* the student had to offer advice to a famous historical personage in a critical situation or dilemma, he had to know some history and attempt to sway his pretended audience this way or that by his arguments.

The Greek teachers, who brought these exercises to Rome, naturally prided themselves on declaiming on themes drawn from their own national history, those based on the Persian wars, or on Alexander the Great, being prime favorites . . . thus Xerxes is at Thermopylae; three hundred Spartans debate whether to flee or stand their ground. Xerxes is imagined as threatening to return, unless the trophies erected to commemorate the victory over Persia are removed; the Athenians deliberate whether to remove them or not . . . The subjects mentioned in Latin rhetorical treatises are . . . from the history of Rome . . . many of their themes (*are associated*) with great national events, and military leaders in particular . . . The Senate deliberates whether or not to ransom prisoners after Cannae, whether to send an

⁶² Donald L. Clark, *Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1957, 133-261.

⁶³ For Philippians to be structured and written in the style of deliberative rhetoric with epideictic elements see Duane F. Watson, "The Three Species of Rhetoric and the Study of the Pauline Epistles." In *Paul and Rhetoric*. Ed. Peter Lampe and J. Paul Sampley. London: T & T Clark, 2010, 25-31.

army against Philip of Macedon, whether to destroy, or spare, the defeated Carthage . . . Hannibal deliberates whether to attempt the crossing of the Alps, and whether to attack Rome after Cannae . . . Similarly, in regard to the Civil War, which was also an abundant source of *suasoriae*, Pompey, after his defeat at Pharsalus, debates whether to make for Parthia, or Africa, or Egypt, and the speaker imagines himself one of his council at Syhedra.⁶⁴

Although rhetorical education in Jerusalem certainly deviated to some extent from the classical themes, – one can hardly imagine the Jewish boy declaiming in the role of Alexander the Great or one of the Seleucid rulers – there is no reason to believe that the content of historical education with its abundance of military themes was dropped altogether. Themes of Herod’s war with the Arabs or the Civil War of the Romans could have been handled sufficiently unbiased and could have been debated level-headedly. Even if great antagonism existed toward the Greeks and their military machine and – as the revolt of AD 66–70 neared – towards the Roman military as well, the Jewish attitude toward historical education did not seem to have been purposeful ignorance of all things Greek and Roman. In the first century the Jewish people tried to define their own place and purpose within the grand scheme of the military engagements of the superpowers, as the Maccabean narratives, the book of Daniel or Judith, and later Josephus amply show. If Paul was educated in Greek rhetoric in Jerusalem, he would not have been left oblivious toward classical military history and its terminology.

2.2.3.5. *The likelihood of further rhetorical education in Tarsus*

In addition to his schooling in Jerusalem, there was a period of at least ten years after Paul’s conversion “of which little or nothing is known, but which cannot for that reason have been of small importance. For the most part Paul spent his time in Tarsus, Cilicia and Antioch. At that time he had ample opportunity for contact with Hellenistic culture in all its forms.”⁶⁵ Bernhard Heininger suggested that in the time period that elapses between Acts 9:30 and Acts 11:25 Paul was sent to Tarsus with the specific purpose to be trained in rhetoric, to achieve a teaching degree and thus prepare for his gentile mission.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Stanley F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome: From the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977, 278-79. and see the footnotes on pages 371-72 for the references of the military events each *suasoria*.

⁶⁵ Willem Cornelis van Unnik, *Tarsus or Jerusalem: The City of Paul’s Youth*. London: Epworth Press, 1962, 306.

⁶⁶ Bernhard Heininger, *Die Inkulturation des Christentums. Aufsätze und Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010, 136-143.

In my estimation, Heininger's proposal that the **main** purpose of an approximately ten-year stay in Tarsus and the province of Cilicia was to graduate from a teacher's training programme, is somewhat overdrawn. A comparison between Paul's previous "unsuccessful" preaching endeavours in Acts 9:20-30 with his astounding teaching abilities and amazing success resulting in the conversion of many people after Acts 13 is not exegetically advisable. It is not Luke's intent to draw such a conclusion from his narrative, since a) Paul was even latterly not always successful (Acts 17:16-24); b) missionary success is credited in Acts to the miraculous work of the Holy Spirit, not on human ability for rhetoric; c) "missionary failure" is in Acts constantly attributed to the hardness of human hearts and their wicked idolatry, both among Jews and Gentiles, and not due to lack of appropriate missionary strategies or rhetorical abilities. Furthermore, it is safe to say that Paul's main purpose during his stay in Syro-Cilicia was to preach the gospel. Even if Luke does not specifically states this idea, Luke's purposeful pattern of "filling with the Holy Spirit results in fearless preaching" (Acts 4:31; 9:17-22) leaves no other conclusion. The commissioning words of Jesus to Paul "Go, for I will send you far away from here to the Gentiles" (Acts 22:21) are initially fulfilled by the brethren sending Paul to Tarsus (Acts 9:30). In Tarsus Paul experiences a great part of the difficulties described in 2 Cor. 11:22-27, particularly the lashing with forty stripes minus one, a Jewish punishment based on Deut. 25:3. The grand vision of 2 Cor. 12 is also experienced in Tarsus. All of these tribulations of experiencing the "power of God in weakness" relate to the propagation of the gospel and cannot have been experienced apart from intense missionary activity in and around Tarsus.⁶⁷

In spite of my critique of Heininger, his article is important, since it highlights correctly that the preaching of Paul, as recorded in Acts, particularly the Areopagus speech, exhibits a level of rhetorical skill that surpasses the "natural abilities" of Jesus or Peter in Luke's twin works of Luke and Acts by far.

The Lukan Paul parades rhetorical techniques, which normally do not come out of the blue, but stem from an education in rhetoric. For such an education, given the *curriculum vitae* of Paul, Tarsus comes to mind as the best, if not only option.⁶⁸ It would indeed be odd if Paul, once he received his call to the Gentiles, finds himself in Tarsus, the "university city of the

⁶⁷ For Luke's possible reasons why the explicit missionary endeavour of Paul is postponed in the narrative after the Cornelius incident, see Martin Hengel and Anna Maria Schwemer, *Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien*. WUNT 108. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1998, 237-250.

⁶⁸ Bernhard Heininger, *Die Inkulturation des Christentums. Aufsätze und Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010, 143-55.

east,”⁶⁹ and does not avail himself of the opportunities to be equipped with the necessary skills of speech to fulfil his calling. Tarsus was a famous Hellenistic city and a distinguished seat of learning that could vie with Athens and Alexandria as centres of Greek education. Strabo describes the city of Paul’s birth not only as the place where rhetorical education was possible, but that the whole town was wrapped up in zeal for learning:

<p>Τοσαύτη δὲ τοῖς ἐνθάδε ἀνθρώποις σπουδὴ πρὸς τε φιλοσοφίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παιδείαν ἐγκύκλιον ἅπασαν γέγονεν ὥσθ’ ὑπερβέβληνται καὶ Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλον τόπον δυνατὸν εἰπεῖν, ἐν ᾧ σχολαὶ καὶ διατριβαὶ φιλοσόφων γέγονασι. διαφέρει δὲ τοσοῦτον ὅτι ἐνταῦθα μὲν οἱ φιλομαθοῦντες ἐπιχώριοι πάντες εἰσὶ, ξένοι δ’ οὐκ ἐπιδημοῦσι ῥαδίως· οὐδ’ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι μένουσιν αὐτόθι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελειοῦνται ἐκδημήσαντες . . . καὶ εἰσὶ σχολαίπαρ’ αὐτοῖς παντοδαπαὶ τῶν περιλόγους τεχνῶν⁷⁰</p>	<p>The people of Tarsus have devoted themselves so eagerly, not only to philosophy, but also to the whole round of education in general, that they have surpassed Athens, Alexandria, or any other place that can be named where there have been schools and lectures of philosophers. But it is so different from other cities that there the men who are fond of learning are all natives, and foreigners are not inclined to sojourn there; neither do these natives stay there, but they complete their education abroad . . . Further, the city of Tarsus has all kinds of schools of rhetoric</p>
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Although we cannot speak with certainty if Paul received rhetorical training (including the knowledge of military history) in Tarsus, the assessment of all the evidence, particularly Paul’s oratory and literary abilities⁷¹ outbalance the scales in favour of Paul availing himself

⁶⁹ Sir William M. Ramsey, *The Cities of St. Paul. Their Influence on His Life and Thought*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1949, 228-35. Hans Böhlig, *Die Geisteskultur von Tarsos im augusteischen Zeitalter mit Berücksichtigung der paulinischen Schriften*. FRLANT 19. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913, 109.

⁷⁰ Strab. XIV.5.13. Transl. by Horace L. Jones, LCL, VI: 346-47. Philostratus’ unfavourable critiques of Tarsus as being a city of strange and harsh atmosphere and little conducive to the philosophical life on account of the addiction of the citizens to luxury and their attendance to fine linen ‘more than the Athenians did to wisdom’ is more literary fiction than reliable historiography (Phil. VA. I.7., written about AD 200). Philostratus was a romancer and not a serious biographer and was likely influenced by Dio. Chrysostom, who had denounced the Tarsians for their lack of moral earnestness. (Dio. Chrysostom. *Orations*, 33-34. Frederick F. Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Heart Set Free*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990, 35.) Dio. Chrysost. *Or.* XXXIII.5. mentions the numerous famous teachers who worked in the city, i.e. also a reference to the abounding presence of rhetorical teachers.

⁷¹ The protestation of the Corinthians that Paul’s presence is weak and his speech contemptible (ἡ δὲ παρουσία τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενής καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐξουθενημένος) (2 Cor. 10:10) argues not against the rhetorical abilities of Paul. It reveals indeed that oratory finesse was expected of Paul, but not delivered to the degree as one would expect from a high profile rhetorician. The excellence of speech, which Paul disavows in 1 Cor. 2:1 refers to the content of the message, not its mode of delivery.

of further education in his hometown. Paul would in that case have expanded his knowledge of military history as well.

2.2.3.6. *Military metaphors – a common expression in philosophical and secular speeches*

Even in the unlikelihood that Paul did not undergo formal rhetorical training himself, he would have encountered the practice of speakers utilising military metaphors in daily life. As an above average speaker, to say the least, he would also have been a good listener and in Tarsus, Cilicia and Antioch would have listened to Hellenistic speeches, which were delivered on a variety of occasions. Indeed, “the majority of the plebs . . . seems to have acquired its knowledge of historical events and political institutions not from formal instruction, but from attendance at public spectacles, such as theatre and oratory.”⁷²

As a citizen of Tarsus one would not have been able to isolate oneself from such public spectacles and private occasions, where historical events – and again, including military history – would have been reiterated. Edgar Krentz had already shown that military language was a familiar *topos* in philosophic argumentation. Socrates, Epictetus, Hierocles (a Stoic from the second century B.C), and Seneca use military language in several places to describe the philosophic life.⁷³ Raymond Collins concurs: “. . . spiritual or intellectual struggle was commonly portrayed in military terms. This practice was certainly popular among the Stoics and Cynics of Paul’s own day.”⁷⁴ Geoffrion expands the scope of the usage of military imagery in secular day-to-day living by pointing out that Lucian reports an address of Solon on how to become a good citizen. Solon elaborates concerning how to train a child and specifically mentions that recounting stories of great military feats or the like will be useful to incite the children to imitate them.⁷⁵

In the first century AD military history would not have been the exclusive special knowledge of historians and military personnel, both Greeks and Romans were intensely aware of their own military history – their victories were commemorated on coins, statues, triumphal arches, pillars, as ornaments on temples and inscriptions on tomb stones; they were reenacted for entertainment in the theatre and in gladiatorial shows and appealed to for

⁷² Anthony Corbeill, “Education in the Roman Republic: Creating Traditions.” In *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*. Ed. Yun Lee Too. Leiden: Brill, 2001, 262.

⁷³ Edgar Krentz, “Military Language and Metaphors in Philippians.” In *Origins and Method: Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity*. Ed. Bradley H. McLean. Journal of the Study of the New Testament Supplement 86, 265-286. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993, 106-08.

⁷⁴ Raymond F. Collins, *The Power of Images in Paul*. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2008, 215 and the appropriate references to the original sources in the endnotes on page 230.

⁷⁵ Luc. *Anach.* XX.2. Found in Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 125-26.

moral exhortation in philosophical speeches. Talks about military history would be unavoidable for the resident or traveller of the Greek East of the Roman Empire and the chances for Paul to get richly acquainted with military matters would most certainly have been frequent as he participated in the social life of Greco-Roman culture.

2.3. Objections to the positive reception of military metaphors by the Philippians re-evaluated

2.3.1. The critical evaluation of military terminology by Joseph A. Marchal

Although the knowledge and capability of Paul to communicate theological ideas via military nomenclature is not questioned among scholarship, the appropriateness of a letter to the Philippians is. The first critical assessment of Paul's use of military language as proposed by Krentz, Geoffrion and others, was done by Joseph A. Marchal, beginning with his article, "Her Master's Tools?,"⁷⁶ which was followed up one year later, in 2006, by his book "Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation."⁷⁷ Marchal does not deny the prominent occurrence and the relevance of military imagery in Philippians, but questions if such imagery was well received by the Philippian congregation. He proposes that the usage of military images would have evoked violent connotations and could have caused rather ambivalent reactions from the deeply mixed Philippian audience.⁷⁸ He questions whether military images would have had an appeal across the diversity of the Philippian congregation and suggests that instead of a favourable reaction to military terminology, most of the original audience would have been confronted with a piece of literature deeply ingrained in a complex system of domination and control, causing discontent among the Philippians toward militaristic imagery.⁷⁹

Marchal's methodology is not based on authorial intention, but more on a feminist reader-response basis. Although this study does not share Marchal's premises about the methodology of interpretation, I agree with Marchal that questions concerning possible attitudes or reactions to military images by the Philippian recipients of the letter have to be answered. Would military terminology in general have been suitable to provoke positive Christian behaviour in the Philippian church? Does the socio-political situation in the middle of the first century allow that military images have an attraction with the potential to stimulate

⁷⁶ Joseph A. Marchal, "Her Master's Tools? Feminist and Postcolonial Engagements of Historical-Critical Discourse." In *Society of Biblical Literature*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005.

⁷⁷ Joseph A. Marchal, *Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation. A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Power Dynamics in Paul's Letter to the Philippians*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006.

⁷⁸ Joseph A. Marchal, *Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation. A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Power Dynamics in Paul's Letter to the Philippians*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006, 69.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 50-51, 69. Marchal leaves the conclusion open whether Paul's use of military terminology is a rhetorical blunder or a deliberate devious attempt to establish a rhetorical dominion over the Philippians.

Christ-like thoughts, attitudes and conduct? Or would military imagery have caused in the audience such pejorative repercussions that, in the estimation of Marchal, “one has to wonder how effective calls to obedience through military steadfastness would be?”⁸⁰ The question for the potential appeal or offensiveness of military imagery has to be answered from three sides. First, Marchal’s arguments objecting to the appropriateness of military imagery has to be interacted with.

Second, the rhetorical situation of the Philippian audience one hundred years after the initial colonisation has to be re-evaluated. Marchal is correct in pointing out that in the middle of the first century AD the audience of a letter from Paul would not be uniformly made up from soldiers and veterans. The social strata had changed drastically from the first settlement until the fifties and sixties AD. Would not only soldiers, but also the present Philippian sociological mix of inhabitants understand and appreciate military imagery? Third, do principles of rhetoric provide any indication, how military metaphors would be received, once it is established that the author used them? This thesis will attend to these questions in turn.

Besides pointing out that the military language has not been subjected to an analysis from a socio-political context of Philippians,⁸¹ Marchal lists five objections to the positive appeal, military imagery might have. I will interact with each of the five to determine if they rule out the possibility of an attraction military language might have in the Philippian situation.

2.3.2. Does military imagery always presume and include pejorative notions, such as violence, blood and death?

Marchal reasons that the vivid visualisations of the images in the letter involve, or serve as, preludes to actual violence. Since many early Christians would have seen Roman military service as incompatible with the Christian faith on account of the violence and the bloodshed involved,⁸² Marchal assumes that military images, implying or anticipating violent, bloody and mortal resolutions, would have been equally offensive to early Christians.

The argument that since early Christians felt it incompatible with their faith to join the Roman military, they would have immediate pejorative association with military metaphors,

⁸⁰ Ibid., 64.

⁸¹ This thesis hopes to remedy this criticism in this chapter under 2.5. “Military terminology positively received – the influence of the military on the general population of Philippi.”

⁸² See C. John Cadoux, *The Early Christian Attitude to War*. London: Headley, 1919.; Adolf von Harnack, *Militia Christi: die Christliche Religion und der Soldatenstand in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1905.; Jean-Michel Hornus, *It Is Not Lawful for Me to Fight*. Transl. by Alan Kreider and Oliver Coburn. Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1980.

fails to stand under close scrutiny. Even if a wide spectrum of first century Christians would have considered a military career as prohibitive on account of its violent nature – an argument which is by no means firmly established, since the evidence for the Christian attitude of non-participation in the military is from later periods – the argument denies the proper category distinction between metaphor and reality.⁸³ Even if a military picture in Philippians may involve or serve as prelude to actual violence, in no military image found in Philippians is the violent attribute of the metaphor carried over into the message that is intended to be communicated.

It is the nature of the use of metaphors that only some aspects of the metaphor serve as illustration of the spiritual reality desired to be conveyed.⁸⁴ Some aspects, not all of them! Even the shepherding image so prominent in the Scriptures would, if one applies the logic of Marchal consistently, contain involvement or serves as prelude to violence and would thus be inappropriate to evoke majorative responses. Every sheep is tenderly and lovingly taken care of for no other purpose but eventual slaughter. Yet when the metaphor of shepherding is used in Scripture, the aspect of slaughter is absent and not part of the image that serves as an illustration of YHWH's, the king's or Jesus' care for his people (Psa. 23:1-4; Isa. 40:11; John 10; Heb. 13:20; et.al.), unless that aspect of the image is specifically alluded to (Zech. 11). The military images in Philippians are used in the same way metaphors are used consistently elsewhere in the Scriptures. Limited parts of the actual image serve as illustrations of a positive facet of the Christian life. The metaphors do not need to be forced in such a way that all possible shades of the picture where the metaphor is drawn from, has a corresponding application in the message that is to be illustrated.

Furthermore, even if a violent aspect of warfare serves as an illustration of a spiritual reality, it does not necessarily imply that this aspect would be received with pejorative reactions. Paul employs a very violent motive elsewhere when he exhorts his readers in his letter to the Romans to “put to death the deeds of the body, so that they might live.” (Rom.

⁸³ There is a profound difference between the reality of military service, to which one may object and use of military imagery, which one may appreciate in spite to the objection of the area of life, where it is drawn from. Ironically, the book of Jean-Michael Hornus, (*It Is Not Lawful for Me to Fight*. Transl. by Alan Kreider and Oliver Coburn. Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1980.), which Marchal cites in support of his thesis that early Christianity felt adherence to Jesus and service in the Roman military incompatible, makes this point very clear. One of Hornus' main arguments for pacifistic early Christianity is that the wide variety of rhetoric drawn from militaristic language are vigorous and colourful metaphors, which depict the spiritual life of the Christian instead of the physical reality of serving in the legions. Hornus believes that pacifistic minded early Christians may still appropriate positively for illustrations of their walk of faith images and metaphors from the very life of military, which they seek to avoid!

⁸⁴ “When two things are compared, they are not to be considered like in all respects. There is an intended point of comparison on which we are being asked to concentrate to the exclusion of all irrelevant fact; and communication breaks down, with ludicrous and even disastrous effect, if we wrongly identify it.” George B. Caird, *The Language and Imagery of the Bible*. London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 1980, 145.

8:13). Metaphors function in such a way that when an image from the referential area of life, where it is drawn from might have negative associations, the moment it is used as a metaphor, the image loses these associations and takes up the association of the reality, which it is illustrating. No matter how violent, destructive and eventually fatal military operations in the first century were, the Biblical authors are still able to speak about a “good soldier” (2 Tim. 2:3) and expect the metaphor to be used entirely with positive connotations.

2.3.3. Is veteran loyalty such a complex issue after the years of civil war that the majority of veterans would react unfavourably to military images?

2.3.3.1. *Marchal’s claim: shifts of allegiance led to bitterness about military service*

Marchal argues here that the veterans settled in Philippi (if they were the audience), would not appreciate Paul’s military rhetoric since during the civil war soldiers constantly had to shift loyalties through the defeat of their previous commander and the incorporation of the rank and file soldier into new legions. The veteran who expected rewards from his commander would be deeply embittered by second-rate rewards of future commanders and by the disappointment of constantly having to change allegiance to different commanders.⁸⁵

It is true that during the civil war rather swift changes in the command of the amassed troops took place. It is also correct, that over a period of less than twenty years, from the battle of Pharsalus in 48 BC until the battle of Actium in 31 BC several significant commanders⁸⁶ over large bodies of troops were defeated and many of their soldiers reincorporated into the force of the respective victor. From that Marchal argues that there must have been a significant lingering effect of bitterness on the minds of the soldiers who expected rewards based on loyalty toward their commander, who had to shift allegiance every time their commander was defeated or when he gave over his troops to a successor. Marchal’s line of reasoning here appears to be that the supposedly resented shift in allegiance to the commander had such an abiding negative effect on the veterans and their descendants that when those very descendants of the soldiers settled in Philippi after the battle of Philippi and Actium heard Paul using military language, the negative emotions of frustration from shifts in allegiance, missed rewards and second rate retirement gifts would have caused a pejorative reaction towards Paul’s usage of military images.

⁸⁵ Joseph A. Marchal, *Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation. A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Power Dynamics in Paul’s Letter to the Philippians*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006, 53-55.

⁸⁶ For example: Pompey the Great, Julius Caesar, Hirtius and Pansa, Brutus and Cassius, Antony, Pompey the Younger, Lepidus.

In order to determine how widespread the negative effects of truly necessary shifts of allegiance were, we have to scrutinise more closely the measure and reasons of loyalty of veterans to their commander. Veteran loyalty is indeed a complex issue during and after the years of civil war, but it is more complex than to just assume that every shift of allegiance brought far-reaching and long-enduring dissatisfaction among the soldiers.

2.3.3.2. The evidence re-evaluated: No shifts of allegiance occurred among the troops settled at Philippi

First of all, if it is necessary to evaluate the potential dissatisfaction of the posterity of the veterans settled at Philippi, we need to concentrate on the potential effects those very soldiers settled at Philippi had through their experience of shifts of allegiance. One should not import descriptions of disgruntled and disadvantaged soldiers from elsewhere in the empire into the Philippian situation, unless one can demonstrate that the soldiers settled at Philippi did experience disadvantage because of the necessity to shift loyalties during the civil war.

The soldiers released after and settled in Philippi were veterans from Antony's legions, mainly recruited between 49-48 BC by Julius Caesar as he prepared for the battle of Pharsalus. The veterans discharged after Actium were soldiers from the legions of Octavian, recruited between 42-40 BC with a possible small fraction of earlier levies.⁸⁷ According to Dio. LI.4.4. civilian citizens of Italian towns who had sided with Antony were also resettled to Philippi.⁸⁸ Thus, two out of the three examples, which Marchal cites in support of his theory of disgruntlement of soldiers on account of shifting loyalty, have no relevance for Philippi.⁸⁹ The 14,000 men from the legions of Brutus reincorporated into the triumviral army after the battle of Philippi⁹⁰ were not settled at Philippi, nor were Antony's troops beaten by Octavian's forces at Actium.⁹¹ These veterans may indeed have been disgruntled, but would not have influenced the Philippian situation. The only example, which Marchal notes and which has

⁸⁷ Walter C. G. Schmitthenner, *The Armies of the Triumviral Period: a Study of the Origins of the Roman Imperial Legions*. D. Phil. Thesis, Oxford: University of Oxford, unpublished, 1958, 62-64. Peter A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower, 225 BC – AD 14*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971. Keppie, Lawrence. *Colonization and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47–14 BC*. London: The British School at Rome, 1983, 36-37.

⁸⁸ These settlers are the ones who truly did have reasons for being disgruntled, and certainly they were. They were dispossessed of their homeland among the rich cities in Italy and were forcibly relocated far from their homes. However, the object of their discontent was unlikely military service in of itself, but the new ruler, Octavian! In 31 BC they were not the only ones who had to live henceforth with concealed antipathy toward the new potentate, virtually half the empire had to get adjusted to the new dictator.

⁸⁹ Joseph A. Marchal, *Hierarchy, Unity and Imitation: A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Power Dynamics in Paul's Letter to the Philippians*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006, 54-55.

⁹⁰ Dio. IV.17.135.

⁹¹ Lawrence Keppie, *Colonization and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47–14 BC*. London: The British School at Rome, 1983, 32.

possible relevance for the Philippian locale are the new levies, which were just being recruited for Pompey, but were taken over by Julius Caesar, who had overrun the Italian peninsula.⁹² It is doubtful that on account of the newness of recruits one can speak of “shifting allegiance.” They had not served, or seen Pompey even once and could hardly have harboured discontent over shifts of leadership. They only knew Julius Caesar and his successor Octavian as their commander. Thus, of the veterans settled at Philippi all had served their entire military career under one and the same commander and they hardly could have complained about “shifts of allegiance” that had occurred in other troop contingents beside their own.

2.3.3.3. The evidence re-evaluated: shifts of allegiance in the Roman civil war often due to the greed of the soldiers

Second, the loyalty of soldiers toward the commanders in the civil war is indeed a complex issue during the years of the civil wars, too complex to infer from it a general attitude of discontent on account of suffering from shifting allegiance of soldiers. The history of allegiance of soldiers paints a different picture from the one Marchal proposes. Between Pharsalus (the starting point of recruitment of soldiers eventually settled at Philippi) and Actium (the final significant phase of settlement of soldiers at Philippi), the literary sources provide evidence for only five phases in which the armies of opponents were somewhat forced to be reincorporated into the legions of the warring civil factions. Cassius swore the army of Dolabella into his service after the latter had been defeated,⁹³ four additional legions of Allienus were taken over by Cassius wholesale,⁹⁴ 14,000 volunteers from the Republican forces were enlisted into the victorious army of Antony and Octavian after Philippi,⁹⁵ eight legions of Plenius defected or were coerced to Lepidus and just a few days later to Octavian⁹⁶ and Octavian takes over craftily the province and legions of Calenus after the latter had died.⁹⁷

Again, none of the soldiers from these troops were settled at Philippi. Besides those forces changing sides after a defeat, an altogether different scenario played a far more

⁹² Marchal lists as reference Lawrence Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army from Republic to Empire*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998, 104, who in turn cites Plut. *Pomp.* 60.; App. *BC.* II.37.; *AE* 1924, 55.; *ILS* 2232.

⁹³ App. *BC.* IV.8.62.

⁹⁴ App. *BC.* IV.8.59. At least the allies, possibly some regular units as well, are quite happy to “change sides” and are proud to serve under the famous Cassius, who had already once commanded them under Crassus.

⁹⁵ App. *BC.* IV.17.135.

⁹⁶ App. *BC.* V.12.122 – 13.126.

⁹⁷ App. *BC.* V.6.51.

significant role during the civil wars: soldiers and whole legions changed loyalties voluntarily and deliberately, mostly because the promises of monetary reward were greater on the other side. Thus, the army at Brundisium under Antony's command sent secret messengers to Octavian with the wish to assist him to campaign against Brutus and Cassius.⁹⁸ Soldiers formerly serving under Julius Caesar and already settled, were re-enlisted by Octavian and at first refused to fight Antony and defect, but later remembered the monetary gains of military service and volunteered for service under Octavian.⁹⁹ In the conflict between Antony and Octavian before the battle of Mutina both commanders try to secure the loyalty of their troops by generous donatives. Antony promises 100 drachmas for each soldier, promises later more and pays 500.¹⁰⁰ Still, two legions defect to Octavian, because he pays the same now and promises more, 5,000 drachmas for each soldier, later.¹⁰¹ The soldiers of Lepidus, on the other hand, discarded the orders of their tribunes, and go over to Antony. Once the senate realises the amassment of troops under Octavian and Antony under possible concord with each other and at variance with the senate, the latter resorts to the same measure trying to assure loyalty: instead of a promised 2,500 drachmas, 5,000 were given to each soldier of eight legions – in vain: several legions, in spite of their generals, sent ambassadors to and ally themselves with Octavian.¹⁰² It is now Octavian who pays the 2,500 to each man and promises the rest later, besides promising expectation of booty, gifts and land.¹⁰³ Meanwhile, as the battle of Philippi draws close, Brutus and Cassis chose the same course and propitiate their soldiers with the payment of the promised donative, speeches and elaborate promises of more money to come.¹⁰⁴ All these incidents demonstrate that the soldiers had a mind of their own and on their own initiative carried the favour of different commanders for a simple calculation: whoever paid the best would receive their service.

Thus, the loyalty of soldiers towards their commander was for the most part not based on a virtuous filial commitment on account of noble Roman principles, incorruptible character or selfless love of the soldiers. Loyalty to a commander was proportionate to the skill of the commander to achieve such loyalty.¹⁰⁵ The reason why Caesar had such a unique

⁹⁸ App. *BC*. III.6.40.

⁹⁹ App. *BC*. III.6.42.

¹⁰⁰ App. *BC*. III.7.44-45.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, App. *BC*. III.7.48.

¹⁰² App. *BC*. III.13.90, 92.

¹⁰³ App. *BC*. III.13.94.; IV.1.3.

¹⁰⁴ App. *BC*. IV.12.89-100.

¹⁰⁵ See for example the advice of Cyrus' father to his son on how to obtain and keep best the commitment of soldiers to the commander by providing food rations on time and to inspire the soldiers with effective speeches. Xen. *Cyr.* I.6.8-25. "... αὐτίκα δήπου οἴσθα ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἔξει τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἢ στρατιά, καταλελύσεται σου ἡ ἀρχή." ("For instance, you doubtless know that if your army does not receive its rations, your authority will soon come to naught"). (Xen. *Cyr.* I.6.9. Transl. by Walter Miller, LCL, I: 92-93.) "Ἀλλὰ μὲν, ὁ Κῦρος ἔφη, εἰς γε τὸ προθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖν στρατιώταις οὐδέν μοι δοκεῖ ἰκανώτερον εἶναι ἢ τὸ δύνασθαι

commitment level was simply described by Appian:

Καίσαρι δ' ἔρρωτο πᾶς ἀνὴρ εἰς προθυμίαν καὶ πόνους ὑπὸ τε ἔθους τῶν στρατειῶν καὶ ὑπὸ κερδῶν, ὅσα πόλεμος τοῖς νικῶσιν ἐργάζεται καὶ ὅσα παρὰ Καίσαρος ἄλλα ἐλάμβανον. ¹⁰⁶	In fact, every soldier was strongly attached to Caesar and laboured zealously for him, under the force of discipline and the influence of the gain which war usually brings to victors and which they received from Caesar also; for he gave with a lavish hand in order to mold them to his designs.
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Caesar knew how to induce the commitment of his soldiers. He did it through discipline and the promise of splendid rewards. Loyalty and commitment of soldiers was something not innate to their personality, it had to be procured through the skills of the commanders – and more simply through the ringing of coins in the treasure box! As Appian describes the equal conditions of loyalties during the civil war:

. . . ὡς οὐ νόμῳ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἄρχοντες ἢ ταῖς δωρεαῖς. ¹⁰⁷	. . . [the generals knew] that their authority over their armies depended on donatives rather than on law.
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The history of troops changing sides during civil war reveals that previous loyalty to a commander was quickly lost if the opposing commander promised greater rewards or the chances of winning were higher on the other side. Loyalty was often abandoned if the chances of success or reward were greater on the other side.

It is precisely at this point that the argument of Marchal fails: it is extremely doubtful that soldiers suffered years later from the effects of having to change loyalties when they were quite willing and ready to change loyalties in the first place. If anything is apparent in the soldier-commander relationship during the civil wars, then it is this fact: that the commanders were at the whim of the soldiers, being continually in dire straights, because more and more financial resources to placate the soldiers had to be procured. If soldiers were not disillusioned at the moment they chose a new commander for more money, they would hardly be disillusioned about the same transaction ten years later at retirement. One further reason why Marchal's argument is faulty is because he portrays the soldiers both as

ἐλπίδας ἐμποιεῖν ἀνθρώποις." ("In the next place,' said Cyrus, 'for putting enthusiasm into the soldiers nothing seems to be more effectual than the power of inspiring men with hopes.") (Xen. *Cyr.* I.6.19. Transl. by Walter Miller, LCL, I:104-05.)

¹⁰⁶ App. *BC.* II.4.30. Transl. by Horace White, LCL, I:284-85.

¹⁰⁷ App. *BC.* V.3.18.

perpetrators of loyalty change and as victims of the same. But it is hardly possible to combine the two thoughts: one cannot describe swift and unexpected shifts of change of allegiance due to lack of loyalty and at the same time portray the soldier as suffering under the “necessary shifts of loyalty.” One is either the perpetrator or the victim of the crime, not both.

2.3.3.4. Reincorporation of troops evidence that dissatisfaction about shifts of allegiance was not severe

Additionally, one has to contemplate on the following dynamics of obedience to commanders in the army: the very fact that troops were reincorporated into the legions of the former opponent illustrates that dissatisfaction among the soldiers could not have been too severe, since no commander takes into his own ranks obviously dissatisfied soldiers. The respective commander knew they would be the weakest spot among his forces and be – in the case of battle – the possible cause of the loss of the whole army. The commander who incorporates soldiers of other commanders previously hostile into his own either knows that the dissatisfaction of the soldier is not severe and they can be quickly moulded into his designs or – if he judges the disillusionment of the armed men to be a matter to be reckoned with – he judges his own ability to instil new enthusiasm into the soldier respectable enough that he takes him on and will work on his mind with gifts, speeches and other incentives. In either case the soldier would at the release into retirement not be left with significantly lingering effects of disillusionments about to whom he had shifted his allegiance.

2.3.4. Was settlement in a colony often problematic, especially in the eyes of the veterans, that only negative memories would remain?

2.3.4.1. Marchal's claim: the unhappy lot of legionary veterans

Soldiers expected high rewards from their military service and the choice of reward for most was to receive an allotment of land in Italy.¹⁰⁸ Yet, after the battle of Philippi, very few soldiers received that privilege and most of them were settled in Philippi,¹⁰⁹ a colony far from Rome and likely to be considered a second rate locality. Marchal argues that the facts of the process of colonisation could take up to three years,¹¹⁰ of the dissatisfaction about the

¹⁰⁸ Lawrence Keppie, *Colonization and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47–14 BC*. London: The British School at Rome, 1983, 59.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., 60.

¹¹⁰ Joseph A. Marchal, *Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation. A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Power Dynamics in Paul's Letter to the Philippians* (Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature), 2006., 57. Citing Lawrence Keppie, *Colonization and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47–14 BC*. London: The British School at Rome, 1983, 70.

slowness of the allotment of land¹¹¹ and of the bitter complaints of rebellious legionaries¹¹² are indications that most, if not all of those settled veterans, – and especially the colonists of Philippi – did not look back at their military service happily, but rather bitterly and would thus be rather annoyed at correspondence, which included in large parts images from the military.¹¹³

2.3.4.2. *The evidence: disappointments do not lead to aversion of the military*

Service in the military during the civil wars was indeed a trying enterprise for the average soldier. It is also true that many soldiers were expecting higher rewards, faster discharge and better benefits than what reality eventually conferred upon them. Soldiers complained and many units were near mutiny indeed as the hoped-for-discharge from service was delayed and monetary rewards were postponed.¹¹⁴ Marchal is correct in pointing out that there were serious grievances, which soldiers had to endure during the civil wars regarding the time of discharge and the fulfilment of promises made to them.¹¹⁵ However, the inference that therefore a substantial number of veterans would have been altogether bitter toward the military as a whole – and to such a degree that later preaching or writing utilising military images would have agitated them – goes beyond reasonable evidence. The attitude of disappointed soldiers toward the military, disgruntled even to the point of mutiny, can be more accurately analysed as we explore one of the mutinies as a case study. I have chosen the mutiny in Rome during 47 BC, to which Marchal appeals as evidence for his argument. The reason for the mutiny was:

. . . ὡς οὔτε τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα σφίσιν ἐπὶ τῷ | . . . because the promises made to them

¹¹¹ Joseph A. Marchal, *Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation. A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Power Dynamics in Paul's Letter to the Philippians*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006, 57. Citing Lawrence Keppie, *Colonization and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47–14 BC*. London: The British School at Rome, 1983, 87.

¹¹² Joseph A. Marchal, *Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation. A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Power Dynamics in Paul's Letter to the Philippians*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006, 57. Citing Tac. *Ann.* I.35. and Roy W. Davis and David Breeze, *Service in the Roman Army*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989, 34.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 56-59.

¹¹⁴ See Marchal's appeal to Keppie's description of the "near mutiny" at Placentia in 49 BC, in Rome during 47 BC and the rebellion among legionaries in lower Germany in AD 14. (Lawrence Keppie, *Colonization and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47–14 BC*. London: The British School at Rome, 1983, 36.) And Tac. *Ann.* I.35. In Joseph A. Marchal, *Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation. A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Power Dynamics in Paul's Letter to the Philippians*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006, 56-57.

¹¹⁵ Keppie confirms the justice of the pleas for discharge of the veterans. The unsympathetic evaluation of the calls for discharge from the imperial historians (App. *BC.* II.47.; App. *BC.* II.93.; V.128.; Dio. XLI.26.; XLII.53.; XLIX.13.; Suet. *Caes.* 70) is due to their being accustomed to the professional army under the empire whose military man served 20 years with another 5 years in reserve. The maximum requirement in the minds of the soldiers in the late Republic, however, was still at 6 years, which was gradually drawn out (to the disappointment of the legionaries) during the civil wars. Lawrence Keppie, *Colonization and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47–14 BC*. London: The British School at Rome, 1983, 37.

κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἔργῳ λαβόντες οὔτε ἐννόμως ἔτι βραδύνοντες ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ. ¹¹⁶	after the battle of Pharsalus had not been kept, and because they had been held in service beyond the term fixed by law.
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The mutiny was so bad that there were riots on the Campus Martius and when Caesar wanted to speak to his troops, all his friends were afraid for his safety and cautioned him against his plans.¹¹⁷ Caesar nevertheless goes among the legion and in a short speech does not rebuke them, but grants them immediate discharge and pledges that he will fulfil his promises made to them at a later date, after the war in Africa.¹¹⁸ Yet, instead of further disappointment and bitterness towards the military from the veterans (because of nothing but further promises from Caesar), as we would expect from Marchal's line of reasoning, the mutinous legion not only repents of its insubordination, but eagerly begs to be re-enlisted for the impending war in Africa:

. . . αἰδῶς αὐτίκα πᾶσιν ἐνέπιπτεν καὶ λογισμὸς μετὰ ζήλου, εἰ δόξουσι μὲν αὐτοὶ καταλιπεῖν σφῶν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐν μέσοις τοσοῖσδε πολεμίοις, θριαμβεύσουσι δ' ἀνθ' αὐτῶν ἕτεροι καὶ σφεῖς τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ κερδῶν ἐκπεσοῦνται, μεγάλων ἔσεσθαι νομιζομένων . . . Οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες ἔτι ἀνέκραγον μετανοεῖν καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτῷ συστρατεῦσθαι . . . καὶ σφᾶς αὐτὸν ἠξίου διακληρῶσαί τε καὶ τὸ μέρος θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπερεθίζειν ἔτι δεόμενος ἀκριβῶς μετανοοῦντας, συνηλλάσσετο ἅπασιν καὶ εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλεμον ἐξήει. ¹¹⁹	. . . shame immediately took possession of all, and the consideration, mingled with jealousy, that while they would be thought to be abandoning their commander in the midst of so many enemies, others would join in the triumph instead of themselves, and they would lose the gains of the war in Africa, which were expected to be great . . . they could endure it no longer, but cried out that they repented of what they had done, and besought him to keep them in his service . . . they begged him to choose a portion of their number by lot and put them to death. ¹²⁰ But Caesar, seeing that there was no need of stimulating them any further when they had repented so bitterly, became reconciled to all, and departed
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¹¹⁶ App. BC. II.13.92. Transl. by Horace White, LCL, I:396-97.

¹¹⁷ App. BC. II.13.92.

¹¹⁸ App. BC. II.13.93.

¹¹⁹ App. BC. II.13.93-94. Transl. by Horace White, LCL, I:398-401.

¹²⁰ The practice of *decimation*, a form of punishment for military units on account of desertion to the enemy, the leaving of an assigned post or for mutiny.

straightway for the war in Africa.

Dissatisfaction, even to the point of mutiny, did not lead to a wholesale aversion of the military altogether. In fact, the opposite was true. In spite of the justified grievances, the rioting soldiers still had a sufficient amount of “military pride” in them that caused them to be ashamed of their un-soldier-like behaviour. Caesar appealed to the veteran’s boastful identification with the military – and was successful with it. A simple speech, as crafty and artfully designed as it may have been, not only appeased the soldiers, but caused them to implore their former commander for further service. They all went on to the next campaign to Africa. The disappointment of the veterans, as real as they might have been, did not transform them into military-abhorring pacifists.

The same could be expected from the Philippian veterans. After all, from the just defeated legions of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi, Antony and Octavian re-enlisted 14,000 men into their own legions.¹²¹ The defeat of these men had certainly dashed many hopes and caused a great deal of resentment. But they were certainly not embittered to the point of a comprehensive exasperation with the military altogether. There is not a military commander of the ancient world who would have infected his forces with such men, especially not Octavian or Antony. Morale played such an important part in the ancient military¹²² that the 14,000 must have been sufficiently enthusiastic about continual military service or at least Antony and Octavian judged themselves competent enough to rouse these soldiers soon to renewed military zeal.

2.3.4.3. The strong ties within the legionary structure enforce attachment to the military

One should not underestimate a soldier’s strong ties of identity with the military, which he would not easily give up. Since the time of their recruitment soldiers were dressed uniformly, were drilled to obey instructions in a group and lived together in close-knit communities, the *contubernium* being the smallest and tightest unit. New sets of values replaced civilian attitudes and standards of behaviour and after a while the Roman military functioned for the

¹²¹ App. BC. IV.17.135. 14,000 men would be about 20% of the surviving Republican legions. Originally the legions were on each side about 100,000 strong, with an estimated casualty of 20,000 each, on the Republican side probably somewhat higher. See Lawrence Keppie, *Colonization and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47–14 BC*. London: The British School at Rome, 1983, 60.

¹²² For the vital importance of the morale of the soldiers in the ancient army see Adrian Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War 100 BC - AD 200*. Oxford Classical Monographs. Oxford: Bookcraft, 1996, particularly the chapter “The Individual’s Battle,” 249-82.

soldiers like their own closed society. A complex structure of ranks governed a soldier's whole career and life in the unit. This bonding within a new system was enforced by the granting of individual rewards, as well as bonuses, honours and benefits to subunits. The widespread custom of veterans to mention the unit they served in on tombstones and the graphic depiction of military decorations such as crowns, *torques*, *armillae*, etc. provides evidence of the pride soldiers had in belonging. They developed a distinct sense of belonging to something exclusive: their unit, their legion. Thus, the civilian sense of identity of a man was gradually reduced and replaced with an emotional attachment to the military.¹²³ This perception of identity was not quickly abandoned by the veterans – regardless of the various grievances they might have felt.

2.3.4.4. Philippian evidence: fast settlement

Notwithstanding the initial disappointment of being settled outside of Italy, the veterans settled after Philippi, after Actium and even the ones resettled after Actium did not fare as badly as the focus on grievances might portray. First of all, the settlement process went ahead rather quickly. In the summer of AD 41, not even a year after the battle of Philippi, the work of settlement in Italy was well advanced.¹²⁴ The settlement in Philippi, which is the focus of our present concern, was initiated immediately after the battle. The first soldiers to have been discharged were instantly awarded land by Antony at Philippi.¹²⁵ At least from a temporal viewpoint there should not have been any complaints from the first settlers.

2.3.4.5. Philippian evidence: the benefits of being settled at Philippi

Second, the site of Philippi, even though perhaps considered second-rate to Italy must not have been so bad after all. Collart argues that the triumvirs became quickly aware of the advantageous position of a potential settlement due to the existing acropolis, fertile ground, easy access to the sea, beneficial situation at the *Via Egnatia*, existing abundant resources around Philippi and on Thasos.¹²⁶ Veterans were settled as farmers in areas that promised

¹²³ See Adrian Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War 100 BC - AD 200*. Oxford Classical Monographs. Oxford: Bookcraft, 1996, 251-53.

¹²⁴ Lawrence Keppie, *Colonization and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47-14 BC*. London: The British School at Rome, 1983, 60.

¹²⁵ Lukas Bormann, *Philippi: Stadt und Christengemeinde zur Zeit des Paulus*. NovTSupp 78. Köln: Brill, 1995. Leiden: Brill, 1995, 15. For the numismatic evidence that the first soldiers were settled right after the battle, see Collart, 224-29.

¹²⁶ Collart, 223.

plentiful harvests. The grounds of Philippi were known to be exceptionally fertile.¹²⁷ Besides, there were other advantages for not being settled in Italy. As Bowersock argues concerning the Caesarian and Augustan colonies established in the East: “The majority of the colonists in the East *cannot* have objected to being sent there. Nearly all the legionary colonists had served in that part of the world, and there were good precedents for settling veterans in regions, which they knew well. Furthermore, an indeterminate number of them were easterners anyway . . . in cases where there was no Greek ancestry, an opportunity to become influential local dignitaries in Roman colonies was offered to men who were destined to be nobodies in Italy. The Italian backgrounds of the distinguished colonial families of the East are in many cases so obscure as to be quite unidentifiable (e.g., the Caristanii (JRS 3 (1913), 253ff.) and the Flavonii (JRS 48 (1958), 74ff.) of Pistidian Antioch).”¹²⁸

2.3.4.6. *Philippian evidence: high donata after a comparable short military service*

Third, whereas veterans loudly complained when their discharge was delayed, or fulfilment of promises were deferred, once settled, the lot of an honourably discharged veteran was a comparably happy one. The soldiers who were settled after the battle of Philippi in 42 BC were mainly recruits of 49-48 BC, the veterans who were settled after the battle of Actium were most likely recruits of 42-40 BC.¹²⁹

These soldiers had served a comparatively short time and their military service must have been a profitable enterprise,¹³⁰ especially in light of the plentiful *donata*, which were regularly guaranteed to the men under arms during the civil wars.¹³¹ Compared with the average population of Italy or Macedonia, these military settlers would constitute the “well-to-do” part of society. Their means had come from their service in the military, a fact they likely did not forget quickly. Besides, politically, these veterans would constitute the most influential and prestigious part of society. The names of the *duumviri iure dicundo* or *decuriones* on the

¹²⁷ Pilhofer, 1995, 78.

¹²⁸ Glen W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965, 71-72.

¹²⁹ Walter C. G. Schmitthenner, *The Armies of the Triumvial Period: a Study of the Origins of the Roman Imperial Legions*. D. Phil. Thesis, Oxford: University of Oxford, unpublished, 1958, 62-64. Peter A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower, 225 BC – AD 14*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971. Keppie, Lawrence. *Colonization and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47–14 BC*. London: The British School at Rome, 1983, 36-37.

¹³⁰ Keppie, Lawrence. *Colonization and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47–14 BC*. London: The British School at Rome, 1983, 38, citing Βασίλειος Γ. Καλλιπολιτης, Δημητρης Λαζαριδης, *Αρχαϊαι επιγραφαι Θεσσαλονικης*. Θεσσαλονικη: Γενική Διοικησις Μακεδονιας, 1946, 7, 27: “Το έδαφος της πεδιάδος των Φιλιππων θεωρείται από τα πιο πλούσια εδάφη της Ελλάδος, η δε ευφορια της περιοχής, που ήταν γνωστή κατά την Κλασσική Εποχή με το όνομα Δατον, ήταν παροιμιώδης.” (“The soil of the plain of Philippi is one of the richest soils of Greece and the fertility of the area, already known in the classical period under the name *Δατον*, was proverbial.”)

¹³¹ See for example App. BC. IV.12.100.; App. BC. IV.15.120.; App. BC. IV.16.118.; Plut. Ant. 23.

inscriptions in the first centuries BC and AD were without exception Roman ones, and from the veteran colonists.¹³² “Veterans were respected members of the society, and in many cases financially better off than other civilians.”¹³³ Within the ancient class structure, the veteran settled in Philippi achieved a station in life, which could not have topped and which could not have been achieved any other way. Most soldiers made a career from being small-scale farmers to being fairly wealthy and respected citizens of their new community.

2.3.4.7. The Roman evidence: complaints from the aristocracy witness to the favorable lot of veterans from the Civil Wars

The Roman aristocracy during the late Republic and during imperial times disapproved and complained concerning the common soldiers’ undeserved acquisition of wealth. The senators regarded the soldiers as gaining social and economic status at their expense.¹³⁴ If it aroused the envy of the senatorial class, the improvement of status and the acquisition of wealth by veterans must have had significant proportions.

2.3.4.8. Legal and social benefits of legionary veterans

Beyond wealth and social standing, veterans enjoyed numerous other social privileges. First, “veterans could look forward to various remissions of the legal burdens of civilian life (*munera personalia* and *mixta*). In this respect an age-old concept was upheld: the soldier who dedicated his life to the *res publica* was, as compensation for his service to the community, allowed as a veteran to enjoy exemption from all remaining duties.”¹³⁵ Second, soldiers and veterans were privileged groups in regard to legal prosecution and punishment. In short, apart from the time of active duty in war, soldiers and veterans were treated as *honestiores* with regard to the diversified Roman system of punishment and were thus exempt from the penalties inflicted upon the lower classes of society.¹³⁶ In legal disputes, veterans clearly occupied a privileged position before the law. A civilian thought twice before bringing charges against a former soldier in a legal system where the reputation and social standing weighed more than the impartial justice of a case. Furthermore, “while the soldier

¹³² Pilhofer, 1995, 91.

¹³³ Gabriele Wesch-Klein, “Recruits and Veterans.” In *A Companion to the Roman Army*. Ed. Paul Erdkamp. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007, 435.

¹³⁴ Sara Elise Phang, *Roman Military Service: Ideologies of Discipline in the Late Roman Republic and Early Principate*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 155-56.

¹³⁵ Gabriele Wesch-Klein, “Recruits and Veterans.” In *A Companion to the Roman Army*. Ed. Paul Erdkamp. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007, 439.

¹³⁶ Peter Garnsey, *Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1970, 245-251.

could obtain swift justice . . . the civilian was forced to put up with the long-drawn-out process of ordinary law.”¹³⁷ Third, by the special favour of the emperor, veterans were bequeathed exemption from tolls by Augustus, as were their nearest relatives; their wives, children and parents. The exemption from custom duties and the troublesome examination of luggage by custom officials were an advantage not to be underestimated.¹³⁸

2.3.5. Was involuntary recruitment resented, resisted and did it lead to hatred against the military on the part of the Philippian veterans?

Roman military service was not always voluntary and was met with some resistance.¹³⁹ Literary evidence shows that recruitment into the armed service was not always met with willing enthusiasm by the Roman people.¹⁴⁰ That may have been especially so in the case of civil war. From this easily understandable human phenomenon Marchal argues that “it is difficult to ascertain how many soldiers were actually willing participants” in the civil war. He suggests that most veterans were unwilling combatants who later did not look positively on their experience in the Roman army and their attitude must have been passed down to their descendants now hearing Paul’s military language with emotional turmoil rather than as vivid images stirring them to the desired Christian obedience.

Although one can logically empathise with the possibility of some soldiers being enlisted rather unwillingly, we have no evidence for this phenomenon for soldiers during the civil wars and especially no evidence how large a percentage of the army was enlisted involuntarily.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ Ibid., 248.

¹³⁸ William M. Ramsey, Sir. “Roads and Travel (in NT).” In *A Dictionary of the Bible*. Ed. James Hastings. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1988, 394. Gabriele Wesch-Klein, “Recruits and Veterans.” In *A Companion to the Roman Army*. Ed. Paul Erdkamp. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007, 443.

¹³⁹ Joseph A. Marchal, *Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation. A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Power Dynamics in Paul’s Letter to the Philippians*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006, 59-60.

¹⁴⁰ Marchal lists as examples one story found in Suet. *Aug.* XIV.1. of a Roman knight cutting off the thumbs of his two sons in order for them to avoid enlisting in the army, and one story from Arrius Menander in *Dig.* 49.16.4., containing a military law, which states that if a conscription had been introduced and a father had mutilated his son to make him unfit for military service, he was to be punished. Life was more complex in the Roman world, though! Not all fathers objected to their sons joining the military. On the contrary, “fathers were frequently proud to be soldiers and anticipated the same career for their sons. Evidence for this expectation is to be found in the matching cognomina of M. Aurelius Militio (“Soldier”) and his son Aurelius Militaris (“Military”) (*CIL* III.5955). The grave monument, which a horn player (*cornicen*) of the Legio II adiutrix erected for his four-year-old son shows the father’s expectation for his child: the deceased boy is presented on the stone wearing the *cingulum militare* (army belt) and holding a rolled up papyrus on which his right index finger is placed, as if taking an oath (*CIL* III.15159).” Gabriele Wesch-Klein, “Recruits and Veterans.” In *A Companion to the Roman Army*. Ed. Paul Erdkamp. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007, 436. Cursives and words in the parenthesis are original.

¹⁴¹ The examples Marchal lists come from the 1st century AD (Suetonius) and the 2nd or 3rd century AD (Menander Arrius). They shed little light on the civil war situation of the first century BC.

Nor do we know, taking for granted for the sake of the argument that some were enlisted involuntarily, if they maintained their frustrated attitude. Perhaps in time the soldiers accepted their lot due to the peer dynamics, the lush promises of rewards, the enthusiastic speeches of the commanders, etc.

It is pure suggestive speculation when Marchal writes, “it is difficult to ascertain how many of the soldiers were actually willing participants, especially within this time of frequent conscription during the civil wars.”¹⁴² This sentence may equally well be phrased, “it is difficult to ascertain how many of the soldiers settled in Philippi were unwilling participants in the civil wars.” The latter formulation avoids biased suggestions without a scholarly basis and evaluates the evidence more fairly, namely that we simply do not know if there were any unwilling combatants. Even if there were some, we have no indication if their number was big enough to sway the overall attitude of the majority of veterans and their descendants in such a way that they would react negatively toward military images.

2.3.6. Did the Roman colonisation of Philippi lead to the disenfranchisement of large portions of the native population?

2.3.6.1. *Application of Keppie's investigation into the Philippian situation not legitimate*

Veteran settlement did not necessarily benefit local populations.¹⁴³ Instead of emphasising the privileges or advantages of a Roman colony, even to non-Romans, Marchal tries to paint a picture of violent confrontations from the local inhabitants towards the colonisation process. He reasons that the local inhabitants suffered greatly from colonisation, resisted it and would maintain over a period of approximately one hundred years (from the initial settlement until the writing of Paul) such a malevolent bias toward colonisation and the military as a whole that Paul could not expect a positive reaction from his use of military language.

In his argument Marchal relies heavily on quotes from Lawrence Keppie's investigation about the impact of settlement in his book *Colonization and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47–14 BC*. There Keppie does indeed evaluate the colonisation after the battle of Philippi as “a great shock for the inhabitants bringing ruin to many.”¹⁴⁴ Keppie does describe

¹⁴² Joseph A. Marchal, *Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation. A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Power Dynamics in Paul's Letter to the Philippians*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006, 59.

¹⁴³ Joseph A. Marchal, *Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation. A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Power Dynamics in Paul's Letter to the Philippians*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006, 60-62.

¹⁴⁴ Lawrence Keppie, *Colonization and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47–14 BC*. London: The British School at Rome, 1983, 101. Cited by Joseph A. Marchal on page 60 in *Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation. A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Power Dynamics in Paul's Letter to the Philippians*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006.

“wholesale confiscation of property”¹⁴⁵ and occurrences of “street fighting between arriving colonists and local residents.”¹⁴⁶ The grave mistake that Marchal makes is to neglect that although Keppie describes the colonisation process as chronologically after the battle of Philippi, he refers spatially not to the colonisation in Philippi, but to the colonisation in Italy! Yet, the situation in Italy was remarkably different from the situation at Philippi! In Italy the most prosperous and advantageous situated towns were simply reassigned to the army by the triumvirs, the native Italian population was driven out and their property, including movables was confiscated.¹⁴⁷ Of course this caused a violent reaction from the local population, leading eventually to another civil war between Octavian, “the settler” on the one side and Fulvia (Antony’s wife) and Lucius Antony (Antony’s brother) on the other side, who had taken up the cause of the Italian inhabitants.

But Philippi was not Italy and to assign Keppie’s Italian descriptions directly to the Philippian situation drastically distorts the image, with which the Philippian natives in the middle of the first century would have viewed the colony, the settlers and the military.

2.3.6.2. *No significant dispossession of locals at the founding of the colony*

In spite of its advantageous position of being situated on the *Via Egnatia*, in spite of the fertility of the region enriched by springs,¹⁴⁸ in spite of some relevance it gained as it was included in the first of four districts in which Roman administration divided Macedonia,¹⁴⁹ Philippi was a rather insignificant settlement in the first century BC. It was nothing like the world prominent city it developed into through the founding of the colony. Strabo calls it a “κατοικία μικρά,” a small settlement,¹⁵⁰ Collard regards it as “a humble village of Macedonia,

¹⁴⁵ Lawrence Keppie, *Colonization and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47–14 BC*. London: The British School at Rome, 1983, 87. Cited by Joseph A. Marchal on page 61 in *Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation. A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Power Dynamics in Paul’s Letter to the Philippians*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006.

¹⁴⁶ Lawrence Keppie, *Colonization and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47–14 BC*. London: The British School at Rome, 1983, 101. Cited by Joseph A. Marchal on page 61–62 in *Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation. A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Power Dynamics in Paul’s Letter to the Philippians*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006.

¹⁴⁷ In the words of Appian: “Octavian has gone to Italy to provide the veterans with land and cities. If we must speak a plain word: *he left* to dispossess Italy.” App. BC. V.1.5.

¹⁴⁸ “ὄπερ καὶ ἀριστήν ἔχει χώραν καὶ εὐκαρπὸν καὶ ωαυπήγια καὶ χρυσοῦ μέταλλα.” (“The last named has not only excellent and fruitful soil but also dock-yards and gold mines.”) Strab. VII.33. Transl. by Horace L. Jones, LCL, VI:354–55. The gold mines were already exhausted by the first century BC. (Collard, 223.)

¹⁴⁹ Liv. XXXV.29.

¹⁵⁰ “Οἱ δὲ Φίλιπποι Κρηνίδες ἐκαλοῦντο πρότερον, κατοικία μικρά· ἠϋζήθη δὲ μετὰ τὴν περὶ Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον ἦταν.” (“Philippi was formerly called Krenides, and it was only a small settlement, but it was enlarged after Brutus and Cassius were defeated.”) Strab. VII.41.

to which little attention had been given since its gold mines had become exhausted.”¹⁵¹ Lukas Bormann evaluates the settlement at the time of the battle of Philippi to have been an “unimportant little piece of land.”¹⁵² He assesses that at the time of the settlement neither the buildings nor former inhabitants could testify to the former importance the city might have

¹⁵¹ “... l'humble bourgade macédonienne, à laquelle on n'avait accordé que peu d'attention depuis que ses mines d'or étaient épuisées...” Collard, 223.

¹⁵² “Philippi muss zur Zeit der Doppelschlacht ein unbedeutender Flecken gewesen sein.” Lukas Bormann, *Philippi: Stadt und Christengemeinde zur Zeit des Paulus*. NovTSupp 78. Köln: Brill, 1995, 19. Peter Oakes, however, argues strongly against Bormann in his *Philippians. From People to Letter*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 19-24. Oakes argues that the population of the pre-colonial city and its surrounding area must have been substantial, substantial enough to involve large scale dispossession of Greeks. Oakes contends for a somewhat vital Greek population mainly on four grounds: first, the land around Philippi was of a high quality and we would expect that it was still farmed (page 20). Second, the city’s continuing existence, as attested by various inscriptions, implies a significant enough population during the first century BC (page 20-21). Third, Strabo’s description of Philippi as “κατοικία μικρά” is unreliable (page 21-24) and fourth, the existence of Marsyas of Philippi, a substantial Greek writer, implies a plentiful Greek community to produce such a significant author. Although Oakes arguments have some weight to consider, the case is not as clear cut as one might conclude from the reading of Oakes. The agricultural vitality and the assumption that good land was not quickly forsaken carries the greatest value in the persuasion that a significant Greek population must have continued to exist. Oakes’ second argument concerning the continued existence of Philippi is not as well attested to as it appears. Four out of six inscriptions, which Oakes cites come from the fourth or third century BC, a time period for which there is no doubt that Philippi was thriving. The closer we get to the first century BC, however, the thinner the evidence for community life at Philippi gets. The literary evidence mentioned by Oakes does not paint a clear picture concerning the population of the area. The reference to the drainage of marshland the development of agriculture in Theo. *Caus Plant. V.14.5-6* refers to the beginning of the fourth century BC, again a time period for which there never was doubt about the prosperity of the region. The appearance of Romans like Flaccus and Fimbria, as well as Sulla in Philippi (See Granius Lucinianus, *Reliquiae* XXXV.70 and Plut. *Sull.* 23.5.) reveal nothing about the potential size of the city, as the Roman presence was most likely due more to the strategic military significance of the location rather than to the size of the town. Philippi was most likely a functioning community right into the first century BC, but there is hardly any evidence concerning the size of the population. Third, Strabo’s reference to Philippi as a “κατοικία μικρά” might not be as confused as Oakes seems to argue. Strabo’s sentence “οἱ δὲ Φίλιπποι Κρηνίδες ἐκαλοῦντο πρότερον, κατοικία μικρά· ἠϋξήθη δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐπεὶ Βρούτου καὶ Κάσσιου ἦρταν.” might perfectly well mean that before the enlargement of the city after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, Philippi was a small settlement. Contrary to Oakes, “πρότερον” does not have to function as a time marker defining “κατοικία μικρά” and it does not imply that Philippi was a small settlement at the time when it was called *Krenides*. “Πρότερον” can perfectly well have an anaphoric function and may refer strictly to “οἱ δὲ Φίλιπποι Κρηνίδες ἐκαλοῦντο.” Strabo makes perfect and legitimate sense when one reads him saying that Philippi was formerly called *Krenides*, and that before it was enlarged after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, it was a small settlement. Of course one might legitimately ask what Strabo’s definition of “μικρά” was. Due to lack of resources for an accurate definition, it might suffice to say that Philippi consisted of a “comparatively small” community before the settlement. Fourth, as Oakes himself admits, the existence of a (most likely post-settlement) Greek historian as Marsyas of Philippi, implies very little about the Greek population. Famous men from every era came from important places, as well as from negligible villages. The presence of a Greek historian at Philippi might just as well, if not more likely, be due to a Roman literary patron in the city than to a thriving Greek population. Marsyas might just as well be a new settler who owes his physical presence in Philippi and his literary existence to a Roman patron who was among the settlers. Concluding the short evaluation of Oakes, the reality concerning the Greek population at Philippi probably lies somewhere in-between what Bormann and Oakes argue for. The *Colonia Victrix Philippensium* certainly did not start from plain scratch. The allotment of land likely consisted to a significant degree in the taking over of pre-existing farms and the dispossession of former owners. Yet we also cannot ignore the continual decline of the location into the first century BC. It is sufficient for our purpose to conclude that the dispossession of locals was by far not on the scale of the Italian situation. If descendants of dispossessed Greeks lived in the city during the first century AD, their influence into the reading of Philippi would be trifling and negligible.

had under Macedonian times. Thus, the “colonization through Roman soldiers did not have the far-reaching negative results for the local inhabitants, as we know it from the founding of other colonies.”¹⁵³

Philippi had, contrary to the neighbouring city Amphipolis, neither a special cultural or economic significance. The city was already for some time sparsely populated, most likely due to its location near the border of Thrace, from where violent raiding bands of Thracian tribes entered and looted Macedonia. The remaining negligible population most likely fled as the Roman troops started to move through and started to make it its base of operation in the area.¹⁵⁴ Bormann summarises the impact of the settlement: “Given these situations, one must not think the interventions into the existing situation as too painful.”¹⁵⁵ In comparison with the size of the settlement and the significance the city developed during the first century AD, Philippi started fairly new from the drawing board. The rather new start does not imply that the colony was stamped out of the ground “ex nihilo,” but it does imply that there was not much resistance and certainly not a significant and wholesale collision between locals and the military. That does not mean that there was no confiscation of land and property, no expulsion of some local population or their refitting into a lower sociological stratum of the community. There certainly was, but it was definitively not on the scale of the Italian colonisation, as Marchal claims.

It is inappropriate to view the plight of the natives at the time of the settlement with the worst-case scenario, which history has to offer and which the Italian colonisation certainly was part of it. The process of colonisation was more varied and the relationship between the new Roman settlers to the natives depended greatly on the reason, which led to the colonisation and the goals, which were pursued by it.¹⁵⁶ If the site of the new colony had been the seat of a rebellion, the local inhabitants did not fare well in the course of the capture and colonisation of the city. Had the colonisation been more peaceful, many former inhabitants could have kept houses and fields and would have coexisted with the new

¹⁵³ “Die Ansiedlung Römischer Soldaten hatte hier nicht die tiefgreifend negativen Folgen für die einheimische Bevölkerung, die von anderen Koloniegründungen überliefert sind.” Lukas Bormann, *Philippi: Stadt und Christengemeinde zur Zeit des Paulus*. NovTSupp 78. Köln: Brill, 1995, 20.

¹⁵⁴ Lukas Bormann. *Philippi: Stadt und Christengemeinde zur Zeit des Paulus*. NovTSupp 78. Köln: Brill, 1995, 20.

¹⁵⁵ “Angesichts dieser Verhältnisse darf man sich die Eingriffe in die bestehende Lage nicht zu schmerzhaft denken.” Lukas Bormann. *Philippi: Stadt und Christengemeinde zur Zeit des Paulus*. NovTSupp 78. Köln: Brill, 1995, 20.

¹⁵⁶ Friedrich Vittinghoff, “Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus.” In *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse 1951* (14). Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1952, 1240. “Das Verhältnis der neuen römischen Siedler zu den alten Einwohnern richtete sich in einem solchen Fall nach den Umständen, die zur Anlage der Kolonie geführt hatten, und nach den Zielen, die mit der Kolonisation verfolgt wurden.”

settlers.¹⁵⁷ “After a generation the initial hardships connected with the formation of the colony were usually forgotten and many natural tensions were solved.”¹⁵⁸

2.3.6.3. *The first century population: attracted by the economic advantages of the Roman colony*

When Paul arrived at Philippi in the middle of the first century AD, most of the non-Roman population consisting predominantly of Thracians and Greeks¹⁵⁹ had over the course of time moved to Philippi, not away from it. They had been attracted by new economic advantages the city with its influx of wealth from the colonists offered.¹⁶⁰ There is no reason to suggest that a significant enough portion of the population were direct descendants from grieved locals at the time of the settlement. Contrary to the calamitous and lamentable situation of the Italian disposed natives at the colonisation, most of the non-Roman population benefitted from the settlement of the soldiers. There is no indication that they were resentful of the settlement and would thus harbour malignant emotions to military terminology.

2.3.6.4. *Local Greeks were the descendants of the warlike ancient Greeks and would not object to militaristic images of war*

We conceptualise a false picture if we conjure up the image of the long existence of peaceful

¹⁵⁷ Friedrich Vittinghoff, “Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus.” In *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse 1951* (14). Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1952, 1241.

¹⁵⁸ “Nach einer Generation waren meist die anfänglichen Härten bei der Koloniegründung vergessen und viele natürliche Spannungen gelöst.” Friedrich Vittinghoff, “Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus.” In *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse 1951* (14). Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1952, 1242.

¹⁵⁹ For the population of Philippi in the first century AD see Pilhofer, 1995, 85-92.

¹⁶⁰ “. . . under the Principate, Macedonia enjoyed a period of prosperity. Peace and security, good roads and a more equitable system of exploitation than had prevailed under the Republican era brought an economic boom, which benefited not only the Roman state and the provincial ruling class, but the masses too. The widening of the economic base, namely the increase in the numbers of producers and consumers alike and the improvement in the living conditions of the producing classes, is the main feature of the economic progress made during this period.” Michael B. Sakellariou. Gen. Ed., *Macedonia: 4000 Years of Greek History and Civilization*. Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1983, 199. Bowersock argues that one of the intended goals of the founding of colonies was to stimulate the local economy. He maintains that Augustus, like Caesar, knew that a colony could be made to perform several functions at once; they knew “that a colony could serve to revive the East’s flagging economy.” Augustus had the advantage of knowing several success precedents, the most famous among them Corinth, which was astoundingly prospering and “was a manifest stimulus to the stagnant economy of Greece.” Glen W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965, 68-69. The capital infusion and the entrepreneurial skill of the army and veterans often raised a community from a subsistence level to economic prosperity. See Jonathan Roth, “The Army and the Economy in Judaea and Palestine.” In *The Roman Army and the Economy*. Ed. Paul Erdkamp. Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 2002, 375-77.

local Macedonian farmers being suddenly overrun by a cruel Roman army, suffering for the first time in their existence from an atrocious military and who were therefore resentful of all things connected with the military. To correct this misconception, we must recall that the Macedonians themselves were a very warlike nation, bent on conquest and with a famous history of military conflicts for expansion. The motivation for the original founding of the Macedonian colony of Philippi was to create an outpost which served as a spearhead for Philip's campaign against Thrace. It was one of the first significant steps undertaken for the famous eastward campaigns of Philip and Alexander the Great, who commanded the best army of the world at that time. Philippi thus served as a major stepping stone and played a vital role in the militaristic expansion of Macedonia until it became a world empire. The local Macedonians around Philippi were not descendants of pacifist farmers, they had their own history of military conquests, which was part of their ethnic identity. Thus, military images certainly did not upset the local Macedonian peace of mind. Military images would have been part and parcel of their own identity.¹⁶¹

2.3.6.5. *Roman military occupation of Macedonia not resisted by the local Greek population*

Roman conquest and occupation of Macedonia did not lead to a wholesale aversion to Rome and its military by the local Macedonian population either. Although the Roman occupation led to some insurrections between the defeat of Macedonia at Pydna in 168 BC and the forming of Macedonia into a province in 148 BC,¹⁶² by the time of Cicero, who spent six months of his exile in Thessalonica at 58 BC, the Macedonians had accustomed themselves to having become "allies of the Romans" so that Cicero could write concerning Macedonia as a province in loyal friendship with the Roman people: "Macedonia, fidelis et amica populo Romano provincial."¹⁶³ By 27 BC the province had a track record of loyalty and when "Augustus and the Senate divided the control of the provinces between them, Macedonia came under the administration of the Senate as a peaceful province."¹⁶⁴ Although taxation by a foreign power was never received enthusiastically we need to keep in mind that taxation did not start with the Romans, but was something the people had always been accustomed

¹⁶¹ For a summary of the peak of the military history of Macedonia see "Zenith and End of the Macedonian Kingdom." In Michael B. Sakellariou. Gen. Ed., *Macedonia: 4000 Years of Greek History and Civilization*. Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1983, 111-169.

¹⁶² Michael B. Sakellariou. Gen. Ed., *Macedonia: 4000 Years of Greek History and Civilization*. Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1983, 192-93.

¹⁶³ Cic. *pro Font.* XX.44. Transl. by C. D. Yonge. In M. Tullius Cicero. *The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero, literally Transl. by C. D. Yonge*. London: George Bell & Sons, 1891.

¹⁶⁴ Michael B. Sakellariou. Gen. Ed., *Macedonia: 4000 Years of Greek History and Civilization*. Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1983, 192-93.

to, independent of whoever ruled over them, even their own kings. It seems that with the rule of the Romans came an ease in taxation. “The regular levies imposed on Macedonia do not seem to have been very heavy. The land tax (*stipendium*) was apparently equal to the tribute fixed by Aemilius Paullus at one hundred talents, perhaps half the sum that had previously been paid to the kings.”¹⁶⁵

2.3.6.6. *The Roman legions not viewed as enemies by local Macedonians, but as their army, present for their protection and safety*

By the time Paul visited Philippi, the Roman army was ostensibly perceived even by the non-Roman part of the population as “their own,” rather than a foreign occupying force. After the reorganisation of the army under Augustus between 30 and 28 BC, the legions formally evacuated Macedonia and were stationed on the Danube as a permanent protection from northern tribes.¹⁶⁶ These legions now served as a guarantee for the period of relative peace and prosperity Macedonia would enjoy over the next centuries. Macedonia had for a long time suffered from invasions of Gallic tribes from the north. The quaestor M. Annius had to fight the *Skordiskoi*, a feared and aggressive tribe of horsemen and was honoured in 119 BC with an inscription for his success.¹⁶⁷ The consul Minucius Rufus had to open a campaign against the *Skordiskoi*, the *Bessoï* and other Thracian tribes and was commemorated by an inscription in 110 BC for his victories.¹⁶⁸ “During the long governorship of C. Sentius Saturninus (93-87 BC), a general uprising of the barbarians occurred. Apparently bribed and urged on by Mithridates, the *Mardoï*, *Dardanians*, *Sintoï* and other tribes entered the province from all sides and devastated it thoroughly. The raids were repeated every year, and in 88 BC the barbarians advanced as far as Dodona and pillaged the sanctuary of Zeus. Towards the end of 87 BC Macedonia was invaded by the troops of Mithridates . . . In 84 BC the *Skordiskoi*, the *Maidoi* and the *Dardanians* invaded Macedonia yet again and advanced as far as Delphi, where they burned down the temple.”¹⁶⁹ During the reign of L. Calpurnius Piso (57-55 BC) the *Dardanians*, the *Bessoï* and the *Denthelethai* attacked the province.¹⁷⁰ What the impact of the raiding campaigns must have felt like for the local Macedonians is described by Cicero:

. . . perpetuos defensores Macedoniae | . . . you made those who might have been

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 195.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 196.

¹⁶⁷ SIG III 700; Ibid., 193.

¹⁶⁸ SIG III 710; Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 194.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

vexatores ac praedatores effecisti; vectigalia nostra perturbarunt, urbes ceperunt, vastarunt agros, socios nostros in servitutum abduxerunt, familias abriperunt, pecus abegerunt, Thessalonicensis, cum de oppido desperassent, munire arcem coegerunt. ¹⁷¹	the perpetual defenders of Macedonia, desirous to harass and destroy it. They have thrown our revenues into confusion, they have taken our cities, laid waste our lands, led away our allies into slavery, carried off whole families, driven off our cattle, and compelled the people of Thessalonica, as they despaired of saving their town, to fortify their citadel.
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The Macedonians knew what suffering at the hands of neighbouring enemies meant. They did not lead peaceful lives until the Roman legions appeared. Although the conduct of Roman governors was often high-handed, extortionate and shameful, Roman lordship in comparison with Thracian or Gallic rule was rather fair. Although the presence of Roman soldiers often meant the arbitrary taking advantage of the local inhabitants, the imperial government tried to prevent capricious abuse and it was not even to be compared with the agony the Macedonians had to suffer when the raiding “barbaric hordes” showed up.

The presence of the Roman army on the frontiers of the Danube – and in Macedonia when the Thracian situation required it – must have felt more assuring than threatening for the local inhabitants. The role of the legions and the apprehension of the Roman forces by the Macedonians had notably changed in the first century AD. The Augustan peace backed up by the legions now “ensured permanent stability, economic prosperity and cultural flowering from which all the inhabitants of the empire benefited. The Macedonians were quick to honour Augustus by the inauguration of an ‘Augustan era’ starting on 2 September 31 BC, the day of the victory at Aktion.”¹⁷² Every Macedonian inscription stating a date would remind the reader of a peace, which was unparalleled in the history of Macedonia. The legions protected that peace and in all probability the majority of the local Macedonian population was appreciative of their presence rather than abhorred by their existence. As the local population identified with the Roman military as “their own guarantee of safety,” it is likely that military terminology utilised in the rhetoric by Paul would elicit a favourable response from the Philippian congregation.

¹⁷¹ Cic. *In Pis.* XXXIV.84.

¹⁷² Michael B. Sakellariou. Gen. Ed., *Macedonia: 4000 Years of Greek History and Civilization*. Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1983, 196.

2.3.7. Summary of the re-evaluation of Marchal's objections

Having reviewed Joseph A. Marchal's objection regarding a possible favourable reaction from the Philippian congregation towards Paul's appropriation of military terminology I conclude that the arguments he puts forward to sustain his objections are either not convincing, irrelevant to the Philippian situation, or stem from a lack of a fair and detailed historical examination of the historical evidence. Marchal describes the average attitude of former soldiers toward their previous military service and the attitude of the Philippian civilians toward the Roman military presence bleaker than the evidence allows.

First, metaphors appealing to the domain of the military do not invariably carry linguistic notions of violence or oppression. It is part of the nature of metaphorical language that the metaphorical meaning of an image transports only selected attributes over from the original literal referent.

Second, there is no historical evidence that the veterans, who settled at Philippi, had to change loyalty for different commanders, causing them to harbour bitterness and disappointment. For the troops beside those settled at Philippi, where changes of commands took place, this study has demonstrated that changes in loyalty were often due to the unstable loyalty of soldiers in the first place. Thus, the question of veteran loyalty is more complex than the assumption that the majority of soldiers in the legions suffered from forced shifts in loyalty.

Third, the soldiers at Philippi were not likely to be dissatisfied with their discharge. Contrary to the veterans of Augustus, who were discharged after the battle at Philippi and settled in Italy, the colonisation process undertaken by Antony at Philippi went ahead swiftly. In comparison with times of service of up to twenty or twenty-five years, the veterans at Philippi had served a relatively short time. They had accumulated from the promises of the generals during the civil war period a great deal of wealth and other privileges, which significantly increased their social status in the years to come.

Fourth, the data concerning forced enlistment is too sparse to conclude that the majority of Philippian veterans were belligerent towards their times of service.

Fifth, the number of locals who suffered from dispossession on account of the Philippian colonisation process must have been comparatively small. Their number is exceeded by far by the number of Greeks and Thracians who were attracted to move to Philippi after the settlement because of economic advantages, offered by colonisation. The presence of the Roman military in the one hundred years between the battle of Philippi and Paul's visit to the city was more likely to be reassuring, than detested by the community, since the Roman legions served as the primary deterrent for border raids from violent Thracian tribes to the north of Macedonia.

It seems therefore safe to conclude that although it is certainly possible that individuals among the Philippian congregation might not have been enthusiastic about the Roman military and the use of metaphorical terminology associated with it, we have no evidence that they existed. The majority of the congregation would, after reviewing potential reasons for grievances and dissatisfaction with the military, not have an *a priori* negative reaction toward military terminology.

2.4. The Philippian inscriptional evidence: positive outlook of veterans on their military career

2.4.1. The commemoration of military careers on Philippian inscriptions

Having excluded a widespread *a priori* negative image of the military among the Philippian community, in the following two sections we examine the inscriptional and historical evidence if there are indications that the recipients of Paul's letter to the Philippians might in fact be positively inclined toward metaphorical language from the military and if the presence of military related rhetorical devices may in fact transport a positive linguistic feeling to its hearers. The conclusions are stated up front: Machal's assumption that a significantly high proportion of the settled veterans would be disillusioned by the military and passed down their deprecatory attitude towards the military to their descendants does not hold up with the epigraphical evidence we find in Philippi.¹⁷³ In the collection of tomb stone inscriptions we find ample evidence to the contrary. Veterans – as was their custom throughout the Roman Empire – would proudly memorialise their military career on their tombs. Numerous inscriptions from the time of the death of the pioneering settlers throughout the centuries of Philippi's existence demonstrates that veterans solemnly perpetuated their pride of their military service through mentioning that they served as soldiers in the Roman army. Often the inscriptions express great pride of the military career by mentioning the ranks of the deceased veterans or the unit in which they served.¹⁷⁴ The following examples will illustrate

¹⁷³ Nor does it hold up with inscriptional evidence from Macedonia as a whole. Théodore Sarikakis has shown that out of 250 soldiers from Macedonia serving in the imperial army, we know 52 to have come from Philippi. See Théodore Chr. Sarikakis, "Des Soldats Macédoniens dans l'Armée Romaine." In *Ancient Macedonia II*. Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1977, 433. The proportion is exceptionally high, because Philippi with its small population contributes 21 per cent of the Macedonian soldiers to the Roman imperial army. If the veterans of the battle of Philippi were truly disillusioned at the military, they must have failed drastically to deter their sons from the "disillusioning military service." The evidence points the other way: veterans must have been proud enough to encourage, or at least permit, their sons to join the military.

¹⁷⁴ The existence of references to military service on tomb stone inscriptions itself reveals that the reference was purposefully chosen with the intent to impress the reader pridefully. The mentioning of military service was not coincidental or done on account of lack of options. Other types of funeral

the pervasiveness of the boasting from the veterans and their descendants¹⁷⁵ exhibited in the service of the military.



Figure 1 and 2: Inscription of the veteran Sextus Volcasius from Philippi

Sex(to) Volcasio
 L(uci) f(ilio) Vol(tinia) leg(ionis)
 XXVIII domo
 Pisis.¹⁷⁶

For Sextus Volcasius,
 the son of Lucius, from the tribe of the Voltinia
 from the 28-th legion
 from Pisa.

inscriptions were readily available and common in Philippi. One could easily use for example the simple mention of the name of the deceased and his age at the time of death:

M(arcus) Antonius Bassus
 An(norum) LXX h(ic) s(itus) e(st).
 M(arcus) Antonius Rufus
 Patri v(ivius) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

Mark Antony Bassus,
 seventy years old, lies here (*buried*).
 Mark Antony Rufus
 has put up the inscription for his father, while he
 (*the father*) was still alive.

(*CIL* III, Suppl. 2 (12312); Pilhofer, 2009 (356 L142), 427-28.) The references to military service have an honorary function and were intentional. If, as Marchal claims, a significant large portion of veterans were disillusioned and looked at their military service with disdain, they would have chosen other types of funeral inscriptions and military inscriptions would not have been as prominent as they are in Philippi.

¹⁷⁵ The tomb stone together with the inscription was not uncommonly prepared by the deceased before his death. See the common formula *vivus faciendum curavit* for example in the Philippian inscription of Quintus Aianius Ingenuus (Pilhofer, 2009 (127a L939), 138-140). If a tombstone was not prepared by the deceased before his death it might have been manufactured on account of the execution of the will of the deceased. Note the formula *testamento fieri iussit*, cf., Pilhofer, 2009 (154 L600). Or the tombstone might have been put up by family *parantibus faciendum curavit*, cf., Pilhofer, 2009 (059/ L048), *fratri faciendum curavit*, cf., Pilhofer, 2009 (061/ L050), friends or former slaves *patrono et sibi faciendum curavit*, cf., Pilhofer, 2009 (074b/ L947).

¹⁷⁶ *AE* 1924, 55.; Pilhofer, 2009 (418 L266), 500-501. Picture from the Archaeological Museum of Kavala, where the inscription is presently located. With gratitude for the friendly support of Maria Nikolaidou-Patera, director of the 18th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities.

The inscription above is from the time of Augustus.¹⁷⁷ The veteran for whom the stone imprint was erected was one of the original settlers of Philippi. The mention of his service in the 28th legion is significant. This legion belonged to Antony and was dissolved after the battle of Actium.¹⁷⁸ Thus, the soldier was placed as a settler in Philippi between 42 and 31 BC.¹⁷⁹ It is remarkable that the soldier proudly refers to his service in the 28-th legion, since it was a defeated legion and the inscription was set up at the time when the victor over the subjugated legion was reigning, had renamed the colony after his own name¹⁸⁰ and was, no doubt, promoting with rigour his own political agenda in the military colony. To mention one's service in a defeated legion at a time of the reign of the former enemy of the legion reveals the pride soldiers had in the military history of "their legion." One's own legion having been defeated obviously did not have a lingering negative consequence on Sextus Volcasius to the effect that the remembrance of the military was odious to him and would have made military images offensive to his mind. Defeated or victorious, changed allegiances or not, settlement in Philippi instead of settlement in a premium Italian settlement, our veteran was proud of his service in the military and would, beyond question, not have been offended by military imagery, but would have received such metaphorical language positively.

The next tomb stone inscription comes from the first century AD¹⁸¹ and was dedicated to a high ranking officer, Burrenus Firmus:

[...] Burreno Ti(beri) f(ilio) Vol(tinia)	For Burrenus Firmus, son of Tiberius, from the
Firmo praef(ecto) fabri[m],	tribe of the Voltina, the <i>praefectus fabrum</i> ,
[...] ann(or)um XX mens(ium) IV	(<i>died at the age of</i>) 20 years and 4 months;
[et ... Fi]rminae ann(or)um	[and ...] for Firminia, [<i>died ...</i>] years old;
[...]	[...]
[...] Burrenus Ti(beri) f(ilius) [...]	Burrenus, the son of Tiberius,
[tr(ibunus)] mil(itum) bis, praef(ectus)	twice military tribune, military commander
cohor[tis ...]. ¹⁸²	of the cohort . . .

¹⁷⁷ Pilhofer, 2009, 500-501.

¹⁷⁸ Lukas Bormann. *Philippi: Stadt und Christengemeinde zur Zeit des Paulus*. NovTSupp 78. Köln: Brill, 1995, 20-21. Citing *Bulletin De Correspondance Hellénique* 57 (1933), 358, footnote 4.

¹⁷⁹ Bormann believes that Sextus Volcasius was settled on the initiative of Antony. (Lukas Bormann. *Philippi: Stadt und Christengemeinde zur Zeit des Paulus*. NovTSupp 78. Köln: Brill, 1995, 21.) Pilhofer believes he was settled by Octavian, since Sextus Volcasius belongs to the *tribus Voltinia*. (Pilhofer, 2009, 501.)

¹⁸⁰ *Colonia Iulia Augusta Philippiensis*.

¹⁸¹ Pilhofer, 2009, 53-54. Léon Heuzey and Honore Daumet, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1876, 41-42.

¹⁸² *CIL* III 1 (646), Pilhofer, 2009 (046 L043), 53-54.

As a tribune Burrenus ranked above a centurion and lower than the legate. As commander of a cohort he would have led a tenth part of the legion. The mention of the ranks of the veteran obviously has an honorary function and demonstrates the value the author of the inscription placed on the career achievements of the soldier in the military.

The following tomb stone inscription comes from the middle of the first century AD, during the reign of Claudius or Nero.¹⁸³ It was thus set up at the approximately same time of the writing of the letter to the Philippians.



Figure 3 and 4: Inscription of the veteran Gaius Vibius Quartus from Philippi

C(aius) Vibius C(ai) f(ilius)
 Cor(nelia) Quartus,
 mil(es) leg(ionis) V Macedonic(ae)
 decur(io) alae Scubulor(um),
 praef(ectus) coh(ortis) III Cyreneic(ae)
 [tribunus militum le]g(ionis) II
 Au[g]u[stae...]
 [p]raef(ectus) [alae Gallor(um)...]
 [...]¹⁸⁴

Gaius Vibius Quartus, the son of Gaius,
 from the tribe of the Cornelia,
 soldier of the 5th legion called the Macedonian,
 decurio with the Scubulinic cavalry unit,
 military commander of the 3rd cohort called
 Cyreneica, military tribune of the 2nd legion
 called Augusta . . .
 military commander of the cavalry unit of the
 Gauls [...]

¹⁸³ Pilhofer, 2009, 71, 866. Martin Luik, "Das Zweite Militärdiplom aus Köngen, Kreis Esslingen." In *Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg* 20 (1995), 720-24.

¹⁸⁴ *CIL* III 1 (647), *CIL* III Suppl. 1 (7337), Pilhofer, 2009 (058 L047), 69-72. Pictures from the present author's collection. The GPS coordinates of the location of the inscription are 41.01194, 24.311821.

The inscription reveals the career of a soldier in a cavalry unit. He was at first a *decurio*, the leader of ten soldiers, a minor rank in the military. He then advanced to being a military commander of a cohort and tribune. The military career inscribed and the size of the monument on which it was inscribed indicates the honorary function of the inscription. Without a doubt, it is an indication of the pride, which Gaius Vibius Quartus (and/ or his descendants) took in his military career.

Funerary inscriptions of the type displayed above are abundant among the findings in or around Philippi and cannot exhaustively be reproduced here. For tomb inscriptions mentioning *veteranus* and the unit the veteran served in see the inscription of Quintus Aianius Ingenuus,¹⁸⁵ and the inscription of Lucius Magius.¹⁸⁶ For a funerary inscription mentioning the rank of the soldier possessed see the inscription of Quintus Claudius Capito.¹⁸⁷ For tomb inscriptions containing the word *miles* (soldier) see the inscription of the son of Lucius,¹⁸⁸ and the inscription of Iustus.¹⁸⁹

Just as common as funerary inscriptions are honorary and dedicatory inscriptions from Philippi, which mention soldiers, their rank, the unit they served in, or the rewards they received. As a vivid example may serve the inscription of Lucius Tatinius Cnosus:

¹⁸⁵ 1st/ 2nd century AD. Pilhofer, 2009 (135 GL452), 161.

¹⁸⁶ 2nd century, the first name of the inscription is Magia Secunda. *CIL* III Suppl. 2 (14206), Pilhofer, 2009 (430 L159), 508-09.

¹⁸⁷ Undated. Pilhofer, 2009 (127a L939), 138-40. Most *tituli sepulcrales* are difficult to date, as they often do not have indicators which allow us to place them into a certain time frame. The same is true of military funerary inscriptions from Philippi. Unless a legion is dissolved, giving us a *terminus finalis*, or mention of decorations from emperors are made, dating remains vague or is impossible. As the Greek inscriptions crowd out the Latin ones over time, we at least can estimate the Latin ones to be not too late.

¹⁸⁸ Undated. *AE* 1939 (186); Pilhofer, 2009 (323a L842), 384-85.

¹⁸⁹ Undated. *AE* 1934 (65); Pilhofer, 2009 (377 L365), 450-451.



Figure 5 and 6: Honorary inscription of the soldier Lucius Tatinius Cnosus from Philippi

L(ucio) Tatinio
L(uci) f(ilio) Vol(tinia) Cnoso,
militi cohortis IIII pr(aetoriae),
singulari et benef(iciario) trib(uni),
optioni, benef(iciario) pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio),
evoc(ato) Aug(usti),
donis donato tor-
quibus, armilis, phaler(is),
corona aurea [[ab imp(eratore) Do-
mitiano Caes(are) Aug(usto) Germ(anico)]],
c(enturioini) cohor(tis) IV vigil(um),
c(enturioini) stator(um),
c(enturioini) cohor(tis) XI urbanae,
veteran qui sub eo in vigilib(us)
militaver(unt) et honesta mis-
sione missi sunt.¹⁹⁰

For Lucius Tatinius Cnosus,
the son of Lucius, from the tribe of the
Voltinia, for the soldier of the 4th praetorian
cohort, the *singularis*¹⁹¹ and *beneficiarius*
tribuni,¹⁹² the adjutant, *beneficiaries praefecti*
praetorio, the *evocatus*¹⁹³ of Caesar,
who received as rewards neck-chains,
bracelets, breastplates,
a golden crown from the emperor Domitian
Caesar Augustus Germanicus,
the centurio of the 4th guarding cohort,
the centurion of the military police,
the centurion of the 11th urban cohort,
the veterans who served in the guarding
cohort and were released with honour (have
set up this inscription).

¹⁹⁰ *AE* 1933 (87); Pilhofer, 2009 (202 L313), 257-59. Pictures are from the present author's private collection. The inscription is located at the north-east end of the forum of Philippi, its GPS coordinates are 41.013013, 24.283071.

¹⁹¹ A junior staff post among the praetorian cohorts. See David J. Breeze, "The Career Structure below the Centurionate during the Principate." In *ANRW* I.2. Ed. Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter Verlag, 1974, 436.

¹⁹² *Beneficiarius* indicates that the soldier, who received a promotion from their superiors, were freed from munera, but were adjoined to higher ranking officers and served them in functions who needed

This inscription from the first century, during the time of Domitian, was set up by soldiers in honour of their superior. It lists his military career from minor junior posts in the praetorian cohort to being centurion. Although Lucius Tatinius Cnosus did not rise in rank beyond being centurion, he was highly decorated with rewards.

Another inscription which Lucius Tatinius Cnosus himself set up in the first century is depicted below.



Figure 7 and 8: Inscription set up by the soldier Lucius Tatinius Cnosus from Philippi

It reads:

Quieti Aug(ustae)
Col(oniae) Philippiens(is)
L(ucius) Tatinius L(uci) f(ilius)
Vol(tinia) Cnosus c(enturio) sta-
torum sua pecu-
nia posuit.¹⁹⁴

For the *Augustan Quies*
of the *Colonia Philippiensis* has
Lucius Tatinius Cnosus, the son of Lucius,
from the tribe of the Voltinia, centurion of the
military police, set up (this statue) at his
own expense.

For other honorary or dedicatory inscriptions which lists military titles or ranks see the inscription of Longinus Crispus Ulpianus,¹⁹⁵ the inscription of Gaius Mucius Scaeva,¹⁹⁶ the inscription of Publius Mucius,¹⁹⁷ the dedicatory inscription for a building on the forum by Titus

some form of special competence. See Yann Le Bohec "Beneficiarii." In *Der Neue Pauly 2. Enzyklopädie der Antike*. Ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmut Schneider. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1997, 561.

¹⁹³ A soldier who was discharged with honour and voluntarily re-enlisted.

¹⁹⁴ 1st century. *AE* 1933 (88); Pilhofer, 2009 (203 L314), 259-61. The photograph to the left pictures the north end of the Roman forum at Philippi (in the foreground the east side), both inscriptions of Lucius Tatinius Cnosus are located at the north-west end of the forum, at the bottom right of the photograph. The GPS coordinates are 41.013013, 24.283071. Pictures are from the present author's collection.

¹⁹⁵ Undated. *CIL* III 1 (648); Pilhofer, 2009 (039 L039), 46-47.

¹⁹⁶ 2nd century. *AE* 1934 (61); Pilhofer, 2009 (218 L352), 275-76.

¹⁹⁷ 2nd century. *AE* 1934 (62); Pilhofer, 2009 (219 L353), 276-77.

Burrenus Firmus,¹⁹⁸ the inscription of Marcus Bietius Cerius,¹⁹⁹ the inscription of Decimus Furius Octavius,²⁰⁰ or the inscription of Quintus Petronius Firmus.²⁰¹

2.4.2. Philippi's inscription reveal a positive outlook of veterans on their career

When we evaluate the inscriptional evidence, the possibility that a remarkable portion of the veterans would have looked back at their military service with bitter feelings and passed down their attitude to a large proportion of the Philippian inhabitants at the time of Paul's writing becomes extremely unlikely. The inscriptions illustrate a continuous attitude from the first settlers into the second century of veterans being proud of their military service, the unit they came from, the ranks they advanced to and the rewards they received. Military images would have struck a favourable cord with these soldiers.

2.4.3. Philippi's inscriptions imply a positive recognition of the military by the population

Furthermore, the inscriptions not only disclose the attitude of veterans and their families toward military images, but reveal something profoundly more important: the attitude of the initial readers of the inscriptions. The inscriptions from the veterans provide us with a glance of the disposition of the general population of Philippi at the time they were set up. The reason is easily comprehensible, since honorary inscriptions or inscriptions with honorary functions disclose the sensibilities and perspectives of the intended readers. If an honorary inscription lists character traits, achievements, or other citations of honour, it is to be expected that the same values are shared both by those producing the inscription and those reading it.

Agreement on values between writer and recipients are to be taken for granted. Otherwise the intended purpose of the inscription fails. It is without controversy that hardly anyone would take up the enormous financial burden to set up an almost 4 metre high stone²⁰² with glaring letters displaying the military ranks of Gaius Vibius Quartus, if it were known that the sentiments of the inhabitants who pass by the monument are mostly pejorative towards the military.²⁰³

¹⁹⁸ 1st century. *AE* 1935 (40); Pilhofer, 2009 (221 L334), 279-80.

¹⁹⁹ Undated. Pilhofer, 2009 (518 L244), 614.

²⁰⁰ 2nd century. *CIL* III Suppl. 1 (7334); Pilhofer, 2009 (617 L118), 766-70.

²⁰¹ Undated. *AE* 1991 (1429); Pilhofer, 2009 (628 L756), 782.

²⁰² The precise measurement is 3.8 x 2.0 x 1.0 meter.

²⁰³ See the inscription of Gaius Vibius Quartus above and note the impressive size of the monument in the picture shown above.

Thus, honorary inscriptions or funerary inscriptions with honorary functions are witnesses not only to the sentiment of the producer of the inscription, but to the disposition and sentiment of the general public towards the cause of honour. If a sufficient amount of honorary inscriptions exist during a certain time frame, we can safely assume that the content of the honorary inscription was accepted among the general populace as worthwhile, inspiring reverence, evoking feelings of admiration and eliciting perceptions of approval.²⁰⁴ The abundant findings of honorary inscriptions with military content in Philippi attest clearly to the fact that “all things military” were positively accepted by the large majority of the Philippian population. The mention of soldiers, military units, ranks and rewards were used on inscriptions to arouse sympathetic feelings and dignified attitudes within society.²⁰⁵ This underlying benevolent mindset towards the military from the Philippian public is well attested by the funerary and honorary inscriptions since the founding of the colony until several centuries later.

Marchal’s proposal that the majority of the veterans, their descendants and the large proportion of inhabitants with no military connection had an extremely pejorative disposition towards the military and language connected with it, is completely untenable in the light of the inscriptional evidence. What the inscriptions from Philippi do tell us, is that it was the

²⁰⁴ An interesting illustration authenticating this fact was the practice of setting up war memorials in Germany. With the incorporation of the masses into the armed forces in the first decades of the 19th century began a strong identification of the German populace with their troops. Correspondingly a shift took place from the existence of only a relatively small number of war memorials of significant army commanders to the setting up of plaques, pillars and war memorials commemorating battles, victories and fallen heroes. The custom culminated to a peak between 1918 and 1945 during which almost every village erected war memorial sites with impressive monuments and inscriptions, most of which can still be visited and seen today. After 1945 the erection of war memorials became almost non-existent. Not only would the occupying forces have prevented it, there was simply no interest in war memorials any more as the conscience and general attitude of the German nation had dramatically shifted from pride of their military to shame about the atrocities and destruction committed by the German army during World War II. See for example Lars-Holger Thümmler, “Der Wandel im Umgang mit Kriegerdenkmälern in den östlichen Bundesländern Deutschlands seit 1990.” In *Jahrbuch für Pädagogik*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003, 221-43.

²⁰⁵ The practise of slaves and freedmen mentioning their social status on tombstones, as it is attested in Philippi as well (Pilhofer, 2009 (270/L387; 321/L377; 392/L624; 394/L779; 416/L166)), may seem to challenge our conviction that inscriptions mentioning social status or status in the military serve as markers of honour. However, Joseph Hellermann has correctly observed that titles of lower-class people do not simply function as a means of identification, but emphasise their connection with someone higher up in the patronage structure of society. He demonstrates on the basis of the Philippian inscriptional evidence that “slaves and freedpersons who identify themselves as such are careful to stress on their tombstones their connections with persons further up the social scale . . . the name of the owner (or former owner, now patron), in the genitive, almost invariably precedes the title ‘slave,’ or ‘freedwoman’ in such inscriptions. This suggests that the emphasis is not simply upon ‘slave’ or ‘freedperson’ as such, but rather on the identity of the slave’s owner.” Joseph H. Hellermann, *Reconstructing Honor in Roman Philippi: Carmen Christi as Cursus Pudorum*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Thus, even the inscriptions of slaves or freedmen attest to the honorary character of inscriptions.

normal practice for veterans to advertise their career with pride. The presence of honorary inscriptions speaks about their favourable perspective of their previous career and the military as a whole. From the nature of honorary inscriptions we may safely conclude that a favourable disposition towards the military would be shared for the most part by the intended audience of the inscriptions as well.

2.5. Military terminology positively received – the influence of the military on the general population of Philippi

2.5.1. The necessity of exploring the first century social make-up of the Philippian church and the impact of the military on it

One of the beneficial criticisms Joseph A. Marchal had against the presumption of a uniformly positive reception of military images was that proponents of military imagery in the letter of Philippians have only partially and briefly regarded the letter's audience with reference to its possible attitudes about or reactions to military images.²⁰⁶ He is correct in stating that “even if one is to assume that military imagery would have some inherent appeal to the veterans of Roman campaigns, it does not explain why scholars have presumed that the military language as a rhetorical practice would have had an appeal across the diversity of the Philippian community. Such scholarship has not adequately explained why people other than former veterans, such as women and local Macedonians and Thracians would be inclined to react favourably to such terminology.”²⁰⁷

It is indeed true that to some extent scholarship favouring military images in the letter to the Philippians has simply worked on the unproven hypotheses that since Philippi was a Roman military settlement, the recipients of the letter must have been Roman citizens,²⁰⁸ and

²⁰⁶ Joseph A. Marchal, *Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation. A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Power Dynamics in Paul's Letter to the Philippians*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006, 51.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 63.

²⁰⁸ “Die Stadtgemeinde besteht fast nur aus ‘Römern,’ d. h. aus Männern, welche das Römische Bürgerrecht besitzen.” (“The population of Philippi consists almost entirely of Romans, i.e. of men (*in the sense of males*), who possess Roman citizenship.”) Karl Bornhäuser, *Jesus Imperator Mundi*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Verlag, 1938, 9. Italic comment mine. “. . . Philippi was a Roman colony, inhabited by many Roman citizens . . . probably some of the Philippian converts were among them.” Ben Witherington III, *Friendship and Finances in Philippi: The Letter of Paul to the Philippians*. Valley Forge: Trinity, 1994, 51. “Veteranen sind vertraut mit der Bedeutung von Herrschaft, Arroganz, Raub und Kriegsbeute.” (“Veterans are familiar with concepts of lordship, arrogance, robbery and booty of war.”) Samuel Vollenweider, “Der ‘Raub’ der Gottgleichheit: Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Vorschlag zu Phil 2.6(-11).” In *New Testament Studies*. Vol. 45. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 431. “. . . Paul draws on the Philippians’ experience, identity, and sense of honour as Roman citizens.” Carolyn Osiek, *Philippians, Philemon*. Abingdon New Testament Commentary. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2000, 48.

in particular male ex-soldiers and thus especially appreciative of military imagery.²⁰⁹ But not only had one hundred years passed since the initial settlement, we also know that the social strata in first century Philippi to have been much more diverse. It was a very multi-cultural society²¹⁰ consisting of Romans, Thracians, Greeks and Macedonians, with the Romans most likely being numerically in the minority.²¹¹ Not only were the Romans in the city in the minority, in the social composition of the church veterans appear to have played an even more inconsequential role.

In constructing the social profile of the Philippian church from the personal names appearing in Philippians, Craig Steven de Vos argues that it is unlikely that there were any in the church who were descendants of the original colonists.²¹² Similarly Oakes estimates the percentage of veterans in the social make-up of Philippi to be something between 0.6 and 3.0 per cent, the percentage of veterans in the church would, according to his estimate, be even lower.²¹³ Furthermore, a significant portion of the church population seemed to have consisted of women.²¹⁴ Given the fact that women often experienced military figures as perpetrators of violence in the form of abuse, rape or confiscation of property,²¹⁵ given the fact that women were suffering from male dominated oppression,²¹⁶ would Paul utilising

²⁰⁹ "With the large number of military families dwelling in the colony, is it any wonder that Paul would utilise military images throughout the letter." John Paul Schuster, *Rhetorical Situation and Historical Reconstruction in Philippians*. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1997, 141. "The section is filled with expressions from the political military life. That is a language which the old soldiers in Philippi understand." Gerhard Friedrich, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. Das Neue Testament Deutsch. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985, 147. "The colony of Philippi consisted to a large extent of veterans . . ." Mikael Tellbe, "The Sociological Factors behind Philippians 3.1-11 and the Conflict at Philippi." In *JSNT* 55. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publication, 1995, 108. "(Paul) used the military metaphors that would be meaningful in a city populated by old soldiers." Raymund F. Collins, *The Power of Images in Paul*. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2008, 67.

²¹⁰ Peter Pilhofer, "Philippi zur Zeit des Paulus. Eine Ortsbegehung." In *Bibel und Kirche* 64. Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2009, 15.

²¹¹ Pilhofer, 1995, 85-92. Paul B. Collard, *Philippes, ville de Macédoine, depuis ses origines jusqu'à la fin de l'époque romaine*. Paris: Boccard, 1937, 389-486.

²¹² Craig Steven de Vos, *Church and Community Conflicts: The Relationship of the Thessalonian, Corinthian, and Philippian Churches with Their Wider Civic Community*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999, 255. I will evaluate de Vos' profile below.

²¹³ Peter Oakes. *Philippians. From People to Letter*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 52-53, 59-63.

²¹⁴ Peter Oakes arguing from the fact that of the Philippian recipients, two out of three people were women. Peter Oakes, *Philippians: From People to Letter*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 110. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 63-64.

²¹⁵ Joseph A. Marchal, "Her Master's Tools? Feminist and Postcolonial Engagements of Historical-Critical Discourse." In *Society of Biblical Literature*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005, 278.

²¹⁶ " . . . what could be more acutely gendered than war, an activity historically described as performed by men only, in a space containing nothing but men?" Harold C. Washington, "Violence and the Construction of Gender in the Hebrew Bible: A New Historicist Approach." In *Biblical Interpretation* 5. Leiden: Brill, 1997, 329-30. Quoted by Joseph A. Marchal, "Military Images in Philippians 1-2: A Feminist Analysis of the Rhetorics of Scholarship, Philippians, and Current Contexts." In *Her Master's Tools? Feminist and Postcolonial Engagements of Historical-Critical Discourse*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005, 278.

military imagery not create major obstacles for the ability to communicate to the Philippian church?

2.5.2. Previous methods for establishing an estimate on the social composition of the Philippian congregation

In order to evaluate the potential appeal of military language to the Philippian church one has to move forward in two directions. First, we have to re-assess the social make up of the church and second, if we come to a somewhat responsible conclusion concerning the people groups represented in the church, we need to evaluate the potential attraction or disdain military language might provoke in these respective groups. In following this route we will avoid two illegitimate extreme positions. The first invalid viewpoint would be to suppose that since Philippi is a Roman military colony, the recipients of Paul's letters are mainly military veterans. The second, equally mistaken, viewpoint is that military language has an appeal exclusive to veterans only and that everybody else not part of the military would spurn such imagery.

It may only be fair to state the obvious concerning the quest for the social make up of the Philippian church right at the beginning: it is a precarious enterprise. We simply have insufficient archaeological or literary evidence that allows a reliable estimate of the social composition of the town of Philippi in the first century AD, not to mention the evidence concerning the social composition of the church.²¹⁷

The method of Craig Steven de Vos of depending wholesale on the names appearing in Philippians and the clues, which Acts 16 gives in order to bring about a social profile of the Philippian church²¹⁸ is thoroughly fallacious. We only have four names from Philippi in Paul's letter²¹⁹ and only three potential names from Acts, perhaps only two.²²⁰ The basis group is much too small to fulfil the most basic criteria of statistics, which would allow us a reliable evaluation of the social composition of the church based on that method. Hardly anyone would want to argue on the basis of the three names that we know belong to the Colossian

²¹⁷ A point which even Oakes repeatedly admits. Peter Oakes, *Philippians: From People to Letter*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 110. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 2, 14, 39, 53.

²¹⁸ Craig Steven de Vos, *Church and Community Conflicts: The Relationship of the Thessalonian, Corinthian, and Philippian Churches with Their Wider Civic Community*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999, 254-261.

²¹⁹ Epaphroditus (Phil. 2:25), Clement (Phil. 4:3), Euodia and Syntyche (Phil. 4:2).

²²⁰ Lydia, the Philippian jailor and the slave woman delivered from a demon. Nothing is said, however, if the latter became a Christian and joined the church.

church from Paul's letter to the Colossians²²¹ that the community there consisted exclusively of males, of whom 33 per cent were run-away slaves. Equally we should abandon the experiment of imagining the social strata of the Philippian Christian community on the basis of a handful of names we know from Acts and Philippians.

More fruitful, although it also involves a great deal of guessing percentages from what appears likely, is the approach of Peter Oakes. His basic assumption is that the social composition of the church reflects to a large degree the social composition of the town of Philippi, with some adjustments being made due to the spatial, social and religious accessibility of Paul (or any gospel preacher) to the population.²²² Oakes works his way forward from estimating the percentage of slaves in a Roman town to appraising the remaining Greek and Thracian population now forming mostly the service community in the town after the settlement. He evaluates the percentage of élite members to be similar to other Roman settlements. Then he considers non-élite inscriptional evidence from the second century, compares the population density of Pompeii with the area available at Philippi and suggests a standard scenario for the social composition of the town of 40 per cent Romans and 60 per cent non-Romans (mainly Greeks and Thracians). Out of this 3 per cent belong to the elite, 20 per cent are poor, 20 per cent are colonist farmers, 20 per cent are slaves and 37 per cent belong to the service community.²²³ Focusing shortly on the veteran/ non-veteran ratio Oakes starts his estimate with the basis group, colonist farmers, who make up 20 per cent of the population. He then concedes on the interpretation of evidence from Théodore Sarikakis that quite an unusual high figure of sons of veterans were willing to join the army in the first century.²²⁴ For lack of numbers Oakes estimates that 10 per cent of colonist settlers and elite sent off one descendant to the military. If all of them returned to Philippi after their service, 2.3 per cent of the Philippian households would be headed by a military veteran (10 per cent active duty returnees out of 23 per cent of the

²²¹ Epaphras (Col. 1:7), Onesimus (Col. 4:9), Archippus (Col. 4:17).

²²² Peter Oakes, *Philippians: From People to Letter*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 110. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 56-59.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 18-50. Oakes' interest is more on the economic distribution of wealth than on veteran/ non-veteran ratio in Philippi, the considerations of the veteran topic are more an aside in his study.

²²⁴ Peter Oakes, *Philippians: From People to Letter*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 110. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 52. Théodore Chr. Sarikakis, "Des Soldats Macédoniens dans l'Armée Romaine." In *Ancient Macedonia II*. Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1977, 433. Sarikakis shows that of 250 soldiers known from Macedonia as a whole (deduced from inscriptions), 52 are from Philippi. The figure is high because if Philippi contributes 21 per cent of the military manpower from Macedonia. The general population of Philippi, however, would make up a significantly smaller percentage than 21 per cent of the whole Macedonian population. The sons of veterans are thus quite enthusiastic in comparison with other Roman citizens to serve in the Roman army.

population). If one estimates four people in a household, the veteran percentage of the population would be something around 0.6 per cent.²²⁵

2.5.3. Inscriptional evidence suggests that the soldier/ civilian proportion was higher in Philippi than in other cities of the Roman empire

Although such approximate conjecture might be the only way forward on account of the lack of definite archaeological or literary information, it will be quickly apparent how misleading the proposed results can be. Not for mathematical precision, but as an illustration I would propose my own line of reasoning leading up to a veteran/ non-veteran ratio. A good starting point is Sarikakis numbers on the soldier ratio in the imperial army from Philippi versus from the whole of Macedonia, already mentioned above. If Philippi contributed 21 per cent of the soldiers in comparison to the whole Macedonian contingent, it cannot work that only 10 per cent of only 20 per cent of the male adult population contributes to that high number. Effectively it would mean that only 0.5 per cent of the current Philippian population contributed to the standing army. That number appears too small to make up for the overwhelming disproportion in the Philippian/ Macedonian soldier ratio.

Even at the risk of leaning too much in the opposite direction, it could equally be feasible that 40 per cent (instead of ten per cent) of the Roman families contributed one son per household to the imperial army. If we are not restricting that percentage to the Roman citizens only, for which we have in the first century AD no reason to do so, but extend the number also to the poor and the service community,²²⁶ who would have sufficient incentives for encouraging military service to their sons, we arrive at 32 per cent of households in Philippi headed up by a returning veteran. Now the veteran ratio would be 8 per cent in comparison to 92 per cent non-veteran population, the percentage of veterans being

²²⁵ Peter Oakes, *Philippians: From People to Letter*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 110. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 52.

²²⁶ The first century saw a significant increase of non-citizens joining the army. According to Keppie: "Statistics based on nomenclature and the origins of individuals show that of all legionaries serving from the period of Augustus to Caligula, some 65 per cent were Italians; for the period of Claudius and Nero the percentage was 48 per cent . . ." Lawrence Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army from Republic to Empire*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998, 180. Thus, the percentage of non-Romans enlisting into the legions nears 50 per cent in the time period of interest for us. Except for the slave population, all other population groups could in near equal percentages contribute to the formation of the legions. On enlistment the non-citizens were given an official Roman name (see *SP* 112) and received citizenship after discharge. Géza Alföldi, "Zur Beurteilung der Militärdiplome der Auxiliarsoldaten." In *Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte* 17 (2). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1968, 215-227. John Cecil Mann, "The Development of the Auxiliary and Fleet Diplomas." In *Epigraphische Studien* 9. Bonn: Rheinland-Verlag, 1972, 233-41. Margaret M. Roxan, "The Distribution of Roman Military Diplomas." In *Epigraphische Studien* 12. Bonn: Rheinland-Verlag, 1981, 265-286. Karl Christ, *Geschichte der Römischen Kaiserzeit*. Beck's Historische Bibliothek. München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2005, 114. Of course citizenship could be acquired earlier as a reward for individuals or those serving in a unit who distinguished themselves in battle. Valerie A. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army*. London: B. T. Batsford, 1981, 126.

significantly higher. I estimate that both Oakes' and my computation are extreme ends of what is feasible. Unless significant literary or archaeological discoveries are made in the near future, we can only roughly guess that the veteran proportion in Philippi lies somewhere between 0.6 and 8 per cent. Either way, if the truth is closer to 0.6 or 8 per cent, both numbers are still sufficiently small enough to abandon the often assumed myth that when Paul sent his letter to the Philippians, it was received in a church almost uniformly composed of former *miles* "still dressed in combat outfit with their swords in reach." The town in its social makeup had developed and diversified in the middle of the first century so much that one probably had to look for a *veteranus* in the church to find one. Numerically they were a minute and unpretentious minority.

2.5.4. Soldier/ civilian ratio not indicative of the influence of the military on the civil population

At this point, however, we must be very cautious about making too early a conclusion as to what a numerical minority means for the appropriateness of military metaphors. It is premature to conclude from veterans being a numerical minority in the social make up of the church and the town of Philippi that for the rest of the 99.4 or 92 per cent of the population military images are inappropriate or irrelevant.²²⁷ To reason along such lines would be like saying that Paul's judicial rhetoric in the book of Romans would be appropriate only for people presently involved in a court case. A positive reception of a metaphor, however, is not dependent on the direct involvement of the recipient in the field of reference, but on mere cognitive acquaintance with the field of reference and his ability to positively associate the image with the reality it symbolises.²²⁸ Thus, the statistical data of our estimation of the social

²²⁷ As Marchal argues with a quote from Oakes: "Indeed, Oakes could have been writing about scholars interested in military images in his following assessment: 'It is characteristic of much of scholarship that Karl Bornhäuser can look at a letter, two out of three addressees are women, and take as his exegetical foundation the idea that the recipients are Roman, male, ex-soldiers.'" Joseph A. Marchal, "Military Images in Philippians 1-2: A Feminist Analysis of the Rhetorics of Scholarship, Philippians, and Current Contexts." In *Her Master's Tools? Feminist and Postcolonial Engagements of Historical-Critical Discourse*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005, 275; quoting Peter Oakes, *Philippians: From People to Letter*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 110. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 60-61. It is an illegitimate logical conclusion that since the majority of the recipients are not "Roman, male, ex-soldiers" (a proposition this studies agree with), therefore the possibility of a majorative use of military images in the letter should be disregarded altogether. This thesis discussed already the precarious nature of reconstructing the social composition of the church from only three names above. If it is fallacious to read Philippians from the eyes of the military veteran only, it is equally unfounded to limit ones exegetical foundation to the reading of Philippians only from the eyes of oppressed, underprivileged women.

²²⁸ It is not even necessary for the recipient to approve comprehensively all the facets of an imagery in order to have the ability to positively associate the symbol with the reality it points to. A slave who has never inherited anything, and never will, may very well resent the unfairness of Roman inheritance laws and customs, he may even suffer from being handed over to a new master on account of the death of his previous owner who willed his slave-property to be bestowed on the heir. That slave can nonetheless

make-up of the church and town of Philippi does not say anything on its own. They have to be interpreted. It is too simplistic to state a 0.6 versus 99.4 or a 8.0 versus 92.0 per cent ratio and assume this is at the same time the ratio for the appropriate versus the inappropriate use of military imagery. One has to step back from the statistics for a moment and not only ask how many veterans we have, but who else has a positive cognitive access to military metaphors.

The method of this research in ascertaining the suitability of military images hence lies not in calculating the possible percentages of men directly involved in the military, but it asks the question of influence. In order to identify the group with a positive appropriation of militaristic figures of speech we have to ask to which degree the men actively involved in the armed forces were able to influence the civilian part of the population to recognise and positively respond to military images. In our inquiry we may advance in concentric circles from the core group (the *veterani*) to the fringe groups barely in association with the military or suffering from the military and therefore likely to react pejoratively to military images. The closer the concentric circle to the core group, the closer is the association and the more assured is an affirmative reaction to military images. The further away we move from the centre, the influence of the core group is less direct and a positive reception of military language is less certain.

2.5.5. The influence of the military on the general population of Philippi and its church

2.5.5.1. *The influence of veterans/ the military on immediate family*

Already on a narrow view our statistical data concerning the veteran versus non-veteran ratio quadruples if we consider that the immediate families of the veterans would certainly be included into the group with positive cognitive access to military metaphors. Since we assumed four people in a household we have now between 4.2 and 32.0 per cent of the population who has a majorative approach to military metaphors.²²⁹

positively associate with inheritance imagery, which Paul for example uses in Galatians 3:23 – 4:7, because he can identify a selected aspect of the imagery that evokes a positive connotation: the benign and undeserved reception of benefits. Similarly, a first century inhabitant of Philippi might not find all the aspects of the Roman military agreeable, he may yet positively associate with military metaphors because he can identify with selected components, like the confidence an able commander evokes, the comradeship soldiers experience, a victory achieved over a foe, etc.

²²⁹ It can be safely assumed that the family of the *veteranus* views the experience of the head of the household positively. The campaigns, exploits and decorations of the *miles* certainly filled a substantial part of the family conversations and gained the admiration of the descendants of the former soldier. This study already noticed from Sarikakis' study that sons of veterans were not reluctant, if not to say eager, to join the military. The attitude of the wives of the veterans can also be assumed to be positive toward the military. They would not have married a soldier if they had grave objections to armed forces. If, as it is the case in the Roman aristocracy, marriages were arranged in the lower classes as well, the positive attitude

2.5.5.2. *The influence of veterans/ the military on extended family*

Roman culture exhibited significant concern for national and family history. Pride in one's (distinguished) ancestor was not only upheld within one's family, but was often publicly displayed as the portrait busts of the ancestors in the form of wax masks (*imagines*) were presented during funeral processions and on public holidays.²³⁰ Among many Romans it was customary to represent the dignity of one's family by exhibiting the portrait busts of one's ancestors in the *atrium* of the home.²³¹ Not only was the memory of the ancestors held high, one's predecessors were respected and revered. The extent and expression of the memory of the dead ancestors through traditional rites was elaborate in Roman culture. The grave of the ancestor was considered a *locus religiosus*, a holy site, which was visited by the family of the dead during set times of the year, often accompanied with meals in memory of the dead, sacrifices and various cultic rites. Traditional times set apart for cultic remembrance of the dead were the *Parentalia* (February 13th – 21st), the *Rosalia* (May/ June), *Lemuria* (9th, 11th, 13th of May), birthdays and other anniversaries of the dead.²³² Commemorative funeral suppers were widespread in the ancient world and that they were celebrated at Philippi is evidenced by the pictured marble relief from Philippi dated at the end of the first century AD.²³³

of wives just described cannot be presumed, but it can in this case be transferred to the parents giving their daughter in marriage.

²³⁰ See Plb. VI.53.1-VI.54.3.; Tac. *Ann.* IV.9. Instructive is also Suet. *Aug.* II. While Suetonius lists the distinguished family heritage from which Octavian descended, he does not leave out an account according to which Marcus Antonius taunted Octavian that his great-grandfather was a freedman and a rope maker and his grandfather was a money changer. Evidently an ancestor, distinguished or otherwise, four generations later, had still significant influence on the status of a Roman.

²³¹ See for example the archaeological finding of a bronze portrait bust depicting the male and female ancestor of the owner of the "house of the cithara player" in Pompeii. In Harald Meller, Regine Maraszek, Esaù Dozio, Eds. *Pompeji – Nola – Herculaneum. Katastrophen am Vesuv.* Halle: Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte, 2011, 134-35." In the "house of Lucius Caecilius Iucundus" in Pompeii a marble herm with the bronze portrait bust of the patron of the freedman Iucundus was unearthed, displaying the inscription: "GENIO L(ucii) NOSTRI. FELIX L(ibertus)" (The freedman Felix [Dedicated] to the genius of our L(ucius) [this herm]). The veneration of the "ancestor" through whom Felix now identifies himself illustrates the importance of the sense of belonging to a significant ancestor and the extent of the efforts which people undertook to keep the memory of one's ancestors alive. In Harald Meller, Jens-Arne Dickmann. *Pompeji – Nola – Herculaneum. Katastrophen am Vesuv.* München: Hirmer Verlag, 2011, 179.

²³² Karl-Wilhelm Weeber, "Totengedenken." In *Alltag im Alten Rom.* Düsseldorf: Artemis & Winkler, 2000, 364-66.

²³³ Marble relief depicting a funeral supper, located at the Archaeological Museum of Philippi. The picture is from the author's collection.



Figure 9: Marble relief of a funeral supper from Philippi

The upholding of the fame of the ancestors increased the honour of the family presently living and a Roman family did everything to maintain or increase one's family status by giving due attention to their progenitors.²³⁴ The majority of the Roman population in Philippi, the latter comprising of – according to Oakes – approximately 40 per cent of the Philippian inhabitants,²³⁵ are the posterity of men who not only fought in the legions, but in the famous battles of Caesar and/ or the civil wars. In the first settlement process in 41 BC Philippi received veterans from the legions of Antony, among possibly others, from the legion XXVIII.²³⁶ After Actium some civilian settlers were relocated to Philippi,²³⁷ in addition to a

²³⁴ The consciousness of a Roman toward his ancestry went far beyond mere remembrance. The worship of the *Lar familiaris*, the spirit of the ancestor who originally founded the family and still watched over the fortunes of the family connected one intrinsically and irrevocably to one's forefathers.

²³⁵ Another possibility to estimate the percentage of veteran-founded families in comparison to non-military families would be to establish the original settler/ present number of inhabitants ratio. The latter might be somewhat reliably estimated on account of the number of seats in the theatre. The theatre was extended in the second century and could hold more than 8,000 people. On that account Pilhofer estimates 5 to 10 thousand Philippian inhabitants. Peter Pilhofer, 1995, 74-76. The numerical scope of the two settlement phases is unknown however, and the estimates are risky. The first soldiers settled under Antony just after the battle of Philippi in 42 B. C. stem from the *legio* XXVIII, but the literary sources or the settlers themselves left no trace as to how many soldiers from that legion were settled initially. A *cohors praetoria* as the one settled in the second phase of the settlement under Octavian after Actium in 31 B. C. could count 500 – 2,000 soldiers. How many Italian civilians were resettled to Philippi in 31 B. C. is completely unknown. Lukas Bormann estimates as a low limit at least 1,000 Italian colonists by 31 BC, but admits that an upper limit is, due to the lack of indications, impossible to determine. See Lukas Bormann, *Philippi: Stadt und Christengemeinde zur Zeit des Paulus*. NovTSupp 78. Köln: Brill, 1995, 20-23.

²³⁶ Lawrence Keppie, *Colonization and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47-14 BC*. London: The British School at Rome, 1983, 35, 60. The 28th legion was dissolved after the battle of Philippi, thus the men of the

significant number of soldiers released by Octavian after the battle of Actium.²³⁸ The Roman citizens settled in Philippi in both settlement phases consisted thus to the greater part of military veterans. What scenario can we imagine concerning the attitude of the Roman part of the population towards the military? The most likely assumption would be that the Roman citizens of Philippi around AD 50 continued to pass down favourable stories of their grandfathers fighting for the famous generals of Roman history, having participated in the epic battles that formed the Roman Empire and who had become the first settlers that made the city into the prospering municipality, which it had become.

The consciousness of Romans towards their history and their reverential attitude towards their ancestors almost certainly guarantees a favourable remembrance of the military past of their forefathers, a disposition which was surely enforced by the generally prideful attitude of the Romans towards their world-conquering military at the time. We can safely assume that these 40 per cent of the Philippian residents – exceptions will be few – have positive contact points concerning the military. If we add to those 40 per cent the non-Roman contingent, which have had a positive influence from military service men in their immediate family, we arrive at a rate between 42.2 and 56.0 per cent of the population who would have with reasonable certainty a positive attitude towards military metaphors.

2.5.5.3. *The political and cultural influence of the veterans/ the military on the community*

The Philippian military veterans not only influenced their fellow Roman citizens, but had a significant impact on the Greek and Thracian lower classes. In ancient society values were

inscriptions mentioning legio XXVIII are among the first settlers. Lukas Bormann, *Philippi. Stadt und Christengemeinde zur Zeit des Paulus*. NovTSupp 78. Köln: Brill, 1995, 21.

²³⁷ Ibid.; and page 35. Dio. LI.4.6.: “For by turning out of their homes the communities in Italy which had sided with Antony he [Octavian] was able to grant to his soldiers their cities and their farms. To most of those who were dispossessed he made compensation by permitting them to settle in Dyrrachium, Philippi, and elsewhere.”

²³⁸ We have no literary text indicating that at the second founding of the colony by Augustus new soldiers were settled, but Collart shows that it can be concluded from the numismatic evidence. See Collart, 231-235. Collart argues that the literary evidence from Dio. Cassius of dispossessed Italians resettling in Philippi does not exclude the possibility of Octavian installing new veterans at the same time. It was Octavian’s practice indeed around this time to reinforce already existing military colonies with newly released veterans. A bronze coin from Claudian or Neronian times depicts a winged victory with the words VIC(toria) AUG(usta) on the front and on the reverse COHOR(s) PRAE(toria) with the letters PHIL on the horizontal bottom (See *RPC1*, 1654 (coin 1651)). See the visual depiction of the coins below. The coin indicates that veterans of the Praetorian cohort were settled at 30 BC at Philippi. They were most likely the soldiers who had wished to be re-enlisted after the battle of Philippi and had formed the Praetorian cohort jointly shared by Marc Antony and Octavian (App. *BC*. V.3.11-13). Furthermore, it is indeed very likely that the Italian resettlers were not strict civilians, but may have consisted of Antony’s soldiers previously settled in Italy, but now relocated to Philippi.

not passed from the lower classes of society to the more privileged strata of civilisation, but the other way round. In the Greco-Roman Empire one “looked up.” The prevalent honour/shame culture generated an atmosphere in which everyone was – or at least tried to be – on the move to “higher up.” Joseph Hellermann has demonstrated that the “principle of social replication, whereby cultural values and social codes tend to ‘trickle down’ from elites to lower-status groups who, in turn, mimic the practices of their social betters,” are attested by the Philippian inscriptions as well and that it is evident that “the Roman elite, who occupied positions of power and prestige in Philippi would continue to influence the social values and behaviour of the colonists, Roman and Greek alike.”²³⁹

Hellermann demonstrates in the case of non-elite cult associations, most prominently the *Silvanus*-cult,²⁴⁰ that the Philippian lower-class mimicked in astounding detail (in their titlature of the offices of the cult and in their epigraphic customs commemorating benefaction) the Roman social elite.²⁴¹ The diverse residents of Philippi were not closed-culture groups who isolated themselves within their own culture from differing social groups. The Philippian non-elite groups are markedly influenced by the cultural values and social codes of thinking and behaviour of the upper class.

The upward look towards the Roman strata of society was not only caused by the preoccupation with honour in Greco-Roman society, it was influenced through other status or benefit markers as well. Two that stand out particularly are the desirability of Roman citizenship and the patron-client relationship. All veteran settlers in Philippi had Roman citizenship, and were thus members of the city of Rome, even without living in Rome or potentially never having seen it.²⁴² At their founding the settlers of colonies were allotted to be part of a particular Roman *tribus*, in the case of Philippi the *tribus* of the *Voltina*.²⁴³ Whoever was enrolled into the *tribus Voltina* at Philippi had obtained two much coveted

²³⁹ Joseph H. Hellermann, *Reconstructing Honor in Roman Philippi: Carmen Christi as Cursus Pudorum*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 71-72.

²⁴⁰ The association consisted exclusively of males, and included free-born, freed-men and slaves. No elite males are listed from an extensive list of sixty-nine members. *Ibid.*, 101.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 100-09.

²⁴² Friedrich Vittinghoff, “Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus.” In *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse* 1951. Vol. 14. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1952, 1239.

²⁴³ The inscriptions bear overwhelming support for it. Among the tribes mentioned in the collection of inscriptions by Pilhofer, there is one inscription each for the tribe of *Caleria*, *Cornelia*, *Maecia*, *Pollia* and *Sergia*, two inscriptions each for the tribe of *Fabia* and *Quirina* and seventythree inscriptions for the *tribus Voltina*. See the Indices of Peter Pilhofer, *Philippi, Vol 2: Katalog der Inschriften von Philippi*. WUNT 119. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000, 1144.

citizenships: the *civis Philippiensis* and the *civis Romanus*.²⁴⁴ Concerning the significance of this citizenship in a Roman colony like Philippi Pilhofer writes: “The Roman citizenship is by far no ἀδιάφορον, something which one has or one does not have. Those who have it, are proud to own it - just compare Acts 22:26ff. -; those who do not have it (yet), will do anything to gain it. This applies in a Roman colony like Philippi to an even greater extent than usual”²⁴⁵ Vittinghoff explains why Roman citizenship was uniquely desirable in a colony like Philippi:

The proud confession ‘*civis Romanus sum*,’ to be a member of the victorious people of the conquerors of the world, always commanded respect in the Roman Empire Accordingly, the possession of Roman citizenship was much more desirable for example among the ‘aliens,’ who had limited rights within the jurisdiction of a Roman city, a colony or *municipium* in which they lived. Without Roman citizenship they could never become a full member with all legal privileges of a local city, contrary to a community of peregrine law, like a Greek *polis* of the East, where civic rights had nothing to do with Roman citizenship and where the Romans were mostly and at first a minority everywhere and where social life was lived in the tracks laid down by the fathers.²⁴⁶

The privilege of being a *civis Philippiensis* and a *civis Romanus* was not a benefit belonging to a closed group only. The extension to non-Romans was in the first century in full bloom. Thus, the opportunity to advance to Roman (and Philippian) citizenship was principally open for Thracians and Greeks as well,²⁴⁷ who, as we have stated already, were likely to do anything to obtain it. Thus, already the desire to become a Roman citizen (or at least to be affiliated with a Roman citizen of influence, who could take up one’s cause in times of need)

²⁴⁴ Pilhofer, 1995, 122.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.: “Nun ist das Römische Bürgerrecht kein ἀδιάφορον, etwas, was man hat oder nicht hat. Die, die es haben, sind stolz darauf, es zu besitzen - vgl. nur Apg 22, 26ff. -; die, die es (noch) nicht haben, tun alles, um es zu erwerben. Dies gilt in einer römischen Kolonie wie Philippi in noch größerem Ausmaß als sonst”

²⁴⁶ Friedrich Vittinghoff, “Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus.” In *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse 1951*. Vol. 14. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1952, 1229. “Dieses stolze Bekenntnis ‘*civis Romanus sum*,’ Angehöriger des siegreichen Volkes der Weltoberer zu sein, war im Imperium Romanum immer achtungsgebietend Der Besitz des Bürgerrechts war dementsprechend auch viel begehrenswerter z.B. bei dem ‘Fremden,’ die als Minderberechtigte im Gebiet einer Römischen Stadt, einer Kolonie oder eines Municipiums und ohne römisches Bürgerrecht niemals Stadtbürger werden konnten, als in einer Gemeinde peregrinen Rechts, etwa einer griechischen Polis des Ostens, wo das Stadtbürgerrecht nichts mit dem römischen zu tun hatte, die Römer meist und zunächst überall eine Minderheit waren und das Leben in den von den Vätern festgelegten Bahnen ablief.”

²⁴⁷ Pilhofer, 1995, 123. Pilhofer elaborates with some vivid illustrations. Roman citizenship could have been earned by a Thracian volunteering for military service in the auxiliaries, could be received by a Greek slave and his descendants at the time of manumission by his Roman master for whose family he might have served as tutor or by a seaman who served in the Roman navy. For the latter there is inscriptional evidence in the form of a military diploma for the centurion Hezbenus under the emperor Vespasian. See Pilhofer, 2009 (030 L523); *CIL XVI* 12.

created an upward look among Philippian society for the ruling elite. This upward look was invariably connected with the willingness to know and adopt Roman customs and to be considered “one of them.” Neither Thracians nor Greeks would have had any problems with “becoming more Roman” (or especially “becoming more Philippian Roman,” including the strong military associations). Their syncretistic way of life was a perfect breeding ground for maintaining local customs and yet aspiring to the Roman way of life. Philippi was not Jerusalem and Greece was not Judea, where Romanisation was resisted since Jewish monotheism required a distinct and separate way of life.

The epigraphic evidence from Philippi confirms the ease and eagerness of the lower-class inhabitants to seek connection and identification with Romans from the upper class and their values. Joseph Hellerman has pointed out that numerous Philippian funerary inscriptions fit well within the general trend within the Roman Empire of slaves and freedmen to publicly proclaim their rank in society by mentioning themselves as slaves or freedmen on tombstones, inscribing the name of their owner, or former owner, almost always in a prominent place alongside their own.²⁴⁸ Thus, for example, the slave Eutyches names himself as “slave of Bullenus Venustus,”²⁴⁹ Vitalis is called the slave (and son through a female slave) of Gaius Lavisu Faustus,²⁵⁰ the freedwoman Annia Secunda identifies her husband proudly as “the freedman of Manius,”²⁵¹ Vibia Piruzier identifies herself as “freedwoman of Gaius”²⁵² and Marcus Velleius wants to be remembered as “the freedman of

²⁴⁸ Joseph H. Hellermann, *Reconstructing Honor in Roman Philippi: Carmen Christi as Cursus Pudorum*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 107-08.

²⁴⁹ Pilhofer, 2009, 567-68, inscription 494/ L114; *CIL* III 1 (667) (reference in Hellermann missing):
 Eut[y]ches / Bulleni / Venusti / servus N | Eutyclus, the slave of Bullenus Venustus . . .

²⁵⁰ Pilhofer, 2009, 495-98, inscription 494/ L114; *CIL* III Suppl. 2 (14206²¹). The first four lines of the twelve-line inscription read:

Vitalis C(ai) Lavi Fausti ser(vus), idem f(ilius), verna domo natus, hic situs est. vixit annos XVI. institor tabernas . . .	Vitalis, slave of Gaius Lavius Faustus, also his son, born in (his) house lies here (buried). He lived 16 years, was the manager of the taverna . . .
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²⁵¹ Pilhofer, 2009, 333-34, inscription 270/ L387:
 C(aius) Annius Fuscus an(norum) VIII h(ic)
 situs e(st).
 Annia C(ai) f(ilia) Secunda filio et sibi et
 [M(anio)] Cassio M(ani) l(iberto) Secundo viro
 v(iva) d(e) s(uo) f(aciendum) c(uravit).
 | Gaius Annius Fuscus, eight years old, lies
 buried here. Annia Secunda, daughter of Gaius
 has put up (this inscription) while still alive
 for her son and for herself and for her
 husband Manius Cassius Secundus, the
 freedman of Manius.

²⁵² Pilhofer, 2009, 473, inscription 392/ L624:
 Vibia C(ai) l(iberta) / Piruzir
 Vix(it) ann(os) LXX. / Vibius Paris
 fil(ius) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendum) c(uravit).
 | Vibia Piruzir, the freedwoman of Gaius lived
 70 years. Vibius Paris, her son, set up (this
 inscription) from his own resources.

Marcus.”²⁵³ Hellermann points out the important fact that the order of the names is informative, as almost invariably the name of the owner – or former owner, now patron of the freedman – precedes the title of slave or freedman. Thus, the most prominent position of the inscription, where the grammatical emphasis lies, is dedicated to the person further up the social scale.²⁵⁴ The lower classes of Philippi quite evidently had a substantial desire to be linked with the elite of the colony. That in their quest for association with the top of the structure of society the lower classes were ambitious to take over the values of the top-notch of Philippian citizens, including their favourable disposition of the Roman military seems undeniable.

Thus the political and cultural influence of the Roman elite, which consisted almost entirely of honoured veterans or their descendants should not be underestimated. Pilhofer aptly summarises the influence of the Roman minority on Philippian society as a whole:

There is not the slightest doubt that . . . [the Romans] . . . in the period that interests us – in the first century – are the most influential part of the populace in Philippi. This applies first and foremost in terms of political power in the *res publica coloniae Iulia Augusta Philippensis* . . . It is not necessary here to provide lists of names of *duumviri dicundo jure* or *decuriones*, because in the first century the names are exclusively Roman: The power of the state lies in the hands of the Roman people, and only these. But not only this: Philippi is the first and second century through and through a Roman city, the theatre was rebuilt according to the Roman taste, and a group of Latin actors plays Latin pieces. The forum was developed in the Roman style, and dominates the centre of town. The inscriptions, which a traveller sees in Philippi are – in the first and second century – exclusively in Latin. A number of Roman gods are found in Philippi, from *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*, *Neptunus*, *Mercurius* to *Silvanus* . . . The dominant impression (*of the city*) was simply Roman. Whoever came – like Paul – from the East to Philippi, he came into another world. *Other* Roman colonies could be visited in Asia Minor, but none of them were anywhere near as 'Roman' as Philippi. Certainly the Romans were not numerically in the majority, as the Roman character of the city might suggest Roman, but the

²⁵³ Pilhofer, 2009, 381-82, inscription 321/ L377, AÉ 1935 (53):

<p>[M(arcus V)]elleius M(arci) l(ibertus) [. . .] [. . . dendrop]horus Aug(ustalis) an(norum) L [sibi et V]elleiae Primigeniae u[xori] [. . .] iius <i>vacat</i></p>	<p>Marcus Velleius, the freedman of Marcus, the Dendrophorus of the Augustalis, 50 years old, (has set up this inscription) for himself and for Velleia Primigenia, his . . . wife . . .</p>
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²⁵⁴ Joseph H. Hellermann, *Reconstructing Honor in Roman Philippi: Carmen Christi as Cursus Pudorum*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 108.

lifestyle was thoroughly Roman.²⁵⁵

2.5.5.4. Summary: The Roman elite influenced the general population of Philippi regarding a positive outlook towards the military

Considering the provenance of the Philippian correspondence, exegetes and interpreters have aligned themselves along two lines of opposite arguments, why the Philippians would have either reacted appreciatively or disparagingly towards rhetorical devices based on the semantic domain of the military. One side argued that the congregation of Philippi consisted largely of veterans, while the other side denied the prominence of veterans, estimating the percentage of veterans in the Philippian community as lower than 0.6 per cent.

This study concluded however, not only that the percentage of veterans in the church was probably much higher, due to the fact that the inscriptional evidence points to recruitment from among the Roman and non-Roman portions of the population was above average, but even more significantly that the assumption of a direct correlation between the percentage of veterans present in the church and the likelihood of a positive reception of military terminology is faulty. If one wants to evaluate the probability of an amicable disposition towards military imagery, one must not consider only the raw numbers of veterans present in the community, but their influence on the community at large. Such an influence was pervasive at Philippi, several generations of veterans influenced not only their immediate and extended family, but through their advanced social position the rest of the community, Roman and non-Roman alike. In the first one hundred years of the existence of the Roman colony of Philippi, Roman veterans were the most influential part of society. As usual in the rest of the empire, social customs and values were passed down from the top of the society to the lower stratas of the population, not visa versa. This trend of adoption of particularly Roman values is attested to by various kinds of inscriptions from Philippi and, in

²⁵⁵ "... so besteht doch daran nicht der geringste Zweifel, dass [die Römer] in dem uns interessierenden Zeitraum – dem ersten Jahrhundert – die einflussreichste Bevölkerungsgruppe in Philippi bilden. Dies gilt zunächst und vor allem in bezug auf die politische Macht in der *res publica coloniae Iuliae Augustae Philippensis* ... Es ist nicht nötig, hier Namenslisten der *duumviri iure dicundo* oder der *decuriones* zu bieten, denn die Namen sind im ersten Jahrhundert ausschliesslich römische: Die Macht im Staat liegt in Händen der römischen Bewohner und nur diesen. Aber nicht nur dies: Philippi ist im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert eine durch und durch römische Stadt, das Theatre wird dem römischen Geschmack entsprechend umgebaut, und eine lateinische Schauspielergruppe spielt lateinische Stücke. Das Forum wird im römischen Stil entwickelt und prägt das Zentrum der Stadt. Die Inschriften, die der Wanderer sieht - im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert sind sie in Philippi ausschliesslich lateinisch. Eine ganze Reihe römischer Götter is nun in Philippi anzutreffen, vom Iuppiter Optimus Maximus angefangen über Neptunus und Mercurius bin hin zu Silvanus ... Wer – wie Paulus – aus dem Osten nach Philippi kam, kam in eine andere Welt. Römische Kolonien konnte man auch in Kleinasien besuchen, aber keine war auch nur annähernd so 'römisch' wie Philippi. Gewiss waren die Römer zahlenmäßig nicht in der Mehrheit, wie es das römische Gepräge der Stadt vermuten lassen könnte, aber das Lebensgefühl war durch und durch römisch." Pilhofer, 1995, 91-92.

all likelihood, the positive reaction of the Roman elite towards the military was adopted across the board of the Philippian community.

2.6. Military terminology positively received – the civic identity of Philippi.

2.6.1. The civic identity of ancient cities

The inhabitants of an ancient city identified with the city they lived in to a much greater degree than we do today. Not only were people much more rooted and connected to ancestral property, a city shared its own significant identity with its inhabitants, which contributed to the inhabitant's status and honour. Paul's statement in Acts 21:39 "ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος μὲν εἰμι Ἰουδαῖος, Ταρσεὺς τῆς Κιλικίας, οὐκ ἀσήμου πόλεως πολίτης." ("I am a Jew from Tarsus in Cilicia, a citizen of no insignificant city.") gives one a good indication of the ancient's connectedness to the fame of one's city. Ancient cities strove for prestige, recognition and fame. One's heritage as a citizen of a famous municipality was in antiquity not restricted to property one held in that city. One's position, one's reputation and often distinct privileges were connected to belonging to an acclaimed municipality.²⁵⁶

The peculiar distinction a city held resulted from a patchwork of status indicators: size, historical significance, favours granted by emperors, the housing of eminent religious sites, being the home of provincial seats of government, economic prosperity, tax-exemptions, the possession of an amphitheatre larger than anyone else's,²⁵⁷ the holding of a provincial festival, the right to head a religious or festive procession,²⁵⁸ etc. The desire for honour and distinction often led to fierce rivalry between cities;²⁵⁹ this rivalry was in the first century a notorious typical feature of public life in the Greek provinces.²⁶⁰ Ancient cities had a self-

²⁵⁶ See for example the speech of Dio. Chrysostom to the inhabitants of his own city of Prusa: "For, let me assure you, buildings and festivals and independence in the administration of justice and exemption from standing trial away from home or from being grouped together with other communities like some village, if you will pardon the expression – all these things, I say, make it natural for the pride of the cities to be enhanced and the dignity of the community to be increased and for it to receive fuller honour both from the strangers within their gates and from the proconsuls as well. But while these things possess a wondrous degree of pleasure for those who love the city of their birth . . ." Dio. Chrysost. VI.40.10. Transl. by H. Lamar Crosby, LCL, I:116-19.

²⁵⁷ For a good summary see Maud W. Gleason "Greek Cities Under Roman Rule." In *A Companion to the Roman Empire*. Ed. David S. Potter. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006, 228-249.

²⁵⁸ Simon R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, 126-29.

²⁵⁹ Dio. Chrysostom mentions a few cities current to his times who are in quarrels with each other, among others Smyrna with Ephesus, Apamea with Antioch, etc. Dio. considers the squabbles as trifles, and compares them like fellow slaves quarrelling over glory and pre-eminence. Dio. Chrysost. XXXIV.48-51. Although Dio. ridicules the reasons for the disputes, since slaves hardly have a claim to honour, the nature of the competition is clearly brought out: it is for glory and pre-eminence.

²⁶⁰ Fergus Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*. London: Trinity Press, 1977, 432-33.

understanding, a claim to fame, which they propagated and unashamedly utilised in their competition for prominence.²⁶¹ “How far disputes could be carried can be read in the tiny letters and cunning abbreviations crammed unto the coinage of a city by no means great or famous: ‘Anazarbus, Noble Metropolis, the First, the Greatest, the Fairest, Standard Bearer of Rome, Site of the Free Common Council of Cilicia.’”²⁶² The status indicators were the identity markers of a city. These identity markers were not only known by the inhabitants of a city, these were their pride, these were the things a city boasted about and brought forward in the competition for pre-eminence.²⁶³

Civic competition was not a vain dispute over titles. The titles articulated identity and self-understanding and were necessary to promote or at least keep one’s status among fellow municipalities because financial resources and the granting of imperial privileges depended on it.²⁶⁴ One had to promote what one distinguished from others. Luke mentions two status indicators when he describes Philippi in Acts 16:12 as a “first city of the province of Macedonia” and “a colony” (“ . . . εις Φιλίππους, ἥτις ἐστὶν πρώτη μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις, κολωνία . . .”).²⁶⁵ But beside the distinction of being a Roman colony, what was the self-

²⁶¹ For a list of honorary titles of the cities of Roman Asia see Thomas. R. S. Broughton, “Roman Asia.” In *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*. Volume 4. New York: Octagon Books, 1975, 742-43. The competition for distinction extended even to smaller communities. “It could be a point of pride for a smaller place to style itself, ‘seventh city’ of its province.” Maud W. Gleason “Greek Cities Under Roman Rule.” In *A Companion to the Roman Empire*. Ed. David S. Potter. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006, 232. Much coveted were the titles *metropolis* or *πρώτη*, both of which were not restricted to capitals of judicial districts, but could be conferred honorary titles. See Colin J. Hemer, *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia in Their Local Setting*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986, 237-38., (footnote 36).

²⁶² Ramsey McMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order. Treason, Unrest, and Alienation in the Roman Order*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966, 186.

²⁶³ The fierceness of the local patriotism and the competition for pre-eminence can among others be illustrated by the inflation of the titles by the end of the second century and the financial ruin many cities found themselves in on account of overstressing themselves in their effort to supercede their competitors in games, sacrifices and public buildings. The number of candidates for titles such as *metropolis*, *first city*, *neocorus* (possession of an imperial temple) was so large even within one and the same province that it led to a “great deal of wasteful display, and by the end of the second century resulted in a general increase in honorific titles until they bore little relation to the relative station and importance of the cities.” Thomas. R. S. Broughton, “Roman Asia.” In *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*. Volume 4. New York: Octagon Books, 1975, 741. “Against this background of incessant competition, Pliny’s discoveries in Bithynia become intelligible: city after city up to its neck in debt for vaunting, extravagant, needless and ill-conceived building, chiefly of structures that would make a show.” Ramsay MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order. Treason, Unrest, and Alienation in the Empire*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966, 185.

²⁶⁴ Friesen, Steven. “The Cult of the Roman Emperors in Ephesos: Temple Wardens, City Titles, and the Interpretation of the Revelation of John.” In *Ephesos Metropolis of Asia: an Interdisciplinary Approach to Its Archaeology, Religion and Culture*. Ed. Helmut Koester. Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1995, 236-40.

²⁶⁵ The text is somewhat uncertain. Although *πρώτη μερίδος τῆς* has the oldest manuscript evidence, it is hotly debated because *πρώτη* with reference to a Roman colony is only attested to mean the official title “chief city.” The chief city of the province of Macedonia, however, was Thessalonica and not Philippi. Amphipolis was the chief city of the one of the four Macedonian districts in which Philippi was located. Since alternative readings lack early attestation and since *πρώτη* was used as a title of honour, albeit only attested with references to Greek cities in a league (*κοινόν*), it seems best at the moment to believe that

understanding of the city of Philippi? What was the self-image and the boast of the Philippians that set them apart from other cities in the Roman Empire?

2.6.2. The literary evidence concerning the civic identity of Philippi

Lukas Bormann by investigating the self-consciousness of the Philippians towards the principate of the Julio-Claudian dynasty researched exhaustively the literary references to Philippi, which we know from historiographers close to the first century.²⁶⁶ He summarises his findings after reviewing Augustus (the *Res Gestae*), Velleius Paterculus, Lucan, Tacitus, Suetonius, Josephus, Plutarch, Appian and Dio Cassius with the following words:

The survey through the ancient historical writers who have dealt with Philippi, give an impression of the reputation that preceded this Roman colony in the first century. Philippi is immediately related with the final battle . . . of the *triumvirs and the republicans*.²⁶⁷

All texts have one characteristic in common. They are not interested in the town or the colony, its history, development, and residents – apart from a few isolated remarks in Appian and Suetonius. They deal with the battle in 42 BC, which brought the final departure from the aristocratic republican constitution of Rome, and they deal with its interpretation as a historic event. They inform us about the sound, which the name of this city in the Mediterranean world in New Testament times must have had. Simultaneously with this access to the *genius loci* Philippis they also convey an image of the political polemics and military conflicts that were closely connected with the two foundings of the colony This historic event (the double battle of Philippi) made Philippi known in the ancient world. *The*

Luke intended to attest Philippi a title of honour, although the precise aspect of the honour is presently not known. See Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*. 2nd Edition. London: United Bible Societies, 1975, 444-46. Not in question is the identification of Philippi as *κολωνία* in Acts 16:12, a *hapax legomenon* in the New Testament. Only here does Luke specifically mention a city being a colony, although in Luke's narrative eight Roman colonies are mentioned by name as visited by the apostolic teams. Luke clearly highlights the honorary Roman status of Philippi. So also Richard S. Ascough "Civic Pride at Philippi. The Text-Critical Problem of Acts 16.12." In *New Testament Studies* 44 (1). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 93-103. Ascough shows the pervasiveness of inter-city rivalry over the titles such as *πρώτη* in the Roman East. Up to date there is no inscriptional or numismatic evidence however that Philippi also fought to attain that title. For Roman Asia's cities claiming the title *πρώτη* even simultaneously with another city of the same region see the list of titles in Thomas R. S. Broughton, "Roman Asia." In *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* 4. New York: Octagon Books, 1975, 742-43.

²⁶⁶ Lukas Bormann. *Philippi. Stadt und Christengemeinde zur Zeit des Paulus*. NovTSupp 78. Köln: Brill, 1995, 68-83.

²⁶⁷ "Der Durchgang durch die antiken historischen Autoren, die sich mit Philippi beschäftigt haben, vermitteln einen Eindruck von dem Ruf, der der römischen Kolonie im ersten Jahrhundert vorausging. Philippi wird sofort mit der entscheidenden Schlacht . . . in Verbindung gebracht." *Ibid.*, 83., cursive mine.

historical accounts . . . give an impression of the event which was of supreme importance to the self-conception the colony.²⁶⁸

The self-image of the city of Philippi was intrinsically linked to the history-changing battle that took place a few generations earlier. What the temple of Diana was to Ephesus, what the Philosophers were for Athens or what the cult of Apollo was to Delphi, the battle between the republicans and the triumvirs in 42 BC was for Philippi. The identity of the town was fundamentally wrapped up in its military history. This conclusion is supported by the presence of dedicated altars in Philippi, erected by the “victorious legions” on account of the military victory at Philippi as recorded by Suetonius:

<p>. . . et ingresso primam expeditionem ac per Macedoniam ducente exercitum in Syriam, accidit ut apud Philippos sacratae olim victricium legionum arae sponte subitis conlucere ignibus.²⁶⁹</p>	<p>. . . and on <i>Tiberius</i>' first campaign, as he was leading an army through Macedonia into Syria, it happened that at Philippi the altars consecrated in bygone days by the victorious legions flashed on their own with sudden fires.</p>
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The existing political situation with the Julio-Claudian dynasty controlling the fate of the Roman Empire continually refreshed the historical significance of the colony. Philippi's status indicators, its identity markers and its claim to fame were the renowned battle and its connectedness with the Roman military. It would have been virtually impossible to live in or around Philippi and not be aware of and identify at least to some degree with the historical military significance of the town. The residents of the settlement, Roman or non-Roman alike, had a strong awareness of the battle that took place within sight of the city walls, they would have known and rehearsed some of the battle's developments during the last months of the

²⁶⁸ “Alle Texte haben eine Eigenart gemeinsam. Sie interessieren sich nicht für die Stadt bzw. die Kolonie, deren Geschichte, Entwicklung und Bewohner, von ganz vereinzelt Bemerkungen bei Appian und Sueton einmal abgesehen. Sie befassen sich mit der Schlacht, die im Jahre 42 v.Chr. die endgültige Abkehr von der republikanisch-aristokratischen Verfassung Roms brachte, und mit deren Deutung als historisches Ereignis. Sie geben damit Auskunft über den Klang, den der Name dieser Stadt in der Mittelmeerwelt in neutestamentlicher Zeit gehabt haben muss. Gleichzeitig mit diesem Zugang zum *genius loci* Philippis vermitteln sie auch ein Bild von den politischen Polemiken und militärischen Auseinandersetzungen, die mit den beiden Koloniegründungen eng verbunden gewesen sind . . . Dieses historische Ereignis (*die Doppelschlacht von Philippi*) machte Philippi in der antiken Welt bekannt. *Die antiken Geschichtsschreibungen* geben daneben aber auch einen Eindruck von dem Ereignis, das von ungleich größerer Bedeutung für das Selbstverständnis der Kolonie war.” Ibid., 68-69., cursive mine.

²⁶⁹ Suet. *Tib.* XIV.3. The altars must have had a significant commemorative function of the battle of Philippi and a significant political relevance as they perpetuated the remembrance of the importance of Philippi for the present Julio-Claudian regime. For a more detailed discussion of the existence of these altars and the possible function of Philippis' arch as a “victory arch” consult Appendix B.

eventful year 42 BC and they would have – with near certainty – been aware of at least some basic Roman military images and metaphors.

2.6.3. The numismatic evidence concerning the civic identity of Philippi

2.6.3.1. *The local coinage of Philippi*

The numismatic evidence backs up the enduring self-understanding of Philippi as a military colony and its continuing association with the Roman military. Analysing the local provincial coinage, one finds that of the mints certainly originating from Philippi we know seven diverse mint types dating from 42 BC until AD 57.²⁷⁰ One of the mint types (coin nr. 1650 in *RPC1*) was used again twice under different emperors (Claudius and Nero) after the original mint from the time of Augustus, so that we have altogether nine diverse coin editions²⁷¹ coming from Philippi between the founding of the colony and the middle of the first century AD. Of these nine diverse coin editions from Philippi, all of them commemorate either the founding of the military colony or portray another military motif. Every single coin issued from Philippi has a motif or a legend relating to the military significance of the town. The coins and their military image are pictured and described below.



Figure 10 and 11: Local Philippian coin from the time of the founding of the Roman military colony depicting the establishment of the *pomerium* through the sacred ploughing of the boundary of the colony.

²⁷⁰ For the sake of brevity and clarity I define coins of the same “mint type” the ones which picture near equivalent images and inscriptions. Small differences (for example coin nr. 1651 in *RPC1* appears in two forms, one with *Nike* stretching out her hand horizontally, the other with *Nike* stretching out her hand upward (see Gaebler, 102-03)), or countermarks, i.e., a coin marked with a design after it was originally struck, (for example the coin nr. 1646 in *RPC1*, 308 is also found with an added imprint of two clasped hands in *RPCS2*, 37.) do not constitute additional mint types.

²⁷¹ “Coin editions” are treated separately from “mint types.” The same mint type would be repeated in successive coin editions. These coin editions illustrate well how previous values and propaganda motives were reused in a completely new mint. The issuing authority decided purposely not to create a new image, but reused a previous one with the new obverse image if the present emperor or the inscription of his name.

Foundation issue of the colony of Philippi. Depicted are on the obverse the head of Antony. On the reverse a man with a veiled head (a priest) ploughs with two oxen. The latter symbolises the sacred ceremony of marking out the boundary of the colony through the ploughing of the sacred furrow.²⁷² Not the founding of a “secular” colony is in view, but the inscription A I C V P (*Antoni iussu colonia victrix Philippensis*) on the obverse side (AC to the left of the head of Antony, VP to the right of it) highlights that from the start the name of the colony was to perpetuate the memory of the victory of the triumvirs.



Figure 12 and 13: Local Philippian coin from the time of the founding of the Roman military colony depicting the drawing of the lot for the allocation of land plots to the settled veterans.

Again a foundation issue of the colony of Philippi. As with the previous mint, the obverse shows the head of Antony. The reverse reveals a figure clothed in a toga, seated on a chair and holding up a writing board while at its feet an urn is visible.²⁷³ The scene recalls the drawing of the lot for the distribution of the land during the founding ceremony.²⁷⁴ A I C V P on the reverse reminds the viewer that the founding of the military colony on account of the victory at Philippi is in view.

²⁷² *RPC1*, 308, part II: plate 80. Gaebler, 102, plate 20. Picture from the collection of the American Numismatic Society. Used with permission.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁴ The foundation mints of Philippi received a thorough study in regard to the content and the meaning of their inscriptions and images by Hugo Gaebler, “Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens.” In *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 39. Berlin: Weidmann, 1929, 255-270.



Figure 14 and 15: Local Philippian coin from the time of the founding of the Roman military colony depicting the sacred plough used for the ceremonial ploughing of the *pomerium*.

Third foundation mint. Unidentifiable male or female facing head visible on the obverse, the plough on the reverse memorialises the founding of the military colony. Observe, as with the previous coin, A I C V P on the obverse.²⁷⁵



Figure 16 and 17: Local Philippian coin from the time of the founding of the Roman military colony depicting the urn used for the ceremony of allocating land plots to settled veterans.

Fourth foundation mint. Pictures an urn for the drawing of the lot by which the parcels of land were distributed among the veterans (*sortitio*)²⁷⁶ and A I C V P on the obverse, the reverse shows, besides the inscription identifying the responsible officer of the mint, a victory wreath.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁵ RPC1, 308, part II: plate 81. Gaebler, 102, plate 20. Picture from the Münzkabinett of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Used with permission.

²⁷⁶ RPC1, 45.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.



Figure 18 and 19: Local Philippian coin from the time of Augustus depicting the emperor in military dress, being crowned by Julius Caesar, both on a platform next to two altars.

Bronze coin of Augustus, picturing the laureate head of Augustus and on the reverse Augustus in military dress and the divine Julius Caesar. Augustus poses in a typical *adlocutio*-gesture (the emperor addressing the army with slightly lifted arm), Julius Caesar (DIVO IVL) wears a toga and crowns Augustus (AVG DIVI F).²⁷⁸ The same motif of the reverse side is repeatedly used again under Claudius and Nero.²⁷⁹



Figure 20 and 21: Local Philippian coin from the middle of the first century AD, depicting Nike with a victory wreath on the obverse and military standards on the reverse.

Copper coin from the time of Claudius or Nero depicting *Nike*, the goddess of victory with wreath and palm, the other side shows three military standards with the inscription COHOR PRAE PHIL.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ *RPC1*, 308, part II: plate 81. Gaebler, 102-03, plate 20. Image: Acsearch, the ancient coin search engine, <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=13684>, accessed May, 24th 2012.

²⁷⁹ *RPC1* 308-309, part II: plate 81. Gaebler, 103, plate 20.

²⁸⁰ *RPC1*, 308, part II: plate 81. Gaebler, 102-03, plate 20. Image: Acsearch, the ancient coin search engine, <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=378476>, accessed June, 26th 2012.



Figure 22 and 23: Local Philippian coin from the middle of the first century AD, depicting the sacred plough for the establishment of the *pomerium*.

Mint from Claudian or Neronian times, picturing the sacred plough used for the founding of the colony. The reverse shows either two modi, or possibly two urns. The inscription VIC(*toria*) AVG(*usta*) perpetuates again the memory of the victory of Augustus at the battle of Actium.²⁸¹

2.6.3.2. Evaluation of the Philippian mints regarding the civic identity of Philippi

“Coins were the most deliberate of all symbols of public communal identities of the Roman provinces.”²⁸² They mirror significantly the civic identity of Macedonian communities. The numismatic images and inscriptions were deliberately chosen by officials, who had the authority to mint in the name of the community they represented.²⁸³ The results are coin issues which self-depict the status and identification of the various cities.

Philippi made abundant use of military imagery to represent itself as a military colony and the observation that a military symbol or inscription is found on every single coin issued demonstrates that Philippi was overly keen on proclaiming its military profile as a significant, if not all important, facet of its civic identity.

Admittedly, military images are not uncommon even for local Macedonian mints, especially in the light that particular colonies have the tendency to identify with imperial rather than local significance. Militaristic power images are a favourite theme of the former, and it is therefore not surprising that they appear on local colonial mints as well. However, other non-militaristic images and inscriptions were just as readily available and were used

²⁸¹ *RPC1*, 308, Vol. II: plate 81. Gaebler, 103, plate 20. Picture from the collection of the American Numismatic Society. Used with permission.

²⁸² Christopher Howgego, Volker Heuchert and Andrew Burnett, *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, preface.

²⁸³ Sophia Kremydi-Sicilianou, “‘Belonging’ to Rome, ‘Remaining’ Greek: Coinage and Identity in Roman Macedonia.” In *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*. Ed. Christopher Howgego, Volker Heuchert, Andrew Burnett. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, 95.

amply among the Macedonian mints, also among the issues of other Macedonian colonies. The Roman colony of Dium, for example, issued a mint with the bare head of Tiberius on the obverse and Livia on the reverse.²⁸⁴ The colony of Cassandrea has a coin depicting the head of Ammon and two ears of corn.²⁸⁵ The colony of Pella issued, like Philippi, a high percentage of military images, the precise number, however, is hard to judge, since a large portion of coins cannot be precisely allocated to either Dium or Pella. Among those approximately fifty per cent picture “civilian” themes, such as portraits of the bare head of Augustus, Tiberius or a female head or implements such as a cup, *praefericulum* and *strigiles*.²⁸⁶

In regard to its high proportion of military representation on coins Philippi exceeds every other colony of Macedonia. The comparison with the free cities of Macedonia provides more of a contrast. There, “civilian” themes and representations such as the portrait of members, even minor members, of the imperial family or local cults form the majority of mint types. Thessalonica images the bare heads of Caesar, Augustus, Livia, Tiberius, Antonia and Agrippina for example, or has local cults such as Demeter as their main focus of their mint issues.²⁸⁷ Amphipolis focuses on the cult of Artemis Tauropolos as its main numismatic emphasis.²⁸⁸ The coins minted in Philippi paint a clear picture: the city’s identity is wrapped up in its reason for existence: the famous battle of Philippi and its continuing pride of being a military city.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁴ Coin 1506 in *RPC1*, 290, part II: plate 75.

²⁸⁵ Coin 1511 in *RPC1*, 292, part II: plate 75.

²⁸⁶ Coins 1534, 1535, 1536, 1537, 1538, 1539, 1544 in *RPC1*, 295, part II: plate 76.

²⁸⁷ Coins 1555, 1566, 1567, 1570, 1571, 1577, 1585, 1591 in *RPC1*, 300-02, part II: plates 77-78.

²⁸⁸ Coins 1626, 1629, 1630, 1631, 1632, 1634, 1637 in *RPC1*, 306-07, part II: plates 79-80.

²⁸⁹ That the civic identity of Philippi as a “military colony” was not only shared by the ruling (and mint issuing) elite, but also by the lower strata of society can be assumed not only based on the argument stated above, namely that values in Greco-Roman society trickle down the social ladder from the top, but also from the effectiveness of the propaganda inherent in the intention of the coins. Coins – mass produced and handled by everyone – were one of the most efficient ways to propagate the values and ideas of the issuing authority. For the use of coins and their effectiveness as propaganda see: Peter Hardter, *Propaganda. Macht. Geschichte. Fünf Jahrhunderte Römische Geschichte von Caesar bis Theodosius in Münzen geprägt*. Gelsenkirchen: Edition Archaea, 1998, 7-40.; Carol H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage in the Imperial Roman Policy. 31 BC – AD 68*. New York: Barnes, 1951.; Tomasz Polański, “The Imperial Propaganda and Historical Tradition According to a Selection of Coins from the Collection of Augustine Czartoryski. Part I: The Fides-Concordia Group.” In *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego* 1067. Krakow: Jagiellonian University: 1992, 45-58.; Tomasz Polański, “The Imperial Propaganda and Historical Tradition According to a Selection of Coins from the Collection of Augustine Czartoryski. Part II: The Image of Success in the Foreign and Interior Policy of the Emperor.” In *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego* 1072. Krakow: Jagiellonian University: 1992, 47-57. Olivier Hekster, “The Roman Army and Propaganda.” In *A Companion to the Roman Army*. Ed. Paul Erdkamp, Oxford: Blackwell, 2007, 349.

For scholars being cautious or rejecting the propagandistic intention of coins see: Arnold H. M. Jones, *The Roman Economy: Studies in Ancient Economic and Administrative History*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1974, 61-81.; Barbara M. Levick, “Propaganda and Imperial Coinage.” In *Antichthon* 16. Bundanoon: Australasian Society for Classical Studies, 1982, 104-16.; Michael H. Crawford, “Roman Imperial Coin Types and the Formation

2.6.4. Philippi's civic identity not restricted to the Roman part of society

The identity of Philippi as a military city was certainly not only shared by its Roman inhabitants. The inscriptional and archaeological evidence shows a clear picture: even the Greek and the Thracian population in Philippi thoroughly identified with Roman values, customs and outlook on life. Even non-Romans set their inscriptions in Philippi in the Latin language. "Once in town, the ancient visitor finds himself completely surrounded by Latin inscriptions... In no other city of the east of the *Imperium Romanum*, not even in any other Roman colony, did Latin dominate to such an extent that an even slightly comparable situation can be found... One had to advance at least up to Italy in order to find a city as influenced by Latin as Philippi."²⁹⁰ The pervading influence of Roman culture on the Greek and Thracian population in the city can be illustrated by a remarkable inscription.

Cintis Polulae fil(ius) Sc- aporenius sibi et uxori su- ae Secu Bithi fil(iae) v(ivus) f(aciendum) c(uravit). dedu her(edibus) meis (denarios) LX, ut ex u-	Cintis, the son of Polula, has taken care to make during his life- time for himself and for his wife Secis, the daughter of Bithus, (<i>this inscription</i>). I left to my heirs sixty denari that they may go at the Rosalia under the
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of Public Opinion." In *Studies in Numismatic Method Presented to Philip Grierson*. Ed. Christopher N. L. Brooke, et. al. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, 47-64.; Christopher Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*. London and New York: Routledge, 1995, 70-74. Although Howgego argues that the political imagery on coins was not used intentionally for propaganda purposes by the minting authority, he shows convincingly that coins were the means by which imperial imagery, taste and values penetrated into private contexts.

The arguments against the use of coins as propaganda and their effectiveness are not convincing. Jones (62-63) claimed that Latin legends meant nothing in the eastern part of the empire where only Greek was spoken, nor in the west, where the bulk of the population speaking Celtic, Iberian, Punic, etc., would be unaffected. But one must not make the people of the first century look more stupid than they were. After decades of Roman rule would the majority truly not know any Latin at all? Besides, one does not need to be fluent in Latin to understand the typical legends of numismatics. A fifth-grader having had half a year of Latin would understand the meaning of "IMP(erator) CAESAR AU(gustus)," "IUDAEA CAPTA," or even "CAESAR AU(gustus) SIGN(is) RECE(ptis)." The images on coins spoke loud and clear to the most illiterate people as well, everyone knew what a kneeling Parthian in front of Roman standards or a weeping Jewish woman meant. Levick's (106) claim that the literary evidence fails to mention the striking as coins as means of political propaganda is simply false, as Polański (*Imperial Propaganda II*, 48-49.) points out. The comparison of Roman coins with modern postage stamps is not too far fetched, the mistake which Jones (63) and Levick (104-105) make, is to compare them with the stamps of democratic European issues, while Roman coins from an autocratic regime of the emperors, function more like the stamps of communist or otherwise autocratically ruled states. There is hardly an issue of stamps released without a political message for the masses. Also contra Jones (63), who thinks that no serious historian would use stamps as a clue to changes of government policy, almost all German stamps from 1918-1945 and all East German stamps from 1945-1989 function like a history book of German politics.

²⁹⁰ Pilhofer, 1995, 119-21. "In der Stadt angekommen findet sich der antike Besucher vollends umgeben von lateinischen Inschriften . . . In keiner Stadt im Osten des *Imperium Romanum*, auch in keiner Kolonie, dominiert das Lateinische das Bild auch nur in einem annähernd vergleichbaren Ausmaß . . . Man musste schon mindestens bis Italien vorstoßen, um wieder eine so durch und durch lateinisch geprägte Stadt wie Philippi zu finden."

<p>suris eius adaiant Rosal(ibus) sub curat(ione) Zipae Mesti fil(i) . . . ²⁹¹</p>	<p>supervision of Zipas, the son of Mestus, (to the grave) (to celebrate the Rosalia meal) . . .</p>
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Pilhofer comments on that inscription: “. . . the Roman *Rosalia*-festival was celebrated not only by Roman citizens, but Greeks and Thracians were pleased to adhere to it as well. . . The Thracian sarcophagus with its Latin inscription 512/ L102 from Χαριτωμένη, for example, attests to a foundation for the followers of Dionysus (here admired in the form of *Liber Pater Tasibastenus*), of which proceeds the annual celebratory meal of the *Rosalia* was funded: Thracian followers of Dionysus are celebrating the Latin Rosalia-festival!”²⁹² Again Pilhofer summarises the implications which Thracians celebrating Roman religions have for the general influence of “Roman culture” on the rest of the population:

. . . for the people of Philippi the Roman form of existence was the decisive reference point according to which one aligned once’s life. The ‘Roman form of existence’ in this case includes both, one’s faiths and ones way of life. It shaped the life of all people in Philippi, not only the *cives Romani*, and other Latin-speaking residents, but also the Greek and Thracian section of the population.²⁹³

As strange as it may sound to the modern ear, but non-Romans in Philippi thought like Romans, worshipped like Romans and behaved like Romans. It should come as no big surprise after all, as one reason for founding colonies – even if it was not the primary one in the case of Philippi – was to ensure the pervasion of local culture with Roman ideals. If one was required to look for a showcase model where this Roman policy of infiltration worked best, Philippi would have been a perfect example. This no doubt applies to the identification of non-Romans with the military significance of the town and the attitude towards the Roman military as well. If Greeks set their inscriptions in Latin, if Thracians make the Rosalia their religious festival, then the Roman history was their history and the Roman military was “their military” as well. They would have, as they did in other areas of living, gladly accepted it as part of their life with which they could positively identify.

²⁹¹ Line 1-6 of the inscription 512/ L102 in Pilhofer, 2009, 606-08.

²⁹² “. . . das römische Rosalienfest ist nicht nur von den römischen Bewohnern gefeiert worden, sondern auch Griechen und Thraker fanden daran Gefallen. Der thrakische Sarkophag mit seiner lateinischen Inschrift 512/ L102 aus Χαριτωμένη beispielsweise belegt eine Stiftung für die Anhänger des Dionysos (hier in der Form des Liber Pater Tasibastenus verehrt), aus deren Erträgen jährlich an den Rosalien ein Festmahl finanziert werden soll: Thrakische Anhänger des Dionysos feiern das lateinische Rosalienfest!” Pilhofer, 1995, 115, footnote 6.

²⁹³ “. . . für die Menschen in Philippi war die römische Daseinsform der entscheidende Bezugspunkt, an dem man sich ausrichtete. Die römische ‘Daseinsform,’ damit soll hier beides, die Glaubensweise und die Lebensweise, gemeint sein. Sie hat das Leben aller Menschen in Philippi geprägt, nicht nur das der *cives Romani* und der anderen lateinisch sprechenden Bewohner, sondern auch das der thrakischen und griechischen Bevölkerungsteile . . . Dies gilt für alle Bereiche des Lebens . . .” Pilhofer, 1995, 115., including footnote 6.

2.6.5. The attitude of the Greek population toward war

When we envision the potential attitude of the non-Roman part of society, a model of large distinct and separate groups of people in Philippi detesting the Roman military becomes unlikely. More rational is a scenario in which Greeks and Thracians not only have no difficulties with the Roman military, but most likely had quite a positive attitude towards it. The Macedonian part of the population itself had a long and famous military history. Their subjection by Rome did not diminish their military fervour. As Théodore Sarikakis has shown by surveying 250 inscriptions which mention Macedonians in the Roman army from the first until the beginning of the third century:

The presence of some Macedonians in the Roman army, of which several held significant ranks, testifies very explicitly to the vitality of the Macedonian people who kept their former military virtues and habits, even after being subjugated by Rome.²⁹⁴

It is simply erroneous to imagine in the sociological strata of Philippi a strict dichotomy between a minority of domineering, militaristic Romans on the one side and a majority of suffering, pacifistic Greeks and Thracians on the other. The Macedonians had always been a warrior nation and had once themselves conquered the world. The survey of inscriptions by Sarikakis shows that once the Romans appeared, the Macedonian natives did not change their militaristic character, they only changed the sides they fought on, which were now the Roman legions.

2.6.6. The attitude of the Thracian population toward war

A similar assessment can be made regarding the Thracian attitude towards the military and war.²⁹⁵ It is somewhat hazardous to speak about a “Thracian” attitude towards war and the Roman military in particular, since Thrace consisted of a wide range of differing tribes consistently in disunity and at war with each other. The Thracians were not a uniform group

²⁹⁴ Théodore Chr. Sarikakis, “Des Soldats Macédoniens dans l’Armée Romaine.” In *Ancient Macedonia II*. Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1977, 438.

²⁹⁵ The consideration about the Thracian attitude toward war is undertaken for completeness and on account of Marchal’s and Oakes’ assumption that the population of the church of Philippi (and thus the recipient of Paul’s letter) parallels in percentages the social composition of the city of Philippi. This, however, is particularly unlikely regarding the Thracian population. Peter Pilhofer has shown that Christianity did not likely find any adherents from among the Thracian part of the inhabitants of Philippi. At the time of publication Pilhofer lists 64 names that we know from the literary sources and the inscriptions of which it is known that they were Christians from the first centuries of the existence of the church, among them there is not one Thracian name. The phenomenon likely is due to the fact that the Thracians constituted the majority of the people in the rural areas, in the city itself, they would be an insignificant minority – Christianity in the first centuries in the Roman empire, concentrated on the urban areas. Pilhofer, 1995, 240-45.

of people in the time frame that interests us, but were comprised of distinct tribes, each with a widely differing attitude towards the Roman military.

Over the course of the first century BC and the first half of the first century AD some Thracian tribes were loyal allies of the Romans, some adamantly fought against them, were subjugated, rebelled and had to be subjugated again. As early as in Sulla's Mithridatic war, some Thracians, for example the *Dentheletai*, fought against Mithridates on the side of the Romans.²⁹⁶ During the battle of Philippi two brothers of the royal family of the *Sapaeen* tribe of Thracians fought with cavalry units of three-thousand horses each on both sides of the Roman army – Rhascuporis on the side of Brutus, Rhascos on the side of Octavian.²⁹⁷ The *Sapaeans* were the inhabitants around Philippi and would have made up the greater part of the local Thracians in Philippi in the first century AD.²⁹⁸ They appear again with units supporting Mark Antony in the battle of Actium in 31 BC, commanded by Rhoemetalces, the grandson of Rhascuporis.²⁹⁹ Their early defection to Octavian guaranteed the favourable reception by the future emperor.³⁰⁰

Until the incorporation of Thrace as a province into the Roman Empire in AD 46, Rome favoured the *Sapaeen* dynasty and their line of client kings to rule Thrace. Although the *Sapaeen* dynasty was not able to fulfil Roman expectations of keeping all Thracian tribes quiet, the *Sapaeans* were unwaveringly committed to Rome as faithful allies. An indication of their pro-Roman attitude is that Rhoemetalces (15 BC – AD 12) organised his troops according to Roman military custom.³⁰¹ The years between the battle of Actium and the incorporation of Thrace into a Roman province in AD 46 were decades of internal instability of the Thracian kingdom and characterised by continual warfare between Thracian tribes.

The Southern tribes, bordering Macedonia, particularly the *Sapaeans* with their dynasty backed by the Romans were enduring allies of the Romans – and were in the course of time repeatedly supported in their warfare by Roman legions. In 29–28 BC the proconsul of Macedonia, M. Licinius Crassus, campaigned from Macedonia against the *Bastarnae* and

²⁹⁶ Christo M. Danov, "Die Thraker auf dem Ostbalkan von der Hellenistischen Zeit bis zur Gründung Konstantinopels." In *ANRW II* 7.1. Ed. Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter Verlag, 1980, 114.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 121.; App. *BC*. IV.87.; Dio. XLVII.48.

²⁹⁸ They helped Brutus and Cassius greatly with their knowledge of local geography during the battle of Philippi. App. *BC*. IV.87.

²⁹⁹ Plut. *Ant.* 41.

³⁰⁰ Christo M. Danov, "Die Thraker auf dem Ostbalkan von der Hellenistischen Zeit bis zur Gründung Konstantinopels." In *ANRW II* 7.1. Ed. Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter Verlag, 1980, 122.

³⁰¹ Flor. II.27.: "Ille barbaros et signis militaribus et disciplina, armis etiam Romanis adsueverat . . ." ("King Rhoemetalces had accustomed the barbarians to the use of military standards, discipline and Roman weapons . . .") Unfortunately for the Romans, in the second rebellion of the *Bessi*, Rhoemetalces fled from the enemy and his forces defected to the *Bessi*.

several northern and central Thracians, coming to the aid of the pro-Roman *Dentheletai*.³⁰² In 22 BC the Roman proconsul in Macedonia M. Primus was at war with the *Odrysaes*, a central Thracian tribe.³⁰³ In 17 BC the Roman proconsul in Macedonia, M. Lollius and later L. Tarius Rufus supported with Roman troops Rhoimetalkes in his campaigns against the *Bessi*.³⁰⁴ In 16 – 15 BC the *Sapaeans* under Rhoimetalkes were at war with the *Bastarnae* and *Samatae* and a little later with the *Bessi*. In both wars Rhoimetalkes called on Rome for the support of Roman legions against his enemies.³⁰⁵ During this time Macedonia was invaded and plundered by the *Dentheletai* and *Scordiscai*.³⁰⁶ Depending on alternative dating, sometime between 15 and 9 BC the great revolt of the *Bessi* took place. Rhoimetalkes fled, his army defected to the *Bessi* and the revolt expanded to the *Odrysaes* and the *Sialetai*, the latter invading Macedonia and plundering part of the province. This time even the Roman forces stationed in Macedonia were not enough to repel the enemy and L. Calpurnius Piso was called to Thrace with significant Roman forces. It took him three years of warfare to quell the uprising.³⁰⁷ It is important to note for our study that the campaign of L. Calpurnius Piso is credited to have restored peace in Macedonia.³⁰⁸ In AD 6–7 Rhoimetalkes and his brother Rhascuporis came with large Thracian contingents alongside the Romans as allies in their war against Pannonia and Dalmatia.³⁰⁹ After Rhoimetalkes won the decisive victory over the *Pannonians*, the *Dalmatians* and some of their allies invaded Macedonia. It was Rhoimetalkes with his Thracian forces that defeated them and threw them out of the Roman province of Macedonia.³¹⁰ In the year AD 16 the *Getea* attacked the Thracian fortress Troesmis, which belonged to the Thracian king Rhascuporis. The fortress was recaptured by the arrival of the Roman aid under L. Pomponius Flaccus.³¹¹ During the year AD 21 the *Dii*, the *Odrysaes* and *Coelaletae* took up arms against the Roman backed king Rhoimetalkes,

³⁰² Christo M. Danov, “Die Thraker auf dem Ostbalkan von der Hellenistischen Zeit bis zur Gründung Konstantinopels.” In *ANRW* II 7.1. Ed. Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter Verlag, 1980, 123-26.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, 126.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 129.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 127.

³⁰⁶ Dio. LIV.20.3.

³⁰⁷ Christo M. Danov, “Die Thraker auf dem Ostbalkan von der Hellenistischen Zeit bis zur Gründung Konstantinopels.” In *ANRW* II 7.1. Ed. Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter Verlag, 1980, 128.

³⁰⁸ Vell. II.98.2.: “Quippe legatus Caesaris triennio cum iis bellavit gentesque ferocissimas plurimo cum earum excidio. nunc acie, nunc expugnationibus in pristinum pacis redegit modum eiusque patratiōne Asiae securitatem, Macedoniae pacem reddidit.” (“Being the legate of Caesar, L. Calpurnius Piso fought for three years against these many fierce nations [the Thracians] and with the destruction of their armies he reduced them to their former state of subjection, restoring security to Asia and peace to Macedonia.”)

³⁰⁹ Vell. II.112.

³¹⁰ Dio. LV.30.

³¹¹ Ovid. *Pont.* II.9.79.

who fled and was besieged in the city of Philopopolis.³¹² He was delivered by the arrival of the army under Publius Vellaeus.³¹³ The last and most severe uprising until Thrace would become a Roman province took place in AD 26 under the leadership of the *Dii*, but which was quelled under Poppaeus Sabinus and Pomponis Labeo.³¹⁴

2.6.7. Roman troops – the guarantee of the safety of Macedonia

When one considers the political and military history of the Thracians in order to evaluate the feeling of the Thracian part of the Philippian population, a rather different answer than the pejorative suggestion, which was put forward by Marchal appears plausible. He had reasoned “even if one is to assume that military imagery would have some inherent appeal to the veterans of Roman campaigns, it does not explain... why people other than former veterans such as women and local Macedonians and Thracians would be inclined to react favourably to such terminology.”³¹⁵ Across the board of the Philippian population, Thracian no less than Roman or Greek, men and women would react favourably to the Roman military (and terminology and metaphors related to it) because the Roman military was the guarantee of their safety in the latter half of the first century BC and the first half of the first century AD. The border of Thrace was only a few kilometres to the north and east of Philippi.³¹⁶ Without a strategic defence system of walls, the community of Philippi considered the Roman legions their surest defence system.³¹⁷ The historians attest to at least three invasions from hostile

³¹² Tac. *Ann.* III.38.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, III.39.

³¹⁴ Christo M. Danov, “Die Thraker auf dem Ostbalkan von der Hellenistischen Zeit bis zur Gründung Konstantinopels.” In *ANRW* II 7.1. Ed. Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter Verlag, 1980, 143-45.

³¹⁵ Joseph A. Marchal, *Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation. A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Power Dynamics in Paul's Letter to the Philippians*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006, 63.

³¹⁶ During the last decades of the pre-Christian era and the early decades of the first century AD the border between Macedonia and Thrace certainly went along significantly west of the Nestos valley. An inscription honouring the Thracian king Rhoimetalkes III was found in the area of Nea Karvali, less than 20 kilometers south-east from Philippi, establishing the region to be under the sovereignty of Thrace. For a detailed description of the inscription and its significance for establishing the border line see L. D. Loukopoulou, “Provinciae Macedoniae Finis Orientalis: The Establishment of the Eastern Frontier.” In *Two Studies in Ancient Macedonian Topography*. Μελετηματα 3. Paris: De Boccard, 1987, 88-91. Peter Pilhofer lists a rock inscription of a border marking from Palaia Kavala, less than 8 km east from Philippi as the crow flies. (Inscription 036 in *Pilhofer, 2000*, 43.) The border between Thrace and Macedonia went from slightly east of Kavala in a north-western direction, making the mountains between the plains of Philippi and the Nestos valley certainly Thracian territory. The mountains to the north of Drama established the northern border to Thrace. Thus, if one climbed the adjacent hill to the acropolis and looked northeast, one knew that just beyond the next visible mountain range, there was Thracian territory, as the eastern border was less than 8 km away! For a detailed assessment of previous studies done by Perdrizet, Collart, Λαζαρίδης and Papazoglou concerning the territorium of Philippi which bordered east and north directly to the Thracian border see Pilhofer, 1995, 49-77.

³¹⁷ Collart, 271-72.

northern tribes into Macedonia during our time period of interest, accompanied by plundering and destruction.³¹⁸

The Thracians living in or around Philippi would have been part of the southern tribes who were without interruption allies of Rome. They, together with the Romans and the Greeks depended on the strength of the Roman legions to protect them and their livelihood. To all population groups alike, the Roman military would have been considered by them as *their* army, *their* hope of safety, *their* assurance of not being plundered and raped at will by the barbaric northern Thracian or Pannonian tribes. The Thracian kingdom was unstable and plagued by inter-tribal wars, as well as being involved as allies in the Roman wars right until the incorporation of Thrace into a Roman province in AD 46. Although the ancient historians focus the bulk of their attention on the German situation, where most of the legions were stationed after the civil wars up to the middle of the first century AD, one must be careful not to be misled into imagining that on the Macedonian/ Thracian border everything was peace and quiet. The region remained a highly sensitive area, which demanded repeated military intervention against either a direct threat of Macedonia or in support of the Thracian client kings.

Although Macedonia itself was a “peaceful province” and put under senatorial rule in 27 BC, the armies stationed in Macedonia remained under a *legatus Augusti pro praetor* even after M. Licinius Crassus, who had been the interim proconsul since the battle of Actium, left the province. The Roman army under the command of the respective legate must have been considerable even during the next period of Macedonian history.³¹⁹ After the reorganisation of the Roman army, which took place between 30 and 28 BC, Macedonia was officially evacuated of the Roman legions, but by no means became a *provincia inermis*, at least not until well into the Christian era.³²⁰ During the first decades of the Augustan reign legions were stationed in Macedonia. While the province was ruled by a senatorial *proconsul*, the imperial legions were stationed near the dangerous borders, commanded by a *legatus Augusti pro praetor exercitus*.³²¹

The military significance of Philippi in the ninety years before Paul’s arrival cannot be underestimated. Located on the *Via Egnatia*, easily accessible to troop movements and situated tangibly near the Thracian border, Philippi would have seen plenty of military activity

³¹⁸ In 16 – 15 BC by the *Dentheletai and Scordiscai* (Dio. LIV.20.3.); some time between 15 and 9 BC by the *Sialetai* (Vell. II.98.2); in AD 7 by the *Dalmations* (Dio. LV.30.).

³¹⁹ Christo M. Danov, “Die Thraker auf dem Ostbalkan von der Hellenistischen Zeit bis zur Gründung Konstantinopels.” In *ANRW II* 7.1. Ed. Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter Verlag, 1980, 126.

³²⁰ Michael B. Sakellariou, Gen. Ed. *Macedonia: 4000 Years of Greek History and Civilization*. Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1983, 196.

³²¹ Fanula Papazoglu, *Les villes de Macédoine à l’époque romaine*. Athens: École Française, 1988, 325-26. and footnotes.

going on.³²² The presence of Roman soldiers would have been a reassuring comfort to the local inhabitants³²³ and military terminology would indeed have struck a favourable cord with

³²² Contra Peter Oakes who argues against Bornhäuser, the latter having stated, “With the strategic significance of the town it is self-evident that it would have again and again received a supply of veterans.” Oakes line of reasoning “By the middle of the first century, Philippi was far from any potential area of conflict and hence not of substantial military importance” is a little anachronistic. His statement is true for AD 50 and afterwards, but not for the previous ninety years, whose lingering effects, particularly in terms of veteran recruitment would have still been felt in the middle of the first century. Since veterans often settled near their areas of service, it does seem probable that Philippi continued to have an influx of veterans, which strengthened the strategic importance of the city against the constant northern threat. Since Oakes disregards this continued influx of veterans, the numbers which he proposes for the veteran/non-veteran ration are too low. Peter Oakes, *Philippians: From People to Letter*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 110. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 51. It is more likely that Philippi contributed significantly as a source for the recruitment of soldiers during the Thracian, Pannonian and Dalmatian wars and continued to be a source of recruitment in the middle of the first century AD. We have inscriptional evidence of soldiers recruited from Philippi during or before the Dalmatian war in AD 6-9, being present in *legio VII* and *XI* stationed in Dalmatia, and having died in Dalmatia (L. Valerius from Philippi in *CIL III* (2717) and C. Fulvius from Philippi in *CIL III* (2031). Most likely enrolled during mass recruitments at the height of the Dalmatian crises and later transferred to the *legio XV Apollinaris* was C. Valerius from Philippi (*CIL III*.5636). For the dating of the recruitment of the soldiers see the discussion in Fanula Papazoglu, *Les villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine*. Athens: École Française, 1988, 342-44 and footnotes. The soldier C. Iulius Longinus from Philippi (*CIL IX*.4684) was enrolled in legion VIII, the latter being stationed in Moesia between AD 45 and 69. The inscriptions of four soldiers enrolled for service in legions involved in areas of conflict north of the Macedonian border witnesses to the significant involvement of Philippi in the Thracian, Pannonian and Dalmatian wars. Although the soldiers mentioned above died on foreign soil, it is likely that surviving recruits from Philippi returned after their years of service as veterans to their homeland.

³²³ This would also be true of the female part of the Philippian society. Marchal's critique of military terminology – stating that such rhetoric would have no appeal to women, since the military was seen by them as nothing but perpetrators of violence against them and with women having no experience in war as an activity historically described as performed by men only – is not only hopelessly anachronistic, but also historically incorrect. (Joseph A. Marchal, “Military Images in Philippians 1-2: A Feminist Analysis of the Rhetorics of Scholarship, Philippians, and Current Contexts.” In *Her Master's Tools? Feminist and Postcolonial Engagements of Historical-Critical Discourse*, 265-286. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005, 277-78.) Of course it is true that first, the fighting techniques and physical strength necessary for march with heavy equipment, lance or sword combat, etc. in antiquity barred women from being actively enrolled into the military. Second, women indeed suffered tremendously if the protection of their fighting men failed: they were, mostly defenceless, raped, sold into slavery or killed. But the vulnerability of the women in antiquity did not lead to a pacifistic feminist movement, at least we have no evidence of it. Apart from the comical play *Lysistrata* by the classical playwright Aristophanes there seems to be no indication of women displaying pacifistic attitudes as a reaction to the threat of war. And *Lysistrata* is a comical play after all, and the attitudes of the women in the play are supposed to be “funny,” and not a historical commentary on women's role on the Greek peace movement. The historical evidence points to a different picture from wholesale rejection of all things connected with the military by ancient women. Precisely because of the vulnerability of women, and because women in antiquity knew that the nature of their times was such that in a violent conflict one either wins or is dragged off into slavery or slaughtered (BG II.14.), the typical scenario of the literary sources is that when threatened with war, women first put their trust, hope and confidence in their own men fighting on their behalf and second, women participate in the war effort with all their own abilities and resources. Thus, when Hannibal attacks Rome and the men prepare for war, the women implore the help of the gods for a victory (Plb. IX.6.3.) – as was customary in every war of the Romans (Liv. XXV.1.8.); as the war continues, the Roman women voluntarily deposit their money into the treasury to finance the war (Liv. XXIV.18.14.), joining an overall custom of women to finance and support war (cf., Liv. XXII.52.7.; Tac. *Hist.* III.32.). When Cyrus attacks the Syrians, the Syrian women implore their men to fight bravely in order to defend themselves (Xen. *Cyr.* III.3.66.) Similarly, the German women, as their men are about to engage Julius Caesar, entreat their men to fight boldly for their deliverance and victory (BG I.51.). The Gaulish women as well, on the contemplation of their men to flee

them when Paul arrived sometime between AD 49 and 50 or sent his letter in the middle/ late fifties or early sixties AD.

2.7. Military terminology positively received – principles and the evidence of rhetoric.

2.7.1. The philosophic foundation of authorial intention and expectation of proper understanding of the intention underlying Paul's communications

Another indication that Paul's military images were well suited linguistic constructions for the Philippian recipients, appropriate to induce the hearers to benevolent Christian conduct are the presence of the images in the letter themselves. In writing his letters, Paul works with the assumption that his readers will understand his intentions and put them into practice. That is precisely the point of one of Paul's most potent military metaphors in 1 Cor. 14:8: καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν ἄδηλον σάλπιγξ φωνὴν δῶ, τίς παρασκευάζεται εἰς πόλεμον; ("And if the trumpet makes an indistinct sound, who will get ready for battle"). Paul works with the hypothesis that there is a linguistic agreement on the meaning of words and metaphors of the sender and the recipient. In the Roman army the giving, receiving and putting into practice of trumpet signals was drilled to perfection. The *cornicines* (trumpeters) were junior officers in the Roman army and in battle sounded not only charge and retreat, but used their trumpets to regulate movements and give special orders to prearranged signals. There was a prior agreement to what certain sounds and melodies meant and the sender of the signal (commander through the *cornicen*)

from the siege of Alesia, implore their warriors not to abandon them to the mercy of the Romans, but to fight on their behalf (BG VII.26.). During the Jewish war, the women of Galilee flock to Josephus in droves, imploring him to fight as the commander of their men (Jos. Vit. XXXII.208.). In the case of siege warfare, women ubiquitously play a prominent role in the battle for the city. When besieged by Hannibal, the women of Petilia not only fought in a defensive position, but sally out along their young warriors to directly attack the besiegers (App. Han. VII.5.29.), at Rome, the population faced by Hannibal, women and children support the war effort by supplying missiles (App. Han. VII.6.39.), as the Spanish city of Castulo is under siege by Scipio, women and children work beyond their strength to supply missiles to the combatants (Liv. XXVIII.19.9.) When the same Scipio besieges Carthage the women join in the war effort by digging defensive trenches (App. Pun. XVIII.121.), as do the Spartan women at the siege from Pyrrhus (Plut. Pyrr. XXVII.4.; Plut. Pyrr. XXIX.8.); the famous Pyrrhus is killed by a woman who throws a tile down at him during urban warfare (Plut. Pyrr. XXXIV.2.). Women in the ancient world occasionally took also more active positions in warfare: The Aetolian women position themselves with the men on the roads to throw javelins at the Gauls (Paus. X.22.6.), among the prisoners from Mithridates, Pompey discovers women injured from direct combat (App. Mith. XV.103.). During the campaign of Sextus Junius Brutus the Romans discovered that the women of *Lusitani* and the *Bracari* are fighting bravely side-by-side with their men (App. Hisp. XII.71-72.), as did the *Ambrones* at the battle of Aquae Sextiae (Plut. Mar. XIX.7.). Women in antiquity did not believe in pacifistic philosophical musings to be their safety. They believed that their best protection was their men, their army. Military terminology need not excite in them abhorrence, but might have just as well have conveyed a sense of security as they thought of their own legions, their own army.

expected that his intentions would be understood and carried out by the recipient (the legionary in the heat of battle).

This principle Paul applied to the practice of speaking and teaching in the church – there should be crystal clear communication that the recipient understands the intention of the author. Paul expected that his intentions in writing will be understood by his recipients – if they were not, he made every effort to remedy the situation (1 Cor. 5:9-13). Paul expected that the Philippians would understand the intended meaning of his words and metaphors. The military metaphors are clearly present in the letter. Even scholarship critical of military language does not deny this.³²⁴

2.7.2. Usage of military terminology indicates Paul's assessment of the ability of the recipients to understand and appreciate such terminology

Conclusively, Paul must have judged that the Philippians would appreciate military metaphors. If they would have been a hindrance to communicating his intentions, he would not have used them. Before Paul wrote the letter he must have evaluated the rhetorical potential and the possible influence on the Philippians. He knew their socio-economical, racial and cultural circumstances. He knew (or at least guessed) better than any scholar two thousand years later ever could, what the potential impact of military images would be. That he chose them is strong indication that Paul considered them to be suitable images to evoke the godly behaviour he intended. The burden of proof lies on those who deny the appropriate use of them in Christian epistemology. That there seems to be no *a priori* depreciatory reaction to military linguistics among the Christian community in the Roman Empire during Paul's lifetime is evidenced by its continual usage by Paul. The apostle utilises military language and metaphors extensively throughout his correspondence, from the early letters to the Thessalonians until his prison letters. If the believing community had objected to the use, Paul certainly would have, over the years, noticed it and stopped the practice. On the contrary, Paul makes consistent use of such metaphors in scattered passages throughout his correspondence.

2.7.3. Paul's consistent use of military terminology in his letters indicates a history of positive reception of such terminology

The putting on of protective armour and weapons is spoken of in 1 Thes. 5:8 (ἐνδυσάμενοι θώρακα . . . καὶ περικεφαλαίαν . . .) and Eph. 6:11-17 (ἐνδύσασθε τὴν πανοπλίαν . . . ὑμᾶς στήναι

³²⁴ Joseph A. Marchal, *Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation. A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Power Dynamics in Paul's Letter to the Philippians*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006, 29-35.

πρὸς τὰς μεθοδείας τοῦ διαβόλου . . . διὰ τοῦτο ἀναλάβετε τὴν πανοπλίαν . . . ἵνα δυνηθῆτε ἀντιστῆναι ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ πονηρᾷ καὶ ἅπαντα κατεργασάμενοι στήναι. στήτε οὖν περιζωσάμενοι τὴν ὀσφὺν ὑμῶν . . . καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν θώρακα . . . καὶ ὑποδησάμενοι τοὺς πόδας . . . ἐν παῖσιν ἀναλαβόντες τὸν θυρεόν . . . ἐν ᾧ δυνήσεσθε πάντα τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ πεπυρωμένα σβέσαι· καὶ τὴν περικεφαλαίαν . . . δέξασθε καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν.) A battle cry, a military command and the military trumpet (ἐν κελεύσματι, ἐν φωνῇ ἀρχαγγέλου καὶ ἐν σάλπιγγι θεοῦ) occur in a context loaded with military imagery in 1 Thes. 4:16-17. There is mention of the sword in the book of Romans (οὐ γὰρ εἰκὴ τὴν μάχαιραν φορεῖ) (Rom. 13:4; there would not have been a strict distinction between “the army” and “the police force” in the first century, both would have been considered “armed forces”) and of weapons (ὄπλα ἀδικίας) (Rom. 6:13), (ἐνδυσώμεθα [δὲ] τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ φωτός) (Rom. 13:12). In the same book Paul writes about being victoriously overcome and gaining the victory (μὴ νικῶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ ἀλλὰ νίκα ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακόν) (Rom. 12:21) and a possible reference is made to Timothy as the fellow-soldier (Τιμόθεος ὁ συνεργός μου) in Rom. 16:21. The ethical command to stand firm in a united front as in Phil. 1:27 is found in 2 Thes. 2:15 Ἄρα οὖν, ἀδελφοί, στήκετε). Peace and safety (Phil. 4:7, 9; 1:28) is contrasted with destruction (Phil. 1:28) in 1 Thes. 5:3 (ὅταν λέγωσιν· εἰρήνη καὶ ἀσφάλεια, τότε αἰφνίδιος αὐτοῖς ἐφίσταται ὄλεθρος), although the word for “destruction” is ὄλεθρος instead of ἀπώλεια as in the Philippian correspondence. In 1 Tim. 1:18, Timothy is given by Paul “a military command to fight the good campaign” (Ταύτην τὴν παραγγελίαν παρατίθεμαί σοι, τέκνον Τιμόθεε . . . ἵνα στρατεύῃ ἐν αὐταῖς τὴν καλὴν στρατείαν). The enduring of hardship like a Roman soldier was expected to undergo to please the commander in charge, is an explicit metaphor for the Christian life in 2 Tim 2:3-4 (καὶ ἃ ἤκουσας παρ’ ἐμοῦ διὰ πολλῶν μαρτύρων, ταῦτα παράθου πιστοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οἵτινες ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται καὶ ἑτέρους διδάξαι.) and Archippus is given the epithet “fellow soldier” (συστρατιώτης) (Philemon 2), just as Epaphroditus in Phil. 2:25. A significant military metaphor is used in Col. 2:15 as Paul describes the effect of Christ’s work on the cross as having stripped the enemy of his armour (regular military practice) and the public and humiliating display of the bound enemy on a *tropaeum* in a triumphal procession (ἀπεκδυσάμενος τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας ἐδειγμάτισεν ἐν παρρησίᾳ, θριαμβεύσας αὐτοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ). The *tropaeum* as a military symbol of complete victory over an enemy could potentially be seen daily by a Greco-Roman as it was ubiquitously and extensively used in coinage. A possible allusion to a military metaphor is also possible in Paul writing in Col. 2:5 that he rejoiced to see the Colossians τὴν τάξιν καὶ τὸ στερέωμα τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως (good order *in battle line* and firmness *in holding ground* in the faith, i.e. gospel of Christ). By combining τάξις and στερέωμα Paul may allude to a military metaphor in

which their line (τάξις) had remained unbroken under the onslaught of the false doctrine and that they held firm (στερέωμα) in the true gospel.³²⁵

Having surveyed the numerous and scattered occurrences of military language in Pauline literature, it is interesting to note that in the Corinthian correspondence military language increases in density. Corinth, another Roman colony, although not settled with veterans, but mostly freedmen from Rome³²⁶ a few years earlier than Philippi had its own rich military history and a specifically dramatic military confrontation in the Macedonian wars, which led to its destruction by the Roman army in 146 BC. Beside the *cornu* (the Roman military horn) which this thesis already mentioned above (1 Cor. 14:8), military terminology is found in two military commands of being on the guard and to stand firm (Γρηγορεῖτε, στήκετε ἐν τῇ πίστει) in 1 Cor. 16:13, the latter is also found in Phil. 1:27 and 4:1. The question of serving as a soldier and remuneration for being enlisted is stated in 1 Cor. 9:7 (Τίς στρατεύεται ἰδίῳ ὄψωνίῳ . . .). The granting of a military victory is described in 1 Cor. 15:57 (τῷ δὲ θεῷ χάρις τῷ διδόντι ἡμῖν τὸ νῖκος διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) and the military metaphor likely extends into the next verse, 1 Cor. 15:58, with more military commands (Ὡστε, ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί, ἐδραῖοι γίνεσθε, ἀμετακίνητοι . . .) and possibly a reference to the battle of the Lord (περισσεύοντες ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ κυρίου). In 2 Cor. 7:5 Paul employs the military metaphor of combat for the difficulties he underwent in Macedonia with the accompanying emotion of fear common to the soldier facing battle (ἔξωθεν μάχαι, ἔσωθεν φόβοι). Paul makes several theological points from the triumph imagery, a purely military event in 2 Cor. 2:14-16. There Paul is led as a suffering and captured enemy for display in a triumph (πάντοτε θριαμβεύοντι ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ). Implicit in the text is that Christ is the victorious general (*imperator*) in whose honour the triumph takes place. The execution of the enemies at the end of the triumph in accordance to Roman custom may be the foundational image in 2 Cor 2:16 “ἐκ θανάτου εἰς θάνατον.”

2.7.4. The tendency of Paul to appeal to local military history evidenced in 2 Corinthians 10

A dense cluster of images from the military history of the city of Corinth appears in 2 Cor. 10:3-11. Paul starts with very obvious military terminology such as “fighting as soldiers” (στρατεύομαι) in 2 Cor. 10:3, weapons of war (τὰ γὰρ ὄπλα τῆς στρατείας) in

³²⁵ David J. Williams, *Paul's Metaphors: Their Content and Character*. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999, 213 and footnotes 14 and 15 on page 227. Nothing in the context demands a military meaning of τάξις and στερέωμα, a domestic metaphor is equally possible, but an intended military reference is within the range of reasonable feasibility.

³²⁶ Strab. VIII.6.23.; XVII.3.1.

2 Cor. 10:4 and the taking of captives (αἰχμαλωτίζω) in 2 Cor. 10:5. But not only particular Greek terminology refers to a military scenery, the overarching image portrayed in 2 Cor. 10:3-11 is one of a warning before a military threat is carried out, enemy fortresses are destroyed and where the military opponent in his destruction is humiliated while the victor is vindicated. In the combat metaphor of 2 Cor. 10:3-11 Paul draws upon specific local military history relevant to the city of Corinth. First of all, the image of pulling down strongholds (καθαίρεσιν ὀχυρωμάτων) in 2 Cor. 10:4 is reminiscent of the destruction of the famous fortress belonging to the city of Corinth.³²⁷ The image of the pulling down of a fortress would have particular local significance for the Corinthians, who lost the war against Rome in 146 BC. The city of Corinth was destroyed and the “fortress” of Corinth, the Acrocorinth, pulled to the ground:

Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ὡς ἐκράτησαν τῷ πολέμῳ, παρείλοντο μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τείχη περιεῖλον ὅσαι τετειχισμέναι πόλεις ἦσαν: Κόρινθον δὲ ἀνάστατον Μομμίου ποιήσαντος τοῦ τότε ἡγουμένου τῶν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου Ῥωμαίων . . . ³²⁸	When the Romans won the war, they carried out a general disarmament of the Greeks and dismantled the walls of such cities as were fortified. Corinth was laid waste by Mummius, who at that time commanded the Romans in the field . . .
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Furthermore, we have evidence from Strabo that at the time of the writing of the *Geography* (early first century AD, and possibly still at the time of the writing of 2 Corinthians), the destroyed Acrocorinth was still visible as a vivid reminder of its “pulling down” by the Romans:

ἡ δὲ Μεσσηνίων πόλις ἔοικε Κορίνθῳ: ὑπέρεκειται γὰρ τῆς πόλεως ἑκατέρας ὄρος ὑψηλὸν καὶ ἀπτόμον τεῖχει κοινῷ περιειλημμένον ὥστ' ἀκροπόλει χρῆσθαι, τὸ μὲν καλούμενον Ἰθώμη τὸ δὲ Ἀκροκόρινθος:	The city of the Messenians is similar to Corinth; for above either city lies a high and precipitous mountain that is enclosed by a common wall, so that it is used as an acropolis, the one mountain
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³²⁷ The same phrase is used in 1 Mac. 8:10 to describe the tearing down of the military fortresses of the Greeks by the Romans: “. . . καὶ ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ ἔπεσον ἐξ αὐτῶν τραυματῖαι πολλοί, καὶ ἠχμαλώτισαν τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπρονόμεισαν αὐτούς καὶ κατεκράτησαν τῆς γῆς **καὶ καθεῖλον τὰ ὀχυρώματα αὐτῶν** καὶ κατεδουλώσαντο αὐτούς ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης” (“ . . . and the *Romans* fought against them and many *of the Greeks* fell wounded and they captured their wives and their children and plundered them and took control of their land **and tore down their fortresses** and enslaved them to this day.”)

³²⁸ Paus. *Descr.* II.1.2. Transl. by W. H. S. Jones, LCL, I:248-49. Although the literary sources do not explicitly state that the Acrocorinth was destroyed, it is implicit in the text. It is to be taken for granted that with the walls of Greek cities falling and Corinth being raided to the ground that the site of ultimate military significance, namely the acropolis of Corinth, was first to fall under the wrath of the Romans. The Acrocorinth was part of the heavy fortification wall of Corinth. See James Wiseman, “Corinth and Rome I: 228 B. C. – A. D. 267.” In *ANRW* II 7.1. Ed. Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter Verlag, 1980, 439-40 and map on 442.

ὥστ' οἰκειῶς δοκεῖ Δημήτριος ὁ Φάριος πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰπεῖν τὸν Δημητρίου, παρακελεύόμενος τούτων ἔχεσθαι τῶν πόλεων ἀμφοῖν ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῆς Πελοποννήσου: 'τῶν κεράτων γὰρ ἀμφοῖν' ἔφη 'καθέξεις τὴν βοῦν.' κέρατα μὲν λέγων τὴν Ἰθώμην καὶ τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον, βοῦν δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. καὶ δὴ διὰ τὴν εὐκαιρίαν ταύτην ἀμφήριστοι γεγόνασιν αἱ πόλεις αὗται. Κόρινθον μὲν οὖν κατέσκαψαν Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἀνέστησαν πάλιν: Μεσσήνην δὲ ἀνεῖλον μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πάλιν δ' ἀνέλαβον Θηβαῖοι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Φίλιππος Ἀμύντου: αἱ δ' ἀκροπόλεις ἀοίκητοι διέμειναν.³²⁹

being called Ithome and the other Acrocorinthus. And so Demetrius of Pharos seems to have spoken aptly to Philip the son of Demetrius when he advised him to lay hold of both these cities if he coveted the Peloponnesus, "for if you hold both horns," he said, "you will hold down the cow," meaning by "horns" Ithome and Acrocorinthus, and by "cow" the Peloponnesus. And indeed it is because of their advantageous position that these cities have been objects of contention. Corinth was destroyed and rebuilt again by the Romans; and Messene was destroyed by the Lacedaemonians, but restored by the Thebans and afterward by Philip the son of Amyntas. The citadels, however, remained uninhabited.

Strabo makes two things clear, first, the strength of the cities lies in their "horns," thus if one wants to conquer the regions, one must take down the "horns," i.e., the acropolis of each city. No doubt the Romans did exactly that. Second, at the time of Strabo writing, the Acrocorinth was still uninhabited, i.e. it was still destroyed. Archaeology affirms the destruction of the Acrocorinth and its deserted state in the first century. Of the famous temple of Aphrodite, which stood on the highest point of the Acrocorinth, little trace is left. Other than some parts of the fortification walls and some structures around the fountain of Peirene, no pre-Christian structure can be located that testifies to buildings of the pre-Mummian destruction or buildings earlier than the Christian era.³³⁰ When Paul confronted his enemies in 2 Cor. 10 the threat of the "destruction of the fortress" could hardly have supplied the Corinthians with a more vivid military image. They only needed to glance out of the window where the remains of the destroyed citadel of the Acrocorinth rise sharply from the comparatively level land around it. Not only the "pulling down of the fortress" is picturesque military imagery with

³²⁹ Strab. VIII.4.8. Transl. by Horace L. Jones, LCL, IV, 118-21.

³³⁰ James Wiseman, "Corinth and Rome I: 228 B. C. – A. D. 267." In *ANRW* II 7.1. Ed. Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter Verlag, 1980, 468-69.

strong appeals to local martial history, the combination of the setting of the warning in 2 Cor. 10, as well as the combination of fighting metaphors, such as the pulling down of prideful strongholds (καθαροῦντες καὶ πᾶν ὕψωμα ἐπαιρόμενον) (2 Cor. 10:5); destruction (καθαίρεσις) (2 Cor. 10:8) and the comparison of powerful letters and a seemingly feeble ability to carry threats through (2 Cor. 10:9-11) are reminiscent of similarities to the military history leading up to the destruction of Corinth. Despite the initial good relations between Rome and the Achaean League and Corinth as its leader at the time after the Second Macedonian war (in which Corinth with the other Greek cities were declared free, ungarrisoned and subject to no tribute or foreign intrusion into local laws),³³¹ relationships between Rome and the Achaean League deteriorated continuously.³³² The disputes came to a climax in 147 BC over differences in the treatment of Sparta, in which Corinth wanted to deal independently and without advice or intervention from Rome. The senate sent three embassies to negotiate a peaceful solution (cf., 2 Cor. 12:14).³³³ All three embassies were insulted and treated abusively,³³⁴ despite the embassy's conciliatory attitude (cf., 2 Cor. 10:1-2):

<p>. . . οἱ καὶ συνηγμένων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς Κόρινθον, κατὰ τύχην ἐλθόντες εἰς τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ παραχθέντες εἰς τὰ πλήθη διετίθεντο πολλοὺς οὗτοι καὶ φιλανθρώπους λόγους παραπλησίους τοῖς περὶ τὸν Σέξτον, πᾶσαν ἐνδεικνύμενοι φιλοτιμίαν χάριν τοῦ μὴ προβῆναι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς εἰς ὄλοσχερεστέραν ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους . . . ὧν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ διακούοντες οὐδαμῶς ἀνείχοντο, χλευάζοντες δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις μετὰ θορύβου καὶ κραυγῆς ἐξέβαλον.³³⁵</p>	<p>[The embassy] happened to arrive when the General Assembly of the Achaeans was being held in Corinth, and when brought before the people addressed them at length in the same conciliatory terms as Sextus and his colleagues had done, employing every effort to prevent the Achaeans from proceeding to acts of declared hostility toward Rome . . . The people on listening to them, showed no disposition to comply, but jeered at the legates, hooted and hustled them out of the meeting.</p>
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Corinth judged Rome strong enough to send diplomatic messengers who demanded in great words the dissolution of the Achaean League, but too weak to carry through their threats (cf.,

³³¹ Plb. XVIII.46.15.

³³² James Wiseman, "Corinth and Rome I: 228 B. C. – A. D. 267." In *ANRW* II 7.1. Ed. Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter Verlag, 1980, 459-62.

³³³ The first one under the leadership of L. Aurelius Orestes in 147 BC; the second one headed by Sextus Julius Caesar; and the third one in 146 BC led by Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus. Ibid. And Plb. XXXVIII.9-13.; Paus. *Descr.* VII.14.; Dio. XXI.72.1-2.

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Plb. XXXVIII.12.2-4. Transl. by William R. Paton, LCL, VI:466-67.

2 Cor. 10:10): “Rome might send her customary missives or envoys, might express faint displeasure, but would surely not intervene in force.”³³⁶ It is possible that Paul found his personal relations with the Corinthians comparable to that of the sending of the Roman envoys to Corinth. He, like the Roman ambassadors two hundred years earlier, was spurned and rejected. His words, warnings and threats, like the Roman ones, were not taken seriously by the Corinthians and thought to be a hollow bluff. With the initial situation of the conflict with the Corinthians being analogous to the historical situation, it is likely that Paul purposefully shaped his threats in 2 Cor. 10 to the outcome of the Roman/ Corinthian military conflict. Paul argues that the Corinthians now, as the Achaeans in 146 BC:

. . . had miscalculated. Roman requests . . . had been spurned once too often. When Metellus got a rude reception in the spring, 146 BC, harassed and mocked by a jingoist gathering at Corinth, the *patres* determined that Rome’s *dignitas* would not be further compromised . . . The astonishment and shock of the Achaeans . . . tells the tale most eloquently. Rome’s forcible intrusion took them all by surprise . . . L. Mummius, leading the Republic’s forces from Italy, wiped out the last resistance and delivered his stern and unforgettable lesson: the city of Corinth, where Roman envoys had been jeered and ridiculed, was ruthlessly sacked.³³⁷

Paul argues in strikingly similar fashion to Corinthian military history. His gentleness when present with the Corinthians should not be mistaken by them with an inability to carry out a military threat (cf., 2 Cor. 10:1-2), if they continue to ignore him, they will be shocked about the authority he has for “military destruction” (cf., 2 Cor. 10:8-10) and the outcome of the Paul/ Corinthian conflict will be similar to the Roman/ Corinthian conflict: the walls of the city and fortresses were torn down³³⁸ (cf., 2 Cor. 10:4-5); women, children and freedmen sold into slavery³³⁹ (cf., 2 Cor. 10:5); and punishment (cf., 2 Cor. 10:6) for rebellion³⁴⁰ (cf., 2 Cor. 10:5) exacted by killing the majority of the Corinthian inhabitants and the city razed.³⁴¹

³³⁶ Erich S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984, 521.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, 522.; Plb. XXXVIII.12.; XXXVIII.16.; Paus. *Descr.* VII.15.

³³⁸ Paus. *Descr.* VII.16.9.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, VII.16.8.

³⁴⁰ An equally locally appropriate metaphor as Corinth was the leader of the Achaean League who in the literary sources is specifically mentioned to have revolted against the Romans. See again Paus. *Descr.* II.1.2.: “ . . . αίτιον δὲ τὸ συνέδριον τὸ Ἀχαιῶν: συντελοῦντες γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι μετέσχον τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ὃν Κριτόλαος στρατηγεῖν Ἀχαιῶν ἀποδειχθεὶς παρεσκεύασε γενέσθαι τοὺς τε Ἀχαιοὺς ἀναπέισας ἀποστῆναι καὶ τῶν ἔξω Πελοποννήσου τοὺς πολλοὺς.” “This change is due to the Achaean League. The Corinthians, being members of it, joined in the war against the Romans, which Critolaus, when appointed general of the Achaeans, brought about by persuading to revolt both the Achaeans and the majority of the Greeks outside the Peloponnesus.”

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, VII.16.8.; Strab. VIII.6.23.

2.7.5. Consistent usage of military nomenclature in Paul's letters and his ability to appeal to military history make a positive reception of military terminology by the Philippians likely

Paul consistently utilises military images in almost all his letters, both in his early letters, as well as in his letters from the time period towards the end of his life. Military metaphors appear to cluster with greater frequency in his letters to places with an exceptionally momentous military history. Paul seems to exhibit a clear awareness of the military history of some of the Greek cities and by his references to the military history of Corinth presumes that the Corinthians were acquainted with military terminology and military history as well. With the identity of Philippi so intrinsically wrapped up in the Roman civil war, it can be safely concluded that the Philippians judged military linguistics and metaphors as entirely appropriate. They would have appreciated Paul speaking their language and addressing them with metaphors and illustrations that they were already familiar with. If Paul would have looked for a community in the Roman Empire that could be expected to understand and appreciate military language, he could hardly find a better place than Philippi. With all the potential for misunderstanding pictorial language has, probable resentment and misunderstanding of military language would be least likely in a letter to the Philippian community.

2.8. Conclusion: military terminology highly appropriate for a Philippian audience

This chapter investigated if, in terms of general probability, military terminology utilised by Paul in his letter to the Philippians would have received a positive response from the original recipients, the Philippian congregation. This thesis concludes, contra to Joseph Marchal, that the veteran part of the Philippian society would not have a *priori* negative reactions towards military images. The experiences of military service and the settlement of the veterans after a comparably short time of service was – by ancient standards – not as bleak as Marchal describes it. The colonisation of Philippi was unproblematic, successful and the lot of the veterans, compared with their previous social and economic standing, advantageous. The settlers were quite well off and aroused the envy of the Roman aristocratic elite. Several Philippian inscriptions testify to the pride which soldiers demonstrated in their military career long after their honourable discharge.

Military terminology would not only appeal to the Roman part of the population. The veterans as the new social elite of Philippi would have had considerable cultural and political influence on the rest of the Philippian ethnic and social strata. How appropriate military

terminology in a letter to the Philippians would have been is evidenced by the civic identity of the colony of Philippi, which revolves around the epic and history-changing battle of Philippi in 42 BC. Both the literary and numismatic evidence reveal that the focal point of prideful identity of the city of Philippi was its connection to the military. That the military did not only play a distant role in the past is shown in this chapter by the strategic importance, which Philippi had as a border town close to the independently ruled kingdom of Thrace. Until the early decades of the first century AD Macedonia witnessed several intrusions of marauding Thracian and Dacian tribes, which called for the presence and activity of the Roman legions in the area. The “average” Philippian, be they Roman, Greek or Thracian, would have seen the Roman legions not as an oppressive occupying force, but would have identified with them as the guarantee of their protection and safety.

Given Paul’s gravitation to appeal to local military history in formulating rhetorically his theological principles, Philippi would have been an ideal location for the reception of a letter interwoven with military terminology. The minds of the general inhabitant of Philippi would be finely tuned and prepared to receive military terminology as graphic, persuasive and poignant rhetorical images, evoking forceful affirmative feelings that would lead to theological conviction of the truth and an active response to the ethical exhortations contained in the letter.

Chapter 3

The general's speech in the historical works of antiquity

3.1. The general's pre-war speeches' paramount role in Greek and Latin literature

3.1.1. The importance of pre-battle speeches in warfare of antiquity

It is hard for twenty-first century people to comprehend the paramount role a speech played for the outcome of battles in antiquity. Although many factors contributed to the success of competing armies, sheer numbers or superior weapons were seldom the deciding factor for the triumph or disaster of a campaign. Adrian Goldsworthy has shown that in a typical pitched battle of antiquity, the psychological make-up of soldiers and their morale accounted foremost to the success or failure in frontal combat.¹ In the stress and fear of facing of a confrontation with a deadly enemy often the discipline and courage not to run from the threat determined the outcome of battle. Most soldiers fought cautiously, trying not to expose too much of their own body to the enemy – it was thus not in the face-to-face encounter with the opposition that most of the killing of ancient battles occurred, but in running from the battlefield, with backs exposed, most of the slaughter of ancient combats took place.

Besides rigorous training, the boosting of the morale of the soldiers was thus considered the pre-eminent task of the general to ensure that in combat-stress ranks were kept from breaking and soldiers endured. This boosting of the morale of soldiers was predominantly achieved through the general's pre-battle speech.

The ability to make effective speeches to the troops was therefore of the highest priority and indispensable on the list of qualifications for a successful general. Often in classical literature the ideal commander is described as one who is able to deliver effective speeches for the encouragement of the troops. Cyrus, for example, is interviewed by his father Cambyses regarding the content of his training to be a good general. When his father finds out that he has only been trained in tactics and that the subject of effective speech-making has been left out, Cambyses is adamant and instructs his son that the ability to inspire troops with enthusiasm through speeches is of the utmost importance for a successful general:

. . . σὺ εἶ τινα λόγον ποιήσαιτο διδάσκων | . . . you [Cambyses] put this further

¹ Adrian Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War: 100 BC – AD 200*. Oxford Classical Monographs. Oxford: Bookcraft, 1996.

περὶ τοῦ πείθεσθαι τὴν στρατιάν, ὡς ἂν τις μάλιστα μηχανῶτο . . . εἷς γε τὸ προθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖν στρατιώταις οὐδέν μοι δοκεῖ ἰκανώτερον εἶναι ἢ τὸ δύθνασθαι ἐλπίδας ἐμποιεῖν ἀνθρώποις.²

question, whether he [Cyrus' instructor] had put me [Cyrus] through any training so that I might be able to inspire my soldiers with enthusiasm, adding that in every project enthusiasm of faintheartedness made all the difference in the world . . . 'for putting enthusiasm into the soldiers nothing seems to be more effectual than the power of inspiring men with hopes.'

The seven books of battle descriptions of the *Cyropaedia*, which follow this incident, contain many such inspiring speeches by Cyrus and others.

In discussing the qualification of the general, who is to be chosen for a campaign, Onosander strongly insists that ability in effective speech making is a non-negotiable prerequisite, more important than wealth, political influence and other qualifications:

Φημί τοίνυν αἰρεῖσθαι τὸν στρατηγὸν . . . λέγειν δ' ἰκανόν· Ἐνθεν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τὸ μέγιστον ὠφελείας ἵξεσθαι διὰ στρατεύματος· Ἐάν τε γὰρ ἐκτάτῃ πρὸς μάχην στρατηγός, ἢ τοῦ λόγου παρακέλευσις τῶν μὲν δεινῶν ἐποίησε καταφρονεῖν, τῶν δὲ καλῶν ἐπιθυμεῖν, καὶ οὐχ οὕτως ἀκοαῖς ἐνηχοῦσα σάλπιγξ ἐγείρει ψυχὰς εἰς ἀμιλλαν μάχης, ὡς λόγος εἰς προτροπὴν ἀρετῆς ἐναγωνίου ῥηθεις αἰχμάζουσας ἀνέστησε πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ τὴν διάνοιαν, . . . Οὐδὲ χωρὶς στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ μία πόλις ἐκπέμψαι στρατόεδον, οὐδε δίχα τοῦ δύνασθαι λέγειν αἰρήσεται στρατηγόν.³

I believe, then, that we must choose a general . . . a ready speaker; for I believe that the greatest benefit can accrue from the work of a general only through this gift. For if a general is drawing up his men before battle, the encouragement of his words makes them despise the danger and covet the honour; and a trumpet-call resounding in the ears does not so effectively awaken the soul to the conflict of battle as a speech that urges to strenuous valour rouses the martial spirit to confront danger... No city at all will put an army in the field without generals not choose a general who lacks the ability to make an effective speech.

² Xen. *Cyr.* I.6.13. and I.6.19. Transl. by Walter Miller, I:98-99.; I:104-05.

³ Onos. *Strat.* I.1. and I.13. and I.16. Transl. by Illinois Greek Club, LCL, 374-381.

The necessary contents of pre-battle speeches and the reasons for their content are later also given by Onosander in *Strategikos* IV.3-6.⁴

Unless an army was subjected to a surprise attack, which allowed no time for speeches, a Roman commander normally addressed his troops before battle. What a vital part these speeches took in the preparation of the troops can be seen from an instance in Caesar's Gallic war, when Caesar, although the Gauls were already dashing forward in their surprise attack, took time to harangue quickly the tenth legion, although he was busy with other duties like raising the flag, giving signals and trumpet calls as well.⁵

3.1.2. The prominence of general's speeches in classical literature

Given the importance of speeches in classical warfare, it is not surprising that among the Greek and Latin historians pre-battle harangues of generals to their troops are a repeatedly occurring phenomenon. Most of the epic battles, which classical authors describe, are preceded by a lengthy speech of the commander, or at least reference is made that the commander issued such a speech⁶. In fact, "the most distinctive, fully developed, and

⁴ Besides the pre-battle speeches in chapter I and IV, Onosander lists three other types of speeches the general is to deliver: a) after a lost battle the general should encourage his troops (Onos. *Strat.* XXXVI.2.), b) after a battle won, the general should warn the victorious army not to be negligent (Onos. *Strat.* XXXVI.2.) and c) during battle the general is supposed to shout out encouragement to the fighting men (Onos. *Strat.* XXIII.1.). Onosander encourages the general to shout out encouraging news such as "the other wing is victorious" to the fighting men, even if this news is false. This strategy was also known to Seneca (Sen. *Cons. Polyb.* V.4.), Livy (Liv. II.64.6), Frontinus (Fron. *Strat.* I.11.7.14.; II.4.1.11.; II.7.10-11.) and Xenophon (Xen. *Cyr.* I.6.19.). Johan S. Vos in "Die Rhetorik des Erfolges" attempts to convince that Paul adopts in Phil. 1:12-26 such rhetoric of success in order to transform his position of weakness into a position of strength. (<http://www.ars-rhetorica.net/Queen/VolumeSpecialIssue2/Articles/Vos.pdf>, accessed 09/21/2011, page 7.) He fails, in my opinion, on various grounds. First, the strategy of calling out encouraging news, even if false, was not undisputed in the classical literature. Cyrus receives the advice from his father not to use this strategy, but to say only what he is absolutely sure of: "Ἦν δὲ πολλάκις ψεύδηται αὐτάς, τελευτῶσαι οὐδ' . . . πείθονται αὐτῷ. Ἦν πολλάκις προσδοκίας ἀγαθῶν ἐμβαλὼν ψεύδηται τις, οὐδ' ὅποταν ἀληθεῖς ἐλπίδας λέγῃ ὁ τοιοῦτος πείθειν δύναται. Ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν αὐτὸν λέγειν ἃ μὴ σαφῶς . . ." ("if he deceives them often, at the end they will not obey him when he calls . . . If anyone too often raises false expectations of good things to come, eventually he will gain no credence, even when he holds forth well-grounded hopes. But, my son, you should refrain from saying what you are not perfectly sure of . . . (Xen. *Cyr.* I.4.19.) Second, Phil. 1:12-26 is not rhetoric, which is supposed to portray events other than they truly are. As in Phil. 2:5-11, the humbling of the servants of God does lead to true victory. Third, Paul would strongly dismiss any notion of the validity of speaking anything slightly untrue to achieve positive results thereby. He knows that in the battle-conflict believers find themselves in, only what is true and pure is to be considered worthwhile thinking and contributes to success in the battle Christians are engaged in. See Phil. 4:8 "Τὸ λοιπόν, ἀδελφοί, ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ, ὅσα ἀγνά . . . ταῦτα λογίζεσθε."

⁵ BG II.19-20. See also the chapter "The General's Battle." in Adrian Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War: 100 BC – AD 200*. Oxford Classical Monographs. Oxford: Bookcraft, 1996, 117-69.

⁶ Polybius especially uses a standardized phrase repeatedly: ". . . ἐπεβάλοντο παρακαλεῖν τὰς ἐαυτῶν δυνάμεις, ἐκάτερος προθέμενος τὰ πρέποντα τοῖς παροῦσι καιροῖς" (" . . . and they thought it proper to address their forces in a manner suitable to the occasion." Plb. I.45.3.; I.49.10.; III.43.10.; III.62.1.; III.108.1.; III.111.1.; V.47.6.; V.52.6.; V.62.1.; V.63.7.; V.83.1.; XV.10.1. Other historians: BG I.25.; II.21.; Tac. *Ann.* II.14.

persistent single type of speech among historians is the general's oration before battle, urging his army to deeds of valour."⁷ Pre-battle speeches take up a significant part of the volume of historical narratives of ancient writers. Over fifty lengthy pre-battle military speeches are extant in the historical Greek literature.⁸ Any preliminary student of history in antiquity would certainly be familiar not only with pre-battle speeches, but with the content of the most important of them as well.

3.2. The parallels between general's speeches and Philippians in recent research

It is these battle speeches from which Paul, as recent Biblical scholarship has demonstrated, derives analogous language and concepts for his rhetoric in his letter to the Philippians. Surveying the linguistic parallels between Onosander, other writers of military tactics and historians, Edgar Krentz claims that, "Paul, in the language of Phil. 1:27-4:2, does for the Philippians what Onosander encourages the general do for the army."⁹ Geoffrion likewise argues that:

Particularly noteworthy, however, is the fact that clusters of similar concepts occur in speeches of encouragement or instruction given by commanders to their troops, especially when the soldiers appear intimidated or discouraged. On the eve of a battle or in the face of defeat, field generals addressed the issues of standing firm and fighting. Thus, Paul's rhetoric finds parallels not only along the lines of common language and concepts, but also in terms of the genre of a political/military leader's speech of encouragement to his troops.¹⁰

If Paul's rhetoric finds parallels in a military leader's speech to his troops, one would expect similarities not only in genre, common language and concepts in the ethical exhortations of Philippians, as Krentz and Geoffrion have pointed out, but an investigation is necessary if the speeches of the generals mirror Philippians in their main characteristics as

⁷ Theodore C. Burgess, *Epideictic Literature*. Studies in Classical Philology. Vol. 3. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1902, 209.

⁸ Theodore C. Burgess, *Epideictic Literature*. Studies in Classical Philology. Vol. 3. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1902, 209, states that there are over forty Greek speeches alone. Many more can be found among the Latin authors as well. The number fifty is a very conservative estimate and could easily be twice as high. It is difficult to calculate a precise number, because it is not possible to define clear-cut what constitutes a speech proper and what is not, since the speech reports vary in length from a sentence to several paragraphs, or whole chapters.

⁹ Edgar Krentz, "Military Language and Metaphors in Philippians." In *Origins and Method: Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity*. Ed. Bradley H. McLean. Journal of the Study of the New Testament Supplement 86. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993, 114.

¹⁰ Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 54 and Edgar Krentz "Paul, Games, and the Military." In *Paul and the Greco-Roman World*. Ed. J. Paul Sampley. London: Trinity Press International, 2003, 349, 355, 363.

well. I.e., it is expedient to analyse the speeches of generals concerning their premier characteristic, their premier content and then ask if these characteristics can also be recognised in Paul's rhetoric in Philippians. Whereas previous scholarship has shown correctly how ethical appeals in military speeches parallel Paul's ethical exhortations, one major factor in a potential corollary has been overlooked. It is the fact that the content of military harangues consists only to a small percentage of ethical exhortations (less than 10 per cent in my estimation). The bulk of the content of pre-battle military speeches is concerned with encouragement and reasons why the exhortations of the commander are to be followed. The main thing a typical commander is concerned about in pre-battle harangues is how to install hope in the soldiers, which will cause them to be courageous and willing to obey his instructions. Thus, the major quantity of the general's speeches consists not of commands, but of encouragement. This encouragement is subdivided into three functional categories, which are discussed below.

3.3. The general's pre-war speeches classified in *topoi* in recent research

In her work *Epideictic Literature* Theodore Burgess has put the general's speeches from Greek authors under close scrutiny and she tried to classify the usual *topoi* of generals speeches (i.e. the re-occurrence of similar contents) and listed twelve series. According to Burgess, the typical arguments of generals cluster in the following themes:¹¹ 1. the ancestry of soldiers or general,¹² 2. the command not to disgrace their heritage,¹³ 3. a comparison of forces,¹⁴ 4. the statement that in war valour, not numbers, prevail,¹⁵ 5. the promise that the most magnificent prizes await the victors,¹⁶ 6. the claim that the auspices are favourable, the gods are our allies,¹⁷ 7. the assumption that death is glorious to the brave,¹⁸ 8. the warning of the disgrace of defeat,¹⁹ 9. the statement that the army conquered the present enemy before,²⁰ 10. a list of the wrongs suffered from the present enemy, the conclusion that

¹¹ Theodore C. Burgess. *Epideictic Literature*. Studies in Classical Philology. Vol. 3. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1902, 212-13. Burgess surveyed the following historians: Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus, Arrian, Dio. Cassius, Herodianus.

¹² The generals Postumius, Augustus, Alexander, Julius Caesar, Nicias, Cyrus, Xenophon, Scipio.

¹³ The generals Julius Caesar, Nicias, Xenophon.

¹⁴ The generals Julius Caesar, Antony, Augustus, Alexander, Postumius, Severus, Cyrus, Phormio, Hannibal, Scipio.

¹⁵ The generals Julius Caesar, Antony, Postumius, Severus, Phormio, Xenophon, Alexander, Fabius.

¹⁶ The generals Julius Caesar, Antony, Postumius, Xenophon, Alexander, Augustus, Hannibal.

¹⁷ The generals Postumius, Severus, Xenophon, Alexander, Cyrus.

¹⁸ The generals Postumius, Hannibal.

¹⁹ The generals Julius Caesar, Augustus, Postumius, Nicias, Hannibal.

²⁰ The generals Severus, Xenophon, Alexander, Fabius, Postumius, Severus, Phormio, Scipio.

therefore the war is just,²¹ 11. an appeal to patriotism,²² 12. a profession that their commander is superior to that of the enemy.²³

3.4. The main functional categories within the general's speech

Although the arrangement of recurring statements in *topoi* may help to get an overview over the most prevalent arguments of generals in speeches before battle, the arrangement into twelve *topoi* can neither be considered all-inclusive, nor do twelve *topoi* categorise military speeches according to their rhetorical function. With an arrangement of common arguments into twelve *topoi* the most prevalent subjects in military speeches are pointed out, but after that not much more in terms of characterising military speeches has been done.

First, the types of arguments specified by generals in the historical literature are by no means restricted to twelve *topoi*. Many other such *topoi* could be advocated, such as statements that the present men are quality-soldiers, they win without other advantages,²⁴ or claims that no-one made preparations for the war as we did,²⁵ or (a very common *topos*): “we have plenty of resources, the enemy is driven by hunger and necessity.”²⁶

Second, a simple accumulation of repeated arguments is helpful, but left in itself it blurs a much better method of analysing these military speeches, namely by functional categories. I define a functional category as the arrangement of arguments from speeches into a group with an identical overarching motivational purpose. A functional category defines what was desired to be achieved through the argument, which was brought forward. Thus, in this research, the most common arguments brought forward by the generals are not only grouped into re-occurring themes, but are grouped into a larger category of what they are supposed to accomplish rhetorically. All the twelve *topoi* (and further ones not covered by Theodore Burgess) fall into three main categories:

- a) reasons why the general's army will be victorious,
- b) incentives, i.e. rewards for the soldiers to fight bravely and obey willingly,
- c) occasionally an outline of why the war is waged (the military objective) is given as well. The latter category functions sometimes, but not always, as a reason within the *topos*

²¹ The generals Julius Caesar, Antony, Severus, Xenophon, Augustus.

²² The generals Postumius, Alexander, Augustus.

²³ The generals Alexander, Antony, Augustus, Scipio.

²⁴ Speech of Antony to soldiers before the battle of Actium. Dio. L.17.2.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid., speech of Cassius before the battle of Philippi in App. BC. IV.12.90., speech of Brutus before the battle of Philippi in App. BC. IV.16.117.

“the reason why the war is just.” This *topos* would belong as a subtheme to category a) “reasons why our army will be victorious.”²⁷

3.5. The evidence within the speeches for the intention of the three functional categories

That these three categories, i.e. reasons for victory, incentives for obedience and the military objective, are intentionally chosen categories by the classical writers is made clear not only by the fact that all *topoi* addressed in military speeches fit nicely within one of the three categories, but above of all, many speeches have inherent in themselves indications that arguments from different *topoi* belong to a functional category. This can be clearly illustrated, for example in the speech of Antony to his troops before the naval battle of Actium. Here Antony brings forward reasons belonging to *topoi* such as, “we have made adequate preparations for the war,” “our arms are more numerous and more effective,” “we have sufficient funds, the enemy raised its funds by coercion and the general population under their rule is close to open revolt” before he states the following:

Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοσοῦτοις τε καὶ τοιούτοις οὔσιν ὠκνησα μὲν ἄλλως αὐτὸς περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ σεμνόν τι εἰπεῖν· Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ τοῦθ’ ἐν τῶν πρὸς τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος φερόντων ἐστὶ καὶ μέγιστόν γε παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι πεπίστευται . . . ἀγκαιότατόν μοι τὸν περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ λόγον αὐτὴ ἡ χρεία πεποίηκεν . . . ²⁸	In addition to these considerations, numerous and important as they are, I hesitate on general principles to add anything personal concerning myself (as <i>an able general</i>) by way of boasting; yet since this, too, is one of the factors which contributes to victory in war, and in the opinion of man, is of supreme importance
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Antony continues in his speech to demonstrate his superiority over Augustus, since he himself is in the prime of his years and has the advantage of leadership ability seasoned by experience. More arguments from the *topoi* of “we have sufficient funds” and “our arms are superior to that of the enemy” follow. It is important to notice that Dio Cassius structures Antony’s speech in such a way that the clause “**these are the factors which contribute to victory in war**” are flanked by differing *topoi* of the general’s speech. The repetition of already stated *topoi* leads to a chiasmic structure in the text:

²⁷ See below.

²⁸ Dio. L.17.1. Transl. by Earnest Cary, LCL, V:470-71.

A) We have more and better arms, we are better funded (Dio L.16.2-3)

B) Boasting: the better general (Dio L.17.1),

C) Purpose clause: these are factors contributing to

victory in war (Dio L.17.1),

B') Qualities which make me the better general (Dio L.17.2-6),

A') We have better arms, we are better funded (Dio L.18.2).

It is clear that the various *topoi* brought forward by Antony in his speech are designed to convince the soldiers that the considerations, **which will lead to victory**, are on his side. Antony's arguments are working as motivators in the functional category "why we will win the war." Many other speeches are structured in such a way that calls to courage and obedience (ethical commands) are preceded with lengthy arguments that state the central question for the existence of a straight forward argument:

Πῶς οὐ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ἔχειν;²⁹

Why should we not have **great hope of victory**?

It is apparent that many of the *topoi* in these speeches are intended to serve to advance the functional category "**why we will win this war.**"

Another functional category can be discovered from Dio's description of the speeches given to the armies of Brutus/ Cassius and Antony/ Augustus respectively before the first battle of Philippi:

Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁμοιοτροπώτατα, ἅτε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὁμοίως μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων σφῶν ὄντων, ἐρρήθη· Διήλλαξε δὲ ὅτι οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Βροῦτον τὴν τε ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν τό τε ἀτυράννευτον καὶ τὸ ἀδέσποτον τοῖς σφετέροις προεβάλλοντο, καὶ τὰ τε ἐν ἰσονομίᾳ χρηστὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν μοναρχίᾳ ἄτοπα . . . οἱ δὲ ἕτεροι τῷ σφετέρῳ στρατῷ τούς τε σφαγέας τιμωρήσασθαι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀντικαθεστώτων σχεῖν, ἄρξαι τε πάντων τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐπιθυμῆσαι, παρήγουν, καὶ ὃ γε μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἐπέρωσε, καὶ κατὰ πεντακισχιλίας σφίσι δραχμὰς δώσειν

For the most part the speeches were very similar, inasmuch as on both sides alike they were Romans with their allies. Still, there was a difference. The officers of Brutus set before their men **the prizes of liberty and democracy, of freedom from tyrants and freedom from masters; they cited the benefits of equality and the excesses of monarchy** . . . The opposing leaders on the other hand, urged their army to take vengeance on the assassins of Caesar, **to get the property of their antagonists, to be filled with a desire**

²⁹ Th. VL.68.2.; II.87.6-7.

ὑπέσχοντο.³⁰

to rule all the men of their own race,
 and – the thing which heartened them
 most – they promised to give them
 twenty thousand sesterces apiece.

What is put before the two armies are the differing “**benefits**” (χρηστά), which will come to the victorious army, if the combat is won. The prizes do not function as “factors which contribute to the positive outcome of the war,” they are **incentives** which will come to the fighting men if they battle bravely and obey commands.

All the arguments of the military speeches, which we find from the classical historians and biographers, fall into one of these two functional categories. The general encourages his troops either (or both) by voicing his convictions **why the battle will be won** or **what the incentives are**, which awaits the brave fighting men.³¹ This twofold emphasis is made clear by Arrian, who recites the speech of Alexander the Great before the battle against the Persians. The speech consists first of considerations, which fall under the classification of the twelve series of usual topoi of generals speeches as described by Theodore Burgess in *Epidictic Literature*: mentioned are the armies’ successful campaigns of the past, god being on their side, the superior physique and morale of the troops, even though they fight against more men. In the next cluster Alexander tells his troops that this will be the battle of the grand finale and after they will win this battle, they will rule all Asia, set an end to their long exertions and enjoy the continued fame of the line of ancestors they are from. Right in the middle of the two parts of the speech Arrian inserts a comment that serves as an explanation why Alexander is rehearsing these facts – a comment that explains the intended functional categories of all military harangues:

ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐς πλεονεξίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος
 ἐπεξήκει. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅτι μεγάλα ἔσται σφίσι
 τοῦ κινδύνου ἐπεδείκνυεν.³²

Besides rehearsing **these advantages**
they had in the contest, [Alexander]
 pointed out the **greatness of the**
rewards for which they were incurring
 danger.

³⁰ Dio. XLVII.44.3-5. Transl. by Earnest Cary, LCL, V:204-205.

³¹ The negative consequence if the battle will be lost on account of the cowardice of the soldiers belong to this latter category as well. Many times the incentives if the battle is won and the dire consequences if the battle is lost are mentioned side by side.

³² Arr. *Ana.* II.7.6. Transl. by P. A. Brunt, LCL, I:146-47.

All classical military harangues come with either this two-fold functional category, or one of the intentions stated individually: they are to encourage the troops by pointing out the factors which provide evidence why the army will win this war and/ or state the rewards which will be distributed or enjoyed after the successful conclusion of the campaign. Less prominent, but also occurring in many speeches is the statement of the objective of the war.

3.6. Overview of the contents of the three functional categories in Greek and Latin literature

The following overview serves to demonstrate how consistently the classical historians in the writing of their general's speeches, appeal to the three functional categories of military objective, confidence of victory and incentives for bravery and obedience.

Appian (AD 90 – 160, writing in Greek)

Objective of the war: - the aim of the war is the restoration of the Republic through the overthrow of the dictators in battle (Cassius: App. *BC*. IV.12.97.)

- our fight is for the liberty of our country (Pompey: App. *BC*. II.8.50.)

Confidence in victory: - we have the most abundant supplies (Cassius: App. *BC*. IV.12.90.)

- we have the most abundant supplies, the enemy is famished (Brutus: App. *BC*. IV.16.117.)

- the cause for our war is righteous (Cassius: App. *BC*. 4.XII.90); (Pompey: App. *BC*. II.8.51.; App. *BC*. II.11.72.)

- we have defeated this enemy before (Pompey: App. *BC*. II.11.72.; App. *Hann*. VII.4.21.), we have been superior in previous engagements (Brutus: App. *BC*. IV.16.117.)

- we have conquered more formidable enemies (Caesar: App. *BC*. II.11.73.)

- I am the better general (Caesar: App. *BC*. II.11.74.)

- the enemy is not willing to fight, he is afraid, he knows he is inferior (Antony: App. *BC*. IV.16.119.)

- our better stratagems and greater courage brings us the victory (Scipio: App. *Pun*. VIII.4.19.)

- your general is experienced beyond measure and unvanquished to this day (Pompey: App. *BC*. II.8.51.)

- we can rely upon the magnitude of our preparations (Pompey: App. *BC* II.8.51.)

- the greatness of your general guarantees victory, I raised the kingdom from small beginnings to this greatness, I have never been defeated by the Romans when I was present at the battle (Mithridates: App. *Mith*. XII.10.70.)

- (the war is just), as the enemy does not respect the last treaty (Mithridates: App. *Mith*. XII.10.70.)

- composition of the army, the resources, the allies, whilst the enemy has no allies and is torn in dissent (Mithridates: App. *Mith*. XII.10.70.)

Rewards at the end of battle: - all the money we have promised you in the past we have given to you, this is your sure guarantee that we will deliver all our promises of money (Cassius: App. *BC*. IV.12.90.)

- recall the generosity of my previous gifts and my care for you (implying I will continue them in the future) (Caesar App. *BC*. II.11.73.)
- we promise you money and plunder (Brutus: App. *BC*. IV.16.118.)
- we will gain back what we lost and gain the enemies possessions (Antony: App. *BC*. IV.16.120.)
- those who obey shall reap large rewards (Scipio: App. *Pun*. VIII.17.116.)
- we are fighting for our future existence, remember parents, wives and children (Aemilius: App. *Hann*. VII.4.21.)
- we can punish a dictator and hinder him from denigrating us to slaves (Pompey: App. *BC*. II.8.50.)
- we will win the possessions, which the enemy has collected all summer (Caesar: App. *BC*. II.8.55.)
- it will be glorious to carry off the honours of victory (Caesar: App. *BC*. II.8.53.)

Arrian (between AD 85 and 90 – after AD 145, writing in Greek)

Objective of the war: - we are fighting for the cause of Greece and to rule the whole world (Alexander: Arr. *Alex*. II.7.4, 6.)

- I will lead you to fight for the extension of our borders and to extinguish all warlike nations so that our possessions are secure (Alexander: Arr. *Alex*. V.26.1-6.)

Confidence in victory: - we have successfully overcome dangers in the past and beaten this enemy before (Alexander: Arr. *Alex*. II.7.3.)

- God, as the better strategist, is on our side (Alexander: Arr. *Alex*. II.7.3.)
- we are superior to the enemy in physique and morale (Alexander: Arr. *Alex*. II.7.3-4.)
- you have the better general with you (Alexander: Arr. *Alex*. II.7.5.)
- Xenophon and his ten thousand, much less in number than we are, faced this foe before and defeated him (Alexander: Arr. *Alex*. II.7.7-9.)
- we have defeated so many nations before, what barbarian tribe could now withstand us (Alexander: Arr. *Alex*. V.25.3-6.)

Rewards at the end of battle: - great rewards will follow the victory, we will rule all Asia and rest from our exertions (Alexander: Arr. *Alex*. II.7.6.)

- if we add the rest of Asia to our possessions, the whole of it will be our secure possession and cannot be taken back by remaining warlike races (Alexander: Arr. *Alex*. V.26.1-6.)
- I, your general, will not only satisfy you, but surpass the utmost good hope of good things: I will either bring you safely back home or leave you here with abundant possessions (Alexander: Arr. *Alex*. V.26.7-8.)

Dio Cassius (ca. AD 163 – after AD 229, writing in Greek)

Objective of the war: - the aims of our side are our liberty and the liberty of the other side (Antony:

Dio. L.22.3-4.)

- the battle is for the honour of Rome (Augustus Caesar: Dio. L.24-25.)
- the battle is for liberty (Caesar and Pompey: Dio. XLI.57.1-2.)

Confidence in victory: - preparations were made beforehand, we have the better general, we have the better soldiers, we are better equipped, we are better funded (Antony: Dio. L.16.1- L.19.3.)

- we possess a vast and mighty force (Augustus Caesar: Dio. L.24.2.)
- our cause is just and in greater reverence for the gods (Augustus Caesar: Dio. L.24.1-2.)
- I am the better general, the opposing general is past his prime and has become effeminate (Augustus Caesar: Dio. L.27.6-7.)
- the opponents are sorry creatures, easily being conquered (Augustus Caesar: Dio. L.28.6.)
- we and our fathers have with fewer numbers conquered far more numerous antagonists; the enemy is untrained (Paulinus: Dio. LXII.9.)
- justice is on our side, the enemy has wronged us (Paulinus: Dio. LXII.9.)
- victory will be ours because the gods are our allies because they fight with the side which has been wronged (Paulinus: Dio. LXII.11.)
- we will be victorious because of our courage, experience and prestige (Paulinus: Dio. LXII.11.)

Rewards at the end of battle: - we are battling not for insignificant ends, but in a contest such as this, shall obtain the greatest rewards (Antony: Dio. L.20.1.)

- we will gain freedom from a tyrant (Antony: Dio. L.22.4.)
- depending on the outcome, we will possess everything or be deprived of everything, be masters or captives, be the ones who inflict or suffer a terrible fate (Caesar and Pompey: Dio. XLI.57.1-2.)
- you will gain great wealth, continue in the renown of your forefathers, take vengeance on those who insult you (Augustus Caesar: Dio. L.28.2-3; L.30.4.)
- you will conquer and rule all mankind (Augustus Caesar: Dio. L.28.3.)
- we will recover what we lost, make our present possessions secure and conquer the rest; we will rule all mankind, live in wealth and enjoy prosperity (Paulinus: Dio. LXII.10.)
- we will avenge those of us that perished (Paulinus: Dio. LXII.11.)

Diodorus Siculus (first century BC, writing in Greek)

Objective of the war: - the war is for the fame and the sake of our country (Callicratides: DS. XIII.97.5.-98.1.)

Confidence in victory: - the auspices foretell victory (Callicratides: DS. XIII.98.1.)

Rewards at the end of battle: - on this battle depends the preservation of ourselves, our families and the far-famed glory of the fatherland (Nicias: DS. XIII.15.)

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (historian, ca. 60 – 7 BC, writing in Greek)

Objective of the war: - the battle is for the freedom of the commonwealth (Postumius: DH. VI.6.2.; VII.2.2.)

- the contest is for supremacy of our fatherland (Fabius: DH. IX.9.)

Confidence in victory: - we have many resources for winning (our courage, experience, superiority in valour, superiority in strategy) (Fabius: DH. IX.9.7-8.)

- in many glorious battles in the past we had overcome this enemy already (Fabius: DH. IX.9.9.)

- the gods by the auspices promise a happy victory (Postumius: DH. VI.6.2.)

- the battle is just, as we have shown piety towards the gods and justice to our enemies, but they bring an unjust war upon us in support of a tyranny (Postumius: DH. VI.6.2.)

- we have the advantage of a close knit unity among our soldiers (Postumius: DH. VI.7.1.)

- we won battles with a smaller force against more numerous enemies before (Postumius: DH. VI.7.2.)

Rewards at the end of battle: - our common highest interests are at stake: our liberty, the enjoyment of parents, wives and children, present blessings, our property (Postumius: DH. VI.7.2.)

- remember the glorious deeds of our ancestors and how you can provide that your posterity will gain the fruits of your present labours (Postumius: DH. VI.9.3.)

- I will give the usual honours to the brave and give portions of the land presently owned by the state in addition (Postumius: DH. VI.9.4.)

- you will celebrate a triumph for this war while your families welcome you back (Postumius: DH. VI.9.6.)

Josephus (between AD 37 and 38 – after AD 100, writing in Greek)

Objective of the war: - we will take vengeance on the Arabs, who have dealt unjustly with us (Herod: Jos. *AJ*. XV.139.)

Confidence in victory: - we are fighting a just war, we have been forced to this by the outrageous acts of our enemies, who enter the war on account of greed and envy (Herod: Jos. *AJ*. XV.129-30.)

- God is with us (Herod: Jos. *AJ*. XV.136-38.)

- we were victorious in the first battle (Herod: Jos. *AJ*. XV.139.)

Julius Caesar (100 – 44 BC, writing in Latin)

Objective of the war: - our aim is to make Ariovistus accept the fairness of our terms: not to make war on the Aedui, not to cross the river Rhine, to restore hostages (Caesar: BG I.40-44.)

Confidence in victory: - our ancestors have conquered this enemy before, the Helveti had been victorious over this foe, yet we have vanquished the Helveti (Caesar: BG I.40.)

- I am a competent general (Caesar: BG I.40.)

- our ancestors were valiant in battle (Caesar: BG II.21.)

- the battleground is to our advantage (Labenius: BG VI.7.)

Rewards at the end of battle: - great rewards and promises (Crassus: BG III.26.)

- think that the commander is chief and is with his eyes beholding your battle-action (rewards would be handed out according to the observed valiant action in battle) (Labenius: BG VI.8.)

Livy (59 BC – AD 17, writing in Latin)

Objective of the war: - we are campaigning to wipe out the Roman name and to liberate the world from Roman dominion (Hannibal: Liv. XXI.30.)

- in the following battle we need to crush the enemy who is threatening and oppressing us (Hannibal: Liv. XXVII.12.11-12).

Confidence in victory: - the army had come a long way already, marched over the Pyrenees and successfully battled fierce tribes, now the alps in front of them are conquerable too (Hannibal: Liv. XXI.30.)

- we have been the victors in the previous war, we will fight like victors, the enemy like vanquished; the enemy lost already two thirds of their troops and are worn down by hunger and cold; the enemies are treaty breakers, therefore the gods will be with us (Scipio: Liv. XXI.40.)

- you have been victorious over fierce tribes of Spain and Gaul, you will be victorious over the Romans too; the enemy is inexperienced; the enemy has continually wronged us, justice is on our side (Hannibal: Liv. XXI.43.)

- in desperate situations the bravest decisions to fight are the safest (Lucius Marcius: Liv. XXV.38.18.)

- the immortal gods are our protectors and the auspices favourable, a glorious general leads you on, the enemy is divided by civil strife (Scipio Africanus: Liv. XXVI.41.)

- remember our previous victories, the enemy is confident beyond reason (Hannibal: Liv. XXVII.12.11-12).

- New Carthage, a city already captured had higher walls than the present enemy position (Hannibal: Liv. XXVII.18.8-9).

- the clever plan of your general will lead to certain victory (Nero: Liv. XXVII.45.1-2.)

Rewards at the end of battle: - spoils of the captured city of Saguntum will go to the soldiers (Hannibal: Liv. XXI.11.3-4.)

- the war will bring us vast renown and booty (Hannibal: Liv. XXI.21.4-6)

- we fight not for Sicily or Sardinia, but for our own homeland (Scipio: Liv. XXI.41.)

- all the riches the Romans have heaped up from previous battles are destined to be ours (Hannibal: Liv. XXI.43.)

- I will give you land in Italy, Africa or Spain, tax-free-status or you can become a citizen of Carthage (Hannibal: Liv. XXI.45.)

Polybius (ca. 200 – 120 BC, writing in Greek)

Objective of the war: - this fight is for the survival of your country (Aemilius: Plb. III.109.8-12.)

Confidence in victory: - we never fought with ill success in the past, the hardest part of the

campaign is already past (Hannibal: Plb. III.44.9-13.)

- we have beaten this enemy often before, the enemy is weakened by hardship (Scipio: Plb. III.63.3-9.; Flaminius: Plb. XVIII.23.3-6.)
- we outnumber the enemy more than two to one, the reason for the previous reverses have been remedied (Aemilius: Plb. III.107.2-5.)
- our cavalry is greatly superior, the battleground is greatly to our advantage (Hannibal: Plb. III.111.1-3.)
- the gods are working to aid us in victory (Hannibal: Plb. III.111.3.)
- you belong to a victorious line of ancestors (Ptolemy and Antiochus: Plb. V.82.5)
- in all the previous battles we have been invincible, we have beaten the opposing general before, the present enemy is a small fraction of the armies beaten before (Hannibal: Plb. XV.11.4-13).

Rewards at the end of battle: - lavish promises of reward are promised to the ones who distinguish themselves personally, and the whole force will be financially recompensed (Hamilco: Plb. I.44.3.)

- if we win, we will fight for the prize of Sicily next (Carthaginian general: Plb. I.27.1.)
- the prize of victory is to be the most envied of mankind, masters of all the wealth of Rome (Hannibal: Plb. III.63.3-5.)
- you fight for the safety and future well being of your country, your wives and your children (Aemilius: Plb. III.107.2.7-12.)
- the coming battle will be for the Roman cities and their wealth as price, you will be masters of Italy, free from all toil, will possess the vast wealth of Rome, and will be masters of all men and all things (Hannibal: Plb. III.111.8-10.)
- you will be unquestioned masters of Africa and the rest of the world (Scipio: Plb. XV.10.2-3.)
- great rewards will be bestowed upon you in the future (Ptolemy and Antiochus: Plb. V.82.6.)
- the prize of success has never been greater (Hannibal: Plb. VIII.26.7.)
- bravery will bring great rewards, flight will lead to misery and disgrace (Scipio: XV.10.3-5.)

Tacitus (ca. AD 58 – AD 120, writing in Latin)

Objective of the war: - our fight is for the liberty of Britain (Calgacus: Tac. Ag. XXX.)

- with this battle we end the German war by establishing Roman victory in the region (Germanicus: Tac. Ag. XIV.)

Confidence in victory: - the soldiers are the same kind as the soldiers of Varus, whom we defeated and who fled (Arminius: Tac. Ann. II.15.)

- the legions butchered, spoils and spears in the hands of the soldier show that they have been victorious over this enemy before (Arminius: Tac. Ann. II.45.)
- surveying the causes of the war, *we realise justice is on our side*: the enemy are robbers of the world, greedy, plundering, butchering, steeling, they have enslaved Britain (Calgacus: Tac. Ag. XXX-XXXI.)
- we are the braver warriors, the enemy is weak and uninspired (Calgacus: Tac. Ag. XXX-XXXII.)
- we have been successful in the past, the enemy was beaten before by smaller numbers

(Agricola: Tac. Ag. XXXIII.)

Rewards at the end of battle: - the prize for victory is freedom, otherwise remember the Roman greed cruelty and pride (Arminius: Tac. Ann. II.15.)

- the battle's conclusion will be the day of liberty for Britain (Calgacus: Tac. Ag. XXX.)
- win this war and you will have crowned your many years of campaigning with great glory (Agricola: Tac. Ag. XXXIV.)

Thucydides (ca. 460 – 395 BC, writing in Greek)

Objective of the war: - the battle is for the fatherland (general of the Mantineans: Th. V.69.1.)

- the battle is for the defence of our homeland (Hippocrates: Th. IV.95.1.)
- we are fighting for survival (Nicias: Th. VI.68.)
- the contest is for salvation and the safety of the fatherland (Nicias: Th. VII.61, 64.)

Confidence in victory: - previous setbacks were due to insufficient preparation and inexperience and will in the future be counterbalanced by superiority in daring (Peloponnesian commanders: Th. II.87.)

- we have the greater number of ships, are supported by hoplites, are better prepared and more numerous (Peloponnesian commanders: Th. II.87.; Nicias: Th. VII.63.)
- these men have been beaten before (Phormio: Th. II.89.; Nicias: Th. VI.68.; Gylippus: Th. VII.66.2.)
- we have more experience, the enemy fears us (Phormio: Th. II.89.)
- many armies have been overthrown through forces inferior in number (Phormio: Th. II.89.)
- your general is aware of the strategy of the enemy and will make adequate preparations (Phormio: Th. II.89.)
- we have brave and numerous allies, the enemies are lacking in skill (Nicias: Th. VI.68.)
- we have remedied the insufficiencies in equipment that lead to previous losses (Nicias: Th. VII.62.)
- the battle is just since the enemy came to enslave Sicily (Gylippus: Th. VII.66.2.), the battle is just because of the general's religious devotion and blamelessness towards men (Nicias: Th. VII.77.2.)
- we have prepared the best naval equipment (Gylippus: Th. VII.67.)
- in the past men have been saved from worse conditions (Nicias: Th. VII.77.1.)
- the enemy had good fortune enough, now it is out time for the gods to pity and favour us (Nicias: Th. VII.77.3-4.)
- the odds are on our side, as the ground is in our favour, the enemy is dependent of landing the troops on ships (Demonsthenes: Th. IV.10.1-5.)
- the enemy gives an impression of strength, but is in reality weak (Brasidas: Th. IV.126.1-6.)

Rewards at the end of battle: - the brave will be honoured with rewards befitting their valour (Peloponnesian commanders: Th. II.87.)

- the contest will be for glories to come (Gylippus: Th. VII.66.1.)

- we will achieve a glorious price: the liberty of Sicily (Gylippus: Th. VII.68.3.)
- we will win this land and make sure the freedom of our homeland (Hippocrates: Th. IV.95.1.)
- the fight is for dominion or servitude (general of the Mantineans: Th. V.69.1.)
- if we win, we will uphold the ancient hegemony and our influence in the Peloponnese (general of the Argives: Th. V.69.1.)
- if we win, we hold the greater empire and that more securely (general of the Athenians: Th. V.69.1.)

Xenophon (between 430 and 425 – after 355 BC, writing in Greek)

Objective of the war: - the king will not keep the truce, we must fight in order not to fall into his hands (Xenophon: Xen. *Ana.* III.1.19-24.)

- we will try to save ourselves by glorious victory (Xenophon: Xen. *Ana.* III.2.3.)
- the enemy needs to be defeated through frontal assault, because they will not allow us to retreat unmolested (Xenophon: Xen. *Ana.* VI.5.14-17, 21.)
- the impending fight is one for your lives, for the land in which you were born, for your wives and children (king of Assyria: Xen. *Cyr.* III.3.44-45.)

Confidence in victory: - the omens of the sacrifices announce that the gods will grant victory (Cyrus: Xen. *Cyr.* III.3.34.; Xenophon: Xen. *Ana.* VI.5.21.; Cyrus: Xen. *Cyr.* VI.4.13.)

- the enemy is made up of poor soldiers (Cyrus: Xen. *Ana.* I.7.4.)
- we have conducted ourselves righteously, the enemy has dealt falsely with us, *thus the war is just* and we can enter it with greater confidence (Xenophon: Xen. *Ana.* III.1.22.; III.2.10.)
- the gods are likely on our side (Xenophon: Xen. *Ana.* III.1.21.)
- we are better accustomed to hardship, our bodies and souls are better trained (Xenophon: Xen. *Ana.* III.1.23.)
- we are better armed and more numerous than in the first battle, which we already won (Cyrus: Xen. *Cyr.* VI.2.14.; Xen. *Cyr.* VI.4.16-18.)
- we are confident, the enemy is full of fear (Cyrus: Xen. *Cyr.* VI.2.15-18.)
- the opposing commander is incompetent (Cyrus: Xen. *Cyr.* VI.2.19.)
- our soldiers received better training (Cyrus: Xen. *Cyr.* VI.4.14.)

Rewards at the end of battle: - the prize of victory will be ours (Cyrus: Xen. *Cyr.* II.3.2)

- each one will receive rewards according to the manner in which he fights (Cyrus: Xen. *Cyr.* II.3.16.)
- we will get the property of the vanquished (king of Assyria: Xen. *Cyr.* III.3.44-45.)
- I will make everyone an object of envy to his friends at home upon his return (Cyrus: Xen. *Ana.* I.7.4.)
- the victory of the previous battle is at stake, we will win many blessings (Cyrus: Xen. *Cyr.* VII.1.10-11.)
- pursuing, dealing death, plunder, fame, freedom, power are held as prizes for the victor (Cyrus: Xen. *Cyr.* VII.1.13.)

3.7. The question for parallels of the functional categories/ themes in Philippians

The extent of similarity of the rhetoric of the general's speech with Paul's rhetoric in Philippians can, for example, be illustrated by a comparison of Cassius' speech to the republican army in App. BC. IV.12.90-97. Cassius uses *συστρατιώτης* (Phil. 2:25), *ἀγῶν* (Phil. 1:30), *ὑποκούομαι* (Phil. 2:12), makes an appeal to unity (Phil. 1:27), mentions enemies (Phil. 1:28, 3:18) and describes the nature of the partnership in which they are involved (Phil. 1:5): "A common peril (*ἀγῶν*), like the present, fellow soldiers (*συστρατιώτης*), is the first thing that binds us in a common fidelity to each other . . . Why is it needful, then to exhort you with words to zeal and unanimity – you whom a common purpose and common interest have brought together. As to the slanders that those two men, our enemies, have brought against us . . ." ³³

Intertwined with Cassius' ethical exhortation is the statement of the military objective, namely the restoration of the Republic through the overthrow of the dictators in battle: "The enemy aiming at monarchy and despotism . . . while we seek nothing but the mere privilege of living as private citizens under the laws of our country made once more free." ³⁴ Confidence of winning the present campaign is expressed through the statement that their aims in the struggle are just. ³⁵ The incentives, which Cassius lists as motivation to heed his exhortation are of monetary nature: ". . . we have given you all that we have promised, and this is the surest guarantee for what we have promised you in the future." ³⁶

The similarity in vocabulary between the speeches of the generals and Philippians and the prominence of the three functional categories in the general's military harangues warrant an investigation, if Paul mirrors Philippians in terms of the functional categories as well.

³³ App. BC. IV.12.90, 92.

³⁴ App. BC. IV.12.97.

³⁵ App. BC. IV.12.90. For the function of the motif of "the battle is just" as an indication of winning the battle see chapter 6.

³⁶ App. BC. IV.12.90.

Chapter 4

The military objective: stating what the battle is or what is to be achieved

4.1. Previous work of Geoffrion and Schuster: the central message of Philippians

4.1.1. Interaction with previous research on the subject

This chapter will explore if Paul in his letter to the Philippians appropriates the theme of the military objective, as taken up by secular military commanders in their speeches to their assembled troops. Before we examine whether Paul mirrors the practice of military commanders to state explicitly the objective of a military campaign, we have to concede to the fact that the subject has to some degree already implicitly been dealt with by the groundbreaking work of Timothy Geoffrion and John Paul Schuster. Both scholars have focused on military terminology in the book of Philippians and have tried to answer the question what kind of struggle (in terms of Christian behaviour) Paul tries to promote by utilising military imagery. This study, on the other hand, regarding the question of a military objective, is not asking how the battle is to be fought, which Paul is promoting through military terminology, but it is asking what type of battle it is and what the desired result of a military struggle is.

The inquiries into the nature of the struggle (such as how the struggle is fought) and the desired results are distinct enough to warrant individual consideration, but the outcome of the inquiry – if a coherence can be established – will influence in turn the other area of investigation. If the question of “how to fight” is already answered, one can make fairly good assumptions as to what the desired results of the fight are. On the other hand, if one knows what is to be achieved, the necessary course of military action can be deduced from it as well. If Paul uses military terminology in stating explicitly the objective of a military campaign, the results of the inquiry of Geoffrion and Schuster into the nature of the military struggle are likely to be affirmed.

4.1.2. The contribution of Timothy Geoffrion

Timothy Geoffrion has argued that Paul draws upon conventions of ancient epistolography, deliberative rhetoric, political and military terminology in order to establish a unifying theme in

the book of Philippians, namely to exhort them “to remain steadfast in their commitment to God, Christ, and the gospel ministry.”¹ In the rhetorical analysis of the letter, Geoffrion starts his investigation at the *exordium*² in Phil. 1:27-30 and throughout the rest of his research proves how the rest of the rhetorical structures support the main proposition brought forward in the *exordium*. According to Geoffrion, the hermeneutical key in the *exordium* is expressed in the political/ military motif of πολιτεύεσθε (exercise your citizenship), its specific application for the Philippians is explained through στήκετε (stand firm as one unit) and συναθλοῦντες (fight together as one): “Thus στήκετε, an indicative in the dependent clause, specifies the sense in which πολιτεύεσθε (an imperative) is meant; συναθλοῦντες and πυρρόμενοι are participles amplifying what is meant by στήκετε.”³ The primary theme argued throughout Philippians according to Geoffrion is thus “the call to stand firm,” an image of soldiers in battle, standing side by side, facing the enemy steadfastly and fearlessly.⁴

“Steadfastness refers both to not ‘retreating’ and to persevering or ‘advancing’ in the mission . . . For some ‘retreating’ would mean accepting a false gospel (see 3:2 or 3:18-19); for others, it would mean being intimidated or distracted from carrying on with the work of proclaiming (i.e. ‘contending for’ the gospel (see 1:28; cf., 4:2-3)).”⁵ For Geoffrion the main theme under which Paul subsumes all other concerns in Philippians is the battle-field allusion of “standing firm,” which can have different applications for various groups among the Philippians, especially firmly adhering to the theological propositions of the gospel and the united effort to proclaim the good news.

4.1.3. The contribution of John Paul Schuster

Schuster narrows Geoffrion’s proposition of “standing fast” to mean that the single unifying purpose behind Philippians is the exhortation of unity for the sake of advancing the gospel.⁶ Schuster focuses on three key passages vital in the rhetorical arrangement of the letter. The

¹ Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 23.

² In rhetorical analysis the letter is usually partitioned into: (1) the epistolary prescript (Phil. 1:1-2); (2) the *exordium*, describing Paul’s situation as he writes (Phil. 1:3-26); (3) the *narratio*, which sets forth the proposition which Paul will argue through the remainder of the letter (Phil. 1:27-30); (4) the *probatio*, arguing the proposition through the use of examples (Phil. 2:1 – 3:21); and (5) the *peroratio*, giving final appeals and applications (Phil. 4:1-23). In my estimation, however, it is possible that the *probatio* includes Phil. 2:1-4:19. Philippians 4:1-4:19 contains more examples (Euodia, Syntyche, Clemens, an unnamed military partner and finally the Philippians themselves) through which the main proposition is supported.

³ Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 24.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 53-60.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁶ Schuster, John Paul. *Historical Situation and Historical Reconstruction in Philippians*. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1997, 26, 160-167.

first is Phil. 1:3-11, where according to the studies of Paul Schubert,⁷ Peter T. O'Brien⁸ and Duane Watson⁹ the epistolary thanksgiving of a Pauline letter reveals the occasion and the content of the epistle. Schuster presents “partnership for the gospel” (ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον) as one, if not the main theme of the thanksgiving in Phil. 1:3-11.¹⁰ The second passage, which Schuster focuses on, is Phil. 1:27-30, the *narratio* of the epistle. He claims, contrary to Geoffrion, who sees political imagery at the core of the passage, that πολιτεύομαι in Phil. 1:27 can refer to a military alliance, thus meaning “fight on the same side with.”¹¹ “Worthy of the gospel” (ἄξιως τοῦ εὐαγγελίου) refers back to Phil. 1:5 where the partnership for the advance of the gospel was already explicit. Schuster’s third key passage is the summary exhortation of Phil. 3:17 – 4:3 that concludes Paul’s argument by way of an *inclusio*. Here πολίτευμα mirrors the verbal form πολιτεύομαι in Phil. 1:27, we find the repetition of the verb συναθλέω (“fight side by side”) from Phil. 1:27 again in Phil. 4:3 (used only here in the New Testament) and we find a repetition of the imperative στήκετε (“stand firm against the onslaught of the enemy”) from Phil. 1:27 in Phil. 4:1.¹²

4.1.4. The main purpose of Philippians

Thus, both Geoffrion and Schuster argue that Paul employs terms, cognates and general concepts from historical accounts of military conflict and from speeches of encouragement from the lips of commanders in order to instruct the Philippians to both continue faithfully believing the gospel and to actively advance it by sharing it with others initially hostile towards the faith. The nature of the struggle which the Philippians are exhorted to live out faithfully is the continuation of faith in Christ in the midst of opposition and a conscious exertion to share the gospel with unbelievers. This, according to Geoffrion and Schuster, is the main and all pervasive admonition of Paul to the Philippians. Schuster focused on Phil. 1:3-11; 1:27-30 and 3:17-4:3, namely the introduction, the main exhortation and the summary exhortation of the letter in order to demonstrate that the principal admonitions in Philippians call for action on behalf of the Philippians, that is: to unite and boldly share the

⁷ Paul Schubert, *Form and Function of the Pauline Thanksgivings*. Berlin: Töpelmann, 1939.

⁸ Peter T. O'Brien, *Introductory Thanksgivings in the Letters of Paul*. Leiden: Brill, 1977.

⁹ Duane F. Watson, “A Rhetorical Analysis of Philippians and Its Implication for the Unity Question.” In *NovT* 30. Köln: Brill, 1988, 57-88.

¹⁰ Schuster, John Paul. *Historical Situation and Historical Reconstruction in Philippians*. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1997, 22, 50-53. For κοινωνία meaning “military partnership” Schuster refers to Jos. *BJ*. III.485.1; IV.387.8; App. *BC*. I.5.34.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 23, 67-79.

¹² *Ibid.*, 24-25, 79-82. For the definition of ἵστημι and its cognates indicating the duty of the soldier in battle, describing the taking of a position *vis-à-vis* that of an adversary, see Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 55.

gospel. Geoffrion's main contribution was to reveal how the various subthemes of Philippians contribute to support the overall argument to stand firm in and actively share the gospel. The concern of this chapter is to demonstrate how passages unaddressed (or only briefly noted) by Geoffrion and Schuster state the nature of the struggle described by Paul in military metaphors. The nature of the struggle answers the question "what are we fighting for."

4.1.5. Paul's dependence on the grand themes of the military generals: the objective of the war

If, as Geoffrion has stated, "Paul's rhetoric finds parallels not only along the lines of common language and concepts (of the speeches of military commanders), but also in terms of the genre of a political/ military leader's speech of encouragement to his troops,"¹³ one would expect that one of the main emphases of speeches of military commanders, namely that of stating the military objective, in the sense of what type of battle we are fighting and what is to be achieved through the struggle would also to be present as one of Paul's rhetorical devices in Philippians. If Geoffrion and Schuster are correct in their estimation that Paul exhorts the Philippians on how they are to advance the gospel, and if Paul does take up the theme of the military objective, one should anticipate passages about the campaign of the advance of the gospel and its goal (in terms of the desired results) in Philippians, couched in military terminology.

4.1.6. The military theme "the objective of the war" in deliberative rhetoric in Philippians

Since the species of Greco-Roman rhetoric, which mainly characterises Philippians is deliberative rhetoric,¹⁴ which heavily relies on stating exemplary behaviour, we would expect the military objective to be presented not necessarily in plain exhortative statement of fact, but through exhortation supported by example. Paul appropriates to an unprecedented degree in Philippians the example of himself and of others in order to undergird rhetorically the *narratio*, his main proposition of the letter. Out of one hundred and four verses in Philippians, fifty-three are describing exemplary behaviour of Christians or of Christ, reinforcing Paul's main argument.¹⁵ Thus, approximately fifty per cent of Philippians consists

¹³ Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 54, the parenthesis are mine.

¹⁴ Duane F. Watson, "The Three Species of Rhetoric and the Study of the Pauline Epistles." In *Paul and Rhetoric*. Ed. Peter Lampe and J. Paul Sampley. London: T & T Clark, 2010, 25-31.

¹⁵ The passages are Phil. 1:12-26; 2:6-11; 2:17; 2:19-30; 3:4-14; 3:17; 4:2; 4:11-13; 4:15-16.

of a description of rhetorical examples. These rhetorical object lessons are the key to understanding the letter of Philippians as a whole.

If a common behaviour among these examples can be established, then this behaviour is the very one which Paul seeks to instruct the Philippians to imitate. It is our proposal that a statement of the military objective is present in the presentation of Timothy, Epaphroditus, the Philippians, Paul himself, Clemens, Euodia and Syntyche and the unnamed loyal military comrade as rhetorical examples.

4.2. Military struggle for the advance of the gospel: the example of Paul

(Phil. 1:20-22)

4.2.1. Ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος as an example for the Philippians

Philippians 1:20-22 is a passage in which Paul puts himself forward as an example for the Philippians to follow. The “for as for me” (ἔμοι γάρ) is an insight into Paul’s intense personal conviction and lifestyle, with the intent to provoke an imitation by the reader of the qualities presented.¹⁶ When Paul writes that Ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος, he not only gives his own personal opinion on what life as a Christian is all about, but hopes that the Philippians will share that same attitude. It is our conviction that Paul alludes to a well known military metaphor and through it sets himself as an example to the Philippians for them to boldly engage in the task of proclaiming the gospel.

4.2.2. Supplying the elided verbs to τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος

4.2.2.1. *The option of supplying εἶμι*

It has been noted by many that the phrase τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος is abbreviated and that a verb to complete the sentence needs to be supplied. Generally, the

¹⁶ Contra Joseph B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul’s Epistle to the Philippians*. London: MacMillan, 1908, 92, who claims that ἔμοι implies a contrast with others. Followed by Gerald Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 54: “... irrespective of what others may think or say...”. Or Paul Ewald, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Philipper*. Leipzig: A. Deichertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung Dr. Werner Scholl, 1923, 85. Collange thinks it implies an unassumed “for them,” i.e., Paul’s detractors. Jean-François Collange, *The Epistle of Saint Paul to the Philippians*. Transl. by A. W. Heathcote. London: Epworth Press, 1979, 63. The thought of the insincere competitors has already receded since Phil. 1:19 and does not reappear. There is no necessity to see Paul contrasting himself with others at this point. The emphatic position of ἔμοι simply draws attention to “intensely personal confession.” So Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 118.

elided verb is simply proposed to be εἰμι,¹⁷ making Phil. 1:21 to read “for as to me, to live *is* Christ and to die *is* gain.” Supplying εἰμι still leaves the phrase somewhat cryptic and gives no indication of what Paul means precisely by it. The general statement “to live *is* Christ” has left interpreters ample room to invest into the phrase various definitions, and there is no lack of suggestions how to fill the void. Does “to live *is* Christ” mean that life as a Christian depends on Christ? Is the foundation, centre, purpose, power or meaning found in Christ?¹⁸ Or all of it? Does Paul want to express that Christ is the source of his physical or spiritual life? Or that everything that Paul does: trust, hope, obey, preach, follow is inspired by Christ and done for Christ?¹⁹ It is of course possible to endow the sentence by itself with a meaning as all-inclusive as possible.

The problem with this approach, however, is that the wider the range of meanings adopted for Phil. 1:21, the more difficult it gets to trace Paul’s line of reasoning in the pericope. It would be difficult to argue how in the immediate context Christ being the foundation, centre, or source of spiritual life supports Paul’s argument that Christ will be magnified in his body (μεγαλυνθήσεται Χριστός ἐν τῷ σώματι), which is the part of Phil. 1:20 that Paul now explains or develops.

It is more likely that Paul has something more specific in mind, which connects life (τὸ ζῆν) and Christ (Χριστός). What precisely Paul may have in mind must be governed by the immediate context and not by importing ideas from outside the immediate textual surroundings of Phil. 1:20. Knowing that the verb is elided in τὸ ζῆν Χριστός, it is necessary to consider the possibility that not a general εἰμι is to be supplied, but that we have here an instance of a broad ellipsis in which the hearer supplies the omission from a verb of the preceding context, because it is self-evident from the flow of rhetoric and argument that this specific verb needs to be appended.²⁰ Two possibilities emerge.

¹⁷ Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 118. Gerald Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 55. The precise verbal form would be ἐστὶ, the 3-rd pers. sing. pres. act. ind. of εἰμι.

¹⁸ G. Walter Hansen, *The Letter to the Philippians*. Pillar New Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009, 81.

¹⁹ Gerald Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 55.

²⁰ Friedrich Blass and Albert Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Translated from the 9th Edition by Robert W. Funk. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961, 253-255. For similar instances see for example Mark 14:2, where αὐτὸν κρατήσωμεν from the preceding verse is to be supplied to μὴ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ (αὐτὸν κρατήσωμεν). Or Rev. 20:10 where ἐβλήθησαν is to be supplied to καὶ ὁ διάβολος ὁ πλανῶν αὐτοὺς ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ θείου ὄπου καὶ τὸ θηρίον καὶ ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης (ἐβλήθησαν). In Philippians, cf., Phil. 2:21, where ζητοῦσιν is to be supplied after οὐ τὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (ζητοῦσιν) or cf., Phil. 1:15 where either τὸν λόγον λαλεῖν from Phil. 1:14 is to be supplied after τινὲς μὲν καὶ διὰ φθόνον καὶ ἔριν (τὸν λόγον λαλεῖν) or τὸν χριστὸν κηρύσσουσιν is to be brought forward to τινὲς μὲν καὶ διὰ φθόνον καὶ ἔριν (τὸν χριστὸν κηρύσσουσιν).

4.2.2.2. *The option of supplying μεγαλύνω*

The first one, would be to take over μεγαλύνω from the previous verse, which would give Phil. 1:21 the sense that for Paul *to live* means *to magnify* Christ. Although μεγαλύνω is closest to the place where the verb is elided in Phil. 1:21, this option is the less likely one, because it would simply repeat the thought of Phil. 1:20 without adding anything substantially new to the development of thought. Furthermore, the explanatory γάρ in Phil. 1:21 prepares the reader for an elaboration on how, why or by what means Christ is magnified.

4.2.2.3. *The option of supplying καταγγέλλω*

Therefore, it is quite possible that Paul has elided the verb, which already twice in the immediate context defined the action which Χριστός as the object receives,²¹ namely καταγγέλλω (to proclaim) in Phil. 1:17 and Phil. 1:18. A synonym of καταγγέλλω also appeared already in Phil. 1:15, there κηρύσσω preceded Χριστός. Furthermore, παρρησία is characteristically used by Paul with reference to the bold proclamation of the gospel (2 Cor. 3:12; Eph. 6:19) and also appears in Phil. 1:20. Thus, we have a staccato of three synonymous verbs indicating bold proclamation of Christ, appearing altogether four times in the immediate context: preaching Christ (Χριστόν κηρύσσουσιν) (Phil. 1:15), proclaiming Christ (Χριστόν καταγγέλλουσιν) (Phil. 1:17), Christ is proclaimed (Χριστός καταγγέλλεται) (Phil. 1:18), with bold speech *proclaiming Christ* (ἐν πάσῃ παρρησία) (Phil. 1:20). The predominant theme of the paragraph is the preaching of Christ and it would be no surprise if Paul for stylistic reasons and on account of the already manifold repetition elides the verb, which would be obviously recognised by a hearer: καταγγέλλω!²² The ellipsis forms Paul's thought into a memorable catchphrase, easily to be picked up by his hearers:

τὸ ζῆν Χριστός

τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος .

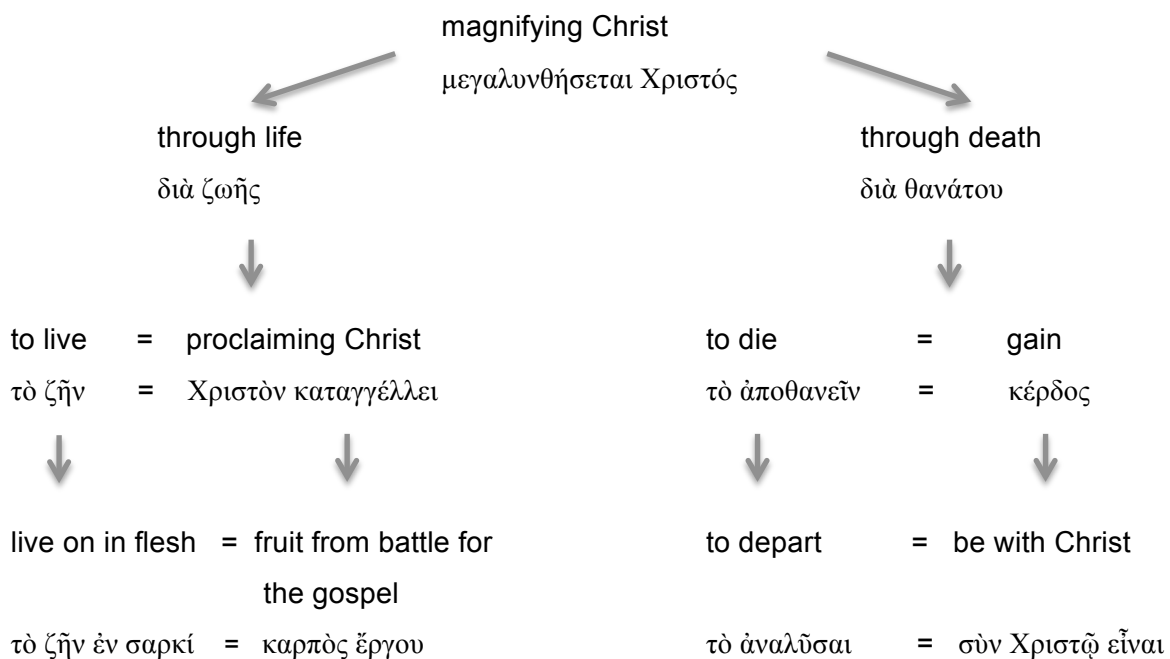
But from the immediate context they would just as well pick up the meaning of Paul's slogan, which is: as for me, to live is proclaiming Christ, to die is gain!

²¹ In Phil. 1:18 Χριστός is technically the subject, but since καταγγέλλεται is in the passive, Χριστός functions as the object of the verb.

²² Although not on linguistic, but on thematic grounds, this is also argued by Samuel Vollenweider: "... ein Leben zugunsten der Verkündigung des Evangeliums . . . wie es ja der Kontext V. 12ff. thematisiert." Samuel Vollenweider, "Die Waagschalen von Leben und Tod. Zum antiken Hintergrund von Phil 1,21-26." In *ZNW*. Vol. 85. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994, 99.

4.2.3. The emerging structure of Paul's argument

The suggestion for the supply of καταγγέλλω as the elided verb²³ is confirmed to be appropriate from the immediately following structure of Paul's thought. Having just established his two options: life consists of proclaiming Christ, dying consists of receiving gain, one notices that it is precisely these two options which Paul further elaborates in Phil. 1:22-23! If Paul continues **to live** his earthly life (εἰ δὲ τὸ ζῆν ἐν σαρκί), this would result in "fruit from labour" (or rather "fruit from the battle-work")²⁴ (καρπὸς ἔργου). The fruit envisioned is unquestionably converts from the preaching-Christ-ministry! This is particularly evident from the fact that Paul uses ἔργον already in Phil. 1:6 with reference to the work (or rather battle) of furthering the gospel.²⁵ The second option, to die is gain, is then further developed in Phil. 1:23. There "to die" (τὸ ἀποθανεῖν) parallels "to depart" (τὸ ἀναλῦσαι) and "the gain" is unpacked to mean "σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι." Thus, a very systematic structure emerges, in which every part has its fitted place:



²³ Since τὸ ζῆν is a substantival infinitive functioning as the subject, the precise verbal form of the ellipse to be mentally reinserted is καταγγέλλει, the 3-rd pers. sing. pres. act. ind. of καταγγέλλω.

²⁴ In Philippians Paul employs ἔργον metaphorically as the battle of furthering the gospel. See Philippians 1:6 and 2:30 and the discussion below.

²⁵ The good battle, which was **begun** in the midst of the Philippians (ὁ ἐναρξάμενος ἐν ὑμῖν ἔργον ἀγαθόν) (Phil. 1:6) is not some general work of sanctification or otherwise, but stands in concrete reference to the Philippians military-partnership of advancing the gospel **from the first day** (ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας) (Phil. 1:5). Paul's line of reasoning here is: what the Philippians began in the first day, namely to participate in Paul's efforts to further the gospel, was actually the work of Christ in their midst – and since He is the one who started it, the battle-effort of advancing the gospel will come to a successful conclusion.

The left side of the argument is continued in the same structural set up by Paul in Phil. 1:25 as he considers the likelihood of him surviving his trial:



I will remain = for the progress of the

Gospel²⁶

μενῶ = εἰς . . . προκοπὴν . . . τῆς

πίστεως

4.2.4. To live for Paul is preaching Christ: τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸν καταγγέλλει!

Supplying καταγγέλλω as the elided verb to τὸ ζῆν Χριστός demonstrates how consistently Paul argues in a very structured pattern along his main theme in Phil. 1:12-25, where εἰς προκοπὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (“for the advancement of the gospel”) (Phil. 1:12) forms together with εἰς τὴν ὑμῶν προκοπὴν . . . τῆς πίστεως (“for the advancement of the faith”) (Phil. 1:25) an inclusion and defines the boundaries of the pericope and its main content. A general understanding of τὸ ζῆν Χριστός as Christ being the centre, purpose and meaning of life breaks up the pattern and introduces concepts totally foreign to any of Paul’s lines of reasoning in the pericope. More likely, Paul wants to let the Philippians know what his life-passion is, namely to proclaim Christ even in adverse circumstances.

4.2.5. The thought of dying (τὸ ἀποθανεῖν) directly related to the preaching of Christ

The thought of dying comes up as a major theme not because Paul ponders a general future and because he needs an encouraging funeral slogan, since he as well might die one day. Dying is introduced because Paul might die **for the gospel!** He is on trial not for some general misdemeanour, but he is accused and might face a death sentence because of him proclaiming the gospel (Phil. 1:7, 13). The main emphasis of Phil. 1:20-21 is that Paul is determined not to stop preaching the gospel, even if a direct consequence of preaching is him being killed for doing so. Paul sees his evangelistic efforts in light of a military metaphor:

²⁶ Εἰς τὴν ὑμῶν προκοπὴν καὶ χαρὰν τῆς πίστεως does not portray Paul remaining and working for the Philippians’ progress of understanding or internalising the gospel. Προκοπὴν τῆς πίστεως (the latter phrase being elided after προκοπὴν) is not an objective genitival construction. Instead, Paul intends to say that he remains for their mutual military partnership (cf., Phil. 1:5 ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον) of advancing the gospel. Thus, προκοπὴν τῆς πίστεως is a subjective genitival construction. Πίστις is here not subjective faith, but a synonym of the content of the gospel, just as in Phil. 1:27, where πίστις is in an exegesimal relationship with εὐαγγέλιον: συναθλοῦντες τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (fighting together for the advancement of the faith, namely the gospel). Thus, Phil. 1:25 reads: I will remain . . . for you progressing the gospel and for your joy in the gospel.

proclaiming Jesus is like being in a battle for the advancement of the gospel.²⁷ As in real military life, when the opposition is tough (Phil. 1:29-30) and one is tempted to flee in order to save one's life, Paul considered saving his skin by disengaging from fighting for the progress of the gospel.

4.2.6. Paul's dependence on a famous military maxim: "better to die honourably while boldly facing the enemy instead of saving ones life through cowardly and disgraceful flight."

His answer comes in a shortened typical military philosophy: I rather die in battle action than being shamed by being a coward and fleeing from the task of fighting for the gospel (Phil. 1:20). In order to understand Paul's allusion to an archetypal military convention, it is important to recall that the concepts of honour/greatness (μεγαλύνω) in boldness (παρρησία) versus shame (αἰσχύνομαι) in cowardliness plus the concepts life (ζωή) versus death (θάνατος) are the key elements of an all pervasive military philosophy in the ancient world.

To put it into one sentence it would say – that in light of a dangerous battle ahead **“it is better to die honourably while boldly facing the enemy instead of saving ones life through cowardly and disgraceful flight.”** This brief military conviction is so ubiquitously well known that it pervades ancient literature, Greek and Roman, over the centuries of the existence of the Roman Empire. It is found in Greek plays, in Roman philosophical letters, in military manuals, in historical narratives, on the lips of soldiers and in the speeches of generals before battle. The triad of opposites consisting of rather (1a) dying (2a) honourably while (3a) boldly fighting versus saving ones (1b) life through (2b) shameful and (3b) cowardly flight was so ingrained in ancient thinking that the average listener would immediately pick up the concept once a selection of the triadic opposites appear in literature.

²⁷ Cf., Phil. 1:5 (ἐπὶ τῇ **κοινωνίᾳ** ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον), Phil. 1:7 (ἐν τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ καὶ βεβαιώσει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου **συγκοινωνός** μου). John Paul Schuster, *Historical Situation and Historical Reconstruction in Philippians*. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1997, 51. Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 91-95. Edgar Krentz, "Paul, Games, and the Military." In *Paul in the Greco-Roman World*. Ed. J. Paul Sampley. London: Trinity Press International, 2003, 361. Cf., Phil. 1:25: μενῶ καὶ παραμενῶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν εἰς τὴν ὑμῶν προκοπὴν τῆς πίστεως. Edgar Krentz, "Military Language and Metaphors in Philippians." In *Origins and Method: Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity*. Ed. Bradley H. McLean. Journal of the Study of the New Testament Supplement 86. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993, 120. Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 177. Further military termini in Phil. 1:12-25 are τολμάω (Phil. 1:14) (see below), ἀφόβως (Phil. 1:14) (Edgar Krentz, "Military Language and Metaphors in Philippians." In *Origins and Method: Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity*. Ed. Bradley H. McLean. Journal of the Study of the New Testament Supplement 86. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993, 122.), θλίψις (Phil. 1:17), σωτηρία (Phil. 1:19) (see below), κέρδος (Phil. 1:21) (see above), ἔργον (Phil. 1:22) (see below), and the concept of being hard pressed (συνέχω) (Phil. 1:23) (Plb. VI.24.9., although πιεζομενους is used by Polybius instead of the synonym συνέχω).

To demonstrate the pervasiveness of this triadic concept I will cite selected examples from various ancient literary works.

Cicero uses it in his *Philippics*:

In fuga foeda mors est; in victoria gloriosa. Etenim Mars ipse ex acie fortissimum quemque pignerari solet. Illi igitur impii quos cecidistis etiam ad inferos poenas parricidi luent; vos vero qui extremum spiritum in victoria effundistis piorum estis sedem et locum consecuti.²⁸

Death in flight is infamous, in victory glorious. In truth, Mars, himself seems to select all the bravest men from the battle array. Those traitors whom you killed will pay for their crime of treason even in the world below; whereas you, who breathed your last in victory have gained the dwelling place of pious souls.

Tacitus has the triad of opposites on the lips of Agricola during a speech to his troops:

Quod as me attinet, iam pridem mihi decretum est neque exercitus neque ducis terga tuta esse. Proinde et honesta mors turpi vita potior, et incolumitas ac decus eodem loco sita sunt; nec inglorium fuerit in ipso terrarum ac naturae fine cecidisse.²⁹

As for myself, I have long reached the conviction that retreat is fatal both to army and general: therefore not only is honourable death always better than life dishonoured, but in our special case safety and honour go together; nor would it be inglorious to fall at the world's edge and nature's end.

Xenophon has Cyrus speak about the advantage of death in battle in comparison to shamefully saving one's life by running from battle:

Ἴη καὶ δύναιτ' ἄν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἷς λόγος ῥηθῆεις αὐθημερὸν αἰδοῦς μὲν ἐμπληῆσαι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀκουόντων . . . προτρέψαι δὲ ὡς χρὴ ἐπαίνου μὲν ἕνεκα πάντα μὲν πόνον, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑποδύεσθαι, λαβεῖν δ' ἐν ταῖς γνώμαις βεβαίως τοῦτο ὡς αἰρετώτερόν ἐστι μαχομένους ἀποθνήσκειν μᾶλλον ἢ φεύγοντας σφύζεσθαι.³⁰

"Do you really think," returned Cyrus, "that one word spoken could all at once fill with a sense of honour the souls of those who hear . . . and convince them that for the sake of praise they must undergo every toil and danger? Could it impress the ideal indelibly upon their minds that it is

²⁸ Cic. *Phil.* XIV.32. Transl. by Jeffrey Henderson, LCL, II:322-23.

²⁹ Tac. *Ag.* XXXIII.6. Transl. by M. Hutton, LCL, 88-89.

³⁰ Xen. *Cyr.* III.3.51. Transl. by Jeffrey Henderson, LCL, I:294-95.

“better to die in battle than save one’s
 life by running away?”

Lycurgus, one of the Attic Orators in his oration *Against Leocrates*, condenses the triad of opposites into a powerful poem:

τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν
 ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα /
 ἄνδρ’ ἀγαθόν, περὶ ἧ πατρίδι
 μαρνάμενον . . . /
 αἰσχύνει δὲ γένος,
 κατὰ δ’ ἀγλαὸν εἶδος ἐλέγχει, /
 πᾶσα δ’ ἀτιμίη
 καὶ κακότης ἔπεται.³¹

Nobly comes death to him
 who in the van
 Fighting for fatherland
 has made his stand.
 Shame and despite attend
 the coward’s flight . . .
 Bringing his house dishonour, he belies
 His noble mien, a prey to fear and
 shame.

In the battle against the Latins, Postumius, the general of the Roman army exhorts in a pre-battle harangue the assembled Roman forces with the famous comparison of honourable death in battle versus shameful flight to save one’s life as recorded by Dionysius of Halicarnassus:

ὅ δ’ ἂν ἡ κακὴ καὶ θεοβλαβῆς διάνοια φυγῆς
 ἀσχήμονος ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμβάλῃ, τούτῳ τὸν
 φευγόμενον ἀγχοῦ παραστήσω θάνατον· . . .
 εὐκλεεῖς δὲ καὶ ζηλωτοὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς οἱ τὰ
 σώματα χαριούμενοι τῇ πατρίδι. ἀποθανεῖν
 μὲν γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ὀφείλεται, κακοῖς
 τε καὶ ἀγαθοῖς· καλῶς δὲ καὶ ἐνδόξως μόνοις
 τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς.³²

But if a cowardly and infatuate mind
 shall suggest to anyone an inclination to
 shameful flight, to him I will bring home
 the very death he endeavoured to avoid
 but glorious and envied for their
 bravery will those be who shall sacrifice
 their lives for their country. Death,
 indeed, is decreed to all men, both the
 cowardly and the brave; but an
 honourable and a glorious death comes
 to the brave alone.

Diodorus Siculus narrates the battle of the mercenaries fighting on the side of the Iranians against the Macedonians. The battle ends in the total destruction of the mercenaries, as they considered glorious death more preferable than shamefully saving their lives:

³¹ Lyc. 1. Transl. by John O. Burrt, LCL, II:96-97.

³² DH. VI.9.4, 6. Transl. by Earnest Cary, LCL, III:266-267.

τέλος δὲ πάντες μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀγωνισάμενοι καὶ κατακοπέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τὸν ἔνδοξον θάνατον τῆς ἀγεννοῦς φιλοζωίας ἠλλάξαντο. ³³	Finally, fighting women and all, they were overborne by numbers and cut down, winning a glorious death in preference to basely saving their lives at any cost.
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The military tactician Onosander advises the generals to encourage their troops that a glorious death is to be preferred while remaining in rank instead of fleeing:

ὅτι τοῖς μὲν φεύγουσι πρόδηλος ὁ ὄλεθρος . . . ὡς φεύγοντες μὲν αἰσχυρῶς ἀπολοῦνται, μένοντες δ' εὐκλεῶς τεθνήξονται . . . ἄριστοι κατὰ τοὺς κινδύνους ἄνδρες ἐξετάζονται. ³⁴	<i>The general should point out</i> that death is certain for those who flee . . . for the men in the lines who chance to believe that if they remain in rank they will die a glorious death . . . will prove the best men in the face of danger.
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Sallust vividly describes the contempt of the ancient conscience towards a soldier (in his case even a general) who chooses to live disgracefully by fleeing from the battle scene instead of dying boldly and gloriously:

Turpilius praefectus unus ex omnibus Italicis intactus profugit . . . quia illi in tanto malo turpis vita integra fama potior fuit, improbus intestabilisque videtur. ³⁵	. . . Turpilius, the commander, alone of all the Italians, escaped unscathed . . . since in such a disaster he chose to live disgraced rather than die with an unsullied reputation, he seems to me a wretch utterly detestable.
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By contrast, Livy commends Aemilius who choose an honourable death in battle than escaping and living in disgrace:

. . . L. Aemili consulis, qui se bene mori quam turpiter vivere maluit . . . ³⁶	. . . Lucius Aemilius the consul, who preferred an honourable death to life with ignominy . . .
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In the mindset of the Roman people the precedents of history had deeply ingrained an attitude amongst the population, which ran: “one conquers by fighting or dies by fighting, but one never flees to save oneself.”³⁷

³³ DS. XVII.84.6. Transl. by C. Bradford Welles, LCL, VIII:364-65.

³⁴ Onos. *Strat.* XXXII.6-7. Transl. by Illinois Greek Club, LCL, 476-77.

³⁵ Sal. *Jug.* LXVII.3. Transl. by John. C. Rolfe, LCL, 280-81.

³⁶ Liv. XXII.50.7.

Vobis necesse est fortibus viris esse et omnibus inter victoriam mortemve certa desperatione abruptis aut vincere aut, si Fortuna dubitabit, in proelio potius quam in fuga mortem oppetere. Si hoc bene fixum omnibus, si destinatum animo ist, iterum dicam, vicistis; ³⁸	As for you, you must be stout-hearted men, and discarding, without vain regrets, all hopes of anything but victory or death, either conquer or, if Fortune falters, sooner perish in battle than in flight. If this idea has been firmly fixed and planted in your hearts, let me say no more: the victory is already yours.
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4.2.7. The example of Paul: bold preaching of the gospel for the glory of Christ

It is exactly this military theorem of “it is better to die honourably while boldly facing the enemy instead of saving ones life through cowardly and disgraceful flight” that Paul reworks here in application of preaching the gospel. Since he does not want to be ashamed (ἐν οὐδενὶ αἰσχυνθήσομαι) (Phil. 1:20), stopping to preach the gospel merely to save his skin is not an option for Paul. For what reason should he save his life in any way, since his whole *raison d’être* is preaching the gospel (Ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸς καταγγέλλει) (Phil. 1:20) anyhow! Therefore Paul chooses to continue to preach the gospel with all boldness (ἐν πάσῃ παρρησίᾳ) (Phil. 1:20), no matter if that results in him dying or if it results in him continuing to live and seeing the outcome of a successful battle for the advance of the gospel: the fruit of battle (καρπὸς ἔργου) (Phil. 1:22), καρπὸς clearly referring here, as it does, for example, in Rom. 1:13, to converts from his preaching ministry.

The only difference to the traditional military theorem of the triade of opposites is that with Paul not the one who boldly faces the enemy and prefers death to flight receives the glory, but Christ does: he is to be exalted in the battle for the advance of the gospel (μεγαλυνθήσεται Χριστός) (Phil. 1:20). Although Paul still says that he does not want to be ashamed, the opposite of the military theorem, namely to receive honour and glory, goes not to him, but to Christ. The ancient reader of Phil. 1:19-21, who would be familiar with the honour versus shame military theorem, would recognise Paul structuring his argument and would understand the intention of Paul in the passage to run like this:

³⁷ Polybius narrates how after the Romans suffered defeat by Hannibal at Cannae all the Roman forces were killed, except the troops guarding the baggage. These were taken prisoner alive and Hannibal offered the Roman senate to ransom them. The senate, according to Polybius, made a momentous and far-reaching decision: they refused to ever ransom captured troops. For the rest of Roman history it was “imposed by law on their own troops the duty of either conquering or dying on the field, as there was no hope of safety for them if defeated.” (. . . τοῖς δὲ παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐνομοθέτησαν ἢ νικᾶν μαχομένους ἢ θνήσκειν, ὡς ἄλλης οὐδεμιᾶς ἐλπίδος ὑπαρχούσης εἰς σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς ἡττωμένοις.) Plb. VI.58.11. Transl. by William R. Paton, LCL, III:444-45. The commitment to either conquer or die in battle appears widespread in ancient literature. See e.g., Plb. III.63.4., App. BC. II.11.72., Hdt. VII.104.5., Verg. A. XI.498., Liv. XXIII.29.7.

³⁸ Liv. XXI.44.8-9. Transl. by Benjamin O. Foster, LCL, V:130-33.

In the battle for the advance of the gospel,

I do not want to be dishonoured and shamed by retreating in fear from the battle task,
but I want Christ to be magnified either through my death or the fruit from the battle.

That Paul is not only giving a status report on his own life, but that this section functions as an example of how the Philippians are to view their life and their effort to share the message of Jesus in the midst of opposition is seen by how Paul continues the pericope in military terminology with direct reference to the Philippians. Considering the two options of dying and being in the presence of Christ or living and preaching Christ, Paul is pressed (συνέχομαι) (Phil. 1:23), possibly a military metaphor which refers to the pressure one experiences in combat.³⁹ Yet Paul is confident that he will continue to live and thus stay in battle line⁴⁰ (μενῶ) (Phil. 1:25), standing firm in the midst of battle⁴¹ (παραμενῶ) (Phil. 1:25) for the Philippians' joy in the faith and their advancement of the faith⁴² (εἰς τὴν ὑμῶν προκοπὴν καὶ χαρὰν τῆς πίστεως) (Phil. 1:25).

³⁹ Ceslas Spicq, *Theological Lexicon of the New Testament*. Translated and ed. James D. Ernest. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1994, 339: "... surrounded by encircling enemies, one is pressed." Spicq cites no examples for the support of his definition, but συνέχομαι in the passive may have this meaning in DS. XX.61.4., where the Greeks are hard-pressed by fear on every side, since the Carthagians surround them in superior strength everywhere and in Plb. I.7.9., where the Romans cannot come to the aid of the city of Rhegium because they were hard-pressed with wars elsewhere.

⁴⁰ For μενῶ as military terminology meaning "stay in battle line" see Krentz, Edgar. "Military Language and Metaphors in Philippians." In *Origins and Method: Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity*. Ed. Bradley H. McLean. Journal of the Study of the New Testament Supplement 86. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993, 120.

⁴¹ For παραμενῶ as military terminology meaning "standing firm in the midst of battle" and the significance of Paul pairing the two military metaphors of μενῶ and παραμενῶ close together, see Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 177.

⁴² Εἰς τὴν ὑμῶν προκοπὴν καὶ χαρὰν τῆς πίστεως does not mean "for your advancement and joy in the faith," as though the Philippians should somehow venture deeper into the gospel. Προκοπή continues to have the meaning which it already had in Phil. 1:12, where εἰς προκοπὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου is synonymous with εἰς τὴν . . . προκοπὴν . . . τῆς πίστεως in Phil. 1:25. Paul likely placed προκοπή in both places to round up his pericope through an *inclusio*. In Phil. 1:25 the progress of the gospel through the Philippians is in view, in Phil. 1:12 the progress of the gospel through Paul. Thus, Paul reinforces once more his main theme of this passage, namely "we are advancing the gospel together." It is not unlikely that Paul viewed his future visit to Philippi as a double opportunity: on the one hand he wanted to encourage the Philippians and increase their joy, on the other hand he envisioned a time of evangelistic ministry. For this double purpose of a visit see also Rom. 1:10-15.

4.3. Military struggle for the advance of the gospel: the example of Timothy (Phil. 2:19-24)

4.3.1. Likely military allusions: sending Timothy, receiving communications, acknowledgement of character

The next example which Paul cites, apart from Christ himself in Phil. 2:5-11, in support of his main argument of advancing the gospel together, is Timothy as a role model in Phil. 2:19-24. We detect no explicit military terminology in this passage, although some concepts inherent in these lines are well at home in military customs and might be alluded to here by Paul. The speedy sending of Timothy (Τιμόθεον ταχέως πέμψαι ὑμῖν) (Phil. 2:19) mirrors the sending of soldiers out on special duties and the precise keeping of records in the Roman army, where these soldiers are sent to and on the purpose of the mission.⁴³ Paul sending Timothy in order that he might report back to Paul how the Philippians are doing (ἵνα κἀγὼ εὐψυχῶ γνοῦς τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν) (Phil. 2:19) is parallel to stereotypical procedures of military commanders to send out soldiers in order to maintain communications with subunits and to receive news on matters of

⁴³ See for example lines 5 to 9 from the column II of the morning report of the *Cohort XX Palmyrenorum* in P. Dur. 82. (<http://papyri.info/ddbdp/rom.mil.rec;1;47>) Transl. in Robert O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*. Cleveland: Case Western Reserve, 1971, 183-88:

missi in prosec(utionem) hordiator(um)	Sent to convoy the barley-collectors, [?]
mil(ites) [.]i (centuriae) Mariani [-ca.-] /	soldiers; century of Marianus [?] /
reversi q(uondam) d(e)p(utati(?)) adatha	Returned, previously detailed to Adatha, 2
mil(ites) ii (centuria) Nigrini Iul(ius)	soldiers: century of Nigrinus, Iulius
Zabdibolus [-ca.-]	Zabdibolus [?] /
reversi q(uondam) d(e)p(utati(?)) ad	Returned, previously detailed to the
praet(orium) praesidis cum epistul[i]s .	headquarters of the governor with letters
[-ca.-] /	[?]
ζ(ήτει) (?) reversus ex q(uondam) d() p()	Check ! Returned, from among those
cum eis ad praet(orium) praes(idis) ex	previously detailed with the men at the
coh(orte) ii	governor's headquarters, from the cohorts II
eq[-ca.-] /	Eq[?] /
missus lig(nator) balnei mil(es) i (centuriae)	Sent as wood-gatherer for the bath, 1 soldier,
Nigrini Zebidas Barnei .	century of Nigrinus, Zebedias son of Barneus
[-ca.-]	[?]

Correspondences on personnel was abundant in the Roman army. See for example P. Dur. 66. (<http://papyri.info/ddbdp/rom.mil.rec;1;89>). Transl. in part in Robert O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*. Cleveland: Case Western Reserve, 1971, 356-79. Lines 3 until 6 of the front page read:

[milit]eş η(umero) ὄγιντι octo d[omine	I have sent back to you, dear sir, from the
coh(ortis)] /	service of Aurelius Theodorus, procurator
[xx Palm(yrenorum) c]ui p[ra]e[e]s tiβ[i] ex	Augusti, to whom I have given others in their
mini-] /	place, twenty-eight soldiers of the coh. XX
ş[terio A]ureli Th[eo]dori proç(uratoris)	Palmyrenorum which you command . . .
A[ug(usti) cui] /	
q[uoru]m in loco a[l]l[i]oş dedi remis[i]	
ex hi[s]	

For more letters on personnel see P. Oxy. VII 1022, P. Dur. 55, P. Dur. 63-64, P. Dur. 64, P. Dur. 67-69, P. Dur. 74, P. Dur. 76, P. Dur. 81; all listed in Robert O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*. Cleveland: Case Western Reserve, 1971, 352-98.

personnel.⁴⁴ The recommendation provided of Timothy's character (οὐδένα γὰρ ἔχω ἰσόψυχον, ὅστις γνησίως τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν μεριμνήσει·) (Phil. 2:20) correlates with Roman military practice, which was, to keep records of the character of soldiers⁴⁵ and to list the virtues of soldiers or friends in letters of recommendation.⁴⁶ The approval of Timothy as a man who does not seek his own, but the things of Jesus Christ (οἱ πάντες γὰρ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ζητοῦσιν, οὐ τὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) (Phil. 2:21) thematically parallels Paul's exhortation in a clear military metaphor to Timothy not to get entangled with selfish civilian concerns, but to endure difficulties for the sake of the gospel in order to please his "military commander" Jesus Christ (οὐδεὶς στρατευόμενος ἐμπλέκεται ταῖς τοῦ βίου πραγματείαις, ἵνα τῷ στρατολογήσαντι ἀρέσῃ) (2 Tim. 2:4).

4.3.2. Sending of personnel, communications and recommendation of character in many life-settings in ancient letter writing

Yet, in my opinion, the allusions are too vague to insist that Paul consciously and deliberately wished to understand the reader to pick up a reference to military customs. The writing of letters in which one informs the readers of another person sent to visit them, including recommendations regarding the good character or skill of the person sent on a journey was a widespread practice in antiquity and may pertain to all sorts of life-situations: the dispatch of a slave, the recommendation of a friend, the sending of a religious representative or someone coming with official administrative, or legal duties. In fact, Paul makes use of this practice in Col. 4:7-8, where he writes that he will send Tychicus and recommends him as a beloved brother, faithful message carrier and fellow slave in the Lord (Τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ πάντα γνωρίσει ὑμῖν Τύχικος ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἀδελφὸς καὶ πιστὸς διάκονος καὶ σύνδουλος ἐν κυρίῳ, ὃν ἔπεμψα πρὸς ὑμᾶς), a passage without reference to the military whatsoever.

4.3.3. Δουλεύω not a word typical for military usage

Concerning the phrase ὡς πατρὶ τέκνον σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐδούλευσεν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ("like a son with his father he served with me for *the advance of the gospel*") (Phil. 2:22), it is possible to see

⁴⁴ See the paragraph "Communications." In Roy William Davies, "The Daily Life of the Roman Soldier under the Principate." In *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II.1. Ed. Hildegard Temporini. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1974, 325-26.

⁴⁵ Cf., App. BC. III.7.43:

... ἀνάγραφτος γὰρ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων
στρατοῖς αἰεὶ κατ' ἓνα ἄνδρα ὁ τρόπος . . .

... for it is customary in Roman armies to
keep at all times a record of the character of
each man . . .

⁴⁶ Cf., P. Oxy. 32, where the *beneficiarius* (a legionary secretary) commends to his superior, the military tribune Julius Domitius a friend named Theon. (<http://papyri.info/ddbdp/c.ep.lat;169>). (Translated in *SP* I:320-323.

in it an allusion to the common occurrence of antiquity of fathers taking their sons along on military campaigns, particularly if the father was high ranking in the military command structure.⁴⁷

Problematic however, would be the use of δουλεύω as a reference for military service. I could not find an occurrence of the word in the literary sources or the inscriptions, where δουλεύω functions as a description of military-service in the way the English language is capable of expressing “service“ as a possible referent to men serving in the armed forces. If Paul wanted to portray himself and Timothy as fellow-soldiers in a military campaign, clearer terminology, such as ἀγωνίζομαι, μαχέω, πολεμέω, μάχομαι, ἀθλέω would have been available. On the other hand, Paul might have wanted to emphasise that Timothy toiled like a son for and with his father.⁴⁸ In that case the accentuation might be on Timothy’s willingness to undergo hard labour for or alongside his father and the general setting might still be a military setting. In the absence of further military terminology within Phil. 2:19-24, it seems imprudent to insist on a deliberate reference to military practice within the pericope.

4.3.4. The example of Timothy: subordinating all concerns for the advance of the gospel

Irrespective of the presence of a reference to the military or not, the main intention of the passage is clear. Timothy as well is cited for his exemplary behaviour for the advance of the gospel (εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον) (Phil. 2:22). He serves as a prototype of Paul’s main exhortation in Philippians – an exhortation to the Philippians to continue to advance the gospel with him.

4.4. Military struggle for the advance of the gospel: the example of Epaphroditus (Phil. 2:25-30)

4.4.1. The defining metaphor: Epaphroditus as soldier (συστρατιώτης)

While in the case of Timothy it is unclear if Paul intended a direct allusion to the military, the example of Epaphroditus in Phil. 2:25-30 is evidently richly invested with military terminology and references to military practices. The most obvious appellation, which Timothy receives from the vocabulary of the military, is him being called a συστρατιώτης, a fellow-soldier

⁴⁷ See for example DS. XVI.86. (Alexander serving with Philipp); Xen. *Cyr.* I.4. (Cyrus commanding a unit under Cambyses I); App. *Han.* I.3. (Hannibal on campaign with his father Hamilcar); App. *Mith.* VIII.52. (son of Mithridates in the war of his father against Rome); App. *Pun.* X.68. (Masinissa on military expedition with his father).

⁴⁸ John Reumann, *Philippians: A New Translation With Introduction and Commentary*. Anchor Yale Bible. London: Yale University Press, 2008, 422.

(Phil. 2:25). This title of endearment, which Paul uses for his “military buddy” Epaphroditus, is not a side-line reference, however, which is quickly passed over for other concerns; the metaphor of the faithful “comrade in arms” is the overarching and all defining picture of the present pericope. Epaphroditus’ further descriptions as Paul’s brother (τὸν ἀδελφὸν μου),⁴⁹ fellow fighter (συνεργὸν μου), “military-minister” (λειτουργόν) and the narration of his selfless service in risking his life to bring the Philippians’ aid to Paul are packed in vivid military terminology.

4.4.2. Ἔργον in a military context a commonly used word meaning “battle”

In the previous section of this chapter, namely under the discussion of Paul as an example of the military struggle for the advance of the gospel (Phil. 1:20-22), this study assumed that ἔργον, there used in Phil. 1:22 in the genitival relationship καρπὸς ἔργου, denotes the fruit of battle, as in the semantic domain of the military ἔργον means “battle.” Here, Phil. 2:29, is the perfect starting point showing that Paul consistently uses ἔργον in Philippians to refer to the battle for the advance of the gospel.

4.4.2.1. The lexical entry of ἔργον as “battle” in Greek-English Lexicons

Although traditionally translated in Philippians as “work,” Greek-English lexicons highlight correctly that the word has wider ranges of meaning than a simple reference to manual labour. Liddell and Scott list right up front that one of the common usages of the word refers to works or deeds of war.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, this usage has been sorely neglected in Biblical scholarship and our understanding of the text suffers from the generic translation of “work,” when it should be properly translated as “deeds of war,” “battle-task,” or simply “battle.” The first attempts to remedy the situation have been made by John Paul Schuster, who in researching the historical situation of the letter to the Philippians, investigated the use of ἔργον in Appian and found many instances where the word could mean nothing other than “battle.”⁵¹

⁴⁹ For the common address of “brother” between fellow soldiers see the comments in 4.5. “Military struggle for the advance of the gospel: the second example of Paul (Phil. 3:12-15)” below.

⁵⁰ LSJ, 682-83.

⁵¹ As in App. BC. IV.16.117.; IV.16.127. (2x); IV.16.128.; IV.17.133., all relating to the battle of Philippi. John Paul Schuster. *Historical Situation and Historical Reconstruction in Philippians*. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1997, 53-54, 97. Unfortunately, Schuster limits the implications of his important discovery to an one-sentence comment on Phil. 1:6, stating “if the ‘good work’ is the campaign to advance the gospel begun among them and advanced through them, then any objection to that work being completed at the day of Christ Jesus loses its force” (97). But the implications of the monumental finding are far more wide-reaching as the exposition below will show.

4.4.2.2. "Ἔργον widely used in the literary sources as "battle"

The word ἔργον is used by many other historians, biographers and writers of military manuals with the simple meaning "battle" as well. A few examples from diverse authors will suffice to show how consistently ἔργον was understood to refer to a battle. Onosander uses it in the introduction of his *Strategikos*:

<p>. . . ἀναγκαῖον ἡγοῦμαι περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ στρατηγημάτων ἠθροισμένων τοσοῦτο προειπεῖν, ὅτι πάντα διὰ πείρας ἔργων ἐλήλυθεν καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν τοιούτων, ὧν ἀπόγονον ὑπάρχει Ῥωμαίων ἅπαν . . . πάντα διὰ πραξεῶν καὶ ἀληρινῶν ἀγῶνων κεχωρηκότα μάλιστα μὲν Ῥωμαίοις.⁵²</p>	<p>. . . I consider it necessary, concerning the military principles collected in this book, to say beforehand that they all have been derived from achievements of battles and from such men as from whom has been derived the whole primacy of the Romans . . . all the principles are taken from genuine exploits and battles, especially of the Romans.</p>
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Xenophon in narrating a speech of Cyrus clearly means ἔργον to refer to pitched battles:

<p>. . . δυναίμην στρατιᾷ προθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖν, λέγων ὅτι τὸ πᾶν διαφέρει ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ προθυμία ἀθυμίας.⁵³</p>	<p>. . . that I might be able to inspire my soldiers with enthusiasm, saying that in every battle enthusiasm or disheartedness made all the difference.</p>
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Thucydides describes one of the Peloponnesian wars with ἔργον:

<p>. . . ἀπορόν τε ἦν ἰδεῖν τὸ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων καὶ λίθων ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων μετὰ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ ἅμα φερομένων. Τό τε ἔργον ἐνταῦθα χαλεπὸν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καθίστατο. Οὔτε γὰρ οἱ πῖλοι ἔστεγον τὰ τοξεύματα . . .⁵⁴</p>	<p>. . . a man could not see what was in front of him by reason of the arrows and stones, hurled, in the midst of the dust, by many hands. And so the battle began to go hard with the Lacedaemonians; for their felt cuirasses afforded them no protection against the arrows . . .</p>
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Plutarch refers to the battle of Philippi as τὸ ἔργον:

<p>. . . μεγαλύωντες ὡς μόνον ἀήττητον ἐν τῇ</p>	<p>. . . and [the soldiers] exalted him</p>
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⁵² Onos. *Strat.* Prooemium 7-8.

⁵³ Xen. *Cyr.* I.4.13.

⁵⁴ Th. *Pel.* IV.34.3., Transl. by Charles F. Smith, LCL, 272-73.

μάχη τῶν τεσσάρων αὐτοκρατόρων γεγενημένον. ἐμαρτύρει δὲ τὸ ἔργον ὅτι τῇ μάχῃ περιέσεσθαι καλῶς ἐπίστευεν· ὀλίγοις γὰρ τάγμασιν ἅπαντας ἐτρέψατο τοὺς ἀντιστάντας.⁵⁵

[Brutus] as the only one of the four commanders who had not been defeated in **the battle** [in the first battle of Philippi]. And this battle bore witness that his confidence in a victory in the [next] battle was well grounded; for with a few legions he routed all those opposed to him.

Polybius mentions Aemilius' wish to be right in the middle of the clash of the armies at the battle of Cannae and uses ἔργον to refer to this pitched battle:

Βουλόμενος δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν παράκλησιν λόγοις ἀκολουθῶς ἐπ' αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι τῶν ἔργων, καὶ θεωρῶν τὸ σθένεχον τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα κρίσεως ἐν τοῖς πεζικοῖς στρατοπέδοις καίμενον, παριππεύων ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα τῆς ὅλης παρατάξεως . . .⁵⁶

But since *Aemilius* wished to act upon what he had said in his exhortation to the troops, and to be present at **the battle**, and seeing that the decision of the fight lay mainly with the legions, he rode along to the centre of the whole line . . .

Dio recollects the soldiers of Pompey and Caesar to remember their former battles, using ἔργον as his choice of word:

Τοῦτό τε οὖν ἐκλογιζόμενοι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῶν προτέρων ἔργων, Πομπήιος μὲν τῆς τε Ἀφρικῆς καὶ τοῦ Σερτωπίου τοῦ τε Μιθριδάτου καὶ τοῦ Τιγράνου καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, Καῖσαρ δὲ τῆς τε Γαλατίας καὶ τῆς Ἰβερίας τοῦ τε Ῥήνου καὶ τῆς Βρεττανίας, ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι, καὶ κινδυνεύειν τε καὶ περὶ ἐκείνοις ἡγούμενοι καὶ προσκτίσασθαι τὴν ἀλλήλων δόξαν σπουδῆν ποιούμενοι, ὠργων.⁵⁷

When they [the soldiers of Pompey and Caesar] reflected on this and when they also recalled the memory of their former **battles**: Pompey on the one hand battling *victoriously* Africa, Sertorius, Mithridates, Tigranes and the *pirates of the sea* and Caesar on the other hand battling *victoriously* Gaul, Spain, the Rhine and Britain, they were heated up in their passions.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus reports the siege of the city of the Fidenates by the Romans and calls it ἔργον, a battle:

⁵⁵ Plut. *Brut.* XXXXIII.5.

⁵⁶ Plb. III.116.2-3.

⁵⁷ Dio XLI.56.1-2.

Φόνος δ' οὐ πολλὸς αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, τῆς ὑποχωρήσεως εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὐ διὰ μακροῦ γενομένης καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς τείχεσι τοὺς διώξαντας ἀποκρουσαμένων. Μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον οἱ μὲν ἐπίκουροι διασκεδασθέντες ἀπῆσαν . . . ⁵⁸	There was not much slaughter, however, since their retreat into the city was over a short distance and the men on the walls drove back the pursuers. After this battle the auxiliary troops disbanded and returned home . . .
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4.4.3. Consistency in usage of metaphors and coherence of meaning decisive for the military meaning of ἔργον

Since the historians of antiquity widely used ἔργον to refer to battles, and since Paul uses in Philippians consistently and pervasively the semantic field of the military from which he draws his allusions and metaphors, we should seriously consider translating the word ἔργον as “battle” in Philippians. In fact, Paul does not alternate between semantic fields very much in Philippians and since the domain of the military is decidedly prominent in this letter, the first consideration of translating a word should be given to the semantic field of the military, unless context demands otherwise.

The traditional translation of ἔργον as “work,” relating to the semantic domain of the arts, or building, or labour is inappropriate as it forces into the text a supposed vacillation of the writer from one semantic domain to another. Ultimately, the litmus test about which translation to choose in order to bring out the intended nuance of a word is whether the sentence involving the word receives a coherent meaning, which in turn contributes smoothly to the overall line of thought in the passage and finally to the letter as a whole. Put simply, the puzzle of words must fit into a linguistic picture without any rough edges and it must eventually paint an overall scene in which the logic of the argument of the author is easily traceable.

4.4.4. The risking of one’s life in battle (ἔργον)

How appropriate it is to translate ἔργον as “battle” in Philippians is easy to demonstrate when we turn to Phil. 2:30 in order to subject the proposition of ἔργον as “battle” to the test of “coherence in meaning.” Paul writes here about Epafras, that the Philippians should honour men such as him, because ὅτι διὰ τὸ ἔργον Χριστοῦ μέχρι θανάτου ἤγγισεν παραβολευσάμενος τῇ ψυχῇ, ἵνα ἀναπληρώσῃ τὸ ὑμῶν ὑστέρημα τῆς πρὸς με λειτουργίας (traditionally translated: “on account of the work of Christ he came near death, risking his

⁵⁸ DH. V.58.3.

soul, in order that he might fill up what was lacking in your service to me.”) It is quickly apparent that none of the semantic fields except the military will give the word ἔργον the meaning necessary for a coherent tracing of Paul’s argument. Neither for a work of art, nor for a building project, nor for general labour in the home, business or agriculture does one usually “risk one’s soul, coming near death.” It is in battle where life is on the line, especially when one takes bold risks to advance the cause of the campaign.⁵⁹

In writing about τὸ ἔργον Χριστοῦ, Paul is not describing some generic work of preaching or encouraging the Philippians, τὸ ἔργον Χριστοῦ poignantly creates a military picture of “the battle of Christ” as the struggle to advance the gospel! Paul had already written about Epaphroditus that he was ill, and so ill indeed, that he almost died (Phil. 2:26-27). It would not at all have been necessary to repeat the thought of Epaphroditus almost dying in Phil. 2:30. The reason why Paul does repeat the thought of Epaphroditus nearly dying in Phil. 2:30 is because Paul wished to establish Epaphroditus’ life explicitly as a rhetorical example from the context of the military,⁶⁰ using him as a role model of one devoted to the progress of the gospel, no matter the cost – the willingness to fight “until death” (μέχρι θανάτου) being a noble and praiseworthy virtue found among soldiers.⁶¹ The language of the military metaphor is adopted by Paul in describing Epaphroditus as a role model, because the main argument of Philippians, “standing fast for the advancement of the gospel” (Phil. 1:12, 27-30; 2:13) is couched in the language of military metaphors. In order to create a literary harmony in the use of his figurative expressions, Epaphroditus is held up as an exemplary soldier, who for the military cause of his supreme general takes great risks, even unto death.

4.4.5. The honouring of soldiers who have risked extraordinarily for the success of the ἔργον

The background of the picture in this passage is the Roman military practice of honouring soldiers who have performed noble and risky deeds for advancing the campaign (cf., τοὺς τοιούτους ἐντίμους ἔχετε in Phil. 2:29).⁶² To illustrate how much at home the story of Epaphroditus being honoured because he risked his life for the benefit of the military campaign is, I will cite a vivid example of Caesar honouring two soldiers, a centurion and a

⁵⁹ Paul introducing Epaphroditus as “fellow-soldier” in 2:25 supports this idea.

⁶⁰ For Paul’s rhetorical use of examples in Philippians, see Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 125-157.

⁶¹ App. BC. V.4.36., V.5.41.

⁶² See for example Strat. I.22.; XXXIV.1: “ἐπειτα τοὺς μὲν ἀρίστους ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐξετασθέντας τιμάτω δωρεαῖς καὶ τιμαῖς, αἷς νόμος . . .” (“Then *the general* should honour those soldiers who faced danger most bravely with gifts and honorary distinctions, as usual . . .”). Cf., Jos. BJ. XIV.136-37.; XLI.42.7.

commander, because in two dangerous battle actions against the forces of Pompey they displayed extraordinary courage and were badly wounded:

<p>. . . πολλά καὶ τοῦ φρουράρχου Μινουκίου παθόντος, ὃ γέ φασι τὴν μὲν ἀσπίδα ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀναδέξασθαι βέλη, τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἕξ τραύματα καὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ὁμοίως ἐκκοπῆναι. τούτους μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἀριστείοις πολλοῖς ἐτίμησεν.⁶³</p>	<p>. . . Minucius, the commander of the post, also suffered severely. It is said that he received 120 missiles on his shield, was wounded six times, and, like Scaeva, lost an eye. Caesar honored them both with many military gifts.</p>
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The consistent use of military metaphors is not limited to ἔργον clearly symbolizing the battle for the advance of the gospel and the picture of a soldier honoured because he took great risks for the success of the battle, but it extends all the way through the end of Phil. 2:30.

4.4.6. The usage of λειτουργία in a military context: military support service

Epaphroditus took bold risks to advance the campaign in order to complete what was lacking in the “service” of the Philippians to Paul (ἀναπληρώσει τὸ ὑμῶν ὑστέρημα τῆς πρὸς με λειτουργίας). It is fallacious in this context to appeal to the religious association the word λειτουργία may have.⁶⁴ Although in other contexts it may refer to the public service of the gods, the word is equally well at home in the domain of the military.⁶⁵ It may refer to “military service” in general,⁶⁶ or more particularly, to the “support service of the fighting force,” which in the Roman army was carried out by regular soldiers. “Support service” may include guard duty, raising camp, manufacturing and delivering ammunition, scouting trips, etc. It is not to be strictly distinguished from combat, but was mostly used for the tasks that soldiers had to

⁶³ App. BC. II.9.60. Transl. by Horace White, LCL, I:338-39.

⁶⁴ Contra Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 168: “. . . the Philippian congregation engaged in a sacred ministration (λειτουργία).” Contra G. Walter Hansen, *The Letter to the Philippians*. Pillar New Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009, 209-210.: “He uses the imagery of the temple sacrifices . . . Epaphroditus supplied what was lacking in the priestly services of the Philippians.”

⁶⁵ LSJ, 1035.

⁶⁶ MM, 373 lists a papyrus (P. Oxy I.82/3 (mid. III AD) containing the complaint of a veteran, who instead of getting the rest to which he was entitled after his release, had continually been employed for two years in public service (λειτουργία). “—ἀ[ν]εδόθην κατ’ ἐτή[σιο]ν εἰς λειτουργίαν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δευρε[ῖ] κα]τ’ ἔτος ἐξή[ς] ἐν λειτουργία εἰμ[ί]] ἀδιαλεί[πτ]ως” The line of reasoning in the papyri is that if one had done one “λειτουργία” (military service), one should be exempt from the other “λειτουργία” (public service). Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions augurs, who should be exempt from all military service and all civic duties (“ἀπάσης λειτουργίας πολεμικῆς καὶ πολιτικῆς ἀφαιμένος”), DH. V.1.4. The papyri and Dionysius of Halicarnassus refer to the age-old Roman concept that “the soldier who had dedicated his life to the *res publica* was, as compensation for his service to the community, allowed as a veteran to enjoy exemption from all remaining duties.” Gabriele Wesch-Klein, “Recruits and Veterans.” In *A Companion to the Roman Army*. Ed. Paul Erdkamp. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007, 439.

perform beside frontal assaults. Aeneas Tacticus writes in the context of the defence of fortified positions that:

<p>Ἐπειτα λοιπὸν ἀπολέγειν σώματα τὰ δυνησόμενα μάλιστα πονεῖν, καὶ μερίσαντα λοχίσαι, ἵνα εἷς τε τὰς ἐξόδους καὶ τὰς κατὰ πόλιν περιοδίας καὶ τὰς τῶν πονουμένων βοηθείας ἢ εἷς τινα ἄλλην ὁμότροπον ταύταις λειτουργίαν . . .⁶⁷</p>	<p>Next, one must pick out men capable of the greatest physical exertion and divide them into companies, that there may be ready for sallies, for patrolling the city, for the relief of those hard pressed, or for any other similar service . . .</p>
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Polybius mentions several kinds of military duties, such as:

<p>. . . τοῖς μείναισιν ἐν ταῖς ἐφεδρείαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τὰς σκηναῖς φυλάττουσι τοῖς τ' ἀρρωστοῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τινα λειτουργίαν ἀπεσταλμένοις.⁶⁸</p>	<p>. . . soldiers remaining in the protecting force, those who are guarding the tents, those who are taking care of the sick and those sent out on any special military service.</p>
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Besides, there are guard duties from which one might be exempt “ὅς τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὰς φυλακὰς λειτουργιῶν ἀπολύεται”⁶⁹ in order to administer other military services, such as raising the camp or protecting the camp of the tribunes:

<p>τῶν δὲ τριῶν σημαιῶν ἀνὰ μέρος ἐκάστη τῷ χιλιάρχῳ λειτουργεῖ λειτουργίαν τοιαύτην. ἐπειδὴν καταστρατοπεδεύσωσι, τὴν σκηνὴν ἰσταῖσιν οὗτοι καὶ τὸν περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τόπον ἠδάφισαν. κἂν τι περιφράξαι δέη τῶν σκευῶν ἀσφαλείας χάριν, οὗτοι φροντίζουσι. διδῶσαι δὲ καὶ φυλακεῖα δύο — τὸ δὲ φυλακεῖόν ἐστιν ἐκ τεττάρων ἀνδρῶν — ὧν οἱ μὲν πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, οἱ δὲ κατόπιν παρὰ τοὺς ἵππους ποιοῦνται τὴν φυλακὴν.⁷⁰</p>	<p>Each of the three maniples in turns administer the following military-services to <i>the tribune</i>: when they encamp, they raise up the tent for him and around the tent they make the ground level. And if it is necessary to guard any of his baggage, they will do so by fencing around it. They also supply two guards for him – a guard consists of four men – one of which is guarding the tent and the other next to the horses, behind the tent.</p>
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⁶⁷ Aen. Tact. I.4., Transl. by Illionois Greek Club, LCL, 30-31. See also Aen. Tact. X.24. and Aen. Tact. XI.10a.

⁶⁸ Plb. X.16.5.

⁶⁹ Plb. VI.34.8.

⁷⁰ Plb. VI.32.8-7.

It is precisely such military support service, which Epaphroditus performed in the context of Philippians 2. With the thought that Epaphroditus completed what military-service the Philippians would have, but could not supply, Paul conjures up the image of the soldier Epaphroditus risking his life in the battle of Christ to bring military-support in the form of monetary supplies to Paul who is fighting in the front line for the progress of the gospel. The thought of Phil. 2:29-30 should thus be translated: “honour such men as *Epaproditus*, because for the battle of Christ he came near death, risking his life, to complete what was lacking in your military-support service to me.”

4.4.7. The life-situation: Epaphroditus supports Paul in the advance of the gospel

Most likely Epaphroditus was travelling with a companion from Philippi to the prison/ confinement where Paul was held, carrying with him a collection from the Philippian community. Since in antiquity the governing authorities did not provide food, clothing or the financial support to rent a private apartment for more convenient pre-trial imprisonment (cf., Acts 28:30, 2 Tim. 4:13), Paul needed the financial assistance of his friends simply to stay alive and if in Rome, to allow himself to stay in his own rented quarters and with it the freedom of visitors and the ability to continue his preaching ministry, although in chains.⁷¹ Epaphroditus fell seriously sick along the way to Paul and instead of giving himself the necessary rest to recover, he pressed on along his journey, risking death on account of the exertion while being so seriously ill. Epaphroditus was conscious that the successful delivery of the funds was vital to keep Paul alive (and him preaching)! Thus, the example of Epaphroditus also fits within the pattern of rhetorical examples in Philippians, where Paul lists the character and actions of men who subordinate all other private concerns for the joint work of advancing the gospel.

4.5. Military struggle for the advance of the gospel: the second example of Paul (Phil. 3:12-15)

4.5.1. Previous scholarship has often forced unattested meanings on words in the passage

In turning to Phil. 3:12-15 we encounter a second passage, after Phil. 1:20-22, in which Paul puts himself forward as an example for the Philippians to follow. In fact, Paul reiterates here

⁷¹ For the nature of Paul's confinement in Rome and the necessity of providing him with provisions see Brian Rapske, *The Book of Acts and Paul in Roman Custody*. Vol. 3 of *The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994.

the principles and values already stated in Phil. 1:20-22, namely his longing for the “military reward” of being with Christ and his focused aim, until he receives his “military reward,” to reach humans with the gospel of Christ. Phil. 3:12-15 is a passage in which Paul conglomerates military terminology into a unified and powerful military metaphor. Unfortunately, in the history of interpretation of this pericope, scholarship has done great harm by importing unattested meanings to the words in this section. As a result, philosophical ideas were forced upon the text in the interpretation, which the text never wanted to convey in the first place. Today, the clear meaning of this section has been buried under volumes of discussions in commentaries that have no relevance with Paul’s line of argument. Scholarship is at a loss to explain how Paul’s argument supports a coherent line of reasoning in the letter of Philippians as a whole. The only solution from this impasse is to scrutinise closely which meanings the words in question are capable of conveying and which are not, even at the prize of abandoning favourite misconceptions of respectable modern scholarship.

Paul’s Greek in this passage is admittedly difficult. The key verbs λαμβάνω, τελειώω, διώκω and καταλαμβάνω can take on several meanings depending on the semantic domain alluded to. Furthermore, the direct objects of these verbs are missing and need to be supplied by the reader. The variation of interpretative possibilities for assigning meaning to the verbs in question and allocating various direct objects to them has led to a plethora of suggestions and a wide-ranging scholarly disagreement of what Paul wants to communicate in these verses. The necessity of considering martial imagery in the text stems not only from the possibility of locating each key word of Phil. 3:12-15 in the semantic domain of the military, but especially from incoherences and significant problems, which are inherent in all other interpretative options suggested so far. The respective weaknesses of the most common traditional interpretative options will briefly be addressed in order to highlight the necessity of seeking a more plausible line of interpretation by considering Paul using a unified argument for consistently utilising military images in the text.

4.5.2. The context previous of Phil. 3:12-14: Paul dying and experiencing resurrection through Christ

Before that can be carried out, however, it is important to note the structure of the context in the previous verses. Having stated that righteousness is not the result of Jewish or Judaizing law observance, but comes solely through faith in Christ (Phil. 3:1-9), the beneficial results of having received righteousness through faith in Christ are stated in Phil. 3:10. The four benefits (τοῦ γινῶναι αὐτόν (to know him), τοῦ γινῶναι τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ (to know

the power of his resurrection), *τοῦ γινῶναι κοινωνίαν παθημάτων αὐτοῦ* (*to know the fellowship of his suffering*), συμμορφούμενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ (*being conformed to his death*)) are conceptionally parallel and refer not to different things experienced at different times in Paul's life, but refer to unique aspects of one and the same event. The conceptional unity is grammatically enforced through combining two nouns, both in the accusative, with one definite article and connecting them with *καί*: *τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ κοινωνίαν παθημάτων αὐτοῦ*.⁷² The nature of "the fellowship of his suffering" is explained by "being conformed to his death." Paul thus envisions himself literally dying, just like Jesus died as the ultimate expression of his suffering. Paul dying as a result of persecution would not leave him in an unfortunate position; on the contrary, he sees dying as an advantage,⁷³ because he would experience with death the resurrection power of Jesus⁷⁴ and would know Christ fully in a face-to-face encounter.⁷⁵ Paul's thought of "being conformed to his death" here does not mean a daily process of living by dying to sin and becoming more obedient to his Lord,⁷⁶ being conformed to his death is the crisis event of dying for the sake of Christ and experiencing a resurrection power that catapults Paul into the heavenly presence of Christ where he gets to know Christ in a full and complete way.

4.5.3. Interpretive options, which fail due to unsound exegetical principles

In progressing to Phil. 3:12, it is likely that there is an ellipsis in the text and one needs to supply the beginning of the sentence with "It is," making the text to read: "It is not that I have already received..." Next we encounter the first verb, *ἔλαβον*, without a direct object. It is still generally agreed that the supplied direct object has to relate with what preceded the occurrence of *οὐχ ἔλαβον*. Although the knowledge of Christ (*τοῦ γινῶναι αὐτόν*), in the sense of mental or spiritual comprehension, is a legitimate option, one needs to keep in mind then, that the full "face-to-face" comprehension would be in view. It will not work to shift subtly categories from "full comprehension of Christ" as the direct object of *οὐχ ἔλαβον* (Phil. 3:12) to "partial mental comprehension of Christ" as a direct object of *διώκω* and then back to "full

⁷² "In Greek, when two nouns are connected by *καί* and the article precedes only the first noun, there is a close connection between the two. That connection indicates at least some sort of *unity*." Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996, 270. Cursive original.

⁷³ Please note the synonymous concept of Phil. 1:23.

⁷⁴ An apparent time difference between death and the reception of a resurrection body as in 1 Thes. 4:13-17 is somehow not part of Paul's consideration here. The close link between death and receiving a resurrection body is also argued by Paul in 2 Cor. 5:1-4.

⁷⁵ The thought is similar to 1 Cor. 13:12 "*τότε δὲ ἐπιγνώσομαι καθὼς καὶ ἐπεγνώσθην*."

⁷⁶ Contra Richard R. Melick, *Philippians, Colossians, Philemon*. New American Commentary. Nashville: B&H Publishing Group, 1991, 135-36. Contra Peter T. O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 400.

comprehension of Christ” of both “δὲ εἰ καὶ καταλάβω” (Phil. 2:12), and the negation οὐ λογίζομαι κατελιφέναι (Phil. 3:13).⁷⁷ If Paul has mental apprehension in mind, then the argument would be a progression from: “I have not received” (Οὐχ ἤδη ἔλαβον) the knowledge of Christ, but “it is possible to receive” (εἰ καὶ καταλάβω) the knowledge of Christ to “therefore I do everything to receive” (διώκω δὲ) the knowledge of Christ. Either a partial knowledge of Christ is the intended indirect object of **all** four verbs, or a full knowledge of Christ. A partial knowledge of Christ cannot be in view, since Paul refers back to the “knowledge of Christ” in Phil. 3:10, which is not a partial knowledge. The latter, a full knowledge of Christ, is impossible since Paul could not envision the possibility of fully knowing Jesus as something attainable in this life.

More importantly, however, it is necessary to notice that the linking of διώκω with καταλαμβάνω is a common occurrence in Greek literature.⁷⁸ The key to ascertain the proper meaning in our passage then, is to consider in what semantic domain the linking of these two verbs occur, instead of isolating them and attributing to them differing fields of reference. Since διώκω in combination with καταλαμβάνω is not once attested to mean “intellectual apprehension,” the suggestion that Paul has a pursuit for intellectual knowledge of Christ in mind should be abandoned.

Most other interpreters, who do not favour intellectual knowledge of Christ as the intended elided subject of our verbs in question – although coming to a significant variety of conclusions – follow an identical pattern of interpretation. First, they define – mostly randomly and without exegetical support – what Paul had not yet achieved according to Phil. 3:12. Then, second, the remaining imagery of Phil. 3:13-14 is interpreted as athletic imagery, which Paul metaphorically applied to the definition, which one had fixed in Phil. 3:12. The disadvantage of this exegetical method is obvious: since οὐχ ὅτι ἤδη ἔλαβον ἢ ἤδη τετελείωμαι is quite cryptic with regard to its precise meaning, the interpreter is free to import into the text, whatever theological preference he wishes to promulgate. Since the next two verses are metaphorical usage, they can be made to apply to whatever one settled Phil. 3:12 was to have meant previously, without the metaphorical imagery correcting one’s presuppositions. Metaphorical usage, so the underlining argument goes, does not have inherent meaning of its own, but in picturesque language supports the subject matter previously introduced.

The only way out of the resulting plethora of mutually disagreeing suggestions that Paul has not yet achieved, but what he is aiming after, is twofold. First, one’s propositions

⁷⁷ Contra Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 205-214.

⁷⁸ For examples see below. The importance for exegesis that the linking of the two verbs is a common phenomenon in secular literature was also noted by Moisés Silva, *Philippians*. Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Baker: Grand Rapids, 2005, 174.

regarding what Paul has not yet achieved must be governed by close attention to the previous context. Second, the precise nature of Paul's metaphorical language must be determined. If verbs are used metaphorically, the direct objects – which are not expressively stated, but must be supplied – have to be part of the same semantic domain as the verbs are and need to complete the metaphorical language. Additionally, one should aim for harmony in the portrayal of the metaphorical language. Thus, repeated occurrences of the same verb within close proximity of each other are most likely allusions to the same metaphorical image, unless there are indications in the text that suggest a shift of metaphors. Also, the supplied direct object should remain the same with repeated occurrences of the same verb within the pericope. Thus, when καταλαμβάνω is used three times within Phil. 3:12-13 and διώκω is used two times within Phil. 3:13-14, Paul in all likelihood appeals to the same image and the aim of his pursuits are identical.

4.5.4. The elided direct object of ἔλαβον in Phil. 3:12 is the four-fold concept of the military gain of Christ, previously explained in Phil. 3:8-10

Returning first to paying close attention to the immediate context of what Paul could mean by οὐχ ὅτι ἤδη ἔλαβον ἢ ἤδη τετελείωμαι in Phil. 3:12, it is quickly evident that ὅτι connects our phrase in question to what Paul had elaborated before. O'Brien is correct to point out that "v. 12 must be read in light of what has immediately preceded."⁷⁹ This rules out the possibility that Paul had "moral and spiritual perfection"⁸⁰ in mind, which he had not yet achieved or that he needed to undercut Gnostic teachings, which claimed to have attained everything already.⁸¹ Similarly, concepts like "complete conformity to the standard of Christ's obedience unto death on the cross"⁸² or a "general completeness of Paul in regard to his spiritual life" are foreign intrusions into the text. None of these concepts are to be found anywhere close before Phil. 3:12.

Exegetically on sounder footing are suggestions that Paul refers to one of the concepts mentioned in Phil. 3:9-10, like "to know Christ,"⁸³ or "the resurrection from the dead."⁸⁴ It is

⁷⁹ Peter T. O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 422.

⁸⁰ So Marvin. R. Vincent, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles to the Philippians and to Philemon*. International Critical Commentary. Edinburg: T&T Clark, 1950, 107.

⁸¹ So Walter Schmithals, *Paul and the Gnostics*. Transl. John E. Steely. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1972, 97.

⁸² G. Walter Hansen Hansen, *The Letter to the Philippians*. Pillar New Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009, 253.

⁸³ Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 206-15.

questionable, though, why only one of the aspects of Phil. 3:9-10 should be singled out, especially in light of the close unity of the aspects described there. Paul's clear ambition expressed in a number of ways in Phil. 3:8-11 was Χριστὸν κερδήσω "gaining Christ." The content of the phrase "to gain Christ" was further explained by Paul as "being found in him."⁸⁵ The consecutive infinitives in Phil. 3:9-11 further define "to be found in him." What the four-fold description already hinted at by pairing "partnership in Christ's suffering" and "being conformed to his death" with "knowing him," Paul now in Phil. 3:12 states explicitly: the intended goal of leaving self-righteousness and trusting in God's righteousness by faith in Christ has not yet been achieved: the gain of being "found in him, knowing him" is still future and is experienced at the moment of death. Paul is restating in Phil. 3:7-12 the convictions he has already briefly addressed in Phil. 1:21-23. There already, his great desire was to "depart" through death in order to be with Christ: τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχων εἰς τὸ ἀναλῦσαι καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι (Phil. 1:23). There already, his ultimate desires were not achieved in the here and now, but at the moment of death, not any death for Paul, but the death on account of persecution through which he presently was in chains. There already, to die was "gain" (κέρδος) for Paul, and is the same word Paul utilises as a link to Phil. 1:21-23 now in Phil. 3:7 and Phil. 3:8. The third link between the pericope in chapter one and Phil. 3:7-14 is the dual consideration between the future gain of enjoying Christ and the present necessity to partner with the Philippians in the spread of the gospel. But before we examine this theme more closely below, it is important to point out that Paul, in forming his antithesis of legalism and Christ in Phil. 3:7-10, utilises the words ζημία and κέρδος, both of which are at home in the semantic domain of the military, individually⁸⁶ and as paired contrasts.

Ζημία in the military context refers to the loss an army or nation incurs on account of defeat, κέρδος is the military gain in form of booty, military rewards or honour on account of victory in battle. To pair both words as contrasts in weighing the potential losses or military gains is a recurring phenomenon among the historians, both Latin and Greek. For example, Suetonius describes Augustus' principle to carefully balance possible military loss or gains before going to war:

Proelium quidem aut bellum suscipiendum omnino negabat, nisi cum maior emolumentum spes quam damni metus ostenderetur. Nam minima	<i>Augustus</i> used to say that a war or a battle should not be undertaken at all, unless the hope of gain was clearly greater than the fear of loss ; because he
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⁸⁴ So Wilhelm Lütgert, *Die Vollkommenen im Philipperbrief und die Enthusiasten in Thessalonich*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1909.

⁸⁵ Καί not indicating addition, but explanation, thus to be translated "namely" in Phil. 3:8.

⁸⁶ The individual usage will be discussed below in the examination of Phil. 1:21.

commoda non minimo sectantis discrimine similes aiebat esse aureo hamo piscantibus, cuius abrupti damnum nulla captura pensari posset. ⁸⁷	compared those grasping for slight gain with great risk to those who fished with a golden hook; if it gets carried off, it cannot be compensated with a good catch.
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Among the Greek historians, Dio Cassius has Julius Caesar addressing his legions at Placentia in order for them to consider the loss or gain of military action. During the civil war with Pompey, after some campaigns of Caesar in Spain, his soldiers had mutinied at Placentia because Caesar did not allow them to plunder the country which they were traversing. Caesar answers in a passionate speech and rebukes them by comparing them with the Barbarian hordes and by the listing of four pairs of antonyms. One pair is made out of the antonym κέρδος versus ζημία, both being the expected results from a campaign won or lost:

Πῶς δ' οὐκ αἰσχρὸν σεμνύνεσθαι μὲν ἡμᾶς καὶ λέγειν ὅτι ἡμεῖς πρῶτοι Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον διέβημεν καὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐπλεύσαμεν, τὴν δὲ οἰκενίαν ἀπαθῆ κακῶν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ὄυσαν διαρπάσαι, καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν ἐπαίνου μέμψιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τιμῆς ἀτιμίαν, ἀντὶ δὲ κερδῶν ζημίαις, ἀντὶ δὲ ἄθλων τιμωρίας λαβεῖν; ⁸⁸	How is it not shameful for us to magnify ourselves and say that we were the first of the Romans to cross the Rhine and to sail the ocean and then to plunder our own <i>land</i> , our domestic <i>cities</i> , which are safe from the evil of our enemies to plunder. [How is it not shameful for us] to receive blame instead of praise, dishonour instead of honour, loss instead of gain , punishment instead of prizes?
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Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes a military incident in which just before the battle of the Romans against the Latins and their allies, both armies are addressed by their generals in a pre-battle harangue. The Roman general tries to encourage his outnumbered and fearful troops by putting clearly before them the respective gain or loss if the coming engagement is won through victory or lost through desertion:

. . . ἵνα δὲ καὶ τοῖς τὰ κράτιστα ὑμῶν ἐγνωκόσι τὸ γενναῖον μὴ ἀκερδῆς γένηται καὶ τοῖς πέρα τοῦ δέοντος τὰ δεινὰ πεφοβημένοις μὴ ἀζήμιον ᾗ, πρὶν εἰς ταῦτα	. . . in order that the fiercest among you may know that the brave will not go without gain , and in order that the ones who are more fearful than is necessary at
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⁸⁷ Suet. *Aug.* XXV.4.

⁸⁸ Dio. XLI.30.3.

ἐλθεῖν, οἷων ἑκατέροις συμβήσεται τυχεῖν,
 ἀκούσατέ μου.⁸⁹

the enemy may know that they will not be
without loss, learn from me, before we
 enter this battle, what will be the fate of
 each one to receive.

In all probability Paul crafted in a deliberate allusion to military practice his contrasts of Jewish legalism versus trusting Christ in metaphorical language from the military. His appeal to military terminology will continue and intensify as he proceeds from Phil. 3:7-10 to Phil. 3:12-16. So far he considers life based on legalistic law observance ending in a military disaster, while a life of trusting Christ will lead to military gain, although this military gain is not a present reality, but will be rewarded to the “soldier of Christ” at the end of his campaign for the progress of the gospel, at the moment when Paul dies and when he will be in the presence of his Lord.

So when Paul writes that he has not yet received (Οὐχ ὅτι ἤδη ἔλαβον), he has the military reward (κέρδος) in mind, which consists of “knowing Christ, being found in him and experiencing the power of his resurrection.” Since Paul hinted already at the fact that he will receive his military reward only at the moment of death, it is quite natural that he would add “or that I already have come to the end of *my life*” (ἢ ἤδη τετελείωμαι) (Phil. 3:12). The perfect passive of τελειόω, which Paul uses in Phil. 3:12 does not need to express perfection in our context. Τελειόω has a wide range of meanings apart from the idea of perfection and besides legal or commercial meanings such as “executing a legal document” or “paying dues or taxes,” it can just as well, when the subject speaks of men, take up the meaning “to come to one’s end,” i.e. “to die.”⁹⁰

There is no reason why ἢ ἤδη τετελείωμαι should mean “not that I am already perfected” in the flow of the argument of Phil. 3:12. Perfection is a completely foreign idea in the context of Philippians – it is nowhere addressed in the chapters previously or will be in the chapters thereafter. The closest thought to perfection would be Paul’s discussions regarding righteousness (δικαιοσύνη), but that is not nearly the same as perfection and the

⁸⁹ DH. VI.9.3. The Roman general elaborates in the progress of the speech that the brave will receive as “gain” honour and a portion of state-owned land, but the cowardly will receive as “loss” death and refusal to be buried.

⁹⁰ LSJ, 1772. For the sense of “life being completed” through martyrdom see 4 Mac. 7:15 LXX. Moffat points out in his discussion about Heb. 5:9 that the author of Hebrews has chosen specifically τελειόω on account of the death-association of the term. James Moffat, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*. Critical and Exegetical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986, 67.

idea that a believer trusting Christ has not yet received righteousness is an utterly un-Pauline thought.⁹¹

It is much to be preferred to translate Phil. 3:12 as “not that I have already received the *military gain of gaining Christ*, or have already come to the end of *my life* . . .” The conjunction ἦ thus does not introduce an additional concept, but it serves as an explanatory conjunction, elaborating further on οὐχ ἤδη ἔλαβον. Since Paul already connected the reception of “gaining Christ, being found in him, knowing him” with “being conformed to his death,” in Phil. 3:10, it follows quite naturally that in Phil. 3:12 he denies having obtained both. The flow of the argument from Phil. 3:7-11 to Phil. 3:12-14 is not a discussion that Paul has not yet achieved and tries to achieve, but it is a statement that he has right now not received his *military gain* and what he is doing in the meantime before he will receive it at his death.⁹²

4.5.5. The precise nature of the metaphorical language in Phil. 3:12-16: not athletic!

An adequate understanding of Phil. 3:12-16 has suffered a great deal from the *a priori* and unjustified allocation of its images to the field of athletic competitions. The overwhelming majority of interpreters picture Paul visualising a running race, although nothing in the text demands a reference to athletic races.⁹³ The delegation of the various components of Phil. 3:12-14 to athletic imagery violates basic principles of interpretation on several points. Unless one forces unattested meanings onto several verbs on the text, it is impossible to picture Paul combining images of a running race.

⁹¹ John Reumann argues for “righteousness” being the direct object of οὐχ ὅτι ἤδη ἔλαβον on account of the textual addition of ἦ ἤδη δεδικαίωμα in Papyri 46 and D*. Its originality, however, is doubtful based on the strong external evidence for its omission. See the discussion in Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 417-418.

⁹² Paul’s aside εἰ πως καταστήσω εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν in Phil. 3:11 expresses not his doubt that he might not be resurrected at all, but serves as an articulation that his receiving his military gain is dependent on him dying and being raised soon. Paul argues not from a future view, but from a temporal perspective. He does not know if he will die and be resurrected soon, he might live longer and experience the second coming. But if he does die on account of the present persecution he endures, he will be resurrected. Again, the parallels with what Paul has argued in Phil. 1:20-26 are strong.

⁹³ Virtually every commentary argues for athletic imagery in Phil. 3:12-14, the only differentiations are discussions of the extent of athletic imagery, i.e., the question, at what point athletic imagery starts and when it ends. The designation of Phil. 3:12-14 to athletic metaphorical language has been so widespread that Weekes summarises succinctly the present overall opinion as “It would be very hard to argue that this verse draws its comparative illusions from anything other than the ancient athletic games. Here we have an athletic metaphor in its purest form.” Kendall M. Weekes, *The Athletic and Military Metaphors of the Apostle Paul in the Philippian Epistle*. Unpublished ThM Thesis presented to the Western Conservative Baptist Seminary: Portland, 1994, 109. The visibility of athletic imagery is only superficial, however. Under close scrutiny it would be very hard to argue for athletic imagery, instead of anything else but athletic metaphorical language.

4.5.5.1. Διώκω linked with καταλαμβάνω – the necessity to consider the nature of the combined verbal usage

First of all, we have already noted above that the linking of διώκω with καταλαμβάνω as in Phil. 3:12 is a common occurrence in Greek literature. The key to ascertain the proper meaning of both verbs in our passage then, is to consider in what semantic domain the linking of these two verbs occurs, instead of isolating them and attributing to them differing fields of reference or forcing on them a supposed athletic imagery, for which there is no evidence. Διώκω in combination with καταλαμβάνω is not once attested in the literary sources to refer to athletic imagery!⁹⁴

4.5.5.2. Διώκω is not supported to mean “run”

Second, although many interpreters favour to translate διώκω εἰς τὸ βραβεῖον (Phil. 3:14) as “I run straight towards the goal,”⁹⁵ διώκω is nowhere in ancient literature or epigraphy supported to mean “to run” in the athletic sense.⁹⁶ Hawthorne and Martin have correctly pointed out, that “διώκειν, ‘to keep pressing on’ belongs to the world of the hunter rather than that of the athlete. It does not properly mean ‘to run’; rather ‘to pursue,’ or ‘to chase,’ ‘to hunt down’.”⁹⁷ Although running might be part of the action of someone pursuing someone or something, nevertheless διώκω does never simply mean “to run.”⁹⁸ The aim of the action,

⁹⁴ Καταλαμβάνω is attested in athletic imagery in combination with τρέχω (see for example 1 Cor. 9:24-25), but not in combination with διώκω.

⁹⁵ Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 417, 429-433. Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 203, 209-211. Ernst Lohmeyer, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. In *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953, 145-47.

⁹⁶ The claim of Rainer Metzner that Paul uses the word διώκειν in the sense of running is misleading. In footnote 72 Metzner lists as the only primary support a reference to Epict. *Diss.* IV.12.15. Rainer Metzner, “Paulus und der Wettkampf: Die Rolle des Sports in Leben und Verkündigung des Apostels (1 Kor 9.24-7; Phil 3.12-16).” In *New Testament Studies*. Vol. 46. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, 578. However, Epict. *Diss.* IV.12.15. does not read, as Metzner claims, ἐπὶ σκοπὸν διώκειν, but . . . ἀλλὰ τετάσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν σκοπὸν, μηδὲν τῶν ἔξω διώκειν . . . Furthermore, it is obvious from the immediate context of Epictetus that σκοπὸν is a philosophical goal referring to principles previously elaborated and not a reference to anything in the area of running and that διώκειν means a pursuit of such moral goals. There is no indication in the text of running at all.

⁹⁷ Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 203, 207. It is somewhat disappointing to read that although having just noticed the impossibility to translate διώκω as “to run,” Hawthorne and Martin translate διώκω in the continued discussion of their commentary as just that. The only reason for doing so is the combination of διώκω with βραβεῖον in Phil. 3:14.

⁹⁸ So also Jean-François Collange, *The Epistle of Saint Paul to the Philippians*. Transl. by A. W. Heathcote. London: Epworth Press, 1979, 133. “. . . ‘diōkō’ properly speaking does not mean ‘to run’ but ‘to chase,’ ‘to pursue after,’ ‘to hunt down.’” Contrary to his insight, Collange still assigns διώκω to the racetrack on the rationalisation that καταλαμβάνω forces an athletic meaning on διώκω. Reasoning on such lines, however,

namely to pursue, to capture, to catch someone or something is always part of the inherent meaning of the word.⁹⁹ Even if Paul intends with βραβεῖον in Phil. 3:14 an athletic metaphor, a view this study will seriously question later, the close connection of διώκω with βραβεῖον will not force upon διώκω a meaning for which there is no attestation. If a noun from a particular semantic domain is combined with a verb, which may take up several meanings, that noun may regulate the appropriate semantic domain of the verb, but it cannot create a new meaning for a semantic domain, for which there is absolutely no affirmation from any other sources. To claim that διώκω is a metaphor from running races is assigning to the verb a meaning one wishes to have, despite all evidence to the contrary.

4.5.5.3. Athletic running nowhere explicitly stated or implied in the text

Third, running is nowhere mentioned in our text in question. Although it is hard to make a case from the absence of words, one should question why Paul supposedly expresses himself so clumsily if he wanted to create athletic imagery. If indeed he wished to utilise athletic metaphors, why did he not make use of the available Greek terminology, as he does for example with τρέχω in 1 Cor. 9:24? Instead of running we have a combination of διώκω (pursuing) and καταλαμβάνω (seizing/ taking hold/ capturing) in the text. Even if we do not translate διώκω as “I run towards,” but leave it rather vaguely as “I press on,” or “I pursue,” the supposed race-imagery becomes an awkward picture of Paul trying to pursue and capture another runner. In the ancient athletic running competitions, however, one hoped to run past another and certainly did not hope to seize another competitor, or anything else while one was running.

is illegitimate. Linguistically no word can force a new meaning on another verb, for which the verb has no attestation. Pfitzner concurs: “Nor does the juxtaposition of διώκειν and καταλαμβάνειν necessarily suggest the presence of the (*athletic*) image already in v.12; they appear together in Exod. 15:9; Sir. 11:10 and Lam. 1:6 in the more original sense of pursuit and capture in war.” Victor C. Pfitzner, *Paul and the Agon Motif*. In *NovTSupp* 16. Leiden: Brill, 1967, 140.

⁹⁹ Διώκω is rarely used intransitively, thus the comment in LSJ, 440, “seemingly intr.” At the few occasions when διώκω is used intransitively, it never means “to run,” but “to hurry away,” (Xen. *Ana.* VII.2.20.) “to march,” (Plut. *Caes.* XVII.3.) “to drive, drive on” (Hom. *Il.* XXIII.344, 424.). The note in LSJ, 440, “gallop, run, etc.” is confusing and may lead to misunderstandings. First, the only attestation listed under the reference “run” is Xen. *Ana.* VII.2.20. There, however, διώκω at best means “to run off,” and more likely “to hurry off.” Whatever the precise nuance of the word may be, it does not depict the action of an athletic runner, but the hurried move of a soldier toward his commanding officer.

4.5.5.4. Διώκω linked with καταλαμβάνω – even when one of the words is elided later in the text

Fourth, although διώκω stands alone as a single verb in Phil. 3:14, καταλαμβάνω is still intended to be supplied by the reader as part and parcel of the continuation of the metaphor. Καταλαμβάνω is simply elided for stylistic reasons, but has to be “mentally reinserted” by the interpreter. The combination of the two verbs had just occurred in Phil. 3:12; the aim of Paul’s pursuing is to capture/ apprehend/ seize. Then, in Phil. 3:13, Paul starts his sentence by asserting that he does not consider himself to have captured/ apprehended/ seized, but one thing he does: he pursues (διώκω) (Phil. 3:14)! One should not be distracted by the subordinate clause τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος from the fact that the kind of pursuing which Paul does in Phil. 3:14 is the same as in Phil. 3:12: he still pursues that he may seize/ apprehend/ capture! The dual thought of διώκω εἰ καὶ καταλάβω has not been abandoned in Phil. 3:14. This observation rules out two things: first, that the direct object of καταλαμβάνω is the prize. If it would be so, Paul’s sentence would read in Phil. 3:14 “I pursue with the aim to receive the prize for the prize of the upward call . . .” The εἰς τὸ βραβεῖον would in that case be superfluous to state. Second, it rules out the possibility that Paul may have non-athletic imagery in mind in Phil. 3:12 and shift to athletic imagery in Phil. 3:14. As we have stated above, διώκω εἰ καὶ καταλάβω cannot be combined with βραβεῖον to create a sensible athletic metaphor. If in an athletic race one pursued and captured/ seized/ apprehended another runner, or whatever else one may think of, one would be disqualified and surely cannot expect to receive a prize!

4.5.5.5. Ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος or ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος without attestation to the athletic running of a race

Fifth, the clusters of words forming the images of ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος “forgetting what is behind” or ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος “reaching out what is in front” (Phil. 3:13) are modern imaginations of what a runner does and are not attested by any of the ancient sources to refer to the arena of the sports. In the absence of other running metaphors around τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος one is not restricted to the athletic field as an appropriate description of what people do in their description of looking forward and not back. The phrase suits several other life-situations of the first century.

4.5.5.6. Βραβεῖον not restricted to the semantic domain of athletics

The only word in our passage in question which has an appeal for referring to athletic races is βραβεῖον (prize) in Phil. 3:14. Βραβεῖον is rarely used in secular Greek¹⁰⁰ and when the literary texts utilise it, it is predominantly in direct or symbolic reference to the victory prize of athletic races.¹⁰¹ The latter, however, is not the only semantic domain in which βραβεῖον is at home. Already Menander employs it with the general sense of “reward,” with no connection to competition in the races.¹⁰² In military contexts βραβεῖον has a distinct meaning independent to any connection with athletics. It refers there to the prizes, which the victorious army or a victorious soldier in single combat receives on account of a victory over an enemy. Plutarch clearly uses it with reference to military prizes, using βραβεῖον in a genitival relationship with τῆς μάχης:

... Ἴρις ἐξαγγέλλουσα τῇ Ἑλένῃ φησί
 ‘μακρῆς ἐγχέησι μαχήσονται περὶ σεῖο·
 τῷ δέ κε νικήσαντι φίλη κекλήση ἄκοιτις·’

ἔπειθ’ ὁ Ζεὺς τῷ Μενελάῳ τῆς μάχης τὸ
βραβεῖον ἀπέδωκεν εἰπὼν ‘νίκη μὲν δὴ
 φαίνεται’ ἀρηιφίλου Μενελάου.¹⁰³

... Iris, giving her message to Helen,
 says:

With their long spears they fight a battle for
 you; then to the victor you shall be known
 as own wife.

And later Zeus gave to Menelaus **the prize
 of battle**, saying:

The victory was clear for warlike Menelaus.

In his *Cynegetica* Oppian uses βραβηῖα as a military metaphor in his description of hunting lions:

... ὡς δ’ ὀπότεν ἐν πολέμοισιν ἀρήιον ἄνδρα
 κραταιὸν δῆϊος ἀμφιβάλῃ στεφάνῃ μαλεροῖο
 μόθοιο, αὐτὰρ ὁ γε πνεύων μένος Ἄρεος ἔνθα
 καὶ ἔνθα ἀΐσσει, παλάμῃ κραδάων

... And as when in war a hostile ring of
 fierce battle surrounds a mighty warrior,
 and he, breathing the spirit of war, rushes
 this way and that, brandishing in his hand

¹⁰⁰ TDNT 636. The same is true with regard to inscriptions. The few examples attest the athletic domain (SEG 20:748 (2x); IGRR 4.1519; CIG 3674).

¹⁰¹ Paul uses it with this field of reference in 1 Cor. 9:24.

¹⁰² Menand. *Mon.* 124., Teubner edition. “Βραβεῖον ἀρετῆς ἐστιν εὐπαιδευσία.” (“Education brings forth the reward of virtue.”)

¹⁰³ Plut. *Mor.* IX.13. *Questionum convivalium* (742) C. In the *Table Talk* discoursed about by Plutarch the battle between Hector and Alexander in Homer’s *Iliad* is discussed. The prize of victory is “Helen and all her wealth.” Unfortunately, the clear meaning of ἔπειθ’ ὁ Ζεὺς τῷ Μενελάῳ τῆς μάχης τὸ βραβεῖον ἀπέδωκεν is blurred by the inopportune paraphrastic translation of F. H. Sandbach as “later Zeus gave the decision in the contest in favour of Menelaus.” (LCL, 259.) Zeus does not just give a decision, he clearly gives “Helen as the battle prize.” In the structure of the passage τῆς μάχης τὸ βραβεῖον is the middle line of a tri-partite parallelism between μαχήσονται περὶ σεῖο (they will battle for you) and ἄχιος ἦν τὰ νικητήρια φέρεσθαι (worthy to carry off the prize of victory), making τῆς μάχης τὸ βραβεῖον synonymous with νικητήρια.

<p>πεφονωμένον ἔγχος, ὃψέ δέ μιν δάμνησιν ἐνυάλιος λόχος ἀνδρῶν, πάντες ὁμοῦ βρίσαντες· ὁ δ' ὀκλάζει κατὰ γαίης, βαλλόμενος πυκινῆσι ταυρροίζουσιν ἀκωκαῖς· ὡς ὃ γ' ἀνηγύστοισιν ἀπειπάμενος καμάτοισιν ὃψέ βροτοῖσιν ἔδωκε βραβήϊα πάντα μῶθοιο.¹⁰⁴</p>	<p>his gory sword, and at last a warlike company of men overcomes him, all pressing on him together, and he sinks to the ground, smitten by many whistling arrows; even so the lion, exhausted by ineffectual efforts, at last yields to the men all the prizes of battle.</p>
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It is an exegetical fallacy to adopt for Phil. 3:14 the semantic field of the athletics for βραβεῖον simply because it is predominantly used this way in the primary literary sources. The principle criterion for establishing its meaning in Phil. 3:14 is the contextual influence of the surrounding vocabulary, not the numerical percentage to which βραβεῖον is used in the secular sources. If βραβεῖον can be attested to have a meaning in the semantic field of the military, which it has, and if it is surrounded by martial terminology and concepts, which it is, then βραβεῖον should be read with this military meaning in mind.

4.5.6. Consistent military imagery in Phil. 3:12-16

4.5.6.1. A natural flow into military imagery on account of previous terminology of ζημία and κέρδος

In light of the manifold problems which result on account of designating individual words or phrases from Phil. 3:12-14 into the area of athletic running, a new semantic field of meaning for Phil. 3:12-16 should be considered. Below this thesis argues that all the key words and phrases of the pericope in question can be located in the sphere of the military. Considering military imagery in Phil. 3:12-16 will form an internally unified metaphor, where none of the words require to be pressed into a meaning, which it is not attested to. A coherent imagery will emerge which corresponds to real-life situations of the first century and it will be easily discernible how Paul's theological statements fit with the overall theme of the surrounding chapters and the book as a whole.

When we recall that Paul used the pairing of ζημία and κέρδος similar to its common occurrence in military speeches, it is understandable why military terminology intensifies in its occurrences in Phil. 3:12-14. There the military metaphors do not occur unprecedented and unexpectedly, they flow naturally as a progression from what already has been stated. Paul claimed in martial terminology that his military gain (κέρδος) consists of gaining Christ in

¹⁰⁴ Oppian. *Cyn.* 189-97. Transl. by A.W. Mair, LCL, 174-75. The *Cynegetica* are dedicated to the emperor Caracalla and are thus written after AD 211. That βραβεῖον is not better attested in the semantic field of the military is likely due to its generally rare usage in secular Greek.

a full and comprehensive way and that this military gain will be allotted to him, as is natural in real life among the legions, towards the end of his terms of service. Since Paul has not died yet, his terms of service has not been completed and he has not received Christ as gain yet. As in Phil. 1:21-22, to which the present passage has many parallels, there are only two modes of existence for Paul, either to die and to experience the surpassing military gain of being with Christ, or to continue to live on this earth and labour for fruitful service in the advance of the gospel. Since the first mode of existence does not apply for Paul as stated in Phil. 3:12a, the latter theme is now picked up. Translating Οὐχ ὅτι ἤδη ἔλαβον ἢ ἤδη τετελείωμαι as “It is not that I have already received the military gain of being found in Christ, or, let me explain, it is not that I have already come to the end of my life . . .” Paul shifts to what he will do until he comes to the end of his life and to the reception of the military gain. He will διώκω δὲ εἰ καὶ καταλάβω (pursue the opposing front if indeed he may capture the enemy).

4.5.6.2. *Διώκω δὲ εἰ καὶ καταλάβω – the pursuit of an enemy in order to capture him*

We already noted that the joining of “διώκω” and “καταλαμβάνω” is a common occurrence in the literary sources. Although the combination of the two verbal forms are employed in a “civilian sense” of pursuing and capturing someone¹⁰⁵ or in a philosophical or metaphorical sense of virtues or curses pursuing and taking hold of men,¹⁰⁶ the military usage relating to an army pursuing and seizing/ capturing an enemy are extremely prominent, both in the LXX as in the Greco-Roman sources:

In the song of Moses the overconfident Egyptians are quoted saying:

εἶπεν ὁ ἐχθρός Διωξας καταλήμφομαι, μεριῶ σκυλα, ἐμπλήσω ψυχὴν μου, ἀνελῶ τῇ μαχαίρη μου, κυριεύσει ἡ χεὶρ μου. ¹⁰⁷	The enemy said “I will pursue and consequently seize <i>the enemy</i> , I will distribute spoil, I will satisfy my soul, I will kill with my sword and my hand will rule.”
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After the victory of Joshua over the five kings, his army is instructed:

ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ ἐστήκατε καταδιώκοντες ὀπίσω τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν καὶ καταλάβετε τὴν οὐραγίαν αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ ἀφήτε εἰσελθεῖν	But you, do not stand still, but pursue your enemy that you may seize his rearguard and do not let them enter into
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¹⁰⁵ Gen. 44:4 LXX; Deut. 19:6 LXX; Hos. 2:9 LXX; Jos. *AJ*. VI.182.

¹⁰⁶ Deut. 28:45 LXX; Sir. 11:10 LXX; Lucian *Hermot*. 77.

¹⁰⁷ Exod. 15:9 LXX

εἰς τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν· παρέδωκεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς | their cities, for the Lord our God has
 κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἡμῶν . . | given them into our hands . . .
 108

When David's base of operation, Ziklag, was overrun by the Amalekites, he asks advice from God through the ephod:

Εἰ **καταδιώξω** ὀπίσω τοῦ γεδδουρ τούτου; | Should I pursue this *geddur*? Will I
 εἰ **καταλήμψομαι** αὐτούς; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ | capture them? And the Lord said to him:
Καταδίωκε, ὅτι **καταλαμβάνων** | pursue them because you will surely
καταλήμψη καὶ ἐξαιρούμενος ἐξελεῖ.¹⁰⁹ | capture them and you will come out
 having delivered the captives.

Pursuing and seizing an enemy is a recurring theme in the Psalms:

καταδιώξω τοὺς ἐχθρούς μου καὶ | I will pursue my enemy and seize him
καταλήμψομαι αὐτούς καὶ οὐκ | and I will not turn around until they come
 ἀποστραφήσομαι, ἕως ἄν ἐκλίπωσιν.¹¹⁰ | to an end.

In the secular sources the combination of διώκω and καταλαμβάνω is either used to describe the pursuit and overtaking or the pursuit and capturing of an enemy. Dio Cassius states about a military campaign of Pompey:

ἰδὼν οὖν τοῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος **ἐπεδίωξέ** τε | But when Pompey saw [Artoces fleeing],
 αὐτὸν καὶ **καταλαβὼν** ἐνίκησε.¹¹¹ | he pursued, overtook and conquered him.

Appian describes how M. Licinius Crassus and his eight legions pursue and overtake the fleeing forces of Spartacus after a decisive victory on the part of the Roman legions:

. . . **ἐδίωκε** φεύγοντα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὡς | [Crassus] . . . pursued the fleeing forces
 διαπλευρούμενον ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ | of *Spartacus* to the sea, where they tried
καταλαβὼν ἀπετάφρευε . . . καὶ | to pass over to Sicily. And overtaking
 ἀπετείχιζε . . .¹¹² | them, he enclosed them . . .

Polyaenus narrates the pursuit of Nicias with the following words:

¹⁰⁸ Josh. 10:19 LXX, see also Josh. 2:5 LXX.

¹⁰⁹ 1 Kings 30:8 LXX, *geddur*: the LXX translators did not know how to translate the Hebrew גִּדְדוּר and thus simply transliterated it. Cf., Josh. *AJ*. VI.359.

¹¹⁰ Ps. 17:38 LXX, see also Ps. 7:6 LXX, Ps. 70:11 LXX.

¹¹¹ Dio. XXXVII.2.3. See also Dio. XLVIII.48.6.

¹¹² App. *BC*. I.14.118.

Νικίας ὑπὸ Γυλίππου διωκόμενος ἤδη καταλαμβάνόμενος ἔπεμψε κήρυκα πρὸς αὐτὸν, φάσκων πάντα ποιήσειν τὰ προσταττόμενα . . . ¹¹³	When Nicias was pursued and almost captured by Gylippus, [Nicias] sent a herald to him, saying he would do whatever [Gylippus] ordered . . .
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Josephus in his Antiquities of the Jews multiple times utilises the concept of pursuit and seizure of the enemy through διώκω and καταλαμβάνω:

. . . πέμψαντας Δαυίδη . . . ταχέως διαβῆναι τὸν Ἰόρδανον, μὴ μεταγνοῦς ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ διώκειν ὀρμήσει καὶ πρὶν ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ γένηται φθάσας καταλάβῃ . ¹¹⁴	[Hushai] . . . sent them to David . . . and <i>told</i> him to pass quickly over the Jordan, unless his son [Absolom] should change his mind, and should rush on to pursue him, and before [David] would be in safety, would be overtaken and seized .
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Herodotus lists a speech of Mardonius during the war of the Persians against the Greeks and commands that the enemy should be pursued and overtaken:

νῦν δὲ ἐκείνοισι ταῦτα ποιεῦσι οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέα ἐστί, ἀλλὰ διωκτέοι εἰσὶ ἐς ὃ καταλαμφθέντες δώσουσι ἡμῖν τῶν δὴ ἐποίησαν Πέρσας πάντων δίκας. ¹¹⁵	Now we must not permit our enemies to do as they want; they must be pursued till they are overtaken and pay the penalty for all the harm they have done the Persians.
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Aeneas Tacticus exhorts in his military manual that a fleeing army should not be pursued and overtaken along the same roads they fled, using διώκω and καταλαμβάνω in his military advise:

. . . οὐ χρὴ τὴν δίωξιν αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι τὰς αὐτὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χώρους, ἀλλὰ τῆδε μὲν ὀλίγους ἐπιφαίνεσθαι καὶ διώκοντας μὴ ἐπικαταλαμβάνειν . . . ἄλλο δὲ πλῆθος μετὰ ἀξιοχρέου δυνάμεως σπεύδειν κατ' ἄλλας ὁδοὺς . . . ¹¹⁶	You should not make your pursuit <i>of the</i> <i>enemy</i> along the same roads or along the same countryside, but cause only a few to come into view <i>of the enemy</i> and in you pursuing them you should not overtake them . . . but with the multitude of the army in considerable strength you
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¹¹³ Polyaeus I.39.4. See also Polyaeus VI.4.2.

¹¹⁴ Jos. AJ. IX.121. See also Jos. AJ. II.320., Jos. AJ. VI.222., Jos. AJ. VIII.238., Jos. AJ. X.137., Jos. AJ. XII.272., Jos. AJ. XIV.356.

¹¹⁵ Hdt. Hist. IX.58. Transl. by A. D. Godley, LCL, IV:231.

¹¹⁶ Aen. Tact. XVI.11.

| should hasten quickly via other roads . . .

4.5.6.3. *The direct object of διώκω δὲ εἰ καὶ καταλάβω – the enemy*

In light of the fact that Paul agglomerates several termini from the military into a homogeneous line of thought in Phil. 3:12-16, it is very likely, if not impossible otherwise, that Paul, when using διώκω δὲ εἰ καὶ καταλάβω has the common military usage of “pursuing an enemy if he might capture him” in mind. As in Phil. 3:12-14, the verbs διώκω and καταλαμβάνω are without a direct object in Exod. 15:9 LXX and Aen. Tact. XVI.11. Without a question “the enemy” is the implied object in those instances, and certainly here in Paul’s passage as well.

The enemy Paul contemplates are the ἀντίκειμαι already mentioned in Phil. 1:28, the γενεὰ σκολιᾶς καὶ διεστραμμένης of Phil. 2:15, i.e. the multitude of unbelievers, who outnumber the Philippian congregation and which are hostile to the Christian gospel and those who embraced it.¹¹⁷ Thus, with διώκω δὲ εἰ καὶ καταλάβω Paul exemplifies in his own life what he exhorted the Philippian congregation to do in Phil. 1:27, to fight for the advance for the gospel: συναθροῦντες τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου! That Paul pictures unbelievers pejoratively as “military opposition” should not surprise us, given the fact that a tolerant attitude towards the message of Jesus as Lord was nearly non-existent during Paul’s preaching ministry. The book of Acts pictures the response towards Paul’s preaching consistently as either welcoming or opposing it. That the Philippian Christians experienced the same kind of opposition from their surrounding secular world is clear from Paul describing the church as involved in the same battle with opposition as Paul is: τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγῶνα ἔχοντες, οἷον εἶδετε ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ νῦν ἀκούετε ἐν ἐμοί (Phil. 1:30), of which the Philippians are not to be afraid (Phil. 1:28).

4.5.6.4. *The direct object of διώκω δὲ εἰ καὶ καταλάβω – Paul as a former enemy of the gospel*

The thought of Paul pursuing with the gospel people initially hostile to the faith in order to win them for Christ is strengthened by the parallel statement ἐφ’ ᾧ καὶ κατελήμφθην ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ (in the same manner (or: for which purpose) I also was *pursued and* apprehended by Christ). There is wide agreement that Paul refers with this phrase to “that Christ-encounter he experienced on the Damascus road . . . *Christ* forcefully arresting him and setting him off in a

¹¹⁷ For a detailed unpacking of those two military images ἀντίκειμαι and μέσον γενεᾶς σκολιᾶς καὶ διεστραμμένης see below.

new lifelong direction.”¹¹⁸ Although Paul was formerly in opposition to Christ and the gospel movement (κατὰ ζῆλος διώκων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (Phil. 3:6) cf., Σαοὺλ Σαοὺλ, τί με διώκεις (Acts 9:4)), the resurrected Lord pursued him and captured him with the gospel message (cf., Gal. 1:11-16). In our search for the appropriate direct objects of the verbs διώκω and καταλαμβάνω, it is only natural to assume, unless context demands otherwise that in the parallel statement “I pursue that I might capture” vs. “Christ pursued and captured” the direct objects are of the same category. Consistency in metaphor usage makes it nearly impossible to imagine Paul having some mental apprehension of Christ, spiritual or moral perfection, righteousness, or the prize in view as a direct object of the first mention of καταλαμβάνω (Phil. 3:12) and then shifting unexpectedly to himself as a human in opposition to the gospel as the direct object in the immediately following usage of καταλαμβάνω with Christ as the subject of the verb. The parallelism of thought clearly reveals the first unmentioned direct object as being of the same metaphorical category as the second, then plainly stated direct object:

Christ pursued and captured **me**, i.e. **a human in opposition to the gospel**

I pursue if perhaps I capture **humans in opposition to the gospel**.

The connective ἐφ’ ᾧ, which combines the two parallel statements probably functions, not as an idiom meaning “because,” but as a conjunction indicating how, in what manner, according to what pattern the previous action is performed.¹¹⁹ Hence, Paul’s life ambition as long as he would not be martyred for his faith, was to try to bring people into a saving relationship with Christ in the same manner in which Christ reached him: by revealing to him the content of the gospel. Of course, despite the enormous mission efforts of Paul, the goal of reaching people for Christ has not yet been exhaustively reached. Paul does not consider that he had captured the opposition for Christ in such a way as though the battle was already won: ἐγὼ ἐμμαντὸν οὐ λογιζομαι κατεληφέναι. Paul was still in the middle of the military campaign and a diminishing of fervour could not be afforded. Now was not the time for spoils or military gain, but now was still time for concentrated and intense effort for the advance of the gospel.

Continuing his argumentation by a direct address to the Philippians as ἀδελφοί (Phil. 3:13), Paul already starts to shift slightly from what he is doing to the command to the Philippians to emulate him and join him in the “military cause” to advance the message of Christ. The bonds formed by comrades in the Roman legions was regularly displayed by

¹¹⁸ Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 208.

¹¹⁹ For the possibility of this usage of ἐφ’ ᾧ see Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996, 342-43. 2 Cor. 5:4 would illustrate how the manner of the previous verb is carried out, translating καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὄντες ἐν τῷ σκηνῆι στενάζομεν βαρούμενοι, ἐφ’ ᾧ οὐ θέλομεν ἐκδύσασθαι ἀλλ’ ἐπενδύσασθαι . . . as: “For indeed, we who are in this tent groan, being burdened, not *groaning* in such a manner that we want to be unclothed, but further clothed . . .”

soldiers calling each other “brother.”¹²⁰ In official military correspondence it was customary that in the body of the letter the officers addressed each other as *frater* in Latin or ἀδελφῆ in Greek.¹²¹ By addressing the Philippians as “military brothers” in Phil. 3:13 Paul is appealing to the inherent comradeship of the term “brother” and is foreshadowing his explicit command in Phil. 3:15-17 to join him in his campaign for the benefit of the gospel.

4.5.6.5. Κατὰ σκοπόν (Phil. 3:14) – without attestation as “the goal marker in races,” but used in a military context

4.5.6.5.1. The attempt of contemporary scholarship to define σκοπός as athletic metaphor

In Philippians 3:14 Paul expands his thought of διώκω εἰ καὶ καταλάβω, using the preposition κατά in an accusative construction with σκοπός. Although κατά in the context of pursuit might indicate what or who is being pursued,¹²² κατά in an accusative construction might just as well indicate the conformity to the standard, which the action of the verb performs.¹²³ In that case one would translate κατά as “according to.” Again, context will be the decisive criterium, which meaning κατά will take. For the determination of the context, the word σκοπός needs to undergo an investigation of its possible meanings. In order to press the term σκοπός into the formation of athletic imagery, the word has suffered terrible abuse by recent scholarship. Giving the appearance as if σκοπός is naturally and widely attested with references to the finish line or goal post in the Greco-Roman foot races, interpreters across the theological spectrum are bold to claim what specific goal marker the word refers to with reference to the races: “The word σκοπός, found only here in the NT, is not the goal, but the ‘goal-marker.’ It is

¹²⁰ “The terms for comradeship in the Roman Army are notable . . . The most poignant term, regularly inscribed on tombstones, was *frater* (brother) On many such monuments it is clear from the different family names of the deceased and the heir(s) that they could not have been actual brothers, but the term expresses with great eloquence and simplicity the fundamental bonds between comrades.” Ross Cowan, *Roman Legionary 58 BC – AD 69*. Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2003, 17-18.

¹²¹ *RMR*, 349. For officers addressing each other as *frater* or ἀδελφῆ, Fink lists P. Dur. 66 from AD 216, which is a file of letters of the Tribune Postumius Aurelianus. *Frater* appears in letter 43 line 7, ἀδελφῆ in letter 16 line 2. See <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/rom.mil.rec;1;89>; *RMR*, 376, 366. An address of ἀδελφ[οῦ] in Greek in an otherwise Latin inscription is to be found in P. Mich. III.162 from the end of the second century AD. See <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/rom.mil.rec;1;39>; *RMR*, 170. For the address of *domine frater* see P. Dur 63 from AD 211, letter 2 line 5: <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/rom.mil.rec;1;88>; *RMR*, 356 or P-Dur. 66, letter 6 lines 8-9; <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/rom.mil.rec;1;89>; *RMR*, 362. The noteworthy *frater karissime* (“my very dear military brother”) appears in P. Oxy VII.1022, dated AD 103. See *RMR*, 353-54; <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/rom.mil.rec;1;87>.

¹²² LSJ, 883.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

that post at the end of the race upon which the runner fixes his attention (cf., σκοπεῖν, 'to keep one's eyes on')."¹²⁴

Once the ingenious, but unproven suggestions for the reference of σκοπός had entered the works of respectable scholarship it was (and still is currently) simply taken over and copied by contemporary interpreters.¹²⁵ What is quite puzzling with regard to exegetical methodology are the explanations of Hansen. He correctly points out the attested meanings of the word, only to fall back on his interpretation to use the word in a sense contrary to what he had established just a few lines earlier. He notes first that: "The word goal simply means the 'mark' or 'target.'" For support he cites in the footnote: "BDAG, 931: the same word (σκοπόν) also denotes a target in archery. The cognate verb (σκοπέω) means 'to pay careful attention to; to keep one's eyes on.'" Yet, in continuing the text of the commentary, he takes σκοπός to mean "finish line," a meaning completely missing in his previous survey of possible areas of reference: "running the race of faith in Christ demands concentration on the finish line."¹²⁶ O'Brien stands out by admitting correctly that σκοπός is not a word taken over from athletic imagery, yet he as well, assigns without reason just one line later an athletic reference to σκοπός: "Only the term βραβεῖον is taken directly from the athletic imagery of the games. However, in this context σκοπός clearly describes the finish line of the race on which the athlete fixes his gaze . . ." ¹²⁷ One wonders from where the bold assertions that σκοπός refers to the "finish line" or "the post at the end of the race" gain their confidence. It will simply not suffice to boldly state what a word "clearly refers to" – despite evidence and contrary to linguistic testimony – to establish the meaning or field of reference of a word in New Testament scholarship.

4.5.6.5.2. *The cause of a faulty assumption: references to Victor C.*

Pfitzner's "Paul and the Agon Motif"

The facts are thus: σκοπός is in no ancient literature or inscription attested as a reference for the finish line, the post at the end of the race or anything else at the end of the race track. Σκοπός is entirely without attestation as a word with a special meaning in the semantic domain of the races. A significant part of the confusion with regard to the meaning of σκοπός

¹²⁴ Gerold F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 102.

¹²⁵ See for example Richard R. Melick, *Philippians, Colossians, Philemon*. New American Commentary. Nashville: B&H Publishing Group, 1991, 139.

¹²⁶ G. Walter Hansen, *The Letter to the Philippians*. Pillar New Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009, 255.

¹²⁷ Peter T. O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 429.

is due to a misleading statement by Victor C. Pfitzner in his work *Paul and the Agon Motif*.¹²⁸ Present scholarship in portraying σκοπός as a race metaphor either refers to Pfitzner or refers to a scholar who bases his statement in turn on Pfitzner. The latter gives the appearance of first century attestation for σκοπός as referring to the winning post at the race track, but all his “proof texts” have nothing at all to do with identifying σκοπός as an athletic metaphor. Pfitzner commits a substantial exegetical fallacy by trying to establish a meaning of a word by appealing to literary evidence which is not evidence for the meaning he wants to invest into the word at all. Unfortunately, his assumptions were not critically checked, but simply taken over by later exegetes. Pfitzner writes: “. . . Σκοπός in this instance clearly refers to the winning post of the race on which the runner intently fixes his gaze. The use of this word in an athletic sequence is quite natural and certainly not unique, appearing in the diatribe, in Philo and again in 1 Clement 19:2 and 63:1 in this transferred sense.”¹²⁹ In two footnotes Pfitzner specifies his references to be Philo *Vit. Mos.* I. 48; Philo *Sacr. AC.* 116; 1 Clement 19:2 and 1 Clement 63:1, which this inquiry will examine in turn.

4.5.6.5.3. “Paul and the Agon Motif” under scrutiny: 1 Clement 19

First, the passage from 1 Clement 19:

Πολλῶν οὖν καὶ μεγάλων καὶ ἐνδόξων μετειληφότες πράξεων ἐπαναδράμωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραδεδομένον ἡμῖν τῆς εἰρήνης σκοπόν, καὶ ἀτενισωμεν εἰς τὸν πατέρα καὶ κτίστην τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου . . . ¹³⁰	Therefore, since we have been partakers of many great and glorious doings, let us hasten to return to the goal of peace which had been handed down to us from the beginning and let us look to the father and creator of the whole world . . .
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The text of 1 Clement 19:2 speaks of a return (ἐπανατρέχω) to the goal of peace and although ἐπανατρέχω is a compound verb with τρέχω as one of its components, it is wrong to assume that ἐπανατρέχω visualises a runner. The compound verb simply means “to return” with no allusions to sports. Clement uses σκοπός here simply as the “generic goal,” which Greek philosophers and the historians used without intending to point to the metaphorical source of the word. Σκοπός in Koine Greek has become independent of its metaphorical referent and

¹²⁸ Victor C. Pfitzner, *Paul and the Agon Motif. Traditional Athletic Imagery in the Pauline Literature*. In *NovTSupp*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 39-40.

¹³⁰ 1 Clement 19:2.

here simply means “goal” or “aim.”¹³¹ Similarly in English usage, if one asks for example what the aims of one’s studies are, one hardly thinks about archery in forming or answering the question. Even if a metaphorical usage is intended and Clement wanted the reader to note the original referent of the metaphor, a connection with athletic running cannot be purposed, since the literal meaning of the word is “the mark of object on which one fixes the eye,”¹³² and the verb in its literal meaning has no attestation to the runner’s arena.

4.5.6.5.4. “Paul and the Agon Motif” under scrutiny: 1 Clement 63

We turn, second, to 1 Clement 63:

<p>Θεμιτὸν οὕτω ἐστὶν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ὑποδείγμασιν προελθόντας τὸν τράχηλον καὶ τὸν ὑπακοῆς τόπον ἀναπληρῶσαι, ὅπως ἡσυχάσαντες τῆς ματαίας στάσεως ἐπὶ τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ σκοπὸν διχα παντὸς μώμου καταντήσωμεν.¹³³</p>	<p>Therefore, it is proper to give heed to so many and so great examples, to bow the neck and to take the place of obedience so that, ceasing from vain dissension we may attain to the goal put before us in truthfulness, keeping away from every fault.</p>
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In 1 Clement 63:1 no “athletic sequence” is observable, nor a “clear” reference of σκοπός to the winning post of the race. Clement simply speaks of the philosophical attainment of a goal, nothing athletic can be observed in the near or far context that gives any hint of σκοπός being an allusion to the runners post at the end of the track.

4.5.6.5.5. “Paul and the Agon Motif” under scrutiny: Philo Vit. Mos. I. 48

Third, the passage from Philo in his “The Life of Moses”:

<p>. . . ἐφιέμενος οὐ τοῦ δοκεῖν ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀληθείας, διὰ τὸ προκεῖσθαι σκοπὸν ἓνα τὸν ὀρθὸν τῆς φύσεως λόγον, ὃς μόνος ἐστὶν</p>	<p>. . . for [Moses] desired truth rather than seeming, because the one mark he set before him was nature’s right reason,</p>
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¹³¹ See for example Her. II.15.7. (the literary aim of the author); Her. V.1.8. (the intention of the author); Jos. *AJ*. XX.157.1. (truth as philosophical aim); Plb. VII.8.9. (the intention of a man to obey his father). “Depending on adaptability, applicability and popularity, metaphors may, in due time, lose their bond with their original real-life home and become assimilated into everyday, non-figurative language. They become ordinary lexical items.” Andrie B. du Toit, “Forensic Metaphors in Romans and their Soteriological Significance.” In *Salvation in the New Testament. Perspectives on Soteriology*. Ed. Jan. G. van der Watt. SNT 121. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005, 215.

¹³² LSJ, 1614.

¹³³ 1 Clement 63:1.

ἀρητῶν ἀρχή τε καὶ πηγή.¹³⁴

the sole source and fountain of virtues.

Philo similarly pictures Moses putting before himself a moral goal, there are no indications in the text that Philo intends a pictorial image of Moses running a race. If Philo intends a figurative usage with the aim of connecting the reader to the original literal figure for which σκοπός stands, the original figure may be a target for throwing spears, for shooting arrows or any other mark on which one fixes his eye, but it is illegitimate to invent a literal meaning for a figure for which there is no attestation.

4.5.6.5.6. “Paul and the Agon Motif” under scrutiny:

Philo. Sacr. AC. 116

Fourth, and finally, Philo’s work on the “Sacrifice of Abel and Cain”:

Ὅστε καὶ ἀθληταὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι νικηφορεῖν, ἀεὶ δὲ, ἠττώμενοι, καταλθέτωσαν· καὶ εἴ τις ἔμπορος ἢ ναύκληρος θαλαττεύειν ἐπαλλήλοις κακοπραγίαις χρεῖται, μετατραόμενος ἡρεμείτω· ὅσοι τε τὰς μέσας ἐπιτηδεύσαντες τέχνας μηδὲν ἠδυνήθησαν διὰ σκληρότητα φύσεως μάθημα παραδέξασθαι, ἐπαινετοὶ καταλύοντες· οὐ γὰρ ἔνεκα ἀσκήσεως ἀσκεῖται τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πρὸς ὃν ἀναφέρεται **σκοποῦ**.¹³⁵

So athletes who cannot win a victory, but are always defeated, will do well to retire. Merchants or shipmen who meet with perpetual disasters at sea should desist and change their occupation. Those who have studied the lower subjects, but have been unable through dullness of nature to imbibe any knowledge, will deserve praise if they abandon them. For exertion in such matters is not engaged in for the sake of exercise, but for the sake of **the object** at which they aim.

Philo’s object, which the four previous categories of professions aim at, is not a literal reference to the arena of the sports. Although athletes are mentioned as the first category, they are simply called “athletes,” not runners. Furthermore, the athletes are only one of four different groups of people, who try to reach a goal, but fail. The goal is first of all, in the case of the athlete, to win, not to reach the finish line or goal marker. Second, an allusion or figurative usage of σκοπός with the intention to mentally recollect the original metaphor is impossible. It would force (an unattested) word from the semantic domain of the sports upon the semantic picture of merchants, captains and students. The picture of those professions

¹³⁴ Philo *Vit. Mos.* I. 48., Transl. by Francis H. Colson, LCL, VI:302-03.

¹³⁵ Philo *Sacr. AC.* 116, Transl. by Francis H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, LCL, II: 178-79.

running in a race becomes unintelligible. Philo again simply uses σκοπός generically as “a goal,” without intending to recollect the source of the metaphorical usage of the noun.

In summary we may repeat what we stated before: σκοπός never in ancient literature, inscriptions or any other source has a meaning connected to a goal marker, post, finish line or any other object supposedly found at the end of the track on which a runner could “fix his gaze.” The traditional habit of forcing upon the word an athletic metaphor should once and for all be abandoned.

4.5.6.5.7. Σκοπός in military or generic usage

It is more likely that Paul uses σκοπός either in the sense of “military objective,” or, metaphorically with the target for javelins or arrows¹³⁶ as its original referent, or, and more likely, simply as the generic word “goal,” “aim” without intending to mentally arouse a specific pictorial image. For σκοπός referring to the military objective of a campaign we note its usage by Polybius:

<p>... καθάπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν κατ’ ἄνδρα καὶ ζυγὸν ἀγωνισμάτων δεῖ τὸν μέλλοντα νικᾶν συνθεωρεῖν πῶς δυνατὸν ἐφικέσθαι τοῦ σκοποῦ καὶ τί γυμνὸν ἢ ποῖον ἐξοπλὸν μέρος φαίνεται τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν . . .¹³⁷</p>	<p>For just as in combats between man <i>and</i> <i>man</i> or rank <i>and</i> rank, it is necessary for him who wishes to conquer to observe how best to attain his military objective and what naked or unprotected part of the enemy is visible . . .</p>
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Polybius clearly uses σκοπός in the sense of the military aim of conquering the enemy through a victorious battle. It is not obvious, however, if σκοπός should be translated “military objective” since it cannot be established conclusively that σκοπός took on such a “technical meaning” in the area of the military. It is just as likely that Polybius makes use of σκοπός as a suitable generic word for the aims and goals of generals in war. The latter is probably more likely and thus σκοπός would not be military terminology per sé. It is of interest for our study, however, to note that σκοπός is used with reference to military goals and in the presence of other clear military terminology, Paul could have made use of the noun generically, without mixing metaphors, and in the flow of the argument the word could point to the aims and goals of a general or the army as a whole. Thus, in light of the fact that neither the phrase διώκω καὶ καταλάβω, nor σκοπός were used in classical literature with any identification to athletic running, the idea that Paul uses athletic imagery in Phil. 3:12-16 should be discarded.

¹³⁶ For σκοπός in this sense see Plut. *Demetr.* XXIX.7.4.; Her. I.15.4.; Xen. *Cyr.* I.6.29

¹³⁷ Plb. III.81.2.

Instead, a clear military metaphor emerges, in which Paul pursues the enemy (i.e. unbelievers) with the gospel, in accordance with the supreme goal of the campaign: to bring people in a salvific relationship through the message of Jesus.

4.5.6.6. *Εἰς τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως τοῦ θεοῦ (Phil. 3:14) – without attestation as the call to receive prizes in athletic games, but used in a military context*

4.5.6.6.1. *Τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως τοῦ θεοῦ in contemporary scholarship*

We have already noted above that βραβεῖον is a word abundantly used in the ancient sources with reference to prizes won at athletic competitions, it is the only word in the present paragraph, which possibly could function as an athletic metaphor. We have also noted however, that βραβεῖον is well at home in other semantic domains, among them the military. The overall context of the passage and the synchronisation of all the termini into a sensible metaphor will determine which semantic domain Paul alludes to in the appropriation of βραβεῖον. Unfortunately, however, previous scholarship has unwarrantedly fixated βραβεῖον as exclusively athletic imagery and – since no room for alternatives was provided – had to press the terminology surrounding βραβεῖον into athletic imagery, completely without linguistic attestation. This is the case, as we have seen above not only about διώκω καὶ καταλάβω and σκοπός, but also the so-called “upward call of the Olympic judges,” the ἄνω κλήσις of Phil. 3:14, which will be our present concern.

Commentators generally fall into two categories of how τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως is interpreted. Either, no metaphorical imagery is assumed, and a parallelism to Paul’s often used cognate verb καλέω is considered sufficient to interpret κλήσις as God’s initial and effective call to salvation.¹³⁸ In the other category commentators see in the phrase τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως imagery from the Hellenistic games and picture a call after which either the presiding judges or the emperor himself calls the victor of the running races up to the stage or viewing box to receive their Pan-Hellenic crowns.¹³⁹

¹³⁸ See for example Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 432-33. Moisés Silva, *Philippians*. Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Baker: Grand Rapids, 2005, 176-77.

¹³⁹ See for example G. Walter Hansen, *The Letter to the Philippians*. Pillar New Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009, 256. Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 154-55. Frederick F. Bruce, *Philippians*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1983, 96-98.

4.5.6.6.2. *An athletic metaphor: scholarship's dependence on Jean-François Collange*

Those who see a metaphor from the award-winning ceremony from the races here, base their views on the commentary of Jean-François Collange, who wrote: “we would rather suppose that it [the word κλήσις (“call”)] was introduced from the analogy of the Greek games in which the foot race was an event. Such games were organised and presided over by agonothetes or athlothetes whose office was highly respected. At Olympia they bore the name of ‘Hellanodikai’ and ‘after each event they had a herald announce the name of the victor, his father’s name and his country, and the athlete or charioteer would come and receive a palm branch at their hands.’ This is the call to which Paul is alluding.”¹⁴⁰

4.5.6.6.3. *Jean-François Collange’s dependence on Gustave Glotz*

Collange tries to support his thesis that κλήσις refers to the call of sportsmen to the front of the *Hellanodikai* by citing in the footnote the reference of the article “Hellanodikai” by Gustave Glotz.¹⁴¹ Glotz indeed describes shortly the ceremony in which the *Hellanodikai* reward the winner of the Olympic competitions by handing them a palm branch. The only references in support of his statements are mentioned in a footnote to be Paus. *Descr.* VII.40.3 and Ael. *Var. Hist.* XXXI.9. (The latter is incorrect and should be Ael. *Var. Hist.* IX.31.).

4.5.6.6.4. *Gustave Glotz’s “Hellanodikai” under scrutiny*

The respective primary sources (and the only ones ever suggested) for a support of a call forward to the *Hellanodikai* to receive the prizes read as follows:

Ἀθλητῆς Κροτωϊάτης Ὀλυμπιονίκης ἀπιῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλαοδίκας, ἵνα λάβῃ τὸν στέφανον, ἐπίπτως γεώμενος ἀπέθανε κατενεχθεὶς μετὰ πτώματος. ¹⁴²	An athlete from Croton, on winning at Olympia, went up to the presiding officials to receive his crown, and fell dead from an attack of epilepsy.
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¹⁴⁰ Jean-François Collange, *The Epistle of Saint Paul to the Philippians*. Transl. by A. W. Heathcote. London: Epworth Press, 1979, 134. Words in parenthesis mine.

¹⁴¹ Gustave Glotz, “Hellenodikai.” In *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*. Vol. III, 1. Ed. C. Daremberg and E. Saglio. Paris: Hachette, 1900-1963, 60-64.

¹⁴² Ael. *Var. Hist.* IX.31. Transl. by Nigel G. Wilson, LCL, 304-05.

Ἡλεῖοι δὲ ἐστεφάνωσάν τε καὶ ἀνηγόρευσαν | The Eleans crowned and **proclaimed**
 νικῶντα τοῦ Ἀρραχίωνος τὸν νεκρόν.¹⁴³ | victor the corpse of Arrhachion.

In none of the texts is a call to the victor stated, nor does κλήσις or καλέω appear in any form. It is straining the evidence to conclude from a public proclamation of the winner (ἀναγορεύω) that Paul – when speaking of τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως τοῦ θεοῦ – may have a call to receive a prize in mind. Silva concurs: “one must question Collange’s view (followed by Hawthorne) that the expression [ἄνω κλήσεως] is used after the analogy of the Greek games, in which, *after* each event, a herald announced the name of the winner. No evidence has been put forth that this noun (or the verb *kaleō*) was used in that context.”¹⁴⁴ Gustave Glotz has formulated more regarding a call to the winners in the Pan-Hellenic games than the evidence supports. New Testament scholarship has – without checking the primary sources – taken over the unsupported statement from Glotz. There is no evidence of κλήσις or καλέω ever used in an award-winning ceremony from the race track.

4.5.6.6.5. *Καλέω in the military context of the award-rewarding ceremony for soldiers*

The verb καλέω is used in a military context, however, namely in the famous award distributing ceremony where the general would apportion military *dona* and monetary rewards to particularly brave soldiers after a war had been brought to a successful conclusion. “Two distinct occasions emerge for the distribution of awards: at the triumph celebrated at the conclusion of a war and on the battlefield immediately following a successful encounter with the enemy The setting for these award-giving ceremonies is well illustrated in the literary sources Polybius describes how, after a battle, the general called an assembly of the troops, brought forward those deemed to have displayed conspicuous valour, publicly praised them and distributed military awards. The practice does not appear to have changed much, for the ceremony described by Polybius and which belongs to the middle years of the second century BC is the same in all particulars as that which Josephus describes as having taken place in AD 70 on the day following the capitulation of Jerusalem.”¹⁴⁵ Josephus describes this award-distributing ceremony thus:

. . . ποιθηέντος οὖν αὐτῷ μεγάλου κατὰ | A spacious tribunal having accordingly

¹⁴³ Paus. *Descr.* VII.40.3. Transl. by W. H. S. Jones, LCL, III:102-03.

¹⁴⁴ Moisés Silva, *Philippians*. Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Baker: Grand Rapids, 2005, 176.

¹⁴⁵ Valerie A. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army*. London: B. T. Batsford, 1981, 132-33, citing Plb. VI.39.1-2 and Jos. *JW.* VII.5-17.

μέσῃν τὴν πρότερον παρεμβολὴν βήματος, καταστὰς ἐπὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων . . . Εὐθέως οὖν ἐκέλευσεν ἀναγινώσκειν τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦτο τεταγμένοις ὅσοι τι λαμπρὸν ἦσαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κατωρθώκοτες. καὶ κατ’ ὄνομα καλῶν ἐπὶναι τε παριόντας ὡς ἂν ὑπερευφραϊνόμενός τις ἐπ’ οἰκείους κατορθώμασι καὶ στεφάνους ἐπετίθει χρυσοῦς, περιανχενία τε χρυσᾶ καὶ δόρατα μικρὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ σημαίας ἐδίδου πεποιημένας ἐξ ἀργύρου, καὶ τὴν ἐκάστου τάξιν ἥλλαττεν εἰς τὸ κρεῖττον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λαφύρων ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν ἐσθῆτάς τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτοῖς λείας δαμιλιῶς ἀπένευμε . . .¹⁴⁶

been constructed for him in the centre of his former camp, he here took his stand with his principal officers . . . He accordingly forthwith gave orders to the appointed officers to read out the names of all who had performed any brilliant feat during the war. **Calling up each by name**, he applauded them as they came forward, no less exultant over their exploits than if they were his own. He then placed crowns of gold upon their heads, presented them with golden neck-chains, little golden spears and standards made of silver, and promoted each man to a higher rank; he further assigned to them out of the spoil silver and gold and raiments and other booty in abundance . . .

We have thus at least one clear example from military custom, in which the general issues calls to his soldiers to receive military *dona* and rewards for brave and faithful service.

4.5.6.6. *Public knowledge of military ceremonies granting military rewards*

Knowledge about such ceremonies was not restricted to military personnel. Speeches of the general in front of his troops coupled with the handing out of *dona*, rewards and extraordinary grants of money in such ceremonies were occasionally memorialised in the mints of coins.¹⁴⁷ The symbolism portrayed on the coins was not intended for “honorific use” of the parties involved only, it was an effective means of propaganda, intended for and understood by the masses, as the following examples demonstrate.

¹⁴⁶ Jos. *JW*. VII.6, 13-15. Transl. by H. St. J. Thackeray, LCL, III:507-509.

¹⁴⁷ Seth William Stevenson, “Donativa.” In *Dictionary of Roman Coins, Republican and Imperial*. Ed. Seth William Stevenson. London: B. A. Seaby Ltd., 1964, 346-47.



Figure 14 and 25: Denarius of Octavian, picturing *dona militaria*.

Denarius of Octavian, minted between 43 and 41 BC, showing the bearded Octavian on the obverse and on the reverse three different *dona militaria*, consisting of crown, *hasta pura* and *phalax*.¹⁴⁸



Figure 26 and 27: Sestertius of Gaius Caligula, picturing Caligula in a military ceremony addressing his troops.

Pictured is a coin of Caligula, minted at his succession to the throne in AD 37.¹⁴⁹ The reverse pictures an *adlocutio*, a speech of the general before the assembled troops, during which Caligula paid out the award of 2,000 sesterti to each Praetorian. “The reverse scene makes clear a pact of mutual support, and the contrast between young Caligula, togate upon a platform, and the standard-bearing praetorians in full military attire could not have been lost on those who handled these coins . . .”¹⁵⁰

The public would know of the military award ceremonies not only from participating in them (if these were held publicly at a triumph in Rome), from the literary descriptions of them and numismatics, but most importantly from the *dona militaria* which were chiselled into the

¹⁴⁸ Picture from: www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=466507, accessed Nov. 14th, 2012. Cf., BMR Vol. 3, 568., plate 55, nr. 18.

¹⁴⁹ <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=383716>, accessed May 2nd, 2012. Cf., BMC Vol. 1, 156., plate 28, nr. 7.

¹⁵⁰ <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=383716>, accessed May 18th, 2012.

tombstones of the veterans who earned them. The custom of soldiers portraying themselves in portraits decorated with their military awards or the simple depiction of *dona militaria* next to the inscription bloomed during the first century.¹⁵¹ As a traveller walked into a city, he would pass the graveyards on the outside of the city walls. Those graveyards were not tucked away burial plots in places as quiet as possible as they are today, but were as public as possible, right next to the main road in and out of a city. The ancient viewer of tombstones of soldiers picturing *dona militaria* would have no concept of the soldiers having received these rewards in private or by registered mail, but through a public ceremony, as everything relating to the honour/ shame system of antiquity was performed as publicly as possible. It is therefore unlikely that the description of Josephus of the general calling up the soldiers by name whom he wanted to award was a passing literary reference otherwise unknown in the ancient world.

4.5.6.6.7. *The award in Phil. 3:14 – resurrection*

It is therefore likely that Paul alluded to this military custom of rewarding soldiers at the end of the campaign by calling their names to come forward to receive the reward. If a metaphorical allusion is intended by εἰς τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως τοῦ θεοῦ in Phil. 3:14, then in the light of the agglomeration of military nomenclature in the context, this military ceremony is our best choice, as it creates coherence with the preceding and following material. The theological reference to which the τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως τοῦ θεοῦ points is the resurrection of Paul, after he would have died “for the gospel.” Thus, wrapped in metaphorical language of receiving the promised reward from the general after a successful campaign, the actual content of the phrase describes the promise of resurrection,¹⁵² already mentioned on Phil. 3:10.

Paul has thereby concluded his argument in a full circle. In Phil. 3:7-10 he had established the fact that to know Christ in a face-to-face encounter was his ultimate military reward (κέρδος), which would only be realised at the moment of resurrection. Now, in Phil. 3:14 the same argument is repeated, now with a similar military metaphor, namely that Paul’s ultimate military prize (βραβεῖον) is the resurrection (at which he will experience the face-to-face encounter with Christ). With this military reward as his prime motivating factor (and acting as an *inclusio* of Phil. 3:10 and Phil. 3:14), Paul describes in the verses enclosed

¹⁵¹ Please see the photographic reproduction of many tomb stones depicting *dona militaria* in Valerie A. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army*. London: B. T. Batsford, 1981, 78, 91, 98-110.

¹⁵² Cf., Ernst Lohmeyer, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953, 146-47. Ulrich B. Müller, “Der Brief des Paulus an die Philipper.” In *Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament*. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1993, 171-72.

how he will live his life for the sake of the advance of the gospel. Structurally, the passage in military terminology starts and ends with the supreme military reward as the ultimate motivating factor for the kind of military campaign that is waged until it is concluded successfully and the time for the award ceremony of the victor is at hand.

*4.5.6.7. Τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος (Phil. 3:13)
– not attested as a description of runners in antiquity; context decides
on the nature of the metaphorical language*

4.5.6.7.1. The contextual setting of the phrase

Having demonstrated that Paul does not implement athletic imagery in the key phrases in Phil. 3:12-15, we can turn to Paul's subordinate clause ἐν δέ, τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος (but one thing I do, forgetting the things behind and stretching out toward the things/ the men in front) in Phil. 3:13 to investigate the nature and meaning of Paul's metaphorical expression. The phrase contains neither specific language from the military nor from the athletic. It is in itself a very general description, the precise nature of which depends on the context in which it is set.

The expression τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος **explains the manner in which** διώκω δὲ εἰ καὶ καταλάβω (Paul's pursuit of the enemy in order to capture him for the gospel) from Phil. 3:12 is carried out. In the micro-context τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος is structurally framed by οὐ λογίζομαι **κατειληφέναι** at the front (Phil. 3:13) and **διώκω** (Phil. 3:14) at the back end. Paul's thought of him pursuing the enemy that he might capture him (Phil. 3:12) for the gospel is now, in Phil. 3:13-14) split in two parts and repeated. Although Paul pursues the enemy ("enemy" not stated in the text, but implied), Paul has not yet apprehended the enemy in a conclusive manner (Phil. 3:13), but one thing he does, he continues to pursue according to the military objective and in view of the victory prize of resurrection (Phil. 3:14). The precise manner of Paul's ongoing pursuit is then explained by the enclosed τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος. Since Paul's expression is conceptionally and structurally so closely linked to the metaphorical expression διώκω δὲ εἰ καὶ καταλάβω, one should expect a continuation of the same kind of metaphorical articulation instead of a juxtaposition of totally unrelated metaphorical speech.

In surveying Phil. 3:12-14 we have noticed that the juxtaposition of διώκω and καταλαμβάνω cannot be taken to be anything else except military language of pursuing and capturing an enemy. Βραβεῖον can be utilised in an athletic imagery, but fits just as well in the context of military rewards. Σκοπός cannot be a metaphor from the athletic field: either a military or

generic meaning is likely. Ἀδελφοί is a common term of address for soldiers and a call to receive prizes (κλήσις) does not appear in the literary sources in the sphere of sporting games, but is attested in the military ceremony of receiving the *dona militaria* after a successful battle. In all likelihood, Paul is thus portraying a unified and consistent military metaphor, describing his present aims and activities of reaching unbelievers with the gospel in pictorial language as though he is pursuing and trying to capture an enemy. The action of advancing the gospel will lead to eventual military gain, which Paul will receive as in an award-receiving-ceremony from the supreme general, Jesus Christ, at the moment of his death and which consists of knowing Christ face to face. Since military images form the overarching picture of Phil. 3:12-14, we should look, in our effort to understand the phrase τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος not in the domain of the athletic – which would be completely out of place in the present paragraph – but in the domain of the military for a metaphorical visualisation that fits the context of the passage. In a pericope a phrase surrounded by military terminology and images and without athletic metaphors τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος in all probability describes not what a runner, but a soldier does.¹⁵³

*4.5.6.7.2 Τοῖς – the direct object of the verbs may be masculine,
not neuter*

We may notice, first of all, that the dative plural of the definite article τοῖς from the phrase τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος may not be neuter, but grammatically just as likely, masculine!¹⁵⁴ Paul may stretch himself out not to things that lie before him, but to people in front of him. The adverbs ἔμπροσθεν and ὀπίσω would in that case have a spacial, not a temporal meaning.

*4.5.6.7.3. Ἐμπροσθεν and ὀπίσω cannot have a temporal meaning in
the context*

Commentators who see in the metaphor “forgetting what is behind and stretching out what is in front” no real life counterpart of some sort but simply a description of the intense effort

¹⁵³ Although both verbs, ἐπιλανθάνομαι and ἐπεκτείνωμαι occur in a wide variety of contexts in ancient literature, the formation of a coordinate phrase through balancing of these two verbs, or the singular verbs with their adjunct adverbs ὀπίσω or ἔμπροσθεν occur in Greek literature for the first time here in Philippians. Since the concepts of not looking back, but reaching forward are so broad and may apply to many and widely diverse life situations, the surrounding context is thus the weightiest deciding factor of what the phrase might portray.

¹⁵⁴ I am indebted to Dr. Alan Tomlinson from Midwestern Theological Seminary in Kansas City for pointing out this significant possibility.

Paul puts into his Christian walk, are a slender minority.¹⁵⁵ Most exegetes take the adverbs ἔμπροσθεν and ὀπίσω to have a spacial meaning within the analogical context of the athletic races and transfer the spacial analogy into a temporal metaphorical meaning, i.e., that part of the race track which Paul has already covered (ὀπίσω) refers metaphorically to his achievements or failures in the chronological past, while the part of the racetrack that still needs to be covered (ἔμπροσθεν) lies in the chronological future.¹⁵⁶

To understand Paul's metaphorical language in such a way is possible, however, only in the twenty-first century, but not in the first. Ὀπίσω in first century Koine Greek, when it takes on a spacial meaning, is to be translated as "behind," "backwards," albeit when it is used in a temporal sense, it means "hereafter," i.e. the described action lies in the future, not in the past.¹⁵⁷ Similarly, ἔμπροσθεν in the spacial sense means "before," "in front," yet in a

¹⁵⁵ Werner de Boor, *Die Briefe des Paulus an die Philipper und an die Kolosser*. Wuppertal: Brockhaus Verlag, 1957, 121-25. De Boor proposes that the running metaphor serves primarily to show the exertion Paul puts into his present walk with Christ. The primary occasion for the running metaphor is, according to him, a "quietistic misunderstanding" of the gospel, i.e. once one does not feel the power of the law any more as a moral impetus, what drives the human? De Boor believes Paul battles "Christian laziness" and shows that the prize ahead motivates the Christian to voluntarily put all efforts into a dedicated Christian walk.

¹⁵⁶ See for example Richard R. Melick, *Philippians, Colossians, Philemon*. New American Commentary. Nashville: B&H Publishing Group, 1991, 109: "The good old days of Paul's Christian life' versus 'what God wanted in the future.'" John Reumann, *Philippians: A New Translation With Introduction and Commentary*. Anchor Yale Bible. London: Yale University Press, 2008, 539: "Perhaps Paul's heritage and achievements in Judaism? . . . the part of the course already covered." Gerald F. Hawthorne, and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 209: "to forget those wrongs done, e.g., the persecution of the church... whose memory one could paralyze with guilt . . . to forget, too, those attainments achieved . . . to forget the past, good or bad . . ." versus "what he intends the future course of his life to be." Peter T. O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 429: "that part of the Christian race, which he has already covered . . . what Paul has already achieved in his apostolic service" versus "that part of the race that lies ahead." Gordon D. Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians*. New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995, 348: Past Torah observance vica the certain future. Ernst Lohmeyer, Ernst. *Der Brief an die Philipper*. Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953, 146: forget the past achievement and reach to martyrdom ahead. Ulrich B. Müller, "Der Brief des Paulus an die Philipper." In *Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament*. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1993, 170: Renunciation of the past). Moisés Silva, *Philippians*. Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Baker: Grand Rapids, 2005, 176: "I do not look back at my failures or successes." G. Walter Hansen, *The Letter to the Philippians*. Pillar New Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009, 253: " . . . everything that he, Paul, has already achieved and attained in his walk with Christ."), citing Karl Barth, Epistle to the Philippians. Transl. by James W. Leitch. Richmond: Westminster John Knox, 2002, 109. Nikolaus Walter, *Die Briefe an die Philipper, Thessalonicher und an Philemon*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998, 82: "Paul's old boast, cf., vv. 4-6". Markus Bockmuehl, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. Black's New Testament Commentary. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1998, 222.: " . . . a concern to be unencumbered both by what may have been abandoned in the past and what has already been achieved."

¹⁵⁷ Thus, for example ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἰσχυρότερός μου ἐστίν from Matt. 3:11 is to be translated "he who comes **after** me [i.e., in the chronological future], is mightier than I am." Jesus' statement in Luke 9:62 that the one who looks back is not fit for the kingdom of God (οὐδεὶς ἐπιβαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα ἐπ' ἄροτρον καὶ βλέπων εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω εὐθετός ἐστίν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ) does not refer to the possibility of following Jesus and longing for the former life later, the context applies the proverbial saying not to regrets in the past, but to present distractions from total allegiance to Jesus. Ὀπίσω in the metaphor there is strictly

temporal sense it means “before,” i.e., chronologically prior to the referent.¹⁵⁸ The thought connection of both adverbs between the spacial and temporal meaning lies in the mental apprehension of the relationship between time and space in the first century, which was contrary to our present understanding of the correlation between space and time. In the first century, “the future is unseen and was therefore regarded as *behind* us, whereas the past is known and therefore before our eyes.”¹⁵⁹ Thus, unless one wants to argue that Paul is intent on forgetting the future and stretching himself out for the past, a metaphorically transferred temporal sense of τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος is impossible to have been Paul’s intention to communicate. In order to communicate in Koine Greek that one wishes to leave behind the past and reach out for the future, a race metaphor utilising the words ὀπίσω and ἔμπροσθεν would be completely unsuitable. It would be more consistent to stay within the framework of what was customary in ancient Greek and see in the denial to look backwards and the affirmation to direct one’s focus forward a strict spacial expression. Paul is not looking back or forward to the past or future respectively, but he describes a typical scenario of the battle scene, in which a soldier is tempted to look backward in order to look for a means of fleeing the battle scene, but resolves to focus on the fight with the enemy instead.

4.5.6.7.4. Ἐμπροσθεν – the position of the enemy

It is not surprising that ἔμπροσθεν can designate in the literary sources the position of the enemy, as normally two confronting armies would draw up the battle line parallel opposite to each other, trying to overpower the other through a frontal attack. From each position the respective enemy is in front (ἔμπροσθεν) of one another. Thus, for example, the LORD warns his people of an imminent attack from the Amalakites by telling Israel:

spatial with no temporal significance. Cf., Hes. *Op.* 442-43. Contra Darrell L. Bock, *Luke*. Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. 2 vols. Grand Rapids: Michigan, 1996, II:983-84.

¹⁵⁸ For example ἀπεσταλμένος εἰμὶ ἔμπροσθεν ἐκείνου from John 3:28 is to be translated “I have been sent **before/ ahead** of him.”

¹⁵⁹ LSJ, “ὀπίσω,” 1239. Cf., Hermann Menge, *Taschenwörterbuch Altgriechisch-Deutsch*. Ed. Karl-Heinz Schäfer and Bernhard Zimmermann. Langenscheidts Taschenwörterbuch der Griechischen und Deutschen Sprache. Berlin: Langenscheidt, 1986, 316.; Franz Passow, *Handwörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1993, I:902; II:497. For example the slave, who called out to the victorious general in the Roman triumph *Respice post te!* (“Look behind yourself!”), reminded the general to look **into the future** (!) to see what may come next. Tert. *Apol.* 33, cf., Zon. *Epi.* VII.21. in Dio. *Fragments* VI. Dr. Jürgen Kramer, in a conversation between him and myself, made the interesting comment that this different outlook on the correlation between space and time might be due to a divergent overarching philosophical outlook on life in general. Men in antiquity, with shorter life-spans, more susceptible to disease, more defenceless to natural catastrophies and quick changes in a war-ridden society, saw the future more as something that overawes humans at the whim of nature and gods unexpectedly from behind rather than seeing the future from the enlightenment perspective of something to be conquered by competent humanity.

ὅτι ὁ Αμαληκ καὶ ὁ Χαναναῖος ἐκεῖ ἔμπροσθεν ὑμῶν καὶ πεσεῖσθε μαχαίρα . . . ¹⁶⁰		For the Amalekites and the Canaanites will be in front of you and you shall fall by the sword . . .
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In a historical narrative about the battle between Judah and Israel, 2 Chronicles describes the normal and the surprising position of the enemy:

καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν Ἰουδας καὶ ἰδοὺ αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀπίσθεν . . . ¹⁶¹		And Judah turned around, and behold, the enemy <i>was positioned in front and</i> behind . . .
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Thus “to reach forward” in military terminology most likely pictures a bold approach of a soldier toward an enemy.

4.5.6.7.5. Ὀπίσω – the impulse to flee from battle

“Forgetting what is behind” as an intensification of “not looking what is behind” enforces the picture of concentrating firmly on the battle task. “To look back,” on the other hand, describes a soldier who is ready to forsake the battle line with the intention to flee. Roman soldiers, like soldiers of any nationality, were not mindless machines, but human beings with a personalities, hopes, dreams and fears. The knowledge how human beings reacted under the stress of battle was utilised in Roman military training to enable the soldier to be as brave as possible and not to forsake his assigned spot and task in spite of the extreme emotions he may feel. Motivating the soldier played an important part in giving the Roman forces an advantage over the enemy. Nevertheless, “to assume simply that he is a disciplined Roman soldier and therefore would have continued to carry out the drills taught him despite the stress of battle, is contrary to our literary evidence.”¹⁶² “The battlefield was a place of massive confusion, where the participants were subject to enormous stress.”¹⁶³ Soldiers handling weapons and facing enemies with deadly weapons were subject to extremes of emotions, chiefly fear. Being intimidated by the enemy and the action in battle naturally caused the soldier to ponder the possibility of turning and fleeing the stress of battle. “To look back” was understood in ancient thought to be the **first impulse of cowardliness resulting**

¹⁶⁰ Num. 14:43 LXX.

¹⁶¹ 2 Chron. 13:14 LXX. See also Judg. 20:39 LXX, 2 Sam. 10:15 LXX.

¹⁶² Adrian Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War: 100 BC – AD 200*. Oxford Classical Monographs. Oxford: Bookcraft, 1996, 174. Goldsworthy’s book is the best treatment on how the psychological dynamics of soldiers were recognised by the Romans and were given due attention in preparing the individual and the units as a whole for active warfare.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 244.

in flight, as the following examples from a harangue of Hannibal and literary narrative illustrate:

Illis timidis et ignavis esse licet qui respectum habent, quos sua terra suos ager per tuta ac pacata itinera fugientes accipient: vobis necesse est fortibus viris esse et omnibus inter victoriam mortemve certa desperatione abruptis aut vincere aut, si Fortuna dubitabit, in proelio potius quam in fuga mortem oppetere. ¹⁶⁴	Those may be cowards and bastards who have something to look back upon; whom, flying through safe and unmolested roads, their own lands and their own country will receive: there is a necessity for you to be brave; and since all between victory and death is broken off from you by inevitable despair, either to conquer, or, if fortune should waver, to meet death rather in battle than flight.
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. . . undique pulso, nec ubi consisteret nec quod fidum respiceret habenti . . . ¹⁶⁵	<i>Hannibal</i> had been repulsed on all sides, and had no place where he might make a stand or look back upon as a safe retreat . . .
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4.5.6.7.6. *Paul's determination to engage the enemy with the gospel*

Consequently, Paul by committing himself not to look back, but to stretch himself out to those in front, paints in military imagery a picture, with which his hearers could easily identify. As a soldier had to make up his mind, unless he wanted to be defeated and slain, not to consider flight an option, but to boldly engage the enemy, Paul fearlessly commits himself to advance the gospel. In spite of the opposition, he determines not to look for alternatives, but to continue steadfastly to proclaim the good news. Paul knew that to look back meant military disaster (ζημία).¹⁶⁶ The only option in the face of hardship on account of persecution was to face the opposition boldly by engaging them with the gospel and aiming at pursuing them (διώκω). The determined resolve of Paul not to flee the battle scene in Phil. 3:13 fits well within the following context. Stretching himself out towards the opposition ahead of Paul (τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος) parallels his resolve to pursue the enemy with the aim to catch them for the gospel (διώκω δὲ εἰ καὶ καταλάβω). That Paul does these things in view if the

¹⁶⁴ Liv. XXI.44.8. Transl. by Cyrus Edmonds. *The History of Rome (Books IX-XXVI)*. Lawrence: Digireads.com, 2009.

¹⁶⁵ Liv. XXVII.12.3.

¹⁶⁶ Most men who were killed in ancient battles, were killed while running away. The units whose ranks were broken and whose soldiers turned and fled suffered heavy casualties. Adrian Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War: 100 BC – AD 200*. Oxford Classical Monographs. Oxford: Bookcraft, 1996, 174, 222.

military prize (βραβεῖον), which consists in the upward call of God (ἄνω κλήσεως τοῦ θεοῦ) completes the natural picture that one of the most significant motivators for soldiers not to flee the battle, but to encounter boldly the opposition was the reward of receiving military dona and financial rewards at the completion of the battle. The morale of the soldier was a highly significant factor in ancient wars, if not the most important one. Military rewards were one of the valued means of boosting the morale of the Roman soldier.¹⁶⁷ That Paul's motivation of not fleeing the scene, but engaging the opposition was shaped by the hope of future "military" reward is a natural picture within military imagery.

4.5.6.7.7. Military metaphors continued in Phil. 3:15-17 – the command to imitate Paul's bold confrontation of the opposition with the gospel

That the Philippians are to imitate Paul's example of focusing on the advance of the gospel until the military reward of the face-to-face encounter with Christ is achieved is made clear from the imperatival exhortation of Phil. 3:15-17, which follows immediately after the rhetoric of exemplification as described in Phil. 3:8-14. The command to imitate Paul's example of Phil. 3:8-14 is formulated in four distinct directives: a) those who were mature in their thinking should do as Paul just elaborated Ὅσοι οὖν τέλειοι, τοῦτο φρονῶμεν (Phil. 3:15), b) the troops should advance according to the first – comer (or according to the man first in line) in battle πλὴν εἰς ὃ ἐφθάσαμεν, τῷ αὐτῷ στοιχεῖν (Phil. 3:16), c) the fellow-soldiers ("military brothers") of Paul should imitate him Συμμητηαί μου γίνεσθε, ἀδελφοί, and d) they should be on the look-out for examples like Paul and his co-workers καὶ σκοπεῖτε τοὺς οὕτω περιπατοῦντας καθὼς ἔχετε τύπον ἡμᾶς (Phil. 3:17).

The first command (Phil. 3:15) is a simple exhortation to have the same mental attitude as Paul has. Contrary to the majority view of scholarly opinion, the ὅσοι τέλειοι are not opponents who advocate perfectionism¹⁶⁸ and Paul is not taking up a catch-word of his opponents nor is he speaking ironically.¹⁶⁹ Perfectionism is as far from the mind of Paul's

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 248-280.

¹⁶⁸ Contrary G. Walter Hansen, *The Letter to the Philippians*. Pillar New Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009, 258.

¹⁶⁹ Contrary Joseph B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*. London: MacMillan, 1908, 153.; Alfred Plummer, *A commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*. London: R. Scott, 1919, 79.; Moule, Handley C. G. *The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Philippians*. New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1955, 69.; Joachim Gnllka, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. Leipzig: St. Benno-Verlag, 1969, 201.; Gerald F. Hawthorne, and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 211. Peter T. O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 463 correctly observed that ὅσοι is used

thought here as possible. The adjective τέλειος here simply means “mature thinking,” as in 1 Cor. 14:20, ταῖς δὲ φρεσὶν τέλειοι γίνεσθε (in your thinking be mature).¹⁷⁰ That a candid and straightforward command to imitate Paul to all who have the maturity of thinking is in view becomes quickly apparent through the antithetic acrostic parallelism in the text.

- a) Ὅσοι οὖν τέλειοι, (whoever is **mature in thinking**)
 - b) τοῦτο φρονῶμεν (let him have this **attitude of mind**)
 - b') καὶ εἴ τι ἑτέρως φρονεῖτε (he who has a **different attitude of mind**)
- a') καὶ τοῦτο ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν ἀποκαλύψει· (God will **reveal** this to you).

Paul contrasts two ways of thinking (two attitudes of mind): people who agree with him on his outlook on life as described in Phil. 3:8-14 and people who do not. Both contrasting attitudes of mind are flanked by the cause of the desired mental attitude and the remedy of the deficient mental attitude, respectively. Structurally, ἀποκαλύψει is antithetically parallel to τέλειοι. What the τέλειοι already possess, namely mental revelation is compensated by θεὸς ὑμῖν ἀποκαλύψει for those who are not yet τέλειοι with the goal that both groups eventually will τοῦτο φρονῶμεν. Since mental revelation is clearly the solution to the deficient attitude of mind (ἑτέρως φρονεῖτε), the meaning of τέλειοι can easily be traced back. The τέλειοι are defined as those who already possess what still needs to be provided for the opposite group: mental revelation and they are thus “mentally mature.” Any other definition of τέλειοι breaks up the clear structure of the text and lacks any explanation why the remedy of ἑτέρως φρονεῖτε should be mental revelation.

The second command πλὴν εἰς ὃ ἐφθάσαμεν, τῷ αὐτῷ στοιχεῖν (Phil. 3:16) is rather difficult, having led to many alterations of the Greek text.¹⁷¹ Even more numerous are the suggestions what this cryptic short verse might mean. It might help at this point to narrow the options by defining what is lexically not possible and by starting from what is certain, moving on to the more difficult parts. First, Gerhard Delling has noted correctly that στοιχέω, in spite of a long history of being treated as a synonym of περιπατέω and πορεύομαι, does not mean “to walk” or “to live.”¹⁷² It is at first attested as a word from the military context meaning “to march in

by Paul normally to inclusively refer to all (potentially at least) those addressed and not to some diviant minority. An ironical use of τέλειοι makes assumptions about the epistolary situation that are extremely tenuous and have no other indication from the text to back them up.

¹⁷⁰ Suggested by Moisés Silva, *Philippians*. Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Baker: Grand Rapids, 2005, 175.

¹⁷¹ Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 204 (note h), 213.

¹⁷² Gerhard Delling, “στοιχέω, συστοιχέω, στοιχεῖον.” In *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*. Ed. Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1973, VII: 666-687, 667-68. Thus, the standard translations and the corresponding exegetical views translating or interpreting στοιχέω as “let us walk” (NASB), “let us keep living” (NKJV, NIV, NET), “let us hold fast” (NRSV, NLT) do not adequately convey the intention of the verb στοιχέω

battle-line,” or “to be drawn up in battle line or row.” Second, in the context of botanics as “to form a row.” Third, in a transferred sense as “to agree.”¹⁷³ Already John Paul Schuster noted that στοιχέω is used in the context of battle and wonders if by translating the word in its transferred sense, we might have read “into the word a meaning we wished to have rather than to understand it in its primary sense in the literature. Could Paul not be urging the Philippians to get back in battle formation as they had been in the past?”¹⁷⁴ Timothy Geoffrion likewise judges it as a likely reference to military procedure.¹⁷⁵

The configuration of the structural format of the passage supports Schuster’s and Geoffrion’s inclination. After Paul setting his own conduct and outlook on life as an example in military terminology in Phil. 3:12-14, his exhortations for imitation come in four commandments: a) τοῦτο φρονῶμεν, b) τῷ αὐτῷ στοιχεῖν, c) συμμιμηταί μου, d) σκοπεῖτε τοὺς οὕτω περιπατοῦντας καθὼς ἔχετε τύπον ἡμᾶς. All four commandments refer to the exemplary behaviour just mentioned in the previous verses, not to some general Christian attitudes or a wide variety of topics. Τοῦτο as from τοῦτο φρονῶμεν (Phil. 3:15) clearly and unmistakably connects the exhortative section to what has been preceded it. The Philippians are to think exactly the same about living as being on a military campaign for the sake of the gospel with the military reward of resurrection in view! Συμμιμηταί μου γίνεσθε is not a call for modelling of Christian ethics otherwise unaddressed in the context, but is a call for the duplication of Paul’s intense efforts to win the enemy with the gospel, as previously mentioned. The kind of people for whom the Philippians should be on the look-out (σκοπεῖτε τοὺς οὕτω περιπατοῦντας καθὼς ἔχετε τύπον ἡμᾶς) are those who do exactly the same as Paul does in Phil. 3:12-14. The first part of the second exhortation, namely εἰς ὃ ἐφθάσαμεν (Phil. 3:16) therefore does likely not refer to what the Philippians have “achieved” already, but what Paul has “achieved.”¹⁷⁶

With all four commandments referring to the section heavily conglomerated with military nomenclature, it should not surprise us, if Paul is framing the following (and related in topic) directives also in military terminology. The verb φθάνω, which originally expresses the sense of “to come before, precede”¹⁷⁷ should be taken here in precisely this sense (as in

¹⁷³ Ibid., 666-67. LSJ, 1647-48.

¹⁷⁴ John Paul Schuster, *Historical Situation and Historical Reconstruction in Philippians*. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1997, 92-93.

¹⁷⁵ Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 60.

¹⁷⁶ In case one expects the aorist active ἐφθάσα in the singular instead of the first person plural ἐφθάσαμεν, as we find it in the text, one may be directed to see how quickly Paul shifts from himself (singular) in συμμιμηταί μου γίνεσθε to the wider company of evangelists, himself included, in καθὼς ἔχετε τύπον ἡμᾶς. In writing εἰς ὃ ἐφθάσαμεν, Paul has himself and his devoted colleagues for the advance of the gospel in view, the same people later implied with the καθὼς ἔχετε τύπον ἡμᾶς.

¹⁷⁷ Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 441. LSJ, 1926-27.

1 Thes. 4:15), instead of the sense “attain.”¹⁷⁸ Thus, Paul could be saying “the point of/ inasmuch/ in regard to us having come before,¹⁷⁹ according to this let us march in battle line.” The “coming before” could refer as a metaphor either to the soldier or general who wants to be first in contact with the enemy/ first on top of the wall/ first to capture a ship, etc.¹⁸⁰ and who thus pushes forward with rigour or it could possibly refer to the first line of a battle formation several lines deep, with the centurions fighting as examples from the front and experiencing the greatest heat of the battle action.¹⁸¹ Paul could therefore be exhorting the Philippians, that as he had advanced as the first in line, the rest of the army formed in battle array should follow.

The third command συμμιμηταί μου γίνεσθε (Phil. 3:17) is not explicit military terminology, nor is the setting of examples by any means restricted to military custom, but it was stereotypical procedure among the military for leaders to set themselves up as examples, promote soldiers publicly who served as examples or for soldiers to look up to comrades as examples of peculiar brave behaviour.¹⁸² For Paul to appeal to his own courageous and determined behaviour in advancing the gospel fits well within the general ambience of the military atmosphere in this section.

The word σκοπέω as in the fourth command σκοπεῖτε τοὺς οὐτῶ περιπατοῦντας καθὼς ἔχετε τύπον ἡμῶς (Phil. 3:17) in a military context denotes “careful consideration,”¹⁸³ although occasionally it is used for the obviously manifold opportunities in war to “look out” for signals, enemies, the movement of troops, etc.¹⁸⁴ Thus, Paul bids the Philippians to be on the lookout for examples like Paul and like-minded co-workers who are advancing the gospel even in the face of opposition or to carefully consider the lifestyle of passionately advancing the gospel of men like Paul.

¹⁷⁸ Although, admittedly, Rom. 9:31 has εἰς ἔφθασεν with the sense of “having attained.” The problem utilising the latter sense is however, that Paul would mix two clauses that do not cohere with each other. Lohmeyer pointed this out, as he commented that Paul in the short subordinate clause speaks about the point (i.e. degree), which has been attained (through φθάνω and the accusative), while the main clause speaks about the rule by which it is reached (though στοιχέω and the dative). Ernst Lohmeyer, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953, 149.

¹⁷⁹ LSJ, 491.

¹⁸⁰ See for example DS. XIV.73.1.; Onos. *Strat.* VI.9.

¹⁸¹ For the formation of ranks in the Roman units for battle see *Deployment and Forming a Line of Battle* in “The General’s Battle.” and *Formations* in “The Unit’s Battle.” In Adrian Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War: 100 BC – AD 200*. Oxford Classical Monographs. Oxford: Bookcraft, 1996, 131-63, 176-83.

¹⁸² DS. XVII.34.; Tac. *Ag.* XVII.2.; Tac. *Hist.* II.82.; Plut. *Mar.* VII.2.4.; Onos. *Strat.* XLII.2.; Xen. *Cyr.* III.3.39.; App. *Pun.* VII.43.; Liv. X.19.24.; Jos. *AJ.* V.243.

¹⁸³ Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 146., footnote 69.

¹⁸⁴ Xen. *Hell.* I.4.18.; VI.2.29.; Xen. *Ana.* V.2.8.; Plb. III.81.3.; X.44.12.

4.5.6.8. Conclusion: the focus of Phil. 3:12-15 is the spread of the gospel

When one considers Phil. 3:12-14 as being formed by the influence of military imagery, a different focus emerges from what traditional interpretations propose, but it is a focus which supports Paul's main argument of the book. Paul is not concerned about perfection, increased subjective knowledge of Christ or supposed enemies who claim to be perfect – all themes unaddressed in the rest of the letter. By citing himself as an example, typical for deliberative rhetoric,¹⁸⁵ Paul supports his main request to the Philippians found in Phil. 1:27-30. He demonstrates how he, their prototype to be emulated, lives out his own exhortations. The command to stand firmly united in their ranks (στήκετε ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι) (Phil. 1:27), as an antonym of fleeing,¹⁸⁶ is exemplified by Paul's commitment not to look back for a possibility to flee the conflict (τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος) (Phil. 3:13). Paul's command to fight for the progress of the gospel (συναθλοῦντες τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου) (Phil. 1:27) is exemplified by his own intense effort to pursue the enemy with the goal of seizing some of them (διώκω δὲ εἰ καὶ καταλάβω) (Phil. 3:12).

The evangelistic effort of the Philippians is threatened by and occurs in a context of persecution for the faith (καὶ μὴ πτυρόμενοι ἐν μηδενὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντικειμένων) (Phil. 1:28), (ὅτι ὑμῖν ἐχαρίσθη . . . τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πάσχειν) (Phil. 1:29), (τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγῶνα ἔχοντες) (Phil. 1:30), the very context in which Paul elaborates his exemplary lifestyle (τοῦ γινῶναι . . . κοινωνίαν παθημάτων αὐτοῦ, συμμορφιζόμενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ) (Phil. 3:10). Not perfectionism, not striving for holiness, nor Gnosticism or any form of spiritual growth in Christ is the focus of Phil. 3:12-14, but Paul's ardent efforts to advance the gospel. It is not Olympic race metaphors which Paul uses to illustrate his theological convictions, but a conglomeration of well coordinated military concepts and metaphors.

The results of the achieved present exegesis, contrary to the classical views of interpretation, cohere perfectly with the overall structure and argument of Philippians as a whole. As has been pointed out by Robert C. Swift, "in this epistle every single reference Paul makes to another person is made in connection with that person's κοινωνία, his partnership in the gospel."¹⁸⁷ This is true also of Paul's example of himself in Phil. 3:12-14.

¹⁸⁵ In deliberative rhetoric the example is set forth in order to support one's main argument. So far all other propositions relying on athletic imagery to explain what Phil. 3:12-14 might mean have failed to demonstrate how Paul's example serves to undergird his main thesis in the letter. In their views Paul argues for new and previously unrelated issues. This, however, is highly unlikely in deliberative rhetoric, the kind of literature of which Philippians is part.

¹⁸⁶ Edgar Krentz, "Military Language and Metaphors in Philippians." In *Origins and Method: Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity*. Ed. Bradley H. McLean. Journal of the Study of the New Testament Supplement 86. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993, 121.

¹⁸⁷ Robert C. Swift, "The Theme and Structure of Philippians." In *Biblia Sacra* 141 (July 1984). Dallas: Dallas Theological Seminary, 1984, 246. Swift believes that Paul himself is included in his reference of

Every example, which Paul cites in the *probatio* serves to illustrate and support his main proposition in the *narratio*, which is the military partnership for the advance of the gospel.

4.6. Military struggle for the advance of the gospel: the example of Euodia, Syntyche, Clement, the loyal military comrade and other fellow soldiers (Phil. 4:2-3)

4.6.1. The exemplary character exhibited through appellations from military vocabulary

In Phil. 4:2-3 Paul cites altogether four different examples as illustrations of men and women presently or formerly devoted to the advance of the gospel. Although Euodia and Syntyche are presently not exhibiting the character and lifestyle coherent with an effective partnership of the gospel, in the past they had fought together¹⁸⁸ alongside Paul for the advance of the gospel (αἴτινες ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ συνήθλησάν μοι) and are encouraged through the renewal of unity to return to their previous devotion to the battle task of spreading the faith. Further mentioned are Clement and an unnamed person described as a loyal military comrade (γνήσιε σύζυγε). The exemplary nature of these men and women is not depicted through a description of their deeds, as was in the case of Paul, Timothy and Epaphroditus, but is made apparent through the positive military epithets, which they receive. They are called with appellations of endearment from military vocabulary, namely σύζυγος (coupled with γνήσιος) and συνεργός.

4.6.2. Σύζυγος – a close soldier-comrade or a tactical description of a comrade in battle

4.6.2.1. Epigraphical evidence for σύζυγος as a close soldier-comrade

Σύζυγος (comrade, yoke-fellow) is a term of address which has firm roots in military terminology.¹⁸⁹ On the one hand, σύζυγος may be a designation of a “close soldier-comrade” in battle.¹⁹⁰

“another person,” as his very next sentence shows: “Timothy and Epaphroditus, except for Paul himself, stand as the most prominent of these.” Swift, however, does not explain how Phil. 3 functions as exemplary *probatio* to support the main proposition. His omission is hereby remedied.

¹⁸⁸ For the meaning of συναθλέω as “fight beside,” see Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 209. And John Paul Schuster, *Historical Situation and Historical Reconstruction in Philippians*. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1997, 92.

¹⁸⁹ LSJ, 1670. “of soldiers, *stand in one rank*, Plb. 10.23.7; *stand next in rank*, Arr. *Tact.* 7.2, 8.2.” It is noteworthy that in one of the inscriptions of Magnesia on the Meander, σύζυγοι as a term designating

4.6.2.2. Σύζυγος as a tactical position for the soldier next in rank or next in line

On the other hand, σύζυγος can refer to a more distinct tactical position of particularly closely positioned soldiers in the formation of the battle line. Arrian calls the man in front or behind a soldier lined up in battle formation σύζυγος:

καὶ τὸ μὲν κατὰ μῆκος ἐπ' εὐθείας εἶναι τοῖς πρωτοστάταις ἢ τοῖς ἐπιστάταις συζυγεῖν καλοῦσι . . . ¹⁹¹	And <i>the soldiers</i> who are <i>standing</i> lengthwise in the straight row to the ones standing first or to the rear-rank men are called yoke-fellows . . .
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Polybius, on the other hand, gives the man beside a soldier in battle formation the term σύζυγος:

ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰς ἐπαγωγὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους καὶ τὰς ἀποχωρήσεις ἔδει συνεθίζειν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς κινήσεσιν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστε δεινῶ τῷ τάχει προσάγειν, ἐφ' ὅσον συζυγοῦντας καὶ συστοιχοῦντας διαμένειν , ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὰ διαστήματα κατὰ	After this they were to practice charging the enemy and retreating by every kind of movement, until they were able to advance at an alarming pace; provided only that they kept together, both line and column , and preserved the proper
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“soldier-comrades” stands right next to φίλοι, another typical designation for military comrades. The upper part of the graffiti reads:

“Ἀλλέας
 σύζυγοι
 φίλοι
 Δαμάς”

(Inscription Nr. 321 in Otto Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*. Berlin: W. Spemann, 1900, 160.) In the graffiti the close comradeship of Alleas and Damas is expressed through the compilation of two appellations of endearment in typical military terminology. When Paul piles up military terms typical for soldiers addressing each other, like ἀδελφοί, ἀγαπητοί (Phil. 4:1), σύζυγε (Phil. 4:3), he highlights the close comradeship the Philippians have with him in the campaign to advance the gospel.

¹⁹⁰ The first three lines of a funerary inscription from 200-190 BC commemorating the dead from Miletus, being allies of Eretria in the battle against Chalkis, read:

μνήμα τόδε [φ]θιμ[έ]νων ἀρετῆς ἔστ[ηκ'] ἐπὶ τῷνδε, / οἱ κ[τάμεν]οι σφετέ[ρ]ην εὐκλείσαν π[α]τρίδα· / μνη[μ]εῖ[ο]ν πᾶσαν δὲ καθ' Ἑλλάδα σύζ[υγ]ον ἔργους / ἀθάνατος μνήμη ζῶσα θανοῦσ[ι]ν ἐπι.	Here stands the tomb of the brave dead who perished on this spot, those who obtained a memorial, who brought honour to their country. Fellow comrades in the battles throughout Greece, an immortal, living remembrance to those who died here.
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Found in Werner Peek, “Ein milesisches Polyandron.” In *Wiener Studien. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie* 79. Wien: Höfels, 1966, 221-22. In 1966 Peek revised his previous publication of Werner Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften 1: Grab-Epigramme*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1955, 13 (nr. 33). Note also <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions//main?url=oi%3Fikey%3D252564%26bookid%3D511%26region%3D8%26subregion%3D29>, accessed Nov., 21st 2012). I am grateful for Dr. Tomlinson from MBTS of Kansas City who pointed out this inscription to me and helped with the translation.

¹⁹¹ Arr. *Tact.* VIII.2.

τοὺς οὐλαμοὺς τηρεῖν . . .¹⁹²

intervals between the squadrons . . .

If we adopt the picture of Arrian, we have to imagine Paul and the unnamed Philipian, whom he addresses as yoke-fellow, behind each other in battle. The man in front would have direct contact with the enemy, while the soldier behind would keep his eye on the man in front, keeping an equal distance to him at all times. This way of battle formation keeps the soldiers from overcrowding, but most of all it encourages the one with the direct enemy contact that he is supported from behind. Should the enemy press hard against the front line, this system of “body support” also prevents the front men from retreat or from falling backwards.¹⁹³

If, on the other hand, the picture of Polybius is on Paul’s mind, then the σύζυγος is your man immediately to your left or right.

4.6.2.3. *The close bond between soldiers next in line in ancient armies*

Roman commanders usually put close friends next to each other in the formation of the battle line and if they were not “soul-mate-comrades” when they were first put in the formation, they surely would become it after years practicing and marching in military formation next to each other or even fighting beside each other. The Roman battle formation was not rearranged but kept the same in order to produce a familiarity among the soldiers who were stationed close to each other, as Onosander reminds us:

Ἐκταπέτω πρῶτον ἀναδοὺς τὰ ὅπλα πᾶσιν,
 ἵν’ ἐν μελέτῃ σφίσιν ἧ τὸ μένειν ἐν τάξει, καὶ
 ταῖς ὄψεσι καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι συνήθεις
 ἀλλήλοις γιγνόμενοι, τίς ὑπὸ τίνα καὶ ποῦ
 καὶ μετὰ πόσους . . .¹⁹⁴

First, arming the soldiers, [the general] should draw them up in military formation that they may become practiced in maintaining their formation; that they may become familiar with the faces and names of one another; that each soldier may learn by whom he stands and where and after how many . . .

¹⁹² Plb. X.23.7. Transl. by W. R. Paton, LCL, IV: 158-59.

¹⁹³ For the formation of ranks in the Roman military see *Deployment and Forming a Line of Battle* in “The General’s Battle” and *Formations* in “The Unit’s Battle.” In Adrian Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War: 100 BC – AD 200*. Oxford Classical Monographs. Oxford: Bookcraft, 1996, 131-63, 176-83.

¹⁹⁴ Onos. X.2. Transl. by Illinois Greek Club, LCL, 408-09.

A σύζυγος would become the closest comrade of a soldier and would naturally be the one who watched closely after the other's well being in battle:

<p>... ἀλλ' ἅμα καὶ εἰς πορείαν ὧσιν ἐπιδέξιοι καὶ εἰς μάχην εὐτρεπεῖς, ἔχοντες καὶ τὸ σύνθημα καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐν τάξει βλέποντες.¹⁹⁵</p>	<p>[The soldiers] . . . must proceed, prepared at the same time for marching and for battle, remembering their watchword and keeping their eyes on their comrades in the ranks.</p>
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4.6.2.4. Γνήσιε – the reinforcement of close comradery

In conjunction with γνήσιε (“loyal”, “faithful”) a picture of Paul emerges in which he and his unnamed military partner, have one of the closest relationships possible. Contemporary soldiers under combat stress attest to the close bond one develops for the comrades from the same unit. Paul sees the unnamed Philippian as a close fellow soldier with whom he has as next-in-rank already fought together in the advancement of the gospel. Paul knows his reliability because the “faithful-comrade-next-in-rank” has probably already come to the aid of Paul before. As his “trusted-comrade-next-in-rank” our Philippian soldier will not decline Paul’s request for assistance, although the help is this time not for Paul himself, but for other comrades in the unit.

4.6.3. The assistance of close soldier-comrades

The command to help is for the benefit of Euodia, Syntyche who – and this is the thrust of the argument in Phil. 4:3 – belong to the same combat unit and should therefore be assisted when in trouble. The commitment level and sense of belonging increased in the Roman army the smaller the unit one was part of. Every soldier had a pride and a sense of commitment to the legion, cohort, centuria and contubernium he belonged to.¹⁹⁶ Although Paul does not specify the unit structure, the force of his argument is that Euodia and Syntyche are close fellow soldiers in the same campaign and should therefore not be left alone, but be rushed to with quick assistance.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ Onos. VI.1-2. Transl. by Illinois Greek Club, LCL, 394-95.

¹⁹⁶ “What made the legionary truly effective in battle was his feeling of belonging to his century and in particular to his *contubernium*. Such identification with the unit and loyalty to the group of fellow soldiers was crucial to his performance in battle. The legionary fought first for his comrades, his century, his legion, then for booty and glory . . .” Cowan Ross, *Roman Legionary 58 BC – AD 69*. Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2003, 17.

¹⁹⁷ “The legionaries in the century fought effectively because they were well known to each other as friends and comrades – the century was not such a large unit that it became faceless and impersonal . . . the legionaries took pride in their collective centurial identity. They were their own elite within the legion

4.6.4. The fight of close comrade soldiers in the same campaign

The sense of close belonging is described in three more phrases innate to military life.¹⁹⁸ First, Paul's military partners fought alongside Paul for the benefit of the gospel:¹⁹⁹ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ συνήθλησάν μοι. Krentz and Geoffrion have already pointed out correctly that συναθλέω is military imagery and in a military topos means "fight beside,"²⁰⁰ "conjuring up the image of soldiers standing side by side, ready to face the enemy as a single unit."²⁰¹

4.6.5. Συνεργός – fellow fighters in a common war: the advance of the gospel

Second, Euodia and Syntyche are classed together with Clement in the military attribute of συνεργός (fellow-fighter). The usual translation of συνεργός as "fellow-worker" should be abandoned as the semantic domain of labour, production and craft is out of place in the context. The noun is perfectly at home in the military context and refers to the close partnership a soldier has with another in a given campaign. Polybius uses the word in describing himself being at one time not only an observer of military action, but being as close to the army as one can get: as a fellow soldier:

<p>... διὰ τὸ τῶν πλείστων μὴ μόνον αὐτόπτης, ἀλλ' ὧν μὲν συνεργός ὧν δὲ καὶ χειριστῆς γεγονέναι, προήχθην οἷον ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος ἄλλην γράφειν.²⁰²</p>	<p>... I was induced to write as if starting on a new work, chiefly because I not only saw most of <i>the military events</i> with my own eyes, but because I was a fellow soldier and even was a commander of some.</p>
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Polybius also describes Hannibal, in the second Punic war, considering in the campaign against the Romans to enlist the Celts into an African/ Celtic force. The entire second Punic

and were driven by the bonds of comradeship not to let their fellow soldiers down in battle, to stand and fight for the men around them." Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ The third, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν βίβλῳ ζωῆς, will be explained in 6.4. "Βίβλος Ζωῆς – the military register guaranteeing eternal life (Phil. 4:3)."

¹⁹⁹ Dative of advantage. Although in Phil. 1:5 εἰς with the accusative is used, the aim of the grammatical constructions and the general thought are the same. The military alliance for the advance of the gospel is in view.

²⁰⁰ Edgar Krentz, "Military Language and Metaphors in Philippians." In *Origins and Method: Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity*. Ed. Bradley H. McLean. Journal of the Study of the New Testament Supplement 86. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993, 123 and Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 209.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 61.

²⁰² Plb. III.4.13.

war was fought by a combined African/ Spanish and Celtic army, who considered themselves “fellow soldiers”:

<p>. . . μόνως ἂν ὑπολαμβάνων ἐν Ἰταλία συστήσασθαι τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον . . . συνεργοῖς καὶ συμμάχοις χρήσασθαι Κελτοῖς εἰς τὴν προκειμένην ἐπιβολήν.²⁰³</p>	<p>. . . [Hannibal thought] that the only way to take the war against the Romans into Italy . . . was to employ the Celts as fellow soldiers and allies in the enterprise set before him.</p>
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Xenophon uses *συμμάχους* and *συνεργούς* as near synonyms for soldiers who fight alongside each other in battle:

<p>. . . εἰδὼς ὅτι οἱ κοινοὶ κίνδυνοι φιλοφρόνως ποιοῦσιν ἔχειν τοὺς συμμάχους πρὸς ἀλλήλους . . . νομίζοντες συνεργοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀγαθοῦ εἶναι.²⁰⁴</p>	<p>. . . [Cyrus] knew that common dangers make comrades in arms kindly disposed toward one another . . . because they consider each other fellow soldiers for the common good.</p>
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The term *συνεργός* is thus highly appropriate at this point in the context of Philippians, because it describes the devoted attachment soldiers have for one another, since they are “in the campaign” together for a common goal. The campaign is again called in this context the campaign for the advance of the gospel: ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ συνήθησάν!

4.7. Military struggle for the advance of the gospel: The example of the Philippians (Phil. 4:10-19)

4.7.1. Financial support as a partnership of the advance of the gospel

In the final section of the *probatio* of Philippians Paul once more cites examples that support his main theme, namely the partnership for the advance of the gospel. This time it is the Philippians themselves, who are commended and whose past conduct is held up high to continue in the partnership with Paul for the spread of the good news. In Phil. 4:10-19 Paul will expound that partnership for the advance of the gospel does not entail only reaching people for Christ together by preaching (Phil. 1:14), i.e., holding forth the word of God (λόγον ζωῆς ἐπέχοντες) (Phil. 2:16), trying to pursue and apprehend individuals for Christ (Phil. 3:12-14), but that partnership for the advance of the gospel is also achieved by financially supporting the messenger, so that he can preach the gospel in regions beyond the

²⁰³ Plb. III.34.5.

²⁰⁴ Xen. *Cyr.* III.3.10.

Philippians' area of influence. With their repeated financial gifts the Philippians have done exactly that: they have enabled the focused effort of Paul to spread the gospel.

4.7.2. The setting: ὑστέρησις versus περίσσευμα (Phil. 4:11-16) – a common military topos

4.7.2.1. Provisions: of highest importance for a military campaign

Paul's discussion and thanks regarding the financial gift he received from the Philippians is set within the context of a famous and repeatedly occurring military *topos* of the literary historians. The concept of lack of resources versus abundance of provisions (ὑστέρησις (Phil. 4:11), ὑστερέω (Phil. 4:12), ταπεινώω (Phil. 4:12), πεινάω (Phil. 4:12), χρεία (Phil. 4:16) versus χορτάζω (Phil. 4:12), περισσεύω (Phil. 4:12 (2x)) is a military subject of the highest importance as the provision of the troops guaranteed their ability and willingness to fight, while lack of provisions have in Roman history caused many battles to be lost, either because the soldiers were malnourished and could not muster the necessary strength to resist a well maintained enemy or the legions deserted on account of their hunger. The discussion regarding abundance or lack of provisions was an important *topos* in the literature of ancient military history, because every good general knew: ἄνευ γὰρ τούτων οὔτε στρατηγοῦ οὔτε ιδιώτου ὄφελος οὐδέν ("without such provisions neither general nor private is of any use").²⁰⁵

4.7.2.2. Lack versus abundance of provisions – a common literary theme

Comparisons of opposing enemies in regard to their abundance or lack of provisions are a common theme in the records of military conflicts in antiquity – nearly always anticipating the destruction, or at least a significant set back for the army with lack of resources.²⁰⁶ The general agreement of opinion was of course, "with lack of resources an army is soon doomed

²⁰⁵ Xen. *Ana.* I.3.12. Cf., Xen. *Cyr.* VI.1.15.

²⁰⁶ E.g. App. *Han.* III.17.; App. *Pun.* III.13.; App. *Mith.* XI.72-73. App. *Mith.* XV.98.; Dio. XLIX.6.1-2.; Dio. L.18.2.; Plut. *Brut.* XLVII.1.; Plut. *Luc.* VIII.7-8.: εἶτα συνθεῖς τὸ τῆς παρεσκευασμένης τροφῆς πλῆθος πρὸς τὸ τῶν τρεφομένων, ἔγνω τριῶν ἢ τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν ἐπιλείψειν τὸν σῖτον τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον εἶχετο τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ συνῆγεν εἰς τὸν χάρακα παμπληθῆ σῖτον, ὡς ἐν ἀφθόνοις διάγων αὐτὸς ἐφεδρευοιταῖς ἐκείνων ἀπορίας. ("Then, comparing the amount of food provided with the number of men to fed, he concluded that within three or four days the enemy's provision would fail them . . . and he collected into his camp a great abundance of provisions, that so, himself in the midst of plenty, he might watch for his enemy's distress.") Plut. *Pomp.* LXV.4-5.: . . . ὥστε πάντα πνεῖν ἄνεμον Πομπηῖω σῖτον ἢ στρατιᾶν ἢ χρήματα κομίζοντα, Καίσαρα δὲ δυσχερείαις κατὰ γῆν ὁμοῦ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν περιεχόμενον ἐξ ἀνάγκης φιλομαχεῖν . . . (" . . . every wind that blew brought Pompey grain, troops or money; while Caesar on the other hand, reduced to straits by sea and land, was forced to seek a battle . . .") Cf., Plut. *Pomp.* LXVIII.4., where Caesar implies in a speech that a battle against men can be won, but not one against want and hunger.

to be defeated, even without battle.”²⁰⁷ Hunger caused otherwise superior armies to be unable to carry out any more warfare and led to eventual surrender to the enemy or wholesale annihilation.²⁰⁸

The topic of lack of supplies leading to the defeat of the enemy while abundance of provision entailing confidence for victory is a prominent theme in the harangues of generals to their troops. For example, before the battle of Actium Antony encourages his troops to win this naval battle, since – so he argues – after the enemies’ fleet is destroyed, their land forces could be easily subdued as they were cut off from the supply line:

<p>... ἀπειληφότερες ἀκονίτι, κἂν μηδενὶ ἄλλω, τῷ γε λιμῷ χειρωσόμεθα.²⁰⁹</p>	<p>... we shall subdue them without trouble, if in no other way, at least by hunger.</p>
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4.7.2.3. Abundance versus lack of provisions – an important theme in the battle of Philippi

Particularly the speeches of the Republicans before the battle of Philippi emphasise the comparison of the well-supplied Republican army on the one side and the dire straits the army of the triumvirs were in, as their large army had no significant means of support. The historians evaluate the Philippian situation in such a way that if the Republicans would have dragged out the war just a little time longer, the combined armies of Antony and Octavian would have lost the civil war. Both battles of Philippi, however, were forced upon the Republicans prematurely, and eventually lost. Particularly tragic was the disaster of the second battle, as Brutus urged the army to just hold their position to starve out the enemy, but the soldiers prevailed in their urge to fight and lost the battle on the very day on which the news reached Brutus that the fleet which was to supply the triumvirs was completely sunk by

²⁰⁷ Dio. XLIX.8.5.; App. *Han.* III.18.; DS. XII.52.1.; XII.63.3.; App. *BC.* IV.9.65.

²⁰⁸ App. *Pun.* X.73.:

οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἔπραξαν, ὁ δὲ λιμὸς τὸν Ἀσρούβαν καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐξέτριβε· καὶ τοῖς σώμασι πάντα ἔχοντες ἀσθενῶς βιάσασθαι μὲν οὐκέτι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδύναντο, τὰ δ’ ὑποζύγια πρῶτον, εἶτα τοὺς ἵππους ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἔθνον καὶ ἱμάντας ἐψοῦντες ἦσθιον. καὶ νόσων αὐτοὺς ἰδέαι πᾶσαι κατελάμβανον ἕκ τε πονηρίας τροφῶν . . . οὔτε ὄπλον ἔχοντας ἐς ἄμυναν οὔτε φυγεῖν ὑπ’ ἀσθενείας δυναμένους, ἕκ τε μυριάδων πέντε στρατοῦ καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν ὀλίγοι πάμπαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα περιεσώθησαν . . .

In the meantime hunger wasted Hasdrubal and the Carthaginians and, being much debilitated, they were no longer able to assault the enemy. First they ate their pack animals, and after them their horses, and they boiled their leather straps for food. They also fell sick of various diseases due to lack of food . . . having neither arms to resist nor strength to fly, the defenceless men were slain. So, out of 58,000 men composing the army only a few returned to Carthage . . .

²⁰⁹ Dio. L.19.5. Translated by Earnest Cary, LCL, V: 478-79.

the navy of Murcus and Ahenobarbus, supporters of Brutus.²¹⁰ Had the army of Brutus held their position only a little longer, it is likely that the armies of Octavian and Antony would not have survived the scarcity much longer.²¹¹ Returning to the speeches of the Republicans before the battle however, we can observe the same juxtaposition, which Paul discusses in Phil. 4:11-14: abundance on the one side, hunger on the other. For Cassius, who speaks to his gathered troops before the battle of Philippi, abundance of supplies is part of the confidence that the victory will be theirs. Lack of resources and hunger is evidence of soon defeat for the enemy:

ἔστι δὲ καὶ πλῆθος παρασκευῆς, ὅσον ἴστε, σίτου τε καὶ ὄπλων καὶ χρημάτων . . .²¹²

Τροφαὶ δέ, ὃ δυσπορώτατόν ἐστι στρατοῖς μεγάλοις, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶ, πλὴν ἐκ μόνης Μακεδονίας, ἔθνοῦς ὄρειου . . . εἰ δ' . . . ἐπάγοιντο . . . διακλείσουσι πάντα Πομπηϊός τε καὶ Μοῦρκος καὶ Δομίτιος. ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ φέρονται καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπόνως διὰ θαλάττης . . . ὥστ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔσται καὶ ταχύνειν τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἐπὶ σχολῆς ἐκτρύχειν τοὺς πολεμίους λιμῶ.²¹³

We have, as you see, the most abundant provisions of war, supplies, arms, money . . .

Provisions, the supply of which is the chief difficulty in large armies, they can obtain only from Macedonia, a mountainous region . . . if they try to obtain any . . . Pompeius, Murcus and Domitius will cut them off entirely. We have abundance, brought to us daily by sea . . . So it rests with us either to hasten the battle, or by delaying it to waste the enemy by hunger.

The narrative descriptions of the historians about the same event recount the identical juxtaposition between abundance and lack of provisions:

οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἀντεξέτασσαν μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑψηλοτέρων, οὐ κατήεσαν δέ· οὐ γὰρ ἐγνώκεσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐπείγεσθαι, ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἐλπίζοντες ἐκτρύσειν τοὺς πολεμίους . . .²¹⁴

Brutus and Cassius also drew out their forces on the higher ground, but did not come down. They decided not to give battle, hoping to wear down the enemy by want of supplies . . .

²¹⁰ Plut. *Brut.* XLVII.4.

²¹¹ Cf., App. *BC.* IV.16.122.: Τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἤπειγε τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ λιμὸς ἦν ἤδη σαφής, ἔς τε μέγεθος καὶ δέος ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἐπεγίνετο. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ Θεσσαλίας αὐτοῖς ἔτι τὰ ἀρκοῦντα ἐκομίζετο, οὔτε τις ἦν ἐλπίς ἐκ θαλάσσης, ναυκρατούντων πανταχῆ τῶν πολεμιῶν· τῆς τε ἔναγχος περὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον συμφορᾶς ἐξηγγελμένης ἐς ἑκατέρους ἤδη, μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν αὐτὰ τε καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα προσιόντα ὡς ἐν πεδίῳ πηλώδει σταθμεύοντες. (“The task of Octavian and Antony became pressing, hunger was already felt, and in view of the magnitude [of the coming famine] the fear of it grew upon them more and more each day, for Thessaly could no longer furnish sufficient supplies, nor could they hope for anything from the sea, which was commanded by the enemy everywhere.”) Transl. by Horace White, LCL, IV:344-45.

²¹² App. *BC.* IV.12.90.

²¹³ App. *BC.* IV.12.100. Transl. by Horace White, LCL, IV: 306-07.

²¹⁴ App. *BC.* IV.14.108. Transl. by Horace White, LCL, IV: 320-21. See also Dio. XLVII.38.3.

Appian again describes the continuation of the war:

<p>ἄπρακτον δὲ ἐς πολλὰς ἡμέρας, οὐκ ἐθελόντων συμπλέκεσθαι τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀγοραῖς προεκτρύχειν τοὺς πολεμίους, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔχοντες Ἀσίαν χορηγὸν καὶ ἐξ ἐγγίονος πάντα διὰ θαλάσσης ποριζόμενοι, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίσι οὐδὲν ὄν δασιλῆς οὐδὲ οἰκεῖον.²¹⁵</p>	<p>Brutus and Cassius did not wish to engage but rather to continue wasting the enemy by lack of provisions, since they themselves had abundance from Asia, all transported by the sea close at hand, while the enemy had nothing in abundance and nothing from their own territory.</p>
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4.7.2.4. Summary of military history on the importance of provision

Polybius summarises in a nutshell the military history concerning lack and abundance of provisions:

<p>. . . καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπάνει καὶ ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων ἀθεραπευσίαις κακῶς ἀπήλλαττε. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ καθυφεῖνθ' ἑαυτοὺς ὀλοσχερῶς διὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν καὶ συνέχειαν τῶν πόνων.²¹⁶</p>	<p>. . . owing to the scarcity of provisions many having fallen into a state of utter despondency from prolonged toil and want of food.</p>
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4.7.3. The adaptation of the military theme of ὑστέρησις versus περίσσευμα by Paul for Philippians

Although Paul constructs his thoughts along the well-known theme of abundance versus lack of provisions from the military history of antiquity, he deviates from the classical dualism in one important aspect. Although suffering lack, Paul claims that contrary to the principles of secular warfare, the campaign for the advance of the gospel will not end in disaster. In the midst of lack, he experiences a supernatural strengthening from God, by which Paul can continue in spite of the deficiency of resources. Paul walks a very fine line with his discussion about lack and abundance of provisions. On the one hand, he agrees with the logical secular military philosophy that “a hungry soldier would not have been an efficient fighting man!”²¹⁷ In some respects the financial partnership of the Philippians enabled an intense concentration

²¹⁵ Ibid., 322-23. See also App. BC. IV.14.111. Cf., Dio. XLVII.47.4-5.

²¹⁶ Plb. III.60.3.

²¹⁷ George R. Watson, “The Pay of the Roman Army.” In *Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 5. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1956, 337.

on evangelism otherwise not possible.²¹⁸ On the other hand, Paul wants to distance himself from the thought that everything stands and falls with the Philippians sending financial aid. As always with the advance of the gospel, tribulation cannot stop it (Phil. 4:14, cf., Phil. 1:12-14). God has enabled his messenger even in tribulation to focus on the spreading of the gospel.

4.7.4. Λόγος δόσεως και λήμψεως – terminology from military accounting

4.7.4.1. Λόγος δόσεως και λήμψεως – accounting terminology

While Paul introduced the subject matter of his own provisions in alluding to the military topos of abundance and lack of provision, the actual report of the receipt of financial support is entirely packaged in accounting terminology. Already Adolf Deissmann in *Light from the Ancient East* pointed out that ἀπέχω δὲ πάντα (Phil. 1:18) is a technical expression regularly employed in drawing up a receipt.²¹⁹ The expression λόγος δόσεως και λήμψεως (Phil. 4:15) with great probability also comes from the semantic field of accounting.²²⁰ Possibly τὸν καρπὸν τὸν πλεονάζοντα εἰς λόγον ὑμῶν (tentatively translated “the interest that accrues to your account”) (Phil. 4:17) also comes from commercial record keeping.²²¹

²¹⁸ Cf., possibly Acts 18:5.

²¹⁹ Adolf Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East; the New Testament illustrated by recently discovered texts of the Graeco-Roman World*. Transl. by Lionel R. M. Strachan. New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1923, 110-12:

Παμᾶρις Ἑρμοδώρου Ἀβῶς. Ἀπέχων (sic) παρὰ σοῦ τέλες (sic, i.e. τέλος) ἐπιξένου Θῶυθ καὶ Φαῶφι . . . (i.e. δραχμας) β. . . (i.e. ἔτους) ιθ Τιβερίου Καισαρος Σεβαστοῦ. ²¹⁹	Pamaris the son of Hermodorus to Abos. I have receiving from (sic) you alien tax (for the months) Thoyth and Phaophi . . . 2 drachmae. . . In the year 19 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus.
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²²⁰ Ernst Lohmeyer, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953, 185. In footnote 2 Lohmeyer gives DH. V.34.4.; P. Oxy II.275.19.21.; P. Oxy XII.1441.7: P. Fay 131.1; P. Grenf. II.81.9. as evidence for εἰς λόγον to indicate a business-transaction, for δόσις και λήμψις with the same field of reference he lists P. Tebt.II.277.16.; Sir. 43:7 LXX; Epict. II.9.12. Joachim Gnllka, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. Leipzig: St. Benno-Verlag, 1969, 177. Gnllka lists P. Oxy 275, 19.21 and Plut. *Mor.* 11b for the expression εἰς λόγον to refer to the creation of an invoice. For δόσις και λήμψις with the meaning “income and expenses” he points to Sir. 42:7 LXX; Epict. *Diss.* II.9.12. Ulrich B. Müller, “Der Brief des Paulus an die Philipper.” In *Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament*. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1993, 205 concurs. Most later English commentators agree, except G. W. Peterman, *Paul’s Gift from Philippi: Conventions of Gift Exchange and Christian Giving*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 92. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Peterman concludes from surveying Seneca, Sirach, Epictetus, Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Plutarch, Cicero and Philo that δόσεως και λήμψεως is not invariably a technical phrase of commercial transactions, but was used in language of friendship and social reciprocity for mutual obligations in such relationships. These could, but must not always involve financial transactions.

²²¹ Καρπός can mean “advantage” or “profit” gained in a business transaction and may signify “interest.” As evidence appeal is made to P. Petr. III.53 (p) 5. (BADG, 510; MM, 321; and later commentaries such as G. Walter Hansen, *The Letter to the Philippians*. Pillar New Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009, 321.; Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 538.; Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 271. A single papyrus, using only a variant of Paul’s word

4.7.4.2. *The overarching theme of the passage: military partnership*

Paul does not, however, introduce business metaphors in Phil. 4:10-19, nor does the “giving and receiving” refer to the Philippians receiving spiritual benefits, while they give to Paul material benefits.²²² The controlling concept of Phil. 4:10-19 is the “partnership” which the Philippians have with Paul. Their financial support of Paul is an expression of the Philippians **partnering** with Paul in his distress on account of the gospel: **συγκοινωνήσαντές** μου τῇ θλίψει (Phil. 4:14). Unlike any other Macedonian churches, the Philippian congregation **partnered** with Paul in the “accounts of giving and receiving”: οὐδεμία μοι ἐκκλησία **ἐκοινώνησεν** εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λήμψεως (Phil. 4:15). No new idea of business contracts or honorary obligations are introduced in the text, Paul still has the same partnership in mind, which he introduced already in Phil. 1:5. It is the grand theme of military partnership for the progress of the gospel ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (Phil. 1:5), the primary theme of Philippians, along whose lines Paul argued the whole letter to the Philippians, which is still in view, here in Phil. 4:15! The synonymous temporal markers ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας (from the first day) (Phil. 1:5), ἐν ἀρχῇ (in the beginning (Phil. 1:15), both times connected with the concept of advancing the gospel ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (Phil. 1:5), ὅτι ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (Phil. 4:15) confirm that the Philippians contributing financially is still part of the overall concept of the military partnership Paul has with the Philippians to advance the gospel.

4.7.4.3. *Military stipendium accounts: giving and receiving*

When accounting terminology appears up in the text, a reference in the field of the military should be considered, instead of creating new metaphorical domains, such as private business, the latter being foreign to Paul’s letter to the Philippians. Accounts of “giving and

(καρπεία), is not strong evidence however! Πλεονάζω, despite the unfounded assumption both by Gnilka (supposedly meaning excess amount (“der überschießende Betrag”) and Ralph P. Martin (suggesting that πλεονάζω is a regular banking term for financial growth) (Joachim Gnilka, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. Leipzig: St. Benno-Verlag, 1969, 179.; Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. NCB. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980, 167.); “. . . is not attested as a business term.” See Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 538. and Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 271. Only εἰς λόγον is certainly a technical phrase in book-keeping and signifies “to the account of.” See below. Possibly εἰς λόγον causes τὸν καρπὸν τὸν πλεονάζοντα to take on a commercial nuance.

²²² Contra Ulrich B. Müller, “Der Brief des Paulus an die Philipper.” In *Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament*. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1993, 205 or Joachim Gnilka, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. Leipzig: St. Benno-Verlag, 1969, 177. Contra Friedrich Hauck, “κοινός.” In *TDNT*, 808-09. An appeal to 1 Cor. 9:11; Rom. 15:27 or Gal. 6:6 to see in Phil. 4 the mutual obligation of sharing spiritual and material benefits are inappropriate. There are no linguistic parallels between the texts and no reasons why these should be conceptual parallels have been brought forth.

receiving” are an extremely common feature in Roman military records on papyrus.²²³ A scrupulously precise pay record was kept of every soldier during his term of service. Added as “received” in the pay records were the regular salaries (called *stipendium*, paid to the soldier either in quarterly or every-four monthly installments²²⁴), booty of war, plunder from enemy settlements, *donata* or cash from the sale of enemies sold as slaves. The soldier was not able, however, to withdraw the full balance of his payment record at any time he wished. A significant amount was to be deposited as “savings” in the strong box of the legion. Furthermore, from his regular stipendium the soldier had to pay his clothing, food tax, spend money on equipment and possibly other expenses such as contributions for funerary fund or festivities. Not surprisingly, as *λόγος* commonly refers to accounting records²²⁵ these military-pay-records could be called *λόγος . . . σπιπενδίου*.²²⁶ Credits in the stipendium records were registered as *accepit* (received), debits as *expensas* (expenses), as the following example shows:

C Valerius Germanus Tyro accepit stip(endium) i an(ni) iii do(mini) dr(achmas) ccxlvii s(emis) ex eis faenaria dr(achmas) x in v[i]ctum dr(achmas) lxxx caligas fascias dr(achmas) xii saturnaliçium k(astrense(?)) dr(achmas) xx / in vestimen[t]is dr(achmas) c expensaş dr(achmas) ccxii reliquas depō(sitas) dr(achmas) xxv	C. Valerius Germanus, born at Tyre, Received the first pay of the third year of the Emperor, 247 ½ drachmas out of which hay money (?) 10 drachmas for food 80 drachmas boots, socks 12 drachmas camp Saturnalia 20 drachmas for clothing 100 drachmas spent 222 drachmas deposited the balance 25 ½ drachmas
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²²³ Accounts of “giving and receiving” are part of a sophisticated system of bureaucratic documentation in the Roman army concerning recruitment, daily tasks, long-term missions, strength reports of the composition of units, giving and confirmation of orders, pass-words or oaths, and financial accounting. See Sara Elise Phang, “Military Documents, Languages and Literacy.” In *A Companion to the Roman Army*. Ed. Paul Erdkamp. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007, 287-305. Konrad Stauner, *Das Offizielle Schriftwesen des Römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Gallienus (27 v.Chr. – 268 n.Chr.)*. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 2004. George R. Watson, “Documentation in the Roman Army.” In *ANRW II.1*. Ed. Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter Verlag, 1974, 493-507. Robert O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*. Cleveland: Case Western Reserve, 1971.

²²⁴ The literary sources differ in their description of the times in which the installments were paid, likely since of the method of payment changed every once in a while. See Suet. *Dom.* 7; Suet *Aug.* 49; Zon. *Epi.* II p.196. For a discussion on the number of installments of the stipendia, see George R. Watson, “The Pay of the Roman Army.” In *Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*. 5. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1956, 332-340.

²²⁵ LSJ, 1057.

²²⁶ P. Oxy VII.1047.

s(emis)	and had	21 drachmas
et habuit dr(achmas) xx[i]	entire total	46 ½ drachmas
fit summā omniſ dr(achmae) x̄lvi s(emis)	received the second pay of the same	
accepit stip(endium) ii anni eius	year,	
dr(achmas) ccxlvii s(emis)		247 ½ drachmas
ex eis . . . ²²⁷	out of which . . . etc.	

This credit/ debit (*accepit/ expensas*) system is not only attested to be recorded in Latin, but also in Greek, where the terminology for credits and debits are λαμβάνω and δίδωμι, respectively. In the following example six *signiferi* (in the Roman military the signifier also serves as the accountants of the century) from the six centuries of which the cohort I Lusitanorum was composed gave receipts to the *centurio princeps* for money they received in order to be credited on deposit for new recruits in each century.

Λονγεῖνος Λόνγ[ος] σημεαφόρ[ος]	Longinus Longus, signifier of the coh. I
[σπ]είρης α /	Lusitanorum, century of Tituleius, to
Λουσιτανῶν ϙ Τιτουληίου Λ[ο]γγεῖνω /	Longinus Tituleius, medicus (?) centurion.
Τιτουληῖω ἰάτρῳ ϙ χαίρειν. ἔλ[αβ]ον παρὰ	I have received
σοῦ /	from you
[δη]νάρια τετρακόσια εἰκοσιτ[ρί]α	denarii four hundred twenty-three, obols
ὀβολοὺς κ /	twenty,
ὑπὲρ δηποσίτου τιρῶνων Ἀσ[ιανῶ]ν δις-	for deposit for the Asian
τριβούτων ἐν τῇ κεντυρία ἀνδρῶν	recruits assigned to the century, twenty
εἴκοσι. /	men.
ἔτους εἰκοστοῦ καὶ ἐν [. . .]	Twenty-first year
Τραια[νοῦ]	of Trajan
ἀρίστου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, Θῶ[θ] ϙ. ²²⁸	Optimus Caesar our Lord, Thoth 6.

On the debiting side, we have in a collection of receipts a request from a soldier that the accountant would pay out a certain amount from the hay allowance:

Ἴσας [Σερ]ήνω τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ	Isas to the most honoured Serenus.
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²²⁷ Line 1 to 14 of column 3 of P. GenLat. 1 from AD 81 Papyri.info, website of the study of ancient papyrological documents: <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/rom.mil.rec;1;68>, accessed July 3rd, 2012. Translation by Robert O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*. Cleveland: Case Western Reserve, 1971, 247-49.

²²⁸ Line 1 to 8 of column 1 of P. PSI 1063 from AD 117 Papyri.info, website of the study of ancient papyrological documents: <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/rom.mil.rec;1;74>, accessed July 3rd, 2012. Translation by Robert O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*. Cleveland: Case Western Reserve, 1971, 278-80.

χαίρειν·

καλῶς π[ο]ιήσις **δοῦς** Διοσκώρω τῷ

ἀδελφῷ τὴν γράστιν μου τοῦ ιθ (ἔτους)

ἐπὶ προεξηραμένην παρ' αὐτοῦ

ἐν Ἀρσινοίτου δηνάροια εἴκοσι

πέντε παρ' οὗ καὶ λήμψη τὴν ἀπο-

χῆμ μου. ἐρρωθ σε ὕχο προκοπ(έσθαι)

ἀεὶ.²²⁹

Kindly **give (i.e. pay out)** to Dioscorus my brother (-soldier?) my hay allowance of the 19th year, since I borrowed from him in the Arsinoite nome 25 denarii, from whom also you will get my receipt. With best wishes for your perpetual health and prosperity.

It seems that as λόγος δόσεως καὶ λήμψεως is in secular book-keeping²³⁰ the terminology referring to debits and credits of accounting in business, in a military context refers to the nomenclature of the military-stipendium-account of the soldier. The soldier received as credit (λήμψις) a quarterly allowance from which were paid out (δόσις) regular installments of expenses for the maintenance of the soldier's ability to serve in active duty.

4.7.5. Military accounting terminology in support for the theme of the fight for the advance of the gospel

Thus when Paul refers to the Philippian's partnership in the military accounts of credits and debits he likely affirms in the positive what he had asked the Corinthians in the negative: Τίς στρατεύεται ἰδίῳ ὀψωνίοις ποτέ; (Who serves as a soldier at any time at his own expense?) (1 Cor. 9:7). What the Corinthians did not grasp, the Philippians had understood and put into practice several times already: in the military campaign to advance the gospel (cf., 1 Cor. 9:14) the soldier who is in active duty needs to be financially supported. Through their investment into Paul's stipendium account, the Philippians had become partners in the tribulation of Paul συγκοινωνήσαντές μου τῇ θλίψει (Phil. 4:14). It is not any tribulation, which is in view, however, but the tribulation on account of furthering the gospel! Implicitly the text reads: συγκοινωνήσαντές μου τῇ θλίψει εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον! That partnership in the tribulation for the gospel is assumed, is made clear in that Paul elaborates in the very next clause that in the beginning of the **gospel** (ὅτι ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου) only the Philippians **partnered** with Paul (ἐκοινωνήσεν . . . ὑμεῖς μόνοι), thus reiterating the main theme of the letter, already introduced in Phil. 1:5, the military partnership for the advance of the gospel (ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον)!

²²⁹ Line 1 to 8 of column 2 of P. Hamb 39 hh, ii from AD 179 Papyri.info, website of the study of ancient papyrological documents: <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/rom.mil.rec;1;76>, accessed July 3rd, 2012. Translation by Robert O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*. Cleveland: Case Western Reserve, 1971, 304-06.

²³⁰ Sir. 42:7 LXX, Epict. *Diss.* II.9.12.

4.8. Conclusion: Paul's examples, communicated in military metaphors support his main argument in Philippians: the advance of the gospel

Without exception, every example, which Paul cites in Philippians, supports his main argument, namely to fight for the progress of the gospel – despite opposition and no matter the cost. Except perhaps the paradigm of Timothy, every other model, Paul included, is described in language borrowed from the semantic domain of the military.

Timothy is cited as an example, to have, like a son with his father, “served with me in advancing the gospel”²³¹ (ὅτι ὡς πατρὶ τέκνον σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐδούλευσεν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον). Epaphroditus is commended because “for the battle of Christ . . . he risked his life” (ὅτι διὰ τὸ ἔργον Χριστοῦ . . . ἤγγισεν παραβολευσάμενος τῆ ψυχῆ).²³² Even the negative examples of Euodia and Syntyche are described to have fought alongside Paul for the advance of the gospel, together with Clement and other fellow-soldiers (αἴτινες ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ συνήθλησάν μοι μετὰ καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν συνεργῶν μου).²³³

Christ, on account of the nature of his person and work, is obviously not cited as one who advances the gospel in the sense of proclaiming it, but as the foundation of the gospel through his sacrificial death. Yet, his example as well functions directly as an encouragement to the Philippians to continue in their fight for the spread of the message of Jesus.²³⁴ The Philippians themselves have demonstrated through their financial support of Paul a perfect paradigm of what it means to be in a military partnership for the advance of the gospel (Phil. 4:10-19). Paul exhibits himself twice in the letter to the Philippians as a role model, the first time he expositis that life on earth for him consists in preaching Christ – even against opposition (Phil. 1:20). The second time he elucidates himself as an example, he shows that his supreme aim is to pursue the opposition with the gospel in the hope that he might apprehend some of them for Christ (Phil. 3:12-14). By citing himself as an example, typical of deliberative rhetoric,²³⁵ Paul supports his main request to the Philippians found in Phil. 1:27-30. He demonstrates how he, their prototype to be emulated, lives out his own exhortations.

²³¹ Phil. 2:22 New English Translation.

²³² Phil. 2:30. The descriptions of Epaphroditus in Phil. 2:25, as the overall context show that the battle of Christ (τὸ ἔργον Χριστοῦ) is the battle to advance the gospel. Cf., ἔργον ἀγαθόν in Phil. 1:4 and the explanations below.

²³³ Phil. 4:3, see explanation below.

²³⁴ See Phil. 2:12-16, particularly τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν καταργάξεσθε and λόγον ζωῆς ἐπέχοντες. See the comments below.

²³⁵ In deliberative rhetoric the example is set forth in order to support one's main argument. So far all other propositions relying on athletic imagery to explain what Phil. 3:12-14 might mean have failed to demonstrate how Paul's example serves to undergird his main thesis in the letter. In their views Paul

Thus we have in Philippians seven sections, which cite examples. All examples cited serve one goal: to visualise laudable models in the all-encompassing military objective: the advancement of the gospel. The theme common to all models is their single minded and sacrificial focus on the military objective: the advancement of the εὐαγγέλιον with the goal of conversions from former enemies of the gospel, i.e. the fruit of battle (καρπὸς ἔργου (Phil. 1:22), the apprehended enemies, towards which Paul had stretched himself out (καταλάβω, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ κατελήμφθην ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ . . . τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος (Phil. 3:12-13)). The military objective has been clearly pointed out by Paul in these sections. The work of Geoffrion and Schuster with regard to the question of the main emphasis of Philippians has indeed been confirmed. They had argued from the hortatory section of the letter that the main emphasis of Philippians is the call to stand fast in order to advance the gospel. This study has demonstrated that the military objective clearly defines the type of battle, in which all examples and thus also the Philippians, find themselves in: it is the battle for the advancement of the gospel with the desired result of converting the enemies, who are confronted with the gospel. If Paul employs military terminology in Philippians, he does so in order to define one ultimate military objective: the advancement of the gospel with the goal of conversions. This indeed is the primary theme of Philippians, all other subject matters are subordinate to and are employed to support this grand and primary motif of the letter.

argues for new and previously unrelated issues. This, however, is highly unlikely in deliberative rhetoric, the kind of literature of which Philippians is part.

Chapter 5

Confidence of winning the campaign for the gospel

In the book of Philippians Paul portrays the life of the Christian in military terminology as being in a battle. Paul and the Philippians are military comrades fighting together for the same goal,¹ namely the military objective of the advance of the gospel. Since the Philippians were discouraged because of setbacks in the campaign (Phil. 1:12) and about threatening future disasters (Phil. 2:27), and since their fervour to fight united for the progress of the gospel had diminished, Paul not only gave orders akin to the speeches of military commanders to the Philippians for them to resume the fight (Phil. 1:27-30, 2:1-5, 2:14-16, 3:15-17), but he also buttresses his summons with encouragements why a return to the united and bold advance of the gospel is commanded. Analogous to the harangues of military generals to their troops before battle, Paul infuses his speech with sections that expressly state why he is confident that their mutual campaign for the advance of the gospel will be victorious. Paul states in his epistle to the Philippians several guarantees that if the gospel is preached with a united front by the church, the operation “gospel advance” will end in victory. These sections will be explored in the present chapter.

5.1. Certainty of victory – the LORD initiated the campaign for the gospel (Phil. 1:5-7)

5.1.1. ἔργον used in Philippians with its military meaning “battle”

In order to grasp the clustering of military concepts in Phil. 1:5-7, it is necessary to recall that Paul uses ἔργον in the book of Philippians with specific reference to the military domain of this noun, and thus has a battle in mind when he mentions ἔργον, particularly the battle to

¹ The comradeship of Paul and the Philippians is expressed through the military partnership the Philippians have with Paul for the advance of the gospel (ἐπὶ τῇ κοινῳνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον) (Phil. 1:5; 4:15), and is particularly highlighted by prefixing συν- with military nomenclature, such as συγκοινωνός (Phil. 1:7; 4:14), συναθλέω (Phil. 1:27; 4:3), συνεργός (Phil. 2:25), συστρατιώτης (Phil. 2:25). In Phil. 1:25 Paul is confident that he will remain in order to stand in rank with them for the progress of the gospel (μένω, παραμένω and προκοπή being carefully chosen verbs from the domain of the military). Phil. 1:30 reveals that Paul and the Philippians are experiencing the same military struggle (ἀγών). Appellations of endearment innate to soldiers are expressed in Phil. 4:1-3 (ἀδελφός, ἀγαπητός, σύζυγος, συνεργός), while the affections of soldiers who are fighting in the same unit are expressed in Phil. 1:7-8.

advance the gospel. We have already seen in Phil. 2:30 that Epaphroditus had risked his life for the battle (ἔργον) of advancing the gospel² and that Paul's primary motivation for staying alive instead of entering into the presence of his glorious Lord at his death, was his desire to achieve fruit from the battle (τοῦτό μοι καρπὸς ἔργου) of his preaching ministry.³ The evidence that Paul uses ἔργον with reference to a battle in Phil. 2:30 and Phil. 1:22 indicates that it might be appropriate to translate ἔργον as "battle" in its third occurrence in Philippians, namely in Phil. 1:6, as well.

5.1.2. Ἐργον in Phil. 1:6 – the battle for the advance of the gospel

Traditionally, Phil. 1:6 πεποιθῶς αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὁ ἐναρξάμενος ἐν ὑμῖν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐπιτελέσει ἄχρι ἡμέρας Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ has been translated "being confident in this: that the one who started the good work in you will complete it until the day of Christ Jesus." The interpretive options what precisely the "good work" is, fall into two main categories. Some exegetes explain the expression to mean an internal work of God's grace in the lives of Philippians, somewhat synonymous with salvation.⁴ The other interpretive option is to see in the "good work" a reference to the participation of the Philippians in the furtherance of the gospel, just mentioned in Phil. 1:4.⁵ The Philippians were partners with Paul in the furtherance of the gospel and shared their resources with him to make an extensive proclamation of the gospel possible (Phil. 1:5, 4:14-16). Translating ἔργον as "battle" supports the latter option with the idea that the "good work" is the campaign to advance the gospel.⁶ Geoffrion already pointed

² See 4.4. "Military struggle for the advance of the gospel: the example of Epaphroditus (Phil. 2:25-30)."

³ See 4.2. "Military struggle for the advance of the gospel: The example of Paul (Phil. 1:20)."

⁴ So Peter T. O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 64-65. Richard R. Melick, *Philippians, Colossians, Philemon*. New American Commentary. Nashville: B&H Publishing Group, 1991, 57-59. Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Tyndale New Testament Commentaries. Leicester: InterVarsity, 2000, 66. Ulrich B. Müller, "Der Brief des Paulus an die Philipper." In *Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament*. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1993, 43-44. D. Adolph Schlatter, *Die Briefe des Paulus*. Stuttgart: Calver Vereinsbuchhandlung, 1928, 57. Nikolaus Walter, *Die Briefe an die Philipper, Thessalonicher und an Philemon*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998, 34-35. Werner de Boor, *Die Briefe des Paulus an die Philipper und an die Kolosser*. Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1957, 42-43. Gerhard Friedrich, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. Das Neue Testament Deutsch 8. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985, 139.

⁵ R. A. Lipsius, *Die Briefe an die Galater, Römer, Philipper*. Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament. Tübingen: Mohr Verlag, 1893, 217. Ernst Lohmeyer, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953, 14-20. Hermann von Soden, *Der Brief des Apostel Paulus an die Philipper*. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1906, 19. Joseph B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*. London: MacMillan, 1908, 84. Moisés Silva, *Philippians*. Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Baker: Grand Rapids, 2005, 45-48. Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 24-25. Paul A. Holloway, *Consolation in Philippians. Philosophical Sources and Rhetorical Strategie*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 90.

⁶ Philippians 1:6 should thus be translated "being confident of this: that the One who started the good battle in your midst will complete it until the day of Christ Jesus." Ἐργον ἀγαθὸν is synonymous with

out that *κοινωνία* (Phil. 1:6) is used by Josephus specifically to refer to those who fought together in a common military cause.⁷ When Paul thanks God for the Philippians' partnership⁸ in the gospel, he envisions a military alliance in which he and the Philippians fight together for the benefit of the gospel.⁹ The imagery of the Philippians having entered into a military campaign together with Paul is laden with potential, which will be further developed in the letter. There will be instructions on how to fight in the battle (Phil. 1:27-30), explanations of who the enemy is (Phil. 2:15), confidence in their supreme general will be expressed (Phil. 2:9-11), incentives for obedience will be given (Phil. 1:21) and encouragement on why the campaign they have entered will be successful (Phil. 1:6). The latter will be necessary as it might seem to the Philippians that their campaign is suffering serious set-back (Phil. 1:12). But here, right after the introduction of their mutual military-campaign for the advancement of the gospel, Paul wishes to express his confidence as to why the campaign for the progress of the gospel will be successful: **the God who initiated the war-campaign is the God who brings it to a successful conclusion.**

5.1.3. The situational background of Phil. 1:6-7

It is important for Paul to encourage the Philippians at this point that God himself guarantees the success of the initiated campaign for two reasons. First, the practical experience of the Philippians seemed to have been a promising start of their joint effort with Paul to propagate the gospel (Phil. 4:15-16), but their apostle and role model being imprisoned seemed like a significant reversal of fortune to the struggle to extend the good news (Phil. 1:12). The Philippians must have started with promising enthusiasm but recently had become so disparaged by opposition to the gospel (Phil. 1:28) and Paul's imprisonment that the success

Paul's thought in 2 Tim. 4:7 τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα ἠγώνισμαι . . . ("I fought the good fight . . ."). Ἔργον and ἀγῶν are repeatedly used side-by-side as synonyms in the literary sources referring to battles. Plb. I.6.6-7.; III.116.1-3.; Arr. *Ana.* III.9.5-6.; Arr. *Ana.* III.15.3.; DH. III.23.12-13.; VI.5.3.; App. *BC.* I.Pr.2.; App. *BC.* I.13.115.

⁷ Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 23. The references in Josephus are: *Jos. BJ.* II.253.; III.485.; IV.348.

⁸ The idea of "partnership in the advance of the gospel" is more likely the thought here than the passive sense of "receiving the benefits of the gospel." This is confirmed by the repetition of key phrases and concepts in Phil. 4:13-15, where clearly the Philippian participation in the advance of the gospel is in view. Compare ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν (Phil. 1:5) with οὐδεμία μοι ἐκκλησία ἐκοινωνήσεν . . . εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς μόνοι (Phil. 4:15); ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας (Phil. 1:5) and ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (Phil. 4:15); συγκοινωνοὺς μου τῆς χάριτος πάντας ὑμᾶς (Phil. 1:7) and συγκοινωνήσαντές μου (Phil. 4:14). Geoffrion argues that "fellowship in" and "partnership for" the gospel are not mutually exclusive, but that the concept involves an understanding of Christian identity, in which Christians live simultaneously as beneficiaries and advocates of the gospel. (Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 93.)

⁹ Εἰς with the accusative in ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (Phil. 1:5) indicating "advantage/benefit." Partnership for the benefit of the gospel contains the idea of fighting together for the progress/advance of the gospel (Phil. 1:12).

of the gospel and the value of their efforts to join Paul in extending the good news were now in question.

Second, the Philippians were most likely well aware of a very common military phenomenon: a promising campaign looking almost certain to be destined for success was at the last moment forfeited and catastrophically failed because a commander or the army on the field did not know how to “complete the battle.”¹⁰

The eventual disastrous reversal of a campaign was not special military knowledge, but one of the most common phenomena repeatedly known from the civil wars of the Romans. In the civil war between Pompey the Great and Caesar Pompey had gained the upper hand in the battle of Dyrrhachium in 48 BC and almost routed the forces of Caesar to complete annihilation. For some reason, however, Pompey halted the pursuit of the fleeing Caesarean forces. The latter were able to reform and at the next engagement, at the battle of Pharsalus a month later, the overconfident army of Pompey was annihilated by the forces of Caesar. This battle effectively ended the Roman republic and established Caesar as sole dictator. Plutarch faults the dramatic change of events to the inability of Pompey to “finish the battle”:

<p>αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ μικρὸν ἤλθεν ἀποθανεῖν . . . οὕτω δ’ ἀπέγνω τότε τὰ καθ’ αὐτόν, ὥστ’ ἐπεὶ Πομπήϊος ὑπ’ εὐλαβείας τινὸς ἢ τύχης ἔργῳ μεγάλῳ τέλος οὐκ ἐπέθηκεν, ἀλλὰ καθείρξας εἰς τὸν χάρακα τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀνεχώρησεν, εἶπεν ἄρα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἀπιῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ· “σήμερον ἂν ἡ νίκη παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἦν, εἰ τὸν νικῶντα εἶχον.”¹¹</p>	<p>Caesar himself, too, narrowly escaped being killed . . . So completely had Caesar given up his cause for lost that, when Pompey, either from caution or by some chance, did not complete his great success in battle, but withdrew after he had shut up the fugitives within their entrenchments, Caesar said to his friends as he withdrew: “Today the victory had been with the enemy, if they had had a victor in command.”</p>
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¹⁰ Ἔργον with a form from the semantic field of τελέω, as in Phil. 1:6, can mean “to complete a battle” in the sense that a decisive victory of the campaign is won and the enemy is overthrown. Appian describes how on the first battle of Philippi both sides of the struggle had “completed the battle” – Antony overcomes Cassius while Brutus overcomes Octavian: “. . . ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἔξω τοῦ Κασσίου στρατὸς ἡσούτο καὶ τὴν κατάληψιν ἰδὼν τοῦ στρατοπέδου διεσκίδνατο ἀκόσμως. καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἦν ἐντελὲς ἑκατέρους καὶ ὁμοίων· Βρούτος τε γὰρ τὸ λαιὸν τῶν πολεμίων ἐτέτραπτο καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἠρήκει, Ἀντωνίου τε Κασσίου κρατῶν σὺν ἀμηγάνῳ τόλμῃ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπόρθει.” (“. . . already the soldiers outside *the camp* were being beaten and when they saw the camp taken they scattered disorderly. Thus, **the battle was completed** alike on either side. Brutus defeated the enemy’s left wing and took their camp, Antony overcame Cassius’ camp and ravaged it with irresistible courage.”) App. BC. IV.14.112. Before the second battle of Philippi Brutus promises his troops spoil when the “battle is completed”: ἐγὼ δ’ ὑμῖν τὰ νικητήρια ἐντελῆ μὲν, ὅταν οἱ θεοὶ κρίνωσιν, ἐπὶ ἐντελέσει τοῖς ἔργοις διαλύσομαι. (“I myself will pay you the rewards of victory in full when it pleases the gods that our battles will be completed.”) App. BC. IV.14.118.

¹¹ Plut. *Caes.* XXXIX.4-5.

A similar dramatic outcome of a war because the battle was not “completed” occurred at the first battle of Philippi. At the outset of the battle the forces of Brutus and Cassius had the better chance of success: they occupied a more advantageous position and were well supplied. The legions of Octavian and Antony suffered from lack of provision and sickness on account of them encamping in the swamp. As the first battle progressed, the soldiers of Brutus put the forces of Octavian to flight and were able to capture their camp. The campaign could have been decided at this point in favour of the Republican army. The forces of Brutus, however, did not “complete the battle” by pursuing the fleeing soldiers, but instead allowed them to escape and reform and were themselves eventually beaten by an army they had already been victorious over. Appian partly faults the loss of the war to the mistake of the Republican forces not to “complete the battle”:¹²

<p>Ὁ δὲ Βρούτος τὸν στρατὸν ἐς ἐκκλεσίαν συναγαγὼν ἔλεξεν ὧδε· “ . . . τῆς τε γὰρ μάχης ἤρξατε προθύμως, εἰ καὶ χωρὶς παραγγέλματος· . . . δυνηθέντες δ’ ἂν ὅλον ἐργάσασθαι τὸ ἔργον, ἀρπάσαι μᾶλλον εἴλασθε ἢ κτείνειν τοὺς ἡσσωμένους· οἱ γὰρ πλέονες ὑμῶν τοὺς πολεμίους παροδεύοντες ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὄρμων.”¹³</p>	<p>Brutus assembled his army and addressed it thus: “. . . You began the battle passionately, although without orders But when it was in your power to complete the whole battle, you chose rather to plunder than to kill the vanquished; for most of you passed by the enemy and made a rush for his property.”</p>
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5.1.4. Reasons for confidence of victory: the character and presence of God

That the campaign for the advancement of the gospel would not end in defeat – as in famous historical battles, which have started well and where the fortunes were eventually overturned – argues Paul, is guaranteed to the Philippians both by the character of God and the active presence of God amongst the Philippians. The character of God is alluded to in the phrase ὁ ἐναρξάμενος . . . ἔργον ἀγαθόν (“He who began the good battle”), while the presence of God is alluded to in the catchphrase ἐν ὑμῖν (“in your midst”).¹⁴ Both phrases allude to well known

¹² Plutarch puts the full blame for the loss of the battle of Philippi on the soldiers who did not complete the battle, but rushed past the enemy to plunder their possessions. Plut. *Brut.* XLIV.6.

¹³ App. *BC.* VI.16.117.

¹⁴ Ἐν ὑμῖν does not refer to the working of God in the individual, but to His active presence in the community of believers. So also Joachim Gnilka, *Der Philipperbrief*. Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament. Freiburg: Herder, 1968, 72: “. . . ἐν ὑμῖν, nicht ‘in euch’, als sei auf die in jedem einzelnen wirkende Gnade hingewiesen, sondern ‘bei euch’, in dem er ‘euch’ als lebendige Gemeinde schuf . . .” (“ . . . ἐν ὑμῖν, not ‘in each of you’ (*singular*), as though pointing out the working of grace in each individual, but ‘among you’ (*plural*), as though God created you (*plural*) as a living community.” Cf., the translation of the NRSV “... the one who began a good work among you...” See also Pierre Bonnard, *L’*épître**

Old Testament theological convictions about the nature of the LORD and His relationship to His people at war with other nations. The expression ἐν ὑμῖν (“in your midst”) recurs in Phil. 2:13: θεὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν (“... for God is the one who works/ fights in your midst...”) and functions in the same rhetorical strategy as here in Phil. 1:6. Its rhetorical function will be dealt with in more detail under the section of Phil. 2:13. Here, in Phil. 1:6, this inquiry will focus on the aspect of Paul alluding to the character of God as an assurance that the inaugurated campaign of advancing the gospel will not end in defeat. Its success is ensured by the immutability of God who ultimately Himself, not Paul, nor the Philippians, had started the gospel campaign. If He is the one who started the campaign, He assuredly will bring it to its successful conclusion.

5.1.5. The initiator of the campaign: the LORD as warrior in the Old Testament

In referring to God as the one who initiates and successfully completes battles Paul draws upon Old Testament theology to prove his point. In the Old Testament the LORD¹⁵ is

de Saint Paul aux Philippiens et l'épître aux Colossiens. Commentaire du Nouveau Testament. Paris: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1950, 16: “parmi vous” (“among you”); Paul A. Holloway, *Consolation in Philippians. Philosophical Sources and Rhetorical Strategie.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 90.

¹⁵ A note on the usage of the designation “the LORD” (LORD in capital letters) for YHWH, the God of the Old Testament, in this thesis: The reader of the Hebrew Bible in the first century would have encountered in most places where the involvement of God in the wars of Israel are described, the tetragrammaton for the name of the God of Israel, YHWH. A Jew in the first century with a reading capability of Hebrew would thus have known that YHWH initiates the holy wars of Israel, YHWH fights for His people, YHWH ensures His promised victories, etc. Hellenistic Jews in the first century – such as Paul or Lydia from Philippi – would, however, have used some version of the Septuagint as the source of their knowledge of their Scriptures (the Old Testament) and would most likely have used this Greek translation as their basis of preaching and teaching. Instead of the tetragrammaton, they would have found most of the time κύριος as a translation (or rather a descriptive equivalent) for the divine name. For the substitution of YHWH through κύριος as a pre-Christian phenomenon of the LXX, see David B. Capes, *Old Testament Yahweh Texts in Paul's Christology.* WUNT 2/47. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck Verlag, 1992, 37-43.; Folker Siegert, *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament. Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta.* Münsteraner Judaistische Studien. Vol. 9. Münster: LIT Verlag, 2001, 202-206. Martin Rösel, *Adonaj – warum Gott 'Herr' genannt wird.* Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2000, 5-7.; Ibidem, “Die Übersetzung der Gottesnamen in der Genesis-Septuaginta.” In *Ernten, was man sät. Festschrift für Klaus Koch zu seinem 65. Geburtstag.* Ed. Dwight R. Daniels, Uwe Gleßmer, Martin Rösel. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991, 357-77. Michael Tilly, *Einführung in die Septuaginta.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005, 79-80. Contra: Paul E. Kahle, *Die Kairoer Genisa. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des hebräischen Bibeltexes und seiner Übersetzungen.* Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962, 235.; Hans Bietenhard, “Lord, Master.” In *NIDNTT.* Vol. 2. Gen. Ed. Colin Brown. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986, 512. By the time Paul writes his letter to Philippi, the Philippians would – from their reading of the LXX – have become familiar with the concept of “κύριος” as God and exalted Lord, who is intimately involved in the wars of Israel. The widespread use of the Septuagint among the Hellenistic Jewish community and the utilisation of κύριος for substituting the divine name explain the ease with which Paul could apply Old Testament YHWH texts both to God the Father (cf., e.g., Rom. 4:7-8; 9:27-29; 11:34; 15:9-11; 1 Cor. 3:20; 2 Cor. 6:18) and to Jesus, the “κύριος” (cf., e.g., Rom. 10:13; 14:11; 1 Cor. 1:31; 2 Cor. 10:17). Cf. also David B. Capes, *Old Testament Yahweh Texts in Paul's Christology.* WUNT 2/47. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck Verlag, 1992. Similarly, one finds in Philippians allusions to YHWH of the Old Testament referring to God the Father (Phil. 1:5-7; 2:12-15) and to Christ (Phil. 2:10-11). In describing the involvement of YHWH in the wars of His people this thesis purposefully avoids referring to the God of the Old Testament as YHWH, God, or κύριος. Instead, desiring to alert the

represented as the ultimate warrior¹⁶ who was the initiator of the holy wars of Israel¹⁷ and the guarantor of victory for the battles He fought on behalf of His people Israel.¹⁸ “The study of warfare in the Old Testament reveals that Yahweh is a God of war. Yahweh is depicted as a warrior both at the beginning of Israel’s history, as early poetry and prose testify, and also at the end of the Old Testament period, as stated in prophetic and apocalyptic writings.”¹⁹ Hebrew literature testifies to a coherent motif in Old Testament theology present in every period of Israel’s existence: the LORD fights for his people and – if the people are loyal to the covenant – assures certain victory. Throughout all the stages of Israel’s history, a pattern emerges in the theology of Israel’s warfare in which: a) the LORD initiates the war by promising Israel a successful conquest or deliverance and calls them to trust; b) Israel experiences and acknowledges her military inferiority in comparison with the enemy; and c) the LORD miraculously intervenes, grants success and is acknowledged to be the supreme cause of the victory.

5.1.5.1. the LORD’s initiation of and intervention in the war in the exodus

This pattern was established in the exodus-deliverance and served in the future as an archetype motif which Israel could rely on for further military deliverances.²⁰ The exodus is depicted as an act of warfare in which a) the LORD initiates the war by revealing to Israel through Moses:

ἐγὼ δὲ σκληρυνῶ τὴν καρδίαν Φαραῶ καὶ καταδιώξεται ὀπίσω αὐτῶν καὶ	I will harden the heart of Pharaoh, so that he will pursue the children of Israel; and I
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reader that both, YHWH, the God of the Old Testament is the referent and that the first century Philippian readers would have known him as κύριος, this dissertation uses the English “the LORD” when allusions to the God of the Old Testament are made in Philippians. Although potentially misleading, since the articular ὁ κύριος is predominantly used to substitute ᾄδξ in the LXX and κύριος without the article generally substitutes the tetragrammaton, the English definite article is retained in “the LORD” for stylistic reasons, and the custom of writing “LORD” in capital letters is familiar enough for the present day reader from the English usage of Bible translations. Thus, the convention of this thesis to utilise “the LORD” serves to remind the reader of the presence of יהוה in the Hebrew text and in most cases of κύριος in the Septuagint.

¹⁶ Henning Fredriksson, *YHWH als Krieger: Studien zum alttestamentlichen Gottesbild*. Lund: Gleerup, 1945. Patrick D. Miller, *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973.

¹⁷ “Holy war was always initiated by YHWH, never Israel.” Tremper Longman III and Daniel G. Reid, *God Is a Warrior*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995, 33. The close involvement of the LORD in Israel’s battles is highlighted by the designation מלחמות יהוה (the battles of YHWH). See 1 Sam. 18:17; 25:28. Cf., πόλεμον κυρίου (1 Kings 25:28 LXX).

¹⁸ “If the battles were a divinely willed holy war, the conclusion was certain. God would deliver the enemy ‘into the hands’ of Israel (Jos. 6:2; 8:17, 18; 10:8, 19, 30; 11:8).” Tremper Longman III and Daniel G. Reid, *God Is a Warrior*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995, 43.

¹⁹ Millard C. Lind, *Yahweh Is a Warrior: The Theology of Warfare in Ancient Israel*. Scottdale: Herald Press, 1980, 24.

²⁰ Deut. 7:18-19 “Remember what the LORD did to Pharaoh and to all Egypt . . . so shall the LORD your God do to all the peoples of whom you are afraid.”

ἐνδοξασθήσομαι ἐν Φαραω καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ αὐτοῦ καὶ γνῶσονται πάντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι κύριος . . . θαρσεῖτε στῆτε καὶ ὁρᾶτε τὴν σωτηρίαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἣν ποιήσει ἡμῖν σήμερον . . . κύριος πολεμήσει περὶ ὑμῶν καὶ ὑμεῖς σιγήσετε. ²¹	will be glorified over Pharaoh and over all his army and all the Egyptians will know that I am the Lord . . . Be of good courage and stand and see the salvation of the Lord, which He will accomplish for you today . . . the Lord will fight for you.
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b) Israel's inferiority is acknowledged both through the repeated awe-inspiring description of the advanced weaponry of Egypt, which Israel lacked (horses, horsemen, six hundred choice chariots, chariots of Egypt with captains (Exod. 14:7, 9, 17, 18, 23)) and the desperate complaints of Israel about soon dying in the wilderness (Exod. 14:11-12). The LORD's miraculous intervention comes through c) the presence of the pillar of cloud with the Israelites (14:19) and the parting/ closing of the sea (Exod. 21:29). That the military deliverance is fully due to the miraculous intervention of the LORD, who "fights for Israel" (Exod. 14:25) is explicitly stated in the prose section of the narrative (14:30-31), as well as in the poetic section following in the song of Moses (Exod. 15:1-21).

5.1.5.2. The LORD's initiation of and intervention in the war in the conquest of Canaan

This pattern repeats itself in all the significant stages of Israel's development as a nation. The various battles of the conquest of the land of Canaan were a) initiated by the LORD who not only promised the possession of the land to Israel, but commanded Israel to fight for the conquest and the destruction of the native inhabitants (Num. 13:1-27; Deut. 1:6-8; 7:1-2; Josh. 1:2-5; Judg. 1:17). An assurance is provided to Israel that the LORD will fight for them and grant them success:

. . . ὑμεῖς προσπορεύεσθε σήμερον εἰς πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλύεσθω ἡ καρδία ὑμῶν μὴ φοβεῖσθε μηδὲ θραύεσθε μηδὲ ἐκκλίνητε ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν ὁ προπορευόμενος μεθ' ὑμῶν συνεκπολεμήσας ὑμῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν διασῶσαι ὑμᾶς. ²²	. . . today you will go out against your enemies; your heart shall faint, you shall not fear nor be oppressed nor turn away from your face, for the Lord your God is the one who goes with you before you to fight together with you against your enemies, to save you."
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²¹ Exod. 14:4, 13-14 LXX.

²² Deut. 20:3-4 LXX.

The military inferiority of Israel is acknowledged in b) the description of the military strength of the natives (Num. 13:28-33), the initial refusal of Israel to enter the land on account of the comparison of the military strength of potential combatants (Num. 14:1-10) and the futile attempt to enter the land without the LORD fighting with Israel (Num. 14:39-45). It becomes evident in the narrative in the book of Joshua that “the military situation in the conquest was similar to that at the sea in that Israel was militarily inferior to the enemy, both in terms of social organisation and weaponry.

Joshua’s hamstringing the horses and burning the chariots suggests that this inferiority was not only forced upon Israel but was abetted by deliberate religious choice.²³ The miraculous intervention of the LORD is seen c) through the way the victories of Israel are gained. The walls of Jericho fell down through a miracle worked by the LORD (Josh. 6); the Jerusalem confederation is subdued though the LORD confusing them, sending hailstones and prolonging the day (Josh. 10:10-15).

Even the defeat at Ai serves to make the pattern clear: if the LORD is with Israel, Israel wins. If the LORD is not with Israel, Israel loses her battles. That all the successes of the conquest are due to the ultimate cause of every divinely initiated war, namely the LORD, is acknowledged in the material describing the conquest by the repeated formula ἐγὼ παραδίδωμι εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν “I gave them into your hand.” (Josh. 6:2; 8:18; 10:8, 19, 30; 11:8; 21:44; 24:8, 11) and the summary statement in the book of Joshua:

καὶ ἔδωκεν κύριος τῷ Ἰσραὴλ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἣν ὤμοσεν δοῦναι τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν καὶ κατεκληρονόμησαν αὐτὴν καὶ κατώκησαν ἐν αὐτῇ . . . ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν πάντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτῶν παρέδωκεν κύριος εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν οὐ διέπεσεν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ῥημάτων τῶν καλῶν ὧν ἐλάλησεν κύριος τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ πάντα παρεγένετο. ²⁴	And the Lord gave to Israel all the land, which He had sworn to give to their fathers and they took possession of it and lived in it . . . none of all their enemies stood against them – the Lord gave all their enemies into their hand. Not a word failed of any good thing, which the Lord had spoken to the house of Israel. All things came to pass.
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This summary statement of the book of Joshua connects the initial promise with the fulfilment. It reveals the correlation between the initiative of the LORD in holy war and the eventual victorious accomplishment. The campaign the LORD initiates, He brings to a

²³ Millard C. Lind, *Yahweh Is a Warrior: The Theology of Warfare in Ancient Israel*. Scottdale: Herald Press, 1980, 87-88.

²⁴ Josh. 21:43-45 LXX.

successful conclusion through His presence and miraculous work in the unfolding of the conquest.

5.1.5.3. *The LORD's and intervention in the war during the judges*

Although the next stage in the existence of Israel is a time period of apostasy and subsequently a period of military loss, the time period of the judges nevertheless reveals the same prototype pattern we have already observed. On account of the abundance of the material of stories mentioning Israel returning to the LORD, the LORD sending a deliverer and granting victory, this section will focus on the lengthy description of the deliverance under Gideon in Judges 6-8, a story which is in itself a paradigm setter for the other deliverance stories of the book of Judges. The LORD initiates the war against the Midianites a) by the sending of a prophet who reminds the people of Israel of the pattern of deliverance under the exodus (Judg. 6:8-10) and by the sending of the angel of the Lord to Gideon with the promise of the deliverance:

πορεύου ἐν ἰσχύι σου ταύτη καὶ σώσεις τὸν Ἰσραηλ ἐκ χειρὸς Μαδιαμ ἰδοὺ ἐξάπεστειλά σε. ²⁵	Go in this might of yours and deliver Israel from the hand of the Midianites, have I not sent you?
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Israel's inferiority is acknowledged b) by Gideon arguing that his clan is the weakest of the tribe of Manasseh and the dramatic reducing of the number of the fighting men from thirty-two thousand to three hundred (Judg. 7:1-7). The success of the battle is both through the narration of the story credited to the LORD ("the LORD set the sword of every man against his fellow soldier throughout the whole camp" (Judg. 7:22) and through the previous exclamation of trust of Gideon ("Arise for the LORD has delivered the camp of Midian into your hand." (Judg. 7:15)).

5.1.5.4. *The LORD's initiation of and intervention in the war during the kingship*

The period of kingship in the history of Israel is prefaced with many accounts of the wars of David. David serves as the role model for all future kings of Israel (2 Kings 16:2; 18:3; 22:2), in his exclusive worship of the LORD and his reliance upon the LORD fighting with him in battles; they should have modelled their lives on their model-king. How David, the anointed, but not yet ruling king, will fight his future wars is made clear right up front from his conflict with Goliath, the Philistine. The initiative of the LORD in the conflict is seen in David's

²⁵ Judg. 6:14 LXX.

assurance that God is present with the armies of Israel and that He will now (as in the exodus story) fight on behalf of Israel to make for Himself a great name (1 Sam. 17:45-47; cf., Exod. 14:4; 15:11). David's inferiority b) is obvious from the mismatch of the warriors in size (1 Sam. 17:4), experience in war (1 Sam. 17:33) and from the contrast in weaponry – Goliath wielding his super-weapon-spear while David's sling is an outdated model of armament (1 Sam. 17:5-7; 17:38-40). The story anticipates c) a victory that is clearly ascribed as being due to the LORD's miraculous intervention:

κύριος ὃς ἐξείλατό με ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ λέοντος καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς τῆς ἄρκου αὐτὸς ἐξελεῖται με ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ ἀλλοφύλου τοῦ ἀπεριτμήτου τούτου . . . ²⁶		The Lord delivered me from the paw of the lion and from the paw of the bear, He will deliver me from the hand of this uncircumcised foreigner . . .
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David's further reliance upon God's initiative in his battles is demonstrated by his explicit reliance upon the LORD's will being revealed to him (1 Sam. 22:10; 23:3; 2 Sam. 2:1), upon David acting in the execution of his enemies not on self-initiative, but in reliance on the LORD (1 Sam. 24; 26) and in welcoming and relying upon the means of prophetic revelation in the matters of warfare (1 Sam. 22:22-23; 30:7-8). The overwhelming success of David's conquests, as well as his protection from enemies in the early part of his life (2 Sam. 8) are c) entirely attributed to the LORD in David's song of deliverance in 2 Sam. 22.

After the kingdom is divided the nation of Israel experiences a lot of intertribal warfare and due to the general apostasy ever increasing military setbacks with the exception of few and occasional recoveries. The two stories that stand out in contrast to the general decline are the lengthy deliverance stories under Jehoshaphat in 2 Chr. 20 and under Hezekiah in 2 Chr. 32/ Isa. 36-73. They serve as ideal examples of how Israel would have prospered militarily if they had been loyal to Him. If Israel had acted in reliance upon the LORD as at these occasions, the LORD would have always fought for his people in this way. Again the same pattern in the battle description emerges. The military leader of Israel appeals a) to an initial promise of God to be "in the conflict" (2 Chron. 20:8-9, cf., Isa. 27:20), which is confirmed by a prophetic word from the LORD (2 Chron. 20:15-17/ Isa. 37:21-35). The inability b) of Israel is confessed (2 Chron. 20:2, 15, cf., Isa. 37:3). The LORD accomplishes c) a miraculous and complete victory to the point of annihilation or near annihilation of the enemy (2 Chron. 20:22-26, cf., Isa. 37:36-38).

The theology of the combined concepts of a) initiation of holy war by God; b) the inferiority of God's people and c) a complete victory for God's people on account of God's

²⁶ 1 Kings 17:27 LXX.

miraculous intervention was already summed up during the Old Testament in the famous phrase:

ὅτι τοῦ κυρίου ὁ πόλεμος . . .²⁷ | because the battle is the LORD's . . .

It states the settled Old Testament conviction that if God has initiated a holy war – in which his people find themselves inferior to the enemy – He will be present in the struggle to ensure certain victory for His glory.

5.1.6. The integration of the Old Testament concept into Philippians

Paul utilises this Old Testament theological concept and integrates it into his argumentation in Phil. 1:5-7. Paul mentions the partnership they have for the advance of the gospel in Phil. 1:5: ἐπὶ τῇ **κοινωνίᾳ** ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. The idea of the partnership for the advance of the gospel is still the topic of Phil. 1:7 τοῦ εὐαγγελίου **συγκοινωνούς** μου τῆς χάριτος πάντας ὑμᾶς ὄντας. The **κοινων-** word group in Phil. 1:5 and Phil. 1:7 functions as an *inclusio* – the grace, which the Philippians are “participators of” refers definitely to the ministry of extending the gospel,²⁸ and is hence the structural parallel of εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον in Phil. 1:5. The idea of partnership for the advance of the gospel is thus not forsaken in Phil.1:6, but still right in the centre of Paul’s thought. That seemingly not all is well with the progress of the gospel is evident from the mention of the chains in Phil. 1:7, of which the Philippians are also partakers.

Apparently, the gospel campaign did not seem to go ahead as triumphantly as the Philippians hoped it would, or at least the men involved in the campaign are rather in a position of weakness or even defeat rather than appearing victoriously triumphant. It is at this point that Paul appeals to the warfare theology of the Old Testament in order to explain the nature of the advancement of the gospel. Paul compares his and the Philippians’ engagement of advancing the gospel to the military campaigns of Israel. The Old Testament people of God fought physical battles against non-Israelites for the conquest or protection of the land; the New Testament people of God are – according to Paul – also involved in a military campaign, but it is a spiritual one for the progress of the gospel. Nevertheless, Paul carries over from the Old Testament its military theology. The Philippians should not expect as messengers of the good news to be in a position of strength – it is out of the inferior

²⁷ 1 Kings 17:47 LXX.

²⁸ A parallel usage of “grace” in the context of “extending the gospel” can be found in Eph. 3:8 Ἐμοί . . . ἐδόθη ἡ χάρις αὕτη, τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εὐαγγελίσασθαι τὸ ἀνεξιχνίαστον πλοῦτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . (“To me . . . this grace was given that I might preach among the gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ . . .”).

position of the weakness of His people that the LORD operates and brings about a glorious and complete victory. Of the eventual triumph and the victory of the gospel campaign the Philippians can be assured. God initiated the gospel campaign and can thus – as was always His nature in the Old Testament – be trusted to complete magnanimously what He started. The battle for the benefit of the gospel is not Paul’s, nor the Philippians’, it is the LORD’s and therefore guaranteed to succeed.

The ultimate and exalted triumph of the gospel campaign will be seen at the “day of Jesus Christ.” In Pauline theology the day of the LORD becomes the day of Jesus Christ. With Paul mentioning the concept of the day of the LORD, he rounds up his line of military metaphors with another military image drawn from the Old Testament, as the day of the LORD in Old Testament theology “derives from the tradition of the holy wars of Yahweh”²⁹ and “encompasses a pure event of war, the rise of Yahweh against his enemies, his battle and his victory.”³⁰ The day of the LORD is the final day of utter defeat of God’s enemies and the day of exaltation for His people. Right up to that day, Paul promises, the LORD Himself will see to it that the campaign for the gospel will succeed. It is guaranteed by the presence of the LORD in the midst of the Philippians and His promise, that since He initiated the war, He will – as always in Old Testament times – bring it to a victorious conclusion. Phil. 1:5-7 serves as an encouragement to the Philippians that “operation gospel” has divine assistance and is therefore assured final triumph.

5.2. Certainty of victory – Christ the victorious general (Phil. 2:9-11)

5.2.1. The rhetorical function of Phil. 2:9-11

The example of Jesus’ humiliation and exaltation in Phil. 2:6-11 serves as a reinforcement for Paul’s admonition that the Philippians should in humility make the well being of others greater concern than strive for recognition.³¹ Nevertheless, it is important to notice that it would have been sufficient for Paul – if he only wanted to encourage the Philippians to imitate the humiliation of Jesus – to describe the obedience of Jesus even to the point of death, death on the cross and finish his statement at the end of verse 8.³² The verses of Phil. 2:9-11 add nothing to Paul’s main argument that the Philippians ought to imitate Jesus in His

²⁹ Gerhard von Rad, “The Origin of the Concept of the Day of Yahweh.” In *Journal of Semitic Studies* 4 (2). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959, 104.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 103.

³¹ Cf., the connecting clause *τοῦτο φρονεῖτε ἐν ὑμῖν ὃ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ* (let this mindset be among you, which was also in Christ Jesus) (Phil. 2:5), which connects Phil. 2:1-4 with Phil. 2:6-11.

³² The Biblical writers were well able to state exhortations to imitate Christ’s suffering without adding clauses that promises rewards for it. See 1 Pet. 2:21; 2 Tim. 3:12.

humility and obedience. In fact, Paul takes up in Phil. 2:12 the very thought he established and left in 2:8 “Therefore, my beloved, as you have always obeyed . . .” (the obedience of the Philippians in Phil. 2:12 connecting back to the obedience of Jesus in Phil. 2:8). The three verses about the exaltation of Jesus at first sight apparently have no meaningful function to support Paul’s main concern. They most certainly are not intended to work as an incentive on the grounds of direct correspondence. Just because Jesus suffered extreme humiliation and consequently got exalted by God the Father does not mean that the Philippian Christians, if they are willing to walk in humility and obedience, will likewise be exalted as Jesus was.³³ What then is the reason for Paul to include the in-depth depiction of the exaltation of Christ? What purpose does the knowledge of the supreme elation of Christ serve to enhance Paul’s argument to encourage the Philippian Christians to stand firm in the gospel?

5.2.2. Unusual Pauline terminology for a description of Christ’s exaltation

The exaltation of Christ by God the Father in Phil. 1:9-11 is described by Paul in unusual terminology. Elsewhere in the New Testament the exaltation of Jesus by God in response to his sacrificial death is spoken of in vocabulary such as τῆ δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑψωθεῖς (“exalted to the right hand of God”) (Acts 2:33, 5:31); τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς (“the son of man coming on the clouds of heaven with great power and great glory”) (Matt. 24:30; 26:64, citing Daniel 7:13-14); ἐδόθη μοι πᾶσα ἐξουσία ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς (“all authority has been given to me in heaven and on earth”) (Matt. 28:18); ἐστῶτα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ (“standing at the right hand of God”) (Acts 7:55, Rom. 8:34; 1 Pet. 3:22); ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ καθημένος (“sitting at the right hand of God”) (Col. 3:1; Eph. 1:20-21; Heb. 10:12; 12:2); ὁ ὠρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν (“the one ordained by God to be the judge of the living and the dead”) (Acts 10:43; cf., Acts 17:31; 2 Cor. 5:9); ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει (“declared to be the son of God with power”) (Rom. 1:4); βασιλεύειν ἄχρι οὗ ἧ πάντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ (“reigning until he has put all things under his feet”) (1 Cor. 15:25, cf., Eph. 1:22); αὐτὸν ἔδωκεν κεφαλὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα (“gave him to be head over all things”) (Eph. 1:22). It is legitimate to ask why Paul, in describing the exaltation of Christ, does not draw on previously available exaltation language from the lips of Jesus, the preaching of the apostles or exaltation language similar to his other letters. Instead, in Phil. 1:9-11, Paul coins a *hapax legomenon* (ὑπερύψωσεν) and

³³ Although this is a central Pauline thought (cf., Rom. 8:17-18; 2 Cor. 4:17), this line of reasoning is not intended here at all. Although it is possible that the Philippians might join Christ’s humiliation in suffering (Phil. 1:29), the exaltation described in verses 9-11 is the unique privilege of Christ and cannot be shared by any other. Only one person can receive “the name above every other name,” and the universal homage described as “every knee bowing” can only be directed towards the trinitarian God. The language here is entirely unsuitable if one wishes to reason along the lines that the imitator of Christ will share in the glory of Christ.

combines into a cluster four additional exaltation phrases which are unique in the New Testament as descriptions of the elation of Jesus (ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα (“gave him the name above every name”); ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πᾶν γόνυ κάμψη (“at the name of Jesus every knee will bow”); πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται ὅτι κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός (“every tongue will confess that Jesus Christ is Lord”); εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρὸς (“for the glory of God the Father”). It is my conviction that the reason for the unique creation of exaltation language is that Paul intended to formulate a specific military-terminology-based exaltation image which pictures Christ as the ultimate victorious general (imperator) and his death on the cross as the ultimate military victory making him supreme ruler over the conquered domain.

This study will proceed to demonstrate how these four exaltation images of Phil. 1:9-11, namely (1) the glory (of God); (2) the giving of a name; (3) every knee bowing; (4) every tongue confessing, are utilised consistently in first-century-contemporary literature as military pictures representing a unified concept of the triumph of the victorious military general.

5.2.3. The glory (of God) as the aim of military operations and the result of victorious battles

The idea of δόξα (glory/ honour/ fame/ reputation) being the aim of wars being waged and being the result of the successful campaign is very widespread and a repeatedly recurring theme in ancient literature.³⁴ The victorious general could expect the successful campaign to culminate in unrivalled honour (δόξα) for him. Not only was the reputation of the victorious general to be enhanced in itself as the victory demonstrated his skill in generalship, but various measures were undertaken in the Roman republic and empire to give the honour (δόξα) of the military general a public expression. It could vary in degree from the acclamation of *imperator*,³⁵ the granting of various honours such as the granting of the triumphal *ovation*,³⁶ the wearing of the *ornamenta* or *insignia triumphalia*,³⁷ the setting up of statues, the building of triumphal arches, the wearing of laurel crowns,³⁸ or the highest

³⁴ As will be shown below.

³⁵ Cic. *Oct.* IV. (LCL, XXVIII:346-347): “. . . senatus . . . apellit imperatorem hostium exercitu pulso tribuens honorem . . .” (“The Senate . . . gave you the title imperator when the enemy army had been vanquished, paying you honour . . .”). The giving of the title *imperator* is through the appositional phrase “tribuens honorem” expressly described as an act of honouring.

³⁶ Suet. *Dom.* 6.; *CIL* XI.395.

³⁷ Suet. *Tib.* IX.2.; Suet. *Cl.* XVII.2.; Dio. LX.20.4.; LX.23.2.

³⁸ For all the latter, see Dio. XLIX.15.1-2.: “. . . ἔπειτα ἅμα τῷ τῆς νίκης αὐτοῦ . . . καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐπαίνους τε αὐτῷ ὁμοθυμαδὸν καὶ εἰκόνας καὶ προεδρίαν ἀντιδᾶ τε τροπαιοφόρον, καὶ τὸ ἐφ’ ἵππου ἐσελάσαι τό τε στεφάνῳ δαφνίνῳ ἀεὶ χρῆσθαι . . . ἔδωκαν. Ταῦτα μὲν εὐθύς σφισι μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἔδοξεν . . .” (“ . . . when word came of his [Julius Caesar’s] victory. Then the people of the capital unanimously bestowed upon him votes of praise, statues, the right to the front seat, an arch surmounted by trophies, and the privilege of riding

honour available, the granting of a triumph proper, the splendid celebratory procession of the general through Rome, being attended by the victorious army and the display of the conquered enemy, their weapons and images of battle scenes.³⁹ The resulting honour from a battle won was the explicit and unashamed goal of many military commanders. Onosander describes the raising of generals to glory (δόξα) as a desirable outcome of battles and lists the goal of being raised to δόξα as a motivational factor before generals why they should read and consider his literary work:

<p>Τὸ δὲ σύνταγμα θαρροῦντί μοι λοιπὸν εἰπεῖν ὡς στρατηγῶν τε ἀγαθῶν ἄσκησις ἔσται . . . εἰσομεθά τε καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, παρ’ ἦν αἰτίαν οἱ τε πταίσαντες ἐσφάλησαν τῶν στρατηγησάντων, οἱ τε εὐπραγῆσαντες ἐγέρθησαν εἰς δόξαν.⁴⁰</p>	<p>It remains for me to say with good courage of my work, that it will be a school for good generals . . . and we shall know, if nothing else, for what reason some generals have stumbled and fallen, but others have prospered and been raised to fame.</p>
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The winning of “great glory” for the commander as a motivational factor for the start of military strife is also attested by the historians. They are unashamed in stating that many military operations and significant battles were started for the simple reason of the desire of a general to receive glory.

<p>Ἐπολαβὼν δ’, ὡσπερ ἦν, τὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιχειρῆσαι χρόνιον τε Καρχηδονίοις ἔσεται, καὶ μεγάλην αὐτῷ δόξαν . . . ἐπενόει παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς τὸν Ἴβηρα διαβῆναι . . .⁴¹</p>	<p>Believing, as it indeed turned out to be so, that an attempted war against the Romans would last a long time and that it would bring great glory to himself [Hannibal], he defied the treaty [made between the Carthagians and the Romans after the First Punic War] and crossed the Ebro . . .</p>
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Victory in a campaign over an especially strong, a particularly long resistance, or a famous enemy brought greater glory (δόξα) to a general than a campaign against a lesser foe. Thus, various generals often competed with each other in their desire to be given the command of

into the city on horseback, of wearing the laurel crown on all occasions . . . These were the honours which they granted him immediately after his victory.”) Transl. by Earnest Cary, LCL, VII:370-371.

³⁹ For a succinct summary of the honours awarded to military commanders see the chapter “Triumphs and Triumphal Ornaments.” in Valerie A. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army*. London: B. T. Batsford, 1981, 101-09.

⁴⁰ Onos. *Strat.* Prooemium 4, transl. by John B. Titchener and Arthur Stanley Pease, LCL, 371.

⁴¹ App. *Hann.* VII.1.3.

a campaign that promised exceptionally great glory. Plutarch describes the common Roman outlook on the prospect of glory (δόξα) being won through war in a story of the rivalry of two military leaders, Pompey and Lucullus.

Especially telling is the fact that a war against the notorious archenemy of Rome, Mithridates, was a much-desired course of action by both of the military commanders, as it promised particularly magnificent glory (δόξα). Lucullus, the present consul (and thus the one being entrusted with the Roman army if the senate declared a war against Mithridates), although having dissensions with Pompey, is narrated to have supported Pompey with money for Pompey's war with Sertorius. His underlying motive was to continue to keep Pompey busy with the Sertorian campaign and not to be freed for a campaign against Mithridates, which Lucullus desired for himself.

Ὑπατεύων δὲ Λεύκολλος τότε καὶ Πομπηΐω μὲν ὢν διάφορος, μνώμενος δ' ἑαυτῷ τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον, ἔσπευσεν ἀποσταλῆναι τὰ χρήματα, φοβούμενος αἰτίαν Πομπηΐω παρασχεῖν δεομένῳ Σερτώριον ἀφεῖναι καὶ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην τραπέσθαι, λαμπρον μὲν εἰς δόξαν , εὐμεταχείριστον δὲ φαινόμενον ἀνταγωνιστήν. ⁴²	Lucullus was consul at this time, and was not on good terms with Pompey, but since he was soliciting the conduct of the Mithridatic war for himself, made great efforts to have the money sent, for fear of furthering Pompey's desire to let Sertorius go, and march against Mithridates, an antagonist, whose subjection, as it was thought, would bring great glory and involve little difficulty.
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Lucullus does get the command against Mithridates and successfully campaigns against him, although he does not bring the war to a complete finish. At the same time Pompey brings the war against the pirates to a successful conclusion and is now free for further commands. A law of the tribune Manilius is put into effect, which transfers the command against Mithridates from Lucullus to Pompey. Since the main burden of the hardship was born by Lucullus and all Pompey has to do is to bring the war to its successful conclusion, Plutarch recounts the change of the command with the following words:

. . . Λευκόλλου . . . ἀποστεροθμὲνον τὴν δόξαν ὧν κατειργάσατο καὶ θριαάμβου μάλλον ἢ πολέμοθ διαδοχὴν λαμβάνοντος . . . ⁴³	. . . Lucullus was thus robbed of the glory, which he achieved , and was receiving a successor who would enjoy his triumph rather than prosecute the
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⁴² Plut. *Pompey*. XIX.1. Transl. by Bernadotte Perrin, LCL, 163.

⁴³ Plut. *Pompey*. XXX.3.

war . . .

Pompey did take up the campaign against Mithridates and finished what Lucullus had made ready for him – and Pompey indeed got the glory for the war:

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Πομπήιος, ἐκ τῶν Μιθριδατείων ἔργων ἐπὶ μέγα δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ἐλθὼν, ἡξίου πολλά, ὅσα βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐδεδώκει, τὴν βουλὴν βεβαιῶσαι. ⁴⁴	In the meantime, Pompey, having acquired from the Mithridatic war great glory and power, was asking the Senate to ratify many concessions, which he had granted to kings, rulers and cities.
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Lucullus, still envious of the “robbed glory” opposes the proposition of Pompey because:

Λεύκολλος, ὁ πρὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην . . . ἴδιον ἔργον ἀποφαίνων τὸ Μιθριδάτειον . . . ⁴⁵	Lucullus, who held the military-command against Mithridates before Pompey, displayed the <i>victory of the battle</i> against Mithridates to be his own . . .
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In the literary sources we find an underlying understanding known to the reader that the general who brings the war to its conclusion through final victory receives the glory (δόξα) of the war. No matter how much hardship a predecessor has put into the war effort, no matter how much the scales of success have already turned towards the army in the field, the general who concludes the war through final victory receives the glory of the entire war. Therefore the passing of command of an already victorious general to another that likely finishes what the other prepared was sometimes thought to be unjust⁴⁶ or a prolongation of the command was pursued so that the glory of the war might be given to the one who toiled for it. The latter is seen in the case of Julius Caesar, whose friends seek the senate for a prolongation of Caesar’s military commission:

Οἱ δὲ Καίσαρος φίλοι . . . ἢ γὰρ ὑπατείας ἄξιον εἶναι τῷ τῆς ἐτέρας, ἢ προσλαβεῖν τῇ στρατείᾳ χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ τῶν πεπονημένων οὐκ ἄλλος ἐπελθὼν ἀφαιρήσεται τὴν δόξαν . . . ⁴⁷	But the friends of Caesar . . . said he deserved another consulship, or the prolongation of his command, so that no one else might succeed to his labours and rob him of the glory of them . . .
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⁴⁴ App. BC. II.2.9.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ See Plut. Pompey. XXX.3. above.

⁴⁷ Plut. Pomp. LVI.1. Transl. by Bernadotte Perrin, LCL, 262-63.

To receive the glory of war was uppermost in the mind of the campaigning general to such a degree that often a war would be “finished” prematurely or pressed on more vigorously (although with greater risks to the army in the field). In order to prevent the glory derived from finishing a war through victory might not pass to the consul taking over the command after the previous commander’s time of service. Roman generals took great risks to complete the campaign during their assigned time of service or negotiated terms with the enemy towards the end of the season. One example of the latter practice was the decision of Scipio to conclude the Second Punic War with a truce, although the war could have easily been carried on with the prospect of total defeat of the Carthagians, who had suffered severe setbacks and were not able to turn the tides of the war any more. It is quite astounding that the “glory of war” was such a driving force in the mind of men that the monumental decision of the outcome of the all-important second war with Cartago was decided on that issue:

<p>Λέγεται δὲ τοῦτο ἐσηγήσασθαι τῇ τε πόλει συμφέρειν ὑπολαβόν, καὶ πυθόμενος Γναῖον Κορνήλιον Λέντλον τὸν ὑπατον ἐφεδρεύειν αὐτοῦ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ, τὴν δόξαν οὐκ ἐθέλων ἑτέρου γενέσθαι. Προσέταξε γοῦν λέγειν ἀπιοῦσιν ὅτι βραδυνόντων Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸς ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ συνθήσεται.⁴⁸</p>	<p>It is said that he made this proposal both because he thought that peace would be for the advantage of the city and because he had heard that the consul, C. Cornelius Lentulus, was waiting to succeed him in his command, and he was not willing that another should reap the glory of bringing the war to an end. At all events he enjoined upon his messengers to say that if there should be delay at Rome he would conclude peace himself.</p>
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The Latin historian Tacitus describes a similar occurrence, where the strategy of how to war against the enemy was solely decided on the basis of who will receive the glory (*gloria*) of the war. Germanicus had led a fortunate expedition against several German tribes and was ready to deal the final blow in the season after the present winter quarters, but on account of the jealousy of the emperor Tiberius, he was recalled from the field to prevent Germanicus from finishing the war, to assume the title *Imperator* and thus to receive a glory already within his grasp.⁴⁹ Generals sometimes took greater risks in the battlefield in order not to have to share the glory of the war with another. Crassus in the battle against Spartacus had just been promised from the senate reinforcements from the army of Pompey to aid him in the engagement against the gladiator-army. Instead of waiting for the reinforcement and thus to

⁴⁸ App. *Pun.* VIII.9.56. Transl. by Horace White, LCL, 488-489.

⁴⁹ Tac. *Ann.* II.26.

gain certain victory against Spartacus, Crassus tried desperately to engage the enemy army (albeit with much greater risks) in order for him alone to overcome the enemy and thus receive the glory of war (κλέος τοῦ πολέμου) alone:

Διὰ δὲ τὴν χειροτονίαν τήνδε καὶ Κράσσος, ἵνα μὴ τὸ κλέος τοῦ πολέμου γένοιτα Πομπηίον, πάντα τρόπον ἐπειγόμενος ἐπεχείρει τῷ Σπαρτάκῳ . . . ⁵⁰	On account of this vote <i>of the senate</i> Crassus, in order that the glory of the war might not come to Pompey, tried in every manner to come to an engagement with Spartacus . . .
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Similarly, Tigranes, king of Armenia, who was in league with Mithridates, king of Parthia, is foolish enough to risk a battle with the previously already victorious Romans, just in order not to have to “share the glory.”

Ὅθεν οὐδ’ ἀνέμεινεν αὐτὸν ὁ Τιγράνης, μὴ μετὰσχοι τῆς δόξης . . . ⁵¹	Therefore Tigranes did not even wait for him [Mithridates with his forces], that he [Mithridates] might not share in his [Tigranes’] glory . . .
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That the degree of glory (δόξα), which a general receives in a victorious battle is corresponding directly to the greatness of the opponent which he subjugates, is clearly illustrated in a passage of Dio Cassius concerning the deliberations of the soldiers of Pompey and Caesar before the battle of Pharsalus. Not only does the victorious general gain great glory equivalent to the eminence of the enemy, in this particular instance the superior general in battle also acquires the glory, which the conquered general had won previously for himself.

Τοῦτό τε οὖν ἐκλογιζόμενοι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῶν προτέρων ἔργων, Πομπήιος μὲν τῆς τε Ἀφρικῆς καὶ τοῦ Σερτωπίου τοῦ τε Μιθριδάτου καὶ τοῦ Τιγράνου καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, Καῖσαρ δὲ τῆς τε Γαλατίας καὶ τῆς Ἰβερίας τοῦ τε Ῥήνου καὶ τῆς Βρεττανίας, ἀναμνησκόμενοι, καὶ	When they [the soldiers of Pompey and Caesar] reflected on this and when they also recalled the memory of their former battles: Pompey on the one hand battling <i>victoriously</i> Africa, Sertorius, Mithridates, Tigranes and the <i>pirates of the sea</i> and Caesar on the other hand battling
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⁵⁰ App. *BC*. I.14.120. Although the word δόξα is not used here, the synonym for in the semantic field “renown” κλέος is utilised here, referring to the identical concept. This is evident from the next paragraph of Appian, describing the success of Crassus in his risky final engagement against Spartacus: “Καὶ τότε Κράσσος ἕξ μηνῶν ἐργασάμενος ἀμφίριστος ἐκ τοῦδε αὐτίκα μάλα τῆ δόξη τῆ Πομπηίου γίνεται.” (“And Crassus accomplished this victory in battle within six months, thus a contest for glory (δόξα) arose between himself and Pompey.”) App. *BC*. I.14.121.

⁵¹ Plut. *Luc*. XXVI.5.

κινδθνε`θειν τε καὶ περὶ ἐκείνοις ἡγο`θμενοι
 καὶ προσκτῆσασθαι **τὴν ἀλλήλων δόξαν**
σπουδὴν ποιούμενοι, ὄρωντων.

Τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα τῶν ἡττημένων τοῖς
 κρατοῦσι προσγίγνεται καὶ ἡ εὐκλεια ὅτι
 μάλιστα· Ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν μείζω καὶ
 δυνατώτερόν τις ἀνταγωνιστὴν καθέλη,
 τόσῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ μείζον αἴρηται.⁵²

victoriously Gaul, Spain, the Rhine and
 Britain, they were heated up in their
 passions, reckoning that those
 conquests, too, were at stake and each
 were zealous to acquire the others glory.
 For this glory [here: “εὐκλεια”] of the
 vanquished, more than anything else, is
 added to the conqueror. Because the
 greater and more powerful an antagonist,
 which someone overthrows, the greater is
 the height to which he himself is raised.

The concept of resulting glory (δόξα) from successfully waged wars was such a common idea that the image could be condensed into a simple genitival construction νίκος δόξης (“glory of victory”).

Ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ . . . αὐτὸς δὲ ἰσχυρῶς
 ἐλυπήθη ὡς καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐπὶ **τῇ νίκῃ δόξης**
 ἐστερημένος.⁵³

But Caesar [Augustus] . . . was
 exceedingly grieved on his own account,
 as if he had been deprived of all the glory
 of his victory.

. . . καὶ ἡ **δόξα τῆς νίκης** ἐγγυς . . . ἐνθους
 ἅπαντας ἐποίουν καὶ ἀμελεῖς τῶν ὀρωμένων
 ὑπὸ σπουδῆς.⁵⁴

. . . but the glory of the approaching
 victory . . . made everybody frenzied,
 inert and indifferent (to the brutal
 slaughter) of the spectacle before their
 eyes.

The military commander who, through the excellence of his generalship, brought the army to victory in a military conflict received the glory/ fame due to the superiority of his skills. Although in the battle of Philippi the armies of two generals, Octavian and Antony, fought, the glory of the victory was considered by all due to Antony, since Octavian was from the outset only physically present and contributed nothing in terms of generalship to the success, besides he lay in bed sick during the campaign anyway.

Καὶ ἐς τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοὶ τὴν τε Φουλβίαν

And they brought Fulvia and the children

⁵² Dio. XLI.56.1-2.

⁵³ Dio. LI.14.6.

⁵⁴ App. *Pun.* VIII.19.129.

παράφροντες και τὰ παιδιά τὰ Ἀντωνίου . . .
 ἰκέτευον μὴ περιδεῖν Ἀντώνιον ἢ δόξης ἢ
 χάριτος τῆς ἐς αὐτοὺς ὑπερσείας
 ἀφαιρούμενον. Ἦκμαζε δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε
 μάλιστα τὸ κλέος τὸ Ἀντωνίου και παρὰ τῷ
 στρατῷ και παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν· τὸ γὰρ
 ἔργον τὸ ἐν Φιλίπποις . . . ἅπαν ἠγοῦντο
 Ἀντωνίου γεγονέναι.⁵⁵

of Antony before the soldiers and
 entreated them . . . not to forget Antony
 nor allow him to be deprived of **the glory**
 or the gratitude on account of his service
 to them. And the fame of Antony was
 then at it's height among the soldiers and
 among all the rest of *the population*
 because **the victory of the battle of**
Philippi was considered completely due
 to him...

Later on Appian narrates two different stories, but retrieving the previous knowledge of the glory of Antony:

. . . οὐδ' ὡς οἱ κληροῦχοι προθύμως ἐπὶ τὸν
 Ἀντώνιον ἐστράτευον· οὕτως ἡ δόξα τῶν ἐν
 Φιλίπποις γεγονότων ἐδημαγώγει τὸν
 Ἀντώνιον.⁵⁶

Not even then would the soldiers with any
 zeal take up arms against Antony, thus
 popular Antony had become on account
 of the glory which he had gained at [the
 battle of] Philippi.

. . . και ἐκπλήξας ἄμαχει παρέλαβέ τε . . .
 οὕτω τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὡς ἄμαχον ἐκ τῆς ἐν
 Φιλίπποις δόξης ἔτι κατεπεπλήγεσαν.⁵⁷

. . . he threw them into panic and
 captured them without a battle, thus did
 the glory/ fame [which he gained at the
 victory] of Philippi as one who was
 unconquerable inspire terror.

Summary: It is manifestly evident that when in a military context reference is made to “glory” (δόξα), it refers to the fame of the one who brought a military conflict to a successful conclusion. The glory resulting from a waged war implies without exception that the decisive victory has been won. The more difficult the battle was (mostly due to the strength of the enemy), the greater was the resultant glory for the general who won the victory.

⁵⁵ App. BC. V.2.14.

⁵⁶ App. BC. V.5.53.

⁵⁷ App. BC. V.5.58.

5.2.4. The name above every name – an expression of receiving the title *imperator* (victorious general)

The other exaltation image, which Paul uses in Phil. 2:9-11, namely ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πάντων ὀνόματα (“gave him the name above every other name”), is also very much at home in the context of a supreme victory after a battle. When a major campaign reached a successful conclusion a Roman legion could receive as a badge of honour the name of the area, which was subjugated.⁵⁸ But the custom was not universally practiced and in fact, seldom employed.⁵⁹ Far more prominent, extensively practiced and ubiquitously known was the Roman tradition to grant the victorious general a specific name after a triumphant conquest of a warring enemy. The name received could either be a cognomen added to the name of the general, consisting of the area or the group of people subjected. It could be an appellation of honour, which was added to the name of the general, or it could be, as was the case most often, the much-sought-after title *imperator* (victorious general).

5.2.4.1. The general receiving the name of a conquered people

For the custom of the general receiving the name of a conquered people group, one may cite as examples the famous Scipio Africanus, who received his cognomen after his victory over the Carthagians, or Nero Claudius Drusus, one of Rome’s most brilliant generals, who after many years of warring and subduing the German tribes of the Sicambri, Batavi, Frisii, Chauci, Usipetes, Marsi, Chatti, Mattiaci, Marcomanni and Cherusci received the name “Germanicus” in 9 BC:

. . . σύμβουλον αἰροῦντι τὸν ἀδελφον | . . . They appointed as co-consul his

⁵⁸ For the practice of legions assuming honorary titles see Lawrence Keppie, *Colonization and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47–14 BC*. London: The British School at Rome, 1983, 29-33. The practice of adoption of titles by legions developed in the first century BC and had its peak during the triumviral period. The use was encouraged by the co-existence of competing legions bearing the same numeral under Caesar and Pompey and later under Octavian, Antony and Lepidus. The titles may have been officially awarded or simply spontaneously assumed by the legions, in either case they mostly commemorate some notable exploit in which they had been involved. But legionary titles were also adopted simply because they reflect service in a certain area or province (*legio I Germanica*; *legio IX Hispania*), the emperor’s name who raised them (*legio XVI Flavia Firma*) or valorous conduct in war (*legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis*). Kate M. Gilliver, “The Augustan Reform and the Structure of the Imperial Army.” In *A Companion to the Roman Army*. Ed. Paul Erdkamp. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007, 188-89. Often legions would receive *cognomen* according to the place where they were raised. Jonathan P. Roth, *Roman Warfare*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 146.

⁵⁹ Ibid. There are many legions, for which no title is attested up to date. The title of a legion could endure from its assumption under the triumviral period into Imperial times, often however, the titles were short-lived and superseded by more prestigious ones or the use was simply abandoned. Overall the assumption of titles seems to be unregulated, spontaneous and irregular in its practice. Only in the Flavian period did legions employ titles as a regular practice.

Πόμπλιον Σκιπίωνα τὸν Καρχηδονίους ἀφελόμενον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πρῶτον ὀνομασθέντα Ἀφρικανόν. ⁶⁰	brother, Publius Scipio, who had humbled the sovereignty of Carthage and was the first one who was named Africanus.
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. . . Γερμανικός τε μετὰ τῶν παίδων ἐπονομασθεὶς, καὶ τιμὰς καὶ εἰκόνων καὶ ἀψίδος κενотаφίου τε πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ Ῥήνῳ λαβών. ⁶¹	. . . He [Drusus] together with his sons was named Germanicus and he received further honours [besides the name Germanicus]: statues, an arch and a cenotaph on the bank of the river Rhine itself.
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Of course, fake imitations of the process of receiving the name of a conquered people group were also possible, as the case of Cestion shows, but by Dio evaluating Cestion as “mad,” the literary evidence still holds true that in Roman custom only after a decisive victory, the supreme general receives a name as an appellation of honor:

. . . Κέστιος δε τις αὐτῶν ὑπομαργότερος, ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πεπολεμηκῶς καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε Μακεδονικὸν αὐτὸν ὀνομάζων . . . ⁶²	. . . But Cestion, one of them [the citizens of Perusia], being somewhat mad, who had fought in Macedonia and therefore called himself “the Macedonian” . . .
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5.2.4.2. The general receiving an appellation of honour

Regarding the custom of the general receiving an appellation of honour added to his name, with which the victorious general was awarded, attention can be drawn to the example of Pompey, who received, after a forty-two year struggle of the Romans against Mithridates, the cognomen “Great” on account of the greatness of the war. According to Appian, the title “Great” was awarded to Pompey because the war was great in several respects: the enemy was formidable, the war especially long, and the extent of the nations captured from Mithridates now added to the Roman Empire was also “great”:

Δι’ ἃ μοι καὶ μάλιστα δοκοῦσι τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἡγεῖσθαι μέγαν, καὶ τὴν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ νίκην μεγάλην καλεῖν, καὶ τὸν	For this reason especially I think they considered this a great war and called the victory which ended it the Great Victory
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⁶⁰ App. *Syr.* XI.4.21. The son of Scipio also received the name *Africanus* after his successes in the Third Punic War: Καὶ ἦν ὁ παῖς Σκιπίων ὁ Καρχηδόνα ὑστερον ἐλών τε καὶ κατασκάψας, καὶ δεύτερος ἐπὶ τῷδε τῶν Σκιπιωνι Ἀφρικανὸς ὀνομασθεὶς . . . (“And his son was the Scipio who afterwards took and destroyed Carthage and was the second one to be named Scipio Africanus.”)

⁶¹ Dio. LV.2.3. See also Tac. *Ann.* I.31.

⁶² App. *BC.* V.5.49.

στρατηγήσοντα Πομπήιον μέγαν τῆ ἰδίᾳ φωνῆ μέχρι νῦν ἐπονομάζειν, ἐθνῶν τε πλήθους ἔνεκα ὧν ἀνέλαβον ἢ προσέλαβον . . . τόλμης τε αὐτοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ φερεπονίας . . . ⁶³	and gave the title of Great to Pompey who gained it for them (by which appellation he is called to this day); on account of the great number of nations recovered or added to their dominion . . . and the courage and endurance of Mithridates . . .
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5.2.4.3. The general receiving the name *imperator*

More outstanding, frequently bestowed and known throughout the empire, however, was the third practice, namely to bestow upon the general victorious in battle the name *imperator*. Dio Cassius describes for us the previous convention of the ancient Roman practice of the bestowal of “the name” on the victorious general, using the occasion of the honorific granting of the title *imperator* to Julius Caesar as a proper name. When Julius Caesar received the title after his victory in the civil war over Pompey, the age-old practice was for the first time not followed rigorously according to the tradition of antiquity. From then on Roman emperors would receive the name *imperator* on accession to the supreme power, but the ancient custom, argues Dio, was nevertheless maintained side-by-side with the new convention. Besides the emperors who now as a matter of custom carried the title, generals after a significant victory were honoured by the conferring of the name *imperator*. It is important for us to note that “the name” was granted only in succession of a paramount victory.⁶⁴

Ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῆ νικῆ ἐκεῖνά . . . τό τε τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα οὐ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔτι μόνον, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ἐκεῖνος πολλάκις ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἐπεκλήθησαν . . . οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκ τούτου κατελύθη, ἀλλ’ ἔστιν ἐκότερον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ δευτέρον ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἐπάγεται, ὅταν νίκην τινὰ τοιαύτην ἀνέλωνται . . . Οἱ δ’ ἂν καὶ διὰ πολέμων ἄξιόν τι αὐτῆς κατορθώσωσι, καὶ ἐκεῖνην τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου προσλαμβάνουσι, καὶ τούτου καὶ δευτέρον	On account of the <i>honour</i> of this victory . . . they now gave to him first and for the first time, the <i>proper</i> name of <i>imperator</i> , no longer merely following the ancient custom by which others, as well as he had often been saluted as a result of their wars . . . The ancient custom has not, however, by this been dissolved, but both <i>usages</i> exist next to each other. Consequently <i>the emperors</i> are invested with it a second time when they gain some such victory as has been
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⁶³ App. *Mith.* 12.XII.118. Transl. by Horace White, LCL, 470-471.

⁶⁴ Other instances of receiving the title of a conquered group of people are Cornelius Cossus, taking the “name” Gaetulicus after the subjection of the Gaetulians in AD 6.

τις καὶ τρίτον . . . **αὐτοκράτωρ**
ἐπονομάζεται.⁶⁵

mentioned . . . But whoever of them who also accomplish in war something worthy of it, these also according to ancient custom receive *the name imperator*, so that one is named imperator a second or third time.

When Caesar Augustus assumed the permanent title of imperator for himself in 29 BC, Dio explained again that two ways of assuming the title exist: the permanent one signifying the supreme power of the emperor and the one who is granted on the occasion of a victory in battle.

. . . καὶ τὴν τοῦ **αὐτοκράτορος ἐπίκλησιν ἐπέθετο**. Λέγω δὲ οὐ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον **διδμένην** τισὶν (ἐκεῖνην γὰρ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὕστερον ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἔλαβεν, ὥστε καὶ ἄπαξ καὶ εἰκοσάκις **ὄνομα αὐτοκρατορος σχεῖν**) ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑτέραν τὴν τὸ κράτος διασημαίουσαν . . .⁶⁶

. . . and he applied to himself the title imperator. I do not refer to the title which has been granted according to ancient *Roman* custom upon some corresponding to their victories (for this title he had received many times before and many times after that according to his victories in wars, so that twenty-one times he held the name imperator), but *I refer to the title* in its other *usage*, which signifies supreme power . . .

With the constant expansion of the borders of the Roman Republic and Empire, through their wars of conquest, as well as on account of the warfare because of civil dissensions within the empire, the historical evidence for victorious generals being acclaimed *imperator* is numerous. The concept of awarding of the title either by the acclamation of the army⁶⁷ or through senatorial decree⁶⁸ is expressed in historical literature in several forms. Many times either the verb ὀνομάζω or the construction λαβεῖν τὰ ὄνομα or προστίθημι τὰ ὄνομα or δίδωμι τὰ ὄνομα occurs, so that “receiving the name“ or “giving the name” might be seen as a standard phrase to refer to the acclamation as *imperator*. Appian uses such standard verbiage both in his *Foreign Wars* and in his *Civil Wars*:

⁶⁵ Dio. XLIII.44.1-5.

⁶⁶ Dio. LII.41.3-4.

⁶⁷ For example see Dio. LIV.33.5.

⁶⁸ For example see Dio. LIII.26.4-5.

Ἡττηθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ **αὐτοκράτορες** οὐ μόνον ὁ Ἴρτιος ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Οὐίβιος . . . ὁ τε Καῖσαρ, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ βουλῆς **ὠνομάσθησαν**.⁶⁹

After his [Antony's] defeat not only Hirtius, but also Vibius . . . and Caesar were saluted ("**named**") **imperator**, both by the soldiers and by the senate.

Τὸ γὰρ **ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐπεφημίσθη** μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἐκείνῳ τότε καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ πρότερον . . .⁷⁰

And indeed **the name imperator** was **given to** him [Drusus] by the soldiers [by acclamation] just as it had been given to Tiberius earlier . . .

Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον Μάρκος Οὐϊνίκιος Κελτῶν τινὰς μετελθὼν . . . **τὸ ὄνομα** καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ **τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος** τῷ Ἀγούστῳ **ἔδωκε**.⁷¹

About this same time Marcus Vinicius took vengeance upon some of the Germans [in a victorious battle] . . . and thus he also caused **the name of imperator to be given** to Augustus.

Dio Cassius makes abundant use of idioms expressing the “giving” or “receiving” of “the name.” After the war against the Dacians and the Bastarnae, Crassus (as the actual general “on site”) does not receive the name *imperator*, but it was given to Caesar (as the supreme commander over the Roman troops):

Καὶ γὰρ καὶ θυσίαι καὶ νικητήρια οὐχ ὄτι τῷ Καίσαρι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐψηφίσθη· οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ τοῦ **αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα**, ὡς γέ τινες φασιν, **ἔλαβεν**, ἀλλ' ὁ Καῖσαρ μόνος αὐτὸ **προσέθετο**.⁷²

For sacrifices and a triumph had been voted not only to Caesar, but to him [Crassus] as well. Nevertheless, he [Crassus] did not **receive the name imperator**, as some report, but Caesar only **was given** the name imperator.

After the victory over the Germans, Augustus takes himself the name imperator and gives it to Tiberius, the actual commander on the field, as well:

⁶⁹ App. *Mith.* XII.12.118.

⁷⁰ App. *BC.* LIV.33.5.

⁷¹ App. *BC.* XLVIII.26.5.

⁷² Dio. LI.25.2.

<p>. . . Αὔγουστος . . . καίτοι τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸς λαβὼν καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ δούς,⁷³</p>	<p>. . . Augustus . . . himself had taken the name emperor and had given it also to Tiberius . . .</p>
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After the war against the Armenians, Augustus and Gaius take the name of imperator:

<p>Ἀλόντος δ' οὐδ' ὄν ποτε αὐτοῦ τό τε ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος οὐχ ὁ Αὔγουστος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Γάιος ἐπέθετο,⁷⁴</p>	<p>When he [Addon, leading the besieged city of Artagira] was crushed, not only Augustus, but also Gaius took the name imperator.</p>
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After Pompey won the battle of Dyrrachium against Caesar, he as well, assumed “the name” *imperator*:

<p>Καὶκ τοῦτου τὸ μὲν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα ἔλαβεν . . .⁷⁵</p>	<p>And after this he received the name imperator . . .</p>
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Although the precise wording ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα has no precedent in the classical literature before Paul, the concept of “giving the name” (with verbs synonymous to χαρίζομαι) occurs in a military context of the granting of the name *imperator* to the leading general of a major military operation.⁷⁶ The name was never bestowed on any officer lesser than the rank of a premiere general and it was not granted for small or medium range operations. Only in the context of a major war with a significant victory was “the name” awarded as a means of superior honour for the super-victorious general. Due to the presence of other phrases signifying the honouring of the supreme general after a glorious victory, Paul likely alluded purposely by the phrase ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα to the well known military custom of honouring the super-victorious general by granting him the name *imperator*.

5.2.5. Every knee bowing – an expression of total surrender in the context of military victory

5.2.5.1. The source of the image of the bent knee: the Isaiah quotation

The phrase in Phil. 2:10-11 πᾶν γόνυ κάμψη . . . καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται (“every knee will bow . . . and every tongue will confess”) is a nearly exact quotation from Isa. 45:23

⁷³ Dio. LV.6.4.

⁷⁴ Dio. LV.10.6-7.

⁷⁵ Dio. XLI.52.1.

⁷⁶ During the empire the name imperator was not always bestowed on the actual commander in the field, but to the emperor as the supreme general of the troops due to the fears of the emperor that the bestowal of this great honour to others beside him might lead to shifts in loyalty.

LXX,⁷⁷ with a shift in word order and supplemented with the addition ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ (“at the name of Jesus”), ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων (“in heaven and on earth and under the earth”) and ὅτι κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός (“that Jesus Christ is Lord”). The figure of speech expressing the bending of the knee is universally acknowledged to be a picture denoting great reverence and submission. But what precise image did Paul want to evoke with the double portrayal of knees bending and tongues confessing? Although the bent knee had associations in the field of religion⁷⁸ and slavery,⁷⁹ these are not the pictures Paul wanted to evoke.

5.2.5.2. *The suitability of the Isaiah quotation for the formation of a military metaphor*

Already in Isaiah the main idea of the passage consists in establishing the absolute sovereignty and ultimate all-encompassing triumph of the LORD over all his enemies, to the benefit of his people. This passage, which emphasises the sole authority of the LORD,⁸⁰ is now applied to Jesus. Why did Paul choose Isa. 45:23 as a quotation, which he then weaves into the structure of Phil. 2:10-11? Of course the basic thrust of the passage, namely that universal homage is made certain through the enthronement of Christ, is at the centre of Pauline theology (1 Cor. 15:24-28; Eph. 1:10, 20-23; Col. 1:19; 2:15; 2 Thes. 1:8-12), but I believe that more precisely it was convenient for Paul to quote Isa. 45:23, because the two word-pictures of knees bending and tongues confessing can convey military images of triumph and victorious submission of the enemy. They could then be suitably used in the combination with other military images like “glory” and the “giving of the title of ultimate and universal *imperator*” to paint a compact and internally consistent and powerful emotional

⁷⁷ The precise wording there is: . . . ἐμοὶ κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ καὶ ἐξομολογήσεται πᾶσα γλῶσσα τῷ θεῷ.

⁷⁸ Peter T. O'Brien points out that the bending of the knee especially marks out “the humble approach of the worshipper who felt his need so keenly that he could not stand upright before God . . . in special times of need or extremity the worshipper fell on his knees (so Ezek. 9:5, 15).” (Peter T. O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 241.) Although O'Brien is correct that one of the postures of prayer in the Old and New Testament was kneeling, the picture of willingly self-humbling worshipper in petition of God neither fits the imagery of Phil. 2:10-11, nor Isa. 45:23, the source of the quotation. Not humble petition, but forced subjugation is what the picture wants to express in Isaiah and Philippians.

⁷⁹ The picture of slaves bowing before their lords to show their subjugation and willingness to obey is thought to be the background of the image by H. Schlier, “γόνυ” in *TDNT* 1:738 and G. Walter Hansen, *The Letter to the Philippians*. Pillar New Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009, 164 (quoting Schlier). Although the connection with slavery can be made through Phil. 2:7 μορφήν δούλου λαβών (“taking the form of a slave”), none of the other exaltation language of Phil. 2:10-11 has connections with slavery and a coherent weaving together of consistent imagery from the same semantic field should be preferred, if possible.

⁸⁰ Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 127.

picture of the victorious triumph of Christ as supreme ruler of the universe. It is now time to consider how the image of the “bending of the knee” was understood in a military context around the time of Paul writing to the Philippians.

5.2.5.3. *The secular literary evidence for “bending the knee”*

The literary evidence shows that the picture of enemies being brought to their knees was well known as pictures denoting the successful subjugation of the enemy and his resultant submission to the victorious general or nation. Appian describes the situation of the Third Punic war in a passage where Masinissa, king of Numidia, was greatly angered, since Masinissa had borne the burden of previous warfare against Carthage. When the Carthagians were already prevailed over in a drawn out war with many losses to the Numidian side as well, the Romans showed up and without consulting or honouring the Numidians as their military partner, dictated the terms to the Carthagians. The subjugation of the Carthagians is expressed as “having been brought to their knees.” Of particular importance is the connection in the text between having been brought to their knees and the resultant glory of the war, the very same connection, which is present in Phil. 2:10-11:⁸¹

Μασσανάσσης δὲ ἦχθετο Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἔφερε βαρέως ὄτι τὴν Καρχηδονίων δύναμιν αὐτὸς ἐς γόνυ βαλλῶν ἄλλους ἑώρα τῷ ἐπιγράμματι αὐτῆς ἐπιτρέχοντάς . . . ⁸²	Masinissa was vexed with the Romans, and took it hard that when he had brought the Carthagians to their knees others should carry off the glory before his eyes . . .
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Of interest also is a text of Appian from his books *The Civil Wars* in which Mark Antony, after the death of Caesar gives the funeral speech in Rome and extols the victories of the dictator. The conquest of Gaul is expressed in the phrase “having been brought to their knees” and is in the context of praise for glorious victories:

. . . ἐπιλέγων ὁμοῦ σὺν δρόμῳ φωνῆς πολέμους αὐτοῦ καὶ μάχας καὶ νίκας καὶ ἔθνη, ὅσα προσποιήσῃ τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ λάφυρα, ὅσα πέμψειεν, ἐν θαύματι αὐτῶν ἕκαστα ποιούμενος καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπιβοῶν· “μόνος ὁδε ἀήττητος ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐς	. . . likewise with rapid speech he [Antony] recited his [Julius Caesar’s] wars and battles and victories and nations, which he put under the power of the fatherland, and the spoils which he had sent <i>home</i> , marvelling in each of them
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⁸¹ Even though the word δόξα is not used here, the conceptual synonym ἐπιγράμματα conveys the same idea.

⁸² App. *Pun.* VIII.13.94. Transl. by Horace White, LCL, 562-563.

χεῖρας αὐτῶ συνελθόντων. σὺ δ’,” ἔφη, “καὶ μόνος ἐκ τριακοσίων ἐτῶν ὕβρισμένη τῇ πατρίδι ἐπήμυνας, ἄγρια ἔθνη τὰ μόνα ἐς Ῥώμην ἐμβalόντα καὶ μόνα ἐμπρήσαντα αὐτὴν ἐς γόνυ βαλών.”⁸³

and keeping on exclaiming, saying: “You alone have come forth unvanquished from all your deeds of battle. You alone have avenged the fatherland of the outrage put upon 300 years ago, the only savage nations which came into and burned the city of Rome, **you have brought to their knees.**”

5.2.5.4. The numismatic evidence for “bending the knee”

References in the ancient literature to the “bowing of the knee” of the conquered foe as a result of a victorious campaign are not as numerous, but the symbolic image was well known in the ancient world as a sign of submission and homage to the victorious general. Most significant in this respect is the numismatic evidence which becomes particularly prominent in the first century BC and the first century AD.⁸⁴ During this time frame mints occur periodically which celebrate the military success of various generals through the depiction of their name or their image on the one hand, and one or several victory motifs, such as, a *tropeaeum*, a triumphal chariot or the conquered foe kneeling. The following coins in chronological order will serve as examples:



Figure 28 and 29: Denarius of Gaius Fundanius Quinarius, depicting kneeling captive Gaul.

⁸³ App. BC. II.20.146.

⁸⁴ Although it extends right up to the end of the 4th century, the first century BC and AD seem to be climatic both in the number of the coins issued having military victory motifs, as well as the number of variations of the motifs.

Denarius of C. Fundanius Quinarius from 101 BC, minted in Rome, depicting the image of Jupiter on the front.⁸⁵ On the back Victory is depicted holding out a palm branch, kneeling captive and *tropaeum* to the right. The coin celebrates the military victory of the troops of Marius against the Gauls.⁸⁶



Figure 30 and 31: Denarius of Gaius Memmius depicting kneeling captive, celebrating the victory of the propraetor Memmius in Bithynia and Pontus.

Denarius of C. Memmius C. F. from 57 BC, minted in Rome, depicting head of Ceres (Roman goddess of agriculture and fertility) and the name C. Memmi C. F on the front and a *tropaeum* and a kneeling enemy at the back.⁸⁷ Besides the *tropaeum* and the kneeling captive we find the name C. Memmius again and his title *imperator*, celebrating the successes of the propraetor Memmius (homonymous uncle of the master of this mint) in Bithynia and Pontus.⁸⁸ It is important to note the combination of military images, which form a conceptual unity. Here a similar concept to Paul's clustering of military images as well is the victory of the general is acknowledged through the kneeling captive!

⁸⁵ Image from: Acsearch, the ancient coin search engine:

<http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=140009>, accessed Oct., 10th 2010.

⁸⁶ Rainer Albert, *Die Münzen der Römischen Republik. Von den Anfängen bis zur Schlacht von Actium*. Regenstauf: Gietl Verlag, 2003, 141.

⁸⁷ Image from Acsearch, the ancient coin search engine: <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=598854>, accessed Nov., 29th 2012.

⁸⁸ Rainer Albert, *Die Münzen der Römischen Republik. Von den Anfängen bis zur Schlacht von Actium*. Regenstauf: Gietl Verlag, 2003, 169. Cf., BMR Vol. 1., 495-96. and BMR Vol. 3., plate 49, nr. 7.



Figure 32 and 33: Denarius of Sulla, depicting enthroned Sulla and the defeated king Jugurtha on his knees.

Denarius of F. Cornelius Sulla from 55 BC, minted in Rome, depicting Luna (Roman incarnation of the Greek goddess Celene) with diadem and the name Faustus (*Cornelius Sulla*).⁸⁹ On the back of the coin we find Sulla sitting on a throne. Before him are kneeling king Bocchus (presenting an olive vine) and king Jugurtha (also kneeling with bound hands behind his back). Bocchus was king of Mauretania and went into an alliance with Jughurta, king of Numidia, to make war upon Rome, but was twice defeated. The supreme rulership of Sulla (seated on a throne) is enforced through the kneeling of the defeated foe.



Figure 34 and 35: Denarius of Aemilius Scaurus, depicting the Nabatean king in submission on his knees.

Denarius of M. Aemilius Scaurus from 55 BC, minted in Rome.⁹⁰ The front depicts king Aretas of Nabatea kneeling and proffering a branch beside a camel. The back shows Jupiter in a quadriga and the successes and offices of Marcus Aemilius, governor of Syria, who

⁸⁹ Rainer Albert, *Die Münzen der Römischen Republik. Von den Anfängen bis zur Schlacht von Actium*. Regenstauf: Gietl Verlag, 2003, 168. Image from: Acsearch, The ancient coin search engine: <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=87399>, accessed Nov., 29th 2012. Cf., BMR Vol. 1., 471-72. and BMR Vol. 3., plate 47, nr. 18.

⁹⁰ Acsearch, The ancient coin search engine: <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=8775>, accessed Oct., 10th 2011. Cf., BMR Vol. 1., 483-84. and BMR Vol. 3., plate 47, nr. 13-14.

shared an adulescence with Pompey in 58 BC. Aemilius had put down an incursion of the Arabean Nabatheans under king Aretas.



Figure 36 and 37: Denarius of Julius Caesar depicting kneeling Spanish captive below a tropaeum.

Denarius of C. Julius Caesar from 46/45 BC, minted in the army stationed in Spain, depicting Venus (Roman goddess of love, beauty and fertility), as well as a sceptre and a *lituus* (cult instrument used by augurs to divine favour (or disfavour) in an undertaking, also used before a war) on the front. On the back of the coin we find a *tropaeum* made out of Spanish weapons and two prisoners, one weeping and one kneeling.⁹¹ Here, too, the military images of success in the military campaign, signified by the favour granted through Venus as very likely foretold by the augurs and the dominion now exercised over the enemy symbolised by the sceptre and the kneeling captive form a conceptual unity.



Figure 38 and 39: Denarius of Augustus depicting kneeling captive.

⁹¹ Rainer Albert, *Die Münzen der Römischen Republik. Von den Anfängen bis zur Schlacht von Actium*. Regenstauf: Gietl Verlag, 2003, 179. Ursula Kampmann, *Die Münzen der Römischen Kaiserzeit*. Regenstauf: Gietl Verlag, 2004, 34. Image from: Acsearch, The ancient coin search engine: <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=573747>, accessed Nov., 29th 2012.

Denarius of Augustus from 25-23 BC, minted in Rome, depicting the bust of Octavian.⁹² The back shown *tropaeum* and a captive kneeling on his right knee with hands bound behind his back. Both the *tropaeum* and the kneeling prisoner signify complete and glorious victory for Augustus.



Figure 40 and 41: Denarius of Augustus depicting Sol Invictus in front and kneeling Parthian on the back of the coin, celebrating the return of the Roman standards in 20 BC.

Denarius of Augustus Caesar from 18 BC, minted in Rome. The obverse reveals the radiant head of the Roman god *Sol Invictus*, on the reverse a kneeling Parthian presenting a standard.⁹³



Figure 42 and 43: Denarius of Augustus depicting kneeling Parthian, stretching forth a vexillum, the coin celebrates the return of the Roman standards.

Denarius of Augustus Caesar from 12 BC. The obverse shows the bust of Octavian and the name Augustus. The Reverse pictures a kneeling Parthian, extending in the right hand a

⁹² Acsearch, The ancient coin search engine: <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=75207>, accessed Oct, 10th 2011. Cf, BMC Vol. 5., 53. and plate 5, nr. 8.

⁹³ Acsearch, The ancient coin search engine: <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=265211>, accessed Oct. 10th, 2011. Cf, a similar mint type in BMC Vol. 1., 8. and plate 2, nr. 2.

standard.⁹⁴ The coin commemorates the return of the Roman standards from the Parthians, lost by Crassus in the disastrous Parthian war in 53 BC Augustus celebrated the return of the standards as a grand victory for himself, as if he had won a decisive victory over the Parthians.⁹⁵



Figure 44 and 45: Denarius of Tiberius depicting kneeling captive under a *tropaeum*.

Coin of Germanicus Caesar, during the time of Caesar Tiberius from ca. AD 22-37, place of mint unknown.⁹⁶ On the front a laureate Germanicus is seen, in the back the *tropaeum* and a kneeling captive.



Figure 46 and 47: Denarius of Vespasian depicting kneeling Jewish captive.

Denarius of Caesar Vespasian from AD 79-81, minted in Rome, depicting the head of Vespasian on the front and *tropaeum* and kneeling Jewish captive on the back.⁹⁷ The coin depicts the successful subjection of the Jewish revolt between AD 66 and 70. Surrounding

⁹⁴ Acsearch, The ancient coin search engine: <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=76691>, accessed Oct., 10th 2011. This type of iconography is seen repeatedly in the coins under Augustus. BMC Vol. 1., 3-29. and plate 1 coins 7-9, plate 2 coins 2, 11-12, plate 4 coin 16.

⁹⁵ Cf., Aug. *RGDA*. V.29.

⁹⁶ Acsearch, The ancient coin search engine: <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=255977>, accessed Oct., 10th 2011.

⁹⁷ Acsearch, The ancient coin search engine: <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=205800>, accessed Oct. 10th 2011. Cf., BMC Vol. 2., 46. and plate 8, nr. 2.; BMC Vol. 2., 224-26. and plate 44, nr. 3.

the images we read TR P VIII IMP XIII COS VII PP. The reference to Vespasian being acclaimed emperor fourteen times (IMP XIII) probably accounts for the accumulation of the reception of the title emperor from his military campaigns (from his campaigns of the invasion in Britain in AD 44 until the subjection of Judea in AD 70) and his honorary reception of the title as Caesar, the supreme general of the empire. The bowing of the knee thus supports the unity of the conceptual image of Vespasian receiving the name *imperator* on account of his military victory. Paul's agglomeration of military images, such as the "giving of the name above all names" and "knees bowing" are in perfect line with the secular military practice of combining various images of victory.

Numismatic evidence attests abundantly to the prevalence of the military theme of people bowing their knee in submission to a victorious general. It is particularly noteworthy that coins imaging the victory of a Roman military campaign often combine several images in order to celebrate and commemorate a supreme military victory and to honour the general in charge. The bent knee is often depicted to support the honourable reception of the name *imperator* by the super victorious commander in chief.

5.2.6. Every tongue confessing – an acknowledgement of triumph in the context of military victory

5.2.6.1. *Supplication and confession of lordship in the numismatic evidence*

Another common feature on coins, which is coupled with the image of the kneeling captive is the posture of two hands held out, which is a gesture signifying supplication. Although the evidence is not very strong, it is very likely that the figure of speech "confessing to the victorious general his superiority" was inherent in the image of supplication. Although we could not detect in the literary sources instances, in which both, namely hands stretched out in supplication, as well as a confession of the superiority of the general occur in close proximity to each other, there is evidence that right after a victory the subjugated people stretch out their hands in supplication or in speech confess the victory of the vanquishing general. Nevertheless, it is conceivable that these occurred synonymously and it is not controversial to assume that the image of supplication inherently contained an acknowledgement of the triumph of the victorious commander.

Before we turn to the "confession of the tongue of the military victory of the victorious general," I want to demonstrate through a few sample coins, again in chronological order, that supplication and the bent knee are well known numismatic images for the portrayal of victory.



Figure 48 and 49: Denarius of Augustus depicting kneeling Armenian captive in a posture of supplication.

Denarius of Augustus Caesar from AD 19/18, minted in Rome. On the obverse we see helmeted *Virtus* (Roman godlike personification of the bravery of soldiers). On the reverse an Armenian is kneeling, who has both of his hands stretched out in supplication.⁹⁸



Figure 50 and 51: Denarius of Vespasian depicting kneeling Jewish captive.

Sestertius of Vespasian from AD 72, minted in Rome.⁹⁹ The front shows laureate and cuirassed bust of Titus, with the imprint T CAESAR VESPASIAN IMP III PON TR POT II COS II. On the reverse, we see Titus in military dress, with a radiant crown, holding an image of the goddess *Victoria* and a spear. Before him a Jew is kneeling and stretching out his hands in supplication, behind him a Jewish woman also hands stretched out in supplication. On this coin several military images form a conceptual unity: the victory of Titus (symbolised by staff and *Victoria*) is acknowledged through the kneeling posture and the supplication, Titus is depicted gloriously (the radiant crown)¹⁰⁰ and on the front we find the image of Vespasian with the imprint imperator (IMP III). Interestingly enough, the final victory over the

⁹⁸ Acsearch, The ancient coin search engine: <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=11175>, accessed Oct.,10th 2011. Cf., BMR Vol. 2., 63-69.; BMR Vol. 3., plate 66, nr. 5-7, 19.

⁹⁹ Acsearch, the ancient coin search engine: <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=17775>, accessed Oct. 10th, 2011. Cf., BMC Vol. 2., 147. and plate 26, nr. 2.

¹⁰⁰ For the radiant crown as a symbol of glory, see e.g., Prov. 16:31; Isa. 62:3; Jer. 13:8; 1 Pet. 5:4.

Jewish revolt enhances the glory both of Titus (who finished the military campaign on site in Jerusalem) and Vespasian, his father, who is presently Caesar and receives the honorific title imperator for the successful Jewish campaign. On the coin several of the images taken up by Paul in Phil. 2:9-11 are resembled: Vespasian receives “the name,” people are bowing in submission and have their hands stretched out in supplication, the victory of the campaign enhances the glory of the general and his father, the supreme ruler.



Figure 52 and 53: Denarius of Trajan depicting kneeling Parthian in supplication.

Sestertius of Trajan from AD 116, place of mint unknown.¹⁰¹ The front of the coin shows the laureate and draped bust of Trajan, the back shows Trajan seated on a *curule* chair on a platform. Before him a kneeling Parthian with hands stretched out in supplication.

5.2.6.2. *The juxtaposition of the themes “bending the knee” and “confession of lordship”*

The phenomenon of bending the knee in submission and supplication are often juxtaposed next to each other in numismatics. The pardon sought in submission and supplication was not always granted during Roman military history. It was a free decision of the victorious general, even after submission and supplication, to either spare or destroy the enemy.¹⁰² The stretching forth of the hands in supplication occurred at the moment when the victory of the opposing forces was obvious and needed to be confessed.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Acsearch, the ancient coin search engine: <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=89054>, accessed Oct. 10th, 2011. Cf., BMC Vol. 3., 223. and plate 43, nr. 1.: Ursula Kampmann, *Die Münzen der Römischen Kaiserzeit*. Regenstauf: Gietl Verlag, 2004, 110.

¹⁰² See for example Aug. *RGDA*. I.3. Thus, even if Phil. 2:10-11 possibly suggests a posture of supplication, one needs not infer that the supplication is granted. It is still entirely possible that even though the comprehensive picture of Phil. 2:9-11 does not picture expressly two distinct people groups, saved and unsaved, that the imagery allows for a distinction, namely those who are (in the words of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*) saved and those who are destroyed.

¹⁰³ Cf., Plb. X.34. BG VII.48.

It was at such a point, namely when the defeated general Croesus appeared before the victorious general Cyrus, that Xenophon records the confession of the vanquished to the victor. Croesus, the king of Lydia, who had formed an alliance with the Babylonian and Egyptian forces, went to war against Cyrus and was first defeated and then, after his troops had fled to Sardis, was besieged there. When Sardis was taken by Cyrus and when Croesus, the defeated general, was brought to Cyrus, the victorious general. Xenophon reports the meeting and how Croesus was uttered the following acknowledgement thus:

Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἀγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ τὸν Κροῖσον. ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος ὡς εἶδε τὸν Κῦρον, Χαῖρε, ὦ δέσποτα, ἔφη· τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ τύχη καὶ ἔχειν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε δίδωσι σοὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ προσαγορεύειν. ¹⁰⁴	When he [Cyrus] had attended to this, he ordered Croesus to be brought before him. And when Croesus saw Cyrus, he said: “I salute you, sovereign lord ; for fortune grants that from now on you should bear this title and I address you by it.”
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Croesus likely speaks a confession, matching in content other scenes of unconditional surrender and acknowledgement of the supremacy of the victor. Thus, it seems plausible that the “confession of the tongue of supremacy and lordship” was part and parcel of submission and supplication scenes of the ancient world at the moment when the triumph of the victorious general became undeniable.

5.2.7. Reconsidering the evidence for military imagery and the consequences for the theology of the passage

Philippians 2:9-11 appears in the context of a contrast between willing self-humiliation and sequential exaltation. As a consequence of Jesus’ self-humiliation in Phil. 2:5-8, God the Father replies in Phil. 2:9-11 with a response of vindication in which He exalts His Son Jesus. If we consider that the images, which we find in Phil. 2:9-11, to have their background in the domain of the military, a clear picture emerges, which not only clarifies the precise nature of the exaltation of Jesus, but it enables us to understand the congruency with which Paul develops his line of argument. Understanding the military context of the images in Phil. 2:9-11 allows us a fresh look into many theological questions, with which exegetes have grappled as they faced the text at hand. For example, “to what in particular, was the Father responding when he exalted Jesus?”¹⁰⁵ “Is Jesus’ exaltation to be regarded as a reward on the merit of his previous humble obedience?” After summarizing the main thrust of Paul’s

¹⁰⁴ Xen. *Cyr.* VI.II.9.

¹⁰⁵ The question was asked poignantly by Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 233.

argument in light of the framework of the military ambience, this thesis will consider a new approach to these questions.

5.2.7.1. *The imagery of Philippians 2:8-11: Jesus is imperator supreme*

We have seen that all of the images of Phil. 2:9-11 evoke comparisons with victorious triumphs of Roman generals. The nature of God the Father exalting (ὑπερυψώω) Jesus¹⁰⁶ is explained in four following military images.¹⁰⁷ As victorious generals would receive “the name” *imperator* on account of the successful overthrow of a particular enemy, so Christ has received the name of “victorious general” on account of his universal dominion over every creature, be it human beings or be it the angelic creation, good or fallen, likewise.¹⁰⁸ When a

¹⁰⁶ The prefix ὑπερ is not to be taken as temporally comparative in the sense that Christ is now exalted to a greater degree than he was exalted before, (so Martin Dibelius, “An die Philipper.” In *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1925, 63.), but the verb has a superlative force. Jesus is exalted higher than any other exaltation possible. Especially the connection with the following quotation of Isaiah 45:23 supports the superlative force of the verb. The context of the Isaiah quotation is the supreme and singular exaltation of YHWH. See Isa. 45:18 “I am YHWH and there is no other . . .” Isa. 45:21 “I, YHWH, and there is no God beside me, a just God and a Saviour, there is none beside me . . .” Isa. 45:22 “I am God and there is no other . . .” and Isa. 45:25 “In YHWH all the descendants of Israel . . . shall glory.” O’ Brien points out that a close parallel to this elative use of the preposition ὑπερ as the prefix of ὑπερυψώσης is the LXX rendering of Ps. 96:9, where YHWH is praised as “the most High over all the earth; you are exalted (ὑπερυψώσης) far above all gods.” (Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 237.) The context clearly favours the superlative usage of the preposition.

¹⁰⁷ “It is not far-fetched to view the second καί of verse 9 as epexegetic.” Moisés Silva, *Philippians*. Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Baker: Grand Rapids, 2005.109.

¹⁰⁸ Although the text of Phil. 2:9-10 does not explicitly state what the ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα (“name above every name”) is, majority opinion now convincingly argues that not only a personal designation, but the inherent qualities and powers of the name κύριος (“Lord”) are in view, particularly in its most exalted sense as designation, which was used in the LXX as the personal name YHWH. What is in view here is not the idea that Jesus became divine through his exaltation, but that He exercises one of the distinguishing functions that make YHWH God, namely universal Lordship. The most common and most plausible reasons advanced for interpreting τὸ ὄνομα as κύριος are: a) “name” in the Old Testament indicated character and status, Jesus thus received not only a title, but the substance and the meaning behind the title; b) in the subordinate clause of Phil. 2:10-11 (relating to the main clause in Phil. 2:9) Jesus is identified with the κύριος (YHWH) of Isa. 45:23; c) the clauses τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ and ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα are to be regarded as juxtaposed. (See Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 237-38; Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 126; for contrary views see Moisés Silva, *Philippians*. Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Baker: Grand Rapids, 2005, 109-112 and the list concerning who regard alternative views in Ralph P. Martin, *Carmen Christi. Philippians 2:5-11 in Recent Interpretation & the Setting of Early Christian Worship*. London: Cambridge, 1967, 235. In this work I argue that “receiving the name” has as a point of reference the acclamation of *imperator* (victorious general). What “name” was given to Jesus? Was it the name of κύριος as a designation of his universal Lordship or the name *imperator*? The two possible sources are not at variance with each other, but Paul merges these two concepts here. Already with Caesar the inherent notions of “victory in battle” and “ruling dominion” in the title *imperator* merge. Cassius Dio. writes in his Roman History: “Moreover, they now applied to him first and for the first time, as a kind of proper name, the title *imperator*, no longer merely following the ancient custom by which others, as well as Caesar had often been saluted as a result of their wars . . . but giving him once and for all **the same title that is now**

group of people was subdued in warfare by the Roman army, the defeated foe bowed the knee before the victorious general as a sign of unconditional surrender and complete submission. The conquered nation confessed the victors as their new lords. Individual commanders have over the course of history received the submission of selected kings and nations, but Christ is a victorious general in such a way that acknowledgement of his supreme lordship is offered to him by every nation, every human being, every king, every angel and every demon. As the victorious subjection of an adversary brought glory to the triumphant general corresponding to the previous strength and numbers of the foe, so Christ achieved ultimate glory for God the Father as no creature is excluded from submission to him. The universal homage of the LORD envisioned in Isa. 45 is brought into effect through the victorious conquest of Christ. The first century reader with a rudimentary knowledge of contemporary images of military victory would see in his mind without a moment of hesitation the larger picture of the ultimate triumph of Christ. The comparison with contemporary military images would assure him that Christ is *imperator supreme*.

5.2.7.2. *The implication of Phil. 2:8-11 on Phil. 2:6-7: the cross as victory*

This same first century reader would have looked back into the text of Phil. 2:5-8 and would have understood the redemptive work of Christ – beginning with the incarnation and culminating in Christ’s work on the cross – as a battle that was completed with a sound victory. Although Paul does not explicitly state that the humiliation of Christ in the incarnation, in his obedient life of suffering to the point of the cross constitutes a battle that ended in victory, but the resultant exaltation images imply it to be so. Just as in Col. 2:15 the stripping of the enemy of his weapons (*ἀπεκδύομαι*) and the leading of the captured enemy with bound hands in a triumphal procession to the honour of the victorious general (*θριαμβεύω*) implies a

granted to those who hold successively the supreme power.” (Dio. XLIII.44.2-3. Transl. by Earnest Cary, LCL, IV:288-89). The parallel usage of the title *imperator* did not lead to a strict distinction between the martial and the imperial use, but the ideas became intertwined with each other, understandably so. Caesar signified with the permanent carrying of the title *imperator* that he was supreme ruler of the Roman Empire, but he gained the title through the succession of victories in wars, both foreign and internal. Similarly, Augustus Caesar “applied to himself the title *imperator*. I do not refer to the title which has been granted according to ancient *Roman* custom upon some corresponding to their victories (for this title he had received many times before and many times after that according to his victories in wars, so that twenty-one times he held the name *imperator*), but I refer to the title in its other *usage*, which signifies supreme power.” (Dio. LII.41.3-4.) By the time when Augustus issued coins with the imprint IMP(*erator*) on it, no one was asking if that meant “victorious general” or “supreme authority.” It was a both/ and. Already in the republic various individuals had assumed more power in the field as the theoretical senatorial form of government allowed, but with Augustus it was now obvious that the one whose armies just defeated the enemy was not only the victorious general and a representative of a larger power in Rome, the victorious general was now also the supreme ruler. For Paul it did not require a great stretching of the mind to amalgamate the secular concept of *imperator* with the religious concept of Christ receiving the universal Lordship of YHWH.

previous struggle that ended in the solid subjection of the foe by the conquering general, so the images of triumph in Phil. 2:9-11 imply that the life of humility lead by Christ is to be understood in the imagery of a victory in battle. Without victory in battle, there is no exaltation, no glory, no knees bent, no confession of submission. Only with a decisive victory in battle comes the honour of being acclaimed as victorious general, only a decisive victory in battle leads to the submission of enemies, their acknowledgment of lordship and only a decisive victory leads to great glory. Thus, although not explicitly stated, inherent in the imagery of exaltation is the previous idea of victory in battle.¹⁰⁹

5.2.7.3. *The question of merit in Phil. 2:8-11 – acknowledgement of Christ’s virtues*

When one consequently asks the question to what in particular, was the Father responding when He exalted Jesus, the answer is found within the framework of the military imagery.¹¹⁰ God the Father viewed the incarnation, the life of obedience of Christ and his humiliating death on the cross as a battle out of which He emerged victoriously, having subdued all His enemies and being honoured suitably by the nature of his generalship.

Since the reformation very few exegetes and theologians were able to bypass Phil. 2:9 without asking the question if the exaltation of Christ is to be understood in terms of recompense on the merit of Christ’s actions.¹¹¹ In the course of history various proposals

¹⁰⁹ The linking of the progressive concepts of (1) “outstanding victory in battle” leading to a (2) “triumph of the victorious general,” in which he is (3) “exalted” through the reception of (4) “military glory” is so commonplace in ancient thought that the historians assume that their readers understand the obvious ideology behind the accumulation of the phrases. See for example Tac. *Ag. XXXIX.2-3*. Transl. by M. Hutton, revised by R. M. Ogilvie (LCL, 98-99): “. . . inerat conscientia derisui fuisse nuper falsum e Germania **triumphum** . . . at nunc veram **magnamque victoriam** tot milibus hostium caesis ingenti fama celebrari. Id sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra principis **attolli** . . . si **militarem gloriam** alius occuparet . . .” (“ . . . in his heart was the consciousness that his recent counterfeit **triumph** over the Germans was a laughing stock . . . but here was a varitable, **a decisive victory**, with enemies slain in thousands, widely canvassed and advertised: this was what he dreaded most, that the name of a commoner should be **exalted** above his Prince . . . if another was to usurp **military glory**.”) In the passage Domitian is envious of Agricola’s victory since the celebration of a triumph would lead to the exaltation of Agricola through the reception of military glory. It might be possible that Tacitus intentionally hints by writing about the **nomen** of the *privati hominis* at Agricola receiving the **name** *imperator*. If a selected combination of these concepts would appear in literature, it would be obvious to the reader that a reference to all the involved concepts is intended, even if some parts would be left out.

¹¹⁰ The “therefore” (ὁὐὐ καὶ) of Phil. 2:9 is a strong inferential conjunction denoting consequence. Contra Karl Barth, *Erklärung des Philipperbriefes*. Zürich: EVZ Verlag, 1947, 60-61., who claims that not a turn in fortunes is depicted, but a continuation.

¹¹¹ Walter H. Hansen, *The Letter to the Philippians*. Pillar New Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009, 161, gives a “yes, which has to be qualified” to the question. In the affirmative is also John Eadie, *A Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistle of Paul to the Philippians*. London: Griffin, 1859, 121. Joachim Gnilka, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. Leipzig: St. Benno-Verlag, 1969, 125. Ralph Martin, *A Hymn*

have been made to avoid the appearance of the text that God is rewarding Jesus with exaltation for his obedience. Calvin tries to avoid any concept of reward on the basis of seeing the $\delta\iota\omicron\ \kappa\alpha\iota$ as denoting consequence rather than reason.¹¹² Karl Barth denies in the conjunction any sense of consequence.¹¹³ Hawthorne suggests to avoid the concept of merit by promoting the idea of an “inexorable law of God’s kingdom that operates without variance, equally applicable to Christians at Philippi as to Christ himself”¹¹⁴ is expressed in the text. Feinberg restricts merit to the requirement of human action *alone* “forcing the hand of God.” Feinberg claims that since Jesus acted in obedience to the Father and in dependence of the Holy Spirit, Jesus’ actions do not constitute a doctrine of merit.¹¹⁵

The diverse and lengthy arguments for avoiding the conclusion of merit as the grounds of exaltation, however, are unnecessary. In fact, the question in itself becomes superfluous if we examine the passage of Phil. 2:5-11 with due attention to the military figures of speech. The acclamation of a general after a successful battle as *imperator* was not considered a meritorious reward on the basis of his strenuous exertion, it was a recognition of his abilities as a victorious general. The general who could demonstrate his brilliance in a major conflict was acclaimed *imperator*. Throughout the war the general did not become something or work

of Christ: Philippians 2:5-11 in Recent Interpretation & the Setting of Early Christian Worship. Downers Grove: Intervarsity, 1997, 1997. Richard Melick, *Philippians, Colossians, Philemon*. New American Commentary. Nashville: B&H Publishing Group, 1991, 106; Moisés Silva, *Philippians*. Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Baker: Grand Rapids, 2005, 109.

¹¹² John Calvin, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Galatians, the Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians*. Calvin’s Commentaries. Vol. 11. Ed. David W. Torrance and Thomas Forsyth Torrance. Transl. by T.H.L. Parker. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965, 250. It is doubtful if one defines the $\delta\iota\omicron\ \kappa\alpha\iota$ strictly consequential to eliminate any notion of reason. Not a purely chronological consequence, but a consequence based on previous action is in view.

¹¹³ Karl Barth, *Erklärung des Philipperbriefes*. Zürich: EVZ Verlag, 1947, 60-61. According to Barth, the conjunction connects two views of Christ, the one who was crucified was also the one who was exalted. Barth seems to deny that words mean anything at all. There is clearly a sequence of contrary events in the text. Christ left a highly honoured position, was humiliated and did receive a new kind of exaltation, which he was denied during his earthly life.

¹¹⁴ Gerald F. Hawthorne, and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 124. In the same direction also Ernst Lohmeyer, *Kyrios Jesus: Eine Untersuchung zu Phil. 2,5-11*. Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Jahrg. 1927-28, 4. Abhandlung, 18. Heidelberg: Winter Verlag, 1928, 47-48. Although it is to some extent true that God exalts the ones who humble themselves (Matt. 18:4; 23:12), the “principle” has definite applications and does not mean that any kind of humility inevitable leads to exaltation. Furthermore, the exaltation of Christ is portrayed as an unique experience, which fulfils the universal homage of Isa. 45:23, it can by no means be applicable to all Christians.

¹¹⁵ Paul D. Feinberg, “The Kenosis and Christology: An Exegetical-Theological Analysis of Phil. 2:6-11.” In *Trinity Journal* 1. Deerfield: TEDS, 1980, 42. Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 234-35, argues along the same lines. Feinberg’s definition of merit as “human action *alone*” is rather peculiar. Most, if not all, proponents of merit, whom the Reformers would quickly denounce as heretic would define merit as works of love performed upon reliance of the Holy Spirit and not as works completed apart from the influence of the Holy Spirit.

for something he was not already worthy of. *Imperator* was the title received in recognition of the brilliance, which he possessed all throughout the campaign.

When Jesus received the exaltation described in Phil. 2:9-11, a sense of vindication is there, but more prominent is the acknowledgment of God the Father of the uniqueness of His Son. That Christ was able to subdue all creation unto universal homage through his obedient humiliation to the point of death on the cross, revealed his brilliance, his worth, his glory. To that God the Father was responding in acknowledging him as victorious general and supreme ruler. The question of merit is completely foreign to the domain of the word-pictures Paul was using. It is asking a question of a text, which the text never intended and therefore cannot answer. No-one in the first century would have asked of a triumphant general if he received the glory, the name and the triumph on the basis of meritorious works or by grace. It was all simply an acknowledgment of who he was as a general. Questions of merit or grace were the all-embracing contention of the Reformation, but would not be asked in the first-century context of the honour of a military general.

5.2.8. Summary: the function of the contrast: victory out of humility and seeming defeat

5.2.8.1. *Christ as a role model*

Philippians 2:6-12 obviously functions as an encouragement for the Philippians to emulate the conduct of Christ. The exemplary character and conduct of Christ is framed by exhortations to think and behave in the same manner: Τοῦτο φρονεῖτε ἐν ὑμῖν ὃ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (“Let the same attitude be in you which was also in Christ Jesus”) (Phil. 2:5), Ὡστε . . . καθὼς πάντοτε ὑπηκούσατε . . . τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε (“Therefore, as you have always obeyed, *obey now in the same way* in your fight for victory . . .”) (Phil. 2:12). Christ leading the way as general of his troops, being an example for his soldiers to follow¹¹⁶ draws on the commonplace military conviction that generals should inspire their troops by their own example. Onasander in describing the qualifications of the meritorious general insists on this important attitude of the candidate for the leader of the Roman armies: he has to lead by example. He can only demand of his soldiers what he himself previously lived out:

ὅθεν ἐπιφαίνειν μὲν δεῖ τῷ πλήθει τὸ φιλοκίνδυνον, ἵνα τὴν προθυμίαν ἐκκαλήται τῶν στρατιωτῶν. ¹¹⁷	Hence the general must show himself brave before the army, that he may call forth the zeal of his soldiers.
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¹¹⁶ Since both verbs at both ends of the inclusion (φρονεῖτε and ὑπηκούσατε) are stereotypical military commands, it is highly likely that Paul envisions Christ as the military commander who exemplified appropriate soldierly behaviour in the military enterprise of furthering the gospel.

¹¹⁷ Onos. *Strat.* XXXIII.5. Transl. by Illinois Greek Club, LCL, 482-83.

Εἰ δέ τι διὰ χειρὸς ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐξεργάσασθαι σπεύδοι, μὴ ὀκνεῖτω πρῶτος αὐτὸς ὀφθῆναι ποιῶν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων ἀπειλαῖς ἀναγκαζόμενοι τι ποιοῦσιν, ὡς ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν σεμνοτέρων διατροπαῖς. ¹¹⁸	If the general is in haste to finish some enterprise that he has on hand, he should not hesitate to be prominent in the work, for soldiers are not forced to activity so much by the threats of their immediate superiors as by the influence of men of higher rank.
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The historians regularly praised the commanders, who identified with their troops, sharing in their hardships and who were an example of the conduct, which they expected of the rank and file soldier.¹¹⁹ As a text to illustrate this exemplary behaviour of generals we have chosen a passage from the *Agricola* of Tacitus, where Agricola's behaviour mirrors the pattern of the example of Christ: both inspire their followers by not shying away from danger, but by facing peril – in the case of Christ, the willingness to endure persecution to the point of death:

. . . ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris par animus simili periculo esset, erexit aciem. ¹²⁰	[Agricola] . . . led his army to the uplands, himself marching in the van to inspire the rest with equal courage to face similar peril.
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The misconduct of bad generals is in the same way often condemned by the literary historians, establishing the principle that one can expect of the soldier only what the commander himself exemplifies:

Nec hercule mirum esse cessisse milites in acie, cum primus omnium imperator fugeret. ¹²¹	And surely it was no wonder that the soldiers had given way in battle, when their commander was the first of all to flee.
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¹¹⁸ Onos. *Strat.* XLII.2. Transl. by Illinois Greek Club, LCL, 508-09.

¹¹⁹ See for example Plut. *Mar.* VII.2-4. “ . . . ἥδιστον δὲ Ῥωμαίῳ θέαμα στρατιώτη στρατηγὸς ἐσθίων ἐν ὄψει κοινὸν ἄρτον ἢ κατακείμενος ἐπὶ στιβάδος εὐτελοῦς ἢ περὶ ταφρεῖαν τινὰ καὶ χαράκωσιν ἔργου συνεφαπτόμενος . . . ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀγαπῶσι τῶν ῥαθυμῆν ἐπιτροπόντων . . . ” (“ . . . it is a most agreeable spectacle for a Roman soldier when he sees a general eating common bread in public, or sleeping on a simple pallet, or taking a hand in the construction of the palisade . . . and they have more affection for those who are willing to join in their toils . . .”) Transl. by Bernadotte Perrin, LCL, IX:478-79. For the effect of the general “lowering himself to the level of common soldiers” on the morale of the troops, see e.g., App. *Pun.* VII.45.: “καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν στρατηγὸν ὀρώντες στρατιωτικῶς σφῶν ὑπερμαχόμενον, καρτερώτερον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέπεσον καὶ ἐτρέψαντο καὶ φεύγοντας ἐδίωκον.” (“And when the Romans saw their general fighting as a common soldier, they fell upon the enemy more vehemently than before, routed them and pursued them in flight.”)

¹²⁰ Tac. *Ag.* XVII.2. Transl. by M. Hutton, revised by R. M. Ogilvie, LCL, 60-61.

¹²¹ Liv. XXVI.2.12. Transl. by Frank Gardner Moore, LCL, VII:8-9.

5.2.8.2. *Christ's exaltation functions not as a paradigm of bestowal of honour*

Although Christ's example in Phil. 2:6-11 serves as a role-model for the Philippians to follow, Paul does **not** argue that since Christ was not self-seeking but humbled himself and became obedient and consequently was exalted, the Philippians too, if they are not self-ambitious, but humble themselves and become obedient even in their willingness to suffer for the gospel, will likewise be exalted.¹²² The exaltation language of Phil. 2:9-11 is too unique to be applicable to anyone else, but Christ. The grandeur of the victory and the consequent extolment, the universal homage, the grand dignity portrayed through military images is on such a magnificent scale that it can rightly be attributed only to the exalted Son of God. The picture of the grand triumph, if one wants to leave the metaphorical meaning intact, cannot be apportioned to multiple people – it is a singular distinction and cannot be shared, not even in a lesser degree. This is not to deny that participation in the benefits of Christ's triumph is impossible. It is, but participation in the benefits of the triumph of Christ is different from direct participation in the triumph of Christ.

5.2.8.3. *The paradox: crucifixion as utter defeat leads to supreme victory*

In order to understand how the Philippians were encouraged and advantaged by Christ's exaltation in Phil. 2, we need to pay attention to a seemingly striking incoherence in Paul's crafting together the metaphorical language of Phil. 2:6-8 and Phil. 2:9-11. While the latter part is a dense aggregation of military language of victory, the imagery of Phil. 2:6-8 is precisely the opposite. Death and particularly crucifixion unmistakably depict a scene of utter defeat, not victory! The famous examples of history, i.e., the six thousand men from the forces of Spartacus, who were crucified by Crassus along the Appian way,¹²³ the two thousand citizens of Tyre who Alexander the Great crucified after conquering the city,¹²⁴ the mass crucifixion of Jewish rebels outside the walls of Jerusalem¹²⁵ portrays a clear picture: crucifixion was the unmistakable sign of ultimate defeat. In ancient warfare the death of the

¹²² Paul does not argue in Phil. 2 along the lines of his reasoning in Rom 8:17. There the direct participation in suffering and glorification *εἴπερ συμπάσχομεν ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν* ("if we suffer with him, we may also be glorified with him") is possible on account of inheritance terminology (*συγκληρονόμοι δὲ Χριστοῦ* ("we are joint-heirs with Christ")). Inheritance language naturally invites the thought of co-participation, as both the terminology – note the prefix *συν*– with *συγκληρονόμοι* – and the common metaphor of a multiplicity of heirs create an image that corresponds with secular usage. This is not the case with the military language of the triumph.

¹²³ App. BC. I.120.

¹²⁴ Curt. IV.4.17.; DS. XVII.46.4.

¹²⁵ Jos. BJ. V.11.1.

general was almost always the inevitable defeat of the whole army and the utter failure of the campaign.

Livy describes the death of the commander of the Roman armies, Publius Scipio during the battle of Upper Baetis in 211 BC and the effect of the death of the commander on the rest of the army and the military expedition:

<p>. . . ut exanimem labentem ex equo Scipionem vidit, alacres gaudio cum clamore per totam aciem nuntiantes discurrunt imperatorem Romanum cecidisse. Ea pervagata passim vox ut et hostes haud dubie pro victoribus et Romani pro victis essent fecit. Fuga confestim ex acie duce amisso fieri coepta est . . .¹²⁶</p>	<p>. . . seeing the dying Scipio slipping from his horse, <i>the enemy</i> dashed everywhere along the line, wild with delight, shouting and announcing that the Roman commander had fallen. The broadcasting of that announcement far and wide made the enemy as good as victors beyond a doubt and the Romans as good as vanquished. Flight from the battle-line began, once they had lost their general.</p>
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The Philippians would particularly remember that during the battle of Philippi the death of Cassius during the first engagement of the opposing forces effectively sealed the fate of the republican army.¹²⁷ The importance of the well being of the general is commented on by Onasander, who instructs future commanders to be careful not to risk their lives unnecessarily. If the whole army is vanquished, argues Onasander, the general should not be the only one to survive, he should fight like the last man standing to the death. But until that happens, he must take care not to endanger his life. For even when in a conflict the Roman army should come out victorious, but in the heat of battle, their commander was killed, the glory of the victory and the glory of the superior army is lessened:

<p>. . . εἰ γὰρ, ἐν ᾧ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἡ σωτηρία στρατεύματος ἐστίν, οὗτος οὐδὲν εἰ τεθνήξεται πεφρόντικε, τὸ πᾶν αἰρεῖται συνδιαφθεῖραι, καὶ ὀρθῶς δ' ἂν τις αἰτιάσαιτο τοῦτον ὡς ἄπρακτον στρατηγὸν</p>	<p>. . . for if he, with whom the safety of the whole army lies, has no care lest he himself should die, he prefers that everyone should die with him . . . he would be censured as an unsuccessful</p>
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¹²⁶ Liv. XXV.39.12. Transl. by Frank Gardner Moore, LCL, VII:8-9.

¹²⁷ App. BC. IV.15.113-14.; IV.16.123-24. Cassius was the better general of the two leaders of the combined army of Cassius and Brutus. After his death it became quickly apparent that Brutus was not able to hold together the Republican army and he complains shortly before the second engagement that he is forced, just like Pompey, a previously defeated commander, to be commanded instead of being in command. Antony remarked in his speech after the first engagement that the death of the other commander is the surest sign of their final defeat.

μάλλον ἢ ἀνδρεῖον . . . καὶ τοῦ θανάτου μὲν καταφρονεῖν, εἴ τι πάσχοι τὸ στράτευμα, μηδ' αὐτὸν αἰρούμενον ζῆν, σωζομένου δὲ καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν φυλάττειν ψυχὴν· ἤδη γὰρ ἐπικυδέστερα τὰ τῶν φιλίων ὄντα ποτὲ στρατηγὸς ἀποθανῶν ἐμείωσεν. ¹²⁸	rather than a courageous general . . . he should despise death if his army is defeated, and not desire to live, but if his army is preserved he should guard his personal safety, for sometimes the death of a general lessens the glory of his army.
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The ancient authors, like the examples of Livy and Onasander above, point acutely to the heart of what appears to be a discrepancy in the argument of Paul: the death of the general, and particularly crucifixion, are indications of defeat, not victory – they lessen the glory of a campaign, not increase the glory of the general. The apparent contradiction, however, is poignantly intended by Paul and part of his overall rhetorical strategy in Philippians. In his intercessory prayer Paul had already foreshadowed one of his main themes that he will develop in the letter, namely that knowledge and discernment are necessary to see and consequently approve that things **are different** from what they seem without that supernatural knowledge and discernment: εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν ὑμᾶς τὰ διαφέροντα (Phil. 1:9-10).¹²⁹ In the campaign for the advance of the gospel, many things are different from what it would appear in a natural view of things.

¹²⁸ Onos. *Strat.* XXXIII.3, 5. Transl. by Illinois Greek Club, LCL, 482-83.

¹²⁹ The suggestion of Paul A. Holloway, *Consolation in Philippians. Philosophical Sources and Rhetorical Strategie*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001., that εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν ὑμᾶς τὰ διαφέροντα from Phil. 1:9-10 constitutes a conscious allusion of Paul to *adiaphoroi topoi* in ancient consolation and should be translated “that you may approve of the things that matter” is unlikely. First, the famous Stoic distinction between the τὰ διαφέροντα and the τὰ ἀδιάφερα on which Holloway bases his arguments are not exclusively distinctions between things that are important and things that are unimportant, but already several examples which Holloway cites are questions about what the **difference** is between several options. For example, Frag. 3:24 and 3:29 of *Teles (The Cynic Teacher)* quoted on pages 75-76 contain questions of what is the difference of whether we are buried properly or remain unburied, whether we are eaten by a dog above or by worms below the ground. Questions about whether we should live as holders of public offices in our own country or as private citizens in another are asking questions about the **difference** between several options. Τί διαφέρει is not to be translated “does it matter?,” but “does it make a difference?”! To infer from the context that “since there is no difference in these things, they do not matter” may be legitimate, but inferences from the text is different from assigning meaning to words in context. The first meaning of the described examples are questions about being different, not about importance. Even if Paul alludes to Stoic consolation *topoi*, τὰ διαφέροντα in Phil. 1:10 may still be legitimately translated “the things that are different.” That the translation “the things that matter” is wholly inappropriate is seen by the inferences which Holloway draws from the introductory prayer to the meaning of Paul’s statements in the body of the letter. Holloway argues that Paul’s primary purpose in Phil. 1:22-6 is to stress the inappropriateness of the Philippians grief about the possibility of him dying. In light of the fact that Paul uses himself and others as rhetorical examples in Philippians, this is hardly credible, or else Paul is a miserable example. In Phil. 2:27 Paul writes that if Epaphroditus, who had fallen seriously sick, had died, Paul would have had λύπην ἐπὶ λύπην (“sorrow upon sorrow”). Surely, grief is not inappropriate in Philippians. Death matters intensely, both the death of Paul and any of his fellow-soldiers, with whom he is in a military partnership. Paul argues no-where in Philippians that opposition to the gospel or death of fellow soldiers do not matter; what he does argue is that God supernaturally causes seeming defeats to be different, namely victories! For Paul himself, his death would mean to achieve the

First, Paul's imprisonment did not stop the advance of the gospel. On the contrary, it advanced it (Phil. 1:12). Second, being surrounded by enemies (Phil. 2:15) who overwhelmed the Philippian Christians with persecution would be a dire sign of soon defeat, yet again in the way God ordained the gospel campaign, being bold in the face of opposition all around is a sign of victory (Phil. 1:28)! Third, although death cuts the soldier off from any hope of enjoying the fruits of his labour in warfare, in the campaign for the gospel death is gain, death is equal to receiving all the military promises and rewards (Phil. 1:21). And fourth, although the death of the general in secular military enterprises constitutes in most cases the worst kind of defeat, in the war for the good news, Christ's death resulted in the grandest victory of all times, making the dead and resurrected general the supreme *imperator* and lord of all (Phil. 2:8-11). The contrast between Christ's humiliation and his exaltation thus points to the astounding revelation that in God's ways – contrary to the accepted mindset of the Roman Empire – the humiliation and suffering of Christ led to a supreme victory.

5.2.8.4. *The rhetorical strategy: the abilities of the general assure victory*

The Philippians, who will imitate Christ's humility and sacrificial living, are not promised exaltation similar to Christ's exaltation, but they are promised a participation in His victory as triumphant general. Christ's exaltation in Phil. 2:9-11 serves as a guarantee for the Philippians that if the Christian life (and particularly Christian life consisting in a unified effort to advance the gospel) is conducted in humility and self-sacrifice, victory will be assured. The rhetorical strategy, which Paul pursues in his description of Christ's super-exalted victory, is exactly the same as the ones of the speeches of the military generals of the Greco-Roman historians. In the pre-battle harangues the commander, when elaborating on his previous achievements and successes, does so for the purpose of installing certainty in the mind of his listening soldiers that due to the superiority of their commander, the present military operation will end in assured victory.¹³⁰ Thus, for example, Pompey points out that he had been undefeated in every battle, which he undertook:

εἴ τις ἔστι μοι πολέμων ἐμπειρία καὶ τύχη | If I have any experience in war, if it has

promised military rewards (Phil. 1:21), for the Philippians, Paul's death would not mean a halt of the military campaign to advance the gospel, but his death would be an effective and pleasing offering (Phil. 2:17), which would encourage the Philippians that God is with them in the campaign. For the latter see Onos. *Strat.* X.25-26.: "The general should not . . . marshal his army for battle without first making a sacrifice . . . until the omens are favourable, and he should summon all his officers to inspect the offerings, that, after seeing, they may tell the soldiers to be of good courage, since the gods command them to fight. Soldiers are far more courageous when they believe they are facing dangers with the good will of the gods."

¹³⁰ Cf., App. *BC.* II.11.74.; BG I.40.; Arr. *Alex.* II.7.5.; Arr. *Alex.* II.7.5.

ἀηττήτω μέχρι νῦν γενομένω . . .¹³¹

been my good fortune to remain
unvanquished to this day . . .

Similarly, Mithridates installs hope in his soldiers by pointing out his unblemished track record:

. . . ὡς δ' ἀφίκετο, ἐδημηγόρησε τῷ στρατῷ
περί . . . οὐποτε Ῥωμαίων ἡττηθείη
παρῶν . . .¹³²

. . . When [Mithridates] arrived, he made
a speech to his soldiers, telling . . . how
his army had never been defeated by the
Romans, when he was present . . .

Antony, before a lengthy description of his merits as a general, shows in the introduction of his speech that his superiority as general serves to impress upon the soldiers a firm conviction that the battle ahead will end in victory:

. . . ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ τοῦθ' ἐν τῶν πρὸς τὸ τοῦ
πολέμου κράτος φερόντων ἐστὶ καὶ μέγιστόν
γε παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι πεπίστευται,
λέγω δὲ τὸ καὶ στρατηγοῦ τινος ἀρίστου
τοὺς καλῶς πολεμήσοντας τυχεῖν,
ἀναγκαιότατόν μοι τὸν περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ λόγον
αὕτη ἡ χρῆμα πεποίηκεν . . .¹³³

. . . since this, too, is one of the factors
which contribute to victory on war, and in
the opinion of all men is of supreme
importance, – I mean that men who are to
wage war, must also have an excellent
general, – necessity itself has rendered
quite inevitable what I shall say about
myself . . .

That the previous accomplishments of generals were great motivational factors in speeches to grant certainty that the war ahead will be won is also illustrated by the speeches of Ptolemy and Antiochus before the battle of Raphia:

Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον τῶν δυνάμεων
ἐκτεταγμένων ἐπιπαρήεσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς
ἀμφοτέρω κατὰ πρόσωπον τᾶς αὐτῶν τάξεις
παρακαλοῦντες ἅμα τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ
φίλοις . . . Ἦν δὲ παραπλήσιος ὁ νοῦς τῶν
ὑπ' ἑκατέρου παρακαλουμένων. Ἴδιον μὲν
γὰρ ἔργον ἐπιφανὲς καὶ κατηξιωμένων
προφέρεσθαι τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις

The armies having been drawn up in this
fashion, both the kings rode along the line
accompanied by their officers and friends,
and addressed their soldiers . . . The
substance of the address was on both
sides very similar. For neither king could
cite any glorious and generally
recognised achievement of his own, both

¹³¹ App. BC. II.8.51.

¹³² App. Mith. XII.10.70.

¹³³ Dio. L.17.1-2. Transl. by Earnest Cary, LCL, V:470-471.

οὐδέτερος αὐτῶν εἶχε διὰ τὸ προσφάτως | of them having but recently come to the
 παρειληφέναι τὰς ἀρχάς . . . ¹³⁴ | throne . . .

Although neither Ptolemy nor Antiochus could bring forward any substantial success in war, it is obvious from the text, if they had had one to offer, they would have! Polybius here clearly assumes that generals mention their great past successes as motivational factors to trust them in the present conflict!

This rhetorical scheme of extolling the successes of the commander for confidence in future victories is exactly the same rhetorical device, which Paul utilises in Phil. 2:9-11. Christ Jesus as the super-victorious general, before whom every knee will bow, to whom every tongue will confess His sovereign lordship – guarantees with His victory, which led to universal dominion, that the life of His followers advancing the gospel in a spirit of humility and self-sacrifice will also be victorious. On account of Christ's victory, the Philippians can fight for their victory (τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε)¹³⁵ (Phil. 2:12) in advancing the good news.

5.3. Certainty of victory – the LORD fights your battles (Phil. 2:12-13 and 2:14-15)

An encouragement along similar lines of reasoning as in Phil. 1:5-7, pointing to the LORD as the initiator of holy war, is found in Phil. 2:12-13. Here as well, Paul draws upon Old Testament holy-war-theology to embolden the Philippians in their efforts to advance the gospel.

5.3.1. The surrounding context: military terminology of ἀγαπητοί, ὑπακούω, and military concept of the presence or absence of the commander

5.3.1.1. *The background of the address ἀγαπητοί μου*

In these two verses a cluster of military images and concepts appear. Paul addressing the Philippians as ἀγαπητοί μου mirrors the practice of commanders of calling their troops in speeches to them φίλοι (cf., Dio XXXVIII.36.1., XXXVIII.37.1., Onos. *Strat.* XXIII.1.).¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Plb. V.82.1-4. Transl. by W.R. Paton, LCL, III:220-221.

¹³⁵ For τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε as military terminology denoting the fight for victory see the next section below. Note that through the ὥστε of Phil. 2:12, τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε is connected with the previous section of Christ's exaltation.

¹³⁶ Ἀγαπάω and φιλέω can function as synonyms. See John 3:35; cf., John 5:20 or John 21:15-17. See Andreas J. Köstenberger, *John*. Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2004, 596. There is a marked difference in the address of people as ἀγαπητοί or φίλοι, however. While

5.3.1.2. Ὑπακούω – *military terminus*

The otherwise obvious has already been pointed out by Geoffrion, namely that Ὑπακούω is military terminology.¹³⁷ Soldiers obey:

ὑμεῖς ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολέμοις ὑπακούετε ἐς πάντα ὡς κυρίως τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ¹³⁸	You, of the people, when you go to the war, obey your generals as masters in everything.
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One cannot underestimate the role obedience played in the Roman army. Soldiers were expected to obey orders even if it cost their lives and disobedience was severely punished, mostly by execution:

οὐδ' ἔστιν ἀπειθείας τι χεῖρον ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, δι' ἣν καὶ νικῶντές τινες ἀνηρέθησαν, καὶ οὐδεὶς εὖθυνε τοὺς ἀνελόντας. ¹³⁹	There is nothing worse in an army than disobedience, on account of which some soldiers have been put to death even after a victory, and no one called to account those who killed them.
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Obedience to orders and respecting the command of one's leader were highly esteemed virtues in the Roman army and a significant reason for the superiority of the Roman army over the forces of their neighbours. Every Roman soldier was acutely aware of the unshakable mindset of obedience even to absurd commands. The soldier knew that in battle blind obedience enabled the coherence of the unit structures and allowed strategic troop movements which gave the Roman army a significant advantage over their enemies. Obedience was not only a mindset which the soldier embraced, from the day he was recruited, the soldier was rigorously trained in discipline. Discipline was considered a skill of the profession of being a soldier, which could be learned, just like building defences or the

ἀγαπητοί is an affectionate address and expresses the love and care of the speaker towards the recipient, φίλοι carries in its secular usage of the literary sources the additional connotation of the reciprocal loyal commitment of the recipient towards the speaker. The superior could address the inferior as φίλος and express with the usage of the term the expectation or acknowledgement of the inferior's commitment to him. The person in a socially inferior position could never address his superior as φίλος. Unless Paul expected a commitment of the Philippians not only towards Christ, but also towards himself as a superior, the use of φίλοι would have been inappropriate. If, as Marchal claims, military images have a controlling and dominating function, Paul missed here a perfect opportunity to utilise asymmetrical friendship terminology. (Joseph A. Marchal, *Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation. A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Power Dynamics in Paul's Letter to the Philippians*. Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006, 69.) By using ἀγαπητοί however, Paul avoids class- or position- conscious language and simply expresses his affectionate care for the Philippians.

¹³⁷ Timothy Geoffrion. *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians*. Lewiston: Mellen Biblical Press, 1993, 186.

¹³⁸ App. BC. IV.12.92. Transl. by Horace White, LCL, II: 294-95.

¹³⁹ App. BC. III.8.56. Transl. by Horace White, LCL, II: 60-61.

handling of arms.¹⁴⁰ It was held in such high esteem that it was deified and altars were set up to it in the Roman camp and coins were struck in her honour.¹⁴¹

5.3.1.3. Παρουσία μου versus ἀπουσία μου – the presence or absence of the commander

Concerning μή ὡς ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ μου μόνον ἀλλὰ νῦν πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ μου (“not only in my presence, but now much more in my absence,” Krentz suggests a connection to military custom and points out the importance of the concept of the presence and absence of a commander with his troops: “Generals fought alongside their troops in ancient warfare.”¹⁴² In an armed conflict the presence and safety of the commander ensured that he was able to give wise directions to the combating forces. Victory or defeat depended in ancient thought chiefly on the presence and abilities of the commander.¹⁴³ The success of the campaign and the welfare of the army were first and foremost in his hands. Onosander therefore counsels the general not to rashly put his own life in danger, since not only his life, but also the lives of all the soldiers depend on his:

ὅμοιον δὴ κρίνω τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐμπαρβαλέσθαι τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῇ τῷ τῆς συμπάσης, εἰ πείσεται τι, δυνάμεως ἀκηδεῖν· εἰ γάρ, ἐν ᾧ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἡ σωτηρία στρατεύματός ἐστιν, οὗτος οὐδὲν εἰ τεθνήξεται πεφρόντικε, τὸ πᾶν αἰρεῖται συνδιαφθεῖραι, καὶ ὀρθῶς δ’ ἂν τις αἰτιάσαιτο τοῦτον ὡς ἄπρακτον στρατηγὸν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνδρεῖον. ¹⁴⁴	Similar, I think, is the notion which the general gets into his heart when he thus disregards the welfare of his whole force in the event of accident to himself; for if he, with whom the safety of the whole army lies, has no care lest he himself should die, he prefers that everyone should die with him, and rightly he would be censured as an unsuccessful rather than a courageous general.
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¹⁴⁰ Yann Le Bohec, *The Imperial Roman Army*. Transl. by Raphael Bate. New York: Routledge, 2001, 107.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Edgar Krentz, “Military Language and Metaphors in Philippians.” In *Origins and Method: Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity*. Ed. Bradley H. McLean. Journal of the Study of the New Testament Supplement 86, 265-286. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993, 119.

¹⁴³ See for example Plb. XVIII.28.6-8: “οὐ γὰρ παρὰ τὸν καθοπλισμὸν οὐδὲ παρὰ τὴν σύνταξιν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἐπιδεξιότητα τὴν Ἀννίβου καὶ τὴν ἀγχίνοιαν περιέπιπτον τοῖς ἐλαττώμασι. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο πεποιήκαμεν ἡμεῖς ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ὑποδεικνύοντες τῶν ἀγώνων. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τοῖς ἡμετέροις λόγοις πρῶτον μὲν τὸ τέλος τοῦ πολέμου· προσγενομένου γὰρ στρατηγοῦ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παραπλησίαν δύναμιν ἔχοντος Ἀννίβα, ταχέως καὶ τὸ νικᾶν συνεξηκολούθησε τοῖς προειρημένοις.” (“... for there (*the Romans*) met with defeat not owing to their equipment and formation but owing to Hannibal’s skill and cleverness. This I made sufficiently clear in dealing with the battles in question... for very soon when the Romans had the advantage of the services of a general of like capacity with Hannibal then victory was an immediate consequence of this.”)

¹⁴⁴ Onos. *Strat.* XXXIII.3. Transl. by Illinois Greek Club, LCL, 480-483.

The presence or absence of an able commander often determined the fate of the whole war. In the battle of Philippi the death of Cassius significantly contributed to the defeat of the Republican army, as Cassius was the more able commander of the two leaders of the combined anti-Caesarean forces. In the first battle of Philippi Brutus' wing was victorious, while Cassius' forces were beaten by Antony. Cassius was retreating to a hill and since he could not see the progress of the battle on account of the dust and/or on account of his bad eyesight, he sent Titinius to find out about the horses, which were approaching. They came from Brutus announcing his victory, but since Titinius did not immediately return, but joined in to the loud victory celebration, Cassius believed Titinius to be captured by approaching enemy forces and committed suicide.¹⁴⁵ Although Brutus combined the two armies under his command and he had a good chance of coming out victoriously from the conflict, the literary sources blame Brutus for lacking the abilities of a general like Cassius. The army would have obeyed Cassius promptly without interfering with his authority, but Brutus lacked the ability to lead the legions and was eventually forced to adopt his course of action according to the opinion of the soldiers, which led to the loss of the second battle of Philippi and the end of the Republican forces. Appian suggests that the absence of the general Cassius was one of the paramount reasons why the Republican forces lost the battle of Philippi.¹⁴⁶

Now, Paul's captivity in Rome and the potential threat of his execution meant his painful absence from Philippi. The Philippian Christians probably had looked up to their apostle for direction, encouragement and vision – as soldiers would have to their commander. It is plausible that with “their commander going down,” the resolve of the Philippians to fight courageously for the advancement of the gospel was significantly weakened. The absence and potential threat of the loss of “their general” must have brought in a significant disillusionment about the value of continuing boldly their effort to stand firm and united in their ranks to resolutely further the gospel. Add the consideration that the Philippians themselves were suffering from opposition to the gospel (Phil. 1:7, 28-30), and one can easily understand why the Philippians must have felt like giving up on their endeavour to fight for the advancement of the good news. The Philippians' disillusionment about their continued propagation of the gospel led Paul to argue that his captivity did not hinder the progress of the gospel, on the contrary, it furthered it all the more (Phil. 1:12-13). And his imprisonment did not mean that “the troops” should be discouraged and weaken their resolve to advance the good news, to the contrary: his imprisonment had made some even more bold to speak the word without fear (Phil. 1:14) and should have had the same effect on the Philippian community!

¹⁴⁵ App. *BC*. IV.15.113., Plut. *Brut.* XLIII.1-9.

¹⁴⁶ App. *BC*. IV.16.123-24.

5.3.2. The surrounding context: τὴν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε – not technical religious termini, but from the context of the military

5.3.2.1. Σωτηρία – not a religious terminus technicus

That Paul still has the advancement of the gospel through the bold preaching of Christ in his line of thought in Phil. 2:12-14 is evidenced through the phrase τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε (traditionally translated as “work out your salvation”). The expression τὴν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε had to suffer from serious mistranslation, inappropriate exegesis and fallacious application by a majority of Christian commentators and theologians in the past, on account of a “false assumption about the technical meaning”¹⁴⁷ of the word σωτηρία. Scholars have too quickly assumed that Paul uses σωτηρία indiscriminately as a *terminus technicus* referring in every instance of the occurrence of the word to the redemptive relationship of the believer with God through the forgiveness of sins and the reception of eternal life. The many pages that are necessary in commentaries and systematic theologies of Protestant conviction to explain us out of the dilemma of Paul insisting adamantly in his writings that salvation is an exclusive gift from God by faith alone in Christ alone apart from works,¹⁴⁸ yet here in Phil. 2:12 Paul seemingly contradicts himself, indicating our failure to have understood Phil. 2:12 correctly. The phrase τὴν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε urgently requires reconsideration and the various possible semantic domains need to be given due attention without premature commitment to doctrinal traditions.

5.3.2.2. Σωτηρία – in military context with the meaning “victory” ?

Edgar Krentz broke new and necessary ground when he suggested that “‘Salvation’ here cannot mean religious salvation at the eschaton, but must mean ‘victory,’ as is normal in a military context.”¹⁴⁹ It is probably a little far-fetched to assert that σωτηρία in a military context “normally” means “victory.” Even in the sphere of the military the word has a wide variety of connotations, “military-deliverance” and “safety” being the more common ones. Krentz only cites Aen. Tact. Prol.2.7. as support for the use of σωτηρία as “victory.”¹⁵⁰ The more likely meaning there, however, is not “victory” but “safety” because Aeneas contrasts battles

¹⁴⁷ Donald A. Carson, *Exegetical Fallacies*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006, 45-47.

¹⁴⁸ Rom. 1-4; 1 Cor. 1:26-2:5; 2 Cor. 5:18-21; Gal. 2-5; Eph. 2; Phil. 3:1-11; Col. 1:12-2:23; 2 Tim. 1:9-10; Tit. 3:4-7. The appeal to Phil. 2:13 as God initiating and prompting the “good works” will not help, it does not matter how much God initiated them, they would still be meritorious, if they are the means to working out our salvation.

¹⁴⁹ Edgar Krentz, “Paul, Games, and the Military.” In *Paul in the Greco-Roman World*. Ed. J. Paul Sampley. London: Trinity Press International, 2003, 356.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 350.

abroad and battles in ones own homeland. Aeneas argues that if one encounters military defeat abroad and survives, one can flee back home. While if one has to battle the enemy in one's own country and suffers disaster, one has no hope of σωτηρία, i.e. safety, because the unstated implication is that there is no other place to flee to for refuge because the enemy is already on one's doorstep.¹⁵¹ Although σωτηρία in Aen. Tact. Prol.2.7. does not mean "victory," other texts, however, support that σωτηρία can mean "victory." The LXX occasionally translates the Hebrew נִצְחָה with σωτηρία, when the context refers to military victories:

καὶ Ναϊμαν ὁ ἄρχων τῆς δυνάμεως Συρίας ἦν ἀνὴρ μέγας ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ καὶ τεθαυμασμένος προσώπων ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν κύριος σωτηρίαν Συρίᾳ. ¹⁵²	And Naaman, the commander of the forces of Syria was a great man in the eyes of his master and of high honour, because by him the Lord had given victory to Syria.
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καὶ ἀνηγγέλη τῷ Ἰωαβ λέγοντες ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεὺς κλαίει καὶ πενθεῖ ἐπὶ Ἀβεσσαλωμ καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ σωτηρία ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ εἰς πένθος παντὶ τῷ λαῷ ὅτι ἤκουσεν ὁ λαὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ λέγων ὅτι λυπεῖται ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ. ¹⁵³	And it was announced to Joab, saying, see, the king is weeping and mourning over Absalom. And the victory of that day was turned into mourning for all the people because the people heard on that day that the king is weeping for his son.
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5.3.2.3. Σωτηρία – in military context with the meaning "victorious deliverance in battle"

The demarcation line between σωτηρία in the LXX denoting "military deliverance," "military salvation" or "victory" is often not very precise and σωτηρία could be translated either way in several other instances (2 Kings 23:10 LXX; Psa. 19:6 LXX; Psa. 23:12 LXX; 1 Mac. 3:6; 4:25; 5:62 LXX). However the translator decides to bring out the differing nuances, the concept of victory in battle is certainly present in the LXX usage of σωτηρία. In the secular

¹⁵¹ The text reads: "Ὅσοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν ὀρμωμένοις χώρας ὑπερόριοί τε ἀγῶνες καὶ κίνδυνοι συμβαίνουσιν, ἂν τι σφάλμα γένηται κατὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ὑπολείπεται τοῖς περιγιγνομένοις αὐτῶν οἰκεία τε χώρα καὶ πόλις καὶ πατρίς, ὥστε οὐκ ἂν ἄρδην πάντες ἀναιρεθῆσαν. Τοῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων μέλλουσι κινδυνεύειν, ἱερῶν καὶ πατρίδος καὶ γονέων καὶ τέκνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οὐκ ἴσος οὐδὲ ὁμοῖος ἀγὼν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ σωθεῖσι μὲν καὶ καλῶς ἀμυναμένοις τοὺς πολεμίους φοβεροὺς τοῖς ἐναντίοις καὶ δυσεπιθέτους εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον εἶναι, κακῶς δὲ προσενεχθεῖσι πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους οὐδεμία ἐλπίς σωτηρίας ὑπάρξει." Aen. Tact. Prol. 2.3-7.

¹⁵² 4 Kings 5:1 LXX.

¹⁵³ 2 Kings 19:1-2 LXX.

historians σωτηρία often occurs in close relation with νίκη,¹⁵⁴ but the two concepts appear not to be exact synonyms. While νίκη refers in military history to the actual winning of the battle, σωτηρία designates the benefits that result to the victorious forces, namely deliverance and safety from the previous military threat. Moving from the strict meaning of the word to the broader conceptual idea of σωτηρία, one has to remember that for the Roman soldier “salvation” was almost exclusively possible through victory:

<p>. . . οὐκ ἔστι σωτηρία τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ πάσῃ μάχῃ διδασκέτω διὰ πλειόνων, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν φεύγουσι πρόδηλος ὁ ὄλεθρος, ὡς ἂν ἤδη μετ’ ἐξουσίας ἐπικειμένων τῶν πολεμίων μηδενὸς ἔτι δυναμένου διακωλύειν τοὺς διώκοντας πᾶν ὃ βούλονται διαθεῖναι τοὺς φεύγοντας, τοῖς δὲ μένουσιν ἄδηλος ὁ θάνατος ἀμυνομένοις.¹⁵⁵</p>	<p>. . . there is no safety for fugitives but also in every locality and every battle [the general] must show by many reasons that death is certain for those who flee, since the enemy would at once press on freely, as soon as no one is able to hinder the pursuit, and could dispose of the fugitives as might suit them; but for men who stand and defend themselves, death is not certain.</p>
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A recurring expression of the historians is that the “only hope of safety lies in victory/attack”¹⁵⁶ demonstrating the closeness which the two concepts share. Already during the Hannibalic wars a strong and famous precedent was set, that – as a general rule for their armies – the Romans would not ransom prisoners taken captive by the enemy in battle. When at the battle of Cannae Hannibal took eight thousand Romans prisoner, who had protected the Roman camp, he sent a deputation to the Senate in order to negotiate a price for redemption. Although the captured soldiers had not fled cowardly in battle, but had been forced to yield to circumstances, the Senate refused hope for salvation apart from victory:

<p>. . . ὅτι τοῖς ἡττημένοις ὁμῶς ἐλπίς ἀπολείπεται σωτηρίας, τοσοῦτ’ ἀπέσχον τοῦ ποιῆσαι τι τῶν ἀξιουμένων ὥστ’ οὔτε τὸν τῶν οἰκείων ἔλεον οὔτε τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐσομένης χρείας ἐποιήσαντο περὶ πλείονος . . . ἀπειπάμενοι τὴν διαλύτρωσιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοῖς δὲ παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐνομοθέτησαν ἢ νικᾶν μαχομένους ἢ θνήσκειν, ὡς ἄλλης</p>	<p>. . . that even when they are defeated they might hope for salvation. Therefore <i>the Senate</i>, far from granting the request, refused all mercy even to their own relatives, and did not consider the service these men would render them to prevail <i>in the future</i> . . . by refusing to ransom the men; and at the same time established</p>
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¹⁵⁴ Jos. *AJ.* VIII.256.; XIV.136.; Plb. XVI.32.5.; Onos. *Strat.* X.15.; Dio. XLI.39.3; XLVII.47.5.; DS. XIII.15.5.; App. *BC.* IV.117.138.; Xen. *Cyr.* III.3.34.

¹⁵⁵ Onos. *Strat.* XXXII.6.7. Transl. by Illinois Greek Club, LCL, 476-477.

¹⁵⁶ Dio. XLVII.47.5.; DS. XIII.60.2.6.; Plb. XVIII.25.4-5; Tac. *Ann.* II.20.

οὐδεμιᾶς ἐλπίδος ὑπαρχούσης εἰς σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς ἡττωμένοις . . . ¹⁵⁷	the law for their own men that they are either victorious or die while fighting, as there was no other hope of safety for them if they were beaten.
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Thus conceptually in Roman thought, victory (νίκη) and military deliverance (σωτηρία) belong together. Either the army in battle array was victorious in the conflict and achieved a military deliverance or it was defeated and experienced destruction. On account of the use of σωτηρία in the LXX, denoting victory, and the close conceptual connection in secular thought between victory and military deliverance, Paul likely did not intend to import into σωτηρία in Phil. 2:12 a religious meaning, but a meaning in connection with military usage. What Paul had in mind when he uses the word σωτηρία here in Phil. 2:12 may simply be a military metaphor of a victorious deliverance after a battle.

5.3.2.4. Σωτηρία in Phil. 1:19: victory/ deliverance when Christ is preached by Paul

The precise referent of the "victorious deliverance after a battle" may have nothing to do with "eternal salvation," but it is yet to be determined from the context of the book of Philipians. At this point it is important to remind ourselves that Paul has already used the term σωτηρία in Phil. 1:19 and it is possible that he intended that the meaning there carries over to Phil. 2:12. Philipians 1:19, οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι τοῦτό μοι ἀποβήσεται εἰς σωτηρίαν (traditionally translated "for I know that this will turn out for my salvation") is in great part a verbatim quotation of Job 13:16 LXX (τοῦτό μοι ἀποβήσεται εἰς σωτηρίαν).¹⁵⁸ However the original sense of the group of words may correlate with Paul's usage of it in Phil. 1:19, it is important to note that the phrase in Job is surrounded by the context of Job speaking, even in the midst of his afflictions, the very same context of Phil. 1:19:

ἐάν με χειρωσῆται ὁ δυνάστης, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἤρκεται, ἢ μὴν λαλήσω καὶ ἐλέγξω ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ· καὶ τοῦτό μοι ἀποβήσεται εἰς σωτηρίαν . . . ἀκούσατε ἀκούσατε τὰ ῥήματά μου· ἀναγγελῶ γὰρ ὑμῶν ἀκουόντων.	Even if the Almighty one brings me into his hands [the sense is most likely 'even if he afflicts me'], which he already has done, I will speak and bring evidence before Him. And this will turn out for my victory [at court] . . . hear, hear my message,
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¹⁵⁷ Plb. VI.58.10-11.

¹⁵⁸ John Reumann, *Philippians: A New Translation With Introduction and Commentary*. Anchor Yale Bible. London: Yale University Press, 2008, 210.

| I will announce it to you if you will hear.

Also noteworthy is the fact that ἀποβήσεται εἰς (“this will turn out”) plus a dative of advantage or reference and in the same circumstantial setting (i.e. persecution and being handed over to the authorities) is also used in Luke 21:13. There the result of ἀποβήσεται εἰς is witness (μαρτύριον), again just as in Phil. 1. “This” (οὗτος) (Phil. 1:19) refers either to the circumstances Paul presently finds himself in or may refer back to the proclamation of Christ in Phil. 1:18c Χριστὸς καταγγέλλεται.¹⁵⁹ The context makes it very unlikely that σωτηρία in Phil. 1:19 means “release from prison.”¹⁶⁰ At this point in Paul’s argument it is not clear at all that he will be released. His conviction surfaces only in Phil. 1:25, after his argument in Phil. 1:22-24. To give σωτηρία here the sense of a *terminus technicus* meaning “future eschatological redemption”¹⁶¹ fails to convince, because it is unclear how either circumstances or the proclamation of Christ will help Paul to receive eschatological redemption, especially since he argues adamantly in Phil. 3:9-11 that righteousness and the resultant blessings are the exclusive gift of God received by faith alone in Christ alone.

The immediate context of Phil. 1:19 on its own sheds sufficient light on the meaning and reference of σωτηρία. Given the fact that the word is military vocabulary and that Paul elaborates that the σωτηρία is according to his earnest expectation and hope that Christ will be magnified either in bold speech¹⁶² or in death (κατὰ τὴν ἀποκαραδοκίαν καὶ ἐλπίδα μου, ὅτι ἐν οὐδενὶ αἰσχυνοθήσομαι ἀλλ’ ἐν πάσῃ παρρησίᾳ ὡς πάντοτε καὶ νῦν μεγαλυνθήσεται Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ σώματί μου, εἴτε διὰ ζωῆς εἴτε διὰ θανάτου) (Phil. 1:20), the most consistent line of thought is that Paul envisions with the imagery a kind of “Christ-exalting-victory” that happens every time when either Christ is boldly proclaimed in the midst of opposition or when the messenger dies because of the opposition. This image of victory/ deliverance when Christ is preached pays closest attention to the context of Job where the phrase is drawn from. For already in Job “salvation/ victory is effected through speaking.” In Phil.1:19 Paul has not left his line of reasoning along the thought of “proclaiming Christ.” He is rejoicing because others proclaim Christ (Phil. 1:18) and rejoices himself because he is empowered through prayer and the Spirit to proclaim Christ (Phil. 1:20). The salvation Paul envisions in Phil. 1:19 is a

¹⁵⁹ John Eadie, *A Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistle of Paul to the Philippians*. London: Griffin, 1859, 42.

¹⁶⁰ As adopted by the RSV.

¹⁶¹ So Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 109-10. Markus Bockmuehl, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. Black’s New Testament Commentary. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1998, 83.

¹⁶² For παρρησία and the consistent thematic of bold speech see Acts 4:31; 9:29; 14:3; 18:26; 19:8; Eph. 6:19-20.

military image in which Christ is magnified as the supreme commander when he is preached boldly in opposition or when the preacher dies from the opposition.

5.3.2.5. Σωτηρία in Phil. 2:12: victory/ deliverance when Christ is preached by the Philippians

The same idea Paul transports into Phil. 2:12. Here it is not the apostle who experiences a victory/ salvation, but the Philippians when they boldly share the gospel. This concept of “victory/ salvation” is consistent with the surrounding military images of the context.

5.3.2.6. Κατεργάζομαι – in military context with the meaning “to fight”

In considering the meaning of κατεργάζομαι we have already noted that the noun of the ἐργ– word group refers in a military context to a battle. The verbal form ἐργάζομαι and its related compounds are repeatedly used in a military context in the literary sources and in the context of warfare the word does not take up the meaning of “labour” or “work,” but has a specific field of meaning in direct relation with the battle. Κατεργάζομαι appears also in Eph. 6:13 in a thorough military context and surrounded with military linguistics such as “the putting on of armour” (ἀναλάβετε τὴν πανοπλίαν) (Eph. 6:11, 13), the battle (πάλη) (Eph. 6:12), (the withstanding of the enemy in the formed battle line (ἀντιστήναι, στήτε) (Eph. 6:11, 13, 14) and the listing of individual pieces of armour of the Roman soldier (Eph. 6:14-17). A precise meaning cannot be determined from the context of Ephesians, but the usual generic translation “having done” is rather clumsy and reveals more of the translator’s perplexity regarding the meaning of the word in the context rather than appropriately investing into it the forceful image of armed conflict, which the word has in military contexts. In the military setting ἐργάζομαι or the compound κατεργάζομαι takes up a meaning related to armed conflict with different nuances according to the setting. The word may simply mean “to fight” or “to battle.” Appian employs κατεργάζομαι in the sense of fighting an enemy. He writes in his *Civil Wars*:

αὐτὸς δὲ Φίλιππος ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμία μείζονος, οὐδέν τι προπαθὼν, ἔπεμπε πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πρέσβεις . . . ὑπισχνούμενος αὐτῷ συμμαχήσειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ κάκεῖνος αὐτῷ σύνθοιτο κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα . συμβάντος δὲ ἐς ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀννίβου καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ συνθήκῃ ὁμόσαντος	But Philip himself, having a desire to enlarge his domains, although he had suffered nothing (<i>from the Romans</i>) sent an embassy . . . to Hannibal in Italy promising to fight alongside him in Italy if he himself would assist him in fighting the Greeks . Hannibal agreed in this and
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πρέσβεις τε ἀντιπέμψαντος ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους | took an oath to support it and send an
 τοῦ Φιλίππου.¹⁶³ | embassy for the oath from Philip.

In Appian's *Hannibalic Wars*, ἐργάζομαι appears in the same sense of fighting an enemy:

<p>. . . Ἀννίβας . . . ἀνέστρεφεν ἐς Καπύην, μέγα ποιούμενος μὴ περιδεῖν πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐκαιρον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις γενομένην. προσβαλὼν δὲ τῷ περιτειχίσματι καὶ μηδὲν δυνηθεὶς μηδ' ἐπινοῶν, ὅπως ἂν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσπέμψαιεν ἢ σῖτον ἢ στρατιάν, οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ἀπ' ἐκείνων αὐτῷ συμβαλεῖν δυναμένου διὰ τὴν ἐπιτείχισιν πάντῃ περιλαμβάνουσαν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ . . . ἐλπίζων . . . αὐτός τι Καπύης μείζον ἐργάσασθαι . . . ἀπὸ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίων τῆς Ῥώμης ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀνιῆνος ποταμοῦ.¹⁶⁴</p>	<p>. . . Hannibal . . . turned back to Capua, considering it very important not to let such a large and important city fall to the Romans. He attacked its enclosing wall, but was not able to accomplish anything, nor could he devise any way to send provisions or soldiers into the city. And as none [of the people inside] were able to communicate with him on account of the walls which completely surrounded them, [Hannibal] hastened to Rome with his whole army, hoping to battle for himself something greater than Capua . . . and he encamped thirty-two stades from Rome at the river Anio.</p>
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In Appian's *Illyrian Wars*, κατεργάζομαι appears again in the sense of fighting a common enemy:

<p>ἔνδοξοι δ' εἰσὶν ἐκ Μακεδόνων δι' Ἀγριᾶνας, οἱ τὰ μέγιστα Φιλίππῳ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κατεργασάμενοι Παϊονέες εἰσι τῶν κάτω Παϊόνων, Ἰλλυριοῖς ἔποικοι.¹⁶⁵</p>	<p><i>The Pannonians</i> are famous from the Macedonian <i>times</i> through the Agrianes who fought greatly alongside Philip and Alexander; they are Pannonians of lower Pannonia, bordering on Illyria.</p>
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Similarly, Polybius uses κατεργάζομαι in the sense of the active engaging in warfare and contrasts it with the resultant peace. In a speech king Attalus argues that if the Greeks want to enjoy lasting peace, they now have to κατεργάζομαι, i.e., fight along with the other nations intent on war:

<p>τελευταία δὲ παράκλησις εἰς τὸν κατὰ Φιλίππου πόλεμον, καὶ διορκισμός, ὡς ἔαν</p>	<p>Finally [Attalus] exhorted them to take part in the war against Philip and swore</p>
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¹⁶³ App. *Mac.* I.1.

¹⁶⁴ App. *Hann.* VI.38.

¹⁶⁵ App. *Ill.* III.14.

μη νῦν ἔλονται συνεμβαίνειν εὐγενῶς εἰς
 τὴν ἀπέχθειανᾶμα Ῥοδίοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ
 αὐτῷ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρέντες τοὺς καιροὺς
 κοινωνεῖν βούλωνται τῆς εἰρήνης, **ἄλλων
 αὐτὴν κατεργασαμένων**, ἀστοχήσειν
 αὐτοὺς τοῦ τῆ πατρίδι συμφέροντος . . .¹⁶⁶

by the assurance of an oath that if they
 now did not decide upon nobly declaring
 that they shared the hostile intentions of
 the Romans, the Rhodians and himself;
 but after a while desired to share in the
 peace, **which others had fought for**,
 they would not achieve what was in the
 interest of their homeland . . .

When the historians use ἐργάζομαι or the compound κατεργάζομαι, then in most of the usages of the words a “positive” outcome of the fighting in battle-action is already in view. The words thus describe the fight and the intended and accomplished results of the fight. Depending upon the immediate contextual circumstances, the ἐργάζομαι- word group receives different nuances of meaning, ranging from “accomplish in battle,” “gain by battle,” “overpower an enemy in battle,” to “subdue in battle,” or “fight victoriously an enemy in battle.”¹⁶⁷

The sense of “subdue in battle” and “accomplish in battle,” respectively, is apparent in Dio Cassius’ use in narrating a speech of Julius Caesar to his war-tired and discontented soldiers:

ἐπεὶ εἶγε ἐν μηδενὶ δεινῷ ἦν, οὐτ’ ἂν ἐς τὴν
 Ἰταλίαν μετὰ τῶν ὀπλων ἦλθομεν (οὐ γὰρ
 ἔξεστιν) οὐτ’ ἂν τά τε τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ τὰ
 τῶν Βρεττανῶν ἀτέλεστα κατελίπομεν,
**δυνηθέντες ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖνα
 προσκατεργάσασθαι.**¹⁶⁸

If [Italy] were not in danger, then we
 should not have come into Italy under
 arms (for this is not lawful), nor should we
 have left *our battles* with the Germans
 and the Britons unfinished when we were
**able to subdue them in victorious
 battle too.**

προσεπέειπεν “ . . . οὐδένα ἔθ’ ὑμῶν
 ἀναγκάσω στρατεύσασθαι· εἰ μέντοι τις
 ἐκούσιος ἐθέλοι καὶ τὰ λοιπά μοι
συγκατεργάσασθαι, ἠδέως αὐτὸν δέξομαι.”
 ἀκούσαντες δὲ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνοι ὑπερήσθησαν
 καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἀναστρατεύσασθαι

Caesar said to them: ‘ . . . I will compel
 none of you to serve as soldiers any
 longer. If, however, anyone wishes to
help me accomplish in battle what
 remains, I will receive him gladly.’
 Hearing this, they were overjoyed and all

¹⁶⁶ Plb. XVI.26.6-7.

¹⁶⁷ The listed nuances are not exhaustive, others, like “kill” (App. *Mith.* XVI.111.), “crush” (Dio. XXXVIII.13.1.), etc. could be listed. The references to the different nuances are also just examples, as the occurrences of the ἐργάζομαι- word group in the military context are too numerous for an exhaustive study at this point of our investigation.

¹⁶⁸ Dio. XLI.32.2.

ἠθέλησαν.¹⁶⁹

likewise wished to serve as soldiers again.

A speech by Xenophon to Seuthes indicates that Xenophon uses *κατεργάζομαι* in the sense of “gaining by battle”:

ἀλλὰ πιστευθεὶς ἀληθεύσειν ἃ ἔλεγες ἐπήρας
τοσοῦτους ἀνθρώπους συστρατεύεσθαί τε
καὶ **κατεργάσασθαι σοι ἀρχὴν** οὐ τριάκοντα
μόνον ἀξίαν ταλάντων . . . ἀλλὰ
πολλαπλασίων.¹⁷⁰

But you, *Seuthes*, were trusted that whatever you said was carried out truthfully and these many men went out with you to fight as soldiers and **gained in battle for you a realm** worth not only thirty talents . . . but many times as much.

The denotation “to overpower in battle” can be seen in a description of one of Caesar’s military tactics as narrated by Dio Cassius:

ὡς δὲ ταῦτά τε ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας
ἦλθόν ποτε, οὐκέθ’ ἡσύχασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τοῦναντίον ἠπεύχθη πρὸς τὴν μάχην, ὅπως
πρὶν τὸν Ἰόβαν ἐπελθεῖν φθάσῃ τὸν
Σκιπίωνα προκατεργασάμενος. καὶ
προχωρήσας ἐπ’ αὐτὸν πρὸς πόλιν
Οὐζζίττα.¹⁷¹

When this had happened and [Caesar’s reinforcements] from Italy . . . had finally come, he no longer stayed quiet, but on the contrary, hastened to battle, so that before Scuba arrived, **he might overcome Scipio in battle**. And Caesar advanced against him in the direction of the city of Uzitta.

The meaning “to fight victoriously” is utilised by Dionysius of Halicarnassus as he reports a speech of Lucius Junius:

χρηστὰ δὲ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐλπίσαντες
χρόνου, παρέσχομεν ὑμῖν ἑαυτούς, καὶ
πάντα τὰ πολέμια ἐν ὀλίγῳ **κατεργασάμενοι**
χρόνῳ παρήμεν ἄγοντες αἰχμαλώτους
πολλοὺς καὶ λείας καλὰς.¹⁷²

But conceiving good hopes of the future we entrusted ourselves to you; and **having subdued** all your enemies in a short time we returned with many prisoners and rich spoil.

The victorious nature of the battle is also assumed by Appian in the description of the potential victory Pompey could have had in the battle at Dyrrhachium:

¹⁶⁹ Dio. XLII.54.3.

¹⁷⁰ Xen. *Ana.* VII.7.25.

¹⁷¹ Dio. XLIII.4.3-4.

¹⁷² DH. VI.76.2.8.

οἱ δ' ὡς ἐκ λιμοῦ πάντων ἐνεπίμπλαντο
 ἀθρόως καὶ ἐμεθύσκοντο ἀπρεπῶς, καὶ
 μάλιστα αὐτῶν οἱ Γερμανοὶ γελοιώτατοι
 κατὰ τὴν μέθην ἦσαν, ὥστε δοκεῖ καὶ τότε
 ἂν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπελθὼν **ἐργάσασθαι τι**
λαμπρόν, εἰ μὴ διώκειν ὄλως ὑπερεῖδεν ἐκ
 καταφρονήσεως . . .¹⁷³

But all the soldiers who had suffered
 much from hunger ate immoderately and
 drank wine excessively and especially the
 Germans among them behaved absurdly,
 being under the influence of strong drink;
 so that it seems likely that had Pompey
 marched out then, **he could have fought**
brilliantly [i.e. for complete victory of
 Dyrrhachium], if he had not disdainfully
 neglected a close pursuit . . .

Appian again clearly reveals that ἐργάζομαι with reference to a battle (note well the usage of ἔργον in the context) takes up the denotation of “a final completion of the warfare”:

Ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος τὸν στρατὸν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν
 συναγαγὼν ἔλεξεν ὧδε· “οὐδὲν ἔστιν, ὃ
 συστρατιῶται, παρὰ τὸν χθὲς ἀγῶνα, ἐν ᾧ μὴ
 κρείσσους ἐγένεσθε τῶν πολεμίων. τῆς τε
 γὰρ μάχης ἤρξατε προθύμως, εἰ καὶ χωρὶς
 παραγγέλματος· καὶ τὸ τέταρτον τέλος . . .
 δυνηθέντες δ' ἂν ὅλον **ἐργάσασθαι τὸ**
ἔργον, ἀρπάσαι μᾶλλον εἴλεσθε ἢ κτείνειν
 τοὺς ἡσσωμένους· οἱ γὰρ πλέονες ὑμῶν τοὺς
 πολεμίους παροδεύοντες ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν
 πολεμίων ὄρμων.¹⁷⁴

Brutus gathered his army to an assembly
 and spoke to it as follows: “You are,
 fellow soldiers, in regard to yesterday’s
 military struggle, in every respect superior
 to the enemy. You began the battle
 passionately, although without orders,
 and you destroyed the fourth *legion* . . .
 but when it was in your power **to fight for**
complete victory of the whole battle,
 you chose rather to plunder than to put to
 death the vanquished; for most of you
 passed by the enemy to gain his
 property.

5.3.2.7. Τὴν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε – *the fight for victory/ salvation through preaching Christ*

Thus when Paul employs the phrase τὴν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε in connection with other military terminology (ἀγαπητοί, ὑπακούω, παρουσία καὶ ἀπουσία of the commander), it is more likely that he has a coherent military metaphor in mind, rather than a compilation of words from unrelated semantic domains of friendship (ἀγαπητοί), travel (παρουσία καὶ ἀπουσία),

¹⁷³ App. BC. II.10.64.

¹⁷⁴ App. BC. IV.16.117.

slavery (ὑπακούω), work (κατεργάζομαι) and religious termini (σωτηρία). Instead of amassing semantically unrelated words, Paul contextually fine-tuned his text with the central command κατεργάξεσθε in Phil. 2:12, intending the meaning “fight for completion”¹⁷⁵ of the victory (σωτηρία). This sense connects the thought of Phil. 2:12 both with the logical progression of Paul’s reasoning of Phil. 2:9-11 and Phil. 2:13.¹⁷⁶ Both preceding and following Phil. 2:12 confidence of victory in a future battle is stated. In Phil. 2:9-11 the previous victory of Christ guarantees success of the “mop-up-operations.” The Philippians are able to “fight for a completion of the victory” precisely because Christ has already won it through a decisive battle previously and furthermore, the success of the present command to “fight for victory” is assured because of the presence of the super-victorious commander with His people.

The military metaphor τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν κατεργάξεσθε should thus be translated “fight for the completion of your victory.” As a next step it needs to be asked what the referent of the battle is, that is, what exactly Paul had in mind when he commanded the Philippians “to fight for victory.” When Paul uses the phrase τὴν σωτηρίαν κατεργάξεσθε, he intends a military metaphor in relation to evangelism, as an allusion to the battle always refers to evangelism in Philippians. Paul himself experiences a victory/ salvation when he preaches Christ boldly (Phil. 1:18-20). He wants the Philippians to experience the same victory/ salvation and that is achieved only when they themselves continue to stand strong in the campaign to advance the gospel. If he, as an example and leader, is present or not, the Philippians need not be discouraged that the campaign to further the gospel will suffer setbacks or even defeat. The success of the military mission depends not on his presence with the Philippians, but on the presence of the supreme commander himself. The victorious outcome of the “gospel campaign” rests on the question whether God is present in the war for the advancement of the faith or not.

5.3.3. The LORD among the Philippians (θεὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν) – an allusion to an Old Testament military concept

In appealing to the concept of God “working” (or rather: “fighting”)¹⁷⁷ in their midst,¹⁷⁸ Paul alludes to another prominent and important Old Testament warfare theology. In the Old

¹⁷⁵ As in App. BC. IV.16.117.; II.10.64.; Dio. XLII.54.3.

¹⁷⁶ Note the intended progression of thought indicated by ὡστε in Phil. 2:12 and γάρ in Phil. 2:13.

¹⁷⁷ For Paul’s usage of the ἐργ- word group in Philippians as a referent to a battle, see Phil. 1:6, 1:22, 2:30 and see 4.4.2. “Ἔργον in a military context a commonly used word meaning ‘battle.’” and 4.2. “Military struggle for the advance of the gospel: The example of Paul (Phil. 1:20).” as well as 5.1. “Certainty of victory – the LORD initiated the campaign for the gospel (Phil. 1:5-7).”

¹⁷⁸ Ἐν ὑμῖν here, as in Phil. 1:6, means “among you,” not “in you.” See 5.1.4. “Reasons for confidence of victory: the character and presence of God.”

Testament “at the heart of holy war” is the concept of “God’s presence with the army.”¹⁷⁹ If the LORD was the one who initiated Israel’s holy wars, it was also made crystal clear to every Israelite, occasionally through painful lessons that only by the presence and work of the LORD among Israel were the victories of the people of God in battle achieved.¹⁸⁰ In the threat of overwhelming opposition the people of God were encouraged not to be afraid, since God’s presence among them defied every odds: “The people are greater and taller than we are; the cities are large and fortified up to heaven’ . . . ‘Then I said to you “Do not be terrified, nor afraid of them. the LORD your God, who goes before you, will fight for you.”” (Deut. 1:28-30) If the LORD’s presence was with His people, they would be victorious:

ἀναστήτω ὁ θεός καὶ διασκορπισθήτωσαν οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ φυγέτωσαν οἱ μισοῦντες αὐτὸν ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ. ¹⁸¹	Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered; Before his presence shall those flee who hate Him.
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If the LORD withheld His presence, the wars of Israel ended in disaster: “Do not march up, nor fight, for I am not among you, you would be defeated before your enemies” (Deut. 1:42).¹⁸² As in much warfare theology of the Old Testament the exodus served as a pattern for the theme of the presence of the LORD for all future battles of Israel as well. Before the military confrontation with the forces of Egypt the presence of God in the theophanistic appearance of a pillar of cloud or fire is affirmed: “And the LORD went before them by day in a pillar of cloud to lead the way and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light . . . He did not take away the pillar of cloud by day or the pillar of fire by night before the people.” (Exod. 13:21-22). After the Egyptian threat and the fear of Israel are mentioned, an assurance of military victory on account of the presence of God is given:

εἶπεν δὲ Μωϋσῆς πρὸς τὸν λαὸν θαρσεῖτε στήτε καὶ ὀρᾶτε τὴν σωτηρίαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἣν ποιήσει ἡμῖν σήμερον . . . κύριος πολεμήσει περὶ ὑμῶν καὶ ὑμεῖς σιγήσετε. ¹⁸³	And Moses said to the people: Be courageous and stand and see the salvation from God which He accomplishes for you today . . . for the Lord will fight for you and you shall hold
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¹⁷⁹ Tremper Longman III and Daniel G. Reid, *God Is a Warrior*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995, 35.

¹⁸⁰ Instructive is Lind’s work who shows that both the early and late traditions of Israel highlight YHWH’s miraculous intervention in battle and downplay human involvement. YHWH’s presence is such an important factor in warfare that in many accounts of battles it is clear that the relationship between Israel and YHWH is not synergistic. The miraculous intervention of YHWH is usually acclaimed as decisive. Millard C. Lind, *Yahweh Is a Warrior: The Theology of Warfare in Ancient Israel*. Scottdale: Herald Press, 1980.

¹⁸¹ Ps. 67:2 LXX.

¹⁸² See also Num. 14:42-45.

¹⁸³ Exod. 14:13-14 LXX. Note the similarity of argument and wording to Phil. 2:12-13: salvation will be accomplished for his people because God fights for them.

| your peace.

Twice more in the narrative the presence of God through the “angel of the Lord” and the pillar of cloud or fire are described as the means by which military action is effected: both in the protection of Israel and the destruction of the Egyptian forces: “And the angel of God, who went before the camp of Israel, moved and went behind them; and the pillar of cloud went before them and stood behind them” (Exod. 14:19); “the LORD looked down upon the army of the Egyptians through the pillar of fire and cloud and he troubled the army of the Egyptians.” (Exod. 14:24). At the end of the narrative both the Egyptians and the Israelites confess that “the LORD fights for Israel” (Exod. 14:25; 15:1-21). The emphasis of the salvation/ victory report of the exodus clearly lies in the repeated theme that the active presence of the LORD accomplishes such military victories on behalf of God’s people.

The battle song shouted by Moses as the people were beginning to enter the Promised Land focused on the presence of YHWH with his people. This battle cry of Moses is flanked in both sides with a remark to the presence of God with His people, who would fight for them (Num. 10:33-36 LXX):

<p>... καὶ ἡ κιβωτὸς . . . κυρίου προεπορεύετο προτέρα αὐτῶν . . . καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐξαίρειν τὴν κιβωτὸν καὶ εἶπεν Μωϋσῆς ἐξεγέρθητι κύριε διασκορπισθήτωσαν οἱ ἐχθροί σου φυγέτωσαν πάντες οἱ μισοῦντές σε . . . καὶ ἡ νεφέλη ἐγένετο σκιάζουσα ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ ἐξαίρειν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς.</p>	<p>. . . and the ark . . . of the Lord went in front of them . . . and when the ark was moving out, Moses said: Arise, O Lord! Let your enemies be scattered, let those who hate you flee before you . . . and the cloud overshadowed them on the day they left the camp.</p>
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The symbol of the presence of God, the Ark of the Covenant would play a vital role in the military campaigns of Israel. Great importance was laid on the ark accompanying the army, or even going ahead of it.¹⁸⁴ This symbolic action showed the consciousness of Israel of its dependence on the presence and active work of God in their midst for their military victory. It is a dark omen in the narrative foreshadowing disaster when the ark is not sent with or ahead of the soldiers.¹⁸⁵ On the other side, the conquest of the Promised Land is preceded with an

¹⁸⁴ Josh. 6; Judg. 20:27-28; 2 Sam. 11:11; 2 Sam. 15:24; Ps. 132:8.

¹⁸⁵ See for example Num. 14:44 “ . . . nevertheless neither the ark of the covenant of the LORD nor Moses departed from the camp. Then the Amalekites and the Canaanites . . . came down and attacked them and drove them back as far as Hormah.” In the narrative of 1 Sam. 4, the ark had not gone out with the armies (and apparently the custom had abated for a while already due to the apostasy of Israel) and thus Israel promptly suffered defeat. The army somehow remembers the importance of the presence of the ark in battle and thus the ark is swiftly called to the battlefield. The empty symbol without the reality of the

elaborate ceremony of the ark crossing the Jordan (Josh. 3:1-17), which significance is explained to be symbolic for the presence of God fighting for Israel (Josh. 3:10 LXX):

ἐν τούτῳ γνώσεσθε ὅτι θεὸς ζῶν ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ ὀλεθρευῶν ὀλεθρεύσει ἀπὸ προσώπου ἡμῶν τὸν Χανααναῖον καὶ τὸν Χετταῖον καὶ τὸν . . .	By this you shall know that the living God is among you and that He will not fail to drive out from before you the Canaanites, and the Hittites, and the Perizzites . . .
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The presence of the LORD with the armies of Israel in war was considered so real and sacred, that similar preparations and attitudes of approach during wartimes were necessary as in the preparation and approach of the sanctuary itself. Before the campaign to enter the Promised Land started, Joshua commanded the people to consecrate themselves (ἀγνίσασθε) (Josh. 3:5 LXX), as the living God will be among them to defeat their enemies as they go to battle (Josh. 3:10). The same command for consecration and sanctification (ἄγνισον αὐτοὺς) was given to the people when the LORD prepared Israel for a revelation of His presence on Mount Sinai (Exod. 19:10-11 LXX) or when the priests or the cultic utensils were ceremonially set apart for service in the tabernacle (Exod. 28:3, 41; 29:9, 27, 35; 30:29; 40:10-13; Lev. 8:11-12). Before the battle of Jericho the Israelite men were circumcised (Josh. 5:2-9), surely not a strategic move from a purely military perspective, but vitally necessary if Israel expected the LORD to dwell with His people and to fight for them (cf., Exod. 4:24-26). Similarly, when the “Commander of the army of the LORD” announces “His presence,” Joshua has to take off his shoes, as the ground where he stands is holy on account of the presence of the LORD (Josh. 5:13-15). Another important aspect of the preparation for the presence of the LORD in battle was sacrifice. Here as well the exodus event served as a precedent for other forthcoming battles. On the eve of the exodus the Passover sacrifice was offered (Exod. 12), a sacrifice that was repeated before important battles in the conquest (Josh. 5; 1 Sam. 13).

The dwelling of the LORD with the army of Israel and the consequent consecration of the armed forces is also vividly perceptible from the Deuteronomic laws concerning the ritual cleanliness of the war camp during a campaign. There the Israelite soldiers are commanded to “keep themselves from any ‘evil thing’ when they march out to encamp against their enemies (Deut. 23:9). There are two specific laws governing excretion and ejaculation that ensure the ritual cleanness of the military camp (Deut. 23:10-14). The reason for the specific “holiness-laws” is stated in Deut. 23:15 LXX:

LORD’s presence, however, does not produce the victory which the LORD had promised and foreshadowed to accomplish only with His active and favourable residency among His people.

<p>ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐμπεριπατεῖ ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ σου ἐξελέσθαι σε καὶ παραδοῦναι τὸν ἐχθρόν σου πρὸ προσώπου σου καὶ ἔσται ἡ παρεμβολή σου ἁγία καὶ οὐκ ὀφθήσεται ἐν σοὶ ἀσχημοσύνη πράγματος καὶ ἀποστρέψει ἀπὸ σοῦ.</p>	<p>Because the Lord your God walks in the midst of your camp to deliver you and defeat your enemies before you. Therefore your camp shall be holy that He may see no unclean thing among you and turn away from you.</p>
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In his argument in Phil. 2:12-13 Paul picks up two important points from the theology of warfare in the Old Testament. The first one is the encouragement of the LORD's presence and work in the midst of His people, who will fight for them. If the LORD is present with his people and fights with them, the outcome is certain. The second one is the appropriate response to the presence of God in their midst.

5.3.4. Fear and trembling (μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου) – awe before the presence of God instead of fear of enemies

5.3.4.1. *Fear and trembling in the Old Testament: at the presence of God*

The presence of God in the midst of the army (Phil. 2:13) explains why the Philippians are to fight for victory μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου (“with fear and trembling”) (Phil. 2:12).¹⁸⁶ Fear or trembling are stereotypical reactions of human beings, when God “shows up” with His presence in the Old Testament.¹⁸⁷ The juxtaposition of φόβος and τρόμος also appears at several places in the Old Testament and O’Brien summarises succinctly its significance: “The two nouns φόβος and τρόμος appear together in the LXX on a number of occasions, almost as a stereotypical expression, and usually refer to the fear of a human being in the presence of God and His mighty acts . . . the phrase [φόβος καὶ τρόμος] has to do with an attitude of due reverence and awe in the presence of God . . .”¹⁸⁸ Φόβος and τρόμος occur juxtaposed not only in the context of the presence of the LORD, however, but most of its occurrence happens in the context of enemies fearing an opposing army, be it Gentile nations in fear of the army of Israel (with the LORD fighting for them) or Israel itself (or any other nation) before the frightening armies of their enemies.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ Γάρ (Phil. 2:13) clearly connects both thoughts and introduces the reason why the Philippians should fight for victory with fear and trembling.

¹⁸⁷ Cf., Ps. 114:7 “Tremble o earth, at the presence of YHWH, at the presence of the God of Jacob.” Isa. 64:2 “Make your name known to your adversaries that the nations may tremble at your presence.” Jer. 5:22 “Do you not fear Me? Will you not tremble at my presence?”

¹⁸⁸ Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 282-83.

¹⁸⁹ Exod. 15:16 LXX; Deut. 2:25 LXX; Deut. 11:25 LXX; Judg. 2:28 LXX; 15:2 LXX; 1 Mac. 7:18 LXX; 13:2 LXX; 4 Mac. 4:10 LXX; Isa. 19:16 LXX.

As fear and trembling are the natural human reactions in the context of being faced with an overwhelming enemy in warfare, Paul turns the attention of the Philippians' toward the proper object of awe and reference: God Himself who fights on behalf of His people. The rhetorical strategy of Paul here is based on the well-known Old Testament concept of the LORD commanding not to fear the enemy, but to trust and fear Himself who is with His people and the one who can defy the odds:

<p>... και ἐξῆλθεν Ωγ βασιλεὺς τῆς Βασαν εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτοῖς και πᾶς ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ εἰς πόλεμον εἰς Ἐδραῖν . . . και εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν μὴ φοβηθῆς αὐτόν ὅτι εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου παραδέδωκα αὐτόν και πάντα τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ και πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ . . .¹⁹⁰</p>	<p>. . . and Og the king of Bashan went out with all his people [to fight against Israel], for battle at Edrei . . . But the Lord said to Moses, "Do not be afraid of him; for I have given him into your hand, with all his people, and all his land . . .</p>
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<p>ἀνδρίζου και ἴσχυε μὴ φοβοῦ μηδὲ δειλία μηδὲ πτοηθῆς ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεός σου ὁ προπορευόμενος μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐν ὑμῖν οὐ μή σε ἀνῆ οὔτε μή σε ἐγκαταλίπη.¹⁹¹</p>	<p>Behave like a man, be strong and do not fear, do not be cowardly nor afraid before their presence, because the Lord your God, the one who goes before you and who is in your midst, he will not leave you nor forsake you.</p>
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<p>οὐχ ὑμῖν ἐστιν πολεμῆσαι ταῦτα σύνετε και ἴδετε τὴν σωτηρίαν κυρίου μεθ' ὑμῶν Ἰουδα και Ἱερουσαλημ μὴ φοβεῖσθε μηδὲ πτοηθῆτε αὐρίον ἐξελεθεῖν εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτοῖς και κύριος μεθ' ὑμῶν.¹⁹²</p>	<p>It is not yours to fight this <i>battle</i>; understand and see the salvation of the Lord, who is with you, Juda and Jerusalem. Fear not and do not be afraid to move out against them tomorrow <i>in battle</i>, for the Lord is with you.</p>
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5.3.4.2. Fear and trembling in Philippians: at God instead of the enemy

The encouragement of Paul for the Philippians not to fear the opposition, but to fear the presence of God who fights on their behalf is sorely needed. The Philippians are described (still in the same context) as τέκνα θεοῦ . . . μέσον γενεᾶς σκολιᾶς και διεστραμμένης (Phil. 2:15), "in the midst of a generation" clearly evoking the image of the helpless minority surrounded by hostile mass of antagonists.¹⁹³ Paul's thought here in Phil. 2:12-15 is strikingly similar to

¹⁹⁰ Num. 21:33-34 LXX.

¹⁹¹ Deut. 31:6 LXX; cf., also Deut. 31:8.

¹⁹² 2 Chr. 20:17 LXX.

¹⁹³ For the possible military connotation of the phrase see below.

his image in Phil. 1:27-28. There, the Philippians were frightened by the enemy, but Paul exhorts them, not to fear them (μη̄ πτυρόμενοι ἐν μηδενὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντικειμένων), instead they are to fight courageously for the advance of the gospel (στήκετε ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι, μιᾷ ψυχῇ συναθλοῦντες τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου), expecting a victory/ salvation (ὑμῶν δὲ σωτηρίας), and that from the presence of God, who fights for them (καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ θεοῦ).

Paul in Phil. 2:12-15 does not simply repeat his previous thought, but the main proposition of the *narratio* in Phil. 1:27-30 is argued in detail within the *probatio* (of which Phil. 2:12-15 is a part), thus the re-occurrence of the central thought here should not only surprise the exegete, but should be expected. In order to picture the similarity of Paul's line of argument in Phil. 1:27-30 and Phil. 2:12-15, the corresponding phrases are placed in opposition in the following chart:

Phil. 1:27-30

Phil. 2:12-15

εἴτε ἐλθὼν καὶ ἰδὼν ὑμᾶς εἴτε ἀπών
(either if I come and see you or if I
am absent)



μη̄ ὡς ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ μου μόνον
ἀλλὰ νῦν πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ
ἀπουσίᾳ μου (not only in my
presence, but much more now in
my absence)

στήκετε ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι, μιᾷ ψυχῇ
συναθλοῦντες τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου
(stand firm in one spirit, with one
soul fighting together for the
advance of the faith of the gospel)



καθὼς πάντοτε ὑπηκούσατε . . . τὴν
ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε
(just as you have always obeyed
. . . fight for your victory)

μη̄ πτυρόμενοι (not terrified *by the
enemy*)



μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου (with fear
and trembling *not of the enemy,*
but of God)

ἐν μηδενὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντικειμένων (by
the ones who are opposing)



μέσον γενεᾶς σκολιᾶς καὶ
διεστραμμένης (in the midst of a
crooked and perverse
generation)

ὑμῶν δὲ σωτηρίας (but to you victory/
salvation)



τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν (your victory/
salvation)

καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ θεοῦ (and *this victory/salvation* comes from God)



θεὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν
(for God is the one who fights in
your midst for your victory/
salvation)

The obvious parallels of both sections within Philippians aid the exegete in determining the meaning of the more difficult corresponding side of the comparison. Some parallel ideas like εἶτε ἐλθὼν καὶ ἰδὼν ὑμᾶς εἶτε ἀπὼν and μὴ ὡς ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ μου μόνον ἀλλὰ νῦν πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ μου, μὴ πτυρόμενοι and μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου, ὑμῶν δὲ σωτηρίας and τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν are clear and require no comment. They are easily identifiable and establish the pattern of the parallels. If one of the main exhortations of a respective section, namely στήκετε ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι, μιᾷ ψυχῇ συναθλοῦντες τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου and καθὼς πάντοτε ὑπηκούσατε . . . τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε is not immediately clear in their meaning, the parallel structure sheds light from the clear phrase to the unclear one. As the *narratio* incontrovertibly pertains to the “military struggle” of advancing the gospel, the corresponding phrase most likely involves the same idea, and not some completely unrelated and novel thought.

The structure above confirms our exegesis regarding the nature of Paul’s intention in Phil. 2:12-14. Τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε does not speak about working for religious salvation at the *eschaton*, this thought is not a concern in the context, nor at all in Philippians. It clearly refers to a military battle, in which the Philippians are called to fight for victory. The military struggle is the conflict for the advance of the gospel in a hostile environment. The remedy of fear of an overwhelming number of opponents is the fear of God as He promised to be present as the “ultimate warrior” among His people. If He himself is the One present, fighting in the midst of His people, victory will be assured, as the precedent of the Old Testament confirms.

5.3.5. Murmuring and arguing (γογγυσμῶν καὶ διαλογισμῶν) – an evil Old Testament attitude of despising military discipline and hardship for civil pleasure

Phil. 2:14-16 continues to string together, as in Phil. 2:12-13, various military images and allusions. On the surface, Πάντα ποιεῖτε χωρὶς γογγυσμῶν καὶ διαλογισμῶν (“do all things without grumbling and arguing”) in Phil. 2:14 appears to have nothing peculiar in common with the military, but a closer look will reveal strong military associations. Almost every commentator notes that the command of the Philippians not to grumble and argue is a direct reference or at least an allusion to the grumbling of the Israelites in the wilderness (cf., Exod. 15-16;

Num. 11-12, 14). Silva summarises concisely: “the noun *gongysmos* (corresponding to Hebrew *telûnā*) and the verb (*dia*)*gongyzō* (Hebrew *lûn*) immediately call to mind the murmuring of the Israelites in the wilderness . . . any doubts that this is the setting that Paul has in mind here are removed when we compare 2:15 with Deut. 32:5 LXX, where the Israelites are described as ‘spotted children, a crooked and perverse generation.’”¹⁹⁴ The precise significance of Paul drawing upon Old Testament language, however, is debated among scholars.¹⁹⁵ No satisfactory solution has been offered and the appropriateness of the allusion to the Old Testament text is still a question.¹⁹⁶ All the issues at stake in the grumbling of the exodus generation like the rebellion against the authority of Moses, the disbelief in God’s promises and the malcontent of the generation with their circumstances seems to have no parallel with any issues addressed in Philippians.

The present sense of disconnectedness between the original situation of the exodus and the application into the lives of the Philippians is due to the deficiency of previous scholarship not paying attention to the wider setting of the original grumbling. Paul projects from the books of Moses not only the immediate reference to the grumbling of the Israelites, but he also imports the larger setting of the grumbling, which is in both major original texts, namely in Exod. 15-17, as well as Num. 11, 12 and 14, the embankment on the military

¹⁹⁴ Moisés Silva, *Philippians*. Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Baker: Grand Rapids, 2005, 23-24.

¹⁹⁵ A wide range of typological implications for the reason why Paul alludes here to the negative example of the people of God in the Old Testament has been offered. Friedrich sees the significance of the allusion in that the Christian’s life between Easter and the second coming of Christ is compared to the wandering people of God in the wilderness, both of them unhappy of the present situation and the lack of God’s intervention (Gerhard Friedrich, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. Das Neue Testament Deutsch 8. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985, 155.). Larsson supposes a generic rebellious attitude against God’s will at the focus of Paul’s exhortation (Edvin Larsson, *Christus als Vorbild. Eine Untersuchung zu den Paulinischen Tauf- und Eikontexten*. Uppsala: Almqvist och Wiksells, 1962, 267.). Hansen sees the Philippians complaining against their leadership on account of the suffering the congregation experiences (G. Walter Hansen, *The Letter to the Philippians*. Pillar New Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009, 179-80.). Gnilka sees Paul singularly appealing for a devotion to God on the basis that the wandering people of God in the wilderness are a type of the New Testament church (Joachim Gnilka, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. Leipzig: St. Benno-Verlag, 1969, 151.). Hawthorne and Martin suggest that the Philippians generated inward and outward feelings of unfriendliness towards one another (Gerald F. Hawthorne, and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 143.). Louw and Nida suggest a parallelism between the grumbling of the Israelites with Moses and the Philippians’ relationship to Paul (LN, I-J: 69.). Most other exegetes interpret Paul to implicate that the Philippians were grumbling against God and doubting His promises (Heinrich A. W. Meyer, *The Epistles to the Philippians and Colossians*. Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Transl. by J. C. Moore. Edinburgh, 1875, 114.; Joseph B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul’s Epistle to the Philippians*. London: MacMillan, 1908, 117.; Francis W. Beare, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. Black’s New Testament Commentary. London: A & C Black Publishers, 1969, 92.; et. al.). None of these suggestions are convincing. There is no indication in Paul’s letter that the Philippians were rebelling against God, that they had issues with their elders or with Paul. That the Philippians generated “feelings of unfriendliness towards each other” may be true, but to address this problem a reference to Exodus and Numbers is out of place, as the exodus generation was grumbling against Moses and God, not against each other.

¹⁹⁶ Richard R. Melick, *Philippians, Colossians, Philemon*. New American Commentary. Nashville: B&H Publishing Group, 1991, 112.

campaign to conquer the promised land. The grumbling concerning water and food in Exod. 15:22 – 17:7 occurs right after the glorious military victory over the Egyptians in Exod. 14 – 15:21. Israel had just experienced the LORD as a mighty warrior, destroying in a military victory the forces of Egypt. The narrative presupposes at that point that Israel would carry straight on with a military campaign toward the land of Canaan; the first enemy, Amalek, begins his warfare right after the grumbling bread-and-water-incident in Exod. 17:8-16.¹⁹⁷ The grumbling of the Israelites is thus set into an *inclusio*, with reference to the LORD's military campaign at both ends:

- a) begin of the military campaign for the promised land
through the LORD's deliverance (Exod. 14:15-21)
- b) the grumbling about food
and water (Exod. 15:22-17:7)
- a') continuation of the military
deliverance of the LORD (Exod. 17:8-16).

The grumbings of Israel in the book of Numbers demonstrate an equivalent setting. The production of the silver trumpets in Num. 10:1-10 are primarily for the preparation of the military expedition into the promised land, the trumpets are blown for a signal that the armies of Israel are to march out (Num. 10:2, 5-6) and before engaging the enemy as a sign to invoke the presence of the LORD in battle (Num. 10:9).¹⁹⁸ In Num. 10:11-36 the people of Israel are setting out in military marching formation, each tribe under its own military standards with the tribe of Dan acting as the rear guard. The passage reaches its climax with Moses shouting – as the ark sets out – the battle cry, “Arise, O the LORD, let your enemies be scattered and let those who hate you flee before you” (Num. 10:35).

The grumbings of the Numbers narrative about the dullness of manna, lack of meat and the quarrelling about the leadership of Moses (Num. 11-12) are set right after Israel moves out from the wilderness of Sinai in military formation and right before they camp at the wilderness of Paran, on the edge of the promised land, where now the spies are sent out in preparation for the grand campaign for Canaan (Num. 12:16-13:24).

The second grumbling of the Numbers narrative occurs right in the context of the returning spies. After the dual report of the overwhelming strength of the enemies and the LORD's ability to deliver, the people complain that they will fall by the sword and so decide to

¹⁹⁷ The immediate advance of the military operation into the land of promise in the exodus narrative is only interrupted because of the worship of the golden calf, which suspends the move into Canaan for another year (Num. 9:1).

¹⁹⁸ Possibly also Num. 10:10, the blowing of the trumpets on feast days, has a military connotation, as the Israelites commemorate in their days of gladness that these are due to the military intervention of the LORD, establishing them in the promised land.

return to Egypt (Num. 14:1-4, cf., Num. 14:27). A resurgence of self-confidence – instead of LORD-confidence – leads to a disastrous battle against the Amalekites and Canaanites right after the previous murmuring incident (Num. 14:39-45). Both grumbings in the recounted sequence of Numbers are set within the context of the military expedition of Israel in an ab/ab pattern:

- a) preparation and marching out of the armies of Israel
= beginning of the renewed campaign for the promised land (Num. 10:1-36)
 - b) people grumble about manna,
lack of meat and against Moses (Num. 11:1-1215)
- a') military operations begin by sending
out spies (Num. 13:1-33)
 - b') people complain about being
killed by the enemy (Num. 14:1-36)
- a'') Futile military expedition against
Amalekites and Canaanites (Num. 14:39-45)

The larger setting and theme, which Paul imports from Exodus and Numbers is the following: at the prospect of the great military campaign of the LORD the people of Israel were neither focused nor enthusiastic regarding being part of a military expedition with the LORD and its successful conclusion through divine intervention in Israel's warfare. Rather, they murmured and complained about God's lack of provision and the insurmountable battle task. The parallels with Philippians are now quite apparent: like the exodus generation, the Philippians are on a military campaign with God – not for physical subjection of enemies, but for the advance of the gospel (Phil. 1:5-6). In the immediate context the Philippians are encouraged to obey their supreme general (Phil. 2:12a) and to fight for victory in the battle to advance the gospel (Phil. 2:12b). The Philippians can do this in spite of overwhelming enemies, being assured that the LORD is present with them in the campaign (Phil. 2:13). Philippians 2:14 with its command to do all things without grumbling and arguing relates and unpacks the previous imperative to σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε ("fight for victory") in Phil. 2:12. To fight for victory means not to be frightened by enemies (Phil. 1:28), but to undergo hardships (Phil. 1:30) with a non-complaining attitude and to boldly present the gospel to unbelievers (λόγον ζωῆς ἐπέχοντες) (Phil. 2:16), just as Paul had exemplified this to the Philippians (Phil. 1:21; 3:12-14; 2:16). In light of the military setting of "the grumbling and complaining" both in Philippians and in the Pentateuch, the scholarly perplexity of the appropriateness of Paul alluding to the Old Testament has been solved. The larger context of both, New Testament Philippians, as well as Old Testament Exodus and Numbers, is the expectation of the LORD that in light of a military campaign initiated by God, military discipline and focus on the battle

task is expected of the people of God. Although fighting in both instances against the odds in numbers, the battle task is not to be seen as unattainable, but God is to be trusted to fight in the midst and for His people.

5.3.6. The campaign of a just war installs confidence in the troops for victory

5.3.6.1. *Contrasts of character* (ἄμεμπτοι καὶ ἀκέραιοι and σκολιᾶς καὶ διεστραμμένης) in military rhetoric

Paul continues his argument in Phil. 2:15-16 with another compelling reason why he believes the campaign for the spread of the gospel will be victorious. It is important to notice that the contrast of character between the Philippians ἄμεμπτοι καὶ ἀκέραιοι (“blameless and harmless”) and the opponents γενεᾶς σκολιᾶς καὶ διεστραμμένης (“a crooked and perverse generation”) (Phil. 2:15) functions not simply as an exhortation to be morally upright and to shift blame, but the contrast of character has a very specific and in antiquity well known function within military rhetoric. Τέκνα θεοῦ ἄμωμα μέσον γενεᾶς σκολιᾶς καὶ διεστραμμένης (“children of God, without blemish, in the midst of a wicked and perverse generation”) contains on the one hand a sober and discouraging evaluation of the prospect of the missionary campaign of the Philippians; yet at the same time alludes to a military concept, which promises success in spite of the present disadvantaged position.

5.3.6.2. *Surrounded by the overwhelming numbers of the enemy* (μέσον γενεᾶς)

First, the description τέκνα θεοῦ . . . μέσον γενεᾶς . . . κτλ. conjures up the notion of an army numerically significantly inferior in number, surrounded by the enemy. Paul’s usual term as a description of how he himself and other Christians live and act in relationship with the Gentiles is described by the preposition ἐν.¹⁹⁹ Paul preaches and other believers live among (ἐν) Gentiles. Here, however, not simply the fact that the Philippians live among the society at large is emphasised, but Paul likely chose the unusual μέσον to visualise the image of numerically few believers having to live out their Christian life and having to be a witness to Christ among an overwhelming number of unbelievers, who surround them on all fronts.²⁰⁰ The situation of the Philippians described in military imagery is not a favourable one – if one is in the middle of a group described with contrasting character attitudes, one has to picture a

¹⁹⁹ Rom. 1:5; 1:8; 2:24; 2 Cor. 2:15; 11:26; Gal. 1:6; 2:2; Eph. 2:3; 1 Tim. 3:16. The exception is 2 Cor. 6:17, where Paul uses ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν (from their midst), but Paul is restricted there in the choice of his words by his quotation from Isa. 52:11 LXX, where ἐκ μέσου αὐτῆς appears.

²⁰⁰ The numerical inferiority is highlighted by the contrast of τέκνα (children) versus γενεά (generation). It is not just a few isolated crooked and perverse individuals who oppose the Christian movement, but the whole generation, the general society presently living.

scene where opponents beleaguer a small group of upright soldiers on all sides. Being surrounded in such a way by a numerically superior enemy would be described as a strategically hopeless situation. Being surrounded by the enemy in an ancient battle meant almost inevitable defeat for the encircled army. Among the historians, when an army is being surrounded, the verb surround (κυκλώω or *circumvenire*) is customarily followed by a second verb indicating utter defeat or destruction.²⁰¹ The first century hearer accustomed to secular military history would instantly recognise that being surrounded meant to be in such a despondent situation that only a miracle or intervention by the gods would bring about an unexpected deliverance.

5.3.6.3. *Hope of military deliverance through intervention of the gods on account of one's virtue*

This deliverance, however, is possible and a miraculous intervention by “the gods” occurring in an otherwise hopeless situation of Phil. 2:15 is part of the rhetorical strategy of Paul. The concept that God is present and fighting the battle of the Philippians already explicitly stated in Phil. 2:13 is now implicitly woven into the text of Phil. 2:15. The contrast between the righteousness of the Philippians (τέκνα θεοῦ ἄμωμα) and the wickedness of their enemies (γενεά σκολιᾶς καὶ διεστραμμένης) is based on a well known rhetorical strategy in military speeches. The underlying logical development of those speeches runs as follows. The general points out the wicked behaviour of the enemy or the righteous lifestyle of himself or his nation. That moral contrast of the opposing armies establishes who is fighting a just war and who is not. The gods favour justice and piety and will thus intervene and turn the tide in a war where the odds would normally be in favour of the numerically stronger or better equipped army.

5.3.6.4. *The military topos “the war is just” is the basis for the virtue of the troops*

Paul, in Phil. 2:16, appeals to this important military *topos* of “the justice of this present war.” The concept “justice is on our side” belongs to the functional category of the general’s speech “why we will win this war.” Pointing out the wickedness of enemies and the righteousness of one’s own cause is a regular occurrence in the harangues of generals and

²⁰¹ E.g., “surrounded and slain” DS. XIV.24.2.; XV.42.5.; App. BC. I.14.20.; Sal. Jug. 101.; BC II.35.; BG IV.12.; V.37.; VI.40.; VII.50.; VII.62. VII.80.; Liv. XXII.15.10.; XXVIII.6.5.; XXX.35.2.; “surrounded and fled” App. Han. II.5.; II.11.; Plut. Alex. IV.11.2.; “surrounded and destroyed” App. Mith. VI.42.; “surrounded and put an end to his life” Plb. V.54.3.; “surrounded and the whole legion wiped out” Liv. X.26.9.; “surrounded and cut to pieces” Liv. XXV.21.10.

always serves as a boost to morale of the soldiers, since they can infer from it that justice will fight on their behalf and sway the decision of the battle. Of course, often both sides of the combatants claim that their entering into the war was just. Nevertheless, unless the general is convinced – or at least is able to convince the army – that justice is on his side, the battle is not waged.

The reason for the strong insistence (an argument often presented by the general) that righteousness and justice supports his cause is a pervasive underlying thought pattern of the Greco-Roman world. If one was Greek, Roman or Jewish, no matter which philosophical school one came from or which god's one was showing premiere devotion to – the underlying assumption and outlook on war was shared by all people likewise: justice is a power in war which enters into a conflict and sways the outcome of the battle even if the other side has more soldiers, better equipment, the more advantageous position, the more capable general, or other important deciding factors on their side.

The belief of how exactly or through what means justice decided the outcome of the war, differed and depended on one's own philosophical or theological preference. Either a monotheistic God or several deities were interested in righteousness and thus personally intervened in the battle or justice as an impersonal force or justice considered as a deity in itself intruded into the affairs of men. However diversely the *modus operandi* of justice was interpreted, one underlying thought pattern was essential to all: justice was a force to be reckoned with. If justice was not thought to be on one's side, one does not enter the war. If it was, one appealed to justice in military speeches to come to one's aid in the coming military conflict.

5.3.6.5. *The theme "just cause of the war" in the military speeches*

Thus Onosander establishes the principle in his advice to generals that before each campaign, the general should point out in speeches that justice is on their side:

Τὰς δ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ πολέμου μάλιστα φημι χρῆναι φρονίμως συνίστασθαι καὶ μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου πᾶσι φανερόν γίνεσθαι πολεμοῦντα· τότε γὰρ καὶ θεοὶ συναγωνισταὶ τοῖς στρατεῦουσιν εὐμενεῖς καθίστανται . . . ²⁰²	The causes of war, I believe, should be marshalled with the greatest care; it should be evident to all that one fights on the side of justice. For then the gods also, kindly disposed, become comrades in arms to the soldiers . . .
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²⁰² Onos. *Strat.* IV.1. Transl. by Illinois Greek Club, LCL, 390-91.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus reveals in a short paragraph the general attitude of the ancients towards the necessity of the “justice of war.” As the Roman general Marcius defects to the Volscians, they plan a renewed war against the Romans together. The Volscians, now with an experienced general at their head, are all ready for immediate action, but Marcius refuses to march out, unless first a “righteous cause for war” is established:

<p>Ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος αἰτίαν πρῶτον ᾤετο δεῖν εὐσεβῆ καὶ δικαίαν ἐνστήσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου, διδασκῶν ὡς ἀπάσαις μὲν πραξέσι θεοὶ συλλαμβάνουσι, μάλιστα δὲ ταῖς κατὰ πολέμους . . . “Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἀπερισκέπτως,” ἔφη, “καὶ διὰ τάχους τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιφέρῃς, τοῦ λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς αἴτιος ἔσῃ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον οὐχ ἔξεις εὐμενές· ἐὰν δὲ περιμείνῃς ἕως ἐκεῖνοι τοῦτο ποιήσωσιν, ἀμύνεσθαι δόξεις καὶ λελυμέναις σπονδαῖς βοηθεῖν. ὅπως δ’ ἂν τοῦτο γένοιτο, καὶ ὅπως ἂν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἄρξειαν παρασπονδεῖν, ἡμεῖς δὲ δόξαιμεν ὄσιον καὶ δίκαιον ἐπιφέρειν τὸν πόλεμον, ἐγὼ . . . ἀνεύρηκα.²⁰³</p>	<p>But Marcius insisted that they ought first to establish a righteous and just ground for war; for he pointed out that the gods take a hand in all actions, and especially in those relating to war . . . “If, therefore, you make war upon them inconsiderately and hastily,” he said, “you will be to blame for breaking the treaty, and Heaven will not be propitious to you; whereas, if you wait till they do this, you will seem to be defending yourselves and coming to the aid of a broken treaty. How this may be brought about and how they may be induced to violate the treaty first, while we shall seem to be waging a righteous and just war against them, I have discovered . . .</p>
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<p>Πολέμου δὲ μήπω ἄρχετε πρὶν . . . καλὴν καὶ δικαίαν πρόφασιν εἰληφότες ἔσεσθε τοῦ πολέμου.²⁰⁴</p>	<p>But do not begin the war . . . until you have found a good and just pretext for the war.</p>
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Herod employed the call to justice in his speech to his discouraged troops before the battle against the Arabs. “Justice is on our side” is Herod’s best and most important argument to the troops who are disillusioned and who have given up their cause already as lost because they had suffered defeats against this enemy, because their homeland suffered great destruction on account of an earthquake and because they fight against an enemy who is stronger than they. Nevertheless, Herod believes that “justice on our side” is satisfactory reason enough that the fortunes of war will turn to his favour.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ DH. XIII.1.4. Transl. by Earnest Cary, LCL, VII: 6-9.

²⁰⁴ DH. XIII.8.3.

²⁰⁵ Interestingly enough, when Herod was a young man, his father Antipater and his brother discouraged him to wage war against Hyrcanus on the grounds that they thought that Herod did not have enough just

Οὐκ ἄγνοῶ μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες, ὅτι πολλά παρὰ τόνδε τὸν καιρὸν γεγένηται πρὸς τὰς πράξεις ἡμῖν ἐναντιώματα, καὶ θαρρεῖν εἰκὸς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις οὐδε τοὺς πλεῖστον ἀνδραγαθία διενηνοχότας.²⁰⁶

Βούλομαι δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολεμεῖν ὡς **δικαίως** αὐτὸ ποιοῦμεν ἐπιδειξαι, **διὰ τὴν ὕβριν τῶν ἐναντιῶν** ἠναγκασμένοι· μέγιστον γάρ, εἰ μάθοιτε τοῦτο, προθυμίας αἴτον ὑμῖν ἔσται·

τὴν γὰρ τῶν Ἀράβων **παρὰνομίαν** ἴστε μὲν δήπου, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας οὕτως **ἀπίστως** διακειμένων, ὡς εἰκὸς ἔχειν τὸ βάρβαρον καὶ ἀνεπνόητον θεοῦ· . . . προσέκρουσαν **πλεονεξία καὶ φθόνῳ** . . .²⁰⁷

Ἔστιν οὖν ἔτι ζήτησις ὑμῖν εἰ δεῖ τοὺς **ἀδίκους** τιμωρῆσασθαι, τοῦτο καὶ θεοῦ βοηλομένου καὶ παραγγέλλοντος ἀεὶ μισεῖν τὴν **ὕβριν καὶ τὴν ἀδικίαν**, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ μόνον δίκαιον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον πόλεμον ἐπεξιόντων; . . .²⁰⁸

Ἴσως τοίνυν ἔρεῖ τις, τὸ μὲν **δοσιον καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστι μεθ' ἡμῶν**, ἀνδρειότεροι δὲ ἢ πλείους ἐκεῖνοι τετυχήκασιν. Ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν ἀνάξιον ὑμῖν ταῦτα λέγειν· **μεθ' ὧν γὰρ**

I am not ignorant, soldiers, that during this time we have met many obstacles in our undertakings, and in such *dire* circumstances as we are in it is not likely that even men of superior prowess will keep up their courage.

But first, concerning this war, I wish to point out that **we are justly fighting a war** which has become necessary **because of the outrageous acts of our opponents**, for if you will understand this, it will be the greatest cause of zeal on your part. You surely know how **lawless** the Arabs are and how **faithlessly** they also deal with all others, as is naturally the case of a barbarous people without any concept of God . . . they have come into this conflict because of their **greed and envy** . . . Is therefore then any question among you whether we should punish these **unjust** people, especially when God wishes this and always commands us to hate **wanton violence and unrighteousness**, and therefore then, we are prosecuting a war not only just but necessary? . . . Perhaps, however, someone will say that while **godliness and justice are on our side**, these others happen to be more courageous and more numerous. But you

cause for the war. How much justice was important in determining the potential outcome of a battle is seen in their statement that justice may sway the fortunes of war even against better military skill.

“Λογίζεσθαι δ’ ὡς, εἰ καὶ πολέμου ῥοπὰς βραβεύει τὸ θεῖον, πλέον ἐστὶ τῆς στρατείας τὸ ἄδικον, διὸ καὶ τὴν νίκην μὴ πάντη προσδοκᾶν . . .” (“He should consider that if the Divinity changes the fortunes of war, his injustice may decide more than his military skill, for which reason he should not be much confident of victory . . .”) Jos. *AJ*. XIV.183.

²⁰⁶ Jos. *AJ*. XV.127. Transl. by Ralph Marcus and Allan Wikgren, LCL, X:316-19.

²⁰⁷ Jos. *AJ*. XV.129-30. Transl. by Ralph Marcus and Allan Wikgren, LCL, X:318-19.

²⁰⁸ Jos. *AJ*. XV.135. Transl. by Ralph Marcus and Allan Wikgren, LCL, X:320-21.

τὸ δίκαιόν ἐστι μετ’ ἐκείνων ὁ θεός, θεοῦ δὲ παρόντος καὶ πλῆθος καὶ ἀνδρεία πάρεστιν.²⁰⁹

Τὸν δὲ πόλεμον ὅτι καὶ θέλει τοῦτον ἐνεργεῖσθαι καὶ δίκαιον οἶδεν, δεδήλωκεν αὐτός· . . . Ταῦτα ἐνθυμηθέντες . . . ἐπεξέλεθετε δικαίαις ἀνδραγαθίαις τοὺς ἀδίκους μὲν πρὸς φιλίαν, ἀσπόνδους δὲ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ἀνοσίους δὲ εἰς πρέσβεις . . .²¹⁰

have no right to say this in the first place, **for those who have justice with them have God with them, and where God is, there too are both the greater numbers and courage.** That He wishes this war to be carried on and knows it to be a just one He Himself has made clear . . . Bearing in mind these things . . . go out with justice and manliness against these people who are **unjust to friendship, truce-violators in battle, sacrilegious toward envoys . . .**

It is significant to notice, which grounds Herod puts forward, why he believes the war to be a just one. His primary argument is the despicable character of his opponents. Since they acted in the past unjustly and by their nature lack morality and integrity, justice is against them and with Herod and his army. Paul employs this very same rhetorical strategy in Phil. 2:15.

Xenophon adopts the same speech-strategy as Herod does. He mentions the faithfulness of the Greek army of the ten thousand, which he is leading, to the initial treaty they made with the Persian army. The Persians have wickedly violated the truce. Xenophon does not even mention the principle of “justice is on our side, thus we will win.” He only needs to illustrate their faithfulness and the enemies faithlessness and the hearer (or reader) will on its own realise the underlying assumption “justice is on our side” at work.

Οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπιωρκήκασιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλὰ ὀρῶντες ἀγαθὰ στερρῶς αὐτῶν ἀπειχόμεθα διὰ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὄρκους· ὥστε ἐξεῖναί μοι δοκεῖ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα πολὺ σὺν φρονήματι μείζονι ἢ τοῦτοις.²¹¹

For by them [the gods] they [the Persian enemy] have sworn falsely; but we, with many possessions before our eyes, have steadfastly kept our hands from them because of our oaths by the gods; therefore, I think, we can go into the battle with much greater confidence than they.

²⁰⁹ Jos. *AJ*. XV.138. Transl. by Ralph Marcus and Allan Wikgren, LCL, X:322-23.

²¹⁰ Jos. *AJ*. XV.146. Transl. by Ralph Marcus and Allan Wikgren, LCL, X:326-27.

²¹¹ Xen. *Ana*. III.1.22.

During the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, the Roman senators and leading families had to decide which side they would join. To be friends with one would mean being the enemy of the other. Most people responded according to human nature, allying themselves with the most likely victor in the coming conflict, in order to ensure greater chances of survival. It is instructive to realise on which grounds many senators thought that Pompey would win the coming war: he was simply considered to be the one with more justice on his side and who would consequently win the war. Justice as a deciding force in battle had a great influence into the consideration on the public mind.

Κάν τούτω ἄλλοι το βουλευταὶ καὶ ὁ Κικέρων, μηδὲ ἐς ὄψιν τῷ Καίσαρι ἐλθόν, πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ὧς γε τὰ τε δικαιότερα πράττοντα καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατήσοντα ἀπεχώρησεν. ²¹²	In the meantime Cicero and other senators, without even coming before Caesar, went away to join Pompey, the one having more justice on his side and who would thus be victorious in the war.
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Cassius in his speech to the Republican army before the battle of Philippi adopts the same rhetorical strategy “we will win because justice is on our side because of our character”:

. . . Θεοὶ μὲν ἡμῖν ὑπισχνοῦνται δι’ οἰωνῶν τε καὶ σφαγίων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης μαντικῆς ἐλευθερίαν τῇ πόλει παρέξειν καὶ νίκην εὐτυχῆ, ἀμοιβὰς τε ἡμῖν ἀποδιδόντες ἀγαθὰς, ἀνθ’ ὧν αὐτοὺς σέβοντες καὶ τὰ δίκαια ἀσκοῦντες ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ ἡμῶν διετελέσαμεν. ²¹³	. . . we, who have done nothing contrary to justice, have given you all that we promised and have other funds ready for still larger rewards, So it comes about that the gods favour us because we do what is just.
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Octavian, in a pre-battle harangue makes the statement that he has heard from others and proven by experience himself that all undertaking in warfare, from the small to the great, always turn out in favour of those who have justice on their side.

Ὅρων, ὃ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἄκοῦ μεμάθηκα καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἔρξω πεπεύραμαι, τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν πολεμικῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις πραγμάτων, τοῖς τὰ δευκαίότερα καὶ τὰ εὐσεβέστερα καὶ φρονοῦσι καὶ πράττουσι κατορθούμενα, τοῦτό που καὶ αὐτὸς οὐχ ἦκιστα ἐννοῶ καὶ	Observing, soldiers, both from what I have learned by hearsay and from what I have proved by experience, that almost all and the greatest undertakings of men without exception, turn out in favour of those whose thoughts and acts are upon the higher level of justice and reference
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²¹² Dio. XLI.18.4.

²¹³ App. BC. IV.12.96. Transl. by Horace White, LCL, IV:302-03.

ὕμῖν παραινῶ προσκοπεῖν.²¹⁴

for the gods, I have myself taken to heart this truth above all else and I advise you also to have regard for it.

Octavian grounds his claims to justice, just like Herod did, on the wickedness and the depraved character of his opponents. The malignant attributes of the antagonist may be real or imagined; true, embellished or fabricated, but the principle remains the same: if one can homilise on the vile nature of the adversary, one can successfully claim justice and consequently future victory to be on one's side. Octavian acts on this principle and declares justice to be on his side in the coming battle of Actium by the lengthy deliveries of one tirade after another regarding "that Egyptian woman" (Cleopatra). The best part of the world (i.e. the Roman Empire) is trodden underfoot by the Egyptian woman (the words "Egyptian" and "woman" serve as pejorative terms – in themselves they would be enough to establish his case). The vile Egyptians worship reptiles and beasts as gods, former noble Roman knights and senators fawn upon her like eunuchs.

Antony as well, emulates all these barbaric customs, pays no honour to the Roman tradition, but rather pays homage to "that wench," etc.²¹⁵ Summa summarum, Octavian continues a pattern of thought and speech which holds out confidence in victory on the basis of justice, which is on one's side on account of the base character of the enemy:

Θεοὶ μὲν ἡμῖν ὑπισχνοῦνται δι' οἰωνῶν τε καὶ σφαγίων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης μαντικῆς ἐλευθερίαν τῇ πόλει παρέξειν καὶ **νίκην εὐτυχῆ**, ἀμοιβὰς τε ἡμῖν ἀποδιδόντες **ἀγαθὰς**, ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτοὺς σέβοντες καὶ τὰ **δίκαια** ἀσκοῦντες ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ ἡμῶν διετελέσαμεν . . .²¹⁶

The gods by omens, sacrifices, and other auguries promise to grant to our commonwealth liberty and a **happy victory**, both by way of rewarding us for the **piety** we have shown toward them and the **justice** we have practiced during the whole course of our lives . . .

5.3.6.6. The rhetorical theme "the war is just" in Philippians 2:12-15

The examples above have shown the significance of the *topos* "the war is just" in military speeches to establish confidence in the soldiers that the war will be won. In many instances the justice of war is established because the commander contrasts the devious character of the opponents with the righteous and pious behaviour of himself, the troops or the country they are fighting for. In contrasting the Philippians as ἄμεμπτοι καὶ ἀκέραιοι, τέκνα θεοῦ ἄμωμα

²¹⁴ Dio. L.24.1. Transl. by Earnest Cary, LCL, V:486-87.

²¹⁵ See Dio. L.24.3. – L.27.2.

²¹⁶ DH. VI.6.2. Transl. by Earnest Cary, LCL, III:254-55.

with their opponents, who are a γενεά σκολιάς και διεστραμμένης, Paul employs the same rhetorical device. The malignant character of their opponents and the blamelessness of the Philippians is another means of installing confidence, which Paul utilises to support his argument within Phil. 2:12-16 that the fight for victory (τὴν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε), i.e., the fight for the advance of the gospel, will, if taken up with renewed zeal, be successful.

5.3.7. Summary: the fight for the advance of the gospel supported through the presence of God

In Phil. 2:12-16, Paul takes up his central thought of the *narratio* from Phil. 1:27-30, namely, the fight for the advance of the gospel. The command τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε, to fight for victory in the struggle to further the gospel of Christ, is the predominant command of the pericope.²¹⁷ In contrast to the *narratio*, Paul is here not concerned to elaborate on imperatives, how the gospel is best advanced; his focus is to reinforce the command of the *narratio* with reasons why the campaign for the advance of the gospel will be victorious, in spite of the present difficulties and opposition against it. Continuing from the previous section, namely that the victory and exaltation of the supreme commander Jesus Christ, guarantees the success of the present campaign (Phil. 2:9-11), Paul lists two more reasons of confidence that their common fight for the gospel will succeed with a glorious victory. First, although Paul himself may not be present in Philippi – and even if he might be “taken out of

²¹⁷ The central concern of the passage, namely the fight for the advance of the gospel is significant for solving the much debated question whether λόγον ζωῆς ἐπέχοντες (Phil. 2:16) refers to sharing the faith with others or to a continuation of adhering to the gospel. For the thought of ἐπέχω meaning to “hold fast,” as in perseverance in the gospel see NKJV, RSV, NRSV, NLT, NASB text, NIV margin, BAGD, Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 146. John Reumann, *Philippians: A New Translation With Introduction and Commentary*. Anchor Yale Bible. London: Yale University Press, 2008, 413. Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 297. Ulrich B. Müller, “Der Brief des Paulus an die Philipper.” In *Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament*. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1993, 121. The following believe ἐπέχω to mean “hold forth,” as in sharing the faith with others: KJV, NJB, NEB, NIV text, NASB margin, LSJ, Gordon D. Fee, *Paul’s Letter to the Philippians*. New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995, 247-48. Ernst Lohmeyer, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953, 109-10. Paul Ewald, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Philipper*. Leipzig: A. Deichertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung Dr. Werner Scholl, 1923, 141-42. Vern Sheridan Poythress put the lexical attestation of ἐπέχω under close scrutiny and concluded that the linguistics of the word itself does not support any of the two options. Ἐπέχω in itself neither means “to hold forth” or “to hold fast.” When accompanied with an accusative object, it is best to translate “holding,” in our case “holding the word of life,” and let the context be the decisive factor which determines if it is used as a referent to instructing oneself or others. Vern S. Poythress, “‘Hold Fast’ versus ‘Hold Out’ in Philippians 2:16.” In *Westminster Theological Journal* 64. Philadelphia: Westminster, 2002, 45-53. Context decidedly favours λόγον ζωῆς ἐπέχοντες to refer to the sharing of the gospel with others. Contra Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 297. The general context of 1:27-2:18 has **not** “to do with standing firm in the faith against the attack of external opponents,” but with sharing the faith with a society of external opponents.

the battle by death” altogether – the presence of God fighting in the midst of the Philippians should be the focus of their confidence, as the Old Testament shows that when the LORD himself battled for His people, the military operations ended in victory. Second, the justice of the war (according to Greco-Roman military philosophy, and established by the contrast of the character of the warring factions) guaranteed that the Philippians eventually will be victorious in their lifestyle of following Christ and joining Paul in spreading the faith.

5.4. Certainty of victory – anticipated joy of victory (Phil. 3:1 and 4:4)

5.4.1. Joy in Philippians – a subtheme in support of an overarching rhetorical purpose

Joy as a major theme in Philippians has been recognised by most interpreters, even to the point that the whole letter is principally viewed as a letter of joy.²¹⁸ In Philippians we find nine occurrences of χαίρω (rejoice) (Phil. 1:18 (2x); 2:17, 18, 28; 3:1; 4:4 (2x), 10); two occurrences of συγκαίρω (rejoice with me) (Phil. 2:17, 18); and five occurrences of χαρά (joy) (Phil. 1:4, 25; 2:2, 29; 4:1). The function of the *Leitmotif* of joy in respect to the overall purpose of the argument of Paul has not been understood, however. Thus, instead of showing how the concept of joy supports a unified overall argument, exegetes have often assumed that multiple purposes and themes lie behind the intention of Paul writing the letter. For example, Gerald Hawthorne contends that “Philippians bears all the characteristics of a personal letter, where the reasons for writing are various and numerous.”²¹⁹ Hawthorne then lists eight purposes, one of them being “to exhort the Philippians to rejoice irrespective of circumstances.”²²⁰ Robert Jewett in arguing for the unity of Philippians as a letter also identifies a number of unifying themes that run through the entire letter, among them “the emphasis on joy.”²²¹ At the opposite spectrum in the argument around the unity of the epistle John Reumann views the different purposes emphasised in Philippians, among them the

²¹⁸ See for example John A. Motyer, *The Message of Philippians*. The Bible Speaks Today. Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1984.; Johann A. Bengel, “Epistle to the Philippians.” In *Gnomon of the New Testament* 4 (1742). Transl. by J. Bryce. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1857, 119-56. Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Tyndale New Testament Commentaries. Leicester: InterVarsity, 2000, 45.

²¹⁹ Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, xlviii.

²²⁰ The others are: Paul wrote because of his deep affection; to update the Philippians concerning his situation; to warn them about the teaching of Judaism; to encourage the Philippians to stand firm in the faith, to let them know how Epaphratus is doing; to correct the division within their ranks and to encourage them to unity and to express thanks for their financial gift. *Ibid.*, xlvii-xlviii.

²²¹ Robert Jewett, “The Epistolary Thanksgiving and Integrity of Philippians.” In *NovT* 12. Leiden: Brill, 1970, 51-53. Jewett seems to agree with historical critical research, which so far has been unable to find any main theme or line of argument in Philippians. Contrary to historical critical research, he lists four main themes, which bind the various portions of Philippians into a unity and thus attesting to the deliberate forethought of a single author.

exhortation to rejoice, as an indication that Philippians consists of three individual letters finally redacted at the end of the first century.²²² It is more probable, however, to consider the motif of joy as neither an indication of a separate letter, nor as an isolated theme on its own, but as a subtheme that purposefully supports a unified overall argument of the book. Both the overall argument of the book and the supporting theme of joy are expressed in military terminology.

5.4.1.1. Joy over victory in battle – a prominent theme in classical literature

Joy is a theme, which obviously occurs in the military context in relation to victory and is repeatedly in the literary sources connected with the triumphant army winning the battle or anticipating a favourable outcome of battle. Joy over victory in battle is manifestly a ubiquitous human reaction, so that the connection between joy and victory/ salvation in the ancient literary sources will not surprise us. A few examples from differing sources will suffice to note the affinity, which the motifs of joy and victory/ salvation share. Polybius describes a scene of exuberant joy at the return and triumph of Scipio when he defeated Hannibal in the second Punic war:

οὐδέποτε γὰρ ἂν ἐλπίσαντες Ἀννίβαν ἐκβαλεῖν ἐξ Ἰταλίας . . . τότε δοκοῦντες ἤδη βεβαίως οὐ μόνον ἐκτὸς γεγονέναι παντὸς φόβου καὶ πάσης περιστάσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὑπερβολὴν οὐ κατέλιπον χαρᾶς. ²²³	For they had [previously] never hoped to drive out Hannibal from Italy . . . but the thought that they now had assuredly not only become free from all fear and peril, but that they also had overcome their enemies caused a superabundant joy without bounds.
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Josephus describes both in the *Jewish Antiquities* and in the *Jewish Wars* significant victory scenes with the resultant joy, be it the joy of Israel over a victory won or the victory and joy of the Romans over the Jewish uprising in AD 66 – 70:

Τοὺς δ' Ἑβραίους οὐδὲ κατασχεῖν ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ χαρᾷ τῆς παραδόξου σωτηρίας καὶ τῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπωλείᾳ, βεβαίως νομίζοντας ἠλευθερωθῆναι τῶν ἀναγκαζόντων δουλεύειν διεφθαρμένων . . . ²²⁴	But the Hebrews were not able to hold themselves back for joy at the wonder of their (military-) deliverance , and destruction of their enemies; now considering themselves assuredly
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²²² John Reumann, *Philippians: A New Translation With Introduction and Commentary*. Anchor Yale Bible. London: Yale University Press, 2008, 3, 6.

²²³ Plb. XVI.23.4.

²²⁴ Jos. *AJ*. II.345.1.

delivered, when those that would have forced them into slavery were destroyed . . .

Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῶν τειχῶν κρατήσαντες τὰς τε σημαίας ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων καὶ μετὰ κρότου καὶ χαρᾶς ἐπαιάνιζον ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ, πολὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς κουφότερον τοῦ πολέμου τὸ τέλος εὐρηκότες.²²⁵

So the Romans, having conquered the city walls, raised their standards upon the towers, and with shouts and **joy made acclamations for the victory they had achieved**, having found the end of this war much easier than its beginning.

Plutarch describes that the natural reaction of soldiers over a victory is joy:

Ἐκ τούτου τὸ μὲν στράτευμα τῇ χαρᾷ χρώμενον, ὡς εἰκόσ, ἐν θυσίαις καὶ συνουσίαις διῆγεν, ὡς ἐν τῷ Μιθριδάτου σώματι μυρίων τεθνηκότων πολεμίων.²²⁶

Upon this *news*, the army was **filled with joy, as is natural**, and gave themselves to sacrifices and entertainments, *considering* that with the *dead* body of Mithridates ten thousands of enemies had died.

5.4.1.2. Joy in anticipation of victory in battle – a prominent theme in classical literature

However, joy among soldiers in the military context of the secular literary sources is not restricted to the successful achievement of a victory. Just as common is the theme of “the joy of soldiers” when they anticipate success because they consider the factors for winning a victory to be favourable to them. Thus, one can find a recurring theme in ancient literature of joy and rejoicing even before a significant battle because of confidence in ultimate victory. Appian describes the Republican forces at the arrival of the battle site of Philippi to be joyfully confident of victory as the commanders prepare to deliver their pre-battle speeches:

βῆμά τε οὖν ἐπήχθη μέγα, καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς μόνων ἐς αὐτὸ ἀναβάντες, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς αὐτῶν, ὃ τε ἴδιος καὶ συμμαχικός, κάτω περιστάντες, ἠδοντο εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῇ ὄψει τοῦ πλήθους ἀλλήλων

A large platform was built, upon which the generals took their places, accompanied by the senators only. The soldiers, both their own and their allies, stood around it below, filled with joy at the sight of their

²²⁵ Jos. *BJ*. VI.403.3.

²²⁶ Plut. *Pomp*. XLII.1.

ἐκάτεροι, ἰσχυροτάτη σφίσι φανείση.²²⁷

vast number, the most powerful force they had ever beheld.

Diodorus Siculus shows Themistocles in a sea battle against Eurybiades rejoicing at a prospected victory, even though the fighting had not yet started, nor had the armies arrayed themselves in battle line:

. . . ὁ μὲν Θεμιστοκλῆς, κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῶ
 προκεχωρηκότος τοῦ στρατηγήματος,
περιχαρῆς ἦν καὶ τὰ πλήθη παρεκάλεσεν εἰς
 τὸν κίνδυνον . . .²²⁸

Themistocles, thinking that his stratagem had worked out as he had planned, was **beside himself with joy** and commanded the crews to the fight . . .

Polybius considers joy in the prospect of winning a battle such a normal occurrence that he counsels the commander, if he uses some stratagem to overthrow the enemy, not to express his joy verbally or in his demeanor in order not to give away his manoeuvre to the enemy before the battle has started or the victory is complete:

διὸ χρῆ μηδενὸς ἀφροντιστεῖν ἐν ταῖς
 τοιαύταις ἐπιβολαῖς τοὺς ἡγουμένους. ἔστι δ'
 ἀρχὴ μὲν τῶν προειρημένων τὸ σιγᾶν, καὶ
 μήτε **διὰ χαρὰν παραδόξου προφαινομένης**
ἐλπίδος. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἤδη κρύψαντες τοὺς
 λόγους ποτὲ μὲν δι' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπιφάσεως,
 ποτὲ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν πραττομένων φανερὰς
 ἐποίησαν τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐπινοίας . . .²²⁹

Therefore in such enterprises commanders must be careful about every detail. The first and foremost requisite is to keep silence, and never either **from joy if some unexpected hope shall present itself**. For many have revealed their projects either by their expression of their faces or by their actions . . .

In the *Gallic War* Caesar is describing his or other Roman forces who rejoice in the confidence of victory, although their own forces would each time be significantly outnumbered. When Caesar besieged the city of Alesia, the Gauls were sending troops to attack the besieging Roman force. Caesar responded with erecting a second wall to protect the Roman troops from the assailing Gauls. This clever strategy promoted confidence in a near victory for the Romans and resulted in joy among the soldiers, even though the siege was still in full force and the Gaulish threat by no means diminished:

²²⁷ App. *BC*. VI.12.89. Transl. by Horace White, LCL, II:330-31. Although Appian does not use a form of *χαρά*, but of *εὐθυμέω* (to be cheerful) here, the concept of “rejoicing” on account of the prospect of future victory is the same.

²²⁸ DS. XI.17.4.

²²⁹ Plb. IX.13.1-5. Transl. by W. R. Paton, LCL, IV:32-33.

Concurrunt his auxiliis visis; fit gratulatio inter eos atque omnium animi ad laetitiam excitantur. ²³⁰	At sight of these reinforcements the others hastened together with mutual congratulations, and all minds were stirred to joy.
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Similarly, when the Nervii were besieging Cicero and his legion in their winter quarters, the Romans were hard pressed by the enemy and were on the verge of being overcome. When a messenger succeeded in reaching Caesar and his legions, he sent a message in return that reinforcements are on the way. It inspired a wave of confidence among the Romans that “deliverance” was on the way and the result among the troops was great rejoicing.

Ille perlectam in conventu militum recitat maximaque omnes laetitia adficit. ²³¹	Cicero read it through, and then recited it at a parade of the troops, bringing the greatest rejoicing to all.
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5.4.1.3. Joy in anticipation of victory in battle – a recurring theme in the Old Testament

The theme of rejoicing at or in the hope of (*military*) salvation is not limited to Greco-Roman historical literature. The motif of “joy in JHWH’s salvation” – in the sense of military-deliverance – is a prominent concept in Old Testament theology. Not only do the people of Israel, or in the case of defeat, the enemies, rejoice in the victory they attribute to divine intervention,²³² the poetic literature illustrates that the appropriate response to a salvation/victory given by the LORD was joy!²³³

²³⁰ BG VII.79. Transl. by H. J. Edwards, LCL, 496-97.

²³¹ BG V.49. Transl. by H. J. Edwards, LCL, 298-99.

²³² The descriptions of joy at the victory after battle are similar to the non-religious Greek or Roman historians. See for example 1 Sam 18:6 “And it happened as *the men of war* were coming home, when David returned from killing the Philistine, that the women came out of all the cities of Israel, singing and dancing, to meet King Saul, with tambourines, with joy and with musical instruments . . .”; 2 Chron. 20:27 “And every man of Judah and Jerusalem returned with Jehoshaphat in front, returning to Jerusalem with joy, for the JHWH had made them to rejoice over their enemies.”; Judg. 16:23 “Now the lords of the Philistines gathered together to offer a great sacrifice to Dagon their god, and to rejoice, for they said, ‘Our god has given Samson our enemy into our hands.’” For the response of joy after victory in the book of Maccabees see the victory of Judas against the city of Ephron in 1 Mac. 5:50, 54: “And the men of the armed forces besieged the city. And they fought the city a whole day and a whole night and the city was given into their hands . . . and they went up to Mount Zion with joy and rejoicing . . .”

²³³ See for example Ps. 98:1-4: “O sing to YWHW a new song, For He has done wonderful things, His right hand and His holy arm have gained the victory for Him. YWHW has made known His salvation . . . Shout joyfully to YWHW, all the earth; Break forth and shout for joy and sing praises.”; Ps. 68:1, 3 (cf., Ps. 68:12): “Let God arise, let His enemies be scattered; And let those who hate Him flee before Him . . . But let the righteous be glad; let them exult before God; Yes, let them rejoice with gladness.” See also Tremper Longman III and Daniel G. Reid, *God Is a Warrior*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995, 43. “If the battles were a divinely willed holy war, the conclusion was certain. God would deliver the enemy ‘into the hands’ of

A prominent theme in the poetic literature of the Old Testament is the following: while the psalmist is yet faced with a military threat, he expresses his confidence in a future military victory through joy. According to the psalms, a vital part of true faith in the LORD is not to be discouraged in the face of a military conflict, but to trust in the LORD granting a victory to such a degree that the joy which is the proper reaction after a victory is experienced, is already expressed in the sight of overwhelming odds before or in the midst of a military crisis.

The Hebrew religion thus goes one step further in the theme of rejoicing in the hope for victory. While in Greek and Roman literature soldiers articulate joy when some visible advantage, that might gain them the upper hand in face of a military threat, cheer them up; the believer in the LORD expresses joy²³⁴ when no visible advantage is in sight and when the LORD is the sole and only hope for victory:

<p>ἐὰν παρατάξῃται ἐπ’ ἐμὲ παρεμβολή οὐ φοβηθήσεται ἡ καρδία μου ἐὰν ἐπαναστῇ ἐπ’ ἐμὲ πόλεμος ἐν ταύτῃ ἐγὼ ἐλπίζω . . . καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ ὕψωσεν τὴν κεφαλὴν μου ἐπ’ ἐχθρούς μου ἐκύκλωσα καὶ ἔθυσσα ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ αὐτοῦ θυσίαν ἀλαλαγμοῦ ἄσομαι καὶ ψαλῶ τῷ κυρίῳ.²³⁵</p>	<p>Though an army may camp against me, my heart will not fear; though war might rise against me, in this I will hope And now my head will be lifted up over my enemies surrounding me and in his tabernacle I will offer a sacrifice of a joyful shout of victory and I will sing a psalm to the Lord.</p>
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<p>εὐφρανθήσομαι καὶ ἀγαλλιάσομαι ἐν σοὶ ψαλῶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου ὕψιστε ἐν τῷ ἀποστραφῆναι τὸν ἐχθρόν μου εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω ἀσθενήσουσιν καὶ ἀπολοῦνται ἀπὸ προσώπου σου.²³⁶</p>	<p>I will be glad and rejoice in You; I will sing praise to Your name, O Most High. When my enemy turns back, they will grow weak and perish before Your presence.</p>
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<p>πολέμησον τοὺς πολεμοῦντάς με ἐπιλαβοῦ ὄπλου καὶ θυρεοῦ καὶ ἀνάστηθι εἰς βοήθειάν μου ἔκχεον ῥομφαίαν καὶ σύγκλεισον ἐξ</p>	<p>Fight against those who fight against me. Take hold of weapon and shield, And rise up for my help. Draw also the spear and</p>
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Israel (Josh. 6:2; 8:17, 18; 10:8, 19, 30; 11:8). The only proper response, upon recognition that the victory was God’s gift to his people, was praise.” This correct observation of Longman and Reid has to be expanded. Not only was the proper response to the victory of a divinely willed holy war praise, but also joy!

²³⁴ The Septuagint translators use ἀλαλαγμός for the Hebrew shout of joy (הַצְּוֹרֵת) and εὐφρανθήσομαι or ἀγαλλιάσομαι for the Hebrew concepts of joy and rejoicing (גִּבְעָה; שִׂשׂוֹן or רִצְצָה). Apart from ἐπιχαίρω in Ps. 34:19, 24; 37:17; 40:12 LXX which denotes a malignant, sinful joy; the translators of the Septuagint seemed to have avoided the χαρά word group in translating the psalms. With all the emphasis on joy and rejoicing in the psalms, forms of χαρά and χαίρω appear only three times in the psalms (Ps. 20:7; 34:26; 95:12 LXX).

²³⁵ Ps. 26:3, 6 LXX.

²³⁶ Ps. 9:3-4 LXX.

ἐναντίας τῶν καταδιωκόντων με εἶπὸν τῇ ψυχῇ μου σωτηρία σου ἐγὼ εἰμι . . . ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ μου ἀγαλλιάσεται ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ τερφοθήσεται ἐπὶ τῷ σωτηρίῳ αὐτοῦ. ²³⁷	shut up <i>the path</i> against those who persecute me and say to my soul, "I am your salvation . . ." And my soul shall rejoice in the Lord; it shall exult in His salvation.
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5.4.2. The theme "joy in anticipation of victory" utilised in Phil. 1:18-20

The motif of "joy in anticipation of a victory" is what undergirds much of the line of reasoning of Paul in Philippians, when he – in a sort of shorthand – refers to "joy." We have already observed the military context of Phil. 1:18-20 where we concluded that σωτηρία refers to a military salvation/ victory that is achieved every time Christ is preached.²³⁸ Paul rejoicing in a military victory (Τί γάρ; πλὴν ὅτι . . . Χριστὸς καταγγέλλεται, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χαίρω. Ἀλλὰ καὶ χαρήσομαι, οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι τοῦτό μοι ἀποβήσεται εἰς σωτηρίαν . . . ("What then, *it matters* only that . . . Christ is preached and in this I will rejoice. And I will rejoice for I know that this will turn out for victory . . .")) suits the context perfectly.²³⁹ As has been already concluded above, Paul uses a cluster of military images in these verses, in which he sees the preaching of Christ as resulting in a military victory, even if the preaching happens in circumstances that look quite contrary to a victory for the preacher. Paul rejoices that others are emboldened to preach Christ and experience thereby a Christ exalting victory (Phil. 1:18) and he rejoices that either his circumstances or the proclaiming of Christ in his circumstances will sequence in a Christ honouring victory (Phil. 1:19-20). The rejoicing is not some independent theme that intrudes into the text, but is directly linked to a military victory, which is envisioned when Paul writes about the victory σωτηρία on account of preaching Jesus. Paul already hinted in Phil. 1:20 that this victory is not only achieved through proclaiming Christ in the midst of opposition, but also when the opposition overcomes the message bearer: . . . ἐν πάσῃ παρρησίᾳ ὡς πάντοτε καὶ νῦν μεγαλυνθήσεται Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ σώματί μου, εἴτε διὰ ζωῆς εἴτε διὰ θανάτου. (" . . . in all bold preaching, as always, now also Christ might be magnified in my body, be it either through life or death.")

²³⁷ Ps. 34:1-3, 9 LXX.

²³⁸ See 4.2. "Military struggle for the advance of the gospel: The example of Paul (Phil. 1:20)."

²³⁹ Especially so since the concept of joy in victory as expressed in the psalms was condensed in the poetic literature to the proverbial phrase "I will rejoice in your salvation." See for example Ps. 13:5; 20:5; 40:16; 70:4.

5.4.3. The theme “joy in anticipation of victory” utilised in Phil. 2:17-18

This theme of the Christ exalting victory is taken up again and explained in more detail in Phil. 2:17-18: Ἀλλὰ εἰ καὶ σπένδομαι ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ λειτουργίᾳ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, χαίρω καὶ συγχαίρω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ὑμεῖς χαίρετε καὶ συγχαίρετέ μοι. (“And even if I am poured out in the sacrifice and service of your faith, I rejoice and rejoice with you all. For the same reason rejoice and rejoice with me.”) Timothy Geoffrion has already noted the military connection of σπένδομαι ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ (“to be poured out as a libation over the sacrifice”). He points out that the phrase is “somewhat reminiscent of the libations (σπουδή) poured out during the sacrifices made to the gods prior to battle in antiquity. As soldiers in the Greco-Roman tradition offered sacrifices, libations, and prayers to the gods for help in attaining victory over their enemy, Paul voluntarily offers himself . . .”²⁴⁰ If the death of the soldier or the commander was the ultimate defeat in battle, the paradoxical opposite happens when the Christian is killed because he steadfastly adheres to the gospel and its advance in the midst of opposition. What looked to the Philippians as a potential defeat, should Paul die, the apostle claims to be in reality a victory. He rejoices and commands the Philippians to rejoice in the prospect of his death since he knows that the death of the messenger is – as his survival and further propagation of the gospel would be – a victory.

The thought of Phil. 1:20 that advancing the gospel or dying magnifies Christ is repeated here. The acceptable sacrifice of the preacher of Christ dying magnifies God.²⁴¹ The fourfold command to rejoice reinforces Paul’s theological argument: standing firm for the gospel in the midst of opposition always leads to victory – independent if the preaching leads to “success” by being accepted or if the message carrier is killed.

5.4.4. The theme “joy in anticipation of victory” utilised in Phil. 4:4

5.4.4.1. Surrounding military vocabulary: στήκετε

The command to rejoice in Phil. 4:4 also buttresses Paul’s main proposition to the Philippians to stand firm in the advancement of the gospel. Paul’s central argument of Phil. 1:27 στήκετε ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι (“stand firm in your ranks through having a united mindset”) is repeated in Phil. 4:1 στήκετε ἐν κυρίῳ (“stand firm in your ranks in the Lord”). Krentz and Geoffrion have in a detailed description already specified the military denotation of στήκετε. “The verb’s usage

²⁴⁰ Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 189.

²⁴¹ For the Old Testament principle of sacrifices magnifying God see Ps. 49:23 LXX: “θυσία αἰνέσεως δοξάσει με . . .” (“He who offers a sacrifice of praise glorifies me . . .”) or 1 Sam 2:29 LXX: “ἵνα τί ἐπέβλεψας ἐπὶ τὸ θυμίαμά μου καὶ εἰς τὴν θυσίαν μου ἀναιδεῖ ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ ἐδόξασας τοὺς υἱούς σου ὑπὲρ ἐμέ.” (“Why do you look upon my offering and my sacrifices with a shameless eye and glorify your sons above me . . .?”)

in Greek literature suggests that Paul may be making an allusion to the battlefield. ἵστημι and its cognates were used to indicate the duty of the soldier in battle, or to describe the taking of a position vis-à-vis that of an adversary. From earliest times, ‘to stand’ (ἵσταναι) was opposed to ‘to flee’ (φεύγειν); the latter was a common response to an overpowering enemy, the former to a situation in which one felt confidence.”²⁴²

5.4.4.2. Surrounding military vocabulary: σύζυγος, γνήσιε, συνεργός

Besides the concepts of “standing firm in the rank” and “joy of military victory,” Phil. 4:1-4 is arranged in an accumulation of other military metaphors as well. We have already noted the importance of the military appellation of ἀγαπητοί (Phil. 4:1 (2X))²⁴³ as well as the relevance of the military terminology of σύζυγος (comrade, yoke-fellow), γνήσιε (“loyal,” “faithful”), συνεργός (“fellow-fighter” in Phil. 4:3).²⁴⁴

5.4.4.3. Surrounding military vocabulary: ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ – the personnel record

Furthermore, according to Paul, Euodia and Syntyche together with Clement and all the other fellow soldiers are each inscribed in the book of life: ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν βιβλίῳ ζωῆς (“whose names are in the book of life”). Although a similar phrase is used in the book of Revelation (with an additional definite article: ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς), and allusions to the Old Testament are often highlighted (Exod. 32:32; Ps. 68:29 LXX; Ps. 86:6 LXX; Isa. 4:3; 34:16; Ezek. 13:9; Dan. 12:1; Mal. 3:16) and they may indeed be the theological foundation for Paul’s thought, no Old Testament example contains the exact same words as found in Phil. 4:3.²⁴⁵ In the military context, especially when surrounded by titles of address, such as “comrade in rank” or “fellow soldier,” the most apparent allusion for a “book” is the Roman custom to meticulously keep records of military personnel.²⁴⁶ Personnel records in the Roman Army came in various forms, the primary one – in which recruits were inscribed first – is the master roll of the military unit. The Latin technical term for such a master roll is *in*

²⁴² Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 55.

²⁴³ See 5.3.1. “The surrounding context: military terminology of ἀγαπητοί, ὑπακούω, and the military concept of the presence or absence of the commander.”

²⁴⁴ See 4.6. “Military struggle for the advance of the gospel: The example of Euodia, Syntyche, Clement, the loyal military comrade and other fellow soldiers (Phil. 4:3).”

²⁴⁵ John Reumann, *Philippians: A New Translation With Introduction and Commentary*. Anchor Yale Bible. London: Yale University Press, 2008, 611.

²⁴⁶ There is no allusion in the text for “a civic register of citizens,” and no reason exists why such a reference should be in view here. Contra G. Walter Hansen, *The Letter to the Philippians*. Pillar New Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009, 286.

numeros referre.²⁴⁷ In it all soldiers of a local unit were listed according to rank and years of service.²⁴⁸ RMR 21, a papyrus from Egypt (AD 235-242) states the abbreviation and number of cohort and century, the title of the rank of the soldier (e.g. *hastati prioris*), his name and the date of his entry into military service.²⁴⁹ Such master rolls certainly served as the basis for other personnel lists, such as morning reports, pay records, promotion lists, etc.²⁵⁰ The morning reports are of particular interest for the determination of the precise reference of the βίβλος in Phil. 4:3, because Appian calls this daily morning report of the number of troops present βιβλίον ἐφήμερον:

Καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἔπεμπε τοὺς χιλιάρχους τὸ σύνθημα τῶ στρατῶ ληγομένους παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος. οἱ δὲ ἔφερον αὐτῶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ στρατοῦ, καθὰ καὶ νῦν ἔθος ἐστὶ τὸν αἰτοῦντα τὸ σύνθημα χιλιάρχον ἐπιδιδόναι τῶ βασιλεῖ βιβλίον ἐφήμερον τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τοῦ παρόντος.	Lucius sent tribunes to receive the watchword for the army from Octavian, and they took the army roll to him, as it is customary for the tribune who asks for the watchword to deliver to the commander the daily register of the number of troops present.
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²⁴⁷ See for example RMR, 21–27 and comments on these papyri in Konrad Stauner, *Das Offizielle Schriftwesen des Römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Gallienus (27 v.Chr. – 268 n.Chr.)*. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 2004, 56-59. Cf., also line 1-15 of P. Oxy VII.1022. (RMR, 87), a papyrus dated February 24th, AD 103, in which the governor of Egypt commands Celsianus, commander of a cohort, to inscribe certain new recruits into the master roll (*in numeros referre*):

ex(emplum) [C(aius)] Minicius Italus Celsiano suo. sal[ut]em. Tirones sex probatos a me in coh(orte), cui praees, in nume- ros referri iube ex XI kalendas Martias. nomi- na eorum et icon[i]smos huic epistulae subieci. vale, frater karissime[e]. C(aium) Veterium Gemellum annor(um) XXI, sine i(conismo), C(aium) Longinum Priscum annor(um) XXII, i(conismus): supercil(io) sinistr(o) ...	Copy Gaius Minicius Italus to his Celsianus. Greetings. <i>Arrange</i> that the six recruits mustered by me are recorded into the master roll of the cohort, which you command, effective February 19th. Their names and special bodily marks I added to this letter. Farewell, dear military-brother. Gaius Veterius Gemellus, 21 years, without special marks, Gaius Longus Priscus, 22 years, special mark on the left eyebrow ...
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Cf., also Plin. *Ep.* X.38-39. describes an occurrence where slaves had taken the military oath, but not yet inscribed into the military roll (*debent etiam in numeros referri*).

²⁴⁸ Veg. *Epit.* II.7.

²⁴⁹ RMR, 141-42.

²⁵⁰ See RMR, 179-209, 241-276. and Konrad Stauner, *Das Offizielle Schriftwesen des Römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Gallienus (27 v.Chr. – 268 n.Chr.)*. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 2004, 56-59.

Morning reports which state the name of each soldier and the duties he is assigned to.²⁵¹ The “book” in the Roman army demonstrates who belongs to which unit, who is missing or out of camp.

5.4.4.4. *The command to make a united stand for the advance of the gospel*

Thus the combination of three clear military allusions in Phil. 4:3 paint a mental picture of Euodia and Syntyche together with all the other fellow soldiers of belonging to each other (as they are part of the same unit) and thus the need, as good fellow-soldiers would do, to assist

²⁵¹ App. BC. V.5.46. A reference of ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς to the military register of soldiers rather than a simple allusion to Old Testament books is made more likely by the presence of ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα (“whose names”) preceding ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς. The phrase ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα is a characteristic documentary formula (*Light*, 121., with the references of Papyri 72, 181, 344, 432 in *Berliner Griechische Urkunden*) and thus draws the reader’s attention to secular records in which the names of people are officially recorded. When Paul writes about συναργῶν (fellow-soldiers), whose names are in the book of life, hardly anything else except a reference to official military personnel records make any sense of the thrust of the metaphorical language. Examples of such “strength-” or “morning-reports” can be found in Robert O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*. Cleveland: Case Western Reserve, 1971, 179-209. They characteristically state the date of the record (by day and month), the full official name of the cohort, the grand total of the men on hand, the number of centurions and lieutenants, names of soldiers who departed or returned on special missions and other material, such as name of tribune in command, password, orders of the day, the oath of obedience, etc. As an example we cite line 1 to 6a of P. Dur. 82 (AD 223-35) (<http://papyri.info/ddbdp/rom.mil.rec;1;47>; Transl. by Robert O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, 183-88):

<p>(1) vi Kal(endas) Apr[iles n(umerus) p(urus) mil(itum) ca]l(ligatorum) dcccxxxi[i]i in his [o]r[di]nati viiii diupl[*] viii s[esq]uiplicarius] i drom(adarii) xxxiiii in his sesq(uipticarius) i eq(uites) ccxxiii in his dec(uriones) v dupl(icarii) vii sesq(uipticarii) iiiii</p> <p>(2) coh(ortis) xx [Palmyrenor(um) S]everianae Alexa[nd]rianae</p> <p>(3) [Iu]liu[s] Ru[fi]an[us] t[ri]bun[us] signum Me[r]c[ur]i s(ancti) ex Septezon[i]s m[is]it</p> <p>(4) [m]i[ss]i .[. . .] .[. . .] m[il]ites v in h(is) drom(adarii) .[. . .] eq(ues) i] (centuriae(?)) Ma[r]i[an]i Aurel(ius) Licinnius (centuriae) pu[de]ntis aurel(ius) demetrius (jenturiae) nigrini aurel(ius) romanus aurel(ius) rufus t(urmae) anton(ini) iarhables odeati</p> <p>(5) r[ev]ersi q(uondam) [d(e)]p(utati(?)) cum .[. . .] Appa[d]an[us] -ca.?-] .t(urmae) Tiberini .[. - ca.16 -]</p> <p>(6) T[im]i[n]i[us] P[aulinus] decurio ad[m]issa p[ro]n[un]t[ia]vit [quod imperatum fuerit faciemus] et ad omnem tesseram parati</p>	<p>March 27th. Milites caligati, net, 923, among these 9 centurions, 8 duplicarii, 1 sesquiplicarius; cavalry, 223, among these 5 decurions, 7 duplicarii, 4 sesquiplicarii</p> <p>of the cohorts xx Palmyrenorum Severiana Alexandriana. Iulius Rufianus, tribune, sent the password (chosen) from the seven planets (Mercury s(anctus?). Sent [] 5 soldiers, among them [] camel riders, 1 cavalryman, century of Marianus, Aurelius Licinnius; century of Pudens, Aurelius Demetrius; century of Nigrinus, Aurelius Romanus and Aurelius Rufus; turma of Antonius, Iarhables, son of Odeatus. Returned, previously detailed with [] Appandana (?) [] turma of Tiberinus [] Timinius Paulinus, decurion, announced the orders of the day. Whatever may be ordered, we will do; and at every command we will be ready . . .</p>
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An appeal by Paul to a military strength report would have had a powerful impact on the various individuals addressed by Paul in Phil. 4:3. Euodia, Syntyche, Clement and the other fellow-soldiers are all part of the same military unit. They are known to God (and Paul) by name, thus Paul appeals to the strong bond, which existed between military comrades from the same unit.

each other to achieve the common goal. The two women are thus exhorted not to fight each other and the soldiers near them in rank are called on to help them find their place in the ranks to stand firm together (στήκετε, Phil. 4:1) as a unit for the benefit of the gospel. The command Χαίρετε ἐν κυρίῳ πάντοτε· ἄλλιν ἐρῶ, χαίρετε (“Rejoice in the Lord always; again I command rejoice”) is formulated in the second person plural and refers back to all the beloved ones of Phil. 4:1 who were commanded to stand firm in their ranks. The exhortations around Euodia and Syntyche in Phil. 4:2-3 are therefore a short digression before Paul picks up his main thought again. The mental picture of Phil. 4:1-4 is of a commander who oversees his army lined up in battle formation and encourages them in the face of opposition not to flee, but to fight bravely for the gospel. As his eyes glance over the ranks, he notes two soldiers out of rank quarrelling with each other and Paul quickly calls on trusted soldiers to assist these two to take up the station they were assigned to.

5.4.4.5. *Command to rejoice supports the command to stand united for the gospel*

Then Paul returns to his main exhortation and gives the reason why a bold and confident stand for the gospel can be assumed: “the Lord” will guarantee the victory and therefore there is reason to rejoice in Him! Hence, the ethical military command to fight bravely in a united front in Phil. 4:1 is again undergirded by stating a strong motivation in the form of an encouragement. The likeliness of the presence of the Old Testament theological concept of rejoicing in anticipation of victory here in the context is affirmed by Paul writing in Phil. 4:5 ὁ κύριος ἐγγύς (“The Lord is near”).²⁵² Here the correlating theological principle of YHWH being present with the armies of his people guaranteeing victory²⁵³ in turn undergirds the confident rejoicing of Phil. 4:4.

5.4.5. Summary: The theme “joy in anticipation of victory” utilised by Paul in Philippians

Paul employs forms of the χαρά- word group several times in the letter without necessarily having the idea of “joy in victory” in his mind. He rejoices when the Philippians send him

²⁵² For a summary of the arguments concerning spatial or temporal nearness see for example Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 488-90. The context as explained above supports a spatial nearness rather than a temporal nearness, the latter referring to the *parousia* as assumed by some interpreters. Once the intertextual theological concepts of joy, victory and the LORD’s presence with the armies of his people are recognised, the argument of Paul appears coherent and complete.

²⁵³ See the discussion about JHWH’s presence guaranteeing victory in a divinely willed war in 5.3. “Certainty of victory – the LORD fights your battles (Phil. 2:12-13 and 2:14-15).”

financial aid (Phil. 4:10) or expects the Philippians to rejoice when Epaphroditus returns to them safely (Phil. 2:28). The notion of joy is too broad to be pressed into one concept only. Nonetheless, when integrated into military terminology surrounding *χαρά* or *χαίρω* and particularly when the command to rejoice is repeated in the immediate context (Phil. 1:18 (2x); 2:17 (2x); 2:18 (2x); 4:4 (2x)) Paul has the image of joy at a military victory as the main principle in mind in his line of reasoning. The theorem of “joy of an expected military victory” serves as an incentive for the Philippians to heed Paul’s main exhortation to stand firm in the propagation of the gospel. It undergirds Paul’s main concern, the continued advancement of the gospel through the Philippians, by showing them that opposition to the gospel does not lead to the failure of the campaign to advance the message about Christ. On the contrary, the concept of “victory either way: through preaching or death” serves as a strong incentive for the Philippian readers to be bold in evangelism. In drawing on the theme of “joy in victory” Paul mirrors the custom of commanders to give motivational speeches to the soldiers regarding why they should heed his ethical exhortations.

5.5. Certainty of victory – the military crown as a symbol of victory (Phil. 4:3)

The purpose of Paul’s summary exhortation in Phil. 4:1 “Ὡστε, ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοὶ καὶ ἐπιπόθητοι, χαρὰ καὶ στέφανός μου, οὕτως στήκετε ἐν κυρίῳ, ἀγαπητοὶ” has not yet sufficiently been explored by previous scholarship on the epistle of Philippians. No adequate proposal has yet been presented on how Paul’s accumulation of titles of endearment, with which he addresses the Philippians, supports his present line of reasoning. Yet, the six highly emotionally evocative titles were certainly not placed at this point into the letter for no reason at all. Even if they simply exist to strengthen the emotional bond between Paul and the Philippians, they would do so to strengthen **the bond of partnership for the gospel** between Paul and the Philippians, a concern, which is possibly present on account of the summary command *στήκετε* (“stand fast *in the common military campaign*”). But *χαρὰ καὶ στέφανός μου* (“my joy and my crown”) appear to fall out of the line of being suitable evocations of endearment and it appears as if Paul intended to convey a more significant reason for mentioning this couplet of nouns. So far, however, no adequate argument has been proposed that explains how *χαρὰ καὶ στέφανός μου* functions to sustain his argument of standing fast *in the common military campaign*. This lack of explanation, no doubt, is to a great extent due to the premature and unjustified relegation of the appellation of *χαρὰ καὶ στέφανός μου* to the semantic domain of a metaphorical reference of the race track. With very

few exceptions,²⁵⁴ the bulk of exegetical writers assumes στέφανός to be a reference to the victor's wreath presented by the judges to the winner in the Olympic games, although nothing in the immediate context suggests a reference to the running games, nor are any reasons suggested why the mention of a crown,²⁵⁵ which is ubiquitously²⁵⁶ used in the ancient world should have in this text such a narrow and exclusive field of reference of the games. Since crowns were worn or given in widely differing life-situations in the ancient world, the immediate context should be given first priority to determine which kind of crown-wearing Paul had in mind.²⁵⁷

5.5.1. Στέφανός in the argument of Phil. 4:1 not a reference to an athletic, but military crown

It would be well to consider that στέφανός is a reference to the award of honorary or victory wreaths from a military context. This would be more well-founded²⁵⁶ for the following reasons. In Phil. 4:1 Paul repeats his use of στήκετε from Phil. 1:27. There στήκετε had a clear military

²⁵⁴ Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 206-07. Joachim Gnilka, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. Leipzig: St. Benno-Verlag, 1969, 220. Wilhelm Egger, *Galaterbrief, Philipperbrief, Philemonbrief*. Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1988, 69.

²⁵⁵ Στέφανος, in distinction to διάδημα, the royal crown.

²⁵⁶ For the crown being worn by participants at cultic festivals, see the inscriptional evidence in Karl Baus, *Der Kranz in Antike und Christentum*. Theophaneia 2. Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1940, 5-7. A crown was worn also by priests and the persons who brought the sacrifice at Roman and Greek sacrifices and by the oracle servants. See *Ibid.*, 7-17, 28-29. On account of the widespread religious significance of the crown and since all ancient life was interwoven with religion, the crown penetrated all areas of ancient public and private life. It was customary among Greeks and Romans to display a wreath of olive at the door of the family who gave birth to a son, crowns were worn at weddings, at the symposium and were used as funeral decorations; crowns were given to leading citizens or kings as signs of honour or submission, women received crowns as a sign of the love of their suitors and even friends gave crowns to each other as tokens of their friendship. *Ibid.*, 34-35, 74-78, 113-32. Crowns were such a regular feature of ancient life that being a "crown maker" was a fully salaried profession. *Ibid.*, 35. Crowns were also given as prizes in poetic competitions or as tokens of honour to citizens in recognition of some particular contribution or the fulfilment of civic responsibilities, even posthumously. See *ND II*: 50.

²⁵⁷ It is an exegetical fallacy to simply transfer the meaning of στέφανος from 1 Cor. 9:25 or 2 Tim. 2:5 into our present text. Pauline usage of a metaphor in other instances enables the scholar to see what semantic fields of meaning are alluded to elsewhere, but the clear usage of a metaphor in one letter is not determinative of how it is used in another context. Paul is not so restricted in linguistics that once he used a metaphorical meaning of a word that he will never be able to use it in another sense elsewhere. Paul knows how to adopt one word with powerful and differing allusions in different contexts. Thus, for example ἐνδύω in 1 Thes. 5:8 or Eph. 6:11 vividly refers to the arming oneself in military equipment. The same word in Gal 3:27 has nothing to do with anything remotely military, but is a specific reference to the putting on of the *toga virilis* (garment of an adult Roman citizen) after shedding the *toga praetexta* (children's toga). The change of garments signified the transition from a child under tutelage to a full citizen with inheritance rights, which is precisely the force of the argument which Paul wants to develop in Gal. 3:23-4:7 (cf., App. *BC*. IV.5.30; Dio. XLV.2.5.). The ultimate determining factor which custom is alluded to by a metaphor is the immediate context in which the word is set, not how it is used elsewhere in Scripture. Thus, στέφανος in 2 Tim. 4:8 may refer to an athletic or military crown, while in 1 Thes. 2:19 στέφανος may possibly be a crown of civic honour.

reference in the sense of “standing firm in battle formation.”²⁵⁸ Since Phil. 4:1 possibly begins the *peroratio* of the letter, which recapitulates the major points of the previous speech, στήκετε here may indeed only be shorthand for the much longer formula of the narratio στήκετε ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι, μιᾷ ψυχῇ συναθροῦντες τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (standing united in battle array in one Spirit, with one soul fighting together for the advance of the faith, namely the gospel) (Phil. 1:27).²⁵⁹ Thus, the military association of στήκετε dominates the metaphorical usage of the rest of 4:1.

Furthermore, this thesis has already pointed out in a previous discussion that ἀγαπητοί (Phil. 4:1 (2x)) mirrors the practice of commanders to call their troops in speeches to them φίλοι²⁶⁰ and this research noted that ἀδελφοί (Phil. 4:1) was a common way through which soldiers addressed each other in the papyri and called each other “brother-soldier” on tomb inscriptions.²⁶¹ Additionally, all four appellations, besides the appellation χαρὰ καὶ στέφανός in question, in Phil. 4:1 (ἀδελφοί, ἀγαπητοί (2x), ἐπιπόθητοι) can reasonably be understood as regular appellations of endearment from one soldier to another.²⁶²

Χαρά and στέφανός fit rightly in with the military connotation of the surrounding vocabulary. When Paul lists six intensive appellations, one has to assume that with this elaborate use of writing space, he wants to use his chosen epithets to undergird his main exhortation. Six titles of endearment are not in the text to simply fill up space, they have to be significantly connected with Paul’s central exhortation and they have to have an important function in undergirding his main argument in the present sentence. Before we turn to a discussion of the function of Paul’s six appellations, let it be stated conclusively: it can be considered obvious that it is necessary to locate χαρά and στέφανος in the semantic domain of metaphorical military usage. It would be beyond a reasonable use of combining metaphors if Paul had argued “since you are my Olympic crown of running my Christian race, stand united in military formation in the fight for the advance of the gospel.” Paul does not mix metaphors

²⁵⁸ Edgar Krentz, “Military Language and Metaphors in Philippians.” In *Origins and Method: Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity*. Ed. Bradley H. McLean. Journal of the Study of the New Testament Supplement 86. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993, 121-22. Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 54-55. John Paul Schuster, *Historical Situation and Historical Reconstruction in Philippians*. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1997, 79-81. Cf., also Plb. II.34.13., App. *Pun.* VII.45.

²⁵⁹ The continued appeal for unity in Phil. 4:2-3, utilising extensively military terminology supports this thesis.

²⁶⁰ See the discussion in 5.3. “Certainty of victory – the LORD fights your battles (Phil. 2:12-13 and 2:14-15).”

²⁶¹ See the discussion in 4.5.6.7.7. “Military metaphors continued in Phil. 3:15-17 – the command to imitate Paul’s bold confrontation of the opposition with the gospel.”

²⁶² See for example P. Oxy VII.1022., dated AD 103, line 10, where Gaius Minicius Italus terms his fellow military officer Celsianus as *frater karissime*, my very dear military-brother. *RMR*, 353-54., <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/rom.mil.rec;1;87>.

beyond intelligibility. Although the assignment of στέφανός in Phil. 4:1 to athletic symbolic usage had previously a firm place in the history of exegesis, it should once and for all be abandoned.

5.5.2. Χαρά και στέφανός μου – not necessarily a reference to a future award at the *parousia*

Equally abandoned should be the automatic relegation of the crowning mentioned in Phil. 4:1 to the future *parousia* of Christ. It has been a favourite argument of exegetes in the past to reason that since all other occurrences of crowns in Pauline usage are all in the context of future rewards,²⁶³ and especially since both nouns, χαρά and στέφανός (but not connected with και) appear with a clear futuristic sense in 1 Thes. 2:19 (τίς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐλπίς ἢ χαρὰ ἢ στέφανος καυχήσεως- ἢ οὐχὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς- ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ (“for what is our hope or joy or crown of rejoicing? Is it not even you in the presence of our Lord Jesus at his coming?”)), then the reference to crown and joy of Phil. 4:1 also has to have a future application.²⁶⁴ This again is the exegetical fallacy of unjustified meaning transfer. Usage of words and phrases in other contexts does not restrict the meaning in different literary settings. Χαρὰ ἢ στέφανος has a clear time marker attached in 1 Thes. 2:19: ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ. This time marker is not present in Phil. 4. Rather, the combination of χαρὰ καὶ στέφανός μου with the other appellations (ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοὶ καὶ ἐπιπόθητοι . . . ἀγαπητοί), all having a present time sense, suggests a present application of χαρὰ καὶ στέφανός as well. The Philippians are already and now Paul’s joy and crown.²⁶⁵ One may still

²⁶³ So clearly in 1 Cor. 9:25 (2x); 1 Thes. 2:19; 2 Tim. 2:5; 2 Tim. 4:8.

²⁶⁴ W. Grundmann, TDNT 7: 615-36; Gordon F. Fee, *Paul’s Letter to the Philippians*. New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995, 388.; Joachim Gnilka, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. Leipzig: St. Benno-Verlag, 1969, 220., Ernst Lohmeyer, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953, 164., Wilhelm Egger, *Galaterbrief, Philipperbrief, Philemonbrief*. Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1988, 69., Werner de Boor, *Die Briefe des Paulus an die Philipper und an die Kolosser*. Wuppertal: Brockhaus Verlag, 1957, 140., Markus Bockmuehl, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. Black’s New Testament Commentary. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1998, 237. The latter also argues that 3:20-21 describes the eschatological work of Christ and that since 4:1 is connected with the previous paragraph with οὗτος, it must equally be in the context of eschatological period. This is not convincing. First, then Paul would equally love and long (ἀγαπητοὶ καὶ ἐπιπόθητοι) for the Philippians exclusively at the *parousia* and second is οὗτος a generic conjunction not necessarily connecting the immediately preceding with the following, but it is functioning here as a transition marker from the probation into the *peroratio*.

²⁶⁵ G. Walter Hansen, *The Letter to the Philippians*. Pillar New Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009, 280., Gerald Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 240., Wilhelm Michaelis, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Philipper*. Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament. Leipzig: Deichert, 1935, 64., Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 476. Present and future connotations are argued for by Markus Bockmuehl, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. Black’s New Testament Commentary. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1998, 257.

argue for future connotations of the phrase in question, but one has to do that from consideration of metaphor usage in the present context and not by an appeal to so-called "parallel passages."²⁶⁶

5.5.3. The diverse significances of crowns in Greco-Roman military custom

In order to determine the precise thrust of meaning, which Paul intended by his reference to στέφανος, one has to consider two different phenomena important for the metaphorical usage of crowns in classical literature. The first one is the categories of military wreaths worn in classical times and the second one is the particular metaphorical value,²⁶⁷ which a crown represented. Generally speaking, *coronae militares* – military wreaths – fell into two distinguished categories. The first category consists of crowns awarded as official *dona militaria* for outstanding feats of valour.²⁶⁸ When the general wanted to award soldiers with crowns of military *dona*, he did not randomly distribute wreaths to his own liking, but was restricted in the type of crown awarded according to the traditional crown classifications that were customary to be awarded.

Towards the end of the first century BC the range of crowns available were the *corona obsidionalis* (siege crown, for the one responsible to raise a siege), the *corona civica* (civic crown, for the soldier who saved a Roman citizen in battle), the *corona navalis/ classica/ rostrata* (naval crown for exceptional deeds in sea battles), *corona muralis* (mural crown for the soldier who first climbed the wall of the besieged city), *corona vallaris* (rampart crown for the soldier who first climbed over the entrenchment of the enemy), *corona aurea* (gold crown for rewards of gallantry not previously covered and thus with a less specific designation).²⁶⁹

Originally, all crowns except the *corona aurea* were tied to a specific exploit, but as the first century AD progressed, the nature of the deed declined as the determining factor for the type of crown received. "With the exception of the *corona civica*, the crowns lost all connection with the deeds which they were originally designed to commemorate."²⁷⁰ In the middle of the first century AD, the following categories of crowns were thus available to make metaphorical sense to contemporary recipients of literature mentioning crowns:

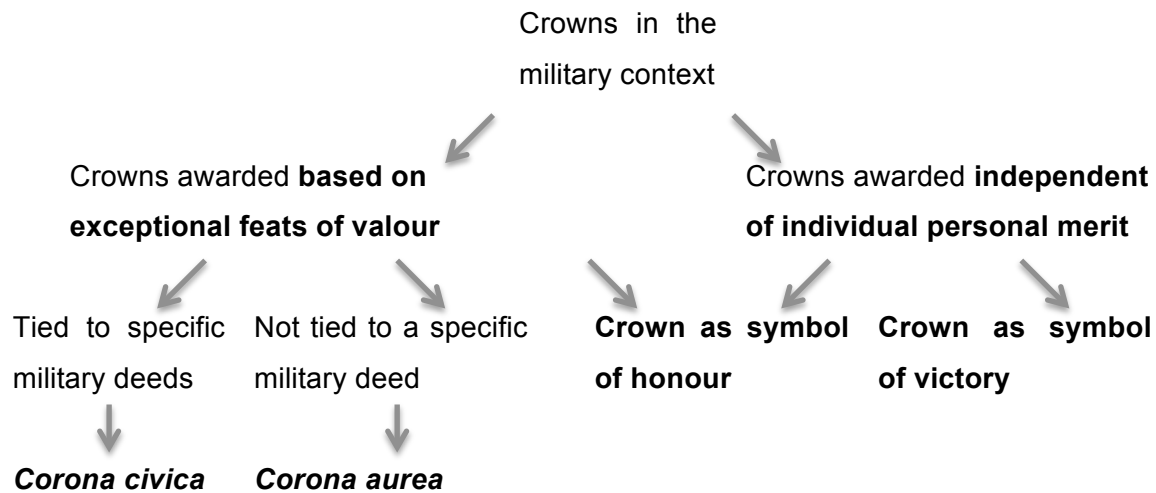
²⁶⁶ Thus, one could argue that since crowns were regularly awarded to soldiers after the successful conclusion of the campaign, Paul has a future award in view. The sense of the present tense of the passage may stem from the certainty of future events which Paul expresses in present tense terminology (cf., Rom. 8:30).

²⁶⁷ Obviously στέφανος is a metaphor, but the question is for what precisely does the metaphor stand? Which of the characteristic aspects which the crown stands for is alluded to?

²⁶⁸ E.g. DH. IV.14.1.; Tac. *Ann.* III.21.; Plb. VI.39.; Plb. V.60., Plb. C.11.; Plin. *Nat.* XVI.5.; Liv. VI.20.; XXVI.48.13-14.

²⁶⁹ For a detailed study see Valerie A. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army*. London: B. T. Batsford, 1981, 55-81.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 64.



5.5.4. The metaphorical significance of the *corona civica*

If Paul, by alluding to military crowns in Phil. 4:1, had a specific crown in mind which was connected to a particular deed, then in the middle of the first century AD the *corona civica* would have been the only reasonable option. It was bestowed as a reward for saving a Roman citizen in battle through an extraordinary display of courage.²⁷¹ If it was Paul's intention to refer to the civic crown in Phil. 4:1, then his theological assertion would have been the following: since the Philippians are now citizens of heaven (cf., Phil. 3:20), and since Paul was responsible for bringing the message of salvation to them (cf., Acts 16:30 τί με δεῖ ποιεῖν ἵνα σωθῶ “What must I do to **be saved?**”), the Philippians are the reason for Paul being crowned with the civic crown.

The advantage of this view is that it strongly connects the Philippians with Paul, since the *corona civica* was the only crown which was awarded to the saviour by the person who was saved from danger and an obvious bond of gratitude would have been established between these two (cf., Phil. 1:8). On the other hand, the personal salvation of the Philippians is nowhere a theme in Paul's letter to the Philippian church and the bond, which Paul describes, is one of mutual partners in the military campaign (cf., Phil. 1:7), not one of gratitude and obligation, as would be the case with a reference to a civic crown.²⁷² Most likely Paul would have also used the plural στέφανοι, if an acknowledgement for the saviour of the “saved citizens” would be in view, just as in secular usage a multiplicity of saved citizens

²⁷¹ For the *corona civica* as a reward for saving a Roman citizen see Tac. *Ann.* III.21.; Tac. *Ann.* XVI.15.; Tac. *Ann.* XII.31.; Liv. XXXIII.23.6.; Plb. VI.39.6-7.; Plin. *Nat.* XVI.14.; Cic. *pro Plan.* XXX.72.

²⁷² Cf., Cic. *pro Plan.* XXX.72.

resulted in a plural award of crowns.²⁷³ Furthermore, the thought of the Philippians crowning Paul with a civic wreath adds nothing substantial as a support why the Philippians are to stand fast (στήκετε) in the future military campaign with Paul. Paul's intention by referring to a στέφανος more than likely lies elsewhere.

5.5.5. The metaphorical significance of the *corona aurea*

The second option within the category of official *dona militaria* would be that Paul alludes loosely to the concept of crowns as military rewards without having a specific crown in mind or having the generic *corona aurea* in contemplation. Paul would in that case emphasise the meritorious nature of why this crown was given on account of exceptional military virtue. Although this meritorious award for outstanding military service might be the background of 2 Tim. 4:8, where Paul receives the appropriate military award for having fought the good fight faithfully to the end (τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα ἠγωνίσμαι) (2 Tim. 4:7), it seems a little out of place in the present context. The only possible thrust of the message would be that Paul intended to say that he will not need any future military reward, the Philippians themselves are already the reward *per excellence*. He would communicate that his greatest present and eschatological joy of being in a Christian brotherly relationship with the Philippians is sufficient and ample reward for all the strain, which Paul suffered on account of the military campaign for the gospel.

Although the force of this argument is theologically possible and might be Paul's central intention in 1 Thes. 2:19, the thrust of this argumentation fits a little ill with Philippians, regarding Paul's strong and lengthy elaborations that "being with and knowing Christ face-to-face" is his utmost desired military gain (cf., Phil. 1:21, 23; 3:8-14). Although the concept of the Philippians being in a "saving relationship with God and a brotherly relationship with Paul" as a reward for Paul's missionary endeavour is theologically possible, it is not clear how that concept adds anything to the main force of Phil. 4:1, where all appellations appear to function as bonding markers between Paul and the Philippians to support his main exhortation to stand firm in advancing the gospel message. How Paul's reward for bravery would motivate the Philippians to boldly rejoin the gospel campaign is not quite clear. The thought of "I have you as a reward for my military service, so you too engage in the spread of the gospel, so that you may also have the potential reward of others being saved" is quite far-fetched. It would connect the reward with the command to στήκετε (stand in the military

²⁷³ L. Siccus Dentatus received twenty-six crowns, of which fourteen were civic crowns, eight golden crowns and six mural crowns (Plin. *Nat.* VII.29.; XXII.5.); Spurius Ligustinus was awarded six civic crowns (Liv. XLII.34.10.); Manlius two mural crowns and eight civic crowns (Liv. VI.20.7.).

campaign), but it adds a line of reasoning that simply is not in the text.²⁷⁴ The substance of Paul's argument in Phil. 4:1 seems to connect the Philippians as Paul's crown directly with their motivation and ability to stand: "since you are my crown, this (i.e. you being my crown) is the direct reason you should and will be able to confidently stand in the military campaign." The Philippians as Paul's crown are the immediate reason for their ability to stand, and not some proposed lack of reward on their part in terms of saved people on account of their witness.

5.5.6. The metaphorical significance of honorary crowns

If Paul did not want to focus on the meritorious nature of the crown as a military *dona*, another possibility of the purposed meaning of *στέφανος* is feasible. An important aspect of the metaphorical significance of the military crown lies in its function as a conveyor of honour. The literary sources often explicitly point out the obvious: military crowns are a means of honouring the soldier. Appian, for example, says that Octavian distributed "crowns and other honours to all . . ." (*στεφάνους τε καὶ τιμὰς ἅπασιν ἔνεμεν*),²⁷⁵ clearly subsuming *στέφανοι* in the category of military honours. Soldiers, like Dionysius in Diodorus Siculus are "honoured with crowns" (*στεφάνοις ἐτιμήθη*)²⁷⁶ and generals like Titus bestow honours on soldiers by putting gold crowns on their heads (*καὶ στεφάνους ἐπέτιθει χρυσοῦς . . . πάντων δὲ τετιμημένων ὅπως . . .*).²⁷⁷ Paul's *χαρὰ καὶ στέφανός μου* could thus be construed as saying that the Philippians are Paul's source of both joy and honour.²⁷⁸ Within the context of the passage Paul could be saying that he is joyful in them and proud to have them as his partner in the campaign for the advancement of the gospel. Since they are in the campaign together (cf., *συγκοινωνός* in Phil. 1:7) the Philippians should stand united in military formation, focus on the advance of the gospel, just as Paul is doing (Phil. 3:12-17). This interpretation is possible and fits with the theme and tone of the Philippian correspondence as a whole.

²⁷⁴ I.e., I have my reward, but you have none so far, therefore do something that you also may have a reward.

²⁷⁵ App. *BC*. V.13.127.

²⁷⁶ DS. XIV.105.4.

²⁷⁷ Jos. *BJ*. VII.13-15.

²⁷⁸ And possibly the resulting pride of the honour. So BDAG, 767 ("that which serves as someone's adornment, pride . . . Phil. 4:1") and thus GNB "how proud I am of you . . ." "Honour" as inferred from the picture of the crown of the guest at a banquet or the winner at the Olympic games: Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 240. "With this single word then, Paul, may be . . . informing them that they are also a source of great honour for him . . ." Gnilka calls the *στέφανος* the crown of honour ("Ehrenkranz"). Joachim Gnilka, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. Leipzig: St. Benno-Verlag, 1969, 220.

5.5.7. The metaphorical significance of victory crowns

Within the second category of military crowns, namely crowns awarded independent of individual personal merit, a further metaphorical meaning of *στέφανός* is possible: the military crown as a symbol of victory. Within this category crowns are worn by soldiers and generals – in most cases not by a few isolated individuals as is the case with military *dona*, but by the whole army²⁷⁹ or the general as the representative of the victorious army – after a significant victory or at the triumph celebrating the victory of the previous military campaign. The precise thrust of the metaphorical meaning of the crown would thus not lie in its honorary value as a reward for appraised character, but in its honorary value as a symbol of victory.²⁸⁰

Appian specifically mentions this military crown in Roman culture to be a “symbol of victory”:

<p>ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐκτελεσθείσης τῆς θυσίας στεψάμενος δάφνη, συμβόλω νίκης, προυκάθητο ἐπὶ βήματος . . .²⁸¹</p>	<p>When Octavian had finished the sacrifice, he, crowned with laurel, the symbol of victory, took his seat in front of the tribunal . . .</p>
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Greek thought, as well as Roman, clearly understood the wreath of the military to be an image of victory. Timoleon, after having received a sign from the gods of impending military victory lets his soldiers wear “victory wreaths” in anticipation for the expected military success:

²⁷⁹ Cf., App. *Pun.* VIII.9.66:

καὶ ὁ τρόπος, ᾧ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρώμενοι
 διατελοῦσιν, ἐστὶ τοιόσδε. ἐστεφάνωνται μὲν
 ἅπαντες, ἠγοῦνται δὲ σαλπικταί . . .

The form of the triumph (which the Romans still continue to employ) was as follows: All who were in the procession wore crowns. Trumpeters led the advance . . .

In the triumph of Scipio, celebrating the victory over the Carthagians, the wearing of the wreaths by all – symbolising the victory – is clearly distinguished from the wreaths granted as a reward for bravery. The latter are put on display later on in the course of the triumphal procession.

πύργοι τε παραφέρονται μιμήματα τῶν
 εἰλημμένων πόλεων καὶ γραφαὶ καὶ σχήματα τῶν
 γεγονότων . . . καὶ στέφανοι, ὅσοις τὸν
 στρατηγὸν
 ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα ἀναδοῦσιν ἢ πόλεις ἢ σύμμαχοι ἢ
 τὰ ὑπ’ αὐτῷ στρατόπεδα . . .

Towers were born along representing the captured cities, and pictures showing the exploits of war . . . then came the crowns that had been given to the general as a reward for his bravery by cities, by allies, or by the army itself . . .

²⁸⁰ Even in the category of crowns given as a reward for bravery the symbolism of victory is present. Cf., App. *BC.* V.13.127:

καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπινικίοις ἐδωρεῖτο, τὰ μὲν ἤδη
 διδούς, τὰ δὲ ὑπισχνούμενος, στεφάνους τε καὶ
 τιμᾶς ἅπασιν ἔνεμεν . . .

To the soldiers Octavian awarded the prizes of victory, paying a part down and promising the rest later, crowns and other honours he gave to to all . . .

²⁸¹ App. *BC.* V.5.46. Cf., App. *BC.* II.10.74., where the consuls bestow on two legions who deserted Antony to the consular army monetary rewards and the perpetual right to wear the olive wreath at public festivals as rewards of victory. Or cf., Dio. XLIII.43, where Caesar is described of wearing the triumphal garb and the laurel crown, both symbols of victory, always and everywhere.

οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται παραγγείλαντος τοῦ Τιμολέοντος ἐκ τῶν σελίνων πλέξαντες στεφάνους καὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς περιθέντες προῆγον μετὰ χαρᾶς, ὡς τῶν θεῶν προσημαινόντων αὐτοῖς τὴν νίκην. ²⁸²	On his suggestion, the soldiers plated crowns of celery and with their heads wreathed advanced cheerfully in the confidence that the gods foretold their victory .
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The Roman consul receives crowns from the Greeks, who honour his victories through them:

. . . Ἀσίαν Γναίου τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ . . . παρεγένοντο πρεσβεῖαι παρά τε τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ παρ' ἐτέρων πλειόνων, συμφεροῦσαι στεφάνους τῷ Γναίῳ διὰ τὸ νενικηκέναι τοὺς Γαλάτας. ²⁸³	Meanwhile in Asia the Roman consul Cnaeus Manlius . . . was visited by embassies from the Greek cities in Asia and many others, bringing complementary crowns to him for his victories over the Gauls.
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5.5.8. "Victory" as the prominent metaphorical aspect of στέφανός in Phil. 4:1

If Paul has "victory" as the characteristic aspect in mind for which στέφανος stands, then he may have wished to portray the concept that the "Philippians as Christians are evidence that the military campaign for the gospel is already successful." Their existence as believers and their sharing in the military campaign is proof that God is at work in the struggle for the advance of the gospel and that He will bring it to His desired conclusion. Paul was engaged in the fight for the progress of the gospel when he visited Philippi and the conversion of the present Philippian congregation was the kind of military victory, which Paul had desired and which God had effected.

If Paul has "victory" as the aspect on his mind, which typifies the crown, then he weaves into the text here in Phil. 4:1 a typical military *topos* from the commander's speeches of confidence why he thinks the gospel campaign will ultimately be successful. Paul says, the Philippians themselves are the best evidence that the fight for the gospel will eventually be concluded with a manifest victory. This possible meaning of the passage is strengthened by the likelihood that this was the original intention of Paul since he combines στέφανος with χαρά through the conjunction καί in the same way he connects the two preceding adjectives ἀγαπητοί and ἐπιπόθητοι through the same conjunction. Structurally we have thus a

²⁸² DS. XVI.79.4. Transl. by C. Bredford Welles, LCL, VIII:58-59. See also DS. XVII.113.1., where envoys congratulate Alexander on his victories and symbolise his victories by the giving of crowns. Cf., Aeschin 2 LXXX, where Aeschines describes how it is customary to give seats of honour and crowns to those victorious in battle.

²⁸³ Plb. XXI.40.1. Transl. by W. R. Paton, LCL, V:328-29.

juxtaposition of two phrases, with both phrases containing a parallel expression of the same force of argument:

μου
 ἀγαπητοὶ καὶ ἐπιπόθητοι,
 χαρὰ καὶ στέφανός
 μου

In the case of ἀγαπητοὶ καὶ ἐπιπόθητοι it quickly becomes obvious that Paul binds together two concepts that are not a great distance from each other in meaning, but which are close synonyms. “Beloved” and “greatly longed for” are parallel concepts and both express the heartfelt attraction, which Paul had for the Philippians. One would rightly expect from the structure of the string of appellations that the same parallel concept would also be intended with χαρὰ and στέφανός. This is indeed the case. This thesis has noted already in the section which investigated the theme of joy as a military motif²⁸⁴ that χαρὰ in Philippians is used with reference to the widespread military concept of joy in anticipation of victory in battle. Thus, both χαρὰ and στέφανός are synonymous concepts referring to the confidence of victory. It is thus very likely that Paul formed, with two victory motifs combined, the idea that the Philippians are evidence of the success of the spread of the gospel campaign.

Timothy Geoffrion seems to understand στέφανός as Paul’s purposeful indications for victory as well. He writes:

Paul’s reference to their being his ‘crown’ (στέφανός), the only appellation in 4:1 not found elsewhere in the letter, is another political/ military allusion . . . it was also used as the general’s or officers’ reward after a military triumph or as a display of honour and appreciation for a political leader’s contribution to the well being of the polis. Thus, Paul’s affirmation of the Philippians’ status as his ‘crown’ expresses the confidence of a political/ military leader that victory and salvation lie ahead. He is confident that they will “hold fast” to the word of life, enabling him to ‘boast’ at the day of Christ, when the Lord of the *πολίτευμα* will crown him; his labour will not have been in vain (Phil. 2:16)²⁸⁵

²⁸⁴ See 5.5. “Certainty of victory – the military crown as a symbol of victory (Phil. 4:3).”

²⁸⁵ Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 206-07. John Motyer does not elaborate, but seems to understand the metaphorical language in respect to victory: “To Paul it is a victory to see them accepted before the throne . . .” John A. Motyer, *The Message of Philippians*. The Bible Speaks Today. Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1984, 201.

Unfortunately, Geoffrion, in my opinion, makes two mistakes, which prevents the reader from grasping the intention of the passage as precisely as Paul intended it. First, Geoffrion understands the crowning as a future event. Victory still lies ahead: the *πολίτευμα* will crown him in the future. But the parallelism with *ἀγαπητοί, ἐπιπόθητοι* and *χαρά* – which are all present realities for Paul – makes it more likely that Paul has a present sense of victory in mind. He perceives the Philippian Christians as present evidence that currently the gospel campaign is victorious. Of course, the battle for the gospel is not concluded and the present victory has future implications, namely confidence in future victories; but the immediate meaning of *στέφανός* appears to lie in the fact that the Philippians are at the moment of writing a live expression of the victory of God through the gospel campaign.

Second, Geoffrion, without any reason connects *στέφανός* with *λόγον ζωῆς ἐπέχοντες* (hold the word of life) from Phil. 2:16, which he interprets to mean “hold fast the word of life.” But *στέφανός* is structurally too far removed from Phil. 2:16 in order to have any function to support Paul’s argument there. *Στέφανός* is intentionally put in its place in Phil. 4:1, where it supports *στήκετε* in its function as a summary exhortation. The logic of the argument would thus run like this: “Since you, Philippians, are my dearest military comrades in the gospel campaign (*Ὡστε, ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοὶ καὶ ἐπιπόθητοι*) and since you are the manifest victory of my life as an soldier for the gospel (*χαρὰ καὶ στέφανός μου*), let us stand in unity together as we fight for the advance of the gospel. You as the present victory of the gospel campaign are the sure indication that our common struggle for the gospel will conclusively be victorious in due time.”

5.6. Conclusion: The LORD guarantees the success of the campaign for the gospel

Paul, in writing the letter to the Philippians, portrays the life of a Christian in military terminology as being in a battle. It is not only Paul himself, as an apostle to the nations, who engages himself in the battle task of advancing the gospel, the Philippians had joined ranks with their apostle and considered themselves military comrades fighting together for the same military objective, the advance of the gospel. Due to discouragements regarding setbacks in the campaign (Phil. 1:12), due to threatening future disasters (Phil. 2:27), due to internal strife (Phil. 2:1-8, 4:2) the fervour of the Philippians to fight united for the progress of the gospel had diminished. As a response, Paul, similar to a commander giving a speech to his assembled troops, not only orders the Philippians to resume the fight (Phil. 1:27-30, 2:1-5, 2:14-16, 3:15-17), but he also bolsters his summons with encouragements why a return to the united and bold advance of the gospel is commanded.

Analogous to the harangues of military generals to their troops before battle, large sections of Paul's speech consist of re-assurances, why he is confident that their mutual campaign for the advance of the gospel will be victorious. The success of the life devoted to advancing the gospel is assured because the fight for the gospel campaign is not of human, but of God's initiative and therefore, according to the Old Testament conviction that the holy wars initiated by the LORD will end in victory, assured to be successful (Phil. 1:5-7). Furthermore, the believing community at Philippi had as its Lord and commander no inexperienced general, but one who exemplified the life of a devoted soldier dedicated to His Lord and the battle task. Through Christ's death on the cross Jesus achieved a super-victorious triumph over all his enemies, resulting in Christ being honoured as the victorious general, who will receive universal submission (Phil. 2:6-11). Christ in the position as super-victorious general gives fresh and vigorous confidence to renew the fight for victory in advancing the good news (Phil. 2:12).

Additional encouragement for continued participation in sharing the gospel in the midst of adverse circumstances comes from knowing that God Himself is in the midst of the Philippians and fights alongside them on their behalf, just as He did in the Old Testament, leading the armies of Israel to victory (Phil. 2:13-14). Furthermore, considering the character of the Philippians and the character of their opponents, it becomes evident that the war for the advance of the gospel is just, and with justice on their side, another factor why the military operation "gospel advance" will be successful is stated (Phil. 2:15-16). Finally, the predominant theme of "joy" and "rejoicing" in Philippians is not an otherwise unrelated theme or subtheme in Philippians, but serves, like its Old Testament counterpart of anticipatory rejoicing on account of the future victory of the LORD, as a clear sign of confidence that the gospel campaign will succeed gloriously (Phil. 3:1, 4:4).

Chapter 6

Incentives for fighting in the campaign for the gospel

The apostle Paul, when putting together the book of Philippians, patterns the rhetoric of his epistle after the military speeches of army commanders. The main concern of the letter, namely the Philippians' partnership with Paul in advancing the gospel, is throughout the letter compared and described in the metaphorical language of a battle. Although the Philippians enthusiastically joined in comradeship with Paul in the campaign for the advance of the gospel at first (Phil. 1:5; 4:15), forceful opposition (Phil. 1:29-30), the discouragement when Paul, their military hero, apparently taken out of the campaign (Phil. 1:12) and the fear of the potential military disaster of Paul dying (Phil. 2:27) had taken the courage out of the Philippians. The result was that they were not boldly and courageously advancing the faith any more (Phil. 1:27-28).

As an answer to this "crisis of faith," Paul not only ordered the Philippians back to a united and courageous fight for the progress of the faith, but similar to the habit of secular military commanders, he built into his exhortations passages, which encourage "the troops" that their battle for the gospel will be victorious. Besides clear statements of the military objective and statements of confidence, why the Philippians will be victorious in their battle, Paul also includes into his epistolary rhetoric the third *military topos*, which was typical of secular troop harangues – the statement what the rewards will be, if the troops adhere to the exhortation of their commander. As has been observed in the case of the military objective,¹ Philippians is characteristically deliberative rhetoric,² relying heavily on stating exemplary behaviour, one should expect military rewards and incentives for obedience to be presented not necessarily in plain exhortative statement of fact, but through statements interwoven in the examples, which Paul cites to support his argument. Military terminology stating clearly rewards for the courageous fight in the campaign occur in the Paul's own example (Phil. 1:21; 3:9-10) and in the example of the Philippians themselves (Phil. 3:20-21; 4:3).

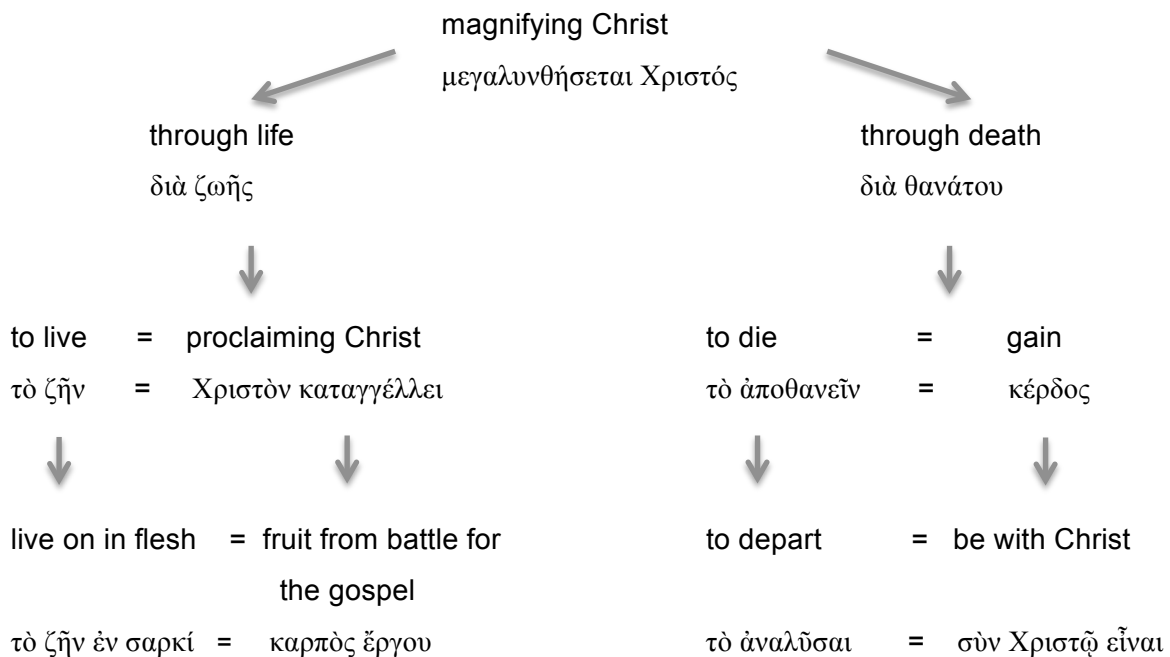
¹ See 4.1. "Previous work of Geoffrion and Schuster: the central message of Philippians."

² Duane F. Watson, "The Three Species of Rhetoric and the Study of the Pauline Epistles." In *Paul and Rhetoric*. Ed. Peter Lampe and J. Paul Sampley. London: T & T Clark, 2010, 25-31.

6.1. Κέρδος – the reward of the military campaign, paid out at death (Phil. 1:21)

6.1.1. The setting of Phil. 1:20-21: stereotypical military rhetoric

The firm setting of Phil. 1:20-21 within a rhetorical composition in dependence on stereotypical military oratory has already been explained in chapter four.³ There a clear structural pattern became apparent, which is repeated here for cognoscibility of the present concern:



We noted in chapter four that Paul's ultimate goal of magnifying Christ is potentially achieved by him in two ways, either by staying alive and boldly preaching the gospel, or through dying and being with Christ. While the first option (structurally depicted on the left side of the visualization) revealed a statement of the military campaign, the second option (structurally depicted to the right) contains a military expression, which states the rewards of armed service.

6.1.2. Κέρδος – the military reward after a successful campaign

In the semantic domain of the military, κέρδος ("gain") refers not to some generic benefit received, but "gain" in this context specifically alludes to the rewards, which the soldier receives after a successful military expedition. It can come in the form of payment of

³ See 4.2. "Military struggle for the advance of the gospel: The example of Paul (Phil. 1:20)."

promised money directly from the pocket of the victorious general, or in the form of plunder.⁴ It is ubiquitously used among the classical historians as a specific referent to the rewards at the end of a successful military operation and as the primary reason, why men volunteer for prolonged military service. Thus, for example, Plutarch describes as κέρδος the soldier's reward after the Macedonian campaign under Aemilius Paulus. The disappointment over the smallness of the military reward is expressed after the plunder of ten cities of Epirus:

. . . γενέσθαι δ' ἀπο τοσαύτης φθορᾶς καὶ πανωλεθρίας ἐκάστω στρατιώτῃ τὴν δόσιν οὐ μείζον ἕνδεκα δραχμῶν . . . εἰς μικρὸν οὕτω τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον λῆμμα καὶ κέρδος ἔθνους ὅλου κατακερματισθέντος. ⁵	And yet from all this destruction and ruin each soldier was given not more than eleven drachma . . . thus so small was each soldier's profit and gain when the whole nation was divided up.
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Dio in a speech of Caesar to his troops, utilises κέρδος to describe the plunder of Spain, which the soldiers in his legions are desiring, but which he is forbidding them to take:

Πῶς δ' οὐκ αἰσχρὸν σεμνύνεσθαι μὲν ἡμᾶς καὶ λέγειν ὅτι ἡμεῖς πρῶτοι Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον διέβημεν καὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐπλεύσαμεν, τὴν δὲ οἰκενίαν ἀπαθῆ κακῶν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμιῶν ὄυσαν διαρπάσαι, καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν ἐπαίνου μέμψιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τιμῆς ἀτιμίαν, ἀντὶ δὲ κερδῶν ζημίαν, ἀντὶ δὲ ἄθλων τιμωρίας λαβεῖν; ⁶	How is it not shameful for us to magnify ourselves and say that we were the first of the Romans to cross the Rhine and to sail the ocean and then to plunder our own <i>land</i> , our domestic <i>cities</i> , which are safe from the evil of our enemies to plunder. <i>How is it not shameful for us</i> to receive blame instead of praise, dishonour instead of honour, loss instead of gain , punishment instead of prizes?
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Appian likewise makes use of κέρδος as a referent to plunder after battle. On the eve of the famous battle on lake Thrasimenus, where the Romans were beaten by the army of Hannibal under the leadership of the commander Mahrbal, Hannibal treats the surviving Romans with kindness, but the captured booty is given to the Gauls in alliance with Hannibal as an incentive to stay loyal in the coming battles with him. The plunder given to the Gauls is their κέρδος (military gain):

⁴ The possibility of κέρδος as military terminology has already been noted through its comparison with ζημία in Phil. 3:7-8. See 4.5.4. "The elided direct object of ἔλαβον in Phil. 3:12 is the four-fold concept of the military gain of Christ, previously explained in Phil. 3:8-10."

⁵ Plut. *Aem.* XXIX.5.

⁶ Dio. XLI.30.3.

Τὴν δὲ λείαν τοῖς συστρατεύουσι Κελτοῖς ἀποδόμενος, ἵνα καὶ τούσδε θεραπεύσειε τῷ κέρδει, προύβαινεν ἐς τὸ πρέσθεν . . .⁷

But the plunder he gave to his fellow-soldiers, the Gauls, in order to attach them to himself through **gain** from the military expedition, and he marched forward . . .

Κέρδος clearly referring to the military gain in the form of plunder is also unmistakably discernible in a passage of Appian, where the Roman soldiers of Plenius – after being overcome by Lepidus in the civil war against Pompey the Younger are not only pardoned, but are allowed to join the ranks of Lepidus – are immediately invited to join the victorious soldiers in plundering the city of Messana on Sicily:

Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, περὶ ἧς δὴ καὶ μόνης παρεκάλουν, κέρδος ἀδόκητον εὐρόμενοι, τὴν Μεσσήνην ὅλη τῇ νυκτὶ μετὰ τῶν Λεπίδου διήραζον . . .⁸

These soldiers had entreated *Lepidus* for nothing but safety, *but now*, finding unexpected **military gain** as well, plundered Messana the whole night together with *the soldiers* of Lepidus . . .

“Military gain“ is often unashamedly appealed to by generals as the reward for the efforts of soldiers in a campaign.⁹ Sulla for example, after having captured Athens, besieges Piraeus and encourages his soldiers to extreme exertions with the prospect of κέρδος.

. . . ὁρμῇ δ’ ἀπαύστῳ καὶ στρατοῦ μεταβολῇ πυκνῇ χρώμενος . . . καὶ παρακαλῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ὡς ἐν τῷδε ἔτι λοιπῷ τῆς ὅλης ἐλπίδος καὶ κέρδους τῶν προπεπονημένων ὄντος.¹⁰

But with never-ceasing eagerness he [Sulla] pushed on, he changed the soldiers on duty often . . . and urged them on to battle as if their hope of **military gain** from previous labour depended entirely on this small remaining [battle].

Appian describes that Catiline in preparation for his conspiracy was looking to enlist veteran soldiers for his undertakings with the appeal for renewed gains from plunder:

Ἀνά τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιέπεμπεν ἐς τῶν Σθηλαίων τοὺς τὰ κέρδη τῆς τότε βίας

Throughout Italy he [Catiline] sent emissaries to those of Sulla’s *soldiers*

⁷ App. *Hann.* VII.2.10.

⁸ App. *BC.* V.13.122.

⁹ The opposite, damming the desire for military-gain, is also found in the literary sources: “Μοχθηρὸν δ’ ὄντα τὸν Φλάκκον καὶ σκαιὸν ἐν ταῖς κολάσεσι καὶ φιλοκερδῆ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας ἀπεστρέφετο . . .” (And because Flaccus was a depraved man, stupid in his handling of chastisements and greedy for military gain, the whole army hated him . . .). App. *Mith.* XII.8.51.

¹⁰ App. *Mith.* XII.6.40.

ἀναλωκότας καὶ ορεγομένους ἔργων | who had squandered the **military gains**
 ὁμοίων . . .¹¹ | of their former life and who longed for
 similar military activities *as under Sulla*.

Crassus started his Parthian campaign with the view to glory and gain from plunder.

. . . ὁ δὲ Κράσσος Συρίαν τε καὶ τὰ Σθρίας | . . . Crassus took Syria and the area near
 πλησίον ἐπιθυμία πολέμου πρὸς Παρθυαίους | Syria because he wished a war with the
 ὡς εὐχεροῦς δὴ καὶ ἐνδόξου καὶ | Parthians, deeming it to be easy, glorious
 ἐπικερδοῦς.¹² | and **profitable**.

Soldiers, of course, showed allegiance and devotion to the commander who gave them, or at least promised them, the most “military-gain”:

Καίσαρι δ’ ἔρρωτο πᾶς ἀνὴρ εἰς προθυμίαν | In fact, every soldier was strongly
 καὶ πόνους ὑπὸ τε ἔθους τῶν στρατειῶν καὶ | attached to Caesar and laboured
 ὑπὸ **κερδῶν**, ὅσα πόλεμος τοῖς νικῶσιν | zealously for him, under the force of
 ἐργάζεται καὶ ὅσα παρὰ Καίσαρος ἄλλα | discipline and the influence of **the gain**
 ἐλάμβανον· ἐδίδου γὰρ ἀφειδῶς . . .¹³ | which war usually brings to victors and
 which they received from Caesar also; for
 he gave with a lavish hand . . .

Soldiers enlisted and re-enlisted in the armies many times because of their hope for quickly getting rich on account of the promised payments from the generals and the prospect of booty. Even when tired of the civil wars, many re-enlisted because the prospect of fast gain was more appealing to them than the peaceful, but not less laborious work as a farmer. Thus, Octavian is able to rehire many of Julius Caesar’s long served soldiers by the appeal to κέρδος:

Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τότε μὲν ἐξήσαν, | But the rest left *the army*, but immediately
 ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο δ’ αὐτίκα γεωργίας τε | remembered the hard work of farming
 πόνων καὶ **κερδῶν στρατείας** . . .¹⁴ | and the **easy gains of military**
service . . .

The examples above demonstrate that in the semantic domain of the military κέρδος specifically alludes to military rewards, which the soldier routinely receives after a successful

¹¹ App. BC. II.1.1.

¹² App. BC. II.3.18.

¹³ App. BC. II.4.30.

¹⁴ App. BC. II.3.18.

military operation. For commanders to put forth the incentive of κέρδος for a soldier as a means of motivating him for ardent service was a regular feature in the preparation for armed conflict in the classical period.

6.1.3. A Philippian paradox: dying equals the reception of the κέρδος

Paul purposefully appropriates the concept of military gain and creates a paradox with a powerful meaning for the Philippians. Normally, the soldier who dies, does not come to enjoy the benefit of military gain, but Paul had already established that in God's way of advancing the gospel, things differ from what normally is the case (Phil. 1:9-10).¹⁵ It is now precisely in death that the long-hoped for military reward will be paid out to those who are part of the campaign. Paul's main point is not to simply state that dying would be advantageous in contrast to continue living. The thought goes much deeper.

One has to remember that Paul's statement comes in the context of preaching the gospel in the midst of persecution (Phil. 1:18-25). Paul's central thought here is that the preaching of the gospel always leads to victory (ὅτι τοῦτό μοι ἀποβήσεται εἰς σωτηρίαν) (Phil. 1:19). If the messenger of the gospel in the midst of a hostile environment is spared and he lives, fruit in the form of converts will result (Phil. 1:22), an obvious victory for the gospel.¹⁶ If the messenger of the good news is rejected and killed (not an unlikely scenario in the first century world, as the book of Acts illustrates), according to Paul, this too is a victory for the gospel. In the death of the front rank soldier battling for the gospel Christ is magnified and the soldier himself experiences a victory. At the moment of death he is paid out his military reward by the supreme general. The precise nature of the military reward is not yet explained in Phil. 1:21, one has to wait until Phil. 1:23 for a certain description. For now Paul's main concern is that the seeming defeat of death is not a defeat at all, but a victory, as "to die is gain."

6.1.4. Enjoyment of Christ – the supreme military reward

It is obvious that the process of dying in itself is not the content of the military reward, it is what happens at the moment of death, which constitutes the essence of the military reward. The parallels between τὸ ἀποθανεῖν (to die) and τὸ ἀναλῦσαι ("to depart"), as well as κέρδος ("military gain") and σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι ("being with Christ") (see structure above) clearly spells

¹⁵ On Paul employing in Philippians the concept of "things are different from what they seem" see 5.2.8. "Summary: the function of the contrast: victory out of humility and seeming defeat."

¹⁶ For the concept of converts being the evidence of victory for the gospel see Phil. 4:3 and 5.5. "Certainty of victory – the military crown as a symbol of victory (Phil. 4:3)."

out the nature of the military reward. It consists in “being with Christ” (Phil. 1:23)! For Paul, the much longed for military reward, the primary motivation of why he is a Christian and why he fights for the advance of the gospel is the expectation of the intimate face-to-face fellowship with his resurrected Lord. To be with Christ is Paul’s supreme hope, his greatest comfort and the unsurpassable goal of being a Christian (cf., 1 Thes. 4:17 “καὶ οὕτως πάντοτε σὺν κυρίῳ ἐσόμεθα.”). Nothing can exhilarate more, no higher incitement, no grander reward can be promised than the “exceeding pitch of glory . . . the ineffable pitch of pleasure and joy”¹⁷ of seeing and savoring Jesus Christ. While the secular soldier expects riches, wealth, upgrade of social status as his rewards for military service, for Paul the ultimate and grand reward for the believer on the mission for the advance of the gospel is the intimate and personal enjoyment of fellowship with Christ.¹⁸

The rhetorical purpose for mentioning the experience of the glorious enjoyment of Christ as Paul’s military reward becomes quickly apparent. The argument for it exists because it takes away fear from the opposition. The worst thing that can happen on account of opposition is the death of the messenger of the gospel, which, according to Paul, is nothing but a supreme victory and the moment where the military reward of the full enjoyment of Christ is paid out to the believer. The mentioning of the military reward in Phil. 1:21 will provoke a fearless and bold proclamation of the gospel (Phil. 1:21 “ἐν πάσῃ παρρησίᾳ”, Phil. 1:27-30), as a negative “reception” of the messenger is not to be feared any more.

6.2. Κέρδος – the reward of the military campaign, consisting in knowing Christ (Phil. 3:8-11)

6.2.1. The setting of Phil. 3:8-11: the context of distinct military terminology

The setting of Phil. 3:8-14 in the context of distinct military terminology has already been noted in chapter four. There, as well as in the section above, we noted that κέρδος is the military reward paid out to a soldier after the successful conclusion of the campaign.¹⁹ Here,

¹⁷ I hope I am excused the exception to state an 18th century theologian instead of a first-century military manual writer at this point. Jonathan Edwards, *A History of the Work of Redemption*. The Works of Jonathan Edwards. Transcribed and edited by John F. Wilson. Vol. 9. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989, 125.

¹⁸ Paul here falls perfectly in line with a systematic strand of Biblical Theology, which recognises the enjoyment of the glory of God as the preeminent promise of bliss for the believer. See Ps. 16:11, 17:15, John 17:3; Rom. 5:2; 2 Thes. 1:10; 2:14; 1 Pet. 4:13; Jude 1:24; Rev. 22:4.

¹⁹ See 4.5.4. “The elided direct object of ἐλαβον in Phil. 3:12 is the four-fold concept of the military gain of Christ, previously explained in Phil. 3:8-10.”

as already pointed out by Paul in Phil. 1:21, the content of that military reward consists in the enjoyment of the face-to-face knowledge of Christ (ἵνα Χριστὸν κερδήσω) (Phil. 3:8).

Before one can properly understand the function of the military reward as stated in Phil. 3:8-11 for Paul's argument in the present section, it is necessary to call to mind the general line of Paul's reasoning in Phil. 3:1-15. There is an overall scholarly agreement that in the first section of Paul's narrative of his changed orientation after his Christ encounter he is describing his credentials as a strict law-observing Pharisaic Jew (Phil. 3:1-7). The warning for the Philippians not to fall into the false teaching of Judaistic law observance to fulfil the complete requirements to be part of the covenant people of God (Phil. 1:1-3) is exemplified by Paul's own lifestyle. He, the perfect archetype of one who pursued righteousness with God through meticulous law observance has entirely left Pharisaic Judaism for the gospel of Christ. The plain line of reasoning of Paul is: "if I left law-observant Judaism completely because it only results in disaster instead of righteousness with God, why do you want to join Judaistic law-observance and syncretize it with the gospel?"

6.2.2. The appeal to parallel passages inconclusive in establishing the meaning of Phil. 3:8-11

As clear as Paul's argument concerning what Paul has left after his Christ encounter is to contemporary scholarship, as perplexed are exegetes and theologians what precisely Paul's new outlook on life is as elaborated in the second part of the present section, Phil. 3:8-15. The printing press of the last one hundred years leaves the student of the twenty-first century with a bewildering variety of options. Apart from justification-righteousness, which Paul is embracing through belief in Christ, is he pursuing in Phil. 3:7-15 a progressive cognitive knowledge of Christ in this life,²⁰ a personal and relational knowledge of Christ,²¹ or the full knowledge of Christ as the eschatological conclusion of present life?²² Is Paul yearning for increased holiness and maturity as a Christian,²³ love for Christ and insight into the enduring significance of Christ,²⁴ a personal response of faith and obedience to God's self-revelation,²⁵

²⁰ John A. Motyer, *The Message of Philippians*. The Bible Speaks Today. Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1984, 161.

²¹ Gordon F. Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians*. New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995, 318.

²² *Ibid.*, 340-51.

²³ John A. Motyer, *The Message of Philippians*. The Bible Speaks Today. Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1984, 173-182.

²⁴ G. Walter Hansen, *The Letter to the Philippians*. Pillar New Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009, 235.

moral perfection,²⁶ a practical recognition of the power of the risen Christ in ones own inner life,²⁷ an experience of Christ's own death and resurrection,²⁸ an inner experience of Christ together with a new stand in the heavenly sphere,²⁹ complete resurrection,³⁰ resurrection after the death of the martyr,³¹ a presently realised non-eschatological unity with Christ,³² an experience of the power of Christ, which he wields in virtue of his resurrection,³³ a spiritual resurrection from death in sin to a life in God in ones whole moral and spiritual being,³⁴ or daily dying and rising with Christ?³⁵ Or is he portraying the participation of the church in the death and burial of Christ in the one-time, redemptive, historical sense,³⁶ to name just a few options!

That such a great variety of proposals are available stems from the fact that, admittedly, Paul's accumulative expressions of "gaining Christ" (ἵνα Χριστὸν κερδήσω) (Phil. 3:8), "knowing Christ" (τοῦ γινῶναι αὐτόν) (Phil. 3:10), as well as the quadruple phrase "power of his resurrection, fellowship of his suffering, conformed to his death and attaining to the resurrection from the dead" (τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ κοινωνίαν παθημάτων αὐτοῦ, συμμορφιζόμενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ) (Phil. 3:10) allows lexically – just considered by themselves – diverse interpretive options. It is not enough, however, as the vast majority of interpreters proceed methodologically, to appeal to so-called parallel passages in the Pauline

²⁵ Richard R. Melick, *Philippians, Colossians, Philemon*. New American Commentary. Nashville: B&H Publishing Group, 1991, 132-135.

²⁶ G. Walter Hansen, *The Letter to the Philippians*. Pillar New Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009, 249-257. "Assimilation of character to the Christ who endured death . . ." Handley C. G. Moule, *The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Philippians*. New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1955, 94-97.

²⁷ R. A. Lipsius, *Die Briefe an die Galater, Römer, Philipper*. Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament. Tübingen: Mohr Verlag, 1893, 237.

²⁸ Moisés Silva, *Philippians*. Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Baker: Grand Rapids, 2005, 163.

²⁹ Paul Ewald, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Philipper*. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Dr. Werner Scholl, 1923, 176-79, denies moral renewal.

³⁰ Richard R. Melick, *Philippians, Colossians, Philemon*. New American Commentary. Nashville: B&H Publishing Group, 1991, 136-138. G. Walter Hansen, *The Letter to the Philippians*. Pillar New Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009, 243. Adolf Schlatter, *Die Briefe an die Thessalonicher, Philipper, Timotheus und Titus*. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1953, 89.

³¹ Ernst Lohmeyer, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953, 139-40. Contra Ulrich B. Müller, "Der Brief des Paulus an die Philipper." In *Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament*. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1993, 165, who argues that after Phil. 3:2 Paul does not think he will die the death of the martyr any more.

³² Wilhelm Michaelis, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Philipper*. Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament. Leipzig: Deichert, 1935, 57.

³³ Gerald F. Hawthorne, and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 197.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Peter T. O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 401-415, Werner de Boor, *Die Briefe des Paulus an die Philipper und an die Kolosser*. Wuppertal: Brockhaus Verlag, 1957, 116-120.

³⁶ Herman Ridderbos, *Paul: An Outline of His Theology*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975, 206.

corpus (or worse: the Biblical corpus as a whole), where these words (or alleged similar concepts) individually – never collectively – occur. This exegetical method is flawed in two respects. First, the appeal to “parallel” occurrences of a word will always be selective. Second, the meaning of a word in another passage only enables the interpreter to discover a possible option for translation, not a determined fixed meaning. In order to find a solution out of the vast array of mutually contradicting interpretative options, which as a justification for their reason for existence only have appeals to thought-concepts of Paul in his other literature, is likely a more focused attention to the immediate context of Paul’s concern in Philippians.

6.2.3. Paul’s conversion experience retold: consistent story about change from persecutor of the faith to preacher of the faith

In order to proceed in that direction one has to recollect the fact that Paul is describing in Phil. 1:1-15 his conversion experience (not in the sense of the outward circumstances of his conversion, but in the sense of its theological content). Paul is converting from something to something. It befits the interpreter well to remember at this point that in the various descriptions of Paul’s conversion experience he is never simply converting from being a Pharisee to being just “a Christian.” All the narrations of Paul’s conversion experience in Acts, as well as his own literature have a more defined focus. Paul is always converting from a Pharisee who **persecuted the faith** to a Christian who **propagates the faith!** Paul is always converting from a Pharisaic Jew who **inflicts suffering on believers** to a Christian who **suffers for the sharing of the gospel!**

In the initial telling of Paul’s conversion Luke specifically emphasises that Paul brought threats and murder to believers (Acts 9:1) and that on the way to Damascus (for more persecution) Christ encounters Paul with the question “why are you **persecuting me?**” (Acts 9:4-5). After the dramatic event of meeting the resurrected Jesus, Paul’s future life is described (in the words of Jesus to Ananias): “. . . *Paul* is a chosen instrument of Mine, **to bear My name before the Gentiles and kings and the sons of Israel** for I will show him **how much he must suffer for My name's sake**. (i.e. he must suffer for bearing the name of Jesus before Gentiles and kings and Jews)” (Acts 9:15-16). When Paul addresses the hostile Jerusalem population in Acts 22, the same emphasis is present. Twice Paul is reminded by the words of Jesus that Paul is **persecuting him** (Acts 22:7-8), after the encounter Paul is taught by Ananias that “**you will be His witness** to all men of what you have seen and heard,” (Acts 22:15) followed immediately in the narrative with Paul elaborating on a vision, which he has in Jerusalem in which Christ instructs him to “go out of Jerusalem quickly, as they will not receive your testimony concerning me” (i.e. **persecution**) and to “depart, for I

will send you far from here to the Gentiles” (i.e. **for evangelism**) (Acts 22:18, 21). The same scenario repeats itself in Paul’s speech before Festus and Agrippa in Acts 26. Paul recounts the voice of Christ who speaks about Paul **persecuting** Christ, immediately followed by Christ’s command to Paul to be “a witness” (i.e. **proclaiming the gospel**), coupled with Christ’s promise that he will “deliver Paul from the Jewish people, as well as from the Gentiles,” i.e. a promise that Paul will not die a premature death on account of the **harsh persecution from Jews and Gentiles** (Acts 26:10-17). Paul’s own brief conversion experience in 1 Cor. 15 is prefaced by a comment of him **persecuting the church of God** (1 Cor. 15:9), the result of the conversion is Paul labouring more abundantly by the grace of God (1 Cor. 15:10), a reference to the arduous **preaching of the gospel under difficult circumstances** (cf., 1 Cor. 15:11).

In the Galatian correspondence Paul, according to the usual pattern informs his readers that before the revelation of Jesus Christ to him, **he persecuted** the church beyond measure and tried to destroy it (Gal. 1:12-13). After the Christ encounter the reason for God’s call of Paul is singled out. Not only did God want to reveal Christ in Paul, but Christ’s sovereign choice included: “**preaching him among Gentiles,**” (Gal. 1:15-16) in a context, which Galatians also makes clear, of **persecution** (Gal. 4:13-14; 6:11).

All the other brief allusions to his conversion contain the same focus: Paul is always called not only to be “a Christian,” but **a message carrier of, witness to and proclaimer of the gospel – in the context of suffering** (Eph. 3:8-9; Col. 1:24-25; 1 Tim. 1:12-16; 2 Tim. 1:8-12). Paul’s theological conversion experience in Phil. 3:1-15 carries the same emphasis. This accentuation of Paul’s conversion experience as from one who persecuted and inflicted suffering to one who propagates and experiences suffering on account of the gospel should not come as a surprise in the letter to the Philippians, since the comradeship for the advance of the gospel in the context of suffering is the main theme of the letter.³⁷ That the change from the Pharisaic Paul persecuting the faith to Paul who is persecuted for advancing the faith is the focus of the present pericope is obvious, as it explains how Paul can transition so seamlessly from a discussion of justification by faith in Christ (Phil. 3:1-9) to setting himself as an example who, in military terminology, will with concentrated effort try to reach unbelievers with the gospel (Phil. 3:12-16).³⁸

The focus of Paul’s discussion remained the same throughout Phil. 3:1-15: he, as a former law abiding Jew with the best credentials and a persecutor of the Christian faith (note well, law observant Judaism and persecution of Christianity go hand in hand in Paul’s

³⁷ See chapter 4: “The military objective: stating what the battle is or what is to be achieved.”

³⁸ See 4.5. “Military struggle for the advance of the gospel: the second example of Paul (Phil. 3:12-15) and the specific reference in Phil. 3:12 of Paul being pursued and apprehended by Christ (διώκω δὲ εἰ καὶ καταλάβω, ἐφ’ ᾧ καὶ κατελήμφθην ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ), a reference to his Damascus Road conversion.

theology) changes into the apostle Paul who **not only trusts in justification-righteousness** through belief in Jesus, **but now preaches justification-righteousness** through belief in Jesus! The overall argument of the passage is thus: genuine Christian faith is incompatible with Judaistic law observance because a) righteous standing with God is only possible through faith in Jesus, b) Paul, the preacher of the gospel to the Philippians left adherence to Jewish law as a means for justification, so why should the Philippians go back to something their apostle has left behind and c) law observant Judaism is hostile to the Christian gospel, as it persecutes it (Paul being the former prime example of that). Therefore, the two religious views are incompatible with each other and instead of synchronizing them, one should do as Paul did: **leave the one for a pursuit to preach the other, even if that entails suffering!**

6.2.4. The context of Phil. 3:8-11: preaching the gospel to a hostile audience under persecution

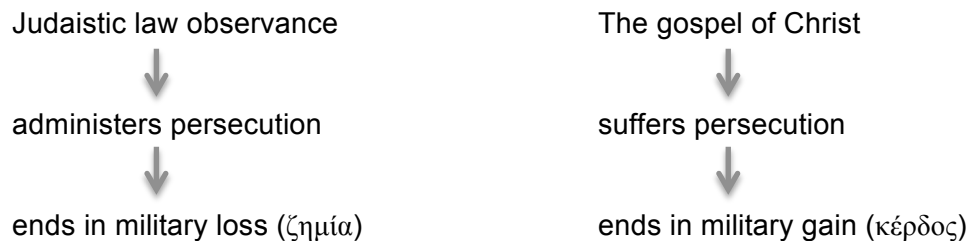
The context of Paul's discussion in Phil. 3:8-11 is therefore not Paul's new outlook on Christian life in general, and particularly not the philosophical musings of a theologian safely tucked away in a comfortable office pondering theoretical possibilities of perfection or the mystical participation of spiritual life in Christ.³⁹ The context is preaching the gospel to a hostile audience even to the point of the real danger of the messenger's death on account of persecution. The separation of becoming a Christian from one who preaches the gospel is an artificial construct, which exists in the twenty-first century, but it was not present in Paul's mind. The one who became a believer in Christ, according to his theology, also became a proclaimer of Christ. Philippians 3:1-15 only makes sense if the first century conviction of Paul is kept in mind: a believer in Christ is a proclaimer of Christ and a sufferer for being a proclaimer of Christ!

6.2.5. The military reward outweighs the suffering on account of preaching the gospel

As a result of that conviction (which was not only theoretical knowledge but the practical experience of the first century believer), Paul reasons along a strict dichotomy. On the one hand, he argues, Judaistic law observance is hostile to the faith and (although it gives an appearance of relief from persecution), adherence to it leads to military disaster (ζημία), i.e.

³⁹ Most of the theological themes of spiritual dying and rising with Christ, discussions about spiritual perfection, moral maturity, mystical participation in the death of Christ as pointed out above are foreign intrusions into the text, which are only possible to include if one leaves the consistent unity of the theology of believing in Christ means proclaiming and suffering for Christ. They may add many pages to systematic theologies, but if included into Phil. 3, the otherwise simple and clear argument of Paul becomes untraceable and the coherence and consistency of his argument becomes lost.

to destruction in the same way the opponents of the gospel were described as doomed to ἀπώλεια in Phil. 1:28.⁴⁰ On the other hand, adherence to (and preaching of) the gospel leads to suffering from persecution, but the ultimate reward outweighs the present disadvantages of suffering. The contrasting dichotomy can simply be illustrated with the following abstraction:



6.2.6. The content of κέρδος – knowing Christ in the resurrection

The gain of adherence to the gospel is specifically stated as consisting in Christ himself (ἵνα Χριστὸν κερδήσω) (Phil. 3:8), a phrase which parallels “being found in Him” (εὑρεθῶ ἐν αὐτῷ) (Phil. 3:9) and knowing Him (τοῦ γινῶναι αὐτόν) (Phil. 3:10).⁴¹ Gaining Christ, being found in Him and knowing Him are not diverse individual stages describing a progressive relationship with Christ, but they are different facets of one and the same event. What precisely Paul has in mind, whether it is a partial knowledge of Christ in the here and now, commitment to Christ in love and obedience or the face-to-face encounter with Jesus starting with the resurrection can be determined from Paul’s further exploration of the phrase “to know him” τοῦ γινῶναι αὐτόν in Phil. 3:10. The knowledge of Christ is elaborated by Paul as consisting in a fourfold expression set in the structural make up of an often noted chiasm.⁴²

⁴⁰ For ἀπώλεια as military terminology describing the destruction of the enemy see App. BC. IV.17.138.; 2 Mac. 8:4 and John Paul Schuster, *Historical Situation and Historical Reconstruction in Philippians*. A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1997, 86. For ζημία referring to the disastrous loss of a military campaign often resulting in the destruction of the defeated forces, see 4.5. “Military struggle for the advance of the gospel: the second example of Paul (Phil. 3:12-15).”

⁴¹ Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 400-401.

⁴² See for example Gordon F. Fee, *Paul’s Letter to the Philippians*. New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995, 329. G. Walter Hansen, *The Letter to the Philippians*. Pillar New Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009, 243. Moisés Silva, *Philippians*. Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Baker: Grand Rapids, 2005, 169. John Reumann, *Philippians: A New Translation With Introduction and Commentary*. Anchor Yale Bible. London: Yale University Press, 2008, 524.

τοῦ γνῶναι αὐτόν

- A καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ
 B καὶ κοινωνίαν παθημάτων αὐτοῦ,
 B' συμμορφιζόμενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ,
 A' εἴ πως καταστήσω εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν.

so that I may know him

- A that is (or namely) the power of His resurrection
 B and the partnership of His sufferings,
 B' being conformed to His death
 A' if perhaps I might attain to the resurrection out from the dead.

Not only can one observe a structural chiasm linking the four-fold descriptions together, but their conceptional unity is grammatically enforced through combining two nouns, both in the accusative, with one definite article and connecting them with καί: τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ κοινωνίαν παθημάτων αὐτοῦ. The precise significance of this TSKS construction is debated, but the general agreement of grammarians is summarised by Daniel B. Wallace: “In Greek, when two nouns are connected by καί and the article precedes only the first noun, there is a close connection between the two. That connection indicates at least some sort of *unity*.”⁴³

Furthermore, the “partnership in Christ’s suffering” κοινωνίαν παθημάτων αὐτοῦ is explained by the participial construction “being conformed to his death” συμμορφιζόμενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ. The following conclusions can be drawn out of the various methods of linking the four-fold descriptions in Phil. 3:10-11: a) “the power of His resurrection” τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ in line A parallels closely “the resurrection out from the dead” τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν in line A’. Since the latter is a clear reference to a bodily resurrection of Paul into the face-to-face encounter with Christ, the first line “the power of His resurrection” τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ is also a reference to the same kind of

⁴³ Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996, 270. Cursive original. Cf., *ibid.*, 286-88. Cf., also Heinrich von Siebenthal, *Griechische Grammatik zum Neuen Testament*. Gießen: Brunnen Verlag, 2011, 186: “Steht . . . ein einiger Artikel vor mehreren Substantiven [verbunden mit καί] so werden die Begriffe zu einer gewissen Einheit zusammen gefasst . . .” The TSKS construction in Phil. 3:10-11 involve the linking of four impersonal nouns. Thus, distinct entities are in view who are nevertheless purposefully united to express their unity as concepts, i.e., the fellowship/ partnership of suffering in view is narrowly defined as dying on account of persecution, just like Christ did, and yet intrinsically linked to this suffering is the promise of resurrection and the face-to-face encounter of Christ. For a similar linking of contrary concepts (suffering vs. the experience of glory) in a TSKS construction see Rev. 1:9: “Ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης, ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὑμῶν καὶ συγκοινωνὸς ἐν τῇ θλίψει καὶ βασιλείᾳ . . .” For the textual priority of the omission of τὴν before κοινωνίαν and before παθημάτων αὐτοῦ see the textual note e in Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 382.

resurrection and not an allusion to some present experience of power based on the virtue of Christ's resurrection or similar concepts. Equally, the parallelism between partnership of His suffering *κοινωνίαν παθημάτων αὐτοῦ* and conformity to Christ's death *συμμορφιζόμενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ* indicate that the suffering in question in line B, namely *κοινωνίαν παθημάτων αὐτοῦ*, is not a reference to the mystical daily dying with Christ or the experience of some occasional inconveniences of being a disciple of Christ, but specifically refers to being killed on account of persecution for sharing the gospel.

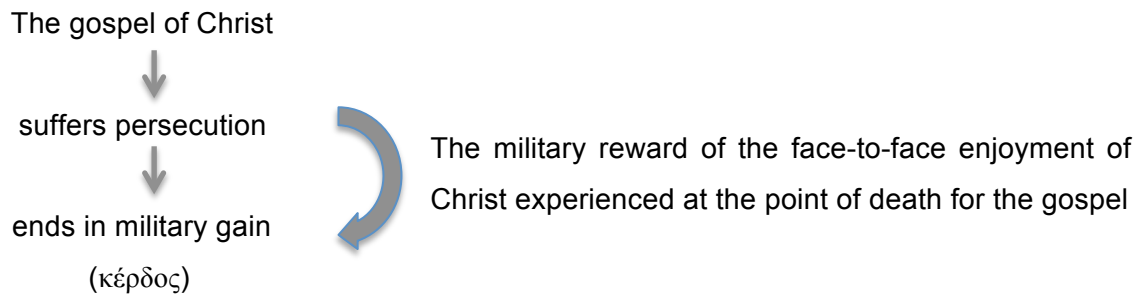
Proportionally significant to the linking of two phrases mentioning suffering and two phrases mentioning resurrection are the linking of the double references with each other! Death on account of proclaiming the gospel and the resurrection of the message-bearer through Christ are not some unrelated concepts, but they belong grammatically and theologically together. Paul's important point in Phil. 3:10-11 is therefore: if there is death for proclaiming Christ, there will also be resurrection from Christ! Knowing Christ (*τοῦ γινῶναι αὐτόν*) is thus in the present context a knowledge in the fullest sense. It is the very thrill, awe and delight which Paul describes in 2 Thes. 1:10 as Christ being glorified and marvelled at by those who believe *ἐνδοξασθῆναι . . . καὶ θαυμασθῆναι ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν*. Paul thus envisions himself in Phil. 3:8-11 literally dying, just like Jesus died as the ultimate expression of his suffering. Paul dying as a result of persecution would not leave him in an unfortunate position however; on the contrary, he sees dying as an advantage,⁴⁴ as he would experience with death the resurrection power of Jesus⁴⁵ and would know Christ fully in a face-to-face encounter.⁴⁶ Paul's thought of "being conformed to his death" does here not mean a daily process of living by dying to sin and becoming more obedient to his Lord,⁴⁷ being conformed to his death is the crisis event of dying for the sake of proclaiming Christ and experiencing a resurrection power that catapults Paul in the heavenly presence of Christ where he gets to know Christ in a full and complete way. Persecution and the military gain of Christ are thus directly and purposefully correlated. The previous abstraction is therefore specified below in the following way:

⁴⁴ Please note the synonymous concept of Phil. 1:23.

⁴⁵ An apparent time difference between death and the reception of a resurrection body as in 1 Thes. 4:13-17 is somehow not part Paul's consideration here. The close link between death and receiving a resurrection body is also argued by Paul in 2 Cor. 5:1-4.

⁴⁶ The thought is similar to 1 Cor. 13:12: "τότε δὲ ἐπιγνώσομαι καθὼς καὶ ἐπεγνώσθην."

⁴⁷ Contra Richard R. Melick, *Philippians, Colossians, Philemon*. New American Commentary. Nashville: B&H Publishing Group, 1991, 135-36. Contra Peter T. O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 400.



Knowing Christ “at the point of death” does not mean that Paul envisions an individual resurrection body for each martyr at the moment of his death. Paul is not concerned about chronology here. He is concerned with the question if embracing and propagating the gospel are worthwhile, considering the monumental disadvantages (i.e. death), which it brings. At this point in Philippians questions about a general resurrection or what happens with those who are not martyred for the gospel, but still believe in Christ, are equally not Paul’s concern. Philippians chapter three was not intended to be a full theological treatise on different aspects of knowing Jesus or life after death. Paul’s first fourteen verses in Phil. 3 address a very narrow and specific situation, namely: conversion to the gospel of gifted righteousness in Christ entails becoming an active propagator of that gospel of Christ, with the very real possibility of dying for proclaiming Christ.⁴⁸ The latter, however, is not to be feared, as with death the believer in and proclaimer of Christ experiences the longed-for military reward: the surpassing greatness of knowing and delighting in Christ!

6.2.7. Summary: κέρδος – the military reward in the context of the campaign of advancing the gospel

Paul utilises the military vocabulary of κέρδος in Phil. 3:7-11 because it relates directly to a benefit received in the context of the action of striving to accomplish the military goal in Philippians, namely to advance the gospel. The reward for faithful service in the campaign for the gospel is described in Phil. 3:7-11 as gaining Christ Χριστὸν κερδήσω (Phil. 3:8), being found in Christ εὑρεθῶ ἐν αὐτῷ (Phil. 3:9), and knowing Christ γινῶναι αὐτόν (Phil. 3:10). All three expressions refer to the full experience of enjoyment of the glory of Christ and one’s

⁴⁸ The conditional nature of the clause εἴ πως καταστήσω εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν is expressed through εἴ πως, which does not indicate doubt on Paul’s part if he will ever be found worthy to be resurrected, but expresses his uncertainty if he will experience the kind of resurrection that is closely connected with martyrdom for the gospel. His thoughts here are similar to his considerations in Phil. 1:19-25: he is not certain if at the present moment he will die for preaching the gospel or continue to live. If he does die, however, there will be resurrection. The alternative option of Paul continuing to live and eventually dying a “natural death” is not discussed. It is not a matter of concern for Paul. His focus is on an antidote to fear of proclaiming the gospel: if there is death, there is resurrection!

status as a believer at the resurrection. The focus on resurrection is purposefully upheld as it is the solution to the problem of Christians dying for spreading the gospel.

6.2.8. Phil. 3:12-14: The theme of the military reward of the resurrection continued

The exegetical conclusions of the military reward consisting in the full encounter with Christ at the resurrection as an incentive for a courageous partnering in advancing the gospel is confirmed by the exegesis of Phil. 3:12-16.⁴⁹ There is no break in Paul's argument between Phil. 3:11 and Phil. 3:12. On the contrary, Paul's οὐχ ὅτι ἤδη ἔλαβον specifically refers back to the content of the military reward elaborated in the previous section of Phil. 3:8-11. Paul affirms that he has not received the military reward yet and elaborates explicitly in Phil. 3:12-15 what has always been implicit in the background of Phil. 3:7-11: his committed pursuit of reaching unbelievers with the gospel. The argument of Paul unfolds in this way:

I have become a believer and (implicitly stated) preacher of righteousness through faith in Christ (Phil. 3:1-8).



I am persecuted for preaching Christ, death on account of preaching the gospel is a possibility to be reckoned with (Phil. 3:9-11).



Nevertheless, death is not to be feared and fear of persecution should not hamper boldness in advancing the gospel, as Christ distributes the surpassing military reward of knowing Him fully to those who die for propagating the gospel (Phil. 3:9-11).



I have not died yet and I have not received the military reward (but I am confident of obtaining it, if I should die for preaching the gospel) (Phil. 3:12).



Confident of the military reward, I actively and passionately pursue unbelievers to lead them to belief in Christ (Phil. 3:12-14).



All the while I am unafraid of the opposition to me as proclaimer of the gospel, because I keep in mind the reward of resurrection should I get killed (Phil. 3:14).



Imitate me regarding the bold sharing of the gospel (Phil. 3:15-17),



⁴⁹ See 4.5. "Military struggle for the advance of the gospel: the second example of Paul (Phil. 3:12-15)."

as we are all partners in the campaign for the gospel and we are all citizen-soldiers eligible for the military reward of resurrection (transformed bodies) (Phil. 3:20-21).

In Phil. 3:14 the subject of the military reward is taken up again. This thesis has already established in chapter four that both βραβεῖον and τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως are distinct military terminology.⁵⁰ They image the reward ceremony at the end of a successful military campaign while the content of the military reward distributed, stated by Paul to be the ἄνω κλήσεως τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, refers to the resurrection. Thus, both in Phil. 3:8-11, as well as in Phil. 3:12-15 the benefits received at the resurrection are upheld as the primary motivators for a bold advance of the gospel on the part of the Philippian believers. The theme of the resurrection as a military reward for eligible soldiers is once more continued by Paul in Phil. 3:20-21.

6.3. Σώμα τῆς Δόξης – the resurrection body as the reward for eligible citizen soldiers (Phil. 3:20-21)

6.3.1. The meaning of πολίτευμα: citizenship

Philippians 3:18-21 contains typical elements of the military harangue of the general addressing the soldiers before battle or allusion to well known military *topoi*. Before turning to a detailed examination of these elements of the military harangue, it is necessary to first analyse πολίτευμα from Phil. 3:20, a key term of the passage. The word πολίτευμα and its cognate verb πολιτεύομαι (Phil. 1:27) have, probably like no other termini in Philippians, received considerable attention regarding their precise meaning. It is beyond the scope of the present discussion to reiterate the voluminous arguments for several possible meanings and their likelihood.⁵¹

I find the evaluation of Peter Pilhofer⁵² most convincing and would argue along the same lines, concluding that the idea of “political citizenship” expresses the meaning of πολίτευμα best. I would only view the military connotation, which can be inherent in the word

⁵⁰ See 4.5. “Military struggle for the advance of the gospel: the second example of Paul (Phil. 3:12-15).”

⁵¹ The interested student may consult Andrew T. Lincoln, *Paradise Now and not Yet. Studies in the Role of the Heavenly Dimension in Paul's Thought with Special Reference to his Eschatology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, 97-101, 219-21; BAGD, 686; D. Hermann Strathmann, “πόλις κτλ.” In *TDNT* 6, 516-535.; Hans Bietenhard “πόλις κτλ.” In *NIDNTT* 2, 801-05.; Walter Ruppel, *Politeuma: Bedeutungsgeschichte eines staatsrechtlichen Terminus*. Leipzig: Dieterich, 1927.; Kurt Aland, “Die Christen und der Staat nach Phil. 3,20.” In *Paganisme, Judaïsme, Christianisme: Influences et affrontements dans le monde antique. Mélanges offerts à Marcel Simon*. Paris: Boccard, 1978, 247-259.

⁵² Pilhofer, 1995, 127-34.

as paramount in our context. The idea of “home,” or “homeland,” although inherent in the meaning of the Vulgate translation can be set aside, since it is a late weakening of the original thrust of the message. Tertullian, much earlier, translated *πολίτευμα* in his several citations from Philippians always as *municipatus*, which has a clear political understanding of the term.⁵³

Although “colony” is well attested for *πολίτευμα*, usage in Philippians would violate the present context. The thought of “our colony exists in heaven” (ἡμῶν τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει) would have to be that the Philippians are living in a colony situated in heaven (i.e., a Philippian colony in heaven), but that is not only impossible, but contrary to Paul’s intention, he insists that they have a heavenly identity on earth!⁵⁴ Pilhofer also demonstrated that the line of demarcation between the two remaining options of translating *πολίτευμα*, namely “state/ commonwealth” or “citizenship” is not very strong. “The two options of translation lie – according to ancient understanding – not that far apart. The Latin *civitas* denotes both citizenship, as well as the state, and the same is true of the Greek terms *πολίτευμα* and *πολιτεία*.⁵⁵

6.3.2. Πολίτευμα: appeal to a specific aspect of citizenship with the context of Phil. 3:20-21

If Paul has the idea of citizenship in mind,⁵⁶ then the question still remains which aspect of citizenship Paul is alluding to. It is unlikely for example, that Paul utilises *πολίτευμα* in order to point out the Philippians “legal” rights of citizens, which presently they cannot exercise, but soon will.⁵⁷ Nothing in the immediate context of Phil. 3 suggests that Paul contrasts the possession or non-possession of such rights, present or future. Such an emphasis would add nothing to the flow of the argument and introduces an idea into one word, which hangs tangling without any apparent function in the context of the chapter. This thesis claims that Paul has something altogether different from a purely civil political connotation in mind when he used the term *πολίτευμα*. It is the conviction of this thesis that Paul has the military duty and privilege of a citizen in regard to his military service in mind, which can be part of the emphasis of the word.

⁵³ Ibid., 128.

⁵⁴ Pilhofer, 1995, 129.

⁵⁵ Pilhofer, 1995, 130.: “Dabei liegen die beiden Übersetzungsmöglichkeiten nach antikem Verständnis gar nicht so weit auseinander. Das lateinische *civitas* bezeichnet sowohl das Bürgerrecht als auch den Staat; und ebenso verhält es sich mit den griechischen Termini *πολίτευμα* und *πολιτεία*.”

⁵⁶ LSJ, 1434 puts Phil. 3:20 in this category.

⁵⁷ Contra Pilhofer, 1995, 131.

6.3.3. The duty and privilege of military service as an aspect of citizenship

The Roman army in its previous history (from the standpoint of the first century) had been first and foremost a citizen-army. Every good citizen, of course dependent on ability and eligibility, had the duty to serve in the Roman armed forces when called upon and every citizen soldier had rights and privileges that were part of one's social standing as citizen. The thought-concept that it is citizens who are defending or fighting for the commonwealth they are representing is prevalent in Roman thought.⁵⁸ The occasional juxtaposition of (συσ-)τρατιῶται and πολῖται in classical literature indicates that citizen-soldiers can be the precise connotation of πολιτεία.⁵⁹ Thus, for example, Cassius in his lengthy speech before the assembled troops at Philippi has two forms of address by which he calls his soldiers. They are in one speech alternatively called either ὁ συστρατιῶται⁶⁰ or ὁ πολῖται.⁶¹ Of course, Cassius had an axe to grind and purposely chose the address ὁ πολῖται in order to demonstrate that amongst the Republicans the soldiers were still considered citizens with rights and privileges, while among the triumvirs the soldiers served the dictators like slaves. But Cassius' rhetorical strategy only works if the concept had previously been clear to all: soldiers are citizens and citizens are soldiers and the latter can be addressed as πολῖται. Admitted, changes in the make-up of the army were dramatic in the first century as the army transmorphed from a seasonably "as occasion demanded" force of non-professionals drawn mainly from Italy to a regular standing army of time-served veterans from diverse strata of society and increasingly drawn from many nationalities from the provinces, and not only drawn from among Roman citizens. It is indeed questionable, if in the middle of the first century one can still speak of a citizen-army, when during the period of Augustus to Caligula, some 65 per cent of the force were Italian and then that percentage dropped during the reign

⁵⁸ Cf., Cic. Ver. II.5.133.; Liv. II.55.6-7.; Liv. III.28.4.

⁵⁹ App. BC. III.12.83.

⁶⁰ App. BC. IV.12.90.:

Ὁ μὲν ἀγὼν πρῶτον ἡμᾶς, ὁ συστρατιῶται,
κοινὸς ὢν ἐς πίστιν ἀλλήλοις συνάγει·

A common peril, like the present, **fellow-soldiers**, is the first thing that binds us in a common fidelity to each other.

App. BC. IV.12.98.:

ἴωμεν, ὁ συστρατιῶται, μετὰ τε πίστεως
ὑγιῶς καὶ προθυμίας ἀδόλου στρατευσόμενοι
Ῥωμαίων τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ μόνοις ὑπὲρ
ἐλευθερίας.

Let us go forward, **fellow-soldiers**, with unwavering confidence and honest zeal, fighting only for the freedom of the Roman Senate and the people of Rome.

⁶¹ App. BC. IV.12.92.:

ἡ δὲ ἀντίδοσις ἥδε τὴν τε ἡγεμονίαν, ὁ
πολῖται, ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν ἄκραν ὑπερήγαγε . . .

This balance of power, **o citizens**, has raised the empire to the summit of fortune . . .

App. BC. IV.12.96.:

Καὶ τάδε, ὁ πολῖται, πράσσοντες οἱ τρεῖς
ἡμᾶς ἐναγεῖς λέγουσι . . .

While the triumvirs committing these outrages, **o citizens**, they call us infamous wretches . . .

of Claudius and Nero to 48 per cent.⁶² But one has to be careful not to judge the situation and mind-set about the make-up of the Roman army with the hindsight we are possessing now.

In the fifties AD it was not at all clear that one day the Roman army would largely be made up of provincials.⁶³ In the middle of the first century the army was still considered “citizen,” although heavily fortified by other nationalities. Citizenship and military service were intrinsically linked in the Roman mind, stemming from a long tradition that service as a Roman soldier is a unique privilege for its citizens.⁶⁴ This tradition was still regarded inviolable under Augustus. When the emperor had to deal with a critical shortage of recruits after the Varian disaster in AD 9, he resorted desperately to the recruitment of freedmen, but these were kept apart from the regular citizen soldiers and received different armour to clearly distinguish the two separate army personnel.⁶⁵ As late as the second century AD non-citizens were given on enlistment an official Roman name,⁶⁶ illustrating the thought-pattern that they are now joining a citizen army, even though the actual citizenship was only granted to the recruit at the time of his honourable release from active duty many years later.⁶⁷ If, as I argue, Paul had the idea of the citizen-soldier in mind while formulating Phil. 3:20, why did he not straightforwardly say στρατιῶται τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐσμεν (we are soldiers of heaven) instead of ἡμῶν τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει (our soldier-citizenship is in heaven)?

6.3.4. Citizen-soldiers eligible for the highest military rewards

The answer lies with the function and purpose τὸ πολίτευμα takes up in Phil. 3:20-21. The present passage is mainly concerned with the distribution of military rewards at the

⁶² Lawrence Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army from Republic to Empire*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998, 180.

⁶³ In fact, although military conscriptions were rare in the empire, the general obligation of all Roman citizens to do service in the Roman army was never lifted, thus the mindset that the Roman army is (or at least is supposed to be) a citizen army was prevalent till late into imperial times. Gabriele Wesch-Klein, “Recruits and Veterans.” In *A Companion to the Roman Army*. Ed. Paul Erdkamp. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007, 436.

⁶⁴ After the Great Latin War in 338 BC, which the Romans won, the conquered Latin communities (apart from some cities, for example Antium and Tusculum, who received full citizenship), were granted private rights of Roman citizenship, but not the right to vote or serve in the legions, indicating the strong tie in the Roman mind of the unique prerogative of citizenship and military service. See Jonathen P. Roth, *Roman Warfare*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 27.

⁶⁵ Suet. *Aug.* XXV.2.; Dio. LVI.23.3.

⁶⁶ Papyrus 112 in *SP I*: 304-307.

⁶⁷ Gabriele Wesch-Klein argues similarly concerning the enlistment of freedmen into the Roman army: “Freedmen (*liberti*) could also enter the army, although there were always reservations about their admission: the old Roman concept of a citizen army recruited from freeborn men was never entirely forgotten.” Gabriele Wesch-Klein, “Recruits and Veterans.” In *A Companion to the Roman Army*. Ed. Paul Erdkamp. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007, 435. The cursive in the parenthesis is original.

conclusion of a successful campaign by the victorious general.⁶⁸ And in the middle of the first century, as far as the evidence goes, certain military benefits, like donatives, were reserved for citizen soldiers only⁶⁹ and the more prestigious of the *dona militaria* were allocated only to citizen-soldiers.⁷⁰ If Paul is concerned in Phil. 3:20-21 to highlight the excellence of the reward which awaits those who are part of the “gospel-campaign,” then a word from the πολίτευμα/ πολιτεία word group would have been his best choice! In the present context στρατιώτης would not fulfil its intended function, as it would focus on the function of being a soldier, but not on his eligibility to receive military rewards.

6.3.5. The structural arrangement of Phil. 3:15-21

That the notion of citizen-soldier fits perfectly within the immediate context and highlights skilfully the intention of the author is seen when one considers the structural arrangement of the pericope. The conjunction γάρ (for) in Phil. 3:20 has for many commentators been an exegetical conundrum. In the eyes of many⁷¹ the connecting participle should have been δέ (but), which would have “properly” cohered the contrasting groups of ἐχθροὺς ὧν τὸ τέλος ἀπώλεια (“enemies whose end is destruction”) (Phil. 3:18-19) and πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς, ἐξ οὗ καὶ σωτῆρα ἀπεκδεχόμεθα (“citizens of heaven who await salvation through a saviour”) (Phil. 3:20-21). Although a contrast between the two opposing groups of Phil. 3:18-19 and Phil. 3:20-21 is certainly intended, γάρ functions here not as a connecting participle of the two groups, but connects Phil. 3:20-21 as an incentive to obey the previous imperatives of Paul from Phil. 3:15-17. The pericope consists of two oblique moods (one imperatival/ hortatory subjunctive, one imperatival/ hortatory infinitive), two imperatives and is followed by two motivating reasons why the hortatory subjunctives and the imperatives should be obeyed:⁷²

⁶⁸ See below.

⁶⁹ Valerie A. Maxfield, “Systems of Reward in Relation to Military Diplomas.” In *Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die Römischen Militärdiplome als Historische Quelle*. Ed. Werner Eck and Hartmut Wolff. Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1968, 26-43. The non-citizen soldiers in the auxiliary troops also did not receive the retirement benefits established under Augustus through the *aerarium militare*, the military treasury. Kate M. Gilliver, “The Augustan Reform and the Structure of the Imperial Army.” In *A Companion to the Roman Army*. Ed. Paul Erdkamp. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007, 187.

⁷⁰ Valerie A. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army*. London: B. T. Batsford, 1981, 120-132.

⁷¹ Leading to some ingenious assumptions, as for example, that Phil. 3:20-21 together with its introductory γάρ is a preformulated hymn inserted into the text. The γάρ would be part of the old formulation and has now to be ignored. Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 228-29.

⁷² Similarly also G. Walter Hansen, *The Letter to the Philippians*. Pillar New Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009, 267-68. Markus Bockmuehl, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. Black’s New Testament Commentary. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1998, 233.

Imperative Subjunctive	Ὅσοι οὖν τέλειοι, τοῦτο φρονῶμεν (Phil. 3:15) ("as many as are capable of understanding, let us think this way")
Imperative Infinitive	εἰς ὃ ἐφθάσαμεν, τῷ αὐτῷ στοιχεῖν (Phil. 3:16) ("to the degree we have attained, let us march")
Imperative 1	συμμιμηταὶ μου γίνεσθε (Phil. 3:17) ("become my imitators")
Imperative 2	σκοπεῖτε τοὺς οὕτω περιπατοῦντας καθὼς ἔχετε τύπον ἡμᾶς (Phil. 3:17) ("look out for the ones who walk in this manner as you have us")
Reason 1	πολλοὶ γὰρ περιπατοῦσιν . . . τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ σταυροῦ (Phil. 3:18) ("for many walk as enemies of the cross")
Reason 2	ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει (Phil. 3:20) ("for our soldier-citizenship is in heaven")

6.3.6. The promise of the military reward in the context of the military campaign of Phil. 3:12-17

It is important to notice, that thus neither the mention of enemies, nor the incentive ἡμῶν τὸ πολίτευμα "our soldier-citizenship" stand isolated from the preceding exhortation, but are integrally linked to it as an expansion of its commands. Furthermore, the exhortations of Phil. 3:15-17 in turn do not stand isolated from the rest of the chapter. The thinking (τοῦτο φρονῶμεν) that is to be embraced, the example that is to be copied (συμμιμηταὶ μου γίνεσθε) is not some moral integrity of Paul (cf., 1 Tim. 4:12), nor his work ethic (cf., 2 Thes. 3:9), but is specifically his attitude towards sharing the gospel, even if it costs your life, as Paul elaborated in Phil. 3:8-14. Philippians 3:15-17 is not some indiscriminate exhortation to follow Paul in whatever he thinks or does, but Phil. 3:15-17, on the heels of Phil. 3:8-14, is specifically connected to that section and the behaviour expected of the Philippians in Phil. 3:15-17 has just been modelled in the verses prior to it. This study has already observed the extensive use of military terminology in Phil. 3:8-14 and the packaging of the exhortation of Phil. 3:15-17 in military linguistics. It should come as no surprise then, that the statements which support the expected "military behaviour" should also be couched in military language and typology. Πολίτευμα and its military connotation as soldier-citizen fits right in with other war terminology in the section, namely ἐχθρούς, ἀπώλεια, δόξα, σωτήρ, ὑποτάσσω.⁷³

⁷³ See below.

The central purpose of the mention of πολίτευμα is not to provoke some “citizen-like behaviour.”⁷⁴ There is nothing in Phil. 3:20-21 that requires any behaviour or behavioural changes. These two verses serve exclusively as a motivational stimulus, why previous exhortations are attractive to obey. The positive benefit of being part of τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς is singled out by Paul as its central aspect and the interpreter has to explain what would be so desirable in the ears of the Philippians that being part of τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς encourages them to do what Paul did, namely to confront boldly unbelievers with the gospel, not fearing death, as with death comes the promised military reward (Phil. 3:10-14).

6.3.7. Citizen-soldiers eligible for the reward of resurrection

It is this thesis’ conviction that πολίτευμα is mentioned here, because it speaks about the Philippians’ (and Christians’ in general) eligibility as a citizen-soldier to receive the military reward, which in the context is the transformation of the body into the likeness of the body of Christ (. . . ὃς μετασχηματίζει τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης). This is, as is generally agreed, a reference to the resurrection, the same resurrection that Paul already mentioned as being his desired military reward in Phil. 3:8-10: ἵνα Χριστὸν κερδήσω . . . τοῦ γινῶναι αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ. The overall argument of Paul from Phil. 3:8 to Phil. 3:21 therefore is:

- a) Since my military reward will be to know Christ fully
in the resurrection,
- b) I pursue and apprehend the enemy (i.e. share
the gospel) without fear of them killing me;
- b’) therefore you also pursue and apprehend the enemy
without fear of them killing you,
- a’) since you too are citizen-soldiers who will experience resurrection
as your military reward.

6.3.8. The enemies of Phil. 3:20-21: opposition to the gospel

This interconnectedness of Phil. 3:8-14 with Phil. 3:20-21 could potentially help to solve one of the great enigmas of Philippians, namely the hotly debated question of the identity of Phil. 3:18. They are not moral libertinists,⁷⁵ not behavioural materialists,⁷⁶ not orthodox

⁷⁴ Contra Moisés Silva, *Philippians*. Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Baker: Grand Rapids, 2005, 184: “ . . . the idea of citizen-like behaviour is dominant in Paul’s thinking.”

⁷⁵ Francis W. Beare, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. Black’s New Testament Commentary. London: A & C Black Publishers, 1969, 133-34. Erich Haupt, *Die Gefangenschaftsbriefe*. Kritisch Exegetischer Kommentar

Jews,⁷⁷ lapsed Christians,⁷⁸ Christians wanting to avoid suffering⁷⁹ or Judaizers,⁸⁰ at least not exclusively. At any rate, they are not mentioned in the context to engage in a theological dispute with them. To identify the unnamed “enemies” purely by their descriptive character has sparked helpful discussion, but in light of the wide diversity of scholarly opinion and problems with each previously advocated view, as no view can accommodate all of the descriptions to a perfect match, one needs to consider the structural placement of the mentioned enemies as a further clue to their identity.

The principle problem with this approach is, however, that Paul mentions the ἐχθροί quite out of the blue and no sensible suggestion has yet been advanced why precisely at this stage Paul elaborates on enemies that seemingly have no connection with the context.

But the problem is only apparent. Even if they were not specifically mentioned, enemies have loomed in the background of Philippians chapter three all along. If, as we have seen above, Paul converts in Phil. 3:1-11 from one who persecuted the church to one who is persecuted for preaching the gospel, one has to assume enemies who are responsible for the persecution. If opposition to the gospel was of such a degree that there was a significant danger for Paul (and Philippians) being killed for speaking about Christ (Phil. 3:10-11), then there must have been people in the background of Paul’s reasoning, who are responsible for the death of the ones proclaiming Christ. Even more significantly, if Paul uses the exclusive military metaphor of pursuing in order that he might capture (διώκω δὲ εἰ καὶ καταλάβω) (Phil. 3:12-14), then although the direct object has not been explicitly stated, it emerges

über das Neue Testament. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1902, 150-53. Joseph B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul’s Epistle to the Philippians*. London: MacMillan, 1908, 154-55. Wilhelm Michaelis, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Philipper*. Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament. Leipzig: Deichert, 1935, 61-62. Robert Jewett, “Conflicting Movements in the Early Church as Reflected in Philippians.” In *NovT* 12. Leiden: Brill 1970, 362-90.

⁷⁶ Ernest F. Scott, “The Epistle to the Philippians.” In *The Interpreter’s Bible*. Vol. 11. Nashville: Abingdon, 1955, 96-97.

⁷⁷ Ulrich B. Müller, “Der Brief des Paulus an die Philipper.” In *Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament*. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1993, 175-79. Gerald F. Hawthorne, and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 220-27.

⁷⁸ Ernst Lohmeyer, *Der Brief an die Philipper*. Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953, 152-56.

⁷⁹ G. Walter Hansen, *The Letter to the Philippians*. Pillar New Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009, 264-65. Paul A. Holloway, *Consolation in Philippians. Philosophical Sources and Rhetorical Strategie*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. 144. Francis W. Beare, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. In the Black’s New Testament Commentary. London: A & C Black Publishers, 1969, 133-36. Markus Bockmuehl, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. Black’s New Testament Commentary. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1998, 230-33.

⁸⁰ Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 454-57. Gerald F. Hawthorne, and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 221-27. Karl Barth, *Epistle to the Philippians*. Transl. by James W. Leitch. Richmond: Westminster John Knox, 2002, 113-14. Ben Witherington III, *Friendship and Finances in Philippi: The Letter of Paul to the Philippians*. Valley Forge: Trinity, 1994, 97-98. Andrew T. Lincoln, *Paradise Now and not Yet. Studies in the Role of the Heavenly Dimension in Paul’s Thought with Special Reference to his Eschatology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, 89.

strongly from the context that enemies (ἐχθροί) are the intended direct object!⁸¹ When Paul decides not to look back in fear for an opportunity of retreat, but in military terminology determines to boldly engage the ones who are in front of him with the gospel (ἐν δέ, τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος) (Phil. 3:13), then frightening enemies play the decisive part in the word-picture, which Paul is creating! When Paul's only hope of the future is resurrection (εἰς τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως) (Phil. 3:14), then enemies oppressively overwhelm the context. The appearance of enemies in Phil. 3:18 do not come as a surprise – they have dominated in the last seventeen verses the background already. Their main characteristic and their most important *raison d'être* in the present paragraph lies in their opposition to Paul and to those who proclaim the gospel alongside him. They are enemies of the cross because they oppose the message of the cross as the most fundamental part of the gospel: "They, therefore, could not accept the message of the cross, nor could they tolerate its dissemination."⁸² They are the very same opponents of the Philippians as the ones already described in Phil. 1:28. There the ἀντίκειμαι were threatening the Philippians and the Philippians were not to be afraid of them, but to engage them unitedly with the gospel (μιᾶ ψυχῇ συναθροῦντες τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ μὴ πτυρόμενοι ἐν μηδενί) (Phil. 1:27-28). Thus, the background situation of the appearance of "enemies" is the same and likely points to the same kind of opposition. In Phil. 1:28 the boldness of the Philippians was a sign of the eventual **destruction (ἀπώλεια)** of their opponents, here in Phil. 3:18-19, the end of the enemies is again: **destruction (ἀπώλεια)**!

The Philippians, as the contrasting group in Phil. 3:20 to the enemies in Phil. 3:18 are awaiting a saviour, or better in the present context: a military deliverer (ἐξ ὧ καὶ σωτῆρα ἀπεκδεχόμεθα). Who is in need of an outside military deliverer? Someone who is in dire straits and overpowered by an enemy from whose opposition he is not able to deliver himself!⁸³ It seems impossible not to equate the ἐχθροί τοῦ σταυροῦ from Phil. 3:18 with the ἀντίκειμαι from Phil. 1:28. The simple equation ἐχθροί = ἀντίκειμαι would explain their sudden unannounced appearance and the lack of explanation on Paul's part as to why he introduces them without a clue to their importance in the context. They have been present all along in Philippians and required no further introduction. Whatever the reason for Paul's elaboration on their character, a consideration beyond the scope of this thesis, their most important function in the context is their opposition to the spread of the gospel and their future doom on account of

⁸¹ Cf., Exod. 15:9 LXX.

⁸² Gerald F. Hawthorne, and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 223.

⁸³ Cf., Phil. 2:15 "μέσον γενεᾶς σκολιᾶς καὶ διεστραμμένης" and 5.3.6.2. "Surrounded by the overwhelming numbers of the enemy (μέσον γενεᾶς)." for the comments that this phrase conjures up the picture of a small fighting forces overwhelmingly surrounded by enemies.

it – in contrast to the salvation and glorious future of the Philippians who engage them with the gospel.⁸⁴

6.3.9. Parallel themes of Phil. 3:18-20 to military harangues of generals

After having explored the potential military association of *πολίτευμα* and the side note on the nature of the enemies in Phil. 3:18-20, it is possible to turn and point out very typical elements of the military harangue of the general addressing the soldiers before battle or allusion to well known military *topoi* which are inherent in Phil. 3:18-21. First, the contrast between enemies and one's own forces are stated: *τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ σταυροῦ* (enemies of the cross) versus *ἡμῶν τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει* (the heavenly soldier/ citizenship).⁸⁵ Second, the prospective outcome of the war is stated in stereotypical military language: the enemies' end will be destruction (*ὄν τὸ τέλος ἀπώλεια*),⁸⁶ while salvation and glory (*σωτήρα ἀπεκδεχόμεθα . . . σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ*) await the victors.⁸⁷ Third, the

⁸⁴ In a sense in the background of Paul's description resonates his theology that those who oppress the Philippians now (i.e. are bent on their destruction) will be oppressed (i.e. destroyed) at the coming of the military deliverer, while those who suffer defeat now (in the form of death), will receive an exalted prize of victory. Cf., 2 Thes. 1:6-10.

⁸⁵ The comparison "the enemy versus us" is constantly occurring in the literary sources, particularly so in the military speeches. Cf., Xen. *Cyr.* VI.15-18.; Xen. *Ana.* III.1.22.; Th. *Pel.* IV.10.1-5; Dio. L.16.1.-19.3.; App. *BC.* IV.16.117.; Jos. *AJ.* XV.129-30.; Arr. *Alex.* II.7.3-4.; Tac. *Ag.* XXX-XXXII.; Liv. XXI.40.

⁸⁶ Destruction (*ἀπώλεια*) is, as expected, profusely used in the literary sources in a military context. Ships, armies, cities under siege, legions or nations are said to be "destroyed." For the "destruction of enemies" see Jos. *AJ.* XII.344.:

Ἰούδας δὲ τὴν πόλιν καταλαβόμενος αὐτούς τε ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐνέπρησεν ποικίλῃ χρησάμενος ἰδέα **τῆς ἀπωλείας τῶν πολεμίων.**

But Judas took this city, and killed the inhabitants, and burned the sacred precinct; thus he accomplished **the destruction of the enemy** under various forms.

Xen. *Cyn.* I.10.:

Θησεὺς δὲ τοὺς μὲν τῆς Ἑλλάδος **ἐχθροὺς** πάσης μόνος **ἀπόλεσε**: τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ πατρίδα πολὺ μείζω ποιήσας ἔτι καὶ νῦν θαυμάζεται.

Theseus single-handedly **destroyed the enemies** of all Greece; and because he enlarged greatly the borders of his country he is admired to this day.

DS. XIII.52.7.

οὐ τοσαύτην γὰρ ἢ τῶν **πολεμίων ἀπώλεια** φέρει χαράν, ἢλίκην ἔχει λύπην ἢ τῶν ἰδίων ταλαπωρία.

For the **destruction of the enemy** brings no joy that can balance the grief caused by the distress of one's own people.

For the destruction of enemy-peoples in the LXX see Deut. 7:23, Judith 6:4.

⁸⁷ The contrasting of the two themes "salvation for one side versus destruction for the other" is also a common occurrence within the context of military narratives or in the military subject of poetic literature. See for example Wisdom of Solomon 18:7 LXX:

Προσδέχθη ὑπο λαοῦ σου **σωτηρία** μὲν δικαίων, **ἐχθρῶν δὲ ἀπώλεια.**

Your people expected **salvation** for the righteous, but the **destruction of the enemy.**

Plb. IV.57.11.

οἱ δὲ παρεπισπεσόντες λαμπρῶς ἀπερινοήτως ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς πράγμασιν. ὃ καὶ παραίτιον ἐγένετο τοῖς **μὲν Αἰγειράταις τῆς σωτηρίας,** τοῖς δ' Αἰτωλοῖς **τῆς ἀπωλείας.**

Having thus surprised the town, they behaved with a conspicuous lack of caution, which eventually caused **the salvation of the people of Aegira, and proved the destruction of the Aetolians.**

confidence of this dual outcome of battle, namely destruction for enemies and salvation/victory for one's own troops, is not in vain, but is strengthened by an affirmation of the ability of the general to achieve precisely this desired outcome of battle (κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ὑποτάξαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα).

The ability of the general was portrayed in the literary sources as paramount for the victorious outcome of a battle. Even if all other considerations were unfavourable and the odds quite against an army, the genius of the general could easily sway the tide and turn an otherwise hopeless situation into certain victory. Thus, for example of the Carthagian general Xanthippus Polybius writes:

<p>εἷς γὰρ ἄνθρωπος καὶ μία γνώμη τὰ μὲν ἀήττητα πλήθη καὶ πραγματικὰ δοκοῦντ' εἶναι καθεῖλεν, τὸ δὲ προφανῶς πεπτωκὸς ἄρδην πολίτευμα καὶ τὰς ἀπηλγηκυίας ψυχὰς τῶν δυνάμεων ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον ἤγαγεν.⁸⁸</p>	<p>For one man and one brain laid low that host which seemed so invincible and efficient, and restored the fortunes of a state which in the eyes of all was utterly fallen and the deadened spirit of its soldiers.</p>
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Plutarch narrates concerning Aemilius Paulus' ability as a general:

<p>μάχη μὲν οὖν δις ἐκ παρατάξεως ἐνίκησε τοὺς βαρβάρους, περὶ τρισμυρίους ἀνελών— καὶ δοκεῖ τὸ κατόρθωμα τῆς στρατηγίας περιφανῶς γενέσθαι . . . αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ νίκημα τοῖς στρατιώταις.⁸⁹</p>	<p>Well, then, he defeated the Barbarians in two pitched battles, and slew about thirty thousand of them; and it would seem that his success was conspicuously due to his generalship . . . [by which] he made victory easy for his soldiers.</p>
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App. BC. IV.17.138.

Ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ Ἄντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος τὸν τῶν στρατηγῶν λόγον ἐπηλήθευσαν, διὰ μιᾶς ἡμέρας καὶ δι' ἑνὸς ἔργου κίνδυνον ἔσχατον λιμοῦ καὶ δέος ἀπωλείας ἐς εὐπορίαν δαμιλιῆ καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ νίκην εὐκλεῆ μεταβαλόντες.

Thus the army of Antony and Octavian confirmed the prediction of their generals, passing in one day and by one battle from extreme danger and famine and fear of **destruction** to lavish wealth, secure **salvation**, and glorious victory.

For the common theme of salvation (σωτηρία) being turned by God into destruction (ἀπωλεία) in Josephus see Jos. *BJ*. IV.573.; V.560.; VI.285.

For the promise of "glory" (δόξα, *gloria*) to the victors of the campaign see App. *BC*. II.8.53.; Liv. XXI.21.4.; DS. XIV.51.2.; XV.1.3.; Jos. *JW*. V.488.; Th. *Pel*. VII.56.2.; App. *Mith*. VI.40.; Plb. XV.11.12.

For σωτήρ meaning "military victor who brings salvation" see Jos. *JW*.VII.71.; Xen. *Ages*. XI.13.; Plb. IX.36.5.; Plb. X.3.7., Plb. XVIII.13.11.; XVIII.46.12.; DS. XI.26.6.; DS. XVI.20.6.; XXXIII.1.5.; Dio. LII.39.3.; Plut. *Aem*. XXXIX.9.; App. *Syr*. XI.47.

⁸⁸ Plb. I.35.5. Transl. by W. R. Paton, LCL, I:106-09.

⁸⁹ Plut. *Aem*. I.4.3. Transl. by Bernadotte Perrin, LCL, VI: 362-65. For other instances where the successful conclusion of a war against otherwise advantaged forces was credited to superior generalship see App. *Mith*. III.19.; Tac. *Ag*. XXVII.2.

Polybius summarises the importance of the ability of the general to win a war:

<p>καθάπερ γὰρ νεὼς ἐὰν ἀφέλη τις τὸν κυβερνήτην, τὸ ὅλον αὐτανδρὶ σκάφος ὑποχείριον γίνεται τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐὰν τὸν προεσιῶτα [πόλεμον] δυνάμεως χειρώσῃται τις κατὰ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς καὶ συλλογισμούς, αὐτανδρὶ γίνεται πολλάκις κρατεῖν τῶν ἀντιταττομένων.⁹⁰</p>	<p>For just as a ship, deprived of its pilot will fall with its whole crew into the hands of the enemy, so the general who is his opponent's master in strategy and reasoning may often capture his whole army.</p>
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The conviction that the superior ability of the general determines the successful conclusion of the war, was unashamedly taken up by the Roman commanders in their military speeches in order to boost the confidence of the soldiers. Thus, for example Antony gives a lengthy list of his qualifications as a general before the battle of Actium, starting his elaborations with the following words:

<p>. . . ὄκνησα μὲν ἄλλως αὐτὸς περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ σεμνόν τι εἰπεῖν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ τοῦθ' ἐν τῶν πρὸς τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος φερόντων ἐστὶ καὶ μέγιστόν γε παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι πεπίστευται, λέγω δὲ τὸ καὶ στρατηγοῦ τινος ἀρίστου τοὺς καλῶς πολεμήσοντας τυχεῖν, ἀναγκαιότατόν μοι τὸν περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ λόγον αὐτὴ ἢ χρεῖα πεποιήκεν, . . . ἐγὼ τοιοῦτος οἶος καὶ μετὰ κακῶν στρατιωτῶν κρατεῖν δύνασθαι. τὴν τε γὰρ ἡλικίαν ταύτην ἄγω ἐν ἧ καὶ μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι . . . καὶ προσέτι τοιαύτη μὲν φύσει τοιαύτη δὲ καὶ παιδείᾳ κέχρημαι ὥστε καὶ γνῶναι πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα καὶ εἰπεῖν ῥᾶστα δύνασθαι.⁹¹</p>	<p>. . . I hesitate on general principles to add anything personal concerning myself by way of boasting; yet since this, too, is one of the factors which contribute to victory in war, and in the opinion of all men is of supreme importance, – I mean that men who are to wage war successfully must also have an excellent general, – necessity itself has rendered quite inevitable what I shall say about myself . . . I am the kind of leader that could prevail even with poor soldiers. For I am at that age when men are at their prime . . . Moreover, I have the advantage of such natural gifts and of</p>
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⁹⁰ Plb. III.81.11. Transl. by W. R. Paton, LCL, II:218-19. Cf., also Plb. II.32.7.

. . . τηλικαύτην ἐποίει διαφορὰν παρὰ τὴν τῶν πρότερον στρατηγῶν ἀπειρίαν ὥστε μετὰ κραυγῆς ἐπισημανεσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ σπεύδειν ὡς τάχιστα συμβαλεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, πεπεισμένους μηδὲν ἂν παθεῖν δεινὸν ἡγουμένου Ξανθίππου.

. . . the contrast to the incompetency of the former generals was so striking that the soldiery expressed their approval by cheers and were eager to engage the enemy, feeling sure that if Xanthippus was in command no disaster could befall them.

⁹¹ Dio. L.17.1-4. Transl. by Earnest Cary, LCL, V: 470-73. Of course the "hesitation of Antony" is only rhetorical, he is not at all hesitant to continue to elaborate on the experiences and successes of his previous military career.

such training that I can with the greatest ease make the right decision in every case and give it utterance.

Other generals did not embellish their speeches at such great length as Antony did, yet they pointed out the same principle: the superior abilities of your commander guarantee you victory and the fulfilment of all the promised rewards of the victory. For example, Alexander the Great only needed to point out that it was him, who was commanding the troops and everything in regard to superior generalship was said.

ἐπι δὲ Ἀλεξανδρον ἀντισπρατεῖγειν Δαρείῳ.⁹² | In addition, you have Alexander commanding against Darius.

Scipio Africanus as well, short and simply draws upon the fame of his ancestors to point out his own excellence as military commander:

. . . ut revixisse aut renatum sibi quisque | . . . each man shall say that there has
Scipionem imperatorem dicat.⁹³ | come back to life, or has been born
again, his general Scipio.

Pompey points out to the assembled army that with them fights a general who was successful in every single battle previously fought, implying that the same abilities of a general are now at their service:

Ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἐξέλιπον οὐδ' ἂν ἐκλίπομι τὸν | I have not failed and I never will fail to
μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀγῶνα . . . εἴ τις | fight with you and for you . . . If I have any
ἔστι μοι πολέμων ἐμπειρία καὶ τύχη ἀηττήτω | experience in war, if it has been my good
μέχρι νῦν γενομένῳ . . .⁹⁴ | fortune to remain unvanquished to this
day . . .

6.3.10. The ability of the general to fulfil what he promised

In Phil. 3:21 the ability of the “supreme general” Jesus Christ is pointed out with the same function as the abilities of the commanders are highlighted in the classical military harangues: it gives support to the promises that the “troops” will enjoy the rewards of victory. The description of the abilities of Jesus Christ also come in typical military terminology, Christ is said to be able to subdue all things to himself (ὑποτάξαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα). In the military

⁹² Arr. *Alex.* II.7.5.

⁹³ Liv. XXVI.41.25.

⁹⁴ Liv. XXVI.41.25.

context ὑποτάσσω (subdue) regularly refers to the submission of a group of people to the victorious general after a successful battle (from the victor's point of view) had been waged on the subdued. The *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* extols the achievements of Augustus, who subdued several provinces and groups of people to the sovereignty of Rome:

<p>Πασιῶν ἐπαρχειῶν δήμο(υ Ῥω)μαίων, αἷς ὄμορα ἦν ἔθνη τὰ ὑποτασσ(όμ)ενα τῆι ἡμετέραι ἡγεμονίᾳ, τοὺς ὄρους ἐπέυξ(ησ)α.⁹⁵</p>	<p>I extended the boundaries of all the provinces which were bordered by races not yet subject to our empire.</p>
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<p>Παρωσοῖω ἔθνη, οἷς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἡγεμόνος στρατεύμα Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἤγγισεν, . . . ἡγεμονίαι δήμου Ῥωμαίων ὑπέταξα.⁹⁶</p>	<p>The tribes of the Pannonians, to which no army of the Roman people had ever penetrated before my principate . . . I brought to submission under the sovereignty of the Roman people.</p>
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Polybius enumerates how, after the prosperous conclusion of the Illyrian war, the greater part of the Illyrian territory was subdued under the rule of Demetrius.

<p>ταῦτα δὲ πράξαντες καὶ τῷ Δημητρίῳ τοὺς πλείστους ὑποτάξαντες τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν . . . εἰς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον ἅμα τῷ στόλῳ καὶ τῆ περὶ τὴν δυνάμει.⁹⁷</p>	<p>After accomplishing so much and placing the greater part of Illyria under the submission of Demetrius . . . the consuls returned to Epidamnus with the fleet and the army.</p>
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The speech of Tullius, as recorded by Dionysius of Halicarnassus also reminds the Romans how Tarquinus subdued several nations under Roman rule:

<p>δίκαιοι δ' ἐστὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς διαμεμνησθαι τὰς εὐεργεσίας, αἷς ὁ πάππος αὐτῶν τὸ κοινὸν εὐηργέτησεν ὑποτάξας μὲν ὑμῖν τὰς Λατίνων τισαύτας πόλεις ἀντιποιουμένας τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὑπηκόους δὲ ποιήσας Τυρρηνοὺς ἅπαντας μέγιστον τῶν περιόικων δυναμένους, ἀναγκάσας δὲ τὸ Σαβίνων ἔθνος ὑποχείριον ὑμῖν γενέσθαι . . .⁹⁸</p>	<p>You ought in justice to remember the benefits their grandfather conferred upon the commonwealth in reducing into submission so many cities of the Latins to you, your rivals for the sovereignty, in making all the Tyrrhenians, the most powerful of your neighbours, your subjects and in forcing the Sabine nation to submit to you . . .</p>
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⁹⁵ RG. V.26.

⁹⁶ RG. XVI.30.

⁹⁷ Plb. II.11.17.

⁹⁸ DH. IV.9.28.

While the literary sources always portray the submission of just one or a few certain groups of people as a grand military achievement, it must have struck the original hearer as something remarkably extraordinary and majestic that Christ is able to subdue **all things** (τὰ πάντα) to himself. This passage, no doubt, provoked an awe-inspiring image of the limitless abilities of Christ as the Philippians' "lord and commander." Both the transitions of humility to glory (τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ), as well as the all encompassing sovereign abilities of Christ (ὑποτάξαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα) are reminiscent of the description of Jesus in Phil. 2:8-11. There already, Christ was depicted as the victorious general who, after a decisive and all-encompassing victory on the cross, had caused a future submission of every created being, **every** creature bowing their knees in submission (πάν γόνυ κάμψη) and **every** tongue confessing Him as Lord and *imperator* per excellence (καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται). It is likely that Paul intended in Phil. 3:21 to evoke a recollection of Phil. 2:9-11 in order to establish that the certainty of Christ's future abilities are grounded on his past glorious achievements.

6.3.11. The ability of Christ to bring about the resurrection

Christ has the ability to transform our body of humility into the likeness of his glorious body because of His unique and sovereign ability as victorious general to submit all things to himself. This ability has already been demonstrated by the victory Christ achieved on the cross and his public proclamation by God the Father as victorious general. By analysing Phil. 3:18-21, one notices that Paul lists four contrasting pairs of descriptions of the two opposing groups in military terminology. The enemies (τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ σταυροῦ) are contrasted with the soldier/ citizens of heaven (ἡμῶν τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς), the destruction of the enemy (τέλος ἀπώλεια) is contrasted with the military salvation (σωτήρα ἀπεκδεχόμεθα) of the Philippians (the corresponding contrary outcomes of a war), one group has their belly as god (ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἡ κοιλία), while the other calls Jesus their lord (κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν), one's glory is their shame (ἡ δόξα ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αὐτῶν), while the other hope for a transformation into glory (σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης). These ordered contrasts show that Paul structurally arranged this passage in such a way that the contrast between the enemies and the Philippians is set in an antithetic A-B-A'-B' pattern:⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Contrary to Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 228-29, who say about Phil. 3:20-21 that "this section seems not to fit easily within the context in which it is placed" and who suggests that a pre-formulated Christological hymn of the early church has been (mis)placed here into a differing from the original context. The structured comparison reveals a perfect fit of both passages with each other.

- A τούς ἐχθρούς τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ (enemies of the cross of Christ)
- B ὧν τὸ τέλος ἀπώλεια (whose end is destruction)
- C ὧν ὁ θεὸς ἡ κοιλία (whose god is their belly)
- D ἡ δόξα ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αὐτῶν (whose glory is in their shame)
- E οἱ τὰ ἐπίγεια φρονοῦντες (who are thinking of earthly things)
- A' ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει (but we belong to a heavenly soldier/citizenship)
- B' ἐξ οὗ καὶ σωτῆρα ἀπεκδεχόμεθα (from where we await the Saviour)
- C' κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν (“our God,” the Lord Jesus Christ)
- D' ὃς μετασχηματίζει τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ (who will transform our body of humility into the likeness of the body of His glory)
- E' κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ὑποτάξει αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα (according to the working of His power by which He is able to subdue all things to himself).

Only Paul’s last statements at the end of the corresponding list (as listed under E) do not seem to form a pair. Either the pattern is not exact and breaks down at this point or, more likely, Paul intended a paired contrast of what the opposing groups “think about.” While the one group thinks about earthly things, the other is – or is supposed to – think of the supreme abilities of their general to reward them with eternal glory. We already saw that κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ὑποτάξει αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα alludes to the typical military *topos* of listing the **ability of the general** as an encouragement why the battle will be victorious. Commands to think about and consider what the general just said in terms of encouragements are often interspersed or follows on the heels of these military speeches.¹⁰⁰ The antithetic structure is most plausibly exact in all its five lines and Paul intends to contrast

¹⁰⁰ See for example: Scipio in App. *Pun.* VIII.7.42., Transl. by Horace White, LCL, I:464-65.:

καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀξιῶν μὴ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων ἀφορᾶν, ἀλλ’ ἐς τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν . . .	He told the soldiers not to think of the numbers of the enemy but of their own valour . . .
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Pompey in App. *BC.* II.11.72., Transl. by Horace White, LCL, I: 360-61.:

ἴτε οὖν, ὡς ἤξιοιτε, μετ’ ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος, ἐν ᾧψει τιθέμενοι τὴν τε φυγὴν αὐτῶν τὴν περὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον γενομένην καὶ ὅσα σημεῖα μιᾶς ἡμέρας κρατοῦντες αὐτῶν ἐλάβομεν.	Go forward then, as you have desired to do, with good hope, keeping in your mind’s eye the fight of the enemy at Dyrrachium, and the great number of standards that we captured in one day when we defeated them there.
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Caesar in App. *BC.* II.11.73., Transl. by Horace White, LCL, I: 362-63.:

τῶνδε οὖν μοι τήμερον ἀθρόον ἀνεπέγκατε καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἴ τι σύνιστέ μοι, κηδεμονίας ἢ πίστεως ἢ δωρεῶν μεγαλοφροσύνης.	Recall all these facts to your mind today, and if you have any experience of me recall also my care for you, my good faith and the generosity of my gifts to you.
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The military speeches of the general as a whole corpus have in themselves the rhetorical function for the soldiers to set their mind/ to think about the rewards and confidence of victory instead of pondering fear, retreat, etc.

in the last line what the enemies of the cross are thinking about and what the mental focus of the Philippians is supposed to be. Whatever precisely the “earthly things” specify, it contrasts directly with *κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ὑποτάξει αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα* (according to the working of His power by which He is able to subdue all things to himself) and is an encouragement for the Philippians to ponder the supreme abilities of their “lord and commander” to bring about the hoped for military deliverance of transforming the Philippians’ bodies into resurrected immortal human beings fit for eternal glory.

6.3.12. Summary: Reason for fearless preaching: ability of the general to perform the resurrection

Philippians 3:18-21 is in the progression of Paul’s logical argument directly linked to Phil. 3:12-17. In the latter section Paul exhorted the Philippians to share fearlessly the gospel with a hostile audience. In the section which followed, he gave the Philippians incentives why his command to co-fight with him for the advance of the gospel is attractive to follow. The mention of the Philippians as heavenly citizen-soldiers (*πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς*), the expectation of the Saviour coming to their rescue (*ἐξ οὗ καὶ σωτῆρα ἀπεκδεχόμεθα*), the promise of transformation of their bodies into glory (*ὅς μετασχηματίζει τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης*) and the latter’s certainty confirmed by the abilities of their victorious general Jesus Christ (*κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ὑποτάξει αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα*) speak of the military reward, which the Philippians will be eligible to obtain when they steadfastly continue to serve as citizen-soldiers in the advance of the message of Christ.

6.4. Βίβλος Ζωῆς – the military register guaranteeing eternal life (Phil. 4:3)

6.4.1. The military context of Phil. 4:3

In Philippians 4:3 Paul mentions Euodia, Syntyche, Clement and an unknown number of unidentified people, “whose names are in the book of life” *ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν βίβλῳ ζωῆς*.¹⁰¹ The metaphorical nature of Phil. 4:3 as distinctly military has already been observed in chapter four.¹⁰² Both titular descriptions of Paul’s friends mentioned in the verse, the *γνήσιε σύζυγε* (faithful comrade-in-rank) and the *συνεργοί* (fellow-soldiers) are military appellations for

¹⁰¹ The pronoun *ὧν* does not only have *τῶν λοιπῶν συνεργῶν μου* as an antecedent, but is more likely a “generic use of the masculine,” including Euodia and Syntyche. Gerald F. Hawthorne, and Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 2004, 243.

¹⁰² See 4.6. “Military struggle for the advance of the gospel: The example of Euodia, Syntyche, Clement, the loyal military comrade and other fellow soldiers. (Phil. 4:3)”

soldiers. That they have fought together (συναθλέω) with Paul in the campaign to advance the gospel confirms the military setting of the passage. If in a military context the passage mentions names in a book, the most natural allusion would be, as this thesis has demonstrated in chapter five to the elaborate personnel record of the Roman army,¹⁰³ either to the master roll of recruited soldiers or the morning reports, stating those soldiers accounted for and their present duties. If Paul would have written ναὶ ἐρωτῶ καὶ σέ . . . συλλαμβάνου αὐταῖς, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν βίβλῳ (without adding ζωῆς (“of life”)), i.e. “I ask you, help those whose names are in the book,” the emphasis of the sentence would have simply laid a responsibility of the “γνήσιε σύζυγε” to assist comrades who are part of the same unit.¹⁰⁴ This accentuation is certainly intended by Paul.

6.4.2. The genitival addition of ζωῆς to βίβλος: the promise of eternal life

At the same time he adds a brief motivational support for his summons: ζωῆς! The book is not simply a personnel roster, it is a record of those who are destined for eternal life. The concept of a “book of life” is in some respects a well-established tradition of the Old Testament Scriptures, but the oldest witnesses to it use this concept simply as a record of those physically alive (Exod. 32:32-33; Psa. 69:28 (LXX 68:29); Isa. 4:3; Ezek.13:9). Only with the development of the apocalyptic literature is the idea used with reference to a predetermined and secure guarantee of eternal life (Dan. 12:1, Rev. 3:5, 13:8; 17:8; 20:12, 15; 21:27; 22:19). This latter sense is taken up by Paul here and merged with the idea of a military register. That Euodia, Syntyche, Clement and the other fellow-soldiers are together registered in the “military roster guaranteeing eternal life” gives an endorsement to the ones inscribed that they are legitimate soldiers and eligible for the hope of the reward for those belonging to the army of the supreme general Jesus Christ.

Every incentive for actively pursuing the partnership for the advance of the gospel in Philippians had been the eschatological promise of the glorious face-to-face encounter and enjoyment of Christ at the resurrection (Phil. 1:21; 3:8-11 and 3:20-21). Paul stays faithful to his theological emphasis at this point in Philippians as well and lifts the eyes of his readers to the magnificent promise of life in the presence of Christ as the ultimate reward for those who belong to him. The promise of lavish rewards from secular commanders before a military engagement were purposed to rouse the soldiers to extraordinary feats of courage and endurance. In many cases the rhetorical strategy of the commanders paid off and an otherwise prospectively discouraging campaign was turned around into a grandiose victory.

¹⁰³ See 5.4. “Certainty of victory – anticipated joy of victory (Phil. 3:1 and 4:4).”

¹⁰⁴ A matter of course for the typical Roman soldier, who felt strong bonds of affection for men from the same unit.

The knowledge of a common magnificent destiny would have been a strong motivational factor both for the γνήσιε σύζυγε to assist Euodia and Syntyche to stand unitedly in the battle line again (στήκετε ἐν κυρίῳ, ἀγαπητοί) (Phil. 4:1) and it would have been a strong motivation for Euodia and Syntyche to focus on the promised future themselves and thus unite again for a collective partnership for the advance of the good news. They have stood alongside Paul in the military campaign for the spread of the gospel (αἴτινες ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ συνήθησαν μοι) (Phil. 4:3), the assurance of being inscribed in the military roster guaranteeing eternal life serves as an impetus to renew the common effort for the same mission to advance the faith.

6.5. Conclusion: eternal life at the resurrection – the prime motivation for zeal to share the gospel

In Philippians 1:21; 3:8-11; 3:20-21 and 4:3 Paul states future incentives similarly to secular commanders in speeches to the assembled troops. These statements of future benefits structurally always related to the previous exhortation or encouragement by example to actively and courageously share the gospel in a hostile environment. The content of the promise is consistently laid down as eternal life in the presence of the glory of Christ at the resurrection. It is the promise from Jesus Christ to resurrect those who are His into the splendid enjoyment of His splendor, which serves as the primary motivation for fearless evangelism.

Chapter 7

Synthesis of Philippians

7.1. The central idea of Philippians and the quest for discovering the logical coherence of Philippians

“Since the early days of historical critical research, exegetes have had difficulty finding any main theme or line of argument in Philippians.”¹ Forty years after the acknowledgement of Robert Jewett above, not much has changed and Philippians is still treated by most theologians as though it consists of smaller subsections covering a variety of subthemes without systematic coherence or logical transitions. However, the fragmentation of Philippians into unrelated paragraphs and topics is not due to Paul supposedly skipping from one subject to another as though “emotional or hortatory” letters do not need coherence, but rather to the modern misunderstanding of Paul’s language and arrangement of argument.

The first signs of breakthrough appeared with Robert C. Swift arguing in his article *The Theme and Structure of Philippians* that Philippians has one central theme, which explains the details of the entire epistle. That theme, according to Jewett, is the partnership for the advance of the gospel and under it all the pieces of Philippians are lined up systematically, coherently and logically to form one unified argument.²

Further progress was then made by Duane Watson, who showed the rhetorical structure behind Philippians to be deliberative rhetoric, demonstrating that the structural makeup of Philippians consists of a comprehensive unity of speech, in which each part has its fixed rhetorical purpose, analogical to secular rhetoric of Paul’s time, contributing to an overall central message.³ Watson’s structure was filled with the appropriate recognition of military terminology discovered by Edgar Krentz and Timothy Geffrion. Krentz demonstrated that the *narratio* of Philippians (Phil. 1:27-30) is a conglomeration of military terminology⁴ and

¹ Robert Jewett, “The Epistolary Thanksgiving and Integrity of Philippians.” In *NovT* 12. Leiden: Brill, 1970, 40-53.

² Robert C. Swift, “The Theme and Structure of Philippians.” In *Biblia Sacra* 141 (July 1984). Dallas: Dallas Theological Seminary, 1984, 234-254.

³ Duane F. Watson, “A Rhetorical Analysis of Philippians and Its Implication for the Unity Question.” In *NovT* 30. Köln: Brill, 1988, 57-88.

⁴ Edgar Krentz, “Military Language and Metaphors in Philippians.” In *Origins and Method: Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity*. Ed. Bradley H. McLean. Journal of the Study of the New Testament Supplement 86. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993, 265-286.

Geoffrion showed that military terminology and political/ military themes are used throughout Philippians to undergird the main theme of the letter, a call to stand firm in the gospel and for the advance of the gospel.⁵ Following in the footsteps of Swift, Watson, Krentz and Geoffrion, the following section attempts to create a short synthesis of Philippians incorporating the previous findings of this research.

The restriction on volume in a short chapter prevents this section from comment on a wider scale on the interrelationship of the various lines of thought and subsection of Philippians. This will be the duty and challenge of a new commentary on Philippians, sorely needed, and to be taken up as a next step of research on Philippians incorporating the findings of military terminology. At this point only a cursory overview over the line of argument as it develops in Philippians has been undertaken.

7.2. The development of the line of argumentation in Philippians

7.2.1. Epistolary prescript (Phil. 1:1-2)

1:1-2 | Philippians 1:1-2 follows the form of letter writing of antiquity. Author and recipients, as well as greetings and benediction are mentioned.

7.2.2. *Exordium*, describing Paul's and the Philippian's situation: partners for the advance of the gospel in difficulties and tribulation (Phil. 1:3-26)

A) Prayer – Prologue, Thanksgiving (Phil. 1:3-8)

1:3-8 | Paul's prayer foreshadows, as is usually the case in his initial prayers of his letters, the main theme of Philippians. The focus of the joyful thanksgiving is the gratitude for the mutual (military) partnership for the advance of the gospel (ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον), which Paul and the Philippians had entered from the moment of their turning to Christ and had sustained until the present time of writing (Phil. 1:3-5). This partnership for the gospel is compared to a military battle (ἔργον ἀγαθόν), which did not originate on account of human initiative, but was set into existence by God Himself. The initiation of the warfare for the

⁵ Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993.

advance of the gospel by God guarantees, like the battles in the Old Testament, that the campaign will ultimately be successful, as God also promises in Philippians that He will bring to a triumphant conclusion what He started until the grand day of the final overthrow of the enemies of the people of God and their own exaltation (ἄχρι ἡμέρας Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ) (Phil. 1:6).

Paul can be confident that the Philippians will be partakers of the blessings just promised, because as it is true of genuine military brothers, who have a bond of affection with each other (Phil. 1:8), so are the Philippians in his heart and he is in their heart (τὸ ἔχειν με ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμᾶς possibly works both ways, i.e. you having me in the heart, I having you in the heart) – in the defence and confirmation of the gospel, they are true military partners with Paul (ἐν τῇ ἀπολογία καὶ βεβαιώσει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου συγκοινωνοῦς μου) (Phil. 1:7). Paul and the Philippians are partaking presently of the enabling grace of God to spread the gospel, the grace of God is a further indication that the gospel is not advanced by human effort alone, but that God is the supreme military partner working in their midst for progress of the gospel (τοῦ εὐαγγελίου συγκοινωνοῦς μου τῆς χάριτος πάντας ὑμᾶς ὄντας) (Phil. 1:7).

B) Prayer – Prologue, Intercession (Phil. 1:9-11)

1:9-11

The content of the following intercession stands in close unity with the theme of the partnership of the gospel just announced. The military partnership can only be effective as love for God and love for one's military partners are at the core of one's conduct. That love, which Paul prays for, has a supernatural understanding of the character and ways of God as its cause (ἐν ἐπιγνώσει καὶ πάσῃ αἰσθήσει) (Phil. 1:9), i.e., knowledge of God and his ways of advancing the campaign prompt love for God and care for one's fellow soldier instead of frustration that things are not going as victoriously and triumphantly as one expected. The knowledge of God and his ways of waging the war for the gospel cause the Philippians to acknowledge that with God, the advance of the gospel looks different as natural warfare is conducted (foreshadowing the themes that setbacks are opportunities, suffering part of a victorious soldier's life, death is victory, etc.) (Phil. 1:10). Only if one embraces the "differing ways of God," can one live for the advance of the gospel devotedly and unreservedly, thus displaying a life of fruitfulness at the (military) day of Christ Jesus, resulting in the glory and praise of God. In the context, the glory of God is the ultimate aim of the

life of the Christian, and the focus of the subsection is how God is glorified through a life of a κοινωνός for the advance of the gospel.

C) Biographical Prologue (Phil. 1:12-26)

1:12-18 In the biographical prologue Paul narrates his own circumstances and shows how they contribute to the furtherance of the εὐαγγέλιον. The circumstances are – this is quickly apparent – entirely negative: they involve Paul’s imprisonment and with the mentioning of his suffering for the gospel the background of all Philippians is set: the gospel advances in suffering and tribulations. The contrasting (γινώσκειν δὲ ὑμᾶς βούλομαι) indicates that the Philippians originally viewed Paul’s imprisonment differently than Paul did. He elaborates how it is an advantage, they thought it to be a serious set-back for the advance of the gospel. Fighting the discouragement of his military partners (ἀδελφοί is stereotypical for soldiers addressing each other) Paul elaborates that in the sovereign workings of God, circumstances of suffering actually have served the progress of the gospel (ὅτι τὰ κατ’ ἐμὲ μᾶλλον εἰς προκοπὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐλήλυθεν) (Phil. 1:12)! Implied in the example of Paul is the encouragement that the suffering of the Philippians is not to be dreaded, as it too can serve the advance of the gospel. The suffering of Paul had a two-fold effect on the progress of the gospel campaign: first, the πραιτώριον has heard the gospel (supposedly through Paul’s contact with the soldiers guarding him) and second, the greater majority of the military brothers (ἀδελφοί) have greater daring to speak the gospel without fear (Phil. 1:14). Daring (τολμάω) is a military virtue that in combat often swayed the tide into victory,⁶ Thus, the fearless daring of preaching boldly the gospel (as an outcome of persecution) is another indication that the gospel campaign will be victorious. Although some do not preach the gospel from pure motives, but out of envy and strife (Phil. 1:15-17), the central concern of Philippians is achieved nevertheless: the gospel is preached (Phil. 1:18)!

1:19-23 Returning to his own circumstances of suffering, Paul is convinced that his circumstances (either way: if they result in release from prison or execution) will through the prayers of his military partners and the supply (note the importance of supplies in warfare) of the Spirit result in a military victory (σωτηρία)

⁶ Plut. *Caes.* XVI.3.; XVII.3.; XX.5.; XXII.1.; XXIII.2.; Plut. *Luc.* XXXVI.7.; Dio. XLIV.3-4.; Jos. *AJ.* XIV.474.; App. *Pun.* XIII.4.19.; App. *Pun.* XIII.4.23.; App. *Pun.* XIII.15.103.; App. *BC.* IV.14.111.; App. *BC.* V.9.86.; App. *BC.* V.12.114.

(Phil. 1:19). The paradox that suffering and death constitute or lead to a military victory is explained in Phil. 1:20 due to the chance of Christ being glorified in life or in death. If Paul is released, he will be able to glorify Christ through preaching Christ (τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸν καταγγέλλει), if he dies, he will be able to glorify Christ through not having retreated out of pressure and through the enjoyment of the face-to-face encounter with him (τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος) (Phil. 1:21). That suffering is not to be avoided (through stopping the confident preaching of the gospel) is demonstrated through the knowledge that preaching in the context of suffering will always constitute an advantage and victory to the one who spreads the gospel: if through the preaching in the context of suffering the message is received by some (τοῦτό μοι καρπὸς ἔργου) the gospel has achieved a victory. If the messenger of the gospel is killed through the opposition (i.e., the gospel is not received), then nothing but advantages for the messenger result, as he will experience the military reward (κέρδος, normally allocated to soldiers at the successful conclusion of the campaign) of being with Christ (σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι) (Phil. 1:22-23).

1:24-26

Paul's deliberations in Phil. 1:20-23 are set in the background of a famous double triad of values from military ethics, which say that it is better to die in the heat of battle and receive honour for one's courage instead of shamefully retreating and saving one's life. Applied to his life-situation Paul says it is better to die for the sake of advancing the gospel (and through it Christ being magnified) than to shamefully retreat from preaching Christ to save one's life. Since service for the Philippians is more needful at the hour (Phil. 1:24) Paul has confidence that he will not be executed, but will be able to minister to the Philippians in the future. Surviving in this case is personally a disadvantage for Paul, dying and being with Christ would be for him exceedingly better (Phil. 1:23). Thus, in staying and serving the Philippians Paul exemplifies the main lesson he wants to teach the Philippians: be willing to make personal sacrifices for the advance of the gospel. Therefore Paul knows he will stay and remain (μενῶ καὶ παραμεινῶ, two military termini indicating the strong stand in military formation)⁷ with the Philippians with the primary goal of the progress of the gospel and the joy of the Philippians (προκοπὴν καὶ χαρὰν τῆς πίστεως) (Phil. 1:25-26).

⁷ Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm*. Lewiston: Mellen, 1993, 177.

7.2.3. *Narratio*, the proposition argued through the remainder of the letter: the call for a united strong stand in the fight for the advance of the gospel (Phil. 1:27-30)

1:27-30 | In the short *narratio* of Phil. 1:27-30 Paul sets forth his main exhortation, which he will argue for in the rest of the letter. The four verses contain a heavy concentration of military termini and concepts. Paul exhorts the Philippians to live as soldiers/ citizens worthy of the gospel of Christ (ἀξίως τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Χριστοῦ πολιτεύεσθε). The worthy conduct of the gospel is immediately spelled out as consisting of a united stand in military formation (στήκετε ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι) with the aim to fight in unity for the advance of the gospel (μᾶ ψυχῇ συναθλοῦντες τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου) (Phil. 1:27).

When the Philippians encounter opposition and persecution (which they presently do the same way Paul did (Phil. 1:30)), they must not fear the opposition, but remain courageously steadfast in their effort to spread the gospel (Phil. 1:28). The bold stand for the gospel in the midst of persecution is possible through the provision of grace from God (χαρίζομαι) (Phil. 1:29), thus the Philippians have another indication that suffering, persecutions and apparent set backs in the advance of the gospel are not signs⁸ of defeat, but part of the sovereign plan and work of God. That the Philippians are experiencing the same kind of “military conflict” (τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγῶνα),⁹ as they saw Paul experiencing (most likely a reference to the tribulations encountered in Acts 16) and now hear he is experiencing (οἷον εἶδετε ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ νῦν ἀκούετε ἐν ἐμοί) shows that the Philippians are not just suffering for being merely Christians minding their own business, but that they are suffering because they boldly share the gospel with people hostile to the faith! The solution to such suffering is not withdrawing from missionary efforts, but to stand all the more courageously together for the spread of the faith of the gospel.

⁸ Signs of defeat or victory in view of an impending battle are a very prominent themes in the literary sources. See for example App. *BC*. IV.16.128.; Plut. *Brut*. XXXVI.; XXXIX.; XLVIII.; Plut. *Ant*. LX.2-3.; Liv. XXXII.1.8-14.; Dio. XLI.14.1.; XLI.61.1-2.; XLVI.33.1.; XLVII.1.3.; XLVII.40.1.

⁹ For ἀγών as military conflict see App. *BC*. II.11.72.; App. *BC*. IV.12.30.; App. *BC*. IV.16.117. Thuc. II.8.9.; LSJ, 19.

7.2.4. *Probatio*, the proposition argued through examples: embracing sacrifices for the advance of the gospel (Phil. 2:1 – 3:21)

The *probatio* in Phil. 2.1-3:21 argues Paul's main call of standing fast in unity, willing to sacrifice and experience suffering for the advance of the gospel through the citing of examples. Every role model listed in the section, Jesus, Timothy, Epaphroditus and Paul himself, has one characteristic in common: they are willing to sacrifice and suffer for the gospel.

2:1-4

As the *narratio* was a call for unity against a common foe, Phil. 2:1-4 is concerned to bring about that united stand by achieving first an internal unity, a unity of heart and mind with one another. In a pitched battle of a war in antiquity the close linking of ranks was of supreme importance in order not to let the enemy penetrate one's own lines and in order in unity to force a retreat of the opponent. The battle for the gospel is similarly not waged by individual skirmishes, but by the close knitting of ranks already implied by *στήκετε ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι* (Phil. 1:27). To stand fast with the common purpose of advancing the gospel in the face of attacks necessitates internal unity. Therefore, Paul appeals on account of previous mercies received from God (Phil. 2:1-2) that a unity based on true humility and sacrificial care for one another is achieved in the church. The internal unity is not self-serving, however, it is a comradeship, mutual love and care in order to produce a united stand for the gospel in face of opposition from the outside.

2:5-8

Christ is then presented in Phil. 2:5-8 as a role model of such humility and self-sacrifice. However, just as the Philippians internal unity serves the greater purpose of standing united for the advance of the gospel, Christ's humility and self-sacrifice also served a higher goal with regard to the gospel – his death on the cross constituted the core of the gospel as the basis of the salvation for the New Testament people of God – Thus, Christ is also presented in Philippians to have undergone sacrifice and suffering “for the gospel.” Christ's conduct is described in military terminology: he became obedient (*γενόμενος ὑπήκοος*) and refused equality with God in terms of a manifestation of glory and the reception of honour to be seen as his rightful plunder (*ἀρπαγμός*).¹⁰ The combination of two

¹⁰ For *ἀρπαγμός* meaning “plunder” see Thayer, 74.; Adolf Kaegi, *Benselers Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*. Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1985, 110, “Beute.” For the rare *ἀρπαγμός* being equivalent with *ἀρπαγμα* see MM, 78. For *ἀρπαγμα* and the *ἀρπαξ*- word group as “plunder” see LJS 245-46; LN, 584. Cf., e.g. App. *BC*. II.10.64.; IV.11.73.; IV.16.120.; Jos. *BJ*. XI.162.; Jos. *BJ*. XIV.484. Samuel Vollenweider also argues that *ἀρπαγμός* should be interpreted here not as an idiom, but in its literal meaning “booty.” Samuel Vollenweider, “Der ‘Raub’ der Gottgleichheit: Ein religionsgeschichtlicher

contrasting concepts, namely the forsaking of the right of plunder and the willingness to be obedient and to suffer for the military campaign evokes contrasting allusions to common military occurrences, i.e., soldiers rushing prematurely to plunder and loot and consequently losing the battle, because the enemy is forgotten during the plunder, can therefore reform his line and thus is not properly vanquished.¹¹ Contrary to soldiers focusing on plunder, Christ obediently fought the fight for the gospel until the very last, not sparing any sacrifice and promptly won a decisive victory on the cross.

2:9-11

The implicit inference that on account of forsaking premature plunder Christ won a supreme victory on the cross is evident through the exaltation language in Phil. 2:9-11, in which all key terms are drawn from the stereotypical descriptions of the triumph of the victorious general. The giving of the name (ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα) connotes the honorary reception of the name *imperator*, the knee bent (γόνυ κάμψη) implies submission of enemies, confessions of lordship (γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται ὅτι κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός) parallel acknowledgement of victory of conquerors and glory (εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ) of the commander is the ubiquitous consequence of a successful war. The fact that Christ receives the name above every name, that every knee will bow and every tongue confess points to Christ's magnanimous victory on the cross and his unprecedented exaltation into the position of universal lordship.

In the flow of the argument the depiction of the victory and exaltation of Christ serves to show another paradox in Philippians: suffering and humility resulted in a victory. The function of the passage serves not as a motivation for humility as though Christians will be likewise exalted – they will not, as the exaltation of Christ is unique. The passage serves to show that apparent defeats (suffering,

Vorschlag zu Phil 2.6(-11).” In *New Testament Studies*. Vol. 45. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 413-15.

¹¹ The allusion is particularly poignant to the Philippians as the rush of the troops of Brutus for the plunder of Octavian's camp after the forces of Octavian had been beaten led to the reformation of Octavian's line and the later overthrow of the formerly victorious legions of Brutus by the forces that had already once been beaten! The failure to complete the battle by fighting it through to the end and particularly not assisting the forces of Cassius who were in trouble because of a premature rush for plunder is by the historians attributed as one of the most significant factors, if not the all-decisive factor, for the eventual loss of the battle of Philippi by the republican forces. Cf., App. *BC*. IV.14.112 and the scolding of the soldiers by Brutus in App. *BC*. IV.16.117.:

Δυνηθέντες δ' ἂν ὅλον ἐργάσασθαι τὸ ἔργον,
 ἀρπάσαι μᾶλλον εἴλεσθε ἢ κτείνειν τοὺς
 ἡσσωμένους. οἱ γὰρ πλείονες ὑμῶν τοὺς
 πολημίους παροδεύοντες ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων
 ὄρμων.

But when it was in your power to fight the battle until the end, you choose rather to plunder than to kill the vanquished; for the majority of you rushed passed the enemy for the enemy's property.

For other stories of soldiers not completing the battle task because they got sidetracked by premature attention to plunder see App. *Mith*. XII.82.; Plut. *Luc*. XVII.4-6.; Cic. *pro Leg. Man*. 22.; Liv. XXI.48.5-6.

humble obedience) result in victory and therefore suffering and humble service for the advance of the gospel is not to be avoided, but embraced as part and parcel of the efforts to advance the gospel.

2:12-13 With Christ as super victorious general at the head of the troops, and with his example having showed that suffering for the gospel results in victory, the Philippian soldiers are to obey as Christ did (Phil. 2:12) and in the encouraging presence or absence of their leader they should fight their own victory/ salvation (τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε), the context indicating that the fight for victory is the fight for the advance of the gospel. They can do it with fear and trembling in the presence of God who accompanies them and fights with them (like YHWH did in the Old Testament wars) and therefore unafraid of the opposition to the gospel (Phil. 2:13).

2:14-18 Unlike the Israelites who complained and grumbled as they were on the military march into the promised land, the Philippians are to do all things (i.e. all things in respect of the advance of the gospel) without grumbling (Phil. 2:14) so that the Philippians might be a pure people of God when they are surrounded by the enemy (purity was necessary in the Old Testament wars in order for God to actively intervene for His people when the odds were against them) (Phil. 2:15). Thus, the Philippians are to be like light givers, holding the life-giving word out to their enemies for them to embrace the gospel (φαίνεσθε ὡς φωστῆρες ἐν κόσμῳ, λόγον ζωῆς ἐπέχοντες) following Paul as their example, as he had always done so and has like a centurion in the front ranks been the first one to run toward the enemy (with the gospel), expecting that the troops would follow right behind him.¹²

¹² Ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον οὐδὲ εἰς κενὸν ἐκοπίασα is not necessary athletic metaphorical language, running is done on all sorts of occasions, in the military as well. In a pitched battle the opposing lines normally were assembled in ranks at a considerable distance. Then, as the command was given to move forward, the ranks approached each other marching, accelerating into a run the closer they came towards the enemy. (Adrian Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War: 100 BC – AD 200*. Oxford Classical Monographs. Oxford: Bookcraft, 1996, 192-93.) The running toward the enemy (while keeping ranks intact) was desirable, as it increases the momentum of the clash with the intent to push the enemy backwards, blows are delivered with more force and the running men are more bold than those immovable (cf. for example App. *BC*. II. 11.79.; Plut. *Caes*. XLIV.4.). Paul's command to the Philippians to engage their enemies with a presentation of the gospel (Phil. 2:16) in order that he might not have "run in vain" ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον describes metaphorically a picture of Paul displaying extraordinary courage as the front man in battle, running boldly toward the enemy in the hope that his troops will follow. The leadership of the Roman army, particularly the centurions, played an important role in inspiring the troops to bold battle action against their enemies. The courage of centurions to inspire their men is continually emphasised in the literary sources (BG IV.25.; V.44.; VI. 38-40.; VII.47.; VII.50.; Jos. *BJ*. VI.81-92.; Liv. XXV.7-8.). An example of a Roman officer boldly fighting with the hope to encourage his troops, but "in vain" is the story of Decrius, who despite the heroic example of confronting the enemy, was forsaken by his troops and cut down (Tac. *Ann*. III.20.). That military running and exertion is in view in Phil. 2:16 is made likely by the following statement of Paul being killed in Phil. 2:17. The progression is logically from Paul being an

Paul being the first one to encounter the enemy in the clash of a pitched battle puts him in a dangerous spot, because the mortality rate for advancing centurions in the first line was particularly high – thus the logical consequence is taken up next, i.e., what happens if the Philippians' example and forerunner dies (Phil. 2:17)? Contrary to natural battles, this would not be a disaster, but would be like an offering accepted by God (offerings were made in advance and sometimes during battle to procure the help of God),¹³ and in all respects a victory and thus a reason for great rejoicing, like one always rejoiced in anticipation of a near victory in battle (Phil. 2:18).

2:19-24 In Phil. 2:19-30 Paul transitions to report on him sending Timothy to Philippi and on the state of the health of Epaphroditus. Nevertheless, Paul, in mentioning his two co-workers, stays true to the theme of Philippians: "every single reference Paul makes to another person is made in connection with that person's *κοινωνία*, his partnership in the gospel."¹⁴ Timothy is commended because he sincerely cares about others (cf., in support of Phil. 2:1-4) and because he seeks the things of Jesus Christ, explicitly elaborated to mean someone who serves to advance the gospel of Jesus Christ (*ἔδούλευσεν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*) in the military partnership with Paul (*σὺν ἐμοί*) (Phil. 2:21-22).

2:25-30 Epaphroditus is commended through an accumulation of military addresses (*τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ συνεργὸν καὶ συστρατιώτην*) and particularly for his willingness to sacrifice his own life for the battle of Christ, i.e., the battle of the advance of the gospel of Christ (*διὰ τὸ ἔργον Χριστοῦ μέχρι θανάτου ἤγγισεν παραβολευσάμενος τῆ ψυχῆ*). His willingness not to rest and cure himself, but to forward the collection of the Philippians to Paul is described as a military-support service (*λειτουργία*), thus Epaphroditus served as a *συγκοινωνός* of Paul, helping to advance the gospel through the financial support of Paul in prison.

example to the troops in his bold confrontation of the enemy and the inevitable high casualty rate among centurions, and bold leadership in particular (Adrian Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War: 100 BC – AD 200*. Oxford Classical Monographs. Oxford: Bookcraft, 1996, 258, note footnote 40). If one imagines Paul as a runner or the worker in a craftmanship in Phil. 2:16, the statement of the possibility of Paul dying as a sacrifice, and potentially as a military sacrifice, appears as erratic jumping of ideas. However, Paul running as a front-man boldly toward an enemy in a fight, potentially endangering his life through it, creates a coherent line of reasoning in the immediate development of metaphorical language and congruence with the themes of the rest of the letter.

¹³ Edgar Krentz "Paul, Games, and the Military." In *Paul in the Greco-Roman World*. Ed. J. Paul Sampley. London: Trinity Press International, 2003, 357.

¹⁴ Robert C. Swift, "The Theme and Structure of Philippians." In *Biblia Sacra* 141 (July 1984). Dallas: Dallas Theological Seminary, 1984, 246.

- 3:1-3** Like a good commander who is concerned for the safety of the troops (ὁμῖν δὲ ἀσφαλές)¹⁵ Paul continues to write to the Philippians to rejoice in the prospect of the victory of the gospel campaign and to avoid a real threat to the gospel, Judaistic law observance. (Phil. 3:1-3). Perhaps a closer alliance with Judaism was attractive to the Philippians on account of the opportunity to escape persecution and hide under the shelter of a lawful religion.¹⁶
- 3:4-11** But for Paul Judaistic law observance is not safe at all: he left Judaism for the superior gospel of Christ (Phil. 3:4-11) and what he left was Judaism characterised by opposition to the gospel (διώκων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν) (Phil. 3:6). Thus, for Paul it is utterly incompatible to mingle the gospel he embraced with the Judaism he left. Only the gospel promises a true righteousness with God and the superior knowledge of Christ – a knowledge which is intrinsically connected to the fellowship of suffering with Christ (Phil. 3:9-10), a suffering that may even culminate in death, but is not to be feared as the full face-to-face encounter with Christ is what the one who dies in the Lord expects. In the retelling of his theological conversion is the implicit statement that Paul turned from a persecutor of the faith to a proclaimer of the faith.
- 3:12-14** The subject of preaching the faith is taken up in Phil. 3:12-14, and is presented as the only true alternative to embracing a syncretism with Judaism. In military terminology Paul presents himself as a soldier who is pursuing his enemies with the gospel in the hope of capturing some for the gospel in the same way Paul was pursued and captured by Christ with the gospel (Phil. 3:12-13). Always in view of the strenuous fight for the advance of the gospel is the reward, which a faithful soldier receives from the commanding general at the successful conclusion of the war, which in this case consists in the resurrection of the soldier to eternal life and the face-to-face knowledge of His Lord (εἰς τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ) (Phil. 3:14, cf., Phil. 3:10).
- 3:15-17** The reason for Paul exemplifying his own intense effort of reaching unbelievers with the gospel (Phil. 3:12-14) is made clear in the paragraph following: the Philippians are to imitate Paul's attitude toward bold proclamation of the gospel in the face of opposition (Phil. 3:15-17).
- 3:18-21** The people, which the Philippians are to reach, are enemies of the gospel and although presently they are numerically superior (and likely in a socially

¹⁵ Cf., Onos. VI.9.; XXXIII.3.

¹⁶ Cf., Mikael Tellbe, "The Sociological Factors behind Philippians 3.1-11 and the Conflict at Philippi." In *JSNT* 55. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publication, 1995, 103-04.

advantageous position), their end will result in military disaster (ὅν τὸ τέλος ἀπώλεια). Contrary to their enemies, who are presently oppressing the Philippians, the future of the Philippians looks bright. They are properly inscribed as soldier/ citizens eligible for the allotment of military rewards that are allocated to those who are participants in the campaign for the advance of the gospel. Although presently pressed by the opposition, the Philippians can expect a powerful and able military deliverer (σωτήρ), who will allot to them the supreme reward of the transformation into resurrected bodies (Phil. 3:20-21).

7.2.5. *Peroratio*, repeating the appeal of the *narratio* and its applications: unity and sacrifice for the sake of a strong stand in the fight for the advance of the gospel (Phil. 4:1-23)

- 4:1-3** In the *peroratio* Paul repeats the main exhortation of the letter, namely to stand united in the ranks for the advance of the faith (οὕτως στήκετε) (Phil. 4:1, cf., Phil. 1:27). The internal divisions of Euodia and Syntyche are to be solved with the assistance of military comrades in the church, so that the whole community can link arms again in a close military formation to advance the gospel (Phil. 4:2-3). Various military addresses are again employed to name members of the community (ἀδελφοί, ἀγαπητοὶ καὶ ἐπιπόθητοι, γνήσιε σύζυγε, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν συνεργῶν μου, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν βίβλῳ ζωῆς) in order to create a picture of a sense of belonging and close partnership, which characterises comrades fighting in the same unit. With internal unity and comradeship restored the Philippian members can do again what they already excelled in the past (αἵτινες ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ συνήθλησάν μοι): in partnering with Paul for the advance of the gospel.
- 4:4-5** Together they are to rejoice in the prospect of the coming victory of the gospel campaign, knowing that God is with them fighting the battle (Phil. 4:4-5). The
- 4:6-7** troops in Philippi are not to worry about provisions, God will provide for them if they simply bring their request to God in prayer (Phil. 4:6-7).
- As it was always of supreme importance in warfare for the soldiers to think the right way (i.e., having hope of victory, considering their advantages, pondering the necessity and the rewards of the campaign),¹⁷ Paul encourages proper
- 4:8-9** thinking in Phil. 4:8-9, the compilation of adjectives possibly refers to pondering

¹⁷ App. *Pun.* VIII.7.42.; App. *BC.* II.11.72.; App. *BC.* II.11.73.

The military speeches of the general as a whole corpus have in themselves the rhetorical function for the soldiers to set their mind/ to think about the rewards and confidence of victory instead of pondering fear, retreat, etc. (Cf., Jos. *Bj.* XV.146.; Plb. III.63.8-11.).

4:10-19

the truths of this epistle with regard to the promises of victory and the incentives offered by God. The conclusion of the letter mirrors the prologue: the central theme is again the military partnership between the Philippians and Paul for the advance of the gospel in the face of opposition, the Philippians have been συγκαινωνήσαντές μου τῇ θλίψει (Phil. 4:14). The precise partnership, which Paul is elaborating on is the Philippian's partnership in giving financially to Paul, keeping him alive and enabling him to preach the gospel in prison (ἐκοινώνησεν εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λήμψεως) (Phil. 4:15). In terminology akin to military accounting, the Philippians had paid into Paul's military deposit account so that Paul can meet his expenses as a soldier for the advance of the gospel from that account.

4:20-23

The letter ends with praise of the glory of God (Phil. 4:20), a benediction (Phil. 4:23) and, as was usual in letters of soldiers to each other, greetings to the other comrades, who are partners in the campaign for the advance of the faith (Phil. 4:21).¹⁸

¹⁸ Cf., for example P. Hamb. 39 (*RMR* Nr. 76) in *RMR*, 304, 306. P. Oxy. VII 1022 (*RMR* Nr. 87) in *RMR*, 353-54. P. Dur. 56 (*RMR* Nr. 99) in *RMR*, 403-05. Tab. Luguval. 14 and Tab. Vindol. II.343 in Konrad Stauner, *Das Offizielle Schriftwesen des Römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Gallienus (27 v.Chr. – 268 n.Chr.)*. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 2004, 45, 53.

Chapter 8

Summary: Implications for Pauline theology

8.1. The need to correct previous contributions of Philippians to Pauline theology

8.1.1. Misunderstanding of the book of Philippians as a whole indicates a failure to understand individual parts

This thesis has argued for the necessity of reading Philippians in the light of Paul employing military terminology and utilising the rhetorical themes of the speeches of military commanders in order to understand Paul's intention and line of argument in the letter. It has been demonstrated in chapter seven that considering military nomenclature and allusions aids the reader discover a consistently argued main theme in Philippians, namely the partnership for the advance of the gospel. The reading of Paul's letter with "first century Philippian eyes" will contribute significantly to the understanding of Pauline theology.

Before one can look at the positive contributions of an exegetical reading of Philippians taking into account Paul's usage of military metaphors, Christian theology has to admit humbly that the letter of Philippians is in need of some "theological de-cluttering." That means, Pauline theology needs to part from some long cherished beliefs, which might or might not be Pauline concepts, but certainly cannot be deduced from Paul's letter to the Philippians. The realisation should not come as a shock – given the previous lack of finding coherence in Philippians – that potentially we have not only not understood the connections between Paul's thoughts, but have misunderstood his very ideas in the first place.

If one views Philippians as if Paul skips from one subject to another as various topics come to mind, transitioning illogically and abruptly from one theme to the next without discovering any central idea or inner logic,¹ then the chances are high that we have not only missed the connections between the various subjects Paul is allegedly skipping between, but have not understood the subjects themselves, which Paul is addressing! I contend that this is indeed the case. Pauline theology has often made the mistake in the past of having used Pauline vocabulary in Philippians, for example *σωτηρία* (Phil. 2:12), *τελειόω* (Phil. 3:12), *διώκω*

¹ This is the description of previous exegetical scholarship on Philippians by Robert C. Swift, "The Theme and Structure of Philippians." In *Biblia Sacra*. 141 (July 1984). Dallas: Dallas Theological Seminary, 1984, 234-35.

(Phil. 3:12-14) as a kind of catchword in order transfer into Philippians theological themes supposedly associated with that word. However, context demands that we assign to Greek vocabulary the meaning from the semantic domain alluded to by the immediate contextual consideration, and not see in a single word the chance of importing the wide spectrum of theological associations, which are addressed by the word in other Pauline literature. Thus, an exegetical reading of Philippians as rhetoric utilising military nomenclature will contend that the following theological themes are not supported through the Philippian text:

8.1.2. Philippians: no contribution to the question of works or sanctification for final salvation

Paul makes no statement in Philippians concerning the necessity of works, righteous behaviour or sanctification for final salvation. The command for obedience, as well as the phrase τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε in Phil. 2:12 contribute nothing to our understanding of Paul's theology on the relationship between transformed character and the final salvation of the Christian.² The pericope speaks concerning the Philippians fighting for victory in the effort to advance the gospel and the issue of the eschatological salvation of the Christian is simply not addressed.

8.1.3. Philippians: no contribution to the question of moral perfection

Second, a so-called struggle for perfection on account of Paul or the Philippians is not one of Paul's concerns in his letter at all.³ There are no indications in Philippians that the Philippians struggled with perfectionism or that Paul desired moral perfection. The metaphorical descriptions of Phil. 3:12-14 do not allow importations of ideas such as a struggle for perfectionism, an "unremitting struggle of growing in faith,"⁴ or the influence of Jewish Gnostic perfectionists with a radicalised spiritualised eschatology.⁵ A struggle is depicted in

² Contra e.g., Thomas R. Schreiner, *Paul, Apostle of God's glory in Christ*. Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2006, 226.: "... righteous behaviour – though not the ground of salvation- is utterly necessary to obtain salvation." One of the unfortunate examples of forcing onto the text the Arminian preferences of the authors is Donald C. Stamps, Ed. *The Full Live Study Bible*. Colorado Springs: International Bible Society, 1983, 1841: "We must work out our salvation to the end. If we fail to do this, we will lose the salvation given us. Working out our salvation focuses on the importance of sanctification." Even if τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε is translated "work out your salvation," the text says absolutely nothing about the Christian possibility of losing his righteous standing with God.

³ Contra Louis Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*. London: Fakenham and Reading, 1974, 340.

⁴ Contra Herman Ridderbos, *Paul, An Outline of His Theology*. Transl. by John Richard de Witt. Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1975, 247.

⁵ Contra Helmut Koester "The Purpose of the Polemic of a Pauline Fragment" In *NTS* 8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961-62, 317-33.

Phil. 3:12-14, but the theologian must be aware of not importing into the picturesque language any kind of struggles which Christians throughout the ages of church history might have, when the context speaks directly and specifically only regarding the struggle to reach unbelievers with the gospel (cf., ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ κατελήμφθην ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ) (Phil. 3:12).

8.1.4. Philippians: no contribution to the question of eternal security

Third, although Philippians assumes that the Christians, who participate in the fellowship for the advance of the gospel, will receive a resurrection into the glorious presence of God, Philippians makes no explicit reference to the eternal security of salvation, once humans have trusted Christ.⁶ The ἔργον ἀγαθόν in Phil. 1:6 refers not to the work of salvation in individual believers, but to the good battle advancing the gospel through the community of believers.

8.1.5. Philippians: no contribution to the question of contemporary Christian growth

Fourth, Philippians is not concerned with the general themes of contemporary “Christian growth,” such as overcoming our old life of sin, escaping the corrupt world, resisting temptation and instead becoming perfectly one with Christ by personally listening to His Word, following His Spirit, responding to His dealings with us in faith, etc.⁷ Again, to read such ideas into the highly metaphorical language of ἐν δέ, τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος (Phil. 3:13) imports ideas into Pauline metaphors which originally functioned in a very limited and purposeful capacity to undergird Paul’s view on evangelism and mission, but now serve as illustrations of whichever issues appear important to the contemporary Christian. But not only are those statements in itself unsupported by Paul’s original intent of the passage, when they are embraced as supposedly Philippian concerns, these issues will cloud the primary concerns, which Paul did have in writing Philippians.

⁶ Contra, e.g., Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1991, 64.

⁷ Contra Donald C. Stamps, Ed. *The Full Live Study Bible*. Colorado Springs: International Bible Society, 1983, 1841-43.

8.2. Positive contributions of Philippians in light of military terminology to Pauline theology

8.2.1. Paul's theology of the task of evangelism and missions

Some of the significant positive contributions, which reading Philippians in light of military terminology makes, are the following.

Philippians is the the to Pauline expectation that the task of sharing the gospel is the call and duty of every believer in Christ. Although in the other letters of Paul hints of the believer's responsibility of sharing the gospel are present,⁸ Philippians is the strongest, most concise and most forceful witness to Pauline theology of the church's responsibility of being actively and passionately concerned about the spread of the gospel-message. Paul's theology in Philippians strongly opposes the modern notions of a private nature of personal faith and the concept of belief in Christ as a condition for the blessings of God in the form of prosperity in finances, health, relationships, etc. On the contrary, Philippians works on the assumption that every believer will make significant sacrifices in his finances, his health (the sharing of the gospel could cost one's life in the first century), his time and commitments in order that the gospel will advance. The heroic recounting of the conversion of Paul to one who suffers tremendously for advancing the faith is in Philippians portrayed not as an exception, but as the rule for every believer (Phil. 3:12-14), or at least the willingness to suffer for the spread of the εὐαγγέλιον is the sign of a mature believer (Phil. 3:15-17). The call of Paul as a missionary to the nations is in Philippians not depicted as a hallmark exception throughout church history, but the Philippians are portrayed as genuine partners (συγκοινωνός) (Phil. 1:5, 7, 29; 4:14, 15) in the mission work of Paul.

As little as we know of the early church, the Philippians might have stood out in their eagerness to sacrifice for their active participation of making Christ known to their world (Phil. 4:15), but their courageous activism is in Pauline theology not evaluated as outstanding

⁸ Cf., Rom. 15:18-24: Paul's expectation that the Romans would financially contribute to the future plans of Paul of going to Spain to bring about the adherence of the gentiles to the gospel. 1 Cor. 9:19-26: the expectation of Paul that the Corinthians would be willing to imitate Paul in forsaking "Christian rights" for the sake of "the gospel," i.e., advance of the gospel, "that by all means some might be saved." (1 Cor. 9:22). 1 Cor. 14:23-25: Paul's assumption that church meetings are conducted in such a way that unbelievers are ministered to and have a chance to convert to the gospel. 2 Cor. 2:12-5:21: Paul's implicit supposition that the Corinthians will imitate him in the willingness to suffer and be humiliated for the preaching of the gospel, i.e., that they would like him, preach the gospel (2 Cor. 2:12), be led in suffering in a triumphal procession for the gospel to reach unbelievers (2 Cor. 2:14-16), not to be discouraged by opposition in the proclamation of the truth (2 Cor. 4:1-5), become ambassadors of the message of reconciliation (2 Cor. 5:18-21). Eph. 6:19-21; Col. 4:3-4; 2 Thes. 3:1; 1 Tim. 2:1-4: Paul eliciting the prayers of the recipients of the letter to pray for bold proclamation of the gospel. Col. 4:5-6: Paul's command to the Colossians to make the most of their opportunities, in the context the opportunities to proclaim the mystery of Christ. 2 Tim. 2:9-11: Paul's expectation that believers would endure hardship for the sake of unbelievers obtaining salvation through the gospel.

either, but as something to be expected of people belonging to Christ. According to Paul, a walk worthy of the gospel consists in a united effort to present the gospel boldly and courageously to people openly hostile to Christianity (Phil. 1:27-30)! In the first century context, an open confession to the gospel involved for many, if not most cases, persecution. As elsewhere, the temptation in the face of fierce antagonism was to syncretise the gospel message into a socially acceptable form of belief (2 Cor. 4:2; Phil. 3:1-11). The Philippian question was furthermore if the previous activism for the propagation of the Christian message should not, in light of the opposition to it, be relaxed. The Pauline answer to suffering for spreading the gospel lies not in methods that might ease the tension, but the only solution to opposition is an even more courageous and bold stand for the truth (Phil. 1:14, 20, 27-30; 2:8, 12-16). Evangelism and mission in Philippian Pauline theology not optional, but the question whether or not to engage actively in advancing the faith is simply put into a format of obedience to the apostolic command (Phil. 2:12-16).

8.2.2. Paul's theology of suffering

Not significantly unique, yet a major theme in Philippians as well, is the contribution of the theology of the letter to the motif of suffering. It is not the general suffering that comes from life in a fallen world, which Paul addresses in Philippians, but all references to suffering occur in the context of suffering on account of one's active stand for the furtherance of the gospel. According to Paul, this kind of suffering cannot and should not be avoided – or at least it should not be avoided if that would entail a less committed stand in the sharing of the faith. In that regard Paul is setting clear priorities: propagation of the gospel receives pre-eminence over the avoidance of sacrifices and suffering.

Despite his unusual setting of priorities (according to twenty-first century standards), of submitting all other concerns under the paramount task of advancing the gospel, even suffering to the point of death, Paul does not display any stoic tendencies in Philippians. Paul feels pain deeply and the expression “in order that I might not suffer grief upon grief” (ἵνα μὴ λύπην ἐπὶ λύπην σχῶ) (Phil. 2:27) reveals a movingly sympathetic Paul, a man who cares intensely and who is not immune to the sting of disappointment, the perplexities of life, and pain. Paul's ability to endure suffering and the reason why he advises the Philippian community to embrace suffering as part of the task of advancing the gospel (Phil. 1:29-30) clearly have their cause in Paul being able to see suffering and death in view of its grand compensation through experiencing the full knowledge of Christ in the resurrection (Phil. 1:20-23; 3:7-11, 14, 20-21; 4:3). It was the hope of the magnificent experience of the excellence of the glory of God, which was so real and pervasive in Paul's thought life, that the splendour of Christ to be experienced by the believer was the ultimate determinative

factor through which Paul could evaluate all pain, suffering and death as inferior to the chance of glorifying Christ through the preaching of the gospel. Furthermore, the joy of participating in the victory of the gospel of Christ (Phil. 2:17-18; 4:1, 4) is upheld by Paul as an abundantly sufficient reason to actively engage in advancing the gospel, even if it costs disadvantages, hardship and suffering.

8.2.3. Paul's theology of the presence and work of God in the Christian community

The active presence and work of God amidst the Christian community is one of Paul's significant themes in his letters. Allusions to the body of Christ being the temple of the Holy Spirit enforce the concept that God is immediately present with his people (1 Cor. 3:16-17; 6:19; 2 Cor. 6:16; Eph. 2:21). God actively works in the midst of His people enabling them to understand the gospel (1 Cor. 2), sanctifying them (1 Thes. 5:23), producing godly character (Gal. 5:22-23), manifesting spiritual gifts (1 Cor. 12:1-11), comforting the suffering (2 Cor. 1:3-11), etc. The particular contribution, which Philipians makes regarding God's active presence amidst their people is His involvement in initiating and sustaining the effort of His people to evangelise unbelievers. God is portrayed as the one who (like the LORD in the Old Testament initiated the wars of expansion of the people of God) initiated the military campaign for the advance of the gospel (Phil. 1:6). His presence with His people guarantees the existence of willing participants in spreading the faith and the ultimate success of the effort to proclaim the saving knowledge of Jesus to the world (Phil. 1:6). Opposition to the gospel and suffering on behalf of it are no indication of a lack of God's providential work in the midst of and for his church (Phil. 1:29). Rather, God is so actively involved in the missionary endeavour of His people that they need to fear no opposition (Phil. 1:28), because someone greater and mightier than any opposing forces is present with them: God Himself in whose presence the appropriate response is fear and trembling (Phil. 2:12-16). Amidst those in the Christian community who out of fear or unwillingness to suffer are not participating actively to share Christ with others, God is depicted as working in their minds, bringing revelation of the appropriateness of Paul's attitude toward evangelism (Phil. 3:15).

8.2.4. Paul's theology of interpersonal relationships within the church

Apart from a brief mention of *ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνους* (Phil. 1:1) that might serve as an illustration of the nature of the rule of the church, Paul is not concerned about ecclesiological governmental issues in Philipians. There are, however, striking implications for how the church is to function as a community in Paul addressing individual members of the community with terminology of appellations from the military. First, it is hard to imagine that

the emotional attachment inherent in ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοὶ καὶ ἐπιτόθητοι (Phil. 4:1) was intended to exist exclusively only between Paul and the Philippians. Rather, all the members of the church themselves should more likely relate to each other as beloved and longed for military brothers! The affectionate bond between the participants of the Christian community is illustrated in Philippians in the care and worry they show about the well being of Epaphroditus, one of their own (Phil. 2:26-28). Second, the description of the Philippian Christians as military comrades, who are serving in the same unit (γνήσιε σύζυγε . . . αἴτινες ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ συνήθλησάν μοι μετὰ . . . τῶν λοιπῶν συνεργῶν μου, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν βίβλῳ ζῶης.) (Phil. 4:3) strongly implies that within the church a close bond of comradeship is to exist similar to the strong camaraderie felt between soldiers who spend years eating, sleeping and fighting for their lives together. Indeed the command to the γνήσιε σύζυγε to come to the aid of Euodia and Syntyche (συλλαμβάνου αὐταῖς) (Phil. 4:4) implies that the unnamed comrade in rank would do what soldiers in a devoted attachment would do when their comrade is in trouble. The language of Phil. 4 betrays a commitment level of the members of the church to each other and at least a potential willingness to help each other and be helped in a way that goes way beyond mere acquaintance of each other because of occasional sitting next to each other in a pew.

8.2.5. Paul's theology of the death of Jesus on the cross as victory and Christ's universal dominion

The depiction of Jesus' willing obedience even till death on the cross and his resultant exaltation in military terminology implies that on the cross Jesus achieved a victory, although the precise nature of the victory is not spelt out. A notable point in its contribution to Pauline theology is that Paul does not describe the self-humiliation of Jesus on the cross in Philippians as purely imitative, i.e., the cross simply as the setting of an example to be followed by the believer. Although Christ's willingness to endure hardship is set forth in Philippians as an example to be followed, something more objective was achieved on the cross according to Paul in Philippians. Although not explicitly mentioned, the military metaphor and the focus of the nature of Christ's exaltation on the acknowledgement of His lordship implies that Paul desires to portray the cross as a victory over the enemies of God who are forced into submission on account of Christ's deed.

The possible contrast of οὐχ ἄρπαγμὸν ἠγήσατο (Phil. 2:6) with historical records of armies going after plunder instead of completing the victory by vanquishing the enemy suggests that Christ did overpower and conquer the enemy, a view which is confirmed by the depiction of triumph in Phil. 2:9-11. The name of *imperator* is only given after a significant victory and enemies bowing and confessing lordship (ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν

ὄνομα, ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πᾶν γόνυ κάμνη ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται ὅτι κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός) is only feasible to envision if indeed they have been subdued triumphantly. Thus, Paul likely intended the cross to be depicted as the means by which God conquered through Christ all his enemies and forced them into submission.

The high Christological view of Paul is confirmed through the grandeur of the description of Christ's exaltation. Not only is Jesus depicted as the super-victorious general, it is the name **above every name**, which he receives, and **every** knee will bow and **every** tongue confess to his lordship. Christ has received an unchallengeable position of universal dominion to the glory of God the Father.

8.2.6. Paul's theology of the sovereign work of God in the midst of suffering

One of the important theological motifs underlying Philippians is the sovereign work of God, accomplishing His will in spite of fierce opposition. It is one of the main theological arguments in Philippians that, although from a human perspective it seems that God's purposes fail, it is precisely in the seeming failure and defeat that God accomplishes His sovereign design. Paul's imprisonment, apparently restricting his missionary efforts, actually turns out for the greater advancement of the gospel – the *πραιτώριον* hears the gospel and other believers are made more confident to preach Christ (Phil. 1:12-14). Release from prison or execution result in a victory and Christ being magnified (Phil. 1:19-20). Opposition to the gospel and consequential suffering for the messengers of Christ are sovereignly ordained by God (Phil. 1:29) so that boldness in preaching might become a sign of victory to the oppressed ones and a sign of ultimate destruction to the present superior powers (Phil. 1:28). The death of Christ on the cross, the cross being the ultimate sign of defeat, turns out to be the grandest victory in the history of humanity (Phil. 2:8-11). Paul's potential death should be viewed as a cause of rejoicing, as it constitutes a victory (Phil. 2:17). The death of the soldier normally despoils him of an opportunity to enjoy the benefits of war, but in God's way the death of the soldier is the means by which he enjoys the finest rewards of war (Phil. 3:10, 14). The ones who are oppressed now, completely surrounded by an overwhelming enemy, have the grandest military deliverer imaginable (Phil. 2:15; 3:20). It is the irresistible sovereignty of God, which underlies the very fabric of Philippians and which is the necessary presupposition in order that God's promises of the victory of the gospel will be actualised (Phil. 1:5-7; 2:12-13, 17; 3:1; 4:3-4).

Appendix A

The temple and fields of Apollo at Delphi



Figure 54: Temple and sacred grove of Apollo.

Delphi, view from northwest towards the southeast. In the foreground the Roman theatre of Delphi, central and towards the left is situated the foundation of the temple of Apollo. Behind the temple remains the evening sun illuminates the sacred olive field of Apollo. The GPS coordinates are: 38.482588, 22.501478. Picture from the author's collection.

The existence of sacred fields belonging to a temple area, as well as the nearness of those fields to the temple precinct proper illustrate the ease with which Paul can move from the metaphorical language of farming (1 Cor. 3:6-9a) to building (1 Cor. 3:9b-15), because throughout the discussion the Corinthians are portrayed as sacred and dedicated to God, a holy temple area for God to dwell in (1 Cor. 3:16-17).

Appendix B

Archaeological evidence of the military significance of Philippi – the altar of the victorious legions and the arch of Philippi

B.1. The altars from the battle of Philippi

It is possible that at the time of Paul writing to the Philippians two significant monuments existed at Philippi, which commemorated the military history of the city. The first one, the altars of the victorious legions from 42 BC did not survive the period of antiquity. Only literary references testify to their existence:¹

<p>. . . et ingresso primam expeditionem ac per Macedoniam ducente exercitum in Syriam, accidit ut apud Philippos sacratae olim victricium legionum arae sponte subitis conlucerent ignibus.²</p>	<p>. . . and on <i>Tiberius'</i> first campaign, as he was leading an army through Macedonia into Syria, it happened that at Philippi the altars consecrated in bygone days by the victorious legions flashed on their own with sudden fires.</p>
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<p>. . . πρὸς τοὺς Φιλίππους αὐτοῦ προσελαύνοντος θόρυβός τέ τις ἐκ τοῦ τῆς μάχης χωρίου ὡς καὶ ἐκ στρατοπέδου ἠκούσθη, καὶ πῦρ ἐκ τῶν βωμῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἐν τῷ ταφρεύματι ἰδρυθέντων αὐτόματον ἀνέλαμψε.³</p>	<p>. . . when he [Tiberius] was approaching Philippi, a tumult was coming from the field of battle, as if from an army, and fire blazed up spontaneously from the altars which Antony had built in the fortified camp.</p>
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The passages from Suetonius and Dio Cassius indicate the following. The forces of Antony built altars in their camp, which were located three to four kilometres west of Philippi⁴ along the *Via Egnatia*. After the victorious outcome of the battle of Philippi for the forces of Antony, the consecrated altars were kept intact. These must have been landmarks significant enough for Suetonius to mention their spontaneous fiery gleaming as a sign for the future career of

¹ Already mentioned in 2.6.2. “The literary evidence concerning the civic identity of Philippi.”

² Suet. *Tib.* XIV.3.

³ Dio. LIV.9.6. Transl. by Earnest Cary, LCL, VI:304-05.

⁴ According to Appian (*App. BC.* IV.14.107.) the triumvirs encamp 8 stades (corresponds to ca. 1,500 metres) opposite the camp of Brutus and Cassius. Their westernmost fortified defense line lies ca. 2,000 metres outside Philippi. Consult the map at Appendix D.

Tiberius as emperor. Tiberius' first campaign to the east, leading a sizable force into Armenia, during which he saw the altars burst into flame, occurred in 20 BC.⁵ Thus, the altars existed at least until 20 BC. If anything can be inferred from Suetonius structuring his sentence, then it appears likely that in AD 120, when his *Lives of the twelve Caesars* was published, or at least at the writing of his literary sources, on which Suetonius is dependent, the altars still existed. The adverb *olim* "of olden times" modifies *sacrae* "consecrated," and not *arae* "altars." Thus, it may be a reasonable inference – since the altars are described not as "formerly existing," but as "altars formerly consecrated" – that either at the publication of Suetonius' *Lives* or at least at the publication of Suetonius' sources, themselves unlikely to be older than the ascension of Tiberius into power as emperor in AD 14,⁶ the altars still existed.

Therefore, at least half a century after the battle of Philippi the city maintained the ancient altars on their original site as a vivid reminder of the battle and victory at Philippi. Léon Heuzey remarks concerning the presence of these altars at Philippi:

. . . le souvenir de la victoire d'Octave et d'Antoine dut se perpétuer comme un véritable culte. Nous savons qu'ils avaient soigneusement conservé, au milieu de la plaine, dans les anciens retranchements d'Antoine, les autels sur lesquels les vainqueurs avaient sacrifié. ⁷	[Among the citizens of Philippi] . . . the memory of the victory of Octavian and Antony should continue to exist like a true cult. We know that they carefully preserved the altars on which the victors had sacrificed amidst the plain in the entrenchments of Antony.
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Collart believes that the altars mentioned in Suetonius and Dio are the very same ones that are pictured on a Philippian minted coin stemming from the time of Augustus, depicted below.⁸

⁵ The footnote 44 in the Loeb edition of Suetonius (LCL, I:335) stating "In 42 BC" is wrongly set after "on his first campaign." It should have been set after "the altar consecrated in bygone days." In that case the footnote would have correctly stated that the altars were consecrated in 42 BC, after the battle of Philippi. A separate footnote could have indicated that Tiberius' passing through Macedonia on his first campaign happened in 20 BC. Cf., Dio. LIV.9.4-5.

⁶ It can be considered impossible that during the life of another emperor, in this case Augustus, someone possessed the audacity to publish instances of another person's signs of future greatness, i.e. the rise to become emperor. Augustus' choice for a successor fell on Tiberius only at AD 4, when Tiberius was officially adopted. At least until that time the publication of an account of indices of someone else's greatness (i.e. rise to being emperor) would be considered open insurrection.

⁷ Léon Heuzey and Honore Daumet, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1876, 119.

⁸ Collart, 241, 324.



Figure 55 and 56: Local Philippian bronze coin from the time of Augustus, depicting Augustus in military dress and posture on a platform next to two altars.

The bronze coin shows the laureate head of Augustus on the front and on the reverse Augustus in military dress and the divine Julius Caesar. Augustus poses in a typical *adlocutio*-gesture (the emperor addressing the army with slightly lifted arm), Julius Caesar (DIVO IVL) wears a toga and crowns Augustus (AVG DIVI F).⁹ Next to the platform on which Augustus and Caesar stand, one can see the representation of two altars. Collart claims that these are the very same altars not only from the description of Suetonius and Dio, but also these are the very ones on which Antony and Octavian sacrificed on the occasion of their victory over Brutus and Cassius as narrated by Appian:

Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ περὶ Φιλίππους ἔθυσόν τε λαμπρῶς καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπήγουν. ¹⁰	After the victory of Philippi Octavian and Antony offered a magnificent sacrifice and awarded praise to their army.
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Collart's hypothesis cannot be proven by further evidence, his theory, however, seems likely, given the consistent effort of the later Augustus to reinterpret the victories of others as his own.¹¹ The Philippian mint depicting an Augustus crowned by Caesar next to two altars might be a conscious effort to revise the history of the battle of Philippi and to present the victory of Antony as his own vindication of his father's murder. The altars from Antony's camp now claimed to be Octavian's play a significant role in the retelling of the story and were likely chosen by the minting authorities on account of the significant commemorative function of the battle of Philippi, which the altars had when the coin was issued.

⁹ RPC1, 308, part II: plate 81. Gaebler, 102-03, plate 20. Image: Acsearch, the ancient coin search engine, <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=13684>, accessed May, 24th 2012.

¹⁰ App. *BC*. V.I.3. Transl. by Horace White, LCL, IV:378-380.

¹¹ Cf., Aug. *RGDA*. I.2.

B.2. The arch of Philippi

B.2.1. Descriptions of the monument

Two kilometres outside of Philippi, in the flat area northwest of the city, right where the battle of Philippi took place, stood a free-standing arch from the Augustan area. There are no literary references from antiquity that describe or even mention the arch or its function, however, even in the modern period remnants of the arch have remained and have been the subject of archaeological research. The function of the arch is debated, but the purpose of the arch as commemorating the battle of Philippi is possible and perhaps likely. Before this study engages with the various suggestions of the function of Philippi's arch, a summary of the archaeological findings concerning the architectural details of the arch is appropriate.

B.2.1.1. The mention of Philippi's arch by Georges Perrot (1860)

The first mention of the Philippi's arch comes from the travel-description of Neapolis and Philippi by Georges Perrot in AD 1860:

Au nordouest, à huit cents mètres au moins du pied de la colline, c'est une porte antique vers laquelle se dirigeait une chaussée dont on aperçoit encore des restes au milieu des rizières; entre cette porte et le pied de la colline, le sol est partout jonché de fragments antiques. ¹²	To the northwest, at least eight hundred metres from the foot of the hill there is an ancient gate. A road, whose remains can still be glimpsed in the rice fields, ran toward it; in between this gate and the foot of the hill the ground is littered with ancient fragments (of stone).
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B.2.1.2. The detailed exploration of Philippi's arch by Léon Heuzey and Honore Daumet (1876)

The first detailed description of the appearance of the arch of Philippi (and the only one of its kind) come from Léon Heuzey and Honore Daumet in their descriptions of their archaeological explorations from 1876, published in *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*.¹³ Although at the time of the exploration of Heuzey and Daumet, the arch was not standing in its entirety any more, a significant structure of ruins still existed that allowed a fairly detailed

¹² Georges Perrot, "Daton, Néopolis, les ruines de Philippes." In *Revue archéologique* I,2. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1860, 45-52, 67-77. Text from page 52.

¹³ Léon Heuzey and Honore Daumet, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1876, 118-121.

description and tentative pictorial restoration of Philippi's arch. Heuzey and Daumet elaborate on their findings:

La construction antique, connue des paysans sous le nom de Kiémer, c'est-à-dire la Voûte, ne consiste plus qu'en deux piles quadrangulaires, ruineuses et découronnées, qui paraissent avoir été ébranlées par une commotion violente. Le cintre qui les reliait, et dont il ne reste aujourd'hui que les amorces, s'est effondré avec tout l'entablement. L'ensemble ne formait qu'un très-petit édifice, une simple arcade de 10,77 m de front sur 5,79 m de profondeur, avec un passage de 4,95 m de large sous la voûte. L'appareil des deux massifs est très-soigné, en grandes pierres de marbre blanc, ajustées sans ciment, et disposées par assises alternativement larges et étroites, comme on l'observe souvent dans les belles constructions romaines . . . Des pilastres d'angle, décorés, sur leurs deux faces adjacentes, de chapiteaux corinthiens à un seul rang de feuilles, supportaient les archivoltés, divisées en trois bandes. D'autres pilastres semblables existaient aux angles extérieurs et devaient s'élever jusqu'à l'architrave. Des fouilles exécutées au pied des ruines nous ont fourni des pièces de presque toutes les parties écroulées, notamment un angle du larmier, décoré de denticules et d'un large fleuron en sous-face . . . Il suffit d'examiner les faces latérales de

The ancient building, which is known to the farmers by the name Kiémer, which can be translated "the Archway," consists only of two square pillars, ruinous and crumbled, which appear to have been shattered by a violent quake. The arch which formerly connected them, of which next to nothing remains today, collapsed with the cornice. The whole structure formed only a very small building, a simple arch 10.77 m high, 5.79 m deep, with a passage of 4.95 m wide under the arch. The foundation is carefully made, with large white marble stones, fitted without cement, and arranged alternately wide and narrow on the base, as is often seen in beautiful Roman buildings . . . The corner pilasters, decorated on both sides adjacent to the Corinthian pillars with a single row of leaves, bore the archivolt divided into three bands. Other similar pilasters existed in outer corners and extended up to the architrave. During the excavations carried out at the base of the ruin we found pieces of almost all the collapsed parts, including a drainage edge, decorated with dentils and a wide trim on the bottom . . . One only has to look at the sides of the

<p>l'arc de Kiémer pour se convaincre qu'il était, dès l'origine, tout à fait isolé et ne se reliait à aucune construction voisine.¹⁴</p>	<p>arch of Kiémer to be convinced that the arch was, from the outset, completely isolated and not connected to any neighbouring building.</p>
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In the appendix of Heuzey and Daumet appears a drawing, which apparently depicts the arch as they were able to see it in 1876, which is reproduced below.

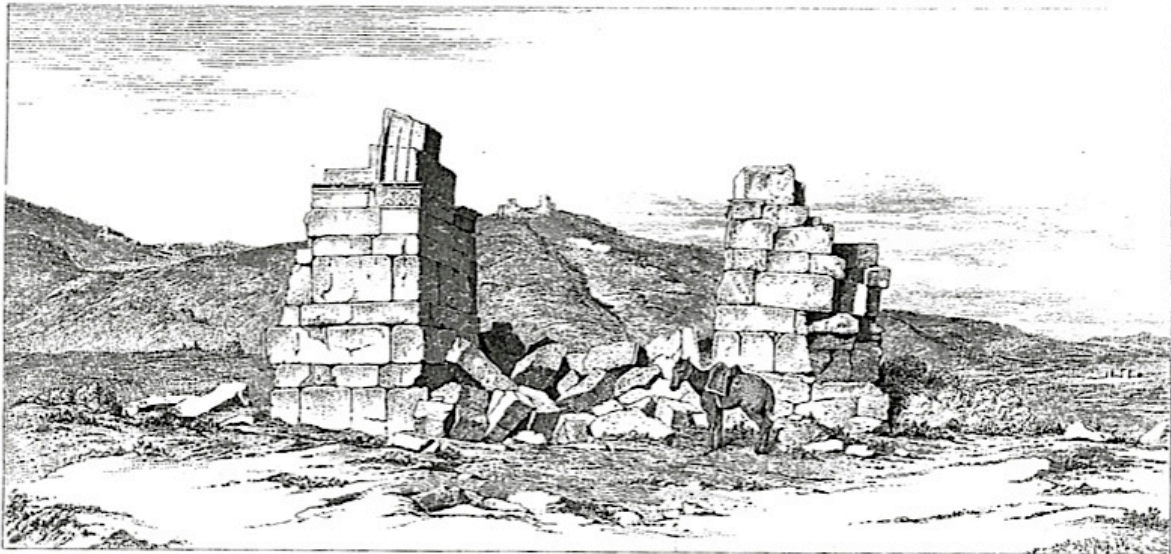


Figure 57: Philippi's arch as it appeared in 1876, drawing from Léon Heuzey and Honore Daumet.

Potentially significant to determine the function of the arch was the discovery that the arch bore a large inscription in bronze lettering, unfortunately, however, it was not possible to restore the inscription:

<p>En creusant le sol au pied de la face occidentale du côté qui se présente au voyageur allant vers Philippes, nous avons déterré un fragment d'architrave, dont les deux bandes supérieures sont exceptionnellement réunies en une seule. Le but de cette disposition était, sans aucun doute, de recevoir la dernière ligne d'une grande inscription en bronze, qui devait occuper toute la</p>	<p>While digging the ground at the foot of the western side, which a traveller heading towards Philippi would see, we unearthed a fragment of the architrave, whose two upper bands were uniquely combined into one. The purpose of this provision was, no doubt, to receive the last line of a large inscription in bronze, which must have occupied the entire frieze. Indeed a series of rectangular</p>
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¹⁴ Léon Heuzey and Honore Daumet, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1876, 118.

frise. En effet une série de trous rectangulaires marquent encore sur ce débris la position des crampons qui servaient à fixer les lettres de métal. Les marques sont malheureusement trop peu nombreuses pour que l'on tente de recomposer les caractères à l'aide des traces qu'ils ont laissées, comme on l'a fait pour d'autres inscriptions.¹⁵

holes still marks the position of the spikes that were used to fix the metal letters. Unfortunately, there are too few marks that would allow an attempt to reconstruct the characters from the traces left behind, as had been done with other inscriptions.

The archaeological findings prompted Heuzey and Daumet to attempt a graphic reconstruction, the restoration, as Heuzey and Daumet admit, however, was only possible by conjecturing the look of the upper part of the arch, particularly the large cove and cornice.¹⁶

¹⁵ Léon Heuzey and Honore Daumet, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1876, 119.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 118. The drawing is found in the appendix, plate 2.

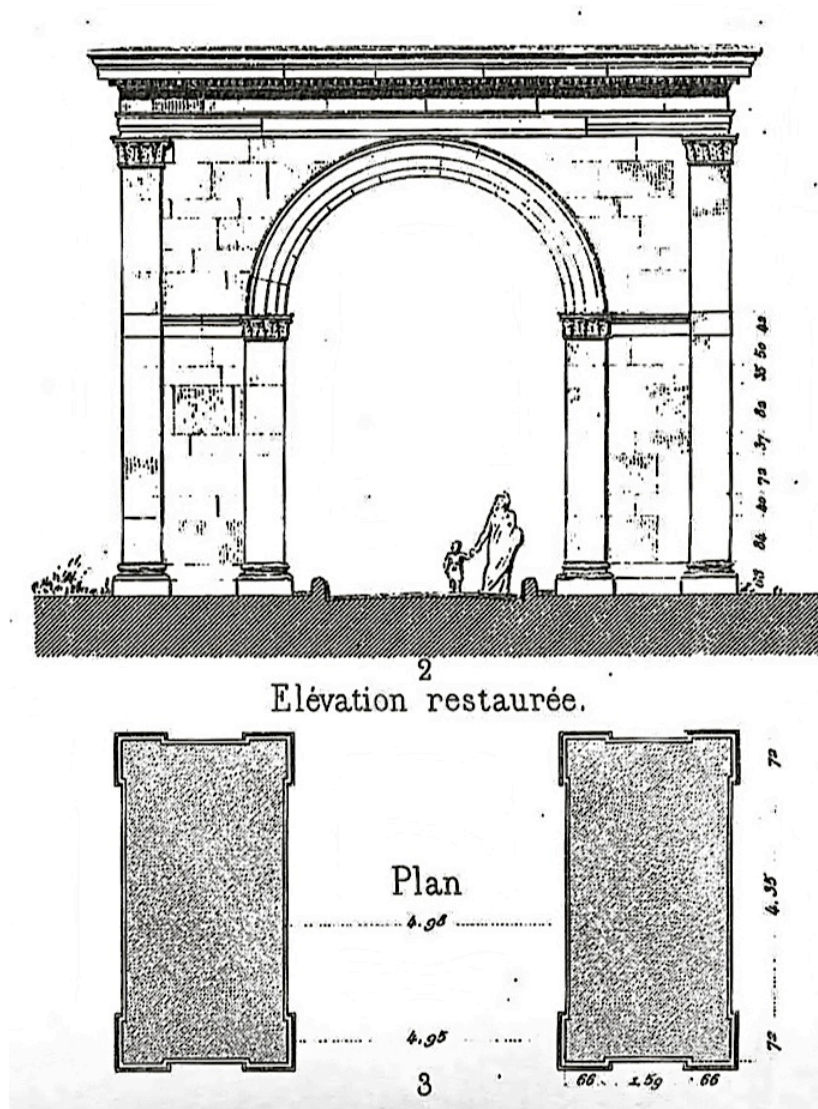


Figure 58: The arch of Philippi, an reconstructive attempt by Léon Heuzey and Honore Daumet.

B.2.1.3. The description of Philippi's arch by Paul Graef (1988)

Twelve years after the publication of Heuzey and Daumet, Paul Graef in his entry "Triumph und Ehrenbögen." of *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums* describes the architectural details of the arch of Philippi, but apparently entirely on the basis of Heuzey and Daumet's previous description:

<p>Bei Philippi steht ein marmorner, eintoriger Triumphbogen von der Form Susa mit Eckpilastern. Die Kapitelle der Hauptordnung wie der freistehende</p>	<p>At Philippi stands a marble, single gateway triumphal arch of the Susa form with corner pilasters. The capitals of the principal order, as well as the free-</p>
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Impostenpfeiler sind korinthisch, doch in reduzierter Weise: sie haben keine Eckvoluten, sondern an ihrem Kelche nur eine Reihe flachgelegter großer Akanthusblätter. Den oberen Abschluss bildet ein einfaches Zahnschittgesims ohne Attika. Die beiden oberen Fascien der Architrave sind in der Mitte zu einer Platte verbunden: hier stand die Inschrift, deren Metallbuchstaben verschwunden und aus ihren Befestigungsspuren noch nicht entziffert sind. Nach seinen Bauformen gehört der Bogen zu den Siegesmalen des Augustus. Sein Gewölbe ist eingestürzt.¹⁷

standing pillars are Corinthian, but in a reduced manner: they have no corner volutes, but they only have on their top a number of large flat acanthus leaves. The top section is a simply cut cornice without attica. The two upper fascia of the architraves are connected in the middle to a single slab: here was the inscription, the metal letters are gone and the inscription was not reconstructed from their mounting tracks. According to its designs the arch belongs to the category of the victory monuments of Augustus. Its vault has collapsed.

B.2.1.4. The description of Philippi's arch by Paul Collart (1937)

By the time Paul Collart published his monumental work on Philippi, the remains of the arch were still prominently visible, but they were by then already completely in ruins:

Mais la direction de la route romaine est encore indiquée par un arc monumental sous lequel elle passait avant de franchir le cours d'eau plus important qui vient des sources de Bounarbach. Ce monument a été mentionné par G. Perrot, décrit et étudié par L. Heuzey et H. Daumet; il s'est, depuis, complètement écroulé et n'a pas fait l'objet de nouvelles recherches.¹⁸

But the direction of the Roman road is still marked by a monumental arch under which the road passed before crossing the most important stream that comes from the sources of Bounarbach. This monument was mentioned by G. Perrot, described and studied by L. Heuzey and H. Daumet, it has since completely collapsed and has not been the subject of new research.

All further descriptions of the arch of Philippi by Collart depend on the descriptions of Heuzey and Daumet.

¹⁷ Paul Graef, "Triumph und Ehrenbögen." In *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*. Ed. August Baumeister. München/ Leipzig: R. Oldenbourg, 1888, 1892-93.

¹⁸ Collart, 320.

B.2.1.5. Further studies on Philippi's arch depend on the previous descriptions of Heuzey, Daumet and Collart.

After Collart's descriptions of the arc, modern literature was not able to contribute further direct evidence to the architectural make up of Philippi's monument. All ensuing discussions are either comparative studies with other monuments of the time or deliberations on the original function of the arch, the sources of their discussions, however remain Heuzey/Daumet and Collart.¹⁹

B.2.1.6. Location of the arch periodically lost and renewed archaeological investigation

When Peter Pilhofer published his first volume on Philippi in 1995 every trace of Philippi's arch seemed to have gone.²⁰ In 2004 an excavation on select parts of the *Via Egnatia* occurred – among others the section around the site of the location of the arch. The findings are published in the article of Γιωργος Καραδεδος and Μαρια Νικολαΐδου-Πατερα “Αναζητώντας την Εγνατία οδό στην πεδιάδα των Φιλίππων.”²¹ The findings correspond with the descriptions of Heuzey and Daumet, only it is now clear that the fortifications which connected the camps of Brutus and Cassius were situated 250 metres southeast of the location of the arch, and the arch was not located, as Heuzey and Daumet had assumed, right where the fortification of Brutus and Cassius intersected.²² Interestingly though, Καραδεδος and Νικολαΐδου-Πατερα propose that the river Gangitis had its bed just to the north of the arch and therefore conclude that the arch, located at the southeastern bank of the river was part of the bridge, which led the *Via Egnatia* over the river at this spot.²³

¹⁹ Sandro De Maria in a comparative study mentions the arch at Philippi, reprints a modified graphical depiction of Heuzey's and Daumet's reconstruction from *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*, dates it as from the Augustan era and classifies it as honorary arch. Sandro De Maria, “La Porta Augustea di Rimini nel quadro degli archi commemorativi coevi. Dati strutturali.” In *Studi sull'arco onorario romano*. Ed. Guido A. Mansuelli. Vol. 21 of *Studia Archaeologica*. Rom: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1979, 76-77. Cf., also Gilbert Ch. Picard, *Les trophées romains: contribution à l'histoire de la religion et de l'art triumpfal de Rome*. Paris: de Boccard, 1957, 244. Fred S. Kleiner. *The Arch of Nero in Rome*. Rome: Bretschneider, 1985, 20.

²⁰ Pilhofer, 1995, 69, footnote 55.

²¹ Γιωργος Καραδεδος and Μαρια Νικολαΐδου-Πατερα, “Αναζητώντας την Εγνατία οδό στην πεδιάδα των Φιλίππων.” In *AEMΘ (Archaeological Work in Macedonia and Thrace)* 20. Thessaloniki: University of Thessaloniki, 2006, 139-50. I am indebted to Prof. Pilhofer for directing my attention to this article.

²² Ibid. 143. Léon Heuzey and Honore Daumet, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1876, 119.

²³ Γιωργος Καραδεδος and Μαρια Νικολαΐδου-Πατερα, “Αναζητώντας την Εγνατία οδό στην πεδιάδα των Φιλίππων.” In *AEMΘ (Archaeological Work in Macedonia and Thrace)* 20. Thessaloniki: University of Thessaloniki, 2006, 143.

B.2.1.7. The present condition of the arch

In the autumn of 2012 I visited the location of the arch near Philippi.²⁴ Its GPS coordinates are 41.025977, 24.25682. The remains of the arch can be found in the middle of a corn field, whatever is left of the ruins, however, is already again entirely overgrown with bushes so that only after one clears the undergrowth, the big marble blocks heaped up into a pile are still visible.²⁵



Figure 59: The remains of the arch of Philippi hidden under bushes in cornfields.

²⁴ I am grateful for the hospitality of Ilias Koumoulidis, owner of the Yannis Hotel in Krinides, who went out of his way to show me the sites of Philippi unfrequented by tourists and who helped me to locate the position of the remains of the arch. Ilias has variously aided me to get familiar with Philippi and its archaeology.

²⁵ First picture taken from the north toward the south. The bushes in the middle of the harvested corn field mark the location of the remains of the arch of Philippi. To the right the hill “Yilan Tépé,” Turkish for “snake hill,” as it is presently called by the locals. In Léon Heuzey and Honore Daumet, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1876., the hill is called “Majiar-tépé.” Second picture a close up photograph from south to north. Photographs from the author’s collection. “”



Figure 60: Remains of marble blocks from the arch of Philippi after some clearing of the bushes.

B.2.2. The function of the arch of Philippi

Since the initial description of the arch by Georgess Perrot, several views have been advanced concerning the original function of an arch spanning the *Via Egnatia* 2 kilometres outside the city centre of Philippi. The arch has been thought of as part of an ancient city wall of Philippi, a commemorative monument of the battle of Philippi, a boundary marker of the *pomerium*, the sacred precinct of Philippi, a boundary marker of the rural boundary of the territory of Philippi or a monument honouring the founding of the city of Philippi. Most of these functions are mutually exclusive. Since the dedicatory inscription has never been recovered and is entirely lost,²⁶ Pilhofer is likely correct in his estimation:

<p>Für die Bestimmung der Funktion des Bogenmonumentes wäre die auf ihm angebrachte Inschrift von großer Bedeutung . . . Da diese Hoffnung [auf Restauration der Inschrift] sich zerschlägt, mag es wohl sein, dass die Funktion des Bogenmonuments überhaupt nicht mehr erhellt werden kann.²⁷</p>	<p>To determine the function of the monument the inscription attached to the arch would be of great significance . . . As this hope [of restoration of the inscription] is in vain, it may well be that the function of the monument will never be illuminated.</p>
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²⁶ Léon Heuzey and Honore Daumet, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1876, 119.

²⁷ Pilhofer, 1995, 69.

Although Pilhofer's evaluation is appropriate with regard to direct evidence concerning the function of the monument, the various proposed functions of the monument are not all equally likely. Although in the first century arches were built for various functions,²⁸ the number of options is limited after all and secondary evidence, such as the location of the monument in comparison with the location of the *pomerium*, the border of the territory, etc., rule out some options, and make others more or less likely. Although one argues here in terms of likelihood instead of absolute certainty, a reconstruction of the purpose of the arch in terms of its location and the political situation in the first century are the scholar's better choice than simple guesses based on pleading ignorance. Thus, the main proposals of the function of Philippi's arch are listed below and the various reasons for the proposals are evaluated in terms of their accuracy and likelihood in view of today's knowledge of the relevant factors pertaining to the building of an arch in the first century.

B.2.2.1. Georges Perrot: The arch as part of the city wall

Georges Perrot seems to have identified the arch of Philippi as part of the city wall of Philippi. His short statement concerning the "ancient gate through which lead a road" comes right after his discussion on the Hellenistic walling of the city and its original circumference. The scattered fragments, which he describes to have laid on the ground between the hill and the gate seem to be an indication for Perrot that buildings and monuments extended all the way from the forum at the foot of the hill to the location of the arch, two kilometres away from it.²⁹

²⁸ For an overview see for example Heinz Kähler, "Triumphbogen (Ehrenbogen)." In *Pauly's Real-Encyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Vol. 7, A1. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1939, 373-493. Fred S. Kleiner. *The Arch of Nero in Rome*. Rome: Bretschneider, 1985, 20-39.

²⁹ Georges Perrot, "Daton, Néopolis, les ruines de Philippes." In *Revue archéologique* I,2. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1860, 52. The text in full reads:

Je n'ai trouvé trace de l'enceinte antique que sur le sommet de l'acropole et dans les deux murs qui en descendent vers la plaine, l'un au sud, l'autre au nord; dans la plaine, aucun débris apparent de murailles helléniques. Pour se faire une idée de l'étendue qu'occupait la ville gréco-romaine, il suffit de remarquer deux points qui semblent en déterminer les limites au sud et au nord-ouest. Au nord-ouest, à huit cents mètres au moins du pied de la colline, c'est une porte antique vers laquelle se dirigeait une chaussée dont on aperçoit encore des restes au milieu des rizières; entre cette porte et le pied de la colline, le sol est partout jonché de fragments antiques.

I found traces of the ancient wall only on the summit of the acropolis and on the two walls that descend into the plain, one to the south, the other north. In the plain I could not find any remains of a Hellenistic wall. To get an idea of the area occupied by the Greco-Roman city, it suffices to note two points that seem to determine the limits to the south and northwest.

To the northwest, at least eight hundred metres from the foot of the hill there is an ancient gate through which leads a road, of which one suspects still remains in the rice fields; in-between this gate and the foot of the hill ancient fragments are scattered on the ground.

B.2.2.2. Léon Heuzey and Honore Daumet: *The arch as honorary monument in the category of triumphal arches*

Heuzey and Daumet reject Perrot's suggestion of the arch as part of a former city wall; the architecture on the right and left side of the arch surely indicate that it was freestanding from its inception. Instead, Heuzey and Daumet advance their own theory of the function of the monument:

Mais elle avait certainement été érigée dans un autre but : sa véritable destination, comme celle des arcs de cette nature, devait être de rappeler quelque événement mémorable. ³⁰	[The arch] was certainly built for another purpose: its true function, such as arches of this nature, must have been to recall some memorable event.
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What kind of memorable event this must have been is quickly revealed to have been the victory of Octavian and Antony. Heuzey and Daumet rely on their suggestion mainly on the location of the arch – situated in the plain of Philippi, right where the opposing armies had encamped and at the same site where the altars of the victorious legions of Antony had their place,³¹ an arch on such a location can only have been an allusion to the ancient battle and the founding of the colony as a consequence of it.³²

B.2.2.3. Paul Graef: *The arch as a victory monument of Augustus*

Paul Graef refers to the arch of Philippi as a “victory monument of Augustus”:

Nach seinen Bauformen gehört der Bogen zu den Siegesmalen des Augustus. ³³	According to its designs the arch belongs to the category of the victory monuments of Augustus.
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Unfortunately, Graef has not specified what precisely from the architectural design determines the arch to be a victory monument. Thus, it is difficult to determine if Graef truly in a comparative study with other arches was able to rule out other functions or if he was just guessing.

³⁰ Léon Heuzey and Honore Daumet, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1876, 119.

³¹ See above.

³² Léon Heuzey and Honore Daumet, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1876, 118-20.

³³ Paul Graef, “Triumph und Ehrenbögen.” In *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*. Ed. August Baumeister. München/ Leipzig: R. Oldenbourg, 1888, 1892-93.

B.2.2.4. Arthur L. Frothingham: *The arch as a boundary marker of the Philippian territory*

An influential article on the function of Philippi's arch has been Arthur L. Frothingham's "The Roman Territorial Arch."³⁴ Frothingham rejects Heuzey and Daumet's view that the arch could have been an honorary arch commemorating the battle of Philippi because he claims that it was impossible in the Roman empire to erect a triumphal arch based on a victory in a civil war. For some reason Frothingham's article in the *American Journal of Archaeology* was so influential that, after 1915 (with the exception of Gunnar Brands),³⁵ scholarly comments on the arch of Philippi did not consider the likelihood of a "victory arch" any more, as Collart had advocated, but focused on the arch as being a "colonial" or "territorial arch." Since we will have to put Frothingham's argument and his alternative suggestion as the arch of a marker of the boundary of the Philippian territory under close scrutiny, his paragraph on the Philippian arch is cited in full:

At a distance of about two kilometres from Philippi, the main Roman highway through Macedonia, the *Via Egnatia*, is spanned by a simple early arch, the upper part of which is in ruins. It has been natural, not to say inevitable, that this arch should have been popularly regarded as a memorial of the battle of Philippi. But this is a mistake. The style, it is true, would harmonize with this early date; but it was against Roman law and custom to celebrate by a triumphal arch an internecine struggle between Romans. A triumph could be celebrated only over public foes. Ammianus Marcellinus writing four centuries later, says that his contemporary, the emperor Constantius, was the first to break this law. The only possible hypothesis, situated as this arch is at a distance from the town, is that it marked the limit of the territory of the new colony, which was established here by Augustus very soon after the battle.³⁶

B.2.2.5. Paul Collart: *The arch as the boundary of the pomerium*

Paul Collart in his monumental work *Philippes, ville de Macédoine, depuis ses origines jusqu'à la fin de l'époque romaine* relies wholly on Frothingham in his argument against the

³⁴ Arthur L. Frothingham, "The Roman Territorial Arch." In *The American Journal of Archeology* 19. New York: MacMillen, 1915, 155-174.

³⁵ Gunnar Brands, "Der Bogen von Aquinum." In *Archäologischer Anzeiger*. München: Hirmer, 1991, 572. Brands terms the Philippian arch as "Actium-arch" and categorises it as the same type of the arch dedicated by the senate to the victorious Octavian after the battle of Actium (cf., Dio. LI.19.1-2.) Thus, it seems as if Brands considers the Philippian arch to be an honorary arch commemorating Octavian's victory.

³⁶ Arthur L. Frothingham, "The Roman Territorial Arch." In *The American Journal of Archeology* 19. New York: MacMillen, 1915, 170.

possibility of the arch commemorating the victory of Philippi, he simply repeats Frothingham's statement that an arch is inappropriate for a memorial of a civil war:

<p>Il est en effet reconnu aujourd'hui qu'en dépit de l'appellation usuelle, l'idée de triomphe ne s'associait qu'exceptionnellement à l'érection d'un arc; elle eût ici paru singulièrement déplacée, s'appliquant à l'une des rencontres les plus sanglantes des Guerres Civiles.³⁷</p>	<p>Indeed, it is now recognised that despite the usual name, the idea of triumph is rarely associated with the erection of an arch: it had seemed strangely put out of place here, applied to one of the bloodiest encounters of the Civil Wars.</p>
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The alternative, according to Collart, is a little different from what Frothingham had suggested. The arch was constructed as one of the first buildings of the colony and was to symbolise the status of the colony, its specific location, although unusual to be 2 kilometres from the city proper, indicates the *pomerium*, the sacred precinct of the Roman colony:

<p>L'arc avait, au contraire, dans les provinces, une signification politique et religieuse bien définie; il symbolisait les privilèges municipaux dont jouissait une cité dans le cadre du monde romain; la construction d'un arc accompagnait la fondation d'une colonie pour en proclamer le nom, la qualité, l'époque. Il est donc certain qu'à Philippi, comme ailleurs plus explicitement, l'arc était le témoin du statut accordé à la ville et qu'il avait été le premier édifice public de la colonie . . . Il était de règle que l'arc colonial fût édifié aux abords d'une cité sur la principale route d'accès, au point précis où cette route coupait la ligne du <i>pomerium</i>.³⁸</p>	<p>On the contrary, in the provinces the arch had a well-defined political and religious meaning: it symbolised the municipal privileges enjoyed by a city in the Roman world, the construction of an arch accompanied the founding of a colony to proclaim the name, quality, time. It is therefore certain that at Philippi, as elsewhere more explicitly, the arch was the witness of the status accorded to the city and it was the first public building in the colony . . . It was the rule that the colonial arch was built on the outskirts of a town on the main access road at the exact point where this road intersected the line of the <i>pomerium</i>.</p>
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³⁷ Collart, 321.

³⁸ Ibid., 321-22. In his definition of Philippi's arch as "colonial arch marking the *pomerium*" Collart relies on another previous article of Frothingham: Arthur L. Frothingham, "De la véritable signification des monuments romains qu' on appelle 'arcs de triomphe.'" In *Revue archéologique* 6. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1905, 216-230. There colonial arches marking the *pomerium* are discussed, but the arch of Philippi is not mentioned. Apparently Frothingham found the distance of 2 kilometres of the

B.2.2.6. *Scholarship after Frothingham and Collart: No new evidence considered*

Unfortunately, as is too often the case in scholarship, the claims of Frothingham and Collart concerning the function of the arch of Philippi were never critically checked, but their conclusions were simply taken over in later publications. Heinz Kähler in his entry “Triumphbogen (Ehrenbogen)” in *Pauly’s Real-Encyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* states the claim of Frothingham that the arch was not erected in commemoration of the battle at Philippi, but that it marked the Roman colonial border of Philippi, and leaves Frothingham’s statement uncommented.³⁹

Gilbert Charles Picard repeats Frothingham’s and Collart’s conclusion that the arch of Philippi could hardly fall within the category of “triumphal arches,” even though it is located precisely at the place of the battle of Philippi.⁴⁰ Picard offers two more reasons why Philippi’s arch could not have been a commemorative triumphal arch of the battle of Philippi. First, he claims it would have been the only arch we know of that was erected at the sight of a battle. This is manifestly false. Already Heinz Kähler had published evidence eighteen years prior to Picard’s work that it was customary to erect triumphal arches at the scene of battles.⁴¹ Second, Picard alleges that the memory of a civil victory commemorated by a triumphal arch would quickly become odious to the winners of the civil war. That such an argument is an utterly baseless assumption and contrary to the evidence from the time of Augustus will be shown below.⁴²

One finds in Danila Scagliarini Corlàita’s article *La situazione urbanistica degli archi onorari nella prima età imperiale* a reference to the arch of Philippi, where she claims, dependent on Frothingham, that the arch marked the border of the colonial territory of

arch from the city too far to still consider the wide area in-between as the *pomerium*. For Collart, it did not seem to have constituted a problem.

³⁹ Heinz Kähler, “Triumphbogen (Ehrenbogen).” In *Pauly’s Real-Encyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 7, A1. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1939, 448-449.

⁴⁰ Gilbert Ch. Picard, *Les trophées romains: contribution à l’histoire de la religion et de l’art triumphal de Rome*. Paris: de Boccard, 1957, 244.

⁴¹ Heinz Kähler, “Triumphbogen (Ehrenbogen).” In *Pauly’s Real-Encyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 7, A1. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1939, 471. Kähler lists as examples the arch of Aosta, likely erected after the subjugation of the Salassians in 25 BC. (Ibid., 404, nr. II.2. Cf., Dio. LIII.26.5.); two triumphal arches for Augustus and Tiberius in Pannonia after the successful conclusion of the Illyrican war (Ibid., 451. nr. VI.21. Cf., Dio. LVI.17.) and possibly (Kähler with “?”) the arch of Vespasians in Xanthos. (Ibid., 495. Nr. VII.27.).

⁴² See B.2.3.2. “The argument against the possibility of an arch commemorating civil victories not valid during the Roman civil war period between Julius Caesar and Augustus.” and B.2.3.3. “A victory monument at Philippi likely due to Octavian’s pattern of memorialising his victories.”

Philippi.⁴³ Similarly, Sandro De Maria in *La Porta Augustea di Rimini nel quadro degli archi commemorativi coevi. Dati strutturali.* takes the designation of the arch of Philippi as “territorial arch, marking a significant boundary of a colony” with dependence on Frothingham taken for granted.⁴⁴ Cornelius C. Vermeule’s *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* apparently follows Collarts’ theory of the arch being a boundary marker of the *pomerium* of the colony of Philippi and lists the arch as “colonial arch just outside the *pomerium*.”⁴⁵ Fred S. Kleiner’s work *The Arch of Nero in Rome* depends on these previous studies and describes the arch as “the colonial boundary” to the west of Philippi, erected to commemorate the foundation of the colony.⁴⁶ Καραδεδος and Νικολαΐδου-Πατερα in their report on the excavation of traces of the Via Egnatia near the arch comment briefly on the option of Philippi’s arch being a commemorative arch of the battle in 42 BC (as Heuzey/ Daumet had suggested) or of the arch falling under the category “colonial arches.” They see both options as compatible with each other and suggest that the arch was both: a marker of the colonial boundary and at the same time a commemorative memorial of the battle of Philippi.⁴⁷

The misinterpretation of the function of the arch of Philippi and the postulation of the reach of Philippi’s *pomerium* up to the arch had consequences beyond the immediate archaeological interest in the arch itself. Theological works depending on the (false) presentation of the function of the arch by Collart and Frothingham caused a domino effect of new mistakes in Biblical Interpretation. Thus, for example the place of prayer (προσευχή) from Acts 16:13, 16 is (wrongly) interpreted to have been situated on the river Gangitis, 2

⁴³ Danila Scagliarini Corlàita, “La situazione urbanistica degli archi onorari nella prima età imperiale.” In *Studi sull’arco onorario romano*. Ed. Guido A. Mansuelli. Vol. 21 of *Studia Archaeologica*. Rom: L’Erma di Bretschneider, 1979, 67.

⁴⁴ Sandro De Maria, “La Porta Augustea di Rimini nel quadro degli archi commemorativi coevi. Dati strutturali.” In *Studi sull’arco onorario romano*. Ed. Guido A. Mansuelli. Vol. 21 of *Studia Archaeologica*. Rom: L’Erma di Bretschneider, 1979, 84-85.

⁴⁵ Cornelius C. Vermeule’s *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968, 422. The formulation “just outside the *pomerium*” is an unfortunate description due to its lack of clarity. Does “just outside” mean 2 kilometres away from the *pomerium* or does it mark the *pomerium* as a boundary?

⁴⁶ Fred S. Kleiner. *The Arch of Nero in Rome*. Rome: Bretschneider, 1985, 20. The nomenclature “colonial border” is unfortunately unspecific and can lead to confusions. What kind of border should the arch 2 kilometres west of Philippi mark? Is it the border of the city wall, the border of the *pomerium* (in most cases equaling the border of the city wall) or is it the border of the territory? The term “colonial border” could suggest that a fourth kind of border existed, but there is no such thing as an independent “colonial border” apart from the border of the *pomerium*, city wall or the territory.

⁴⁷ Γιωργος Καραδεδος and Μαρια Νικολαΐδου-Πατερα, “Αναζητώντας την Εγνατία οδό στην πεδιάδα των Φιλίππων.” In *AEMΘ (Archaeological Work in Macedonia and Thrace)* 20. Thessaloniki: University of Thessaloniki, 2006, 142-43. Although Καραδεδος and Νικολαΐδου-Πατερα report on the finding of a funerary urn including a funerary inscription in their article along the Via Egnatia between the city and the arch, they perplexingly (and wrongly) conclude that the existence of funeral places advocate that the area was the *pomerium* (see page 147-48 and footnote 20 of their article). The opposite is the case. The important finding of the funeral place of Valerius Crescens Furnarius and his brother along the Via Egnatia establish with certainty that the area was **not** the *pomerium* and exclude the possibility of the arch functioning as a boundary marker of the same.

kilometres outside of Philippi – dependent on the proposition that the Jewish population of Philippi would not have been allowed to worship inside the *pomerium*.⁴⁸

B.2.3. Re-evaluation of the evidence

The debate regarding the function of the arch of Philippi was settled too quickly. Heuzey and Daumet’s suggestion of a commemoration to the victory of Philippi was laid *ad acta* too hastily and the alternative suggestions of Frothingham and Collart were copied too hastily without checking the validity of their evidence.

B.2.3.1. The impossibility of the solutions of Frothingham and Collart

First of all, the solutions advocated by Frothingham as the arch marking the boundary of the territory and of Collart as the arch intersecting the *pomerium* are not tenable. The location of the arch 2 kilometres outside the city makes it too near to mark the territory of Philippi and too far to mark the *pomerium*. Peter Pilhofer already aptly commented:

<p>Allerdings kann auch die Frothinghamsche Lösung nicht zutreffen, da das Territorium der Colonia Iulia Augusta Philippensis doch nicht mitten in den heutigen Maisfeldern endet: Wessen Territorium sollte denn jenseits des Bogens beginnen? Das von Amphipolis doch gewiß nicht!⁴⁹</p>	<p>The solution of Frothingham, however, cannot be correct, because the territory of the Colonia Iulia Augusta Philippensis certainly did not end in the middle of the present day corn fields: whose territory should begin beyond the arch? Certainly not the one of Amphipolis!</p>
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Since Frothingham had marked his altogether unlikely solution as “the only possible hypothesis”⁵⁰ the reader should be made aware that something in the presentation of his argument is askew, but more on this later.

Collart’s “*pomerium*-hypothesis” was already at the time of publication beset with difficulties and new evidence now rules this view out completely. One of the definite characteristics of the Roman *pomerium*, the religious boundary demarcating an augurally constituted city,

⁴⁸ Alfred Suhl, *Paulus und seine Briefe: ein Beitrag zur Paulinischen Chronologie*. Gütersloh: Mohn, 1975, 187. Hans Conzelmann, *Die Apostelgeschichte*. Second Edition. Tübingen, Mohr, 1972, 99. This view has already been successfully been rejected by Pilhofer, 1995, 165-73.

⁴⁹ Pilhofer, 1995, 70.

⁵⁰ Arthur L. Frothingham, “The Roman Territorial Arch.” In *The American Journal of Archeology*. 19. New York: MacMillan, 1915, 170.

applied also to Roman colonies in the provinces was: the dead cannot be buried by Roman law inside the *pomerium*!⁵¹ Already Collart was aware that to the west on the road towards Drama, which is parallel to the slope of the mountain, burial places existed.⁵² The *Via Egnatia* makes a slight curve toward the left, i.e. it leaves the northern direction of the road toward Drama and along the settlement of Lydia and moves west into the direction of the location of the arch – if one leaves out this northern area, so Collart, the *pomerium* could have still be located towards the northwest and its border would be right where the arch spans the *Via Egnatia*. If graves could be attested along the *Via Egnatia*, Collart's *pomerium* theory along with the function of the arch as a *pomerium* boundary marker can be laid to rest right there! And numerous graves have been found! Again Pilhofer comments:

Nicht nur entlang der Straße nach Drama sind Gräber gefunden, sondern eben auch – und das ist für die Collartsche Theorie fatal – entlang der <i>Via Egnatia</i> nach Amphipolis. ⁵³	Not only along the road to Drama graves have been found, but also – and this is fatal to the theory of Collart – along the <i>Via Egnatia</i> to Amphipolis.
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Thus the contribution of Frothingham, taken up by Collart, that some arches in the Roman Empire functioned as colonial arches, marking the boundary of the *pomerium* was a helpful discovery, but it does not apply to the arch from Philippi! The designation of Philippi's arch as "colonial" or "territorial" should not have been copied and recopied in the discussion of the monument and should once and for all be abandoned.

⁵¹ Albrecht von Blumenthal, "Pomerium." In *Paulys Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 42. Ed. Georg Wissowa and Wilhelm Kroll. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1952, 1871.

⁵² Collart, 325.

⁵³ Pilhofer, 1995, 72. For a list of the inscriptions marking the necropolis along the *Via Egnatia* see *ibid.*, 72-73. Pilhofer's claim of a necropolis along the *Via Egnatia* was confirmed by the finding of a funeral urn in 2006, described in Γιωργος Καραδεδος and Μαρια Νικολαΐδου-Πατερα, "Αναζητώντας την Εγνατία οδό στην πεδιάδα των Φιλίππων." In *AEMΘ* 20. Thessaloniki: University of Thessaloniki, 2006, 147-48 and picture on page 150. The inscription on the urn reads:

VALERIUS CRESCENS	Valerius Crescens Furnarius
ZIPAE F(ilius) FURNARIUS AN(or)um XXX	son of Zipae, 30 years (old)
H(ic) S(itus) E(st).	lies (buried) here.
GAIUT-ES VALERIUS	Gaiut-es Valerius Furnarius
FURNARIUS FRATRI ET	(has for his) brother and himself – while still
SIBI V(ivus) F(aciendum) C(uravit).	alive – taken care of (this sarcophagus).

Please consult the map of Philippi in the Appendix D for a visual reminder that – given the locations of burial places along the *Via Egnatia* – this area could impossible be the *pomerium* of Philippi.

B.2.3.2. The argument against the possibility of an arch commemorating civil victories not valid during the Roman civil war period between Julius Caesar and Augustus

The possibility of the arch of Philippi being a triumphal arch or an honorary arch commemorating the victory of Philippi has been too quickly rejected by scholarship due to the evaluation of Frothingham, who said that although it would be natural “that this arch should have been popularly regarded as a memorial of the battle of Philippi,” to do so “is a mistake.”⁵⁴ The only reason Frothingham states for such a bold overall dismissal of the possibility for an arch commemorating a military victory is that “it was against Roman law and custom to celebrate by a triumphal arch an internecine struggle between Romans. A triumph could be celebrated only over foreign foes.”⁵⁵ As support for Frothingham’s double thesis that neither a triumph could or was ever celebrated before the fourth century AD or a triumphal arch erected before the fourth century AD on account of a military victory in a civil war is Frothingham’s claim of “Ammianus Marcellinus writing four centuries later, says that his contemporary, the emperor Constantius, was the first to break this law [i.e. the law to celebrate a triumph in a civil victory or erect a triumphal arch based on the same type of war].

However, Frothingham’s thesis is loaded with blatant error. First, there was no such Roman “law,” which Frothingham portrays as though universally controlling Roman history to such an extent that never could a triumph be celebrated in a civil war. Although the normal condition for a Roman triumph is stated to be according to Livy and Aulus Gellius⁵⁶ to have been a “just war,” that is a war over foreign enemies, Mary Beard in her work *The Roman Triumph* has convincingly shown that the scattered references of the Roman triumph in the literary sources covering more than one thousand years of Rome’s existence cannot be collected and accumulated to a singular unified picture of a Roman triumph valid from the foundation of Rome in the eighth century BC until its final fall in the fifth century AD.⁵⁷ The descriptions from the various literary sources of the nature of the Roman triumph are indications of a particular mindset of the period the author is specifically covering. The characterisation of the Roman triumph as “over foreign foes only” is at best a Roman ideal, but certainly not an irrevocable law “of the Medes and Persians” (cf., Dan. 6:8), to which all of Rome adhered throughout its existence.

⁵⁴ Arthur L. Frothingham, “The Roman Territorial Arch.” In *The American Journal of Archeology* 19. New York: MacMillan, 1915, 170.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Liv. XXXVIII.47.5.; Gell. V.6.21.

⁵⁷ Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph*. London: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Second, Frothingham in his allegation that “Ammianus Marcellinus . . . says that . . . the emperor Constantius, was the first to break this law” claims more than what can be supported from the fourth century historian Ammianus Marcellinus. Frothingham does not cite the place in the *Res Gestae* in Ammianus who supposedly writes that Constantius was **the first** to celebrate a triumph over civil foes. When one consults the *Res Gestae* (covering Roman history from AD 354 to 378) of Ammianus, one finds two places in which he describes or comments on the triumphal celebration of the victory of Constantius over Magnentius, namely, Gell. XVI.10.1-10. and Gell. XXI.16.15.⁵⁸ Although Ammianus disapprovingly narrates the celebration of the triumph and the erection of arches by Constantius, I was not able to find a reference in the *Res Gestae* that states by the hand of Ammianus that Constantius was “the first” to do so.

Third, even if I oversaw in Ammianus a reference to Constantius being the first person in Roman history to celebrate a Roman triumph or erect arches in the aftermath of a civil war, that statement would be evidently false. The civil war period from the time of Julius Caesar until the reign of Augustus witnessed numerous triumphal celebrations in victories over civil

⁵⁸ The most significant references read:

Constantius . . . Romam visere gestiebat, post Magnenti exitium absque nomine ex sanguine Romano triumphaturus. Nec enim gentem ullam bella cientem per se superavit, aut victim fortitudine suorum comperit ducum, vel addidit quaedam imperio, aut usquam in necessitatibus summis primus vel inter primos est visus, sed ut pompam nimis extentam . . .

Constantius . . . was eager to visit Rome and after the death of Magnentius to celebrate, without a title, a triumph over Roman blood. For neither in person did he vanquish any nation that made war upon him, nor learn of any conquered by the valour of his generals; nor did he add anything to his empire; nor at any critical moments was he ever seen to be foremost; but he desired to display an inordinately long procession . . .

Gell. XVI.10.1-2. Transl. by John C. Rolfe, LCL, I:242-43.

Ut autem in externis bellis hic princeps fuit saucius et afflictus, ita prospere succedentibus pugnis civilibus tumidus, et internestinis ulceribus rei publicae sanie perfusus horrenda: quo pravo proposito magis quam recto vel usitato, triumphalis arcus ex clade provinciarum sumptibus magnis erexit in Galliis et Pannoniis, titulis gestorum affixis, se (quoad stare poterunt monumenta) lecturis

Now, although this emperor in foreign wars met with loss and disaster, yet he was elated by his success in civil conflicts and drenched with awful gore from the internal wounds of the state. It was on this unworthy rather than just or usual ground that in Gaul and Pannonia he erected triumphal arches at great expense commemorating the ruin of the provinces and added records of his deeds, that men might read of him as long as those monuments could last.

Gell. XXI.16.15. Transl. by John C. Rolfe, LCL, II:182-83.

That Ammianus condemns the triumph and the triumphal arches of Constantius is not surprising. Ammianus draws a very one-sided and even hateful image of the emperor (Richard Klein in the review of the Constantius biography of Pedro Barceló, *Constantius II. und seine Zeit. Die Anfänge des Staatskirchentums*. In <http://www.plekos.uni-muenchen.de/2004/rbarcelo.html>, accessed March 20th, 2013.), is biased against Constantius to an insurmountable degree and misses no resource of rhetoric to present Constantius as an incompetent tyrant (Timothy D. Barnes, *Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998, 129-142.).

strife. Already Julius Caesar certainly did not care about “a law” not to celebrate the triumphal procession in a civil victory, but evidently did so in his victory over Pompey. Dio Cassius narrates:

<p>καὶ ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷ ἔτι πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἐλπίζων, οὐδὲν μέτριον ἔπραττεν, ἀλλ’ ὡς καὶ ἀθάνατος ὢν ὑπερεφρόνησε. τὰ τε γὰρ ἐπινίκια, καίτοι μηδενὸς ἀλλοτρίου κρατήσας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος πολιτῶν ἀπολέσας, οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἔπεμψε, πάντα τὸν δῆμον ἐν αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ κοινοῖς τισιν ἀγαθοῖς αἰθῆς ἐστιάσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Φαβίῳ τῷ τε Κυνίτῳ . . . διορτάσαι ἐπέτρεψε . . .⁵⁹</p>	<p>Caesar . . . hoped that many great successes would still fall to his own lot and thus showed no moderation, but was filled with arrogance, as if immortal. For, although he had conquered no foreign nation, but had destroyed a vast number of citizens, he not only celebrated the triumph himself, incidentally feasting the entire populace once more, but also allowed Quintus Fabius and Quintus Pedius . . . to hold a celebration . . .</p>
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Although Julius Caesar certainly was careful not to offend the sensitivity of the Roman populace too much by celebrating a triumph over Roman fellow-citizens (the triumph was officially termed “African”), the display of the images of the defeated Romans clearly shows that this triumph was designated to celebrate Caesar’s victory in the civil war:

<p>τὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίων φυλαξάμενος ἄρα, ὡς ἐμφύλια οὐκ εὐκότα τε αὐτῷ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀπαίσια, ἐπιγράψαι θριάμβῳ, παρήνεγκεν ὅμως αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖσδε τὰ παθήματα ἅπαντα καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν εἰκόσι καὶ ποικίλαις γραφαῖς, χωρὶς γε Πομπηίου· τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ μόνον ἐφυλάξατο δεῖξαι, σφόδρα ἔτι πρὸς πάντων ἐπιποθούμενον. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις κακοῖς, καίπερ δεδιώς, ἔστενε, καὶ μάλιστα, ὅτε ἴδοι Λεύκιόν τε Σκιπίωνα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα πλησσομένον ἐς τὰ στέρνα ὑφ’ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μεθιέμενον ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἢ Πετρήιον ἐπὶ διαίτη διαχρώμενον ἑαυτόν, ἢ Κάτωνα ὑφ’ ἑαυτοῦ διασπώμενον ὡς θηρίον.⁶⁰</p>	<p>Although he took care not to inscribe any Roman names in his triumph (as it would have been unseemly in his eyes and base and inauspicious in those of the Roman people to triumph over fellow-citizens), yet all these misfortunes were represented in the procession and the men also by various images and pictures, all except Pompey, whom alone he did not venture to exhibit, since he was still greatly regretted by all . . . they saw the picture of Lucius Scipio, the general-in-chief, wounded in the breast by his own hand, casting himself into the sea, and Petreius committing self-destruction at</p>
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⁵⁹ Dio. XLIII.42.1. Transl. by Earnest Cary, LCL, IV: 284-85.

⁶⁰ App. BC. II.15.101. Transl. by Horace White, LCL, I:412-15.

the banquet, and Cato torn open by himself like a wild beast.

Although the triumph included some of the foreign allies of the defeated civil antagonists, the display of the images of Roman citizens, Pompey only excluded because of political considerations, clearly demonstrated this triumph to be over Caesar's civil wars!

Once Caesar was assassinated and civil dissensions were carried over into a new phase, now between the Republic and the heirs of Caesar, the Roman senate openly and publicly voted Decimus Brutus a triumph for the victory over Marc Antony:

Quae omnia senatus decretis comprehensa et comprobata sunt et D. Bruto, quod alieno beneficio viveret, decretus triumphus . . . ⁶¹	Decimus Brutus was voted a triumph, presumably because, thanks to another's service, he had escaped with his life . . .
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After the battle of Philippi and the battle of Actium had advanced the eventual winner of the years of fighting for Roman supremacy, Octavian celebrates a triple triumph on August 13, 14 and 15 of the year 27 BC consisting first: in the celebration of his victory over Dalmatia and Illyricum, second in the celebration for the victory at battle of Actium, and third, for his victory in Egypt.⁶² Although officially the battle was originally declared as a war against Cleopatra, it was clear to every Roman that behind the nominal enemy stood the animosity toward Marc Antony, at the time the lover and in alliance with Cleopatra. Even at the time Octavian celebrated his triumph, the Roman populace is acutely aware that the celebration is a triumph over fellow Romans, only the abundant outpouring of money on the people makes them "forget" the true nature of the triumph and lets the populace celebrate it "as if over foreigners" although it is precisely the contrary, as Cassius Dio points out:

καὶ πάντα ἃ τε αὐτὸς ὄφειλέ τισιν ἀπέδωκε, καὶ ἃ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐπόφειλον οὐκ ἐσέπραξεν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τῶν τε δυσχερῶν πάντων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπελάθοντο, καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτοῦ ἠδέως ὡς καὶ ἀλλοφύλων ἀπάντων τῶν	[Augustus] not only paid all the debts he himself owed to others, as has been stated, but also did not insist on the payment of other's debts to him, the Romans forgot all their unpleasant
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⁶¹ Vell. II.62.4. The biting irony of Velleius Paterculus is not to be overheard, Decimus Brutus did not conquer any foe, in fact, he barely escaped with his life during the siege of Mutina, in which his troops were surrounded and were after a long barricade rescued from starvation by the forces of Hirtius. However "non-legitimate" Brutus' triumph was (which he was not able to celebrate after all), Velleius makes clear that triumphs were bestowed by the senate even on account of civil wars.

⁶² Aug. *RGDA*. 4.; Dio. LI.21.5-9.; Strab. XII.3.6.; Vell. II.89.1.; Suet. *Aug.* XXII.41.1.; Suet. *Tib.* 6.; Flor. II.21.10.

ἡττηθέντων ὄντων εἶδον.⁶³

experiences and viewed his triumph with pleasure, quite as if the vanquished had all been foreigners.

The building of arches to commemorate victories in civil wars also has concrete precedents during the civil war period. An arch of Augustus in Rome was one vowed in 36 BC, according to Cassius Dio to celebrate Octavian's defeat of Sextus Pompey, but we do not know, if it was built.⁶⁴

. . . ἔπειτα ἅμα τῷ τῆς νίκης αὐτοῦ . . . καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐπαίνους τε αὐτῷ ὁμοθυμαδὸν καὶ εἰκόνας καὶ προεδρίαν ἀψιδά τε τροπαιοφόρον, καὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἵππου ἐσελάσαι τό τε στεφάνῳ δαφνίνῳ ἀεὶ χρῆσθαι . . . ἔδωκαν. Ταῦτα μὲν εὐθύς σφισι μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἔδοξεν.⁶⁵

. . . when word came of his [Augustus Caesar's] victory [over Pompey the Younger in Sicily] . . . Then the people of the capital unanimously bestowed upon him votes of praise, statues, the right to the front seat, an arch surmounted by trophies, and the privilege of riding into the city on horseback, of wearing the laurel crown [of the triumphant general] on all occasions . . . These were the honours which they granted him immediately after his victory.

After the battle of Actium Augustus receives from the senate two honorary arches, one in Brundisium and one in Rome:

ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον συχνὰ μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ναυμαχίας νίκη οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐψηφίσαντο. τά τε γὰρ νικητήρια αὐτῷ, ὡς καὶ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, καὶ ἀψίδα τροπαιοφόρον ἐν τε τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ καὶ ἑτέραν ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ ἀγορᾷ ἔδωκαν· τὴν τε κρηπίδα τοῦ Ἰουλείου ἡρώου τοῖς τῶν αἰχμαλωτῶν νεῶν ἐμβόλοις κοσμηθῆναι, καὶ πανήγυριν οἱ πεντετηρίδα ἄγεσθαι . . .

During this time and still earlier the Romans at home had passed many resolutions in honour of Caesar's naval victory [at the battle of Actium in the civil war against Antony!]. Thus, they granted him a triumph, as over Cleopatra, an arch adorned with trophies at Brundisium and another in the Roman forum. Moreover, they decreed that the foundation of the

⁶³ Dio. LI.21.4-5. Transl. by Earnest Cary, LCL, VI:60-61. Cf., also the critique of Propertius of the Actian war as *bellum iniustum*, which offends the gods precisely on account of its illegitimate nature of being a war against Romans. Prop. *El.* II.15.41-48.

⁶⁴ Fred S. Kleiner. *The Arch of Nero in Rome*. Rome: Bretschneider, 1985, 23.

⁶⁵ Dio. XLIX.15.1-2. Transl. by Earnest Cary, LCL, VII:370-371.

ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀγγελίας τῆς νίκης ἡμέρᾳ
 ἱερομηνίαν εἶναι⁶⁶

shrine of Julius should be adorned with the beaks of the captured ships and that a festival should be held every four years in honour of Octavianus; that there should be a thanksgiving . . . on the anniversary of his victory

The two arches in Brundisium and Rome, as well as the arch for the victory over Sextus Pompey receive the description ἀψίδα τροπαιοφόρον (“arch with military trophies”) – clearly referring to honorary arches for a military victory.⁶⁷ The arch built by the order of the senate in Rome is likely the arch represented on the reverse of the denari struck in Rome between 29 and 27 BC, showing a single bay arch with a statuary group of the triumphal chariot on the attic with Octavian on a four-horse quadriga. On the architrave of the arch the inscription reads IMP(erator) CAESAR.⁶⁸



Figure 61 and 62: Denarius of Octavian depicting triumphal arch with quadriga.

⁶⁶ Dio. LI.19.1-2. Transl. by Earnest Cary, LCL, VI:50-51. Brundisium was Octavian’s point of embarkation for the east and thus an appropriate site for the erection of an arch commemorating the success at Actium. Fred S. Kleiner. *The Arch of Nero in Rome*. Rome: Bretschneider, 1985, 23.

⁶⁷ Ernst Künzl, *Der römische Triumph. Siegesfeiern im antiken Rom*. München: C. H. Beck, 1988, 52. That the arch of Philippi does not receive attention as a victory arch in the literary sources is likely due to its insignificance as a relatively small arch in the provinces in comparison with arches in Rome and Italy.

⁶⁸ Fred S. Kleiner. *The Arch of Nero in Rome*. Rome: Bretschneider, 1985, 24. Image from: Acsearch, the ancient coin search engine, <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=563527>, accessed March, 25th 2013. Cf., also BMC Vol. 1., 102. and plate 15, nr. 8. The foundation and some of the superstructures of the Roman arch commemorating Actium have been uncovered in the Forum Romanum between the temple of Divus Julius and the Temple of Castor. Heinz Kähler, “Triumphbogen (Ehrenbogen).” In *Pauly’s Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 7, A1. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1939, 379-80. Otto Richter, “Der Tempel des Divus Julius und der Bogen des Augustus auf dem Forum Romanum.” In *Antike Denkmäler* Vol. 1. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1988, 14-15. In Heidelberger historische Bestände – digital: <http://katalog.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/titel/66323913>.

The reason Frothingham states for rejecting the possibility that the arch of Philippi might have been a triumphal arch, namely that no triumphal arches could be built after a victory in a civil war, is manifestly false. Although it is true that Roman sensitivity did not like the idea of triumphs over fellow Romans, the civil war period from Caesar to Augustus had their own rules and it is a matter of course that dictators in their struggle for supremacy did not adhere to the ideals of modesty in place during senatorial rule.

Somewhat misleading is also the statement of Collart, stating that the idea of triumph is “rarely associated with the erection of an arch.”⁶⁹ “Rarely” is simply the wrong word for an accurate description concerning the prevalence of arches commemorating triumphs and victories in battle in the first century BC and AD. Collart’s “rarely” appears to be somewhat polemical in order to suggest to the reader that “triumphal arches” were such a rarity that the possibility of the Philippian arch being one, can quickly be dismissed. A more accurate evaluation of the function of arches in the late Roman Republic and the early Principate would have been: “the idea of triumph or military victory is regularly associated with the erection of an arch!” Even though the name *arcus triumphalis* is a late use in the literary sources (it was used the first time by Ammianus Marcellinus in the fourth century AD),⁷⁰ the concept of an honorific arch (*fornix*, *arcus*, ἀψίς, πύλη) commemorating military victories is a widespread Roman phenomenon dating from the second century BC until the end of the Roman empire.⁷¹ Although other religious or topographical functions of arches, marking provincial or city boundaries, or honorary arches for private individuals or for the successful completion of building projects were possible, honorary arches commemorating military victories was one of the more prominent categories in the first century BC and AD.⁷² The erection of an arch in a province on the site where the battle took place was also a common occurrence.⁷³ The possibility of the existence of an arch at Philippi, which commemorated the battle in 42 BC cannot be ruled out categorically.

⁶⁹ Collart, 321: “Il est en effet reconnu aujourd'hui qu'en dépit de l'appellation usuelle, l'idée de triomphe ne s'associait qu'exceptionnellement à l'érection d'un arc . . .”

⁷⁰ Amm. XXI.16.15.

⁷¹ Janet DeLaine, “Triumphal Arch.” In *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 3rd Ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, 1554-55.

⁷² Cf., Heinz Kähler, “Triumphbogen (Ehrenbogen).” In *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 7, A1. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1939, 470-74. Fred S. Kleiner. *The Arch of Nero in Rome*. Rome: Bretschneider, 1985, 14-66.

⁷³ Heinz Kähler, “Triumphbogen (Ehrenbogen).” In *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 7, A1. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1939, 471. Cf., Dio. LIII.26.5.; Dio. LVI.17.

B.2.3.3. A victory monument at Philippi likely due to Octavian's pattern of memorialising his victories

Not only can the existence of a “victory arch” not be excluded from a reflection on the function of Philippi's arch, certain historical considerations make a victory arch at the site of Philippi even likely. On the date of the erection of the arch there has been a general consensus that it dates from the Augustan era.⁷⁴ Thus, if Augustus orders an arch to be erected at Philippi, one needs to ask the question what kind of arch it would be. Augustus certainly had a track record of making the most propaganda out of his civil war victories.

After the battle of Actium, the decisive battle in his civil confrontation with Antony, Octavian built an impressive battle memorial near the site of the final naval battle. At the exact site where Octavian had placed his command post and tent, Octavian constructed a war memorial to commemorate his victory. The new city founded to host the memorial – Nikopolis “victory city” – served a double purpose for Octavian. It was founded to commemorate the victory at Actium⁷⁵ and to solve the economic crisis of the aftermath of the long years of civil wars by making trade routes secure and revitalising the devastated East.⁷⁶ Octavian's “victory city” existed as a kind of a living victory monument: a city with games that were proposed to be equal to the Pan-Hellenic games. As much as possible political propaganda had to be made out of Actium. The large and impressive memorial, set on a hill to the north of the city is described by various ancient sources,⁷⁷ among them Cassius Dio:

<p>πόλιν τέ τινα ἐν τῷ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τόπῳ, τοὺς μὲν συναγείρας τοὺς δ' ἀναστήσας τῶν πλησιοχώρων, συνέκτισε, Νικόπολιν ὄνομα αὐτῇ δούς. τό τε χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἐσκήνησε, λίθοις τε τετραπέδοις ἐκρηπίδωσε καὶ τοῖς ἀλοῦσιν ἐμβόλοις ἐκόσμησεν, ἕδος τι ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπαίθριον</p>	<p>Furthermore, he founded a city on the site of his camp by gathering together some of the neighboring peoples and dispossessing others, and he named it Nicopolis. On the spot where he had had his tent, he laid a foundation of square stones, adorned it with the captured</p>
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⁷⁴ Heinz Kähler, “Triumphbogen (Ehrenbogen).” In *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 7, A1. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1939, 448. Collart, 321. Gunnar Brands, “Der Bogen von Aquinum.” In *Archäologischer Anzeiger*. München: Hirmer, 1991, 572. Paul Graef, “Triumph und Ehrenbögen.” In *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*. Ed. August Baumeister. München/ Leipzig: R. Oldenbourg, 1888, 1893. Sandro De Maria, “La Porta Augustea di Rimini nel quadro degli archi commemorativi coevi. Dati strutturali.” In *Studi sull'arco onorario romano*. Ed. Guido A. Mansuelli. Vol. 21 of *Studia Archaeologica*. Rom: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1979, 84. Fred S. Kleiner. *The Arch of Nero in Rome*. Rome: Bretschneider, 1985, 20.

⁷⁵ Suet. *Aug.* XVIII.2.; Dio. LI.1.1-2.

⁷⁶ Strab. VII.7.6. William M. Murray, and Photios M. Petsas *Octavian's Campsite Memorial for the Actian War*. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 79.4. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1989, 4.

⁷⁷ Cf., Suet. *Aug.* XVIII.2.; Suet. *Aug.* XCVI.2.; Plut. *Ant.* LXV.3.; Strab. VII.7.6.

ἰδρυσάμενος.⁷⁸

beaks, and erected upon it, open to the sky, a shrine of Apollo.

The monument was initially and partially excavated in 1913. In 1989 the various publications up to date on the monument were summarised and the findings of additional excavations from 1986 were published by William M. Murray and Photios M. Petsas' *Octavian's Campsite Memorial for the Actian War*.⁷⁹ Murray and Petsas in summary encapsulate the dimensions of the monument:

The finished monument must have been impressive. As one approached from the grove at the base of the hill, a massive podium fronted by a lower terrace some five to six meters wide first came into view. Resting on this lower terrace, with their back ends fixed to the podium's long retaining wall, was a continuous line of green warship rams. Arrayed in generally increasing sizes from right to left, these weapons led one's attention smoothly to the west end of the wall where the inscription began above the first ram – a monster weighing over two tons. Like those who see a modern aircraft carrier for the first time at close range, most visitors would have been unprepared for the massiveness of these weapons Atop the terrace set a Π-shaped stoa more than 40 meters wide.⁸⁰

In order to help the reader to visualise the original appearance a restored view of the building is then offered by Murray and Petsas to look as follows.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Dio. LI.1.3. Transl. by Earnest Cary, LCL, VI:4-5.

⁷⁹ William M. Murray and Photios M. Petsas, *Octavian's Campsite Memorial for the Actian War*. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 79.4. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1989.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 85-86.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 88.

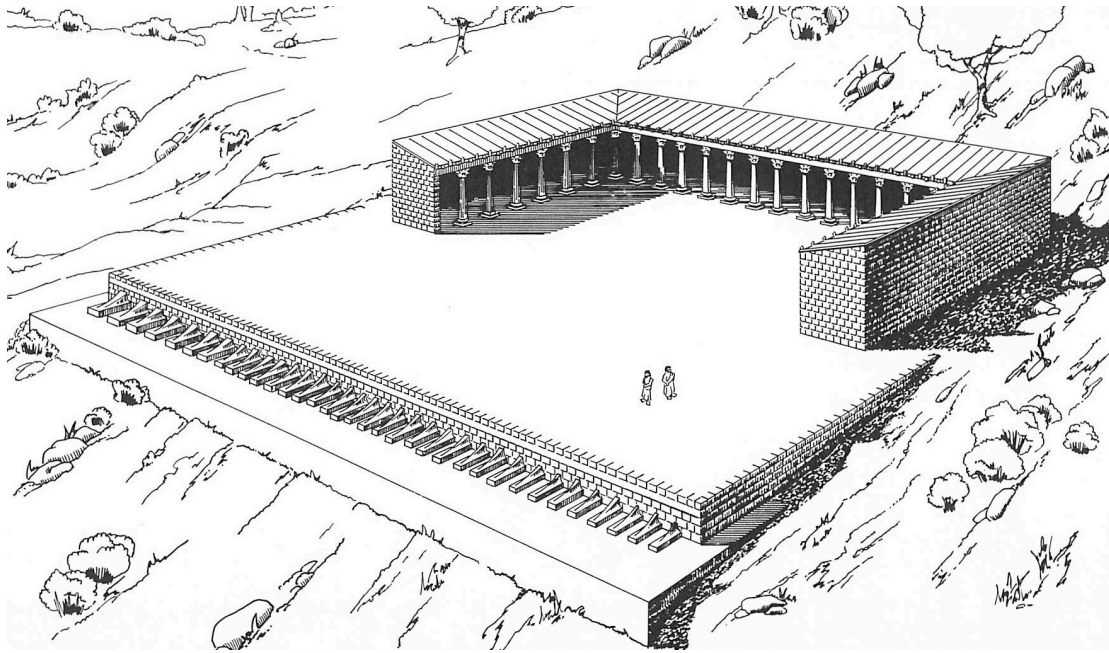


Figure 63: Victory memorial of Octavian built at Nikopolis after the battle of Actium, reconstructive drawing from William M. Murray and Photios M. Petsas.

If one compares a war memorial of Octavian's battle of Actium, where its southern wall measures 62 meters and is adorned with 33 to 35 warship ram bows, the largest weighing 5 tons with the rather modest arch of Philippi, being approximately 11 meters high, objections toward the appropriateness of the arch commemorating the victory of Philippi does not carry much weight.

In fact, none of Octavian's civil victories were quietly passed over. Rather, they were exploited to the maximum for propaganda purposes, as the numismatic evidence reveals:

Münzen als Propagandamittel nutzt Augustus übrigens schon seit dem Start seiner Karriere ausgiebig: immer wieder wird der zum Gott erhobene Julius Caesar gewürdigt – und mit ihm sein legitimer Nachfolger. Alle militärischen Erfolge, vor allem die drei mythisch verkündeten Siege gegen seine Bürgerkriegsriivalen, werden im Münzbild festgehalten – auch wenn es allesamt fremde Federn sind: Philippi, 42 vC, Marc Anton über Cassius und Brutus;

Coins as propaganda were used by Augustus extensively since the start of his career: again and again Julius Caesar was honoured as one raised to god-hood – along with his legitimate successor. All military successes, especially the three mythically glorified victories against his civil war rivals, are memorialised in the coin images – even if Octavian entirely takes the credit from others: at Philippi, in 42 BC, Antony is victorious over Brutus and Cassius; at Naulochus, in 34 BC,

Naulochus, 34 vC, Vipsanius Agrippa über Sextus Pompeius; Actium, 31 vC, Vipsanius Agrippa über Marc Anton. ⁸²	Vipsanius Agrippa conquers Sextus Pompey; at Actium, in 31 BC, Vipsanius Agrippa is victorious over Mark Antony.
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With Octavian taking the credit from others in the civil war victories and propagating them as his own we arrive at the heart of the issue of the possible function of the arch of Philippi. Octavian felt the necessity and was very eager to change history to enhance his reputation. He had done so blatantly concerning the battle of Philippi. Suetonius states that Augustus had deposited with the Vestal Virgins, along with his will, his instruction for his funeral, a summarised statement on the condition of the empire and a résumé of his acts, which he wished to have engraved upon bronze tablets to be set up in front of his mausoleum in the Campus Martius.⁸³ The original bronze tablets disappeared, but one copy from the many affixed on the walls of numerous temples to Augustus was preserved, the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. Concerning the battle of Philippi and the consequent battles after it Augustus wrote:

Qui parentum meum (<i>interfecer</i>)un(t eo)s in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus eorim (<i>fa</i>)cin(us, e)t postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici b(<i>isl a</i>)cie. ⁸⁴	Those who slew my father I drove into exile, punishing their deed by due process of law, and afterwards when they waged war upon the republic I twice defeated them in battle.
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It was certainly not Octavian who defeated the Republicans in battle, rather Octavian played a very dubious role at the battle of Philippi. Octavian was sick during the campaign and when the first battle of Philippi was waged, Pliny bluntly reports that Octavian went hiding into the marsh.⁸⁵ In his absence, his forces were overthrown by Brutus and Octavian's camp was plundered. Octavian was prevented from capture or death only by his flight.⁸⁶ The truth of Octavian's inglorious role was well known and exploited by the real victor of Philippi, as the speech of Marc Antony, recorded by Cassius Dio reveals:

. . . τε ἀρρωστότατος τῷ σώματι ἐστί, καὶ ὅτι οὐδεμίαν πώποτε ἐπιφανῆ μάχην οὔτε ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ οὔτε ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ αὐτὸς νενίκηκεν. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐν τοῖς Φιλίπποις ἐν	. . . he is a veritable weakling in body and has never by himself been victor in any battle either on the land or on the sea. Indeed, at Philippi, in one and the
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⁸² Peter Hardetert. *Propaganda. Macht. Geschichte. Fünf Jahrhunderte Römische Geschichte von Caesar bis Theodosius in Münzen geprägt*. Gelsenkirchen: Edition Archaea, 1998, 28.

⁸³ Suet. *Aug.* 101.

⁸⁴ Aug. *RGDA*. I.2. Transl. by Frederick W. Shipley, LCL, 346-47.

⁸⁵ Plin. *Nat.* VII.148.

⁸⁶ App. *BC*. IV.14.112.

τῷ αὐτῷ ἀγῶνι ἐγὼ μὲν ἐκράτησα ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἠττήθη. ⁸⁷	same conflict, it was I that conquered and he that was defeated.
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Plutarch also remarks that the credit for the victory at Philippi was clearly Antony's:

ὀλίγων δ' ἡμερῶν διαγενομένων πάλιν ἔμαχέσαντο· καὶ Βροῦτος μὲν ἠττηθεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἀνεῖλεν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ τῆς νίκης ἠνέγκατο τῇ δόξῃ τὸ πλεῖστον, ἅτε δὴ καὶ νοσοῦντος τοῦ Καίσαρος. ⁸⁸	After a few days had intervened, a second battle was fought, and Brutus, being defeated, slew himself; but Antony won the greater credit for his victory, since, indeed, Caesar was sick.
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Nevertheless, the propaganda soon proclaimed “I twice defeated them in battle.”⁸⁹ The pattern of reinterpreting the history of the battle of Philippi was also seen on the site of the colony. After Actium, the colony of Antony could of course not be considered “his colony” any more and particularly the name *Colonia Victrix Philippensium* had to go – it reminded one too much of Antony. Thus, a complete re-founding of the colony had to take place and it became *Colonia Iulia Philippensis*, after Octavian received from the senate the title *Augustus* in 27 BC, the colony took the name *Colonia Iulia Augusta Philippensis*. The coins minted under Augustus in Philippi reinforced the re-writing of history and the coin already displayed under the discussion of the altars of Antony above⁹⁰ and reproduced one more time here, now places Octavian at the centre of the victory of Philippi.



Figure 64 and 65: Local Philippian bronze coin from the time of Augustus, depicting Augustus in military dress and posture on a platform next to two altars.

⁸⁷ Speech of Antony before the battle of Actium, pointing out the deficiencies of Octavian. Dio. L.18.3. Transl. by Earnest Cary, LCL, V:474-75.

⁸⁸ Plut. *Ant.* XXII.5. Transl. by Bernadotte Perrin, LCL, IX:184-85.

⁸⁹ Aug. *RGDA.* I.2.

⁹⁰ See Appendix B.1. “The altars of Philippi.”

Augustus is depicted on the reverse as the victorious general addressing the army, flanked by the altars of the victors of the battle of Philippi. It is Julius Caesar who crowns Augustus with the victory wreath – thus telling the story of a vindicated Julius Caesar through the victories of his adopted son.

Returning to the possible function of the arch of Philippi one could, admittedly in part a little speculatively, draw the following conclusions. The arch 2 kilometres outside the *pomerium* could not have been a boundary arch of the *pomerium* or territory. Significant building projects are not known to have been constructed by Augustus that warrant the memorialization of them by an arch. Thus, either a victory arch *per sé* or a commemorative arch of the founding (or rather re-founding) of the colony of Philippi is the most likely option.

However, one needs to keep in mind that it was a military colony that was founded and re-founded – each time due to a significant battle, first Philippi and then Actium. Thus, as the founding coins directly and deliberately connected Philippi with the victory at its doors (*Antoni iussu colonia victrix Philippensis*), it would be highly unlikely if a honorary arch did not do the same. I therefore propose that the suggestion of Heuzey, although since Frothingham unjustly spurned, remains our best guess concerning the function of the monument. Particularly the erection of the arch, right in the plains where the battle of Philippi took place (consult the map of Philippi at the Appendix D to visualize the location of the arch and the battle line inbetween the two camps of the opposing armies), speaks of its connection with the battle. Either if the arch was a pure victory arch or if the arch memorialised the re-founding of the Roman military colony under Augustus, the arch likely functioned as an honorific arch proclaiming the military victory of Augustus.

B.3. Conclusion

With the almost certain existence in the first century of Antony's altars from the battle of Philippi and the possible function of Philippi's arch as (at least in part) commemorating the victory of the civil war, two architectural edifices placed in the prominent location along the *Via Egnatia* existed in Philippi which strongly spoke of its enduring connection with the civil war. The traveller to Philippi, at least when coming from the west, quickly realised that by approaching Philippi, he is visiting the city of the famous civil war.

Appendix C

The Crown as a Symbol of Victory – A common visual representation in Roman art, architecture, and numismatics

Victory wreaths memorialised through pictorial representations in Greco-Roman architecture, art and coins were a very common occurrence in the first century AD. Crowns as symbols of victory were already in use in Classical Greece and in the Roman Republic. After the Roman civil wars in the first century BC their propagandistic use to extol the various victories of civil and foreign wars achieved a numerical peak. The following select examples demonstrate the geographical spread and the enduring use of victory wreaths until the end of the first century AD – illustrating that a literary allusion to crowns (as in Paul's letter to the Philippians) would have readily evoked mental associations to the concept of military victory, represented by a victory wreath.



Figure 66 and 67: The Armoured Statue of Chercell depicting the crowning of Julius Caesar by the goddess *Victoria*

The pictured breastplate is part of the armoured statue from Cherchell, which was found during excavations in the Roman theatre of the ancient city of Iol-Caesarea, the residence of the Mauritanian client king Juba II.¹ Dated between AD 2 – 14 and most likely carrying the now lost head of Augustus, the breastplate portrays a scene in which the goddess *Victoria* extends her right hand to place a victory wreath on Julius Caesar (clad in a toga only on his lower parts) – the deified ancestor of Augustus. Further artistic details, such as the presence of the goddess *Venus* and the god *Mars Ultor* towering above all, a triton holding a ships beak and a centaur with cornucopia below, etc., point the scene to epitomize the triple victories of Augustus at Philippi, Naulochus and Actium.²



Figure 68: Silver “Tiberius” cup from Boscoreale (Italy) depicting Tiberius in the triumphal chariot, being crowned for his victories in Germany.

The “Tiberius” cup³ is one cup of a pair of drinking vessels, originally unearthed in the modern village of Boscoreale, near ancient Pompeii. The scene visible in the picture above images the future emperor, Tiberius, celebrating a triumph. In connection with the “Augustus” cup – the corresponding cup of the pair, the triumph can be detected as Tiberius’ German triumph in 8 BC. Tiberius, standing in the triumphal quadriga and clad in the triumphant

¹ Photo from the Archäologisches Institut of the Universität zu Köln (www.arachne.uni-koeln.de); image nr. FA 512-05 and FA 511-07. The original is on display in the Archaeological Museum of Cherchell, Algeria.

² Klaus Fittchen, “Zur Panzerstatue in Cherchel.” In *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*. Vol. 91. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1977, 175-210.

³ The Boscoreale cup is on display in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. Picture and permission obtained from bpk Bildagentur für Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte, Berlin.

garments, the *toga picta* and *tunica palmata*, is crowned by a public slave – the *servus publicus* – with the *corona Etrusca*, made out of solid gold. Not only is Tiberius pictured with a wreath symbolising his victories, the soldier-attendants of the triumph wear the insignia of victory, laurel wreaths⁴ and branches, as well.⁵



Figure 69: Scene of Victoria crowning Tiberius from the column of Oppidum Batavorum.

The marble block shows a scene of Tiberius Caesar sacrificing while being crowned with a laurel wreath by the goddess *Victoria* – from a victory column erected in the Roman province *Germania inferior*.⁶ The crowning commemorates the success of the punitive expeditions of the Roman legions against the Germanic tribes during AD 14 – 16 in response to the

⁴ Cf., DS. XVI.79.4.

⁵ Ann L. Kuttner, *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus. The Case of the Boscoreale Cups*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995.

⁶ The scene is part of a large column, originally ca. 7.5 metres high, erected around AD 17 in the Roman colony of Oppidum Batavorum, which was situated near the modern town of Nijmegen, Holland. Only part of the column was found and excavated and is now on display in the Museum Het Valkhof in Nijmegen, Netherlands. Photo from the author's collection. Cf. W. J. H. Willems and H. L. H. van Enckevort. Eds. *Ulpia Noviomagus: Roman Nijmegen, the Batavian Capital at the Imperial Frontier*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement Series 73. Portsmouth, Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2009, 21-22.

slaughter of the three Roman legions in the Varus-disaster (battle at the Teutoburg forest) in AD 9.



Figure 70: Triumph of Titus, crowned by Victoria. Scene from a panel of the arch of Titus

The marble arch of Titus along the Via Sacra in Rome was erected in AD 81 in honour of the victory of Titus in the Jewish war between AD 66 – 70. Two relief panels in the passageway of the arch show scenes from Titus' triumph.⁷ While the more well known panel depicts Roman soldiers carrying Jewish spoils on a *ferculum*, among them the menorah from the temple of Jerusalem, the opposite panel depicts Titus standing in the triumphal quadriga, riding alongside the procession. Instead of the state slave holding the Etruscan crown as depicted on the Boscoreale cup, on the arch of Titus *Victoria* accompanies Titus in the triumphal chariot, which is drawn by four horses. The winged goddess places the wreath of victory on Tiberius' head.

⁷ Picture courtesy of Fred S. Kleiner, Professor of History of Art & Architecture, Boston University.



Figure 71 and 72: Denarius of Brutus depicting the crowning of a trophy by the goddess Victoria.

Denarius of Brutus from 42 BC.⁸ The obverse shows a bust of Apollo, the reverse pictures a scene in which the goddess Victoria crowns a trophy, holding a palm branch – another symbol of victory – in her other hand. Brutus (his full name Marcus Iunius Brutus Caepio and his adoptive name Quintus Servilius Caepio Brutus being abbreviated and conglomerated as Q CAEP BRUT on the coin) is acclaimed as *imperator* (victorious general). The celebrated victory is presumably related to Brutus' operations in Thrace and Lycia before the battle of Philippi in 42 BC.⁹



Figure 73 and 74: Denarius of Octavian depicting Victoria standing on a ship's prow, holding crown and palm branch and Octavian in a triumphal chariot

On the obverse of the coin a draped and winged goddess *Victoria* is clearly visible. She is standing on a ships bow, holding with her left arm a palm branch and extending with her right

⁸ Image from Acsearch, the ancient coin search engine: <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=631699>, accessed May, 28th 2013. Cf., Rainer Albert, *Die Münzen der Römischen Republik. Von den Anfängen bis zur Schlacht von Actium*. Regenstauf: Gietl Verlag, 2003, 191. BMR Vol. 1., 476. and BMR Vol. 3., plate 111, nr. 11.

⁹ Acsearch, the ancient coin search engine: <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=646470>, accessed May, 28th 2013.

arm a wreath, both symbols of victory. On the reverse Octavian rides the triumphal quadriga.¹⁰ The coin pays tribute to Octavian's naval victory at Actium.



Figure 75 and 76: Denarius of Octavian depicting Victoria standing on a ship's prow, holding crown and palm branch and Octavian in triumphal chariot.

This denarius depicts the head of Octavian on the obverse and a laurel-wreath interwoven with rostra and tied with a band, whose long ties are drawn up toward the centre of the coin.¹¹ The wreath symbolises a naval victory of Octavian.



Figure 77 and 78: Winged Victoria standing on a globe raising her right hand, extending the crown of victory

This coin utilizes the much used theme of “Victoria extending the wreath of victory” again. Victoria is this time standing on the globe, symbolising sole rule of the earth. Customarily, the goddess holds a palm branch in one hand and extends, as the sign of victory, a wreath in the other.¹² With Octavian on the obverse, the coin celebrates the young Augustus as “bringer of

¹⁰ Image from Acsearch, the ancient coin search engine: <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=646489>, accessed May, 28th 2013. Rainer Albert, *Die Münzen der Römischen Republik. Von den Anfängen bis zur Schlacht von Actium*. Regenstauf: Gietl Verlag, 2003, 220. BMC Vol. 1, 101., plate 15, nr. 7.

¹¹ Image from Acsearch, the ancient coin search engine: <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=416313>, accessed June, 10th 2013. Cf., BMC Vol. 1, 108., plate 16, nr. 12.

¹² Image from Acsearch, the ancient coin search engine: <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=>

victory.”¹³ The typical motif of winged Victoria holding out the crown of victory is also utilised in the local Philippian mint in the middle of the first century AD.¹⁴



Figure 79 and 80: Triumphal garments together with victory wreath on a denarius of Octavian

This denarius of Octavian accumulates various insignia of a triumph. On one side one finds the triumphal regalia of the imperator. He wears the *toga picta* over the *tunica palmata*, both in the centre of the coin. To the left the *aquila*, the eagle-military-standard is visible, on the right the crown of victory. The other side of the coin portrays the imperator in the quadriga, which is ornamented in front and on the side with victories, who, as the rider of the chariot does, extend a palm branch.¹⁵



Figure 81 and 82: Local Philippian coin from the time of Augustus depicting the emperor in military dress, being crowned by Julius Caesar, both on a platform next to two altars.

593917, accessed June, 7th 2013. Cf., Ursula Kampmann, *Die Münzen der Römischen Kaiserzeit*. Regenstauf: Gietl Verlag, 2004, 38. BMC Vol. 1, 99., plate 14, nr. 19.

¹³ Sheila Dillon and Katherine E., Welch, Eds. *Representations of War in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 184-91.

¹⁴ See figure 20 and 21 in 2.6.3.1. “The local coinage of Philippi.”

¹⁵ Image from Acsearch, the ancient coin search engine: <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=641184>, accessed June, 7th 2013. Cf., coins of the Roman Republic Plate 9, coin 2; I: 69.

Bronze coin of Augustus, local Philippian mint, picturing the laureate head of Augustus and on the reverse Augustus in military dress and the divine Julius Caesar. Augustus poses in the *adlocutio*-gesture (the emperor addressing the army with a slightly lifted arm), Julius Caesar (DIVO IVL) wears a toga and crowns Augustus (AVG DIVI F).¹⁶



Figure 83 and 84: Denarius of Vespasian, the scene of Victoria crowning the military standard (already used under Octavian) is repeated

Denarius of Vespasian, depicting the laureate head of Titus and on the reverse the goddess *Victoria* is advancing to the right, raising a wreath to crown a military standard. The coin celebrates the victory of the Jewish war in AD 70.¹⁷

¹⁶ *RPC1*, 308, part II: plate 81. Gaebler, 102-03, plate 20. Image: Acsearch, the ancient coin search engine, <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=13684>, accessed May, 24th 2012.

¹⁷ Image from Acsearch, the ancient coin search engine: <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=632033>, accessed June, 7th 2013. Cf., Ursula Kampmann, *Die Münzen der Römischen Kaiserzeit*. Regenstauf: Gietl Verlag, 2004, 81. BMC Vol. 2, 13., plate 22, nr. 13.

Appendix D

Map of Philippi with locations discussed in the thesis

The following true to scale map illustrates some of the various locations of inscriptions, buildings and ancient sites discussed in this thesis and their relationship to the ancient city of Philippi.¹ In sketching the outlines of the city this map depends the works and previously existing drawings of Heuzey/ Daumet,² Collart,³ Lemerle,⁴ Λαζαριδης,⁵ Poulter-Strange,⁶ Gounaris⁷ and Sève/ Weber.⁸ I re-orientated the map toward north through on-site compass readings (thus amending the map of Heuzey/ Daumet, Collart, Lemerle, Lazarides, Poulter/ Strange and Pilhofer).⁹

The placement of the city within the topographic contours of the area was carried out in dependence on satellite photos from google maps. The location of the arch of Philippi and the tombstone of G. Vibius Quartus were inserted in reliance of GPS data collected on site. For the outline of the ancient course of the river Gangites, the fortification walls of the triumvirs, the locations of the burial urn of Valerius Crescens Furnarius and the building with grave inscriptions, the site of the camp of Cassius and Brutus and the course of the *Via Egnatia* the map relies on the newer archaeological reports of Καϊμάρης, Γεωργούλα and

¹ I am grateful to Mike Hirsch from *Cervus Neue Medien* (www.cervus-medien.de) for his help with the graphical design.

² Léon Heuzey and Honore Daumet, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1876.

³ Paul B. Collart, *Philippes, ville de Macédoine, depuis ses origins jusqu'à la fin de l'époque romaine*. Paris: Boccard, 1937.

⁴ Paul Lemerle, *Philippes et la Macédoine Orientale à l'Époque Chrétienne et Byzantine*. 2 vols. Paris: De Boccard, 1945.

⁵ Δημητρης Ι. Λαζαριδης, *Φίλιπποι – Ρωμαϊκή αποικία*. Ancient Greek Cities. Vol. 20. Athens: Athens Center of Ekistics, 1973.

⁶ A. G. Poulter and P. Strange, "The Results of a Geophysical Survey." In *The Annual of the British School at Athens*. Vol. 93. Athens: British School at Athens, 1998, 453-61.

⁷ Georgios G. Gounaris and Emmanuela G. Gounari, *Philippi. Archäologischer Führer*. Transl. by Cornelia Buschbeck. Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2004.

⁸ Michel Sève and Patrick Weber, *Guide du forum de Philippes*. In Sites et Monuments 18. Paris: De Boccard, 2012.

⁹ Pilhofer, 1999, 68. Pilhofer's maps on pages 17 and 75 are closer to a true orientation toward north.

Καραδέδος,¹⁰ Καραδεδος and Νικολαΐδου-Πατερα,¹¹ and the description in ΑΔ.¹² The location of the camp of Octavian and Antony was based on the description in Appian.¹³

¹⁰ Δημήτριος Καϊμάρης, Ολγα Γεωργούλα and Γιώργος Καραδέδος, “Φωτογραμμετρική-Φωτοερμηνευτική Έρευνα στην Πεδιάδα των Φιλίππων.” In *AEMΘ* 16. Thessaloniki: Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, 2002, 119-29.

¹¹ Γιώργος Καραδεδος and Μαρία Νικολαΐδου-Πατερα, “Αναζητώντας την Εγνατία οδό στην πεδιάδα των Φιλίππων.” In *AEMΘ* 20. Thessaloniki: University of Thessaloniki, 2006, 139-50.

¹² *ΑΔ* 43 (1988) Β2-Χρονικά, 441-42. Cf., Pilhofer, 2009, 457-58.

¹³ App. *BC*. IV.13.106-12.

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