

Paul's Epistolary Self in and around Philippians

EVE-MARIE BECKER

Paul's letter to the Philippians (around 62 CE) affords deep insight into the apostle's inner life. Nowhere else in his letters does he develop such intense thoughts about himself and his state of mind: as a prisoner who may soon confront his own execution, Paul is thrown back to his personal situation, oscillating between distress and hope. In these circumstances of extreme uncertainty, Paul surveys his inner life. The apostle reveals that survey without any restriction, as it seems, to his reading audience.

Paul's construction of selfhood thus is bound to the concrete situation of an epistolary communication: as letter writer, he wishes to "speak" to his community from a distance. Thus, when investigating how Paul, in the framework of his letter-writing, arrives at ideas about himself, I begin from the epistolary setting. I hope to show how the apostle uses epistolary techniques of "self-writing" and hereby progressively develops the shape of his "self."

1. The Epistolary Self as Representing Paul's *Parousia*

According to ancient epistolary theory,¹ letter-writing serves the basic function of making the letter-writer present among his addressees. The epistolary author seeks to shape personal *parousia* among his reading audience. He aims to appear to these readers, in other words, as if he were physically present.

What applies to ancient epistolography in general can be seen in Paul's and Cicero's letter-writing in particular. I begin with a close look at the extensive Ciceronian letter corpus (see below 1.1) and then turn to Paul and his letter to the Philippians. Cicero's letters to his family and his friends² shed light on how Paul seeks to mediate his personal presence to his audience in Philippi (see below 1.2).³ It is through Cicero's correspondence that we better understand how Paul,

¹ See on ancient epistolary theory: MALHERBE 1988. See lately on the state of research: FÖGEN 2018: 43–79.

² On Cicero's letter collections and the impact on ancient epistolography see lately: WHITE 2018: 7–21; SOGNO 2014: 201–22.

³ On comparisons of Cicero and Paul's letter writing, however, mostly from the perspective of compilation, see: KLAUCK 2003: 317–37; SCHMELLER 2004: 181–208. On literary compar-

particularly in his letter to the Philippian community, shapes personal *parousia*. In this missive to a community to which he must have felt warmly attached (see, e. g., Phil 4:15 ff.)⁴, the apostle exposes his innermost thoughts. It is there that Paul comes to fashion his epistolary self.

1.1 The *Parousia* Motif in Cicero's Epistolography (*Quint.* 1.1; *ad fam.* 14.4)

More than a century ago, Hermann Peter identified how Cicero's letters function as a "halved dialogue" ("halbirtes Gespräch").⁵ In such dialogue, different aspects of epistolary *parousia* come to light. Peter demonstrated a direct relationship between the tone with which Cicero addressed his audience and the level of intimacy he felt with it:⁶ the closer Cicero felt towards his addressees, the greater latitude he allowed himself with respect to the expression of his personality. The letters to his brother Quintus, his friend Atticus, and close family members (*Quint.*; *ad fam.*; *Att.*) project a strong personal tone.

A letter Cicero pens to Quintus vividly conveys the idea of epistolary *parousia*. Here, Cicero writes how he "hears" his brother speaking while reading his letter, and how he "speaks" with him while writing to him (*sed ego quia, cum tua lego, te audire, et quia, cum ad te scribe, tecum loqui videor [...]: Quint.* 1.1.45). Thus, we witness the writer and the addressee "talking," that is, *quasi adesse*. Even the length of the letter, according to Cicero, reflects the relationship of the communication partners (*ibid.*). Hence, in the very first lines, we read of the longing (*desiderium*) that this letter-writer and letter-recipient have for each other (1.1.1).

In letters of friendship and administration, the *parousia*-motif is the most constitutive epistolary goal – not least for the sake of providing either governance and admonition or *consolatio* when the writer and addressee are separated from each other (see *ad fam.* 4.13.1).⁷ In his letters from exile, Cicero provides further evidence of the importance of *parousia* via letter writing, particularly in family relations. Let us consider, for example, Letter 6 (*ad fam.* 14.4), written from Brundisium on April 29th in the year 58 BCE, and addressed to his wife Terentia and his children Tullia and Marcus. This letter demonstrates distinctly how epistolary *parousia* is a concept of construing Cicero's *persona* from a distance.

First, Cicero describes his current emotional state and his desire to see his addressees:⁸ When "I write to you at home or read your letters I am so over-

ison of Cicero and Paul's letters, see in regard to specific motifs such as tears: BECKER 2012a: 11–26; BECKER 2012b: 361–78.

⁴ Some scholars thus have put Philippians in terms of its letter-type close to either a "letter of friendship" or a "family letter." On the current state of the research, see HOLLOWAY 2017: 32 f.

⁵ PETER 1901: 39 f.

⁶ *Ibid.*: esp. 38–40.

⁷ See THRAEDE 1979; THRAEDE 1968: esp. 47–52.

⁸ Translation according to: CICERO 2001: 58–63.

come with tears [...]” ([...] *cum aut scribe ad vos aut vestras lego, conficior lacrimis [...]*: 14.4.1). “I want to see you, dear heart, as soon as I can, and to die in your arms [...]” ([...] *cupio videre et in tuo complexu emori [...]*: *ibid.*). Cicero then refers to his travel activities and plans (14.4.2) and complains about his circumstances – emphasizing, however, that as long as he had Terentia he “shall not feel [...] utterly lost” (*si te habebō, non mihi videbor plane perisse*: 14.4.3). Again, this section is marked by Cicero’s strong emotional expression: “I cannot write any more. Grief clogs my pen” (*non queo plura iam scribere; impedit maeror*: 14.4.3).

In the next paragraph (14.4.4), Cicero conveys his concern about the *familia* at home. In 14.4.5, Cicero refers to the request for hope which he received from his wife Terentia, and eagerly awaits further correspondence from her. Cicero responds to Terentia’s request by encouraging her: “For the rest, dearest Terentia, bear up with all the dignity you can muster” (*Quod reliquum est, sustenta te, mea Terentia, ut potes honestissime*: 14.4.6). What follows is a retrospective on Cicero’s life: an autobiographical narrative with an apologetic function. I shall quote the passage in full here:

It has been a good life, a great career. The good in me, nothing bad, has brought me down ([...] *non vitium nostrum sed virtus nostra nos adflixit [...]*). I have done nothing wrong ([...] *peccatum est nullum [...]*), except that when I lost the good things of life; I did not lose life itself. But if it was more for our children’s happiness that I should live, let us bear what remains, intolerable though it be. And yet, while I tell you to be strong, I cannot tell myself (14.4.6).

In this passage, Cicero defends his choices by pointing to the enduring responsibility he has assumed for his family. He frames his narrative on the basis of virtue (*virtus*), and combines it with advice for his readers and himself. We will see later how Paul, in his letter to the Philippians, gauges his current situation (1:21 ff.) and assesses his life course (3:4bff.) in quite similar terms. Near the end of this letter, Cicero mentions a certain Clodius Philhetaerus whom he will “send back” (14.4.6). The sending back and forth of collaborators plays an important role in Paul’s letter-writing as well (see, e. g., Phil 2:28). Cicero closes his letter by bidding his wife to take care of her health and expressing his love for her and their children (*ibid.*).

We find no epistolary *propositio* or specific subject taken up in Cicero’s letter. Instead, the missive is part of a dynamic interaction with his family wherein the communication partners aim to assert their personal proximity despite spatial distance. Letter 6 shows Cicero in intimate interaction with his addressees. In the sense of epistolary *parousia*, he wants to present himself *in toto* – not to hide anything from his loved ones. In conveying his emotional state and personal distress, Cicero combines motifs of retrospection, admonition, and consolation. During physical absence from his family, the epistolary portrait of the letter writer becomes the sole mode of providing personal *parousia*.

In the correspondence at hand, Cicero exposes his entire personality to his addressees. Epistolary self-expressions like this one have led scholars to claim that there is no other person in antiquity who permitted such acute insights into his personal state as Cicero did.⁹ Arguably, however, these scholars have overlooked Paul in their assessment. And, from reading Ciceronian letters, new avenues of approaching Paul appear.

Despite the difference in context, that is, late Republican on the one hand and early Imperial on the other, Cicero's letter-writing has much in common with that of Paul. His Letter 6/*ad fam.* 14.4, in particular, shares facets with Paul's letter to the Philippian community. In both cases, the writer is writing in an exilic or exile-like setting and expresses extreme distress; the physical separation of the writers from the addressees triggers special deliberation; the audience is an intimate one which consists of more than one person; and the letter-writers aim to provide companionship, guidance, and consolation to their reading audience(s) in the face of their own grief.

1.2 *The Parousia Motif in Paul's Letter to the Philippians*

In his letter to the Philippian community, Paul is experiencing an exile-like situation. The apostle is imprisoned (1:7 ff.), probably in Rome,¹⁰ and thus unwillingly separated from his beloved community in Philippi (see e. g., 2:12; 4:1). As is the case in Cicero's letter, at the time of his writing, Paul is not yet aware of his future fortune. Like Cicero, Paul shows his emotional state by mentioning either his weeping (3:18) or his joy/*χαρά* (1:4, 25; 2:2, 29; 4:1).

In Paul's case of imprisonment, nothing less than his physical survival is at stake. The question is: will the apostle be released from his imprisonment, which would enable him to revisit the Philippian community (1:27)? Or will Paul have to die soon (1:21–30), which would prompt him to find *ultima verba* in his current letter-writing? The fact of imprisonment generates deep suffering for the prisoner. Since W. Michaelis' seminal work (1925), Pauline scholars have rightly taken the impact of social-historical circumstances on Paul's letter writing into account.¹¹

Most critical for the interpretation of Philippians, however, is that Paul is preparing for two distinct scenarios: his impending (brutal) death, which would lead him to farewell; and release from imprisonment, which would enable him to make further visiting plans (1:27). Paul himself prefers to die,

⁹ SCHULLER 2003: 7 (with reference to Otto Eduard Schmidt [1893]).

¹⁰ Research done in the past two centuries has indicated that Philippians is located in Rome, Caesarea, Ephesus, or Corinth. On this, see BECKER 2018a: 287–308, esp. 293 f.

¹¹ See MICHAELIS 1925: 586–95; MICHAELIS 1935: 17–20; STANDHARTINGER 2013: 140–67; ARZT-GRABNER 2003: 70–76.

since this would take him into immediate community with Christ (1:23) – he would be *σὺν Χριστῷ*, as he says. In a religious sense, Paul hopes for his individual desire to be fulfilled. If, however, he should instead live for some more time, he would continue to stay in close contact with the Philippian congregation (1:24f.). For reasons of his apostolic commitment and responsibility for his community, Paul considers the latter option to be the more necessary one (*ἀναγκαιότερον*: 1:24).¹² By presenting himself as accepting either of these two options, by even neglecting his personal preference of “departing in order to be immediately with Christ” (1:23), Paul shows himself to his readers as the ideal “servant of Christ” (see 1:1)¹³ who will accept completely his (God-given) fortune.

In his letter to the Philippians, Paul develops diverse visions of his future. As the apostle who will die soon, he envisions himself and his readers attaining imminent conformity with Christ (3:21) – including partaking of Christ's sufferings and resurrection (3:10–11). As the apostle who will survive, he imagines revisiting Philippi (1:27). Both scenarios necessitate that Paul reinforces the community's unity (*κοινωνία*) *with* and *according to* Christ (2:1–11; 4:5), and *with* and *according to* Paul (1:5ff.; 2:1ff.; 3:17). In different ways, Paul consistently correlates his thoughts about his and the community's fortune with his theological thinking – the weight of theological arguments developed by Paul in his letter distinguishes it from Cicero's Letter 6/*ad fam.* 14.4. Thus, first, Christ's unity with God – although challenged through physical separation caused by Christ's *kenosis* (2:6–11) – is taken as a paradigm of how Paul and the Philippian community remain united with each other *and* with Christ (2:5). Second, the God-Christ paradigm of close kinship acts as a structural analogy to how Paul describes his relation to his close collaborators Timothy (2:19–24; see 1:1 above) and Epaphroditus (2:25–30). And third, Paul anticipates full conformity and *κοινωνία* with Christ (3:10) – hereby, he perceives himself as the ultimate paradigm of a Christ-emulator who can be imitated accordingly by the community members (3:17). Consequently, Paul's *parousia* by epistolary means is no less than the actualization and imagination of the Christ-example which, in turn, represents encompassing unity with God.

While Cicero in Letter 6 evaluates his reflections in light of *virtus* (*ad fam.* 14.4.6), Paul implements in Philippians humility/*ταπεινοφροσύνη* as a key term for his theological thinking (2:3).¹⁴ The term *ταπεινοφροσύνη* is a neologism in Greek-Hellenistic literature. The term describes the mindset of Christ, which is, at the same time, paradigmatic for how Paul and his collaborators and the community members in Philippi are meant to act and interact.

¹² See BECKER 2013: 129–48.

¹³ See BECKER 2018d: 105–20.

¹⁴ On this see in general: BECKER 2015.

Ταπεινοφροσύνη, hence, is of Christological, ethical, and socio-political significance. In presenting himself as the quintessential ταπεινός throughout his letter (chs. 1–4),¹⁵ Paul ultimately transforms the epistolary *parousia* which he molds in this letter into the role model of the humble Christ-imitator who seeks ultimate community with God in Christ. Paul’s theological propositions thus meld with the role model that is put forward:¹⁶

Not that I have already received [the prize] or have already been perfected, but I race on if by any means I may lay hold of that for which I was myself also laid hold of by Christ Jesus. Brothers, I do not consider myself to have laid hold of [this prize], but there is one thing [I have laid hold of]: forgetting the things that lie behind me, and straining toward what lies ahead, I race toward the goal, toward the prize of the upward calling of God in Christ Jesus (3:12–14).

Become imitators together of me, brothers [...] For our citizenship exists in the heavens, from which we also eagerly await a savior, the Lord Jesus Christ, who will transform the body of our humiliation to be conformed to the body of his glory in exercise of his power to subject all things to himself (3:17, 20–21).

2. Conceptualizing Paul’s Epistolary Self

Pauline research has underscored the “personal tone” in which Paul composes his letters from the very start (see *prooimion* in 1:3–11 above).¹⁷ In regard to 3:8 ff., Paul A. Holloway has recently written of Paul’s religious “personalism.”¹⁸ My interpretation of Philippians accords with this view: in his letter to the Philippian community, Paul faces squarely his personal fate and his religious desire, which he shares – as it seems – without reservation with the letter-reading audience.

In this article, however, I would like to take my interpretation of Paul’s personal tone a step further. Thus, I argue that Paul in Philippians extensively molds an epistolary self. Paul shapes an image of himself as the imprisoned apostle who seeks enduring companionship with his readers via imminent community in Christ. The apostle must mold such an image as the letter might be the final one he sends to his congregation. The uncertainty about his future forces Paul to develop an *ultimate mode of epistolary self-expression*. In what follows, I present different dimensions of how Paul in Philippians crafts a concept of an epistolary self that is of “transcendent” significance.

¹⁵ See BECKER 2018c: 115–25.

¹⁶ Translation according to HOLLOWAY 2017: 171 and 178.

¹⁷ REUMANN 2008: 148.

¹⁸ HOLLOWAY 2017: 168.

2.1 The *παρών-ἀπών* Concept (Presence and Absence)

The idea of letter-writing as an act of presenting oneself to others is inherent in the ancient theory and practice of letter-writing. For Michel Foucault, letter-writing “constitutes a certain way of manifesting oneself to oneself and to others” and makes the letter-writer “present with a kind of immediate, almost physical presence.”¹⁹ Foucault suggests that letter-writing is “to project oneself into view, to make one’s own face appear in the other’s presence.”²⁰ Thus, letter-writing is a face-to-face meeting²¹ across temporal and spatial distance.

The *παρών-ἀπών* motif plays with the tension between the simultaneous presence and absence of the letter-writer. This motif serves the mediation of epistolary *parousia* and hence features strongly in Pauline letter-writing – albeit in a specific way. In the Corinthian correspondence, which constitutes a lively communication of Paul with one of the communities he founded, Paul reiterates his intention to be with the Corinthians by means of letter-writing during the time of his physical absence. In 1 and 2 Cor, the *παρών-ἀπών* motif is semantically decisive (see 1 Cor 5:3; 2 Cor 10:2, 11; 11:9; 13:2, 10):²² as Paul as the absent (*ἀπών*) is acting via letter writing, he, whenever present (*παρών*), will act with his deeds (2 Cor 10:11).

In his letter to the Philippian community, by contrast, Paul only once makes explicit use of the motif of absence (1:27). He has clearly become more doubtful about the future dynamics of constant personal interaction. As prisoner, Paul does not know his future fate.

As in his earlier letters to Thessalonica, Corinth and Achaia, Galatia, and Rome, in Philippians too Paul finds several other literary modes, which would – according to Foucault – add to the shape of epistolary selfhood. The semantic motif of being “mentally” present while being “physically” absent, which is the *παρών-ἀπών* concept, is only one epistolary strategy of expressing *parousia* and shaping the literary *persona*’s presence.

I shall thus outline how and why Paul in his letter to the Philippians shapes multi-layered images of an epistolary self by which he, as a prisoner, mediates his “personal” presence among his readers. Our inquiry will borrow insights from literary and philosophical discourses (particularly that of Foucault) in order to uncover the various elements by which Paul in his letter to the Philippian community conceptualizes epistolary selfhood (2.2.–2.3.), and how he, especially in that letter, develops introspective modes of self-construction (2.4.–2.5.).

¹⁹ FOUCAULT 1994: 216.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² BECKER 2002: 32–34.

2.2 “Self Writing”

Foucault demonstrated that the technique of examining and performing the self is bound to “the act of writing for oneself and for others.”²³ Tracing self-writing back to Stoic philosophy, he noted that, for Seneca (*ep.* 84.1), writing is a “personal exercise.”²⁴ Beyond being “an element of self-training, writing has [...] an *ethopoietic* function: it is an agent of the transformation of truth into *ethos*.”²⁵ Paul’s epistolary writing exhibits several features that allow us to define it as a technique of “self-writing” or “shaping the self.”²⁶ In the following, I take Paul’s letter to the Philippians as a reference point, as it displays all of the elements enumerated by Foucault in a specific way:

(a) In Philippians, Paul writes *for himself as for the others*. The letter is clearly addressed to an audience (1:1), with which Paul during this letter continuously interacts (1:12, etc.). At the same time, the apostle uses the opportunity of this letter-writing to reflect on his personal situation in prison (1:7 ff.) up to the point that he even discloses his wish to pass away in order to be together with Christ (1:19–26). Paul’s attempt to reveal the “truth” underlying his situation as prisoner in *παρρησία* (1:20) to his audience leads him to define an *ethos*, which he wants to implement as a community-leading principle: this is the *ethos* of “service” (see *δοῦλος*, 1:1) and “humility” (*ταπεινοφροσύνη*, 2:1–11).

(b) Next, the personal exercise of writing this letter and the *ethopoietic* dimension of implementing *ethos* on the basis of truth and *παρρησία*, can thus – and here Foucault’s analysis of the implications of writing turns out to be most fruitful – hardly be separated from each other. Paul’s shaping of selfhood tries to reveal truth, and hence is of *ethopoietic* significance. As the rhetorical training in antiquity (*progymnasmata*) taught how *ethopoieia* serves the presentation of the speaker’s character,²⁷ Paul reveals his *ethos* when creating himself as a literary *persona*.

(c) Finally, the technique of “self-writing” follows the rules and conventions of correspondence literature, which brings the letter-writer into communicative interaction with his audience. In Philippians, we find elements of *hypom-*

²³ FOUCAULT 1994: 208.

²⁴ *Ibid.* On Seneca’s epistolary style, see also Catharine Edwards’ contribution in this volume.

²⁵ *Ibid.*: 209. Foucault identifies two basic literary forms in which the *ethopoietic* dimension is performed in the 1st and 2nd centuries CE: the *hypomnemata* and the correspondence. By correspondence we have to think of letter writing, while the *hypomnemata* are a literary medium of storing memories – with the aim of either creating (auto)biographical or historiographical accounts out of it. The *hypomnemata* are directed toward past time: they “contribute one of the means by which one detaches the soul from concern for the future and redirects it toward contemplation of the past,” *ibid.*: 212.

²⁶ *Ibid.*: 211.

²⁷ See *PROGYMNASMATA* 2003: 213 (John of Sardis).

nemata – narrativized memories embedded in the genre of letter-writing. Note Paul's frequent insertion of biographical information (ch. 1) and autobiographical narration (esp. 3:4ff., see below), which could be seen as a "means of establishing a relationship of oneself with oneself."²⁸ In Phil 3, Paul contemplates his current status as a Christ-follower, impacted by his descent and his previous ethno-religious identity as a Benjaminite and Pharisee (3:5) – an identity which earlier was κέρδη to him (3:7) and which he now, in light of the Christ-revelation (3:8), considers to be ζημία and σκύβαλον (3:8).

I shall return to the literary significance of Paul's autobiographical narratives in Philippians and their role in the construction of apostolic subjectivity. For now, we can say that Paul accomplishes his "self-writing" in Philippians – as in most of his other letters – by means of communication. In the frame of epistolary correspondence, Paul includes *hypomnemata*-like passages as "memory aids" for the "purpose that is nothing less than the shaping of the self."²⁹

2.3 Epistolary Self-fashioning

When referring to their authorial perspective as a literary *persona*, ancient (and modern) literary authors tend to fashion themselves in their literary works.³⁰ How does Paul fashion *himself* and his *self* by means of the epistolary form and outline? In the following section, I distinguish between linguistic, narrative, and rhetorical tools and elements.

(a) Linguistically, I wish to look at the vocabulary by which Paul presents his thoughts about himself. The identification of the self, construed by the letter-writer, is mainly a matter of language and semantics. Accordingly, Shardi Bartsch speaks of the "level of *linguistic* reflexivity in Seneca" by which selfhood is construed.³¹ In Paul's letter to the Philippians, the lexicon of "mindedness" (φρον-/φρεν-) predominates, and it is also significant for Paul's concept of selfhood.³²

The semantics of φρον-/φρεν- points to the "mindset" or "mindedness" of the letter-writer in his interaction with his reading audience and the exalted *kyrios* Christ (2:5–11). Herein the lexicon of φρον-/φρεν- reveals the specific type of reflexivity Paul performs in Philippians: as Paul describes the mindset of the community, Christ, and the apostle in constant interrelation to each other, he also construes his selfhood against its continuous interaction with Christ and the community members in Philippi. In other words, Paul approaches his selfhood as an *apostolic* concept, where processes of self-reflection continually converge

²⁸ FOUCAULT 1994: 211.

²⁹ Ibid.: 209 and 211.

³⁰ See, in general, BECKER and MORTENSEN 2018b: 9–16.

³¹ BARTSCH 2006: 246.

³² See BETZ 2000: 315–41, 323 – with reference to: BURKERT 1998: 59–82, 67–69.

with the expression of his personal longing for Christ-emulation, as well as the request for companionship and imitating of the apostle which is expected of the community.

(b) Let us now turn to narrative elements / autobiography. With respect to ancient concepts of selfhood, the autobiographical speech mode is highly significant. As D. Shulman and G. S. Stroumsa have informed us, “Autobiography suggests ... the presence of the transforming subject who remembers the sequences of his or her own process, with greater or lesser accuracy, in greater or lesser degrees of persuasiveness.”³³ The autobiographical narrative results from self-observation and self-examination. Autobiographies perform primarily as first-person observations.

The narrative account requires a reflexivity by which the narrator composes his individual life course. The autobiographical account leads to individualization and subjectivity – the narrator reveals himself as being the authorial subject of his life story. In this vein, Foucault identified the writing down of *hypomnemata* as an “important moment of subjectivization.”³⁴

In the frame of a religious (auto-)biography, the narrator subordinates his life course to divine governance. Autobiographical passages in Paul’s letter-writing fall into that latter category. In Paul’s case, autobiographical accounts always serve the purpose of self-defense, working to affirm the apostle’s personal and professional integrity against the suspicion, rivalry, and enmity that he experiences in his communities.

Paul inserts autobiographical statements or extensive narratives about his life course in all of his letters. These passages range from short remarks about his current situation (e. g., Phlm 1) and living conditions (e. g., 1 Cor 9:1–6) to brief (e. g., 1 Cor 15:8–10; Rom 1:1–7) or more detailed accounts of his commissioning (e. g., Gal 1:10–2:14), his religious experiences (e. g., 2 Cor 12:1–10) and his past missionary activity (e. g., 1 Thess 2:1–12).

In his letter to the Philippians, the scope of self-reflection increases. Paul positions his personal state right from the beginning as the core concern of his writing. The apostle, being imprisoned (1:1), shares with his readers his distress and uncertainty, and even his religiously motivated desire to die (1:12–26). Later in the same letter, Paul refers to his religious upbringing (3:4b–5) and his previous “career” as a persecutor of the *ecclesia* (3:6). The reader is thus provided with a retrospective review wherein the apostle reckons the Christ-revelation to be the turning point in his life (3:7–8a), from which his current striving for full communion with Christ (3:8b–11) emerged. In the final part of his letter, Paul expresses his gratitude for material support he received from the Philippians in his imprisonment (4:10 ff.) by stressing the community’s early support of his Mace-

³³ SHULMAN and STROUMSA 2011: 1–16, 9.

³⁴ FOUCAULT 2007: 137–54, 141.

donian mission (4:15). Throughout the letter, then, Paul accentuates his personal circumstances. In doing so, he chooses a range of speaking modes of self-expression, self-reflection, autobiography, and self-fashioning.

(c) We now move to polemics. Seen from a philosophical and ethical point of view, polemics is an “obstacle to the search for the truth.”³⁵ In considering the rhetorical practice of polemics, Foucault, however, reaches the following conclusion: The “polemicist tells the truth in the form of his judgment and by virtue of the authority he has conferred on himself.”³⁶ This statement colors the polemical passages in Paul’s letter to the Philippians in a whole new light.

At the beginning of his letter, Paul identifies “some people” (τινέες) as those who might proclaim the gospel message for unfair or dishonest reasons (1:15). Paul obviously has rivals in mind whom he nevertheless allows to do their missionary work. In contrast to the plea for synergy in ch. 1, Paul later on warns his addressees emphatically of “dogs and false workers” (3:2) and of “enemies of the cross” (3:18) who lead the community astray. The identity of these individuals in ethnic or religious-historical terms, and whether Paul is referring in the two cases to the same group of opponents, are topics of much debate among Pauline scholars.³⁷ For our purposes, it is worth noting that in all three instances, Paul uses the molding of rivals (1:15–18) and opponents (3:2, 18) to delineate sharply between “others” and “himself.” In all three cases, the remarks are framed by self-reflexive (1:19 ff.) and/or autobiographical passages (3:4b–14). The main function of Paul’s polemic seems to be a literary one.³⁸ Polemic elements, then, are a substantial part of the self-fashioning of the apostle.

The function of Paul’s polemical speaking modes for the overall construction of selfhood in Philippians thus becomes evident. As Foucault showed, polemics tells the truth in the sense of allowing the polemicist to use judgement and to present the “virtue of authority he has conferred on himself.”³⁹ Paul, the prisoner, who molds himself in the letter as the living example *par excellence* of humility and Christ-imitation, deciphers his opponents as antagonists, those who yap and betray the *ethos* of a true and humble Christ-emulator. Paul’s construction of himself and his apostolic selfhood leads to the unmasking of his “enemies,” as the portrait of hostility, conversely, necessitates Paul’s molding of an epistolary self.

³⁵ FOUCAULT 1994: 112. Foucault distinguishes between the judiciary, the religious, and the political model of polemics. Foucault describes the practice of polemics as follows: Polemics “examines a case, it isn’t dealing with an interlocutor, it is processing a suspect; it collects the proofs of his guilt, designates the infraction he has committed, and pronounces the verdict and sentences him [...]” *ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ On the interpretation of the polemics in Phil 3 see lately: HOLLOWAY 2017: 148 f.; VOLLENWEIDER 2018: 291–305; NANOS 2015: 183–222.

³⁸ BECKER 2011: 233–54.

³⁹ FOUCAULT 1994: 112.

2.4 Introspection and Interspection

In his discussion of letter-writing as a technique for shaping the self, Foucault claims that epistolography “involves ... ‘introspection.’”⁴⁰ Once again, Foucault is drawing from the Stoics, particularly Seneca. Here, elements of introspection, in which the “relation to the self,” and particularly “the inferences of soul and body” are reflected, consist in health reports, or the “unfolding of everyday life” (see Seneca, *ep.* 83).⁴¹ Reviewing the day within the frame of epistolary correspondence thus is a practice of “self-examination” (see Seneca, *de ira* 36.1 f.). In this way, the letter-writer constitutes himself as an “inspector of oneself.”⁴²

Introspection in the sense of a self-narration of daily life is not conspicuous in Paul’s letter-writing in general and in his letter to the Philippians specifically. As mentioned above, Paul provides reports about his life course and his earlier career. In most of his letters, Paul makes remarks about current or imminent travel plans (e. g., 1 Cor 16:5 ff.; 2 Cor 1:8 ff.). In Philippians, we find no such plans. Instead, the apostle expresses his desire to “depart” in order to be “with Christ” (1:23: ἀναλῦσαι καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ). In his letter to the Philippians particularly, Paul confines his interest in self-examination to a narrative perspective that is *future-oriented* and eschatological. For Paul, the reflection on past and present helps to anticipate the contents of eschatological hope.

When returning to more recent events (1:12 ff.) and depicting his psychic and somatic conditions (3:18), Paul shapes the narrative frame in which he can describe his current state of mind and his inner religious desire (1:23):

I am hard pressed by the two; having the desire to depart and be with Christ, for that is much better by far, but to stay on in the flesh is more necessary for your sakes (1:23–24).⁴³

Here, where Paul reveals how he is torn in two (1:23: [...] ἐκ τῶν δύο [...]) and thus has to examine his religious desire, he shows some clear elements of self-examination in the sense of *introspection*.⁴⁴ In Phil 1–3, Paul’s introspective mode of self-examination is patently autobiographical – in contrast to how the introspective point of view is presented in Rom 7. When Paul in Rom 7 states:

[...] Now surely it is not I [who] brings it about, but the sin dwelling in me [...] For I don’t do the good that I want, but the bad that I don’t want – this I practice [...] (Rom 7:17, 19),⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Ibid.: 217. “Through the missive,” Foucault says, “one opens oneself to the gaze of others [...] It is a way of giving ourselves to that gaze about which we must tell ourselves that it is plunging into the depths of our heart [...] at the moment we are thinking.”

⁴¹ Ibid.: 217 f.

⁴² Ibid.: 219.

⁴³ Translation according to HOLLOWAY 2017: 185.

⁴⁴ See, lately, BECKER 2019a: 310–31.

⁴⁵ Translation according to JEWETT 2007: 454.

the identity of the first-person singular speaking here can hardly be determined.⁴⁶

Paul is not entirely unfamiliar with health reports. In Philippians, ch. 2, for example, he provides such accounts of his close coworkers (2:25 ff.), and – as far as his coworkers are concerned – shows the speaking mode of *interspection*: Paul means to look after the others, and to take care of them as they take care of the community's future.

The two examining modes of intro- and interspection contribute to Paul's shaping of selfhood. However, intro- and interspection do not solely serve the narrative representation of Paul and his "inner self." Rather, Paul makes use of introspection in order to verify the legitimacy of his apostolic ministry and to strengthen the companionship with his addressees for the purpose of a joined Christ-emulation.

As the autobiographical speaking mode does, also Paul's notion of the introspective leads to subjectivization. However, the introspection in Paul's writing is not ultimately self-centered – the apostle uses it to demonstrate his responsibility for the community's well-being. In light of its socio-political concern, Paul's self-examination functions less as a "technique of living" as Foucault finds it among the Stoics, the Epicureans and the Pythagoreans.⁴⁷ Paul's concern for the community's well-being is not far from Cicero's concerns about the *res publica*. However, the way in which Paul conflates his reflections about himself and the concerns about the community's fate comes closest to how communitarian life is addressed in Aristotelian and Peripatetic political theory.⁴⁸ Herein, "self-sufficiency is a necessary condition for political community."⁴⁹

2.5 Interiority and the Notion of the Body

Among Stoic philosophers (e. g., Seneca, *ep.* 79), we find a direct connection between the shaping of interiority and notions of the body. Such a clear connection is absent in Paul's letters.

Nevertheless, the body is a central motif in Paul's letter-writing: the apostle uses body metaphors for describing community structures (1 Cor 12; Rom 12), and he is acutely aware of his own body and the implications of his somatic ex-

⁴⁶ See the overview on options of identifying the "I," in *ibid.*: 441 ff.

⁴⁷ Similar elements of Stoic self-techniques, mentioned by BARTSCH 2006: 252, such as: "askesis, physical exercises, reading, discussion, the practice of abstinence," are (completely) missing in Paul.

⁴⁸ See some preliminary remarks in BECKER, 2015: 151 ff. In order to assess the role and meaning of Aristotelian political philosophy in the 1st century CE, further studies have to be conducted in regard to their significance for early Christian authors: POLITISCHER ARISTOTELISMUS 2008; GOTTSCHALK 1987: 1079–174; FALCON 2016; MORAUX 2010.

⁴⁹ RIESBECK 2016: 122.

istence. He repeatedly refers to the somatic dimension of his apostolic existence (“Körperlichkeit”). The two perspectives on body language are intertwined: as Paul creates body metaphors of Christ in order to show who Christ is, he makes his own body a topic of his thinking. By doing so, Paul brings himself into analogy to Christ, and thus simultaneously provides the *parousia* of Christ and himself among the reading audience. Particularly in his letter to the Philippians, Paul seeks to link his bodily fortune with the fortune of Christ. This he does in various ways throughout chs. 2–4:

(a) In 3:3 f., Paul directly contrasts the proof of his apostolic identity based on the sarcastic existence with a proof based on the boasting of Christ:

For we are the circumcision: those who serve in the spirit of God and boast in Christ Jesus and do not put confidence in the flesh (3:3).⁵⁰

(b) In 3:10 f. and 3:21, Paul expresses his personal hope of eschatological transformation according to Christ by participating fully in the physicality of Christ’s sufferings:

[...] that I might know him and the power of his resurrection and [the] fellowship of his sufferings, [even to the point of] being conformed to his death [...].⁵¹

In a certain sense, Paul hereby even expects the transformation of his self: a radical transformation, however, in the sense of a “second birth,” would mean an “undoing and refashioning of a person.”⁵² To Paul, the continuity of his somatic existence is fundamental: he thus does not long for a “second birth,” but rather hopes for a resurrection of his body which would mean to conquer the corruptibility of the flesh (see 1 Cor 15:35–58).

Paul’s eschatological hope regarding his personal “bodyness” (“Körperlichkeit”), that is, the transformation of his somatic existence, finds its sensible place in the line of argumentation in chs. 2–3. What Paul hopes for himself (ch. 3) is once more put in direct interrelation to Christ (ch. 2): as Christ’s divine frame was transformed into a human *morphe* μορφή (2:6 f.), Paul expects for himself a change of his (corruptible) somatic shape (μορφή) into the image of Christ (3:10 f., 21). In other words, what Paul ultimately awaits for himself will happen in *analogy* to Christ and, at the same time, lead to a *reversal* of the humiliation process practiced by Christ.

(c) In 2:25–30, Paul reflects on his coworkers’ physical conditions. Epaphroditus had suffered so much (2:26 f.) that he was close to death (2:27, 30). When depicting Epaphroditus’ efforts for the “work of Christ” (2:30), Paul uses phrases with which he had described the extent of Christ’s humiliation before (2:8) – the

⁵⁰ Translation according to HOLLOWAY 2017: 185.

⁵¹ Translation according to *ibid.*: 155.

⁵² SHULMAN and STROUMSA 2011: 2.

term μέχρι θανάτου appears twice here (2:8, 30). Once more, Paul connects the Christ-*exemplum* closely to his and his collaborators' fortune.

(d) In 3:17 f., Paul admonishes his readers to "imitate" him (συμμιμηταί μου γίνεσθε) and to take him as a personal paradigm (τύπος). The whole concept of "mimetic ethics"⁵³ is based on cognitive perception (σκοπεῖτε). The polemical warning against enemies likewise refers to visual identification (βλέπετε). Mimetic ethics thus is largely a bodily exercise (see the meaning of περιπατεῖν).

(e) In 4:10 ff., Paul expresses his gratitude for material support he received from the Philippians even though he had "learned to be self-sufficient" in his circumstances (4:11: ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔμαθον ἐν οἷς εἰμι ἀνάρκης εἶναι).⁵⁴ He ponders the personal situation of "how to be full and to hunger, how to abound and to suffer lack" (4:12).⁵⁵ Paul points to his physical needs by emphasizing how he keeps them under control:

I have the strength to deal with all things in him who empowers me (4:13).⁵⁶

Once more, Paul's "bodyness" becomes a mirror of the apostle's close affiliation with Christ, whose bodily fate Paul – not accidentally – thematizes particularly in his letter to the Philippians (2:6–11).⁵⁷

It was said concerning the empress Maria Theresa: "Der Körper der Monarchin war das Lebensprinzip der Monarchie;"⁵⁸ adapting the phrase, I would say that the body of Paul was the life-principle of his apostolic ministry.

3. Concluding Remarks

I shall now summarize Paul's epistolary self as developed in this article, and conclude with some final thoughts.

(a) In accordance with ancient epistolography, Paul's letter-writing serves the function of mediating personal presence during physical absence. The shape of personal *parousia* is a leitmotif in Pauline epistolography. When aiming at presenting his apostolic *parousia*, Paul concurrently construes his epistolary self.

(b) As prisoner, more than during any other time of his letter-writing, Paul is thrown back to his personal situation. His letter to the Philippians exhibits a strikingly personal tone. Paul practices self-reflection in an intense manner.

⁵³ See BECKER 2016: 219–34.

⁵⁴ Translation according to HOLLOWAY 2017: 185.

⁵⁵ Translation according to *ibid.*

⁵⁶ Translation according to *ibid.*

⁵⁷ David Shulman and Guy S. Stroumsa point out how the notion of the body in early Christianity reflects the interpretation of the Christ-event: "Jesus Christ himself had undergone the most radical of all transformations: the Son of God had become a man, incarnated in a mortal body. The new theology entailed a new anthropology. If Christ had suffered in his body, the body of man could no longer be considered an appendix to the real self, as it had been, by and large, in Greek philosophies": SHULMAN and STROUMSA 2011: 8.

⁵⁸ STOLLBERG-RILINGER 2017: 253.

(c) In Philippians, the act of “self-writing” initiates the construction of selfhood. Paul performs this self-writing in multiple ways. For example, he makes use of the *παρών-ἄπών* motif, and he fashions himself as a literary *persona*. Moreover, he shapes autobiographical accounts and thereby generates subjectivization. As a polemicist, the apostle claims to possess authoritative judgment. He chooses introspective and interspective speaking modes. He shows much awareness of his interiority and “bodyness.” As a Christ-emulator, Paul awaits an eschatological transformation of his somatic existence by participating fully in the fortune of Christ.

(d) Paul’s concept of selfhood comprises self-knowledge and self-awareness. When revealing introspection, he construes a dialogical self (1:21–26). The apostle seeks self-sacrifice and selflessness on behalf of the community’s religious progress (2:17). Self-esteem is a crucial tool by which he acts as a (transformational) leader.⁵⁹

(e) In Philippians, the construction of Paul’s (inner) selfhood is determined by thought and reflection rather than by action. As a prisoner who is “in chains” (1:7, 13, 14, 17), Paul has to cope with a limited sphere of action. And, at risk of execution, Paul contemplates the possibility of his impending death. In an autobiographical sense, then, Paul’s depiction of his apostolic “motion sequences” is more than in any other Pauline letter colored by an *expectatio mortis* and directed toward the construction of the “inner self.”⁶⁰

(f) Paul molds and mediates his concept of selfhood intentionally via letter-writing in the *letter*. Although he does not construe selfhood in a modern sense,⁶¹ by making his selfhood central to his thinking and writing, Paul paves the way for more comprehensive notions of the self in early Christianity, such as in Augustine.⁶²

(g) While Paul’s approach to his selfhood is multifaceted, it remains bound to the concrete purpose of mediating and implementing apostolic *parousia* during physical absence via letter-writing. From beginning to end, then, the apostle’s concept of selfhood manifests itself as an epistolary one.

⁵⁹ MATZLER 2015: 815–31; BASS 1985; BASS and RIGGIO 2006; BASS 2008.

⁶⁰ See similar observations on Paul’s “meditatio mortis” in Philippians: BETZ 2015.

⁶¹ See TAYLOR 1989.

⁶² It is frequently stated how in the “history of thought, no one exemplifies better than Augustine this new perception of the self, and of its transforming needs: repentance, conversion, salvation”: SHULMAN and STROUMSA 2011: 8.

Works Cited

- ARZT-GRABNER, PETER. *Philemon*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003.
- BARTSCH, SHADI. *The Mirror of the Self: Sexuality, Self-Knowledge, and the Gaze in the Early Roman Empire*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- BASS, BERNARD M. *The Bass Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research, and Managerial Applications*. New York: Free Press, 2008.
- . *Leadership and Performance Beyond Expectations*. New York: Free Press, 1985.
- BASS, BERNARD M., and RONALD E. RIGGIO. *Transformational Leadership*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2006.
- BECKER, EVE-MARIE. “Das introspektive Ich des Paulus nach Phil 1–3: Ein Entwurf.” *New Testament Studies* 65, 3 (2019a): 310–31.
- . “Paulus als *doulos* (Phil 1,1; Rom 1,1). Die epistolare Selbstbezeichnung als Argument.” In *Autoren in religiösen literarischen Texten der späthellenistischen und der frühkaiserzeitlichen Welt. Zwölf Fallstudien*. Edited by Eve-Marie Becker and Jörg Rüpke, 105–20. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018d.
- . “Der Philippenerbrief.” In *Der “Kritisch-exegetische Kommentar” in seiner Geschichte*. H. A. W. Meyers KEK von seiner Gründung 1829 bis heute. Edited by Eve-Marie Becker, Dietrich-Alex Koch, and Friedrich Wilhelm Horn, 287–308. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018a.
- . “Paul as homo humilis.” In *Paul as Homo Novus: Authorial Strategies of Self-Fashioning in Light of a Ciceronian Term*. Edited by Eve-Marie Becker and Jacob P. B. Mortensen, 115–25. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018c.
- . “Mimetische Ethik im Philippenerbrief. Zu Form und Funktion paulinischer exempla.” In *Metapher – Narratio – Mimesis. Begründungsformen frühchristlicher und antiker Ethik*. Edited by Ulrich Volp, Friedrich Wilhelm Horn, and Ruben Zimmermann, 219–34. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016.
- . *Der Begriff der Demut bei Paulus*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015.
- . “Die Person als Paradigma politisch-ethischen Handelns: Kriton 50a und Phil 1,23f. im Vergleich.” In *Paulus – Werk und Wirkung. FS A. Lindemann*. Edited by Paul-Gerhard Klumbies and David S. Du Toit, 129–48. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013.
- . “Paulus als weinender Briefeschreiber (2 Kor 2,4): Epistolare *parousia* im Zeichen visualisierter Emotionalität.” In *Der zweite Korintherbrief: literarische Gestalt, historische Situation, theologische Argumentation. Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Dietrich-Alex Koch*. Edited by Dieter Sänger, 11–26. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012a.
- . “Die Tränen des Paulus (2Kor 2,4; Phil 3,18): Emotion oder Topos?” In *Emotions from Ben Sira to Paul*. Edited by Renate Egger-Wenzel and Jeremy Corley, 361–78. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012b.
- . Polemik und Autobiographie: Ein Vorschlag zur Deutung von Phil 3,2–4a.” In *Polemik in der frühchristlichen Literatur: Texte und Kontexte*. Edited by Oda Wischmeyer and Lorenzo Scornaieni, 233–54. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011.
- . *Schreiben und Verstehen. Paulinische Briefhermeneutik im Zweiten Korintherbrief*. Tübingen: Francke Verlag, 2002.
- BECKER, EVE-MARIE, and JACOB P. B. MORTENSEN. “Paul Among the *Homines Novi*. Introduction to the Volume.” In *Paul as Homo Novus: Authorial Strategies of Self-Fashioning in Light of a Ciceronian Term*. Edited by Eve-Marie Becker and Jacob P. B. Mortensen, 9–16. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018b.

- BETZ, HANS-DIETER. *Studies in Paul's Letter to the Philippians*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015.
- . "The Concept of the 'Inner Human Being' (ὁ ἕσω ἄνθρωπος) in the Anthropology of Paul." *New Testament Studies* 46 (2000): 315–34.
- BURKERT, WALTER. "Towards Plato and Paul: The 'Inner' Human Being." In *Ancient and Modern Perspectives on the Bible and Culture: Essays in Honor of Hans Dieter Betz*. Edited by Adela Yarbro Collins, 59–82. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1998.
- CICERO, MARCUS TULLIUS. *Letters to Friends*. Vol. 1. Edited and translated by David Roy Shackleton Bailey. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- FALCON, ANDREA, ed. *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Aristotle in Antiquity*. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- FÖGEN, THORSTEN. "Ancient Approaches to Letter-Writing and the Configuration of Communities through Epistles." In *Letters & Communities: Studies in the Socio-Political Dimensions of Ancient Epistolography*. Edited by Paolo Ceccarelli, Lutz Doering, Thorsten Fögen, and Ingo Gildenhard, 43–79. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- FOUCAULT, MARCEL. "Über sich selbst schreiben." In *Ästhetik der Existenz. Schriften zur Lebenskunst*. Edited by Daniel Defert and François Ewald, 137–54. Translated by Michael Bischoff. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2007.
- . *Ethics. Subjectivity and Truth*. Edited by Paul Rabinow. New York: The New Press, 1994.
- GOTTSCHALK, HANS B. "Aristotelian Philosophy in the Roman World from the Time of Cicero to the End of the Second Century AD." *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (ANRW) 36, 2 (1987): 1079–174.
- HOLLOWAY, PAUL, *Philippians. A Commentary*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2017.
- JEWETT, ROBERT. *Romans: A Commentary*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007.
- KLAUCK, HANS-JOSEF. "Compilation of Letters in Cicero's Correspondence." In *Religion und Gesellschaft im frühen Christentum. Neutestamentliche Studien*. Edited by Hans-Josef Klauck, 317–37. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003.
- MALHERBE, ABRAHAM J. *Ancient Epistolary Theorists*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1988.
- MATZLER, KURT, FLORIAN ANDREAS BAUER, and TODD A. MOORADIAN. "Self-esteem and Transformational Leadership." *Journal of Managerial Psychology* 30 (2015): 815–31.
- MICHAELIS, WILHELM. *Der Brief des Paulus an die Philipper*. Leipzig: Deichert, 1935.
- . "Die Gefangenschaftsbriefe des Paulus und antike Gefangenenbriefe." *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 36 (1925): 586–95.
- MORAUX, PAUL. *Der Aristotelismus bei den Griechen Bd. 2: Der Aristotelismus im I. und II. Jh. n.Chr.* Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010.
- NANOS, MARK D. "Out-Howling the Cynics: Reconceptualizing the Concerns of Paul's Audience from His Polemic in Philippians 3." In *The People Beside Paul: The Philippian Assembly and History from Below*. Edited by Joseph A. Marchal, 183–222. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2015.
- PETER, HERMANN. *Der Brief in der römischen Litteratur. Litterargeschichtliche Untersuchungen und Zusammenfassungen*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1901.
- POLITISCHER ARISTOTELISMUS. *Die Rezeption der aristotelischen 'Politik' von der Antike bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*. Edited by Christoph Horn and Adi Neschke-Hentschke. Stuttgart: Metzler, 2008.

- PROGYMNASMATA. *Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric*. Translated with introductions and notes by George A. Kennedy. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003.
- REUMANN, JOHN. *Philippians. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008.
- RIESBECK, DAVID J. *Aristotle on Political Community*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- SCHMELLER, THOMAS. "Die Cicerobriefe und die Frage nach der Einheitlich des 2. Korintherbriefs." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 95 (2004): 181–208.
- SCHULLER, WOLFGANG. *Cicero oder Der Letzte Kampf um die Republik. Eine Biographie*. Munich: Beck, 2003.
- SHULMAN, DAVID DEAN, and GUY G. STROUMSA. "Introduction: Persons, Passages, and Shifting Cultural Space." In *Self and Self-Transformations in the History of Religions*. Edited by David Dean Shulman and Guy G. Stroumsa, 1–16. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- SOGNO, CRISTIANA. "The Ghost of Cicero's Letters: Epistolography and Historiography in Senatorial Letter-Writing." *Journal of Late Antiquity* 7 (2014): 201–22.
- STANDHARTINGER, ANGELA. "Aus der Welt eines Gefangenen: Die Kommunikationsstruktur des Philippierbriefs im Spiegel seiner Abfassungssituation." *Novum Testamentum* 55 (2013): 140–67.
- STOLLBERG-RILINGER, BARBARA. *Maria Theresia: Die Kaiserin in ihrer Zeit. Eine Biographie*. Munich: Beck, 2017.
- TAYLOR, CHARLES. *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- THRAEDE, KLAUS. *Grundzüge griechisch-römischer Briefftopik*. Munich: Beck, 1979.
- . *Einheit – Gegenwart – Gespräch: Zur Christianisierung antiker Briefftopoi*. Ph.D. diss., Bonn, 1968.
- VOLLENWEIDER, SAMUEL. "Rivals, Opponents, and Enemies: Three Kinds of Theological Argumentation in Philippians." In *The First Urban Churches 4. Roman Philippi*. Edited by James R. Harrison and L. L. Welborn, 291–305. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2018.
- WHITE, PETER. "Senatorial Epistolography from Cicero to Sidonius: Emergence of a Genre." *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 61 (2018): 7–21.