THE PEOPLE BESIDE PAUL

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THE PEOPLE BESIDE PAUL

THE PHILIPPIAN ASSEMBLY AND HISTORY FROM BELOW

Edited by

Joseph A. Marchal

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Contents

Acknowledgements

For almost as long as I can remember, I have been working beside many others: at first with my sisters, then my neighbors, then along an assembly line, and then in landscaping crews (before beginning my graduate studies). To properly acknowledge how this more recent work was completed requires further reflections on both memory and collaboration. If memory serves, much of the planning for the early phases of this project began ten years ago this summer over a meeting I had with Dick Horsley and Valerie Abrahamsen in western Massachusetts. It is only fitting, then, that their contributions to this project begin and end this volume.

Among other steering committee members of the Paul and Politics group, Dick championed the idea of having smaller, interactive working groups, each focusing on the particular communities that received Paul's letters, places like Thessalonike, Corinth, Galatia, and of course Philippi. Having just completed my dissertation on Philippians at the time, I was grateful for the opportunity to coordinate the Philippians' working group (and have been for most of the intervening years). Over those years we spent the Fridays before the annual meeting collaborating and more directly responding to and interacting with engaging papers prepared by colleagues from a wide range of perspectives and approaches. It was a collegial and generative environment for those of us lucky enough to present our work in progress on the letter to the Philippians or on Philippi in general. I am certain that my own work (among other presenters') was much improved for the careful, critical, and candid discussion this group has provided. My acknowledgements on this occasion, then, are an extension of those I have and have not remembered to make in the past.

Thus, I cannot fail to note that many other scholars, friends, and colleagues presented, responded to, or discussed the papers that preceded and then led to those crafted into chapters for this volume. What this volume contains, then, at times only dimly reflects much wider circles of engagement and influence from and alongside of colleagues like Efraín

Agosto, Sean Burke, Neil Elliott, Susan (Elli) Elliott, Steven Friesen, Brigitte Kahl, Cynthia Briggs Kittredge, John Lanci, Davina Lopez, David Lull, Justin Meggitt, Jorunn Økland, Ray Pickett, David Rhoads, Luise Schottroff, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, Abraham Smith, James Walters, Demetrius Williams, and Sean Winter (among others I am sure I am not recalling). Our debts to these sorts of colleagues, both named and unnamed, those who work beside us, are always hard to measure.

The stakes and shapes of the arguments in the chapters to follow have been clarified by all these colleagues, and many more besides, even as the responsibilities for any shortcomings are those of the authors and ultimately myself as their editor. The volume's appearance in this series is due to the gracious and patient work of Gail O'Day and the entire Early Christianity and Its Literature (ECL) editorial board, including the new series editor, David G. Horrell. Certainly, its contents were further improved by the helpful feedback provided by Gail and ECL's anonymous reviewers. The entire team at SBL Press (Bob Buller, Billie Jean Collins, Kathie Klein, Heather McMurray, and Nicole Tilford) has once again capably shepherded this project through its final stages and into production.

Most importantly, however, this volume would not be possible without the collective patience and persistence of all of its contributors: with this project, with each other, with the collaborative process, and with the editor. The process took longer than some of us would have liked, while others preferred still more time with this work, but this volume manages to reflect some of the variety and vitality of this working group, about which all of us should be proud. The contributions cover an impressive array of topics, providing multiple points of entry for our peers to consider and engage in the days still to come. I know that my own (albeit limited) contributions to these conversations were quite concretely made possible by my partners and companions, those who "eat by me" in the days already past—especially Tascha, Liam, Jarvis, and July. But the final acknowledgements and dedication for this volume belong to all of the contributors and to those assembled around them who serve as their collaborators and companions, however they are defined, wherever they have been assembled, whenever they have been "beside" each other.

Abbreviations

Primary Sources

1 Apol.	Justin, *Apologia i*
1 Clem.	1 Clement
1 En.	1 Enoch (Ethiopic Apocalypse)
3 Cor.	3 Corinthians
3 Macc.	3 Maccabees
Abr.	Philo, *De Abrahamo*
Ann.	Tacitus, *Annales*
Ant.	Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*
Att.	Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum*
Aug.	Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*
AUC	Livy, *Ab urbe condita*
Bell. civ.	Appian, *Bella civilian*
Bibl. hist.	Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*
Brut.	Plutarch, *Brutus*
Caes.	Plutarch, *Caesar*
Chaer.	Chariton, *De Chaerea et Callirhoe*
Cher.	Philo, *De cherubim*
Cic.	Plutarch, *Cicero*
Claud.	Suetonius, *Divus Claudius*
Clem.	Seneca, *De clementia*
Contempl.	Philo, *De vita contemplativa*
Cor.	Tertullian, *De corona militis*
Curios.	Plutarch, *De curiositate*
Cyr.	Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*
Daphn.	Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*
Def. orac.	Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum*
Deipn.	Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*
Demon.	Lucian, *Demonax*

Dial. mort.	Lucian, *Dialogi Mortuorum*
Diatr.	Epictetus, *Diatribai*
Dig.	Digesta
Disc.	Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses*
Dom.	Suetonius, *Domitianus*
Ench.	Epictetus, *Encheiridion*
Ep.	*Epistulae*
Eph.	Ignatius, *To the Ephesians*; Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephesiaca*
Fam.	Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares*
Flacc.	*In Flaccum*, Philo
Fug.	Tertullian, *De fuga in persecutione*; Lucian, *Fugitivi*
Git.	Gittin
Haer.	Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*
Hag.	Hagigah
Hist.	*Historiae*
Hist. eccl.	Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*
Hist. Rom.	Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana*
Hom. Phil.	John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in epistulam ad Philippensis*
Idol.	Tertullian, *De idolatria*
Il.	Homer, *Ilias*
Ind.	Lucian, *Adversus indoctum*
Iul.	Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*
Ios.	Philo, *De Iosepho*
I.Priene	inscription from Priene
Juv.	John Chrysostom, *In Juventinum et Maximum martyres*
Legat.	Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*
Leuc. Clit.	Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe et Clitophon*
Lives	Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*
LXX	Septuagint
Mart.	Tertullian, *Ad martyras*
Mart. Pal.	Eusebius, *De martyribus Palaestinae*
Mart. Paul	Martyrdom of Paul
Mart. Perpt.	Martyrdom of Perpetua
Metam.	Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*
Metam.	Ovid, *Metamorphoses*
Migr.	Philo, *De migratione Abrahami*
Mor.	Plutarch, *Moralia*
Nat	Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia*
Nat.	Tertullian, *Ad nationes*

Noct. att.	Aulus Gellius, *Noctes atticae*
Onir.	Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onirocritica*
Or.	*Orations*
Pan.	Epiphanius, *Panarion* (*Adversus haereses*)
Peregr.	Lucian, *De morte Peregrini*
Phaed.	Plato, *Phaedo*
Phaedr.	Plato, *Phaedrus*
Phil.	Polycarp, *To the Philippians*
Pisc.	Lucian, *Piscator*
Plant.	Philo, *De plantione*
Pol.	Aristotle, *Politica*
PSI	Papyrus Istanza al beneficiaries del Prefetto
P.Oxy	*Papyrus* Oxyrhynchus
P.Yale	Papyrus from the Yale Collection
Sat.	*Satirae*; Petronius, *Satyricon*
Spec.	Philo, *De specialibus legibus*
Strom.	Clement, *Stromata*
Ter.	Terumot
Theog.	Hesiod, *Theogonia*
Tib.	Suetonius, *Tiberius*
Tox.	Lucian, *Toxaris*
Tusc.	Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes*
Verr.	Cicero, *In Verrem*
Vit. Apoll.	Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*
Vit. auct.	Lucian, *Vitarum auctio*
y.	Jerusalem Talmud

Secondary Sources

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
ANTC	Abingdon New Testament Commentary
Arch	*Archaeology*
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BibInt	*Biblical Interpretation*

BDAG	Danker, Frederick W., Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature.* 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
BDF	Blass, Friedrich, Albert Debrunner, and Robert W. Funk. *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*
CJ	*Classical Journal*
CP	*Classical Philology*
CSJH	Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism
ConBNT	Coniectanea biblica: New Testament Series
EPRO	Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientalies dans l'empire romain
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
GBS	Guides to Biblical Scholarship
GPBS	Global Perspectives on Biblical Scholarship
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
HCS	Hellenistic Culture and Society
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HUT	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IG	*Inscriptiones graecae*
Int	*Interpretation*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JFSR	*Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*

JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Meyer-Kommentar)
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LSJ	Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
LIMC	*Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*. Edited by H. C. Ackerman and J. R. Gisler. 8 vols. Zurich, 1981–1997.
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NewDocs	*New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*. Edited by G. H. R. Horsley and S. Llewelyn. North Ryde, N.S.W., 1981.
NICNT	New International Commentary on New Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NKZ	*Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplement Series
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTApoc	*New Testament Apocrypha*. Revised ed. Edited by Wilhelm Schneemelcher. English trans. ed. Robert McL. Wilson. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963–1966.
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
P. Polit. Jud.	*Urkunden des Politema der Juden von Herakleopolis.* Edited by J. M. S. Cowley and K. Maresch. Papyrologia Coloniensia 29. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2001.
PRSt	*Perspectives in Religious Studies*
RB	*Revue biblique*
ResQ	*Restoration Quarterly*
RGG	*Religion in Geschichte und Gegewart*. Edited by Hans Dieter Betz. 4th ed. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998–2007.
RSV	Revised Standard Version

SB	*Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten*. Edited by Friedrick Preisigke et al. Vols. 1–21. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1915–2002.
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SemeiaSt	Semeia Studies
SIG	*Sylloge inscriptionum graecum*. Edited by Wilhelm Dittenberger. 4 vols. 3rd ed. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1915–1924.
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

Philippian (Pre)Occupations and Peopling Possibilities: An Introduction

Joseph A. Marchal

Occupy Philippi?

This volume addresses several questions. How can we begin to imagine what ancient assembly communities were like "on the ground" or "from the bottom up"? In what ways can scholars conceptualize and describe the everyday Philippians or, more simply, people other than Paul? Are there any ancient or even more recent resources for helping us focus upon different people or even some of the usual suspects differently? Indeed, recent events have an odd way of making these questions urgent in new and more specific ways.

The working group that produced this collection of essays had been meeting and working together since 2005, but began moving toward the versions one will find here in years marked by a range of popular uprisings and populist demonstrations, including the Arab Spring abroad and the Occupy movement in the United States and beyond.[1] While one will see little to no direct reflection or explicit connection of these more recent events within the chapters to follow, this contemporary context provides a striking, if limited, analogue for the concerns embodied by this collection. More than anything else these movements have exposed the exclusions and inequalities embedded within a range of current-day cultures. In

1. On the former, see Hamid Dabashi, *The Arab Spring: The End of Postcolonialism* (London: Zed Books, 2012); on the latter, see Janet Byrne, ed., *The Occupy Handbook* (New York: Back Bay Books, 2012); and Writers for the 99%, *Occupy Wall Street: The Inside Story of an Action That Changed America* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2012). By many accounts, the actions in Cairo's Tahrir Square inspired the first Occupy actions in and around New York's Wall Street.

turn, they have sought to foreground the perspectives of those who are not benefitting from the economic system, those who lack influence in both local and larger political systems. Generally speaking, the perspectives preserved in the texts and artifacts of the ancient Mediterranean world are predominantly those of the privileged few, rather than the masses at various distances, both spatially and practically, from centers of economic and political power. Such concerns echo throughout this collection. Indeed, most of the people who lived and died in the Greco-Roman world, in places like ancient Philippi, are not represented by the classical texts for studying this world. The accounts given in those texts represent the perspectives of an extraordinarily small sample of the population, those contending at the very apex of power. Those who are marginalized or simply excluded within these resources comprise the vast majority of the people; their numbers even approach an ancient analogue to the contemporary slogan, "we are the 99%!"

However, I have my reservations about the choice to use the term "Occupy" for such efforts, considering the situation of peoples living, both historically and currently, under occupations of various sorts. It is a strikingly imperial and colonial term to reuse, though perhaps its redeployment constitutes a significant enough resituation or even reclamation to counter such forces. Certainly, a number of interpreters find similar modes of resistance and reclamation for imperial terms at work in Paul's letters.[2] Further, "Occupy" has already been paired with and applied to Christian theology as well as the biblical texts themselves.[3] However, this strategic bit of diction still troubles me, in general, but especially when I try to approach the people in first century Philippi. The experiences of many residents of Philippi were likely to reflect or at least approximate these kinds of historical, political, and economic conditions. A survey of Philippi's history running up to this period shows that various invading,

2. See, for instance, the three volumes edited by Richard A. Horsley: *Paul and Empire: Religion and Power in Roman Imperial Society* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1997); *Paul and Politics: Ekklesia, Israel, Imperium, Interpretation; Essays in Honor of Krister Stendahl* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000); *Paul and the Roman Imperial Order* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2004). See also the chapters in this volume by Standhartinger and Brawley.

3. Joerg Rieger and Kwok Pui-lan, *Occupy Religion: Theology of the Multitude*, Religion in the Modern World (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012); Susan B. Thistlethwaite, *#OccupytheBible: What Jesus Really Said (and Did) about Money and Power* (New York: Astor + Blue, 2012).

colonizing, and settling efforts were not, in fact, undertaken for the benefit of the vast majority of Philippi's residents, despite the best efforts of ruling elites to cast them in such terms.

What apparently drew some of the earliest settlers from Thracia and then the island of Thasos to this location were the valuable silver mines in the mountains that created a border for the area to the north and northeast of the region (see, for example, Herodotus, *Hist.* 7.112). Mentioned as early as 490 BCE, this site comes to the attention of most historians when Philip II of Macedonia "settled" a fight between the Thasians and Thracians by taking the settlement for himself in 356 BCE (see Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. hist.* 11.70.5; 12.68.1–3; 16.3.7; and 16.8.6–7). Of course, this was how the city received its more familiar name, when Philip named it (as humbly as most conquerors and kings would) after himself. With control of Philippi came not only control over these mines, but also the strategic protection and control of an important west-to-east trade route, given Philippi's location between those mountains to the north and swamps to the south.[4] Philip colonized the entire region and fortified Philippi as a city, building its walls and establishing a military stronghold. The Macedonian line of kings would rule Philippi and the region until the Romans defeated them in 168 BCE (see Polybius, *Hist*. 31.29; Livy, *AUC* 45.29.5–9) and subsequently annexed the region as a province in 146 BCE.[5] When the

4. Surveys of this history offer different evaluations of the ongoing productivity of these mines. Some follow Diodorus Siculus and depict Philip as so exploiting the mines that he exhausted their resources and Philippi soon fell in utility and prominence. On the relative unimportance of "precolonial" Philippi, see Lilian Portefaix, *Sisters Rejoice: Paul's Letter to the Philippians and Luke-Acts as Received by First-Century Philippian Women*, ConBNT 20 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1988), 60; Lukas Bormann, *Philippi: Stadt und Christengemeinde zur Zeit des Paulus*, NovTSup 78 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 19–20; and Craig S. de Vos, *Church and Community Conflicts: The Relationship of the Thessalonian, Corinthian, and Philippian Churches with Their Wider Civic Communities*, SBLDS 168 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 235. The problem is the relative silence of our sources for the period in between Philip II and the rise of the Romans. Thus, both Oakes and Marchal have cautioned against arguing too strenuously for Philippi's "obscurity" from this silence. See Peter S. Oakes, *Philippians: From People to Letter*, SNTSMS 110 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 19–24; and Joseph A. Marchal, *Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation: A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Power Dynamics in Paul's Letter to the Philippians*, Academia Biblica 24 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 100–104.

5. The assumption that this annexation and colonization brought benefits to the city of Philippi also rests on the assumption that Philippi was in a state of decline

Romans built the Via Egnatia highway, Philippi was a strategic location on the route that connected the ports of the Adriatic Sea in the west to Byzantium and Asia Minor in the east.

Whenever biblical scholars provide a historical or political contextualization for Philippi (and the letter of Paul sent to the community there), their most common starting point comes after these settlements and changes.[6] The events surrounding the Roman civil wars typically have pride of place in these pictures of Philippi, likely because biblical and classical studies are in many ways close cousins. The western plains just outside of Philippi were key sites in these conflicts, including the decisive battle in 42 BCE between the forces of Brutus and Cassius (two of the key liberators or conspirators, who had assassinated Julius) and those of Marc Antony and Octavian. The victorious Antony and Octavian settled veterans there after this battle, and Octavian settled more once he defeated his former ally and consolidated his power in 31 BCE. The second victory and settlement would give this Roman colony a title that reflects Octavian's own changed title to Augustus: Colonia Iulia Augusta Philippensis.[7]

In short, the story that has been told as the historical, political, and occasionally economic background to the letter to the Philippians has been a story about the 1 percent, those various elite Roman imperial males contending for supremacy at the top of their pyramidally arranged society. But from what perspective were these considered "civil wars"? While it was not a fight among most of the residents of Philippi—these were *Rome's*

previous to 42 BCE. As noted above, however, this assumption is based upon an argument from silence. Since one hears little of Philippi in the sources for the Hellenistic period, one assumes Philippi declined. However, Roman tendencies in colonization seem to negate such an assumption about the relative state of Philippi. Sites for colonization were primarily selected on the basis of the city or town's already-established prosperity and fertility. See, for instance, Lawrence Keppie, *Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy: 47–14 B.C.* (London: British School at Rome, 1983), 1, 128.

6. This predominant tendency regarding starting points is reflected even in my own work, for example, in *Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation*, 99–112; see also 53–64.

7. Two helpful overviews of these contexts can be found in Chaido Koukouli-Chrysantaki, "Colonia Iulia Augusta Philippensis," in *Philippi at the Time of Paul and after His Death*, ed. Charalambos Bakirtzis and Helmut Koester (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1998), 5–35; and Eduard Verhoef, *Philippi: How Christianity Began in Europe; The Epistle to the Philippians and the Excavations at Philippi* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 1–13.

civil wars after all—it certainly had an impact upon their lives.[8] Too often, however, scholars have not asked careful enough questions about these people and the effects of these events on those people besides the elites contending at the top. Paul's correspondence with the Philippians presents a potentially different perspective on these dynamics; yet scholars have frequently presumed that these colonizing efforts provided a set of uncomplicated benefits for the recipients of this letter. This presumption has been challenged recently, indicating that many interpreters have been too optimistic about the effects of colonization (particularly if one follows the economic profile constructed by Peter Oakes in this volume).[9]

Even Paul, treated as a sanctified authority later, looks different in the light of these forces. As the doubts about his potential status as a citizen of this empire have increased (see, for instance, Angela Standhartinger's contribution in this volume), scholars recall how Paul's place as an ancient Jew locates him within a distinctly marginalized and colonially dominated group, even before considering how he proclaimed a message focused on a crucified criminal from this same racial/ethnic group.[10] To some, such a contextualization of Paul or of the people beside Paul might reflect dated concerns or even a Marxist bent. Yet such lines of interpretation have seldom been pursued in the past of biblical scholarship, even if such an approach remains controversial in larger circumstances to this day. Just in my own localized context, the governor recently tried to ban Howard Zinn's *A People's History of the United States* at the state's universities (one

8. For suggestions about the relevance of military events and images for understanding the letter, see especially Edgar M. Krentz, "Paul, Games, and the Military," in *Paul in the Greco-Roman World: A Handbook*, ed. J. Paul Sampley (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2003), 344–83; Timothy C. Geoffrion, *The Rhetorical Purpose and the Political and Military Character of Philippians: A Call to Stand Firm* (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1993); and Marchal, "Military Images in Philippians 1–2: A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Scholarship, Philippians, and Current Contexts," in *Her Master's Tools? Feminist and Postcolonial Engagements of Historical-Critical Discourse*, ed. Caroline Vander Stichele and Todd Penner, GPBS 9 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 265–85.

9. See also Oakes, *Philippians*, 55–76.

10. For two different, illuminating considerations of Paul in light of dynamics of race/ethnicity (his own and others'), see Davina C. Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered: Reimagining Paul's Mission*, Paul in Critical Contexts (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008); and Tat-Siong Benny Liew, *What Is Asian American Hermeneutics? Reading the New Testament* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 75–114.

of which just so happens to be my employer).[11] That the same governor (ironically and potentially unethically) went on to become president of one of these (other) universities indicates how much doing (something like) a people's history very much remains a loaded task.[12] Still, it does lead one to ask exactly *who* is being discussed when one is trying to do a people's history.

Who Are the People in This Ancient Neighborhood?

Within a general readership, among scholars and others, there is growing interest in the theme of "people's history" or "history from below." A multivolume set on "People's History of Christianity" has been published, while individual titles by Diana Butler Bass and Sarah Ruden have also turned (or at least alluded), in a general way, to "the people" in order to redescribe some of the figures in Christian histories (including some less well-known figures).[13] There is even a "people's" version of and *Peoples' Companion to the Bible* now.[14] But who are "the people" in these people's histories or peoples' companions?

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11. Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980); see also Zinn and Anthony Arnove, *Voices of a People's History of the United States* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2005).

12. For some of the coverage of these (conjoined) controversies, see Tom LoBianco, "Mitch Daniels Wanted to Replace Historian's Teachings in Favor of Bill Bennett's Conservative Review," Indystar.com, http://www.indystar.com/story/news/education/2013/08/18/mitch-daniels-wanted-to-replace-liberal-historians-teachings-in-favor-of-bill-bennetts-conservative-review/2669093/; Allen Mikaelian, "The Mitch Daniels Controversy: Context for the AHA Statement," American Historical Association,

https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/september-2013/the-mitch-daniels-controversy-context-for-the-aha-statement; Scott Jaschik, "Daniels vs. Zinn, Round II," Inside Higher Ed, http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2013/07/18/mitch-daniels-renews-criticism-howard-zinn#sthash.CUFSIof5.dpbs.

13. See the multiwork series edited by Denis R. Janz on *A People's History of Christianity*, 7 vols. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 2005–2008); Diana Butler Bass, *A People's History of Christianity: The Other Side of the Story* (New York: HarperOne, 2009); and Sarah Ruden, *Paul among the People: The Apostle Reinterpreted and Reimagined in His Own Time* (New York: Image Books, 2010).

14. *The Peoples' Bible: New Revised Standard Version, with the Apocrypha* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008); and *The Peoples' Companion to the Bible* (Minneapolis: For-

The variety of answers to this kind of question presents the challenges, but also the occasions, for an attempt to do a history from below for the first or the twenty-first century. For Bass, the people are simply those who are not part of the "the usual story" and can be cited in the construction of an alternative history.[15] Bass, however, explicitly contrasts her work with that of Zinn's—whose people are consistently those not among the political and economic elite (including workers, slaves, women, indigenous peoples, African-Americans, among others)—admitting that her work includes many well-known, even elite Christians.[16] While Ruden's study is focused upon the letters of Paul, the people that Paul is "among" are none other than those who are represented in the classical Greek and Roman sources—elite and mostly male.[17] Ruden's aim is to discuss how these other people thought at Paul's time in order to discern what is special about Paul.[18] While this ancient context is described as primarily exploitative, even abusive by Ruden, polytheism in particular seems to be the bogeyman in order to account (even apologize) for how Paul is better by comparison.

Despite the title, *Paul among the People*, then, Ruden's work is not actually trying to present a people's history kind of approach to Paul, his letters, or their recipients. Indeed, few interpreters have attempted this for populations in the ancient Mediterranean world. One exception, however, would be Michael Parenti's reconsideration of Julius Caesar.[19] Parenti

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tress, 2010); both of which are edited by Curtiss Paul DeYoung, Wilda C. Gafney, Leticia A. Guardiola-Sáenz, George "Tink" Tinker, and Frank M. Yamada.

15. See Bass, *People's History*, 4–16.

16. Ibid., 15.

17. Ruden contextualized Paul's letters primarily in terms of the Greek and Latin texts that have been the focus of her classical studies. See the discussion in Ruden, *Paul among the People*, 3–7; and her previous translational work: *The Aeneid: Virgil* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); *Homeric Hymns* (Cambridge, MA: Hackett, 2005); *Aristophanes: Lysistrata* (Cambridge, MA: Hackett, 2003); and *Petronius: Satyricon* (Cambridge, MA: Hackett, 2000).

18. In certain ways Ruden's study is not so different from traditional classical scholarship, yet in simply setting the letters and these texts next to each other, the work consistently fails to contextualize either in relevant cultural settings.

19. Another potential exception could be Robert Knapp, *Invisible Romans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011). Knapp even weaves in discussions of materials from Acts and Paul's letters; however, such discussions are rarely circumspect about the rhetoricity of these texts (often treating them as "direct" and therefore straightforward sources, for instance, on *Invisible Romans*, 321).

provides an explicit definition for this kind of approach: "any history that deals with the efforts of the populace to defend itself from the abuses of wealth and tyranny is people's history."[20] Parenti even recognizes the dual difficulties of proceeding with such people in mind: the real dearth of sources for antiquity and the way historical analysis itself has been structured against such efforts.[21] These difficulties mean that people interested in history from below must learn to read against the grain of both the texts and the traditional understanding of them.[22] In terms of Parenti's own analysis, however, he tends to trust those sources that confirm the picture he seeks: the first Caesar as a populist champion of the Roman people (or at least of a certain kind of reformist tendency among some citizens). As with those "civil wars" already discussed in light of Philippi, Parenti's story is focused upon a struggle between different parties at the top of an exploitative society and system. Most distressingly for those considering sites besides the city of Rome (like Philippi), Parenti ignores that Rome was also an empire and that Julius was a main player in their military imperialism (Julius was a military victor, first, and derived most of his power from his campaigns in Gaul). In this light the more meaningful conflict to consider is not between *optimates* and *populares*—different shades of the same ruling elite—but between the rulers and the ruled, the Roman imperial forces and their various subject peoples, including Paul and those in and around Philippi.

These examples indicate, then, that terms such as "the people" are plagued by their vague indeterminacy. After all, if figures such as Julius Caesar or other elites can be depicted as representative of these people, then what makes people's history so different? Can anyone and everyone be counted among the people, or are they *everyone but* the elite? If so, what kind of elite? Are the people the poor, the uneducated, the subordinate, and/or the subaltern?[23] While these groups do overlap, they are far

20. Michael Parenti, *The Assassination of Julius Caesar: A People's History of Ancient Rome* (New York: New Press, 2003), 10.

21. Thus, Parenti (ibid., 11) argues: "A people's history should be not only an account of popular struggle against oppression but an exposé of the *anti*-people's history that has prevailed among generations of mainstream historians" (emphasis original).

22. Ibid., 10.

23. See, for example, Peter Burke's questions on this matter in "Overture: The New History; Its Past and Its Future," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke, 2nd ed. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 1–24, especially 9–10.

from identical. A history from below requires weighing a range of differentiating factors and their various impacts. Indeed, scholarship in popular culture and social history has generally struggled to develop comprehensive definitions of "below," "the people," or "popular," because of this variety and complexity.[24] Concepts or categories like "below" look rather different if one chooses to focus upon class rather than gender or race.[25] In the chapters to follow, this volume most certainly discusses dynamics of economy and poverty (particularly in chapters by Oakes and Noelle Damico and Gerardo Reyes Chavez), but it is hardly limited to those topics and those angles on people beside Paul. The problems with defining these terms, then, demonstrate the necessity of specifying both approach and focus within people's histories or histories from below.

Happily, Richard Horsley, as the editor of the first people's history of Christianity volume (focused upon Christian origins), specifically defined the opposition between rulers and ruled as the basic division for people's history to consider.[26] This opposition also helps to define who "the people" are (at least in that volume): ordinary people and popular movements, in contrast to and often arrayed against the ruling elites and elite culture.[27] This definition of "the people"—not the elite—provides a broad but abstracted categorization defined more by way of elimination than specification. However, Horsley's introduction to this volume does provide a helpful, if still initial, overview of the import and the difference a people's

24. Jim Sharpe, for example, notes: "The fundamental reason for this is that 'the people', as far back as the sixteenth century at least, were a rather varied group, divided by economic stratification, occupational cultures and gender. Such considerations render invalid any simplistic notion of what 'below' might mean in most historical contexts" (Jim Sharpe, "History from Below," in Burke, *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, 25–42, 28). See also Burke, "Overture," 10. Here Sharpe is referring especially to the work of Burke, including Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Harper & Row, 1978), 23–64.

25. For instance, as Sharpe admits about the history from below: "'Below' in this context was originally conceived of in terms of a class structure or some other cognate form of social stratification: obviously, writing history from the perspective of women, or indeed, of children, would give different insights into what subordination might entail" (Sharpe, "History from Below," 36).

26. Richard A. Horsley, "Unearthing a People's History," in *Christian Origins*, vol. 1 of *A People's History of Christianity*, ed. Richard A. Horsley (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 1–20 (4).

27. Ibid., 4–5.

history approach makes. People's history departs from "standard history" in a number of ways, not the least of which is the focus on people besides the elites, the so-called "great men" who were the shapers of human history.[28] This change in focus contests the idea that nonelites are insignificant in history, leading to a reexamination of the scope and the sources for historiography. With one's historical perspective shifted to one "from below," the scholar must consider all aspects of life and look in interdisciplinary ways at a wider range of source materials.[29] These forms of historiography developed as responses to the way history had been written; they represented an attempt to do the opposite of Rankean history.[30]

In the past, "kings and wars" were the most common aspects recounted in historical narratives.[31] This is one of the potential problems with Parenti's reconsideration of ancient Rome and indeed even my brief overview about the city and colony of Philippi (above)—both remained focused upon the usual suspects and topics, caesars and civil wars. If kings and wars are what count as history, then by way of analogy, what has counted as religious, or early Christian, history were apostles, evangelists, and bishops and their conflicts about doctrine, made concrete by church councils and creeds.[32] This is a problematic, even anachronistic frame for approaching the assembly community at ancient Philippi. Under the influence of this model for history, as well as later Christian traditions and authorities, debaters such as Paul became saints, small communities were churches, their leaders bishops, and their debates centered on doctrinal matters like Christology.

From Below, Against the Grain?

These problems with historical approaches, though, are closely tied to problems of sources. After all, there are plenty of sources focused on

28. Ibid., 1–5. See especially p. 5, where Horsley specifically draws upon an overview by Burke in developing two tables that highlight the differences between people's history and standard history, or as Burke describes them "new" and "old" history. See Burke, "Overture," 3–6.

29. Horsley, "Unearthing a People's History," 5.

30. As Peter Burke highlights for defining what makes this new kind of history "new," it is often easier to say what it is not. See Burke, "Overture," 2–3. Burke also refers here to the paradigmatic role of nineteenth century historian Leopold van Ranke in setting the terms for history as a discipline in the West.

31. Horsley, "Unearthing a People's History," 5.

32. Ibid., 2.

kings and the wars they fought—or forced others to fight—because, simply, they were created and preserved by those kings. This problem is only compounded when one is dealing with the period of this project: Greco-Roman antiquity. Unlike Zinn and others working on more recent periods, students of the ancient world have fewer resources and, thus, a much more limited archive. Whether one is working in the classical or biblical areas (or their intersections), one is also dealing with layers of tradition within this archive, layers expressing the interests of various elites. Within these texts nonelite people often only appear when they are cast as pests or problems, a tendency that potentially troubles any reflections upon a crucified Jesus or an imprisoned Paul (the latter of which Standhartinger adeptly treats in this volume).[33] This problem of sources plagues many efforts in biblical studies, including attempts to do people's history.[34]

If interested in more than the usual suspects, then, one must proceed with care when dealing with dominant or elite sources. As noted above, Parenti stressed the need to read against the grain of such texts, a technique that has been effectively applied by feminist historians to a range of texts and artifacts, particularly within biblical studies.[35] At times both Parenti's and Horsley's descriptions of people's history borrow heavily from feminist approaches to history.[36] Indeed, for the last two to three decades, feminist biblical scholars have been developing and refining just such critical approaches to interpreting problematic "source" materials like the letters of Paul.[37] Recognizing that these letters are not transparent windows to

33. For a similar point about when the people "make the papers," as it were, see ibid., 11.

34. See, for instance, the discussion in ibid., 14–16; and Steven J. Friesen, Sarah A. James, and Daniel N. Schowalter, "Inequality in Corinth," in *Corinth in Contrast: Studies in Inequality*, ed. Steven J. Friesen, Sarah A. James, and Daniel N. Schowalter, NovTSup 155 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 1–13. Horsley titles an entire section on this problem, while the editors of *Corinth in Contrast* note, "The examination of ancient inequalities, however, faces a particular challenge, because these differentials affected not only ancient lives but also our access to those ancient lives. Those with less on any of these scales—political, religious, cultural, economic, etc.—tend to be the ones for whom we now have very little data" ("Inequality in Corinth," 2).

35. Parenti, *Assassination of Julius Caesar*, 10–11.

36. Horsley is slightly more explicit about this borrowing than Parenti. See, for instance, Horsley, "Unearthing a People's History," 1, 15, 17–18.

37. Here the methodological innovations of Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, Antoinette Clark Wire, and Elizabeth Castelli come most directly to mind. See, for instance,

the past, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, in particular, has repeatedly argued for a critical "reading against the grain" of the kyriarchal texts of this time period.[38] In order to practice historical remembrance of women, one must recognize that these texts are not descriptive of a first-century reality but are attempts to be prescriptive of a reality they are seeking to construct.

Feminist scholars have also been perceptive critics of the patterns of scholarly identification, even among those aiming to do empire-critical or people's history kinds of work. Schüssler Fiorenza notes that "the rhetoric of Pauline interpreters continues not only to identify themselves with Paul but also to see Paul as identical with 'his' communities, postulating that Paul was the powerful creator and unquestioned leader of the communities to whom he writes."[39] For scholars interested in the people beside Paul, both patterns of identification need to be recognized and unwound from their interpretation and analysis. Indeed, the depiction of a heroic Paul persists in the brief examples already discussed: Bass, Ruden, and Horsley identify in a variety of ways with those who have been cast as Christian heroes, like Paul, and want the reader to identify with him and his efforts as well.[40] Despite a range of feminist suggestions for how to decenter Paul in the study of these letters and their recipients, he is rarely ever displaced

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Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *But She Said: Feminist Practices of Biblical Interpretation* (Boston: Beacon, 1992); *Rhetoric and Ethic: The Politics of Biblical Studies* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999); and *Wisdom Ways: Introducing Feminist Biblical Interpretation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2001); Antoinette Clark Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets: A Reconstruction through Paul's Rhetoric* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990); and Elizabeth A. Castelli, *Imitating Paul: A Discourse of Power*, Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1991).

38. Schüssler Fiorenza's hermeneutical innovations extend back to and through a range of her works, including: *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstructions of Christian Origins*, 10th anniversary edition (New York: Crossroad, 1994), 3–95; *But She Said*, 53–62; and (particularly with regard to Paul's letters) *Rhetoric and Ethic*, 31–55 and 105–94.

39. Schüssler Fiorenza, "Paul and the Politics of Interpretation," in Horsley, *Paul and Politics*, 40–57, 44.

40. In line with some of the arguments made in Schüssler Fiorenza, "Paul and the Politics of Interpretation," there are some helpful (if not always entirely accurate) observations on the persistence of this tendency in Melanie Johnson-DeBaufre and Laura Nasrallah, "Beyond the Heroic Paul: Toward a Feminist and Decolonizing Approach to the Letters of Paul," in *The Colonized Apostle: Paul through Postcolonial Eyes*, ed. Christopher D. Stanley, Paul in Critical Contexts (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2011), 161–74.

or simply even placed as one among many active, leading coworkers in the assembly communities. Several of the chapters in this volume attempt to proceed from such a reorientation, while others only manage to nudge him to the side or just side-by-side with other people.

Feminist scholars have also demonstrated different methods for dealing with the rhetoric of these letters. Referring, for instance, to the work of Antoinette Clark Wire, Horsley admits that "we have recently become more critically aware that we cannot read the history of a Pauline Christianity directly off the pages of Paul's letters."[41] Indeed, these letters are not transparent windows onto historical situations, in either the location of its composition or reception. Rather, Wire's efforts to find out about one group of recipients—the Corinthian women prophets—demonstrates how one must "factor" for the effects of the persuasive function of the letter as just one part of a rhetorical exchange if one wants to postulate historical information about Paul or other people. Wire elaborates: "Nothing he [Paul] writes can be considered reliable unless it serves his purpose of persuasion. In other words, everything spoken as description or analysis is first of all an address to the intended readers."[42] One must distinguish between rhetorical and historical situation, because one must work through the rhetoric to get any kind of historical perspective.[43]

Any direct reflections on particular figures in a letter, then, can be helpful, if measured or "factored" in terms of its argumentative aims. Paul might be basing a claim on a presumed agreement between the audience and himself, yet letters, of course, reveal other purposes than confirming agreement. Indeed, given the effort and resources needed to compose and send a letter, one should imagine that there were particular concerns that would cause someone like Paul to send a letter. Wire's observations about another Pauline letter and context are helpful in this regard as well: "On whatever points Paul's persuasion is insistent and intense, showing he is

41. Horsley, "Unearthing a People's History," 17.

42. Wire, *Corinthian Women Prophets*, 9.

43. Cynthia Briggs Kittredge (*Community and Authority: The Rhetoric of Obedience in the Pauline Tradition*, HTS 45 [Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1998], 56, 62–65, 101–10), for instance, stresses that there is a difference between the rhetorical situation inscribed within the letter to the Philippians and the historical situation at Philippi. For the difference between rhetorical and historical situation, see Schüssler Fiorenza, *Rhetoric and Ethic*, 109, 115–22, 138–42. On rhetorical situation generally, see Lloyd F. Bitzer, "The Rhetorical Situation," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 1 (1968): 1–14.

not merely confirming their agreement but struggling for their assent, one can assume some different and opposite point of view in Corinth from the one Paul is stating."[44] Wire suggests that, if one reads the letter's arguments carefully, one can "see" some audience perspectives in the letter. Through a process compatible with reading against the grain, Wire maintains that "those in clear disagreement with Paul should be the ones most accessible through his rhetoric."[45]

The potential importance of feminist scholarship on Paul's letters is hard to overstate for a project like a people's history approach. Feminist work helps interpreters reorient their approach to these letters in creative and self-reflexive ways. When Horsley, for instance, takes this work more seriously, he recognizes that these letters are "sources for various voices than can be heard, however faintly, through Paul's arguments aimed at persuading them to agree with his own point of view."[46] When Paul is resituated as one among many, it becomes harder to imagine his letters as automatically authoritative, theological treatises, instead of ad hoc efforts "from the field" of various assembly communities, efforts that show rather clear signs of difference and even conflict within the movements that cross and connect these communities. These differences reflect the variety and complexity of those who subsisted below, including the people within the ancient assembly community at Philippi.

Variety and Complexity: Particular Philippians

Scholars interested in those "from below" in these ancient contexts, then, must find ways to examine and analyze the specificities within and between these people. Failure to do so risks the homogenization and even a romanticization of "the people," obscuring relevant ethical and political challenges within both the first and the twenty-first centuries.[47] This

44. Wire, *Corinthian Women Prophets*, 9.

45. Ibid., 4. This is likely the case because, as Wire notes, "Paul expects controversy—provokes it in fact" (11).

46. Horsley, "Unearthing a People's History," 18.

47. For a similar concern about the homogenization of the poor in liberation hermeneutics, see R. S. Sugirtharajah, "Convergent Trajectories? Liberation Hermeneutics and Postcolonial Biblical Criticism," in *Postcolonial Criticism and Biblical Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 103–23. On previous occasions, I have explicitly reflected upon the foundations for people's/popular history approaches and interrogated the elisions, ambiguities, and outright conflicts in these

is why each contribution to this volume attends to one set of contextual particularities for these people, while simultaneously placing them in wider settings. The problem of many previous attempts in people's history often lies in the broad sweep they attempt to enact; there is very little time or space for focusing in a detailed way on some of the particular ways in which people besides "the great men" of history participated in their movements. Each of these previous works sacrifices the specific cultural context and the particular insights a tighter but also deeper focus can bring. By beginning with one site and one time frame—Philippi in antiquity—this collection clearly aims to mitigate these problems. In doing so, it provides an opportunity for rare insights and pushes "history from below" beyond bland idealisms or facile generalizations. Not all ancient "Christian" communities were the same; the forms their practices, interactions, and impacts took were shaped by localized contexts. Even if the communities that received Paul's letters were all somehow "Paul's communities," the letters still reflect their differences, differences that Pauline specialists now increasingly admit. This is also why it is important to attend to dynamics that are materially, historically, and rhetorically specific to places like Philippi (and, in turn, others).[48]

If one is interested in highlighting and describing particular people or particular factors from the underside of the Roman imperial world, one needs an approach that can attend to such particularities while simultaneously placing them in a wider context. Further, even from within specific localized contexts, there are differences within and between the different participants in these communities (including gender, ethnic, economic, imperial, and cultic identifications and impacts). By engaging with a wide range of "mainstream" and more "minoritized" issues, then, this volume

approaches for any who seek more than a specifically gendered and racialized working class. See Joseph A. Marchal, *The Politics of Heaven: Women, Gender, and Empire in the Study of Paul*, Paul in Critical Contexts (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008), 26–33.

48. Collections for other sites that received Paul's letter(s) have been published in recent years, but they tend to emphasize the more technical (and, thus, less accessible) aspects of material culture, without addressing the range of topics this volume does by starting with a perspective "from below." See, for example, Steven J. Friesen, Daniel N. Schowalter, and James C. Walters, eds., *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); and Laura S. Nasrallah, Charalambos Bakirtzis, and Steven J. Friesen, eds. *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonike: Studies in Religion and Archaeology*, HTS 64 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

addresses the variety and specificity that would characterize communities composed of such people. In doing so, the contributions connect different elements of biblical and early Jewish and Christian studies to consider a different kind of historical horizon. Thus, the volume has many "points of contact" for scholars attending to a range of interests: archaeology and economy, slavery and sexuality, imprisonment and imperial colonies, among several others.

In order to get to specific kinds of people, one needs to take specific angles on the available materials. Though the following chapters take different angles, the narrowed focus on one site and one time period nets a newly complicated picture of the people in the assembly community at Philippi. Through a common focus and a variety of angles, the contributors reimagine and (re)present these "people beside Paul" in at least three different ways: (1) through other people, the people *other than* Paul in the assembly community "in Christ" at Philippi; (2) through people situated *alongside* Paul, often through careful examination of Paul's letters, particularly his to the Philippians; and/or (3) *through* Paul primarily, as alongside and among the people in this movement, making hymns and managing suffering and imprisonment. While some chapters consider figures from Philippi named in Paul's letters and other ancient remains, others focus on those still unnamed but often labeled "opponents," and still others mostly envision Paul in solidarity with the Philippians. In what follows these people include both females and males, the imprisoned and the enslaved, Jews and other religious groups. The conditions for all of these people reflect the mixing and contact between Jews and non-Jews, assembly members and their surroundings, and occasionally even later Christians and non-Christians.[49]

49. In focusing on both specific kinds of people and their conditions of contact with others, this volume also mitigates some of the potential problems with aspirations to reconstruct a "typical" view of a peasant or a poor woman in places such as Corinth, Galatia, or Philippi. If the goal is to construct the "common people," commonalities are likely reinforced and reinscribed, erasing the differences within and among these people and white-washing a complex picture into a monochromatic representation. Such a potential goal in people's history likely also marginalizes the particular, the challenging, the fascinating, the strange, even the queer within these communities, dulling the rich possibilities of historical reconstructive efforts. For an initial description of queer approaches to Paul's letters, see Joseph A. Marchal, "Queer Approaches: Improper Relations with Paul's Letters," in *Studying Paul's Letters: Contemporary Perspectives and Methods*, ed. Joseph A. Marchal (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 209–27;

Fortunately yet paradoxically, Paul's letters present both the common difficulties and the distinct opportunities for doing histories from below. On the one hand, scholars have limited perspectives on the exchange between Paul and the Philippians; there are, after all, no surviving letters from these Philippians to Paul (or others). We have only the perspective of Paul, or, to put it even more precisely, we have only the perspective Paul carefully crafts and constructs through the arguments preserved in his letter to the Philippians. On the other hand, this letter presents a rare opportunity to listen in on one half of an exchange between nonelites. Here, Horsley is characteristically enthusiastic about the potential utility of New Testament texts for investigations into these people, for they are

> highly unusual, almost unique among ordinary people in antiquity, for having left texts that survive in writing. Insofar as the communities and movements that they represent or address had not yet developed a hierarchy that stood in power over the membership, most New Testament and related texts … provide more or less direct sources for these people's movements.[50]

Though several of the contributions in this volume would tend to view Paul's letter as less than direct, they also recognize that the letter reflects an interaction between these people and, therefore, can provide glimpses of people beside Paul. As Richard S. Ascough's response to the first set of chapters highlights, the historical claims that scholars can make about these people might need to be modest. Yet, even as such measured claims offer sometimes partial, dimly glimpsed factors, these glimpses are important, particularly because we know that there is more than the standard stories that have been told, more than the perspective of the 1 percent. Despite the way these letters were treated later as icons and exemplars of high culture, they do provide distinct, if still difficult entry points for thinking about and tracing the practices and positions of "everyday people" in places like Philippi.[51]

for some queer reflections specifically on Philippians, see Marchal, *Philippians: Historical Problems, Hierarchical Visions, Hysterical Anxieties*, Phoenix Guides to the New Testament 11 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2014), 69–92.

50. Horsley, "Unearthing a People's History," 15.

51. This would be especially true for this time and place if one also agreed with Horsley's claim: "For in the period of their origins, the communities and movements

Approaching ancient Philippi through this letter and other surviving materials requires degrees of caution and creativity. Of course, all acts of historical (re)construction develop out of creatively reimagining scenarios and rearranging the relations between materials. Each of the chapters in this volume pursues such scenarios and rethinks these relations, but it will become clear that these chapters offer no single method or model (and, I would argue, that is one of their collective strengths). What unites them is a common aim to ask different questions and seek different people, to explore people beside Paul and the various social forms and forces that would affect them. This volume pursues these questions by innovating with methods and materials, putting traditional versions of both to new uses, within different settings. In doing so, some explicitly adapt feminist approaches (Valerie Abrahamsen, Joseph A. Marchal, Damico and Reyes Chavez), and some reflect upon the letter as an example of what James C. Scott calls a "hidden transcript" (Standhartinger, Robert L. Brawley, Damico and Reyes Chavez).[52] They begin well before or after the time of the letter (Abrahamsen and Eduard Verhoef, respectively) or explicitly start with quite modern, but rather problematic uses of the letter (especially Mark D. Nanos). As a whole, then, this volume provides different specifications of "the people," pursuing historical questions differently, either in light of more people or atypical concerns about them.

When Horsley described what a people's history of this time could do, he highlighted at least three activities: "looking again at less familiar sources, questioning old assumptions, and working critically toward new conceptual tools more appropriate to how ordinary people made history."[53] Each of these is reflected in this volume. Many are likely to be unfamiliar with the ancient Samothrakiasts, the more recent Campaign for Fair Food, or some of the material remains addressed here. Common assumptions

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that were later called Christianity consisted of nothing but people's history" (Horsley, "Unearthing a People's History," 2).

52. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990). For one set of attempts to apply Scott's work to biblical texts, see *Hidden Transcripts and the Arts of Resistance: Applying the Work of James C. Scott to Jesus and Paul*, ed. Richard A. Horsley, SemeiaSt 48 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004). For two particular cautions about this methodology, though, see Kittredge, "Reconstructing 'Resistance' or Reading to Resist: James C. Scott and the Politics of Interpretation," in Horsley, *Hidden Transcripts*, 145–55; and Marchal, *Politics of Heaven*, 18–19.

53. Horsley, "Unearthing a People's History," 5.

about Jews or "Judaizers," about veterans and economic privilege, about prisons and the custody of Paul, and about slavery and manumission are heartily interrogated. In doing so, the contributors develop new economic profiles and utilize alternative ideas about hidden transcripts, wo/men, and unmen to reconceptualize and recontextualize the letter. Several of the authors make their political and hermeneutical commitments explicit, where others leave them implicit. A few aim to read against the grain of texts; others read along it; and still others try to read between the lines. In short, this volume does not propose a discrete new methodology. Rather, it reflects a constellation of approaches that focus on one site and one time frame (Philippi in antiquity) and aim toward a common goal: knowing more about people beside Paul.

The methodological pluralism of this volume reflects some of the shifting conditions of biblical scholarship. Though the guild is still predominantly conditioned by its mostly Eurocentric, heteronormative, pale male past (and present), it has become increasingly hard to ignore the critiques and counterconstructions developed by feminist, race-critical, postcolonial, and queer approaches to these materials. Often (though perhaps not often enough), these approaches were indications of a change in the kinds of scholarly readers and interpreters. Yet, the corresponding changes in approach did not necessarily stem from contained and cohesive methodologies: what African-American scholars, for instance, tend to share is not a single method, but a difference in starting point and an overlapping set of goals.[54] A people's history approach can be somewhat parallel to these kinds of approaches, even (or especially) as it overlaps or otherwise draws upon these changes in approach. Indeed, works like *The People's Companion to the Bible* reflect the way some corners of biblical scholarship have increasingly considered the difference a difference in social location makes.[55] The contemporary landscape of biblical scholarship has changed

54. For just one indication of the variety and complexity of the study of the Bible by, about, as, or with African-Americans, see Vincent L. Wimbush with Rosamond C. Rodman, eds., *African-Americans and the Bible: Sacred Texts and Social Structures* (New York: Continuum, 2000).

55. See, for example, the introductory materials and part 1 in Young et al., *Peoples' Companion*, xvii–xxxii and 3–89. This trajectory of interpreting from within (and critically reflecting upon) one's social location is exemplified by Fernando F. Segovia and Mary Ann Tolbert, eds., *Reading from This Place*, vol. 1: *Social Location and Biblical Interpretation in the United States*, and vol. 2: *Social Location and Biblical Interpretation in Global Perspective* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995).

as the kinds of readers and interpreters have expanded (even as very few of the norms of such scholarship have been altered for the majority).

This also indicates that in order to do something different, one does not need to start from scratch. Indeed, one of the strengths of scholarship in this moment is that one has a range of alternative imaginaries on which to draw in trying to pursue different people and different questions. Kwok Pui-lan and Joerg Rieger argue in a similar way in their examination of the relations between the recent Occupy movement and religious practices of the past and the present. The variety of liberationist practices and theologies present opportunities for unified action with and through (not in spite of) differences.[56] As a result, Kwok and Rieger propose, "in contrast to the term 'the people,' which often tends to describe a unified group, 'the multitude' allows for and welcomes differences among various members."[57] Given the potential multitude-in-relation within the assembly community at Philippi—a group that was assembled, but also marked by a range of differences, it might even be essential to take various angles on the people beside Paul there (as this volume aims).[58] The possible resonances between past and present movements need not end there, though, since the leaderless Occupy movement's use of decentralized networks distantly echo the assemblies that received Paul's letters.[59] As one will see in the final contribution to this volume, the Campaign for Fair Food similarly recognizes that it is harder to destroy a decentralized movement when it is populated by many, "leaderfull" participants. Damico and Reyes Chavez, in turn, use these experiences of a present-day people's movement to reframe the significance of Paul and the people in Philippi.

In creating some uncommon scholarly space for these kinds of analyses, this volume is less (exclusively) focused upon material remains than

56. See Rieger and Kwok, *Occupy Religion*, 59.

57. Ibid., 61, adapting Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (New York: Penguin, 2004).

58. Rieger and Kwok, however, are perhaps a bit too optimistic about using Paul's letters for an alternative practice now (see, for instance, *Occupy Religion*, 67, 77, 124).

59. See ibid., 121. Kwok and Rieger will also argue that this style of organizing specifically resonates with the opening verses of the hymn found in Phil 2:6–7: "It seems to us that these new ways of life are teaching us something about the 'form of God' as well: emptying oneself of top-down power and reclaiming other sorts of power may be more God-like than we had ever suspected" (81). While this could be true for the kenotic image that opens the hymn, it becomes harder to see an interrogation of top-down power in the latter half of the hymn (Phil 2:9–11).

other recent volumes on the urban communities that received Paul's letters. Some of this difference is simply reflecting our respective disciplinary specializations, but I submit that it also stems from a conviction that the letter itself could represent an important, if still rhetorical artifact that can shed light on people beside Paul. Once more, this is also the strength of a volume that tries to pursue several different angles on a common combination of people, place, and time frame. As a whole, the volume may not present a completely cohesive picture of Paul, the assembly community at Philippi, their relations, or their impacts, but it also seems rather unlikely that all of these cohered with each other in the first place.

This volume should help to explain how and why each contribution attends to one set of contextual particularities for these people, while simultaneously placing them in wider settings. Broadly, the whole traces an arc from larger material contexts to more focused rhetorical and historical analyses of the letter and increasingly to receptions and uses of this letter (communal, interpretive, and activist). Collectively, the contributions offer crucial insights into "mainstream" questions—about the letter's hymn and audience, Paul's "opponents," and the sites of the community and of Paul's imprisonment—as well as more "marginalized" topics and groups—including women, slaves, Jews, and members of localized cults. In the end, they manage to cover an impressive and important array of matters: archaeology and architecture, economy and ethnicity, prisons and priestesses, slavery, syncretism, stereotypes of Jews, and the colony of Philippi and a range of communities—there and then, but also here and how (including contemporary people's campaigns).

The chapters of this volume provide multiple points of entry, thus presenting many different ways to proceed through them (besides in order, from front to back). The opening chapters, for instance, have a stronger material emphasis than those that follow them. Abrahamsen's "Priestesses and Other Female Cult Leaders at Philippi in the Early Christian Era" provides essential context to the first generations of members in the Philippian assembly by examining women and especially female functionaries in various cultic activities at Philippi. Starting centuries prior to the letter, Abrahamsen explains the many references in literature to the variety and prominence of women through the archaeology of Philippi, particularly at the acropolis and imperial complexes. Such dynamics not only situate the early Christ cult at Philippi in its opening centuries, but also account for women's roles within the Philippian assembly community. Abrahamsen helpfully (re)introduces a range of sites and roles for women's prominent

involvement in cultic life in Philippi. Oakes's contribution, "The Economic Situation of the Philippian Christians," constructs and critically analyzes the economic situation of the assembly community at Philippi. Disputing many previous views about their status, Oakes provides a socioeconomic and comparative analysis of the evidence, particularly given Philippi's role as an urban locale and a *colonia*. Indeed, Oakes comes to different conclusions about women's economic influence than Abrahamsen.[60] In composing a socioeconomic profile of the members of the Philippian assembly community, Oakes traces a precarious situation, where economic status is tied to dynamics of ethnicity, labor, gender, and empire. This analysis accounts for the social patterns and suffering reflected in traditions about this assembly community. Verhoef's "Collaboration of 'Samothrakiasts' and Christians in Philippi" situates the early Christ-followers at Philippi as a minoritized group among adherents within other religious communities. Verhoef considers the meaning of that Christian community "growing up" alongside other cultic groups, particularly the Kabeiric mystery cult of Samothrace, by examining material remains like the shrine of Euephenes alongside later Christian buildings. Starting centuries after the letter, Verhoef explains how the Christians ended up with a basilica in the center of the city in spite of their economic vulnerability. The material domain, then, ends up reflecting the likely positively syncretistic interaction and traffic between these local practices, where adaptation and collaboration explains their practical utility and physical proximity.

When the chapters turn more directly to the letter to the Philippians to consider the dynamic between rhetoric and history, they also contextualize the letter's argumentation in distinct imperial settings. Standhartinger, in "Letter from Prison as Hidden Transcript: What It Tells Us about the People at Philippi," reexamines the letter in light of the living conditions in ancient prisons and the ways people survived and negotiated these conditions. Standhartinger goes beyond typical resources for Paul's imprisonment (including Acts) by focusing upon Roman custody and the dangers of letter-writing, for both senders and recipients, in such contexts. This analysis accounts for the ambiguity of the letter, more helpfully considered as a hidden transcript to a disguised community in resistance. Marchal

60. For a third angle on this overlapping set of dynamics, see also the new study on women's socioeconomic status in these communities (specifically in Asia Minor), Katherine Bain, *Women's Socioeconomic Status and Religious Leadership in Asia Minor in the First Two Centuries C.E.*, Emerging Scholars (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2014).

("Slaves as Wo/men and Unmen: Reflecting upon Euodia, Syntyche, and Epaphroditus in Philippi") complicates the picture of the community by focusing upon three of the figures from Philippi named in the letter and their probable status as enslaved or manumitted figures. Situating them within the particularly gendered and sexualized aspects of slave systems specifies some of the glimpses of the historical context of those people often defined by their lack of (imperial) masculinity. This setting affects Paul's arguments, especially when they reflect continuities with enslaving ideologies, but also offers a new vantage point on three particular people moving around the lower rungs of Roman imperial, slave-owning society.

Even as the next chapters keep the focus on the letter, they increasingly reflect upon different receptions and uses of it within different present-day communities or within ancient Philippi itself. Nanos's "Out-Howling the Cynics: Reconceptualizing the Concerns of Paul's Audience from His Polemics in Philippians 3" interrogates the scholarly saw that "dogs" was a distinctly Jewish insult of Gentiles, thus reconsidering all of Paul's arguments in the letter about the apparent "opponents." Nanos demonstrates that there is no literary evidence for dogs as a specifically Jewish slur of non-Jews and shows, rhetorically, that most of Phil 3 would not make sense within such a negative view of first-century Judaisms (within which Paul was still operating). The references to dogs, evil workers, and mutilation could apply generally to a number of groups, but Cynics make an attractive option, particularly if community members are dealing with problems with peers at Philippi and their objections to their new way of life as Gentiles in a Jewish, Christ-based subgroup. Brawley, in "An Alternative Community and an Oral Encomium: Traces of the People in Philippi," presents the letter as a reflection of the community's self-construction as an alternative to the Roman imperial system. Since Philippi was an ancient *colonia*, Brawley situates the community within the context of imperial dominance as a way to account for their difficulties. Their suffering is incorporated into identity arguments, as the letter dramatized the social roles generated in this reality. The letter and the hymn in particular perform the communal life conditioned by suffering and beneficence that they have in Christ Jesus. Damico and Reyes Chavez, in "Determining What Is Best: The Campaign for Fair Food and the Nascent Assembly in Philippi," use their experience as organizers and participants in a contemporary people's social movement (the Campaign for Fair Food) led by poor working people to clarify and qualify how scholars might look at approaches "from below." This chapter highlights vivid connections between the conditions

of Immokalee, Florida and Philippi, where people from many cultures have come together, but face violence and intimidation, surveillance and infiltration. Damico and Reyes Chavez suggest that the potential presence of those who were conflicted about or sympathetic to imperially-aligned parties explains the way Paul's arguments aim toward hyperbolic irritation and exposure of those sympathizers. Such conditions can also account for the anxiety and adaptability of messages transmitted.

This volume also features three helpful responses to these three sets of chapters by Ascough, Wire, and Horsley, respectively. While each response is insightful in its own right, all three together complement, complicate, qualify, and extend the arguments within these chapters. They model, in an initial fashion, how we might hope the volume as a whole will be received: people will take up, consider, critique, fill out, reformulate, and otherwise pursue people beside Paul, too.