

DONALD DALE WALKER

Paul's Offer of Leniency
(2 Cor 10:1)

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

152

Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

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Jörg Frey, Martin Hengel, Otfried Hofius

152



Donald Dale Walker

Paul's Offer of Leniency (2 Cor 10:1)

Populist Ideology and Rhetoric
in a Pauline Letter Fragment

Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

This study was originally a doctoral dissertation written at the University of Chicago under the direction of Hans Dieter Betz, whose guidance I am proud to acknowledge. It was an enormous boon to have him as a resource and critic, for his insights consistently added depth to my investigation. As I reflect on this gratefully, I would add that this work is but the culmination of a larger process of education for which thanks are equally due.

Others too have shared in this enterprise, whose assistance I am pleased to recognize: Adela Yarbro Collins, Elizabeth Asmis, and Arthur Droge. They proved themselves gracious and helpful, as they asked questions, offered comments, added perspective, and insisted on clarity of both thought and expression. Looking now at the final product, I see the fingerprints of all four (untiring) professors, whom I thank.

I would like also to express my gratitude to the editors for accepting this work as part of *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe* and Dr. Georg Siebeck for publishing it. In making the transition from a 1998 dissertation to a 2002 monograph, a few minor revisions have been introduced. The staff at Mohr/Siebeck has been delightful to work with and made the task of bringing the manuscript to print enjoyable. *Danke sehr*.

Lastly, I wish to thank my wife, Jill. Without her this labor would never have succeeded, so with gratitude I dedicate this work to her.

Many translations of ancient and modern sources appear in this work. Unless noted otherwise, translations of ancient sources are taken from the Loeb Classical Library. I have provided my own translations of ancient and modern literature where no published translation was available.

Chicago, IL

Donald Dale Walker

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Abbreviations

1. Ancient Authors

Aes[op] *Fab[ulae]*

Am[mianus] Mar[cellinus]

App[ian]

Bel[lum] civ[ile]

Mith[ridatica]

Syr[iaca]

Archy[tus of Tarentum]

[Περὶ νόμου καὶ δικαιοσύνης]

Aristid[es, Aelius]

Aristoph[anes] *Nub[es]*

Aris[totle]

E[thica] N[icomachea]

Meta[physics]

Pol[itica]

Rhet[orica]

Arr[ian]

Alex[andri] ana[basis]

Cyn[geticus]

His[toria] suc[cessorum]

Alex[andri]

Parth[icorum] fragmenta]

Athen[aeus] *Deip[nosophistai]*

Aug[ustus] *Res ges[tae]*

Aul[us] Gel[lius] *Noc[tes] At[ticae]*

Cae[sar]

Bel[lo] civ[ili, De]

Bel[lo] Gal[lico, De]

Cal[purnius] Sic[ulus] *Ec[logue]*

Cic[ero]

Ad Att[icus], Epistulae]

Ad Brut[um], Epistulae]

Ad fam[iliari], Epistulae]

Cat[ilinam, In]

De inv[entione]

De officiis]

De or[atore]

De part[itione] or[atoria]

Par[adoxa] Stoi[corum]

Phil[ippicae]

Pro leg[is] Man[ilia]

Pro Lig[ario]

Pro Mar[cello]

Pro Mur[ena]

Pro Reg[is] Dei[otaro]

Pro [Sex.] Ros[cio] Am[erino]

Pro Sul[la]

Q[uintus] fr[atrem, Epistulae]

Top[ica]

Tusc[ulanarum] disputationum]

Ver[rem, In]

Dem[osthenes]

De cor[ona]

In Med[iam]

Dio Cas[sius] *Historiae Romanae]*

Dio Chrys[ostom] *Orationes]*

Diod[orus] Sic[ulus]

[Bibliotheca historica]

Diog[enes] L[aertius] *Vitae]*

philosophorum]

Dio[nysius of] Hal[icarnassus]

Antiquitates Romanae]

Ars Rhet[orica]

Diot[ogenes] *Peri bas[ileias]*

Ecph[antus] *Peri bas[ileias]*

- Epict[etus]
 Diss[ertationes]
 Ench[iridion]
 Frag[menta]
 Ep[istle off] Arist[eas]
 Herod[otus Historiae]
 Hom[er]
 Il[liad]
 Od[yssey]
 Hor[ace]
 Car[men] saec[ulare]
 Car[mina]
 Ep[istulae]
 Sat[irae]
 Iamb[lichus] *De vit[a] Pyth[agorica]*
 Isoc[rates]
 Ad Dem[onicum]
 Ad Nic[oclem]
 Ad Tim[otheum]
 Ant[idosis]
 Ep[istulae]
 Ev[agoras]
 Hel[enae encomium]
 In Cal[limachus]
 In Loch[item]
 Nic[ocles]
 Pan[athenaicus]
 Paneg[yricus]
 Phil[lippus]
 Jos[eph and] Asen[eth]
 Jos[ephus, Flavius]
 Ant[iquities]
 Ap[ionem, Contra]
 Bel[lum Judaicum]
 Vita [Joseph]
 Lib[anius]
 Ep[istulae]
 Or[ationes]
 Decl[amationes]
 Luc[ian]
 Alex[ander]
 Apol[ogia]
 Bis accus[at]us sive tribunalia
 De astr[ologia]
 De merc[ede] cond[uctis potentium]
 familiaribus]
 De parasito [sive artem esse]
 parasiticam]
 Dem[onax]
 Dial[ogi] meret[riui]
 Fug[itivi]
 Gal[us]
 Hermot[imus]
 Icar[omenippus]
 Imag[ines]
 Men[nipus sive necyomantia]
 Nig[rinus]
 Per[egrini, De morte]
 Phal[aris]
 Pro lapsu [inter salutandum]
 Prom[ethus]
 Reviv[escentes] sive pisc[ator]
 Rhet[orum] prae[ceptor]
 Scy[tha]
 Som[nium sive vita Luciani]
 Ver[ae] hist[oriae]
 Vit[arum] auc[tio]
 M[arcus] Aur[elius Antoninus]
 [Ta eis heauton]
 Mus[onius] Ruff[us]
 Graphēn hybreōs [grapsetai tina ho]
 philosophos, Ei]
 Phil[osophōteon k. t.] bas[ileusin]
 Ovid Pont[o, Epistulae ex]
 P[apyri] Oxy[rhynchus]
 Philo [Judaeus]
 De agr[icultura]
 De confusione] ling[uarum]
 De dec[alogo]
 De Ios[epho]
 De leg[at]io] ad Gai[um]
 De mig[ratione] Abr[ahami]
 De op[ificio] mun[di]
 De prae[miis] et poe[nis]

- De sac[rificiis] Ab[elis et Caini]*
De som[niis]
De spec[ialibus] leg[ibus]
De virt[utibus]
De vita Mos[is]
In Flac[cum]
Leg[um] al[legoriarum]
Quod det[erius] pot[iori insidiari soleat]
Quod om[nis] pr[obus] lib[er]
 Philod[emus]
Good King [according to Homer, On the Rhet[oric, On]
 Philos[tratus, Flavius]
Vit[a] Apol[lonii]
Vit[ae] soph[istarum]
 Pind[ar] *Pyth[ia]*
 Plato
Apol[ogia]
Hip[pias] mai[or]
Leg[es]
Men[exenus]
Pol[iticus]
Prot[agorus]
Sym[posium]
The[ætetus]
 Plau[tus]
Mil[es]
Rud[ens]
 Pliny [the Elder] *Nat[uralis] his[toria]*
 Pliny [the Younger]
Ep[istulae]
Pan[egyricus]
 Plut[arch]
Aem[ilius Paullus]
Alc[ibiades]
Alex[ander]
Ant[ony]
Aris[tides]
Art[axerxes]
- Cae[sar]*
C[aius] Mar[cius]
Cato maj[or]
Cato min[or]
Cic[ero]
Cor[iolanus]
Cras[sus]
Eum[enes]
Fab[ius Maximus]
Flam[ininus]
Grac[chus, Tiberius et Gaius]
Mar[cius, Caius]
Mor[alia]
Nic[ias]
Pel[opidas]
Phoc[ion]
Pom[pey]
Rom[ulus]
Ser[torius]
Sol[on]
Thes[eus]
Thes[ei] et Rom[uli, Comparatio]
 Polyb[ius *Historiae*]
 Ps[eudo]-Anach[arsis] *Ep[istulae]*
 Ps[eudo]-Aristid[es]
Eis bas[ileia]
Rhod[iakos]
 Ps[eudo]-Dem[osthenes] *Erot[icus]*
 Ps[eudo]-Diog[enes] *Ep[istulae]*
 Ps[eudo]-Her[aclitus] *Ep[istulae]*
 Ps[eudo]-Plato *Def[initiones]*
 Ps[eudo]-Plut[arch]
De lib[eris] ed[ucandis]
De vita et poe[si] Hom[eri]
 Ps[eudo]-Sal[lust]
Ad Cae[sarem senem, Epistulae]
 Ps[eudo]-Sen[eca] *Oct[avia]*
 Quin[tilian] *Institutio Oratoria*
Rhet[orica ad] Alex[andrum]
Rhet[orica ad] Her[ennium]
 Sal[lust] *Cat[ilinae, Bellum]*

Sen[eca]	<i>Tib[erius]</i>
<i>Ad Pol[ymbium] de con[solatione]</i>	<i>Vesp[asian]</i>
<i>Apoc[olocyntosis]</i>	Tac[itus]
<i>De ben[eficiis]</i>	<i>Agr[icula]</i>
<i>De clem[entia]</i>	<i>Ann[als]</i>
<i>De const[antia sapientis]</i>	<i>Hist[ories]</i>
<i>De tranq[uiillitate animi]</i>	Ter[ence] <i>Adel[phoe]</i>
<i>De vit[a] b[eata]</i>	Theoph[rastus <i>Characteres]</i>
<i>Ep[istulae]</i>	Theoc[ritus] <i>Id[yllia]</i>
<i>Herc[ules] fur[ens]</i>	Thuc[ydides <i>Historiae]</i>
<i>Herc[ules] Oet[aeus]</i>	Val[erius] <i>Max[imus]</i>
<i>Nat[urales] qu[aestiones]</i>	<i>Fact[orum] ac dic[torum]</i>
Seneca the Elder	<i>memorabilium]</i>
<i>Con[trouersiae]</i>	Vel[leius] <i>Pat[erculus]</i>
<i>Sua[soriae]</i>	<i>Hist[oriae] Rom[anae]</i>
Stat[ius] <i>Theb[aid]</i>	Vir[gil] <i>Aen[eid]</i>
Sthen[idas] <i>Peri bas[ileias]</i>	Xen[ophon]
Stob[aeus] <i>Anth[ologium]</i>	<i>Ag[esilaus]</i>
Suet[onius]	<i>Ana[basis]</i>
<i>Aug[ustus]</i>	<i>Cyr[opaedia]</i>
<i>Clau[dius]</i>	<i>Mem[orabilia]</i>
<i>Dom[itian]</i>	<i>Oec[onomicus]</i>
<i>Iul[ius]</i>	<i>Sym[posium]</i>

2. Other Sources

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
ABR	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
Austin	<i>The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation</i> , M. M. Austin (Cambridge University Press, 1981).
Barrett	<i>The Second Epistle to the Corinthians</i> , C. K. Barrett, Harper New Testament Commentary (New York: Harper & Row, 1973; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1987).
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
Behr	<i>P. Aelius Aristides: The Complete Works: Translated into English</i> , Charles A. Behr, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981-86); Greek text: <i>P. Aelii</i>

- Aristides: Opera quae exstant omnia*, eds. Fridericus Waltharius Lenz and Carolus Allison Behr, 1 vol. in 4 pts. (Leiden: Brill, 1976-).
- BETL *Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum Lovaniensium*
- BICS *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*
- BJRL *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*
- Braund *Augustus to Nero: A Sourcebook on Roman History 31 BC-AD 68*, David C. Braund (Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble Books, 1985).
- Bultmann *The Second Letter to the Corinthians*, Rudolf Bultmann, trans. Roy A. Harrisville (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1985).
- Burstein *The Hellenistic Age from the Battle of Ipsos to the Death of Kleopatra VII*, Stanley M. Burstein, *Translated Documents of Greece and Rome 3* (Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- BZ *Biblische Zeitschrift*
- CB *Classical Bulletin*
- CBQ *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
- CIG *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. A. Boeckh.
- CIJ *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*, ed. J. B. Frey.
- CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum I-XVI*, eds. Th. Mommsen, et al. (Berlin, 1862ff.).
- CJ *Classical Journal*
- CIAnt *Classical Antiquity*
- CP *Classical Philology*
- CQ *Classical Quarterly*
- CR *Classical Review*
- CRAI *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
- CREBM *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, eds. Harold Mattingly and R. A. Carson (London: Trustees of the British Museum).
- CRR *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*, Edward Sydenham (London: Spink & Son, 1952).
- CW *Classical World*
- EDNT *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*, eds. Horst Balz and Gerhard Schneider, 3 vols. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990-93).
- EJ *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, Victor Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, rev. (Oxford University Press, 1955).
- ÉTR *Études théologiques et religieuses*
- FGH *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, ed. Felix Jacoby, 3 vols. in 15 (Leiden: Brill, 1923-58; 1954-69).
- FRLANT *Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*
- Furnish *II Corinthians*, Victor Paul Furnish, *Anchor Bible 32A* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984).
- FVS *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, ed. Hermann Diels, 6th ed. rev. Walther Kranz (10th ed.; Berlin, 1952).
- G & R *Greece & Rome*
- Grenfell *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, part 1, eds. Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898).
- HNTC *Harper New Testament Commentary*
- Horsley *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, ed. G. H. R. Horsley (North Ryde, N. S. W.: Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, 1981-).

<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
Hunt	<i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> , part 17, ed. Arthur S. Hunt (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1927).
HUT	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
ICC	International Critical Commentary
ICS	<i>Illinois Classical Studies</i>
<i>IEph</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> , Hermann Wankel, et al., 8 vols., Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 11.1-17.4 (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1979-84).
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
Jalabert	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i> , Louis Jalabert, René Mouterde, et al., 8 vols., Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 12, 33, 36, 61, 66, 78, 89, 104 (Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1929-80).
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSS	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
<i>JTC</i>	<i>Journal for Theology and the Church</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
Kent	<i>Corinth 8.3: The Inscriptions 1926-1950</i> , John Harvey Kent (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1966).
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
Lutz	"Musonius Rufus: 'The Roman Socrates,'" Cora E. Lutz, <i>Yale Classical Studies</i> 10 (1947): 3-147.
<i>MAMA</i>	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i>
Martin	<i>2 Corinthians</i> , Ralph P. Martin, Word Biblical Commentary 40 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1986).
Meiggs	<i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> , R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis (Oxford University Press, 1969).
Merritt	<i>Corinth 8.1: Greek Inscriptions, 1896-1927</i> , ed. Benjamin Dean Merritt (Cambridge: Harvard University Press [for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens], 1931).
NCB	New Century Bible
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
<i>NIDNTT</i>	<i>New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology</i> , ed. Colin Brown, 3 vols. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1975-78).
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>OGIS</i>	<i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> , ed. W. Dittenberger, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1903-5).

- Oliver *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri*, James H. Oliver (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1989).
- Parsons *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 42, ed. P. J. Parsons, Graeco-Roman Memoirs 58 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1974).
- PBA *Proceedings of the British Academy*
- Plummer *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1915).
- QUCC *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica*
- RAC *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
- RB *Revue biblique*
- Rea *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 43, eds. J. R. Rea et al., Graeco-Roman Memoirs 60 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1975).
- Reynolds *Aphrodisias and Rome*, Joyce Reynolds, Journal of Roman Studies Monographs 1 (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1982).
- RhM *Rheinisches Museum*
- RHPR *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*
- RIC *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, eds. C. H. V. Sutherland and R. A. G. Carson, rev. (London: Spink and Son, 1984-).
- SBB Stuttgartar biblische Beiträge
- SBLDS Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
- SBLMS Society of Biblical Literature Manuscript Series
- SBLSS Society of Biblical Literature Semeia Studies
- SCHNT *Studia ad corpus hellenicum novi testamenti*
- Schürer *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, Emil Schürer, rev. and ed. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, Martin Goodman, Matthew Black, and Pamela Vermes, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973-87).
- SEG *Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*
- Sherk 1969 *Roman Documents from the Greek East*, Robert K. Sherk (Baltimore, 1969).
- Sherk 1984 *Rome and the Greek East to the Death of Augustus*, Robert K. Sherk, Translated Documents of Greece and Rome 4 (Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- Sherk 1988 *The Roman Empire: Augustus to Hadrian*, Robert K. Sherk (Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- SIG *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, I-IV*, ed. Wilhelm Dittenberger, 3d ed. (Leipzig, 1915-24; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1960).
- Small. *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero*, Mary E. Smallwood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967).
- SNTSMS Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
- SVF *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ed. Hans Friedrich August von Arnim, 4 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903-24).
- TAPA *Transactions of the American Philological Association*
- TB *Tyndale Bulletin*

TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> , eds. Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley, 10 vols. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-76).
TLNT	<i>Theological Lexicon of the New Testament</i> , Ceslas Spicq, trans. James D. Ernest, 3 vols. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994)
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentary
TS	<i>Theological Studies</i>
Vermeule	<i>Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor</i> , Cornelius C. Vermeule (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968).
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
Welles	<i>Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy</i> , C. Bradford Welles (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934).
West	<i>Corinth 8.2: Latin Inscriptions, 1896-1926</i> , Allen Brown West (Cambridge: Harvard University Press [for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens], 1931).
Windisch	<i>Der zweite Korintherbrief</i> , Hans Windisch, KEK 6 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1924).
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
YCIS	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZST	<i>Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

Introduction

This monograph investigates the opening appeal of Second Corinthians 10:1–13:10, the so-called “Four-Chapter-Letter,” identified by some as the “Letter of Tears.” The latter assumption provides a working hypothesis for this work, while the fragment’s opening words supply the point of entry.¹ This letter fragment begins with Paul’s emphatic appeal to the Corinthian church, an appeal extended through the *πραΰτης* and *ἐπιείκεια* of Christ, two nouns which have perplexed interpreters. This study seeks to resolve the questions which Christ’s *πραΰτης* καὶ *ἐπιείκεια* raise, particularly in the areas of semantics, christology, and rhetoric, in order to understand Paul’s self-presentation in this letter fragment and how it pervades all four chapters. To describe and correlate the phenomena that link 2 Cor 10:1 to 10:1–13:10, I have invented the label of “populist ideology and rhetoric.”

As for semantics, how should Paul’s appeal be translated? The history of English Bible translations tells an interesting story. Although Wycliffe translated Paul’s appeal as issued “by the mildness and softness of Christ,” subsequent translators as early as Tyndale altered “mildness” to “meekness,” with the result that Paul “beseeches ... by the meekness and softness of Christ.” Coverdale, “Thomas Matthew,” the Great Bible, and

¹ Adolf Hausrath, *Der Vier-Capitel-Brief des Paulus an die Korinther* (Heidelberg: Bassermann, 1870); abridged in *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* (4 vols.; Heidelberg: Bassermann, 1875), 3: 302-14; J. H. Kennedy, “Are There Two Epistles in 2 Corinthians?” *The Expositor* 6 (1897): 231-38, 285-304; idem, *The Second and Third Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (London: Methuen, 1900); Günther Bornkamm, *Die Vorgeschichte des sogenannten Zweiten Korintherbriefes*, Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 1961, 2. Abhandlung (Heidelberg: Winter, 1961); reprinted with an addendum in *Geschichte und Glaube II. Gesammelte Aufsätze IV* (Munich: Kaiser, 1971), 162-94; abridged trans. “The History of the Origin of the So-Called Second Letter to the Corinthians,” *NTS* 8 (1962): 258-64; F. Watson, “2 Cor. X-XIII and Paul’s Painful Letter to the Corinthians,” *JTS* 35 (1984): 324-46; L. L. Welborn, “The Identification of 2 Corinthians 10–13 with the ‘Letter of Tears,’” *NovT* 37 (1995): 138-53. The partition theory assumed throughout this work is as follows: 2:14–6:13 + 7:2-4 (Letter C); 10:1–13:10 (Letter D); 1:1–2:13 + 7:5-16 + 13:11-13 (Letter E); chs. 8 and 9, then, are Letters F and G (or G and F). See Hans Dieter Betz, *2 Corinthians 8 and 9: A Commentary on Two Administrative Letters of the Apostle Paul*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 142-43; idem, “Corinthians, Second,” in *ABD*, s.v.

Richard Taverner followed. In 1560, however, the Geneva Bible changed the translation to “meekness and gentleness,” ending one and a half centuries of translation tradition and initiating another which prevails throughout the versions. Imitated by the Bishops’ Bible, adopted by the Authorized Version (which provided modern spellings), and retained by every subsequent version except for the New American Standard Version (“meekness and kindness”), “meekness and gentleness” has become the standard translation of 2 Cor 10:1 in the versions of the English Bible, including the New Revised Standard Version.

This consistency, however, reflects the tradition’s inertia, not philological insight, as the variety of Catholic translations suggests. An edition of Rheims-Douay and Challoner’s first two editions translated Paul’s appeal as “mildness and modesty” — a good translation actually. Challoner’s third edition, alas, capitulated to the Protestant versions. More recently (1970), the New American Bible surprisingly retained “meekness,” pairing it with “kindness.” Its revision improved greatly to “gentleness and clemency” (though the footnote in the *Catholic Study Bible* is a step backward).² The Jerome Bible opted for “gentleness and patience,” which the New Jerome Bible revised to “gentleness and forbearance” (a translation offered by Goodspeed decades earlier in 1931). While these are not bad, “patience” and “forbearance” may refer to how one endures circumstances, thereby connoting misfortune, hardship, endurance and persistence, rather than (as I will argue) referring to how one treats people. Considering the variety expressed in Roman Catholic translations, then, we awaken to the difficulty of translating Paul’s appeal in 2 Cor 10:1.

Looking more broadly at the explosion of translations in the last half of the twentieth century reveals an enormous variety in the rendering of 2 Cor 10:1. The Good News Bible offers the cliché, “meek and mild,” while the *Basic Bible* is equally bad, offering the altogether too passive “quiet and gentle behavior.” The wonderful New English Bible and Revised English Bible offer the welcome antidote “gentleness and magnanimity.” The *Amplified Bible* translates *πραΰτης καὶ ἐπιείκεια* as “gentleness and consideration,” which is heir to James Moffatt (1922) and the Berkeley Version (1945). Wuest offered “meekness and sweet reasonableness” (*An*

² In the study Bible’s accompanying note, “gentleness-clemency-humility” are presented as a natural group in contrast to “boldness-confidence-bravery”; moreover, “gentleness and clemency” are said to form “a striking contrast to the picture of the bold and militant Paul.” Clemency and humility, however, do not have a clear and obvious connection; they have a delicately antithetical relationship and will coalesce in 2 Cor 10:1 via irony. Furthermore, this Bible’s footnote misses the great degree of continuity between clemency and militancy.

Expanded Translation, 1961), while Victor Furnish proposes “gentleness and kindness” in his Anchor Bible commentary. Margaret Thrall has proposed “meekness and clemency” in her contribution to the International Critical Commentary. This diversity of translations emphasizes how little we understand Paul’s words and the English language’s lack of adequate glosses.

In the midst of this variety, two trends appear in twentieth century translations of 2 Cor 10:1. First, recognizing the pejorative and misleading connotations of meekness, translators now prefer to render *πραΰτης* as “gentleness.” Second, agreement on the translation of *ἐπιείκεια* has vanished, giving way to at least thirteen different glosses: softness, gentleness, modesty, equity, forbearance, courtesy, consideration or considerateness, sweet reasonableness, kindness, sympathy, patience, magnanimity, and clemency. In sum, *πραΰτης* is the stable member of this pair, translated “meekness” in the versions and “gentleness” in the other translations, while *ἐπιείκεια* remains an enigma.

Faced with these difficulties, the New Revised Standard Version’s retention of “meekness and gentleness” is surprising, yet perhaps to be expected. No alternative is or can be perfect — nor has any persuasive argument been advanced for one translation over another. Still, this translation is unfortunate. The most glaring problem is the word “meekness.” Today this is no compliment, with the result that its emotional tone stands completely opposite that of the word it translates, *πραΰτης*. Secondly, “gentleness” is too vague to communicate the nuances of *ἐπιείκεια*. For example, if a judge were gentle, we would be more likely to describe the judge as lenient. If an American President were gentle, we would probably describe him as a man of the people, down-to-earth, or populist, but not gentle. The Greek word *ἐπιείκεια* applies to both contexts — and more. Gentle shepherd, indulgent father, populist orator, clement king, each of these adjectives could be *ἐπιεικής*, or perhaps even *πρᾶος*, in Greek, which would underscore the similarity among all these figures; however, English favors a different adjective for each. Having said this, and having learned still more about *ἐπιείκεια*, one could translate it “gentleness” and find that gloss meaningful; however, the gloss is not what communicates that meaning, but the understanding of *ἐπιείκεια* on which it rests. In short, “gentleness” glosses *ἐπιείκεια* too generically.

This investigation will clarify Paul’s meaning in his use of *πραΰτης* καὶ *ἐπιείκεια* (chs. 1–2). The key is consideration of other passages which use the two nouns together. While that seems obvious, it implies the dethroning of the LXX and the idea of biblical language in the investigation of this question. If we examine the contexts in which

πραΰτης καὶ ἐπιείκεια or ἐπιείκεια καὶ πραΰτης appear, noting the people, the actions, the ideas, and the associated words, we will find a pattern of connotations parallel to Paul's appeal. We will also find ourselves departing from the LXX, albeit in the company of Philo and Josephus. If we allow Paul to speak for himself, we also will not hear the Gospels, but Paul's own response to a relational crisis.

How shall we translate 2 Cor 10:1? This study will recommend translating Paul's appeal as extended "through the leniency and clemency of Christ." This rendering provides the title for this book.

This translation and the semantic study on which it rests have implications for further problems of interpretation. For example, given the understanding of πραΰτης καὶ ἐπιείκεια proposed in this study, how can Paul attribute these virtues to Christ? Previous scholarship has pointed in the correct direction, viz., his heavenly enthronement, but has failed to explain how this is so, simply placing faith in a handful of LXX examples. This study, on the other hand, will lay out the widespread, elaborate, and well-known rhetoric of good rule as a context within which the attribution of "leniency and clemency" to Christ flows clearly and obviously from his (heavenly) rule. Such ideology was commonplace in Paul's world, not at all erudite or limited to elite circles, as leniency and clemency were key components of popular rule. As the virtues of the good, ideal ruler, then, ἐπιείκεια and πραΰτης apply to Christ.

Chapter three will argue that Paul draws on the ideology of good rule in his christological assertion in 2 Cor 10:1. Comparing the rhetoric of rule with Paul's christology will reveal the relationship between the two, thereby demonstrating the appropriateness of Paul's formulating a christological statement by means of that ideology. When Paul, then, extends "leniency and clemency" to Christ, we witness a moment of christological innovation. Like the orators of old who took the familiar and created something new, so Paul took Christ's heavenly rule and mercy and extended it logically to the ideal of lenient and clement rule, a move not at all theoretical, but immediately relevant to his relationship with the Corinthian church.

This affects the use of 2 Cor 10:1 in the debate about Paul's knowledge of Jesus, as is discussed at the end of chapter three. At first glance, recognizing the ideology of kingship severs any connection between the earthly Jesus and the christology of Paul's appeal and should preclude use of 2 Cor 10:1 as a proof text for Paul's knowledge of Jesus. However, the christology of kingship probably influenced other early Christian thinkers, so that Paul may not be unique or independent in his formulation. Still, what Paul reflects is a matrix of ideas used to describe the significance of

a heavenly figure (i.e., a christology), not the personal attributes of the historical Jesus.

Paul not only attributes *πραΰτης καὶ ἐπιείκεια* to Christ, but formulates his own appeal to the Corinthians through it. What, then, is the point of such an appeal, an appeal based on Christ's "leniency and clemency"? Chapter four surveys the place of leniency and/or clemency in the ancient world to illumine their stereotypical nature, motives, utility, and the problems they raise in order to bring to light their relevance to Paul's ministry. For example, the popular way leniency mitigates authority and power makes it an attractive way for Paul to present himself. Its role in moral correction further coincides with Paul's strategy of seeking the Corinthians' repentance. Its potential similarity to weakness also corresponds to Paul's debate with the Corinthians. Recognition of Paul's offer of leniency, then, connects 2 Cor 10:1 to the entire letter fragment in which it occurs, as well as to Paul's other Corinthian correspondence.

The implications of Paul's appeal for his rhetoric in the letter fragment go beyond how he wishes to interrelate with the Corinthian church and extend to how he presents himself (chapter five). Contemporary scholarship on 2 Cor 10:1 recognizes this, following the lead of Ragnar Leivestad.³ The strength of his influential contribution is his connection of Paul's appeal to the immediately following self-description, *ταπεινός*.⁴ The following investigation, however, disagrees with how he makes that connection, for though Paul indeed regards himself as *ταπεινός*, that is not the point of *πραΰτης καὶ ἐπιείκεια*. These things must be held apart to recognize correctly how Paul presents himself. The question to be asked is not how to turn *πραΰτης καὶ ἐπιείκεια* into *ταπεινότης*, but how one person can embody both.⁵ This strangeness alerts us to irony, which plays out in Paul's reevaluation of humility and demolition of normal claims to

³ "'The Meekness and Gentleness of Christ' II Cor. X. 1," *NTS* 12 (1966): 156-64.

⁴ How Leivestad combines *ταπεινός* with the following warfare imagery is problematic. Malherbe helped out greatly in this matter, discussing the philosopher's humble appearance as in fact weapons to be unleashed in philosophical proclamation ("Antisthenes and Odysseus, and Paul at War," *HTR* 76 (1983): 143-73; reprinted in *Paul and the Popular Philosophers* [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989], 91-119). To my mind, however, this suggests that the warfare imagery should not be stripped from Paul's opening offer of "leniency and clemency."

⁵ Alternatively, we might ask, Does *ταπεινός* degrade *πραΰτης* and *ἐπιείκεια* or do *πραΰτης* and *ἐπιείκεια* elevate *ταπεινός*? This question emphasizes the different connotations — and social registers — of the two alternatives. The answer to the question is, however, a third option, viz., the difference between the two choices creates a dissonance which challenges the reader to think. To lay claim to Christ's leniency and clemency suggests that acceptance of *ταπεινότης* cannot be straightforward. As we will argue, this alerts us to a crucial, ironic element in Paul's thinking.

status. To summarize Paul's self-presentation as ταπεινός, then, misses the complexity and nuances of his rhetoric, while overlooking the place of leniency.

Subsequent to Leivestad's study, Hans Dieter Betz gave broader consideration to Paul's rhetoric.⁶ Building on clues provided by Windisch in his commentary, Betz elaborated on the correlation between Paul's rhetoric and the philosophical defense speech, the seminal example being that of Socrates. In particular, Betz noted the antisophistical utility of this rhetoric and the place of parody within it. This ultimately form-critical investigation was a huge step forward in the study of 2 Corinthians 10–13, though apparently a stride too great for most to follow.

Subsequent work has, however, moved toward Windisch and Betz. Malherbe has compared Paul's ταπεινότης with the Antisthenic strain of the Socratic tradition to underscore its value for expressing positively (and powerfully) one's views rather than limiting it to the negative role of distinguishing oneself from sophists (read charlatans).⁷ Though Malherbe corrects Betz in this regard, his discussion still remains inside the Socratic tradition. Fitzgerald does likewise.⁸ His examination of the hardship-catalogue reveals its rhetorical use in proving the sage's mettle, with the result that Fitzgerald too has linked Paul's rhetoric with that of philosophy.⁹ Moreover, the rhetoric Fitzgerald examines, as well as Malherbe and Betz, was rhetoric used by Paul to characterize himself.

The examination of Paul's self-presentation offered in chapter five will therefore build on these previous studies and seek to provide a general theory for reading 2 Corinthians 10–13 which connects and accounts for them, while simultaneously integrating Paul's offer of leniency. The key

⁶ Hans Dieter Betz, *Der Apostel Paulus und die sokratische Tradition. Eine exegetische Untersuchung zu seiner "Apologie" 2 Korinther 10–13*, Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 45 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1972).

⁷ Malherbe, "Antisthenes and Odysseus, and Paul at War."

⁸ John T. Fitzgerald, *Cracks in an Earthen Vessel: An Examination of the Catalogues of Hardships in the Corinthian Correspondence*, SBLDS 99 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988).

⁹ Subsequent work on hardship-catalogues has confirmed Fitzgerald's views: Martin Ebner, *Leidenslisten und Apostelbrief. Untersuchungen zu Form, Motivik und Funktion der Peristasenkataloge bei Paulus*, Forschung zur Bibel 66 (Würzburg: Echter, 1991); Markus Schiefer Ferrari, *Die Sprache des Leids in den paulinischen Peristasenkatalogen*, Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge 23 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1991). Of course, Fitzgerald was not the first to investigate the hardship catalogue, as he himself gives credit to Rudolf Bultmann and Bultmann's teacher, Johannes Weiss (*Cracks in an Earthen Vessel*, 7). Betz also discusses the hardship-catalogue, connecting it with the Cynic-Stoic tradition (*Paulus und die sokratische Tradition*, 97-100).

to accomplishing this comes by approaching Paul's self-presentation in 2 Corinthians 10–13 in a new way, viz., from the rhetorical category of ἦθος, i.e., character presentation.¹⁰

In Hermogenes' discussion of modest oratory we find ideas and debates which parallel Paul's letter fragment. We thereby recognize in 2 Corinthians 10–13 a general level of rhetoric in which Paul shows himself to be a man of the people, which is what commonplaces of modesty seek to do. For example, such commonplaces reflect the desire to avoid imposing oneself on the public, e.g., to prefer forgiveness to public dispute. Paul's offer of leniency, in particular, is consistent with this, for leniency is a δημοτικός and κοινός trait, as well as a populist policy. Antisophistical statements are likewise expressions of modest rhetoric, for the sophist lives at court and may deceive the people, whereas the decent citizen avoids court, speaks there untrained, and appears there only as an urgent matter of justice. Was Betz wrong then to label Paul's antisophistical speech Socratic? Absolutely not, for the figure of Socrates embodied a species of modest rhetoric, the very species Paul used in 2 Corinthians 10–13.

The key to recognizing Socratic modesty in Paul's letter fragment is to see different types of irony within it. While the biting irony of the Fools' Speech is not modest, the fact that Paul speaks in another voice (ἠθοποιία) accounts for that harsh tone. In fact, his immodest, vitriolic irony and parody correspond well with the braggart's persona that Paul adopts. But beneath Paul's foolish boasting lies an irony built on philosophical paradox which subverts normal categories of encomiastic rhetoric. Such challenges lead us back to Socrates, but appear as well in the figures of Aesop, Odysseus, and Herakles (particularly as the Socratic tradition represented them). Paul uses this line of rhetoric to demolish the typical credentials of human evaluation and honor, particularly as applied to envoys of Christ, and to vindicate his own apostolic persona. While this rhetoric provides the foundation for Paul's parodies and hardship-

¹⁰ My work on Paul's ἦθος in 2 Cor 10–13 was completed before Mario M. DiCicco's dissertation came to my attention: *Paul's Use of Ethos, Pathos, and Logos in 2 Corinthians 10–13*, Mellen Biblical Press Series 31 (Lewiston, NY: Mellen Biblical Press, 1995). DiCicco follows rhetorical handbooks too woodenly in his consideration of *ethos*. As argued in chapter five, the practice of *ethos* far outstripped anything indicated in the handbooks. For example, there were many character types used in ancient literature and rhetoric that could be used to construct identities for use in comedy, slander, encomia, psychology, exempla, defense, prosecution, or self-promotion. These provide a mechanism for integrating miscellaneous ethical observations into greater wholes. Hermogenes synthesized one of these types, the modest person, using examples from canonical orators. His work will prove helpful for the analysis presented in chapter five.

catalogues, his lowly appearance also rests on it. In Paul's contradiction of appearances and embrace of nothingness, then, lies a Socratic irony.

Lowliness and modesty then furnish Paul's self-presentation with two important motifs. By way of Socratic irony, modesty subsumes lowliness. Meanwhile, leniency and clemency interact with each, with lowliness antithetically and therefore ironically, with modesty correlatively. Paul uses these to validate himself as a true apostle of Christ and, more generically, a good leader who has the best interests of others at heart.

Chapter five, therefore, will argue that Paul's self-presentation is modest, both in a predictably populist manner, as well as in a more specifically Socratic fashion.

We turn now to the semantic portion of this investigation. The first chapter will review previous studies of *πραΰτης* and *ἐπιείκεια* in 2 Cor 10:1. The second will turn to the ancient data themselves to formulate definitions of each word, identify the words with which each associates, note the types of contexts in which various word relationships occur, and then uncover the semantic consequences of combining *πραΰτης* and *ἐπιείκεια*. This will provide a firm foundation for translating 2 Cor 10:1 as an appeal through Christ's "leniency and clemency."

Chapter 1

History of Research: ἐπιείκεια and πραΰτης in 2 Corinthians 10:1

St Paul thinking it fit to forbear all severity till he had by fair means reduced as many of the contrary party as he could to a full submission to his authority (vid. ver. 6) begins here his discourse by conjuring them by the meekness and gentleness of Christ as an example that might excuse his delay of exemplary punishment on the ring-leaders and chief offenders without giving them reason to think it was for want of power.
John Locke¹

The meaning of the words πραΰτης and ἐπιείκεια in 2 Cor 10:1 have engendered much discussion. Both have deep, tangled roots in the Greek language: both are old and common; both express valued ethical traits; both have multiple nuances of meaning. This semantic complexity creates a variety of options in reading 2 Cor 10:1. The following pages will survey the discussion about the meaning of these terms in 2 Cor 10:1, attempting to present each author's purpose in writing, the conclusions each drew, and the evidence and reasoning utilized, as well as evaluating each author's work — focusing specifically on comments about 2 Cor 10:1. The basic semantic issue is whether connotations of royalty and power are present in ἐπιείκεια. Some argue yes, some no. The latter assert that, on the contrary, the operative idea in 2 Cor 10:1 is weakness. Attendant issues will emerge as we immerse ourselves in this debate, such as the relation of the πραΰτης καὶ ἐπιείκεια τοῦ Χριστοῦ to the historical Jesus. In the following survey, ἐπιείκεια will receive the most attention, because the debate hinges on its meaning.

¹ John Locke, *A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St Paul to the Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans, Ephesians*, ed. Arthur W. Wainwright, 2 vols. (Oxford University Press, 1987), 1: 296 (originally printed in London, 1707).

1. Survey of Research

Adolf von Harnack wrote an essay on gentleness and humility in the early church which serves as the fundamental study for contemporary discussions of 2 Cor 10:1.² While his concerns extend far beyond 2 Cor 10:1, Harnack begins his analysis there. He agrees with Resch³ that 2 Cor 10:1 is related to the early Christian use of the saying of Jesus preserved in Matt 11:29.⁴ Although Paul did not explicitly quote a tradition, leaving in 2 Cor 10:1 only a hidden *Herrnwort*,⁵ to Harnack's eyes ἐπιείκεια "stands as if in a formula, a formula which is not minted for the first time."⁶ Accounting for this lack of originality gave rise to Harnack's paper.

If we possess a *Herrnwort* in which Jesus characterized himself as πραῦς and ταπεινός τῇ καρδίᾳ, and if Paul (and also Clement) knew this self-characterization of Jesus in the form of πραῦτης (ἐπιείκεια) and ταπεινός, and if "gentleness" and "humility" describe an essential feature of ancient Christian ethics, though a notorious problem which remains to be demonstrated in its particulars —, then it seems necessary to give more precise thought to these concepts than up to now has occurred.⁷

In pursuit of this objective Harnack divides his study into five sections. The first three investigate each of the words relevant to the tradition which

² Adolf von Harnack, "'Sanftmut, Huld und Demut' in der alten Kirche," in *Festgabe für Julius Kaftan zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, eds. A. Titius, Friedrich Niebergall, and Georg Wobbermin (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1920), 113-29.

³ Alfred Resch, *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien*, vol. 1, *Textkritische und Quellenkritische Grundlegungen. Paralleltexte zu Matthäus und Marcus*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 10 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1893-94); idem, *Der Paulinismus und die Logia Jesu in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältnis untersucht*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 27 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1904).

⁴ Cp. *1 Clem.* 16.17; *Pol. Phil.* 10.1. "That is not to say that Polycarp knew the saying from Matthew; Paul certainly did not know it from there" (Harnack, "Sanftmut, Huld und Demut," 114: "Dabei soll nicht behauptet werden, daß Polykarp den Spruch aus Matthäus kennt; Paulus kennt ihn gewiß nicht von daher"). On the other hand, "Clement knew the traditional *Herrnspruch* in Matthew" (*Ibid.*: "... Clemens den bei Matthäus überlieferten Herrnspruch gekannt hat").

⁵ *Ibid.*, 113.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 115: "... es steht hier wie in einer Formel, die nicht zum erstenmal geprägt ist."

⁷ *Ibid.*: "Besitzen wir aber ein *Herrnwort*, in welchem sich Jesus selbst als πραῦς und ταπεινός τῇ καρδίᾳ, charakterisiert hat, hat Paulus [und auch Clemens] diese Selbstcharakterisierung Jesu in der Form: πραῦτης [ἐπιείκεια], ταπεινός, gekannt und bezeichnen, wie notorisch ist und im Genaueren noch gezeigt werden soll, Sanftmut und Demut einen Grundzug der ältesten christlichen Ethik —, so scheint es geboten, diese Begriffe genauer ins Auge zu fassen, als bisher geschehen ist."

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