

1

INTRODUCTION

Every reader of the New Testament brings to the text a set of presuppositions about social behaviour. These general assumptions about the normal or proper way that individuals interacted in ancient society are inevitably drawn from the reader's own experience of personal relationships. A reader's evaluation of the meaning and significance of any particular ancient text is heavily influenced by these presuppositions.

Problems may arise when the reader operates with a set of social assumptions which differs from that of the writers of the New Testament. If cognizance is taken of the social distance between a modern reader and an ancient text, one becomes aware of pitfalls in interpretation.

Insight into the meaning of a New Testament text also requires an understanding of first-century social conventions which must be derived from study of relevant ancient documents.

Exploration of the social conventions underlying New Testament texts is a relatively new activity. In his seminal work, Light from the Ancient East, Adolf Deissmann gave the New Testament scholarly world a healthy injection of reality and opened many avenues of opportunity, but scholarship since Deissmann has only slowly gained momentum in its attempt to locate the New Testament in its Greco-Roman environment. Abraham Malherbe refers to Helmut Koester's observation that the Hellenistic background to Paul has been brought into ill repute. Malherbe goes on to assert that there

¹ Adolf Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East, trans. Lionel R. M. Strachen (London: Hodder and Stoughton, rev. edn, 1927).

Malherbe contends that 'there is still a tendency on dogmatic grounds to deny any real Hellenistic influence on Paul... Paul's indebtedness to Jewish traditions, however, is accepted as somehow preserving his theological integrity' (Abraham J. Malherbe, 'Greco-Roman Religion and Philosophy and the New Testament', The New Testament and its Modern Interpreters, ed. E. J. Epp and G. W. MacRae (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989): 7). Koester cites as causes of this trend 'the discovery of new material to illustrate the Jewish background of the



2 Introduction

has been no general improvement in the situation since then.³ While advances are being made with literary, form and redaction critical, feminist and reader-response methods, the fertile soil of the Greco-Roman background to the documents is still not being cultivated as intensively as it should be.4

The Greco-Roman background of the New Testament has not been ignored. Philosophical, religious and rhetorical issues have received considerable attention and produced valuable results. Yet the social conventions which dictated the interaction between individuals in the Greco-Roman world have not fared as well.⁵ This neglect is explicable, for the delineation of the convention depends upon data which have not been assembled in a form readily accessible to New Testament scholars.

Some New Testament scholars have braved the task, giving themselves to an examination of certain aspects of Greco-Roman social issues. At the risk of drawing a false dichotomy, we see that their studies have operated with one of two methodologies. First, an exegete may attempt to reconstruct the workings of a particular aspect of first-century society by using ancient documents. This reconstruction is then used to clarify the meaning of New Testament texts. Leaders in using this method include Judge, Hengel, Malherbe and Theissen. Many others, however, could be named.

NT' and the 'deplorable decay of students' knowledge of the Greek language' (cf. Helmut Koester, 'Paul and Hellenism', The Bible and Modern Scholarship, ed. J. P. Hyatt (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1965): 187).

³ Malherbe, 'Greco-Roman Religon', 7.

⁴ Malherbe offers several factors as reasons for this neglect of the Greco-Roman background ('Greco-Roman Religion', 3).

⁵ See, e.g., David L. Balch, Everett Ferguson and Wayne A. Meeks, eds., Greeks, Romans, and Christians: Essays in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990). Parts 1 and 2 are titled respectively 'Schools of Hellenistic Philosophy' and 'Hellenistic Literature and Rhetoric'. These comprise 234 pages. By contrast, Part 4 titled 'Hellenistic Social Behavior' comprises only thirty-five

6 In addition to scores of articles, see the following monographs: Edwin Judge, Rank and Status in the World of the Caesars and of St Paul (Canterbury: University of Canterbury Press, 1982); Martin Hengel, Gewalt und Gewaltlosigkeit: Zur 'politischen Theologie' in neutestamentlicher Zeit (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1973) and Eigentum und Reichtum in der frühen Kirche (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1973); Abraham Malherbe, Social Aspects of Early Christianity (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983) and Paul and the Thessalonians. The Philosophic Tradition of Pastoral Care (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987); Gerd Theissen, Studien zur Soziologie des Urchristentums (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1983), The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982) and The Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978).

⁷ Again citing only monographs, see Ronald F. Hock, The Social Context of Paul's



Social reciprocity in the ancient world

Secondly, in contrast, several scholars of the New Testament have seen value in using sociological or anthropological models developed by specialists in the respective disciplines. They assume that the generally unchanging nature of human life allows the development of universal models of behaviour which are founded on evidence from several centuries and various cultures. These models may then be brought to bear on the historically particular events of the New Testament. Those scholars using such methods realize the possibility of misapplication, but this awareness has not always preserved them from questionable conclusions.

This study employs the former method. It is an attempt to use ancient documents in order to establish what were the common conventions regarding certain aspects of social interaction in the first century and to apply these conventions to a study of selected passages in Paul. The particular aspect of the social world to be investigated is the role that gifts and favours played in interpersonal relationships, that is, the convention of social reciprocity, which we will explore and define presently.

Social reciprocity in the ancient world

In our study we shall use the term social reciprocity (or simply reciprocity) to refer to a convention that operates in the interpersonal relationships of some societies. Speaking generally, this convention dictates that when a person (or persons) is the recipient of good in the form of a favour or a gift, the receiver is obligated to respond to the giver with goodwill and to return a counter-gift or favour in proportion to the good received.¹⁰

Ministry (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980); Robert M. Grant, Early Christianity and Society: Seven Studies (New York: Harper and Row, 1977); Wayne Meeks, The First Urban Christians (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983); J. Paul Sampley, Pauline Partnership in Christ. Christian Community and Commitment in Light of Roman Law (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980).

- Bohn G. Gager, Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1975); Bruce J. Malina, Christian Origins and Cultural Anthropology: Practical Models for Biblical Interpretation (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1986); John H. Elliot, A Home for the Homeless. A Sociological Exegesis of 1 Peter, its Situation and Strategy (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981); Francis Watson, Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles: A Sociological Approach (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, repr., 1989); Jerome H. Neyrey, Paul, In Other Words. A Cultural Reading of his Letters (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990).
- ⁹ E.g., pp. 13-14 for comments on Malina's view of verbal gratitude.
- 10 Lawrence C. Becker, in his work on philosophical ethics, considers reciprocity to

3



4 Introduction

Social reciprocity is a general convention and may operate at many levels and between various groups and individuals within a society. Thus friendship and patronage relationships are different manifestations of the same underlying phenomenon. Mutual obligations may be formed between economically equal individuals, between a rich and a poor individual, between one person and a group, between groups of persons or between countries, to name a few possible combinations. Reciprocity as a phenomenon has attracted much scholarly work from sociologists and anthropologists. Some have studied industrialized and others have studied archaic societies.¹¹ Not surprisingly, there is disagreement on the social or psychological mechanisms which cause reciprocity. 12 We shall not concern ourselves with these specialized questions. Rather, proceeding from the definition offered above, we shall show that social reciprocity existed in the Greco-Roman world and shall delineate some of its characteristics which will be helpful in our exegesis of Paul.

Social reciprocity in Greco-Roman society

It has long been known among classicists that social reciprocity operated at many levels of Greek and Roman society.¹³ In recent

be a moral virtue and not a purely social one. See his discussion of the rational basis for reciprocity in *Reciprocity* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986): esp. 73–144.

A seminal and readable introduction may be found in Marcel Mauss, The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies, trans. I. Cumnison (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, repr., 1974). See also Karen S. Cook, ed., Social Network Theory (London: Sage Publications, 1987); Jack N. Mitchell, Social Exchange (New York, 1978); Clyde J. Mitchell, 'Social Networks', Annual Review of Anthropology 3 (1974): 279-99; P. W. Holland and S. Leinhardt, eds., Perspectives on Social Network Research (New York: Academic Press, 1975).

See, for example, the view of George M. Foster, 'Peasant Society and the Image of Limited Good', American Anthropologist 67 (1965): 293-315 and the criticisms of this view expressed by James R. Gregory, 'Image of Limited Good, or Expectation of Reciprocity?' Current Anthropology 16 (1975): 73-84. Also see the responses offered by several scholars following Gregory's article on 84-93.

See, e.g., A. C. Pearson, 'Gifts (Greek and Roman)', Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, 7 vols. ed. James Hastings (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1908–26): 6.209–13 and more recently H. Bolkestein, Wohltätigkeit und Armenpflege in vorchristlichen Altertum (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1939); Ernst Badian, Foreign Clientelae (265–70 B.C.) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958); Albrecht Dihle, Die goldene Regel; eine Einführung in die Geschichte der antiken und frühchristlichen Vulgärethik (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962); Gabriel Herman, Ritualized Friendship and the Greek City (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, repr., 1989).



Social reciprocity in the ancient world

5

years several scholarly monographs have detailed various aspects of reciprocity.¹⁴ What we must stress here, and intend to demonstrate below in chapter 3, is the way in which social reciprocity was embedded in all aspects of Greco-Roman society. Donlan asserts that in ancient societies, there is an economic element in every social relationship and a social element in every economic relationship.¹⁵

Social reciprocity and the New Testament

The recognition of such social networks operating in the Greco-Roman world has crept into some works in the biblical field. ¹⁶ Yet even books specializing in New Testament backgrounds give us little or no introduction to the conventions of social reciprocity. ¹⁷ There has not been widespread recognition of the significance that this convention might have on the exegesis of the New Testament.

There have been several recent works which, to some extent, make reference to social reciprocity and how the convention helps enlighten exegesis of Paul. F. W. Danker has considered how social reciprocity sheds light on a few New Testament texts.¹⁸ His

E.g., Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), Patronage in Ancient Society (London: Routledge, 1989); E. Gellner and J. Waterbury (eds)., Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies (London: Duckworth, 1977); A. R. Hands, Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968).

15 Walter Donlan, 'Reciprocities in Homer', Classical World 75 (1981-2): 139. Donlan builds on the work of Sahlins who likewise asserts that, 'A material transaction is usually a monetary episode in a continuous social relation' (M. Schling 1972): 188)

Sahlins, Stone Age Economics (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1972): 185).

John E. Stambaugh and David L. Balch (The New Testament and its Social Environment (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986)) make reference to the convention. Peter Marshall (Enmity in Corinth: Social Conventions in Paul's Relations with the Corinthians (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1987)) applies in a limited way some findings regarding reciprocity to Paul's difficult relationship with the Corinthians. See also John H. Elliott, 'Patronage and Clientism in Early Christian Society. A Short Reading Guide', Forum 3 (1987): 39-48.

The revised edition of C. K. Barrett's The New Testament Background: Selected Documents (London: SPCK, 1986) gives no document to illustrate such conventions. Similarly, the otherwise thorough treatment of Ferguson provides only one paragraph on patron-client relations, making no mention of reciprocity that operated between social equals (Everett Ferguson, Backgrounds of Early Christinals).

anity (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987): 45).

F. W. Danker, 'Reciprocity in the Ancient World and in Acts 15: 23-9', Political Issues in Luke-Acts, ed. Richard J. Cassidy and Philip J. Scharper (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1983): 49-58; 'Bridging St Paul and the Apostolic Fathers: A Study in Reciprocity', CurTM 15 (1988): 84-94; 'Paul's Debt to the De Corona of Demosthenes: A Study of Rhetorical Techniques in Second Corinthians', Persua-



6 Introduction

treatments, however, though illustrative for the texts considered, have not marked out the characteristics of giving and receiving in Greco-Roman society through a broad study of primary documents. David Register has produced a short study on giving and receiving, 19 but his concerns are quite different from ours. 20 Register is concerned to compare and contrast the place of charitable giving in Paul's letters with Greco-Roman and Jewish practices. Therefore, he is not concerned, as we are here, with Paul's relationship to his churches nor with the apostle's personal relationship of giving and receiving in Philippians 4. Similarly, the work of Chow focuses on Paul's relationship with the Corinthians as seen in 1 Corinthians, leaving the Philippian material untouched. 21

The most significant recent study in the general field of this dissertation is that of Peter Marshall. In the first part of his monograph Marshall cites primary literature to illustrate the reciprocal nature of Greco-Roman friendship and the role that gift giving played in that society. He seeks to demonstrate that gifts were used to establish friendships and that the refusal of a gift could be taken as an insult. The second part of Marshall's work focuses on why Paul's initially positive relationship with the Corinthians so quickly turned to enmity. He asserts that Paul's refusal of the Corinthian offer of support (1 Cor. 9.12; 2 Cor. 11.9–12, 12.13), while accepting support from the Philippians, is the most useful key to unlocking the mystery of enmity at Corinth. Marshall stresses repeatedly that this contradiction on Paul's part was not only the primary cause of later hostility, 22 but also contained the basis for what would become a developed invective which portrayed Paul as a chameleon-like flatterer.²³

Marshall devotes a few pages to Philippians 4.10-20. According to his own words, the discussion of the Philippians' gifts is 'of

sive Artistry. Studies in New Testament Rhetoric in Honour of George A. Kennedy, ed. Duane F. Watson (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991): 262-80.

In our study, 'social reciprocity' and 'giving and receiving' are used interchangeably.

David R. Register, 'Concerning Giving and Receiving. Charitable Giving and Poor Relief in Paul's Epistles in Comparison with Greco-Roman and Jewish Attitudes and Practices' (M. Phil. thesis, University of Sheffield, 1990).

²¹ John K. Chow, Patronage and Power: A Study of Social Networks in Corinth (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992).

²² Marshall, Enmity, 255.

²³ Ibid., 281.



Introduction to the issues

special importance', and the relationship which is allegedly implied therein is 'critical' for his study.²⁴ Unfortunately, Marshall's cursory treatment of Philippians 4.10–20 cannot bear the weight he places on it. Though his comments on this text are helpful, he fails to give this key passage sufficient treatment and to use it to delineate the nature of Paul's relationship with the Philippians.²⁵ This text and relationship deserves fuller treatment because of the information we can gain from it on Paul's financial support and relationships of giving and receiving, to which we now turn.

Introduction to the issues

The life of the apostle Paul was a life of hardship and, to a certain extent, he brought troubles upon himself. For, while preaching and establishing churches, rather than requesting financial assistance, he worked night and day to support himself (1 Thess. 2.9). Frequently he went without sleep and was hungry (2 Cor. 11.27). According to the writer of Acts, at times he worked with his hands not only to supply his own needs but those of his companions (20.34).

Though Paul does not himself make the connection, this stress and deprivation certainly came about, at least in part, because of his renunciation of financial support. Though Paul emphatically states that he has the right to be materially supported by his churches (1 Cor. 9), it nevertheless appears to be his general practice to refuse support and to supply his own needs.²⁶ Therefore, as a free artisan and one who travelled extensively, he put himself in one of the most financially unstable situations.²⁷ If he had

7

²⁴ Ibid., xii, 165.

Pheme Perkins ('Philippians: Theology for the Heavenly Politeuma', Pauline Theology I: Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon, ed. Jouette M. Bassler (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1991): 89-104) and L. Michael White ('Morality Between Two Worlds: A Paradigm of Friendship in Philippians', Greeks, Romans, and Christians, 201-15) merely take over Marshall's conclusions into their work and do not forward the discussion on Phil. 4.10-20.

Owing to the paucity of evidence, however, one could just as easily contend that it was his general practice to accept when assistance was offered, and the Corinthians merely proved to be an exception to this rule (as argued by Wilhelm Pratscher, 'Der Verzicht des Paulus auf finanziellen Unterhalt durch seine Gemeinden: Ein Aspekt seiner Missionsweise', NTS 25 (1979): 284-98). See our discussion of social obligations and the Corinthian conflict, pp. 162-72.

²⁷ Hock, Social Context, 35; Alison Burford, Craftsmen in Greek and Roman Society (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972): 124: 'Without a patron, the craftsman was literally and figuratively at a loss.'



8 Introduction

accepted support, he doubtless could have avoided some of the hunger, thirst, cold and sleeplessness he mentions.

If indeed Paul suffered greatly owing to a lack of financial means, it is all the more surprising that he should obstinately refuse aid from the Corinthian church. For the Corinthians had apparently offered him aid several times, and his refusal offended them. Yet, despite their feelings of rejection, he pledges that he will never accept their support (2 Cor. 11.9). Perhaps it is even more surprising in some ways that when receiving aid from the Philippians (apparently his only financial partner), Paul gave such a laboured, and indeed some say aloof, response.²⁸ It seems as though he received their gifts grudgingly.

What could motivate such behaviour on Paul's part? Was there a theological, ethical, pastoral or a social reason for his renunciation of financial support? Scholars have recognized one or more of these reasons.²⁹ To focus on only one of these considerations would be reductionistic, for the decision probably arose from a number of factors. One of these factors will concern us in the pages that follow: the social reason. We will argue that a deeply embedded system of social obligations was basic to the fabric of the society in which Paul worked, both on the Greco-Roman sides as well as the Jewish side. Yet the demands of social reciprocity did not have the power to usurp the supreme place of the gospel in the apostle's life. When issues of social reciprocity arose in his dealings with his converts, Paul always gave the gospel top priority. He does not repudiate social reciprocity or its language. Indeed the phrase ἐκοινώνησεν εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λήμψεως of Philippians 4.15, a social metaphor denoting friendship, becomes a Christian appellation for financial fellowship in missionary work. Nevertheless, the advance of the gospel message, both its geographic spread and the obedience to it rendered by individuals, was of the utmost import-

This top priority was worked out in the apostle's life in a particular way. Knowing the power of social reciprocity, rather than contract unhealthy obligations, Paul made the sacrifice of his own personal pain. Though the reception of support from congregations with which he was working would have given him more

Several theories are offered to explain what is perceived to be the uneasiness of Paul's response to the Philippians' support in Phil. 4.10–20. See the overview of these theories below, pp. 11–15.

²⁹ E.g., Hock, Social Context.



The biblical material

9

physical comfort, Paul maintained that this reception would hinder the advance of the gospel. Therefore, he chose to support himself, knowing the hardships that would result.

There is, however, one exception to Paul's general practice to be self-supporting. He received aid from the Philippians and we have a record of his response in Philippians 4.10–20.³⁰ Our study of biblical material begins with this text, since it presents a window to view a unique relationship which the apostle enjoyed with one of his congregations.

The biblical material

Philippians 4

In our study of giving and receiving in Paul we shall devote most of our time to Philippians 4.10–20. The reader may reasonably ask why this study should focus so much attention on one small, mundane and apparently insignificant part of one chapter.³¹ We offer the following reasons:

First, Philippians 4.10–20 provides an example of a direct response to a gift received. Paul has received financial help from the church in Philippi. Therefore, these verses may be profitably compared with direct responses to gifts found in the papyri and with texts in the literary sources which describe or prescribe the proper social conventions regarding the reception of gifts.

Secondly, Paul's relationship with the Philippians was an essentially positive one, whereas, though there is perhaps more material to work with, the Corinthian correspondence provides an example of a negative relationship. The fact that Paul accepted the Philippians' gifts, and refused aid from the Corinthians, is one piece of evidence that reflects the different relationships.

Thirdly, little scholarly work has been done on Paul's financial relationship with the Philippians. In this area we have basically

We call this an exception, though it does follow Paul's practice not to receive while present with a congregation. See our discussion on types of support below, pp. 163-7.

pp. 163-7.
This question becomes particularly acute when we compare the number of words commentators give to other parts of Philippians. In his recent major commentary, O'Brien devotes 107 pages to 2.1-11 and 65 pages to 3.1-10. 4.10-20, however, receives only 37 pages. Such disproportion gives one the impression that this text is relatively insignificant.



10 Introduction

only Sampley's *Pauline Partnership in Christ*.³² In comparison, much ink has been spilled in the study of Paul's financial relationship with the Corinthians. This neglect of the Philippian material deserves redress, especially since, as mentioned above, the apostle's relationship with the Philippian congregation was an essentially positive one.

Fourthly, Philippians 4.10–20 contains several phrases and words that are commonly called 'commercial-technical terms'. Most commentators draw attention to terms which are sometimes found in commercial transactions: εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λήμψεως (v. 15), εἰς λόγον (v. 17), ἀπέχω (v. 18). Here is where the agreement of scholars ends, for it is far easier to point out the presence of these terms than to explain their significance.

Finally, there is one term which is expected, yet absent, in Philippians 4: εὐχαριστέω.³⁵ Why did Paul not thank the Philippians for the gift? Was returning thanks unacceptable culturally, or did Paul desire to avoid the denotations or connotations of the word? Are there social and cultural factors which can help explain his use of so-called commercial terminology? These questions have yet to be answered convincingly, though several views have been propounded. We cannot summarize all the views taken on the issues which confront the interpreter of Philippians 4, but a short survey of the most prominent theories will bring the relevance of these questions into perspective.

Jouette M. Bassler devotes a small section to Paul's financial dealings with the Philippians in God & Mammon. Asking for Money in the New Testament (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1991): 75-80. Though it reaches a few of the same conclusions drawn here, as a popular level book primarily concerned with stewardship and fundraising in the church it is not able to interact extensively with primary literature. See our references to Bassler in chapters 4 and 5.

33 Although Marshall is basically correct in calling the phrase of 4.15 (ἐκοινώνησεν εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λήμψεως) an idiomatic expression indicating friendship (Marshall, *Enmity*, 163), because of the particular emphases of his study he has not clearly defined the apostle's relationship with the Philippians nor examined all the ways that this positive relationship can help us in our understanding of the negative one in Corinthians.

Gerald F. Hawthorne, *Philippians* (Waco: Word, 1983): 204; Ralph P. Martin, *Philippians* (NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976): 167; J. H. Michael, 'The First and Second Epistles to the Philippians', *ExpTim* 34 (1922–3): 107–9.

35 Hawthorne (*Philippians*, 195) states that 'it is remarkable that in this so-called "thank-you" section (Phil. 4.10-20), Paul does not use the verb εὐχαριστεῖν'. But we might expect Paul to omit εὐχαριστεῖω if he intends to avoid the obligations which may attend the word (see the comments on gratitude as solicitation, pp. 86-8).