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The Resilient Apostle: Paul's Sufferings in 2 Corinthians Through the Lens of Resilience

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THE RESILIENT APOSTLE:

PAUL'S SUFFERINGS IN 2 CORINTHIANS

THROUGH THE LENS OF RESILIENCE

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ABSTRACT

2 Corinthians is considered one of the most personal among Paul's undisputed letters. In a reconciling tone, Paul shares with the Corinthian churches his apostolic endeavors for the sake of the Gospel, offering hints of his sufferings and resilience. This research aims to read Paul's sufferings in 2 Corinthians through the lens of trauma studies, particularly the concept of resilience. The paper uses an interdisciplinary approach by applying trauma theory as a hermeneutic to identify the ground and source of Paul's ability to be resilient. The internal and external resources of Paul's resilience are embedded in his relationship with Christ (prophetic call) and his community (coworkers).

As a result, the catalogs of hardships in 2 Cor 4:8-9, 6:4-10, 11:23-12:10., function as a memoir of Paul's resilience. The hardship catalogs prove Paul's paradoxical resilience based not on his but God's power. Moreover, the catalogs appear also as a sort of trauma narrative. Paul's truth-telling of his suffering and weakness aims to defend his authentic apostleship in Corinth. However, by bouncing back, Paul does not depict himself as a Stoic sage but rather as a resilient apostle of Jesus Christ who boasts of weakness, entirely relying on God's power. Finally, the paper argues that using the concept of resilience is a powerful way for people who are experiencing trauma and suffering to be inspired by the figure of the apostle Paul in finding their voice and resources - the "why" that allows you to bear any "how" – as Nietzsche once put it.

Key words: 2 Corinthians, Paul, trauma studies, resilience, hardship catalogs.

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INTRODUCTION

"…(a person) who has a why to live for can bear almost any how." — Friedrich Nietzsche

The world has opened a new chapter in history, strongly marked by the COVID-19 pandemic. One is faced with conflicts in different countries, immigration crises, and environmental issues. The future does not seem very bright, and it may be worth asking what resources human beings have to lead good lives in difficult times. In recent years, trauma studies have explored how traumatic events affect people's lives. Many traumatic events cause post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).

Research has also been done into post-traumatic growth (PTG) and resilience. The concept of resilience is multidisciplinary and polysemic and is used in various disciplines. In psychology, it has come to be used in trauma studies, although it originally came from fields such as engineering and ecology. The Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines resilience as "the ability to recover from or adjust easily to misfortune or change."[1] In other words, resilience is an "inner capacity" that enables a person to survive traumatic experiences and grow during difficult times. Resilience is therefore grounded in a person's interiority and is shaped by a deep sense of identity, connection, and faith in a person's agency. However, what has the concept of resilience to do with Paul's letters and description of his sufferings?

In 2016, Elisabeth Boase and Christopher Frechette published a collection of essays entitled *Bible through the Lens of Trauma* that originated from papers presented at

[1] See https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/resilience. Accessed on May 15th 2022.

the annual meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature between 2012 and 2015.[2] All the papers use elements of trauma hermeneutics to engage biblical texts. Two of the essays are relevant to the purpose of this thesis. The first essay, "Toward a Pastoral Reading of 2 Corinthians as a Memoir of PTSD and Healing," authored by the New Testament scholar Peter Yuichi Clark underlines that "the letter of 2 Corinthians might aid readers affected by trauma through its modeling of a way of thriving in the midst of trauma and suffering."[3] Clark's pastoral insight unfolds a creative reading and dialogue between trauma studies and 2 Corinthians. Boase and Frechette also point to Clark's reading of 2 Corinthians, which shows how "Paul was able to draw upon his solidarity with fellow Christians as well as his relationship with God in order to foster both recovery and resilience in the face of (potentially) traumatizing experiences."[4] These relevant remarks led me to explore Paul's portrait, particularly his description of sufferings, through the lens of resilience. Clark has drawn a helpful parallel between Paul's catalogs of hardships in 2 Corinthians and the description of PTSD symptoms according to DSM-5.[5] For example, Paul's hypervigilance and sleeplessness are described as symptoms of his traumatic experiences.[6] The critical point in Clark's essay is that the theme of resilience is barely mentioned and not developed.

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[2] See Elizabeth Boase and Christopher G. Frechette, eds., *Bible through the Lens of Trauma*, Semeia Studies, number 86 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017).

[3] Boase and Frechette, *Bible through the Lens of Trauma*, 20.

[4] *Idem.*

[5] DSM-5 stands for The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, fifth and last edition, from 2013.

[6] Boase and Frechette, *Bible through the Lens of Trauma*, 235.

Nevertheless, is it possible to re-read the hardship catalogs in 2 Corinthians as a memoir of Paul's resilience? If Paul depicts himself as a resilient apostle despite his sufferings and weakness, what are the textual cues of his resilience? How are Paul's resilience and its resources articulated in 2 Corinthians? The second relevant essay, Robert J. Schreiter's "Reading Biblical Texts through the Eyes of Resilience," notes the importance of trauma hermeneutics in biblical studies and points out that the concept of resilience could have the potential for broader biblical and theological investigations.[7]

This thesis will demonstrate that the concept of resilience is an interpretive lens that can advance the understanding of Paul's self-portrait and his ability to endure sufferings presented in the hardship catalogs found in 2 Corinthians 4:8-9; 6:4-10, and 11:23-12:10. As a result, the catalogs of hardships in 2 Corinthians can be seen as a memoir of Paul's paradoxical resilience.[8] Moreover, Paul's self-portrait[9] in 2 Corinthians, read through the lens of resilience, depicts a resilient apostle who overcame traumatic experiences with the help of the community and the sacred. The different elements of resilience related to Paul's narrative even frame the canonical letter of 2 Corinthians.

Finally, the concept of resilience makes Paul's self-portrait more relevant to afflicted or traumatized readers, looking for narrative examples of characters who turned

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[7] See Boase and Frechette, *Bible through the Lens of Trauma,* 193-195.

[8] The concept of *paradoxical resilience* has to do with a resilience that is not a mere result of human resources. It comes from the human experience of the sacred. In Paul's case, it is his experience of God's power. One could speak in this case also of *Christic* resilience as an ability to bounce back because of the confidence in/of Christ from which one receives power to overcome adversities (see 2 Cor 12:9-10).

[9] This study defines Paul's *self-portrait* in relation to his undisputed letters in which Paul depicts implicitly or directly his personal experience. The term self-portrait can be paralleled with the term *memoir*, defined by Merriam-Webster dictionary as "a narrative composed from personal experience." https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/memoir. Accessed on August 23, 2022.

to the community and the sacred to find new meaning and purpose in their lives. This study will give the readers a sense of what it was like for Paul to be an apostle of Jesus Christ in Corinth, why he was resilient, and what kind of resources contributed to Paul's resilience that might help the readers to find their sources of resilience.

Scope and Overview

To read the Bible as trauma literature means to explore how the texts express the dynamics of trauma, recovery, and resilience. Therefore, the study takes an interdisciplinary approach by comparing the multifaced definition of resilience in trauma studies with the letter of 2 Corinthians, which contains Paul's fragmented portrait and describes his ability to endure sufferings. The focus will be on three case studies of hardship catalogs in 2 Cor 4:8-9; 6:4-10, and 11:23-12:10. The study uses trauma theory, particularly the concept of resilience, to interpret Paul's ability to endure suffering in 2 Corinthians ("the world in front of the text"). It focuses on the apostle Paul as an example of a resilient apostle who faced sufferings and hardships as a mark of authentic ministry for the sake of Christ and the Corinthians.

Moreover, the analysis draws on socio-historical studies ("the world behind the text") to demonstrate the social setting of Paul's churches in Corinth and the production of his letters in antiquity. It applies rhetorical criticism ("the world of the text") to analyze the structure of Paul's letters and different facets of the text that are finally appropriated through the lens of resilience ("the world in front of the text").

The study has three main chapters. Bolded titles indicate the sections of each chapter; some have sub-sections with corresponding sub-titles. One can follow the descriptions, arguments, and comparative demonstrations that deepen progressively.

Chapter One extensively elaborates on the lens of trauma hermeneutics for its later application. First, it engages with trauma theory and the leading authors in the field, starting with analyzing terms such as traumatic memory to recent definitions of trauma. The chapter demonstrates the complex and problematic beginning of trauma studies and the birth of attachment theory to the concept of resilience. Then, the chapter shifts from the field of psychology to literary studies and their reception of trauma theory. The chapter concludes with a brief presentation of biblical trauma hermeneutics, which constitutes the present contextual framework of this study.

Chapter Two makes a significant leap from one discipline to another because a comparative appropriation of Paul's sufferings needs to consider historical and literary contexts. First, the chapter critically investigates the reliable textual sources and the structure of Paul's letters to identify which parts authentically unfold the portrait of Paul. The Scriptural references give testimony to Paul's apostolic call, the importance of his coworkers, and his dynamic relationship of fellowship, solidarity, and reconciliation with the believers in Corinth. This chapter draws on the work on the historical and social setting of Paul's churches in Corinth by influential biblical scholars.

Chapter Three finally introduces the letter of 2 Corinthians, affirming its authenticity and acknowledging the debated question of literary unity. The main sections of the chapter are three case studies presented by biblical terminology related to the concept of resilience. The latter proves to be an engaging way of approaching Paul's

sufferings and illuminating the portrait of Paul in a new way. The textual analysis finally demonstrates how the catalogs of hardships unfold Paul's paradoxical resilience while contributing to the authenticity of his apostolic ministry in the reconciliation process with Corinthians.

Limits

In any research that considers ancient literature, it is important to avoid projecting conventions of modern literature, which often insists on character's introspection. Ancient literature focuses on the character's actions and usually does not offer a description of the inner thoughts and emotions of the protagonist, typical for modern literature.

In his classic 1963 article *The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West,* Krister Stendahl argued that ancient literature was generally not introspective.[10] In other words, one cannot project the Western introspective conscience into Paul's letters. After the Reformation, Luther's "morbid" conscience, his experience, and theology became the lens through which Paul's story and introspective conscience were read and understood. To avoid such an interpretation, one needs to examine the letter of 2 Corinthians in its socio-historical and literary contexts and articulate a comparative approach respecting the limits of each discipline.

Nevertheless, 2 Corinthians offers textual clues and hints about Paul's resilience; its elements even frame the whole letter. While speaking of his capacity to endure sufferings and hardships for Christ and the Corinthians, Paul reveals fragments of his

[10] Krister Stendahl, "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West," *The Harvard Theological Review* 56, no. 3 (1963), 199–215.

self-portrait in 2 Corinthians. This capacity can be seen through the lens of resilience. Paul's resilience is not only based on the bonds with his coworkers and communities for which he has a responsibility as an apostle and "spiritual father." It is also grounded in the transcendent dimension of human experience that Paul calls God's grace and power working through his weakness (2 Cor 12:9).

The limit of this study also concerns the focus on the three case studies taken from 2 Corinthians. One could investigate other passages from undisputed letters through the lens of resilience, but hopefully, the chosen cases will suffice to demonstrate the thesis announced above.

CHAPTER ONE: UNDERSTANDING TRAUMA HERMENEUTICS AND THE CONCEPT OF RESILIENCE

This chapter briefly explores the development of trauma studies, attachment theory, the concept of resilience, and biblical trauma hermeneutics. It aims to elaborate on the framework that will be used to reread Paul's sufferings in terms of resilience in 2 Corinthians. Defining the hermeneutical framework of trauma studies means exploring the origins of trauma theory and the way the concept of relational resilience entered trauma studies and the world of mental health. Moreover, biblical trauma hermeneutics implies using trauma theory as an interpretative framework to shed new light on biblical texts: in this case, the understanding of Paul's sufferings in 2 Corinthians. Biblical studies are one of the last fields to have integrated trauma studies, which have a century-long history. This integration of trauma studies was made possible by the fruitful dialogue between biblical exegesis and human science approaches developed in the twentieth century.[1]

Trauma studies and the concept of resilience are related to the question of how to read the Bible in the COVID-19 pandemic and the post-pandemic world of the twenty-first century. How does one approach biblical texts in a way that takes seriously both the context in which one lives and the first-century context in which Paul of Tarsus engaged in his apostolic mission?

[1] See Pontifical Biblical Commission, *The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church: Address of His Holiness Pope John Paul II and Document of the Pontifical Biblical Commission*, Vatican Documents (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1993).

Unveiling Trauma Theory

By exploring trauma theory and its history, particularly the concepts of trauma and resilience that have emerged from psychology (psychoanalysis) and literary studies, this study will articulate a hermeneutical framework for understanding Paul's sufferings and resilience in 2 Cor 4:8-9, 6:4-10, and 11:23-12:10.

Conceptual clarity about the concept of trauma is still lacking. The etymology of the term itself comes from the ancient Greek (τραύμα) and means injury or wound inflicted on the body by an act of violence.[2] Later, the meaning of the term expanded to include mental wounds. In the late nineteenth century, especially with the rise of psychoanalysis, trauma became a synonym for a psychological wound or a wound of the mind. Shelly Rambo, a theologian who focuses on trauma, defines it as human suffering that remains and therefore requires witnessing.[3]

The term trauma was adopted by Sigmund Freud, the founder of psychoanalysis, and his medical colleague, Pierre Janet. It was used metaphorically to refer to a type of psychological "wound" that resulted in a repressed traumatic memory being acted out and re-experienced through various symptoms. When one speaks of trauma, one speaks of human suffering that cannot be remembered entirely but only relived through symptoms such as dreams, flashbacks, and dysregulated body functions. Through the process of dissociation, as Janet calls it, traumatic memories are stored unconsciously in the brain.[4]

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[2] See, for example, the expression of τὰ τραύματα in Lk 10:34.

[3] See Shelly Rambo, *Spirit and Trauma: A Theology of Remaining* (Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2010).

[4] "Taken from Pierre Janet, dissociation describes the separation of normally related mental processes, which leads in extreme cases to disorders such as multiple personality. Most often triggered by a traumatic event, dissociation leads to the production of various symptoms,

Freud explored the problem of "traumatic" memory in his essays entitled *Remembering, Repeating and Working Through (1914)*[5] and *Mourning and Melancholy (1917)*.[6] In his reflections, Freud identifies the main obstacle that emerges during psychoanalytic therapy aimed at recalling traumatic memories: the "compulsion to repeat." According to Freud, the compulsion is a "substitute" for remembrance. The patient reproduces (acts out) traumatic (forgotten) events not in the form of memory but actions: the patient repeats them without realizing it. In psychoanalysis, therapy takes place between the analyst and the patient. Patients must overcome the internal resistances and stop hiding their actual state of life from themselves; otherwise, no reconciliation with the repressed material can occur. Healing the compulsion to repeat consists of the work of remembering and the work of mourning. Memory is understood in the sense of remembrance, i.e., the evocation of memory and its recognition, which concludes the recall. Freud sees it as a return to the vigilant consciousness of an event: it is only a matter of discovering the removed memory and overcoming pathological repetition.

On the other hand, mourning is described as the loss, one by one, of all the bonds that make us feel the loss of an object of love as a loss of ourselves. This detachment,

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including hallucinations, sleepwalking, and nightmares, through which the subject attempts to rid themselves of an idée fixe—an idea or memory by which they have become possessed." in Lucy Bond and Stef Craps, *Trauma* (Abingdon, Oxon; NY, NY: Routledge, an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, 2020), 144.

[5] Sigmund Freud, "Ricordare, Ripetere e Rielaborare," In *Opere di Sigmund Freud, vol.7,* (Torino : Boringhieri, 1977), 353 – 361. See for English translation: "Further Recommendations in the Technique of Psycho- Analysis: Recollection, Repetition, and Working-Through," Tr. by Joan Riviere (1924 C.P., 2), 366-376. https://marcuse.faculty.history.ucsb.edu/classes/201/articles/1914FreudRemembering.pdf Accessed on 6 June 2022.

[6] Sigmund Freud, *Lutto e Malinconia*, in *Opere di Sigmund Freud, vol.8*, tr. it. di R. Colorni a cura di C.L. Musatti, Boringhieri, Torino, 1978.

which Freud calls the work of mourning, frees the patient for new affective investments. The time of mourning has to do with the patience required by analysis to make the transition from repetition to remembrance. Memories require time, that is, a time of mourning that implies an attitude of truth towards one's past, as "censored" memories (wounded memories) are always forced to come to terms with loss.

Recently, the psychiatrist Bessel Van der Kolk has taken a step further in researching traumatic memory. In his groundbreaking book *The Body Keeps the Score,* he states that trauma is not just a "bad" memory that one has repressed, as Freud claimed, but is more like a "body" memory that sticks with us.[7] Trauma is an overwhelming experience that happens to the whole body. According to the Polyvagal theory of Stephan Porges, trauma impacts our brain and dysregulates the function of our autonomic nervous system (ANS) in terms of safety.[8] The latter regulates all the human body's autonomic functions, such as heartbeat, breathing, digestion, and body temperature. Trauma changes how the ANS responds to the environment and other human beings to determine if they are safe or dangerous. Traumatized people feel in danger if their traumatic body memory is triggered. Here, it is important to underscore that trauma results from a response to threatening events (stressors). Therefore, trauma is primarily caused not by an exterior event but by a complex neurophysiological defensive response of the ANS. For that reason, it is preferable to speak about traumatic experiences.

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[7] Bessel A. Van der Kolk, *The Body Keeps the Score: Brain, Mind, and Body in the Healing of Trauma* (NY: Viking, 2014), 203-229.

[8] Stephen W. Porges, *The Pocket Guide to the Polyvagal Theory: The Transformative Power of Feeling Safe*, First edition, The Norton Series on Interpersonal Neurobiology (NY: W. W Norton & Company, 2017), 63-65.

Nevertheless, a whole range of experiences can be traumatizing and impact our autonomic nervous system. There are three general categories of traumatic experiences. The first category is so-called *shock trauma*, which is a consequence of, for example, war violence, a car accident, or a natural disaster. It concerns a one-time impactful experience. The second category consists of *developmental or relational trauma*, which occurs when a person experiences abuse, neglect, and chronic adversities which trigger intense feelings of danger. The third category is more general and is often called *cultural trauma*: it not only has to do with environmental elements such as poverty, discrimination, and violence but also childhood health. Moreover, recent genetic research has found evidence for so-called intergenerational trauma, genetically transmitted by at least three generations.[9]

After sketching out the evolving definitions of trauma originating from Freud's psychoanalysis, and more recent research, the next chapter will explore the "problematic" history of trauma studies and the emergence of attachment theory. The concept of psychological resilience found its unique articulation within the attachment theory, although it was also explored and developed by other researchers.

The "Problematic" History of Trauma Studies and Discovery of Attachment Theory

In her classical book *Trauma and Recovery* (1992), Judith Herman argues that "[t]o hold traumatic reality in consciousness requires a social context that affirms and protects the victim and that joins victim and witness in a common alliance."[10] If the

[9] See Katarina Kompan Erzar, *Družina, Vezi Treh Generacij* (Ljubljana: Družina, 2019), 88-91; Van der Kolk, *The Body Keeps the Score,* 2014, Kindle. Epilogue.

[10] Ibid., 9.

victim is not believed and does not feel safe within their environment and community, the reality of trauma remains hidden and unrecognized. The home environment and cultural-political movements need to support and believe the victims to advance the systematic study of psychological trauma. Herman describes the complex history of psychological trauma studies that started in the late nineteenth century and were closely related to three cultural and political moments. The first movement started in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, during the Third Republic in France. The neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot, also known for his work on hypnosis, made a significant advancement in studying the disorder called hysteria or "the Great Neurosis." He worked in the La Salpetriere Hospital in Paris with people living on the margins of society, such as "beggars", sex workers, and persons with mental disorders. Charcot observed and classified the phenomenon of hysteria mainly in women, but he found similar symptoms in men, particularly those involved in railway accidents.[11] At the time, it was believed that hysteria affected women exclusively and that the cause of the disorder was related to the uterus. However, the research of Sigmund Freud and Pierre Janet, who were Charcot's students, showed that the cause of "hysteria" was psychological trauma. Both Janet and Freud practiced the so-called "talk approach" with their patients. They discovered very early that traumatic events provoked an overwhelming emotional response that led to an altered state of consciousness that induced hysterical symptoms. Pierre Janet was the first to speak about the phenomenon of dissociation. In Austria, Sigmund Freud and his mentor, the distinguished physician Josef Breuer, who also

[11] For example, some researchers found that people involved in railroad accidents suffered from traumatic symptoms such as loss of memory. The diagnosis was called "railway spine."

developed the "talking cure" with his famous patient Anna O., referred to the same phenomenon as "double consciousness" in their book *Studies on Hysteria* (1895). Janet spoke of traumatic memories as "subconscious fixed ideas" which governed his hysterical (traumatized) patients. Somatic symptoms of hysteria were thus an effect of subconsciously reliving distressing events that happened to the patients. Freud and Breuer came to a similar conclusion. They wrote that "hysterics suffer mainly from reminiscences."[12] In other words, hysterics suffered from relived unconscious memories of traumatic experiences manifested through severe symptoms. Their most remarkable achievement, however, was their treatment practices. They believed that hysterical symptoms could be cured when traumatic memories were recovered and the intense feelings they evoked were transformed into a "traumatic" narrative. Somatic healing began when traumatic memory was liberated and given a voice. Freud, for example, soon discovered that his mainly women patients' symptoms of "hysteria" were caused by (child) sexual abuse (see *The Aetiology of Hysteria*).[13] However, Freud abandoned his discovery, stopped listening to the women diagnosed with hysteria, and instead developed his psychoanalytic theory that focused on the role of sexuality (sexual fantasies). He refused to believe his hysterical patients and considered their narratives of childhood abuse to be false: "I was at last obliged to recognize that these scenes of seduction had never taken place, and that they were only fantasies which my patients had

[12] Herman, *Trauma and Recovery,* 12.

[13] Herman, *Trauma and Recovery,* 13.

made up."[14] Herman argues that Freud's failure to validate sexually abused women brought an end to the "heroic age of hysteria."[15]

Despite the tragic and sudden end of the so-called age of hysteria, medicine made significant advancements in the study of mental problems. For the first time in history, symptoms of hysteria started to be seen through the lens of psychological trauma, and so-called "talk therapy" was applied as a means of the healing process.

However, the late nineteenth-century society could not affirm and deal with the sexual oppression of women and children that eventually emerged in the public sphere more than half a century later. One can agree with Herman's criticism of Freud, who interrupted his research on psychological trauma by refusing to believe the victims of sexual abuse, and instead focused on developing his psychoanalytical theory.

Herman points out that the reality of psychological trauma reemerged for the second time in the public sphere with the dramatic event of the First World War. The death of millions of people, especially men, profoundly marked the European continent. Many survivors were exposed to exploding shells and later experienced mental breakdowns. Charles Myers called the nervous disorder with hysteria-like symptoms "shell shock" syndrome. Loss of memory, numbness, panic attacks, mutism, sensory loss, and flashbacks were just a few symptoms from which soldiers suffered. The same symptoms were later found in men who were not directly exposed to bomb explosions. Abram Kardiner concluded that the symptoms of combat neurosis were caused by psychological trauma similar to hysteria. Emotional stress did not fit the public image of

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[14] Herman, *Trauma and Recovery*, 24.

[15] Herman, *Trauma and Recovery*, 14.

the fearless and glorious soldier. A medical controversy raged over the moral character of the soldiers. Those who developed traumatic neuroses were considered "moral invalids." Military medicine generally had two ways of approaching the treatment of the soldiers. The traditional treatment involved punitive methods, such as electric shock, shaming, and threats. The liberal approach was based on psychoanalytical methods and employed the talking cure and treating the patients with dignity and respect. This approach encouraged the patients to articulate the traumatic events in oral and written forms to share their traumatic narratives in a safe environment. Medical research into combat neurosis was renewed after the Second World War. The goal of military psychiatrists was to find a rapid treatment for the affected soldiers so they could return to combat. It became clear that every soldier could have a breakdown no matter how strong their moral character was. However, one element appeared to be particularly important for the resiliency against acute nervous breakdown as an effect of combat neurosis: emotional attachment and the degree of relatedness or belonging among the soldiers in a small unit.[16]

Emotional attachment and trusting relationships are key elements in understanding resilience. According to Polyvagal theory, when a traumatic stressor impacts the body, the autonomous nervous system becomes dysregulated and remains "on alert." A safe relationship means that a person with a regulated nervous system can provide safety and a positive emotional attachment to the traumatized person.[17] In a safe

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[16] Herman, *Trauma and Recovery,* 25.

[17] For Polyvagal theory, the concept of social connectedness is a biological imperative and implies trusting bonds between human beings. Moreover, the concept of "coregulation" defines a mutual regulation of physiological state between two or more persons. For example, a mother calms and consoles her child, and the child's response to her care calms her physiological state. See Porges, *The Pocket Guide to the Polyvagal Theory,* 17.

(therapeutic) relationship, the affected nervous system can become regulated again, correctly detecting safety and danger cues based on reality.

Despite the many cases of war trauma/combat neurosis in the first half of the twentieth century, systematic medical research in the field is largely a post-Vietnam War development (1955-75).[18] Many Vietnam Veterans who suffered from the "war trauma" organized themselves in support groups and sought mental health support. The importance of safe relationships and interpersonal trust seemed essential to foster recovery and resilience. Slowly they became recognized by the medical sphere and the larger public. It was only in the 1980s that the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) defined post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and described the long-term psychological effects of traumatic experience. Van der Kolk describes his personal experience of treating Vietnam War veterans and rediscovering the reality of trauma using the new technology of brain scans. The public recognition of victims of trauma expanded.[19]

At the same time, another crucial breakthrough happened: the recognition and validation of the victims of traumatic sexual abuse, especially children and women. The feminist movement played an important role in breaking the silence and speaking out the truth about child sexual abuse, rape, and domestic violence victims whose PTSD symptoms pointed to psychological trauma.[20] What Freud denied a century ago was finally validated – victims of sexual abuse were listened to and believed. One can

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[18] Herman, *Trauma and Recovery,* 26.

[19] Van der Kolk, *The Body Keeps the Score,* 7-21.

[20] Herman, *Trauma and Recovery,* 32.

recognize that Freud's research contributed to the development of the trauma theory. However, his later psychoanalytic approach failed to articulate the core problem of psychological trauma: feeling safe again within a secure attachment. In *The Body Keeps the Score*, Van der Kolk also speaks of the importance of attachment theory as providing an account of human resilience, particularly that of children, and explains how children create a map of the world. Van der Kolk asks whether "it [is] possible to help the minds and brains of brutalized children to redraw their inner maps and incorporate a sense of trust and confidence in the future."[21] The following historical and theoretical description of attachment theory answers these questions and prepares the ground for the definition of resilience that this study wants to apply to Paul's catalogs of hardships in 2 Corinthians.

Attachment theory was developed as an alternative to psychoanalysis and represented an alternative for looking at the psychological development and functioning of the human person. It was formulated in Britain by the psychiatrist John Bowlby and Mary Ainsworth. The theory originated in a series of scientific articles written by Bowlby in the 1930s. Since then, the theory has not changed much. Bowlby conducted his research autonomously as a complementary alternative to contemporary psychoanalytic theories (e.g., Freud). For a long time, Bowlby did not realize the importance of his approach to understanding interpersonal relationships. After World War II, Bowlby's perspective on child development replaced the psychoanalytical approach, and attachment theory became one of the major theories of children's development.[22]

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[21] Van der Kolk, *The Body Keeps the Score,* 109.

[22] See Tomaz Erzar and Katarina Kompan Erzar, *Teorija Navezanosti* (Celje: Celjska Mohorjeva druzba, 2011), 16-20.

Bowlby's research has shown that children's treatment should not focus on the Oedipus complex or their inner fantasies (Freud) but rather on the safe and secure relationships with their primary caregivers. This critical shift has opened a new field of research on the introjection of the parent's character by children. Understanding a child's problem makes it necessary to interview their primary caregivers and explore their most important life experiences and aspects of the child's environment.

Although psychoanalytical circles rejected Bowlby's theory, it is an essential theoretical background of any counseling practice today. Bowlby argued that the early attachments formed between the child and the caregiver had a crucial impact on the child's life development and resilience. When the secure attachment with the caregiver is disrupted, the child can develop one of three general attachment styles: dismissive, preoccupied, or fearful. The therapist's role is to act as a "reparative attachment figure" to the client. Attachment is established by the therapist's empathic understanding and emotional bond with the client. In other words, the therapist's role is to establish a secure bond for the client. Bowlby's attachment theory, which points to the importance of secure and trusting relationships, and Stephen Porges' Polyvagal theory, which explains the function of the autonomic nervous system and how secure relationships regulate the physiologic state in terms of safety, are essential scientific resources for understanding the concept of resilience.

Nevertheless, the most recent social phenomenon that has impacted the world is the COVID-19 pandemic. It can be seen as a traumatic stressor "capable of eliciting PTSD-like responses and exacerbating other related mental health problems (e.g.,

anxiety, depression, psychosocial functioning, etc.)."[23] Current times require us to build resilience to contemporary challenges such as pandemics, wars – especially in Ukraine – and ecological issues. Therefore, the pandemic context, where themes of psychological trauma and resilience have reemerged in broader society, might shape how readers and religious communities approach biblical texts.

The following section articulates a hermeneutical lens for approaching Paul's sufferings, starting with the "archeology" of the term resilience and adopting its working definition for further analysis. Although the concept of resilience seems to be a latecomer in the world of mental health and has become more known recently, it has a relatively long history and intellectual resonance.

The Concept of Resilience

The concept of resilience comes from the physical sciences and, in particular, the measurement of the resistance of materials. For example, a metal bar is resilient when it returns to its original state after enduring pressure. The etymology of the word resilience derives from the Latin verb *re-salire* and primarily means to bounce back and resist. Bouncing back – in psychological terms – means surviving the stressor and maintaining one's core identity. However, resilience also implies transforming one's way of life and attitude toward the world. The Slovenian philosopher Branko Klun notes that the prefix "re-" encompasses dimensions of response and posteriority. Klun argues that human beings are not the center of reality but respond to the often unpredictable things given to them. Therefore, resilience is the capacity to respond to life challenges without

[23] See https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/33428630/ Accessed on April 9, 2022.

pretending to control everything but by being aware of one's inner strength, purpose, and agency.[24]

The American psychologist Emmy Werner is at the origin of the concept of resilience.[25] For over forty years, she conducted a lengthy study about the development of 698 Hawaiian children born in 1955 on the island of Kauai. Due to adverse childhood experiences, for instance, an unstable family or a mentally ill mother, they were considered at high risk of developing behavioral disorders in adulthood. According to her findings, one out of ten participants could "bounce back" and adapt to society and life as adults without help from psychotherapy. They displayed resilience because, despite their past trauma, a set of protective factors balanced out the traumatic stressors at the critical moments in their development. The crucial element was forming emotionally secure attachments with a caretaker (affective bonds) and participation in community life (social bonds).[26]

John Bowlby used the term resilience to describe people who did not let themselves be crushed. Therefore, for an individual, resilience is the ability to cope and evolve favorably despite traumatic events experienced in the past.[27]

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[24] Branko Klun, Rezilienca in resonanca : v iskanju nove drže do sveta = Resilience and resonance : searching for a new attitude towards the world. *Bogoslovni vestnik: glasilo Teološke fakultete v Ljubljani*. 2020, letn. 80, 281-292.

[25] See Emmy E. Werner and Ruth S. Smith, *Vulnerable But Invincible, A Study of Resilient Children* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1982).

[26] Werner, Emmy E. and Ruth S. Smith. Overcoming the Odds: High Risk Children from Birth to Adulthood. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019, 56; Boris Cyrulnik and Mony Elkaïm, *Entre résilience et résonance* (Paris: Fabert, 2010), 18.

[27] See Cyrulnik and Elkaïm, *Entre résilience et résonance*, 24.

Moreover, the ethologist, psychiatrist, and psychoanalyst Boris Cyrulnik contributed significantly to the analysis and diffusion of the concept of resilience in France and internationally. He explains it as a process of coherent phenomena related to a person's emotional, social and cultural context. According to Cyrulnik, a resilient person must rely on internal resources in his or her memory. At the same time, they must fight against being crushed by trauma symptoms (PTSD) before reaching out for an external resource, emotional relationship, and a social or cultural environment that will allow them to regain balance.[28]

When people face adversities, they often get heavily traumatized. For them, it is important to feel safe again, gain trust, and have positive control over their lives in terms of agency. Resilience enables them to connect with others and cope with unpredictable events or situations. For Clemens Sedmak, resilience is an "inner strength" that enables us to survive and grow during difficult times.[29] Moreover, Lucy Bond and Stef Craps define resilience in psychological terms as a positive adaptation to distressing life circumstances. They describe it as "the ability to cope with negative emotions arising from adversity and to continue to function [normally]."[30] Bond and Craps emphasize a positive adaptation and integration of negative emotions to reestablish safe relationships and one's agency. Writing from the perspective of Polyvagal Theory, Stephen Porges defines resilience in physiological terms. According to him, the human body affected by

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[28] See Cyrulnik and Elkaïm, *Entre résilience et résonance*, 16-19.

[29] Clemens Sedmak, *The Capacity to Be Displaced: Resilience, Mission, and Inner Strength*, Theology and Mission in World Christianity, Vol. 5 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), 36-58.

[30] Lucy Bond, and Stef Craps. *Trauma*, 149.

suffering can recover. But how? Recovery occurs through coregulation with another person. Coregulation is a process in which one can feel safe again by regulating the autonomic nervous system. Therefore, resilience is the ability to recover through connections with others, whether through visualization or a real person. In other words, resilience is the ability to coregulate and interact with others and stay connected to them. For Stephen Porges, the function of resilience is to coregulate biological states and feelings of threat.[31]

As one can notice above, the term resilience has many connotations and meanings. Still, the study assumes the concept of resilience as a capacity to endure in the face of adversities. In other words, resilience is the capacity to face challenges and overcome them by adapting positively and returning to balance by internal and external resources. Chapters Two and Three will explore the more comprehensive semantical field of resilience and its resources related to transcendent and human connectedness, strength, trust, hope, and perseverance in the face of hardships that will advance understanding of the letter of 2 Corinthians.

Before moving on to the following chapters, one must explore how trauma theory relates to literary and biblical studies.

Trauma Theory in Literary Studies

Trauma studies also extend to literary studies, not only psychology. The literary theorist Michelle Balaev defines trauma studies as "a representation of psychological trauma in language," with the role of memory in shaping individual and cultural identities

[31] See Stephen W. Porges, *Clinical Insights from the Polyvagal Theory: The Transformative Power of Feeling Safe* (Norton Series on Interpersonal Neurobiology), 2014.

being the central concern of the field.[32] Trauma theory in literary studies explores the impact of trauma in literature and society by analyzing its psychological, rhetorical, and cultural significance.

However, Balaev points out that trauma in literary theory is often defined as "the unspeakable" because of its latency and dissociation. Here, Balaev echoes the idea of the well-known literary trauma theorist Cathy Caruth, who speaks about the "unclaimed" experience of trauma.[33] Trauma becomes present to us in a way one does not know about. Although one relives it in thoughts and actions, one cannot claim it. Therefore, it remains unknown in our language. Referring to the third chapter of Freud's Beyond the Pleasure Principle, Caruth suggests that the tension at the heart of trauma is related to what is known and that which stays unidentified in actions and language.[34] For literary studies, trauma represents the limit of the language, a gap.

Nevertheless, how can one define the ability to recover language and find a voice for the "unclaimed" experience of trauma? As a working definition, resilience in literature may be seen as the ability to "bounce back" and break through the "unknown" and articulate the "traumatic" narrative also through the text.[35] This type of narrative can

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[32] David H. Richter, ed., *Companion to Literary Theory*, Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture (Hoboken: Wiley, 2018), 360-361.

[33] See Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative and History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

[34] Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative and History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 4. See also Sigmund Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publication, Inc., 2015), https://archive.org/details/beyondpleasurepr0000freu_p0c8. Accessed on June 8, 2022.

[35] See Boase and Frechette, *Bible through the Lens of Trauma,* 224-225. An example of the story-based therapeutic process in which the traumatic experience is re-narrated as a form of resilience.

also be seen as a testimony of a character or hero who bounces back, positively adapts to challenges, and overcomes adversity. A resilient character develops an inner strength grounded in one's identity and purpose. As Friedrich Nietzsche pointed out, a person "who has a why to live for can bear almost any how."[36] Chapter Three will apply this working definition of resilience in analyzing the catalogs of hardships.

The final part of this chapter will examine the collection of essays *Bible Through the Lens of Trauma* (SBL 2016) as a landmarking example of the reception of trauma studies and the concept of resilience in biblical studies.

Biblical Trauma Hermeneutics

Elisabeth Boase and Christopher Frechette have provided us with one of the most comprehensive and insightful introductions to biblical trauma hermeneutics in their landmark collection of essays *Bible through the Lens of Trauma*.[37] All essays except one were presented at SBL meetings between 2013 and 2014 and revised for publication. Approaching the Bible as literature informed by trauma opens new perspectives on reading sacred texts, particularly for people who have experienced individual or collective trauma. Besides the critical process of acknowledging the reality of suffering and finding one's voice in the trauma narrative, this approach aims to foster recovery, resilience, and growth.

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[36] See Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Twilight of the Idols* (Jovian Press, 2017), in the section, Maxims and Missiles, 10.

[37] Elizabeth Boase and Christopher G. Frechette, eds., *Bible through the Lens of Trauma*, Semeia Studies, number 86 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016).

In the introduction, Boase and Frechette show how biblical scholars in recent decades have engaged with trauma studies as an interpretative framework for approaching the Scriptures. In 2013, the Society of Biblical Literature made a significant step forward by inaugurating a new program unit for its annual meeting called "Biblical Literature and Hermeneutics of Trauma." The interdisciplinary approach raised new questions about how biblical texts witness the reality of trauma. Many works have appeared since, exploring different definitions and approaches of trauma theory or studies and their usefulness for biblical interpretation.[38] Reading biblical texts through the lens of trauma theory raises questions about the individual and collective trauma of the victims and their resilient responses. It contributes to other theological disciplines such as systematic theology by reflecting on the representation of resilience in sacred texts.

Boase and Frechette, moreover, emphasize how "biblical trauma hermeneutics" have emerged from dialogue with other related disciplines such as psychology, sociology, refugee, cultural, and literary studies.

Psychology informs the understanding of trauma through the effects produced on individuals and fosters the individual processes of recovery and resilience. Sociology explores the impact of trauma on a collective or intersubjective level in contexts of collective traumatic experiences such as war, natural disasters, and pandemics. Collective

[38] For a survey up to 2014, see David G. Garber, "Trauma Theory and Biblical Studies," Cur BR 14 (2015): 24–44. Works that have appeared since 2014 include: David M. Carr, Holy Resilience: The Bible's Traumatic Origins (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); the first issue of volume 69 (2015) of Interpretation: A Journal of Bible and Theology, entitled "Trauma and Faith"; and Elizabeth Boase and Sarah Agnew, "'Whispered in the Sound of Silence': Traumatizing the Book of Jonah," Bible and Critical Theory 12 (2016): 4–22; and Mark G. Brett, Political Trauma and Healing: Biblical Ethics for a Postcolonial World (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016); Christopher C. H. Cook and Nathan H. White, *Biblical and Theological Visions of Resilience: Pastoral and Clinical Insights,* (London: Routledge, 2020).

trauma damages the tissue of social relationships and calls for a social trauma narrative that can lead to integration and recovery. Politics of memory and reconciliation often seem to be a promised land for many countries and societies. As mentioned above, literary studies focus on how texts embed trauma nonverbally (through gaps) and give voice to traumatic suffering, creating a trauma narrative that fosters recovery and resilience. These disciplines influence and inform each other's individual and collective understanding of trauma and point to the importance of literature in recovering from trauma.

Biblical trauma hermeneutics was a logical consequence of the development of trauma studies in the humanities. Psychological trauma studies offered a framework for understanding how trauma was represented in literature. For example, after World War II, survival or trauma literature gave voice to the events in Auschwitz, Hiroshima, and Vietnam. The development of trauma studies thus opened new perspectives in understanding the Bible and its story, particularly moments of individual or collective suffering such as the Babylonian exile.

The authors of *Bible through the Lens of Trauma,* use Biblical trauma hermeneutics "to interpret texts in their historical contexts and as a means of exploring the appropriation of texts, in contexts both past and present."[39] For that reason, trauma studies are more about the "conceptual framework" they provide and less about a fixed methodology. The variety of research makes trauma studies interdisciplinary and multidimensional.

[39] Elisabeth Boase and Christopher G. Frechette, eds., *Bible through the Lens of Trauma*, Semeia Studies, number 86 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 2.

In sum, Chapter One has addressed the field of psychological trauma studies, its historical development, the concept of resilience, and how this approach entered biblical studies. As mentioned above, trauma studies illuminate the reality of Paul's sufferings from the twenty-first-century perspective, including the concept of resilience as a lens to reread the letter of 2 Corinthians, especially the chosen passages of 2 Cor 4:8-9, 6:4-10, and 11:23-12:10. This study finally defines resilience (1) as an inner strength coupled with a sense of purpose and identity, (2) the ability for interpersonal connectedness, and (3) a capacity to "bounce back" and overcome hardships and trauma. This definition will be compared to Paul's call to be an apostle of Jesus Christ, Paul's apostolic relationships, and his experience of the sacred in terms of "power in weakness." Further analysis show in Chapter Three the catalogs of hardships in 2 Corinthians as a memoir of Paul's resilience. The following chapter will now turn to the historical and literary contexts of the sources that allow exploring Paul's self-portrait and resilience within his world.

CHAPTER TWO: APOSTLE PAUL AND BELIEVERS IN CORINTH

This chapter addresses the textual sources for accessing Paul's life and apostolic ministry. It mainly explores Paul's letters to evaluate textual evidence of his enduring character illuminated by the concept of resilience in terms of its internal and external resources. First, the chapter focuses on the undisputed letters as primary sources, which help the reader not only to discern the portrait of Paul the letter-writer but also give insights into Paul's coworkers through the process of letter writing and the messages they announce. The chapter points out some first clues of Paul's resilience shaped by his identity as an apostle called by God and his connectedness to his coworkers. In the second part, the chapter will briefly analyze the Corinthian context and the social position of the early Greek-speaking churches that will frame and provide a deeper understanding of Paul's letters and his resilient portrait.

Sources for the Life of Paul

When exploring the sources on Paul, one has access to a variety of historical material pointing to the recognition and the reception of his figure in the early Jesus movement. Two canonical sources[1] provide documentary and biographical material on Paul: his writings (letters) and the Acts of the Apostles. There are also two early apocryphal texts: the Acts of Paul and the Third Letter to the Corinthians. Some early churches used these texts in the liturgical assemblies and considered them valid resources

[1] See *Dei Verbum*. The New Testament canon (measure, a stick) formed gradually over the centuries. However, the main criterion of the texts constituting the New Testament was the apostolic tradition. Namely, the author must have either been an apostle or a close associate of an apostle. The document cannot contradict other "inspired" writings concerning doctrinal teaching. The document must share the overall "feel" and "character" of other inspired writings. It must have been cited by early Christian writers and accepted by the majority of churches.

for portraying Paul's life. The Acts of Paul is a second-century text about Paul, and is considered one of the New Testament Apocrypha; it describes Paul's missionary activity and his death.[2]

The pseudonymous letter of 3 Corinthians depicts Paul arguing against the errors of Gnosticism**,** which emerged only in the second century. Despite a good reception in some early church communities, the two texts were soon discredited because of their later production that dealt with Gnostic views. They were not accorded a canonical status and did not become a qualitative source for the life of Paul.[3]

Leaving behind the extra-canonical texts concerning the life of Paul, one needs to deal with the canonical texts on Paul.

First, the Acts of the Apostles is a New Testament book that forms together with the Gospel of Luke, a unified two-part work (Luke 1:1-4, Acts 1:1-2) produced by the same anonymous author. However, early Tradition identifies the author of Luke-Acts as Luke, a coworker of Paul (Philemon 1:24, 2 Timothy 4:11, Colossians 4:14).[4] According to Daniel Marguerat, the book of Acts needs to be dated between the 80s-90s C.E.[5] Luke writes a history of the early church with his narrative intent. From chapter thirteen onwards, Paul's apostolic activity as a missionary and founder of the churches among the

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[2] Philip Sellew writes: "In this work, Paul is pictured as traveling from city to city, converting gentiles and proclaiming the need for a life of sexual abstinence and other practices." (*The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 5, p. 202).

[3] John Knox, *Chapters in a Life of Paul* (NY: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1950), 13-19.

[4] See Acts 28:16 as a possibility that Luke was Paul's traveling companion.

[5] Marguerat explains that the main reason for this dating is the silence of the author of Acts about Paul's letters formed between 95-100. See Daniel Marguerat, *Gli Atti degli Apostoli: 1:(1-12)* (Bologna: EDB, 2011), 19-23.

Gentiles becomes the book's main focus. In both accounts, Luke follows the method of ancient historiography that relies on oral traditions and other sources. In his two-volume project, Luke does not hesitate to mix history with fiction to reach his narrative goal, as John Knox has pointed out. However, Knox affirms the historical value of Acts, at least as much as Luke's Gospel, and considers it a crucial second source for reconstructing Paul's life.

The author of Acts, for example, connects Paul's visit to Corinth in Acts 18, which was the center of his missionary operation in Greece, with an event that allows us to determine the emergence of 1 Corinthians, but also a more specific chronology of Paul's life and missionary work. Furthermore, in 1905, an inscription with Gallio's name and the year of his service was discovered in Delphi. Emperor Claudius (41-54) named Gallio the proconsul of Achaia between 51-52 C.E. In the final months of Paul's stay in Corinth, proconsul Gallio led the Roman administration.[6] Moreover, Gallio was known for a mild character and not particularly good health.[7]

Finally, the comparison between the Acts and the letters shows that the author of Acts was a recipient of authentic oral tradition and social memory about Paul. For this reason, many external phenomena of Paul's life coincide between the two sources. However, in the style of ancient literary methods and historiography, the author invented Paul's rhetorical speeches and arranged the material about Paul to fit his overall narrative purpose. In Luke's reception, one does not find Paul the letter writer, but Paul the

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[6] See Acts 18:12-15.

[7] J. Murphy-O'Connor, *St. Paul's Corinth: Text and Archaeology* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2002), 161-169.

missionary, brilliant rhetorician, and founder of churches, which gives us a fuller picture of who Paul was and how he was known.[8]

The variety among the canonical letters and Acts of the Apostles has raised many questions not only about the date of their "production," authenticity, and the (historical) depiction of Paul but also about their mutual relationship in terms of reception.[9]

Paul's Letters

Paul's letters, considered as a specific genre, are dated to the decade of the 50s and therefore considered the oldest conserved writings of the New Testament canon. Michael Gorman argues that Paul invented a new genre of ancient letters, namely the genre of apostolic or, more generally, pastoral letters. By analyzing the textual elements of the letters, Gorman points out how Paul adapted ancient epistolary and rhetoric techniques for apostolic purposes in establishing new communities of Christ-followers. Scholars agree that seven of the thirteen letters attributed to Paul in the New Testament are undisputed. Namely, they recognize Paul as their author and have a scholarly consensus for Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians, and Philemon. The other six are disputed letters considered to have been written later and have less connection with Paul. Some scholars divide them into two subcategories: Deutero-Pauline Letters (2 Thessalonians, Colossians, and Ephesians) and Pastoral Letters (1 and 2 Timothy, Titus).

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[8] See John Knox, *Chapters in a Life of Paul*, 13-88.

[9] See Daniel Marguerat and Angelo Reginato, *Paolo negli Atti e Paolo nelle lettere* (Torino: Claudiana, 2016), 9-10.

There is no scholarly consensus about their authorship.[10] The ongoing academic debate discusses and compares the letters on the level of vocabulary, style, theology, elements of institutionalization, contextual situations reflected in the letter, etc. Most scholars do not see them as authored by Paul but rather from authors who followed the 'post-Paul' tradition and possibly collected Paul's material by bearing Paul's name.[11]

The undisputed letters are consistent in language and theology and reflect the authentic authorship of the apostle Paul. Although the letters provide fragments of biographical material, the narratives of the apostolic sufferings and personal tone of 2 Corinthians are particularly significant since they are coupled with expressions that point to Paul's resilience. The next chapter will analyze 2 Corinthians in more depth.

However, the following section will explore in more detail the figure of Paul, the letter writer: how he wrote the letters and, consequently, his interconnectedness with his collaborators, which comparatively supports the idea of Paul's external resources for his resilience. On the contrary, the essential internal resource of Paul's resilience is his prophetic call, which this chapter will explore afterward.

In antiquity, writing letters was considered a demanding skill implying a production process and expertise in various fields: from preparing the material (the parchment, papyrus, pen, and ink) to the art of rhetoric and epistolography. Trained letter writers or secretaries mastered writing the typical Greek letters (epistle). The method of writing the letter followed the established structure and patterns.

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[10] Michael J. Gorman, *Apostle of the Crucified Lord: A Theological Introduction to Paul and His Letters* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004). Kindle edition, Loc. 913-923.

[11] Knox, *Chapters in a Life of Paul,* 18.

A secretary or *amanuensis* in the first century assumed various roles. First, a secretary wrote what the author dictated or copied the author's letters. Second, secretaries worked as editors, arranging the content that the author dictated and therefore had a significant impact on the writing and the final form of the content. Alternatively, they could be substitute authors that wrote the content of the letter itself.[12] In Paul's times, writing in someone's name (pseudepigraphy) honored and affirmed a figure's importance and authority.[13]

Paul's letters, as mentioned above, need to be compared to classical ancient letters because they follow similar rules and structure. Like other ancient authors, Paul, too, had scribes and collaborators. However, he also wrote some letters by himself. The only time the secretary's name is explicitly mentioned is in Romans 16:22: Tertius is personally involved in the letter as more of a friend and colleague than as Paul's employee. In other letters, such as Galatians 6:11 and 1 Corinthians 16:21, Paul emphasizes that he wrote the letter with his own hand. In ancient letters, the authors usually added such an annotation at the beginning of the letter and considered it as an authorization or authentication of the whole letter. Paul would then add only more essential things in the end.[14] The overall formation of Paul's letters remains a rather challenging task to grasp. However, the structure seems to be consistent.

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[12] J. Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer: His World, His Options, His Skills*, vol. 41, Book, Whole (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1995), 10-11.

[13] Gorman, *Apostle of the Crucified Lord*, Kindle, Loc. 1118-1123.

[14] Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer: His World, His Options, His Skills*, 12.

The Structure of the Letters

Paul followed the literary genre of the epistle from classical Greco-Roman culture, adapting it for his own purposes.[15] Paul's letters offer several hints of his resilience through the following patterns.

First, Paul always starts the letter by presenting himself. In the initial greeting, Paul sets the letter's tone and expresses his attitude towards the addressee. Moreover, he points to the so-called proposition or thesis he wants to defend in the letter. Paul constantly presents himself as an apostle, explaining something essential to his identity. Sometimes**,** he introduces himself as a servant of Jesus Christ, and often, he indicates whether he writes from captivity as a prisoner. However, there is another crucial hint. Paul often points out that he is called by God and chosen for the apostolic work. Then he typically adds the names of his co-senders, which tells us about the importance of connectedness and communion with his coworkers. These elements also point to Paul's leading role in Gentile communities.

Paul's title for his addressee is often "holy and called," and the local churches are called churches of God to which then their location is added, e.g., in Corinth, Galatia, Rome, etc. Very typical are the conclusive words of the initial greeting, namely, grace and peace.

The conclusions of the letters, too, are all drawn up according to the same model. From the endings, one can understand that Paul cultivated personal relationships with the individuals he particularly greeted. The most vivid example is the final greeting of numerous persons that Paul mentions in Romans 16. It was not uncommon for the letter

[15] See Gorman, *Apostle of the Crucified Lord,* Kindle, Loc. 1021-1057.

to circulate among the communities, which means Paul knew that its content went beyond a specific situation. A particular final greeting concluded the letter.

Some researchers stress distinguishing between a shorter and longer letter called the epistle because the Greeks knew both forms. The letter means direct communication that underlines the spontaneity of the relationship between the sender and the addressees. The epistle, instead, embodies more extensive communication that is literarily more articulated and therefore loses some relational immediacy.[16]

Paul's letters are certainly more extensive, but they also have the characteristics of direct, familiar communication and differ from other letters in the ancient world. They tend to have the character of letters that have arisen in response to previous questions or address the problems within Christian communities. One can observe that Paul, in the first place, cares about the religious life of each of his churches.

Classical epistolography was a complex and expensive craft. Assuming that Paul was helped by a secretary and did not write himself directly, the rhetorical approach was more justified. Some of his closest coworkers may have brought the letters to the communities and read and interpreted them. The task of explaining the letter was probably more manageable if, as a close coworker, a person was also involved in creating the letter and informed with theological content and argumentation.

Paul addresses letters not to individuals but to communities. The same applies to short personal letters, like Philemon, because one needs to consider a wider circle of people in the household. However, the oral dimension of communication is very present

[16] Adolf Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten: das Neuen Testament und die neuentdeckien Texte der hellenistisch-romischen Welt*. In *Lettera Ai Galati: Introduzione, Versione, Commento,* by Antonio Pitta (Bologna: EDB, 2000), 37.

in the letter-making process and in interpreting these letters to the addressees. In a broader process of drafting the letter, one should assume some editing between coworkers and the time of delivering their message to the churches.[17]

Paul's Coworkers

Some illustrations of Paul's coworkers and co-senders allude to his close apostolic connections. For example, Paul mentions Sosthenes in 1 Corinthians, Silvanus and Timothy in 1 and 2 Thessalonians, and Timothy in 2 Corinthians, Philippians, and Philemon. In Galatians, all the brothers who were with Paul are mentioned. When referring to his coworkers, Paul shows his awareness of the Church's interconnectedness. However, it can also be interpreted with pastoral motifs associated with a particular community. Some scholars argue that those persons could represent the co-authors of the letters, as these letters repeatedly employ the style of "we" when the author passes from the first-person singular to the first-person plural. Paul seems to emphasize the communal nature of his apostolic mission and his letter writing.[18] Apostolic relationships seem to be an essential part of Paul's external resources, helping him to endure and fulfill his purpose. These relationships confirm the concept of resilience as the ability for interpersonal connectedness. However, how did Paul discover a new purpose and identify himself with being an apostle?

[17] Pitta, *Lettera Ai Galati: Introduzione, Versione, Commento*, 37-38.

[18] Pitta, *Lettera Ai Galati: Introduzione, Versione, Commento*, 40-42.

Paul's Call

The decisive moment of Paul's life was the mystical experience of encountering Christ.[19] It had a profound impact on his identity and life's purpose to bring the Gentiles into the Jesus-Christ movement and into Israel.[20] Before this event, Paul was a diaspora Jew and Pharisee (Phil 3:5) who severely persecuted the Jesus-Christ movement until God called him to become an apostle of the Gentiles (see, for example, Gal 1:1,11-17; 1 Cor 9:1; 15:8-11). Paul did not see the Christ event as a personal conversion from one religion to another but as a prophetic vocation (Gal 1:15) and a beginning of a new mission announcing the gospel to the nations.

Moreover, in a later reception of Paul's tradition, the author of Acts underlines the importance of Paul's vision on the road to Damascus by narrating it three times (Acts 9:1- 19; 22:2-16; 26:4-18). The event seems to support the theme of the universality and inclusivity of the gospel of Christ. First, announcing the gospel to the Jews and then bringing it to the Gentiles till "the ends of the earth" (Acts 1:8).[21]

Paul is preaching both with his word and his personality. He does not hesitate to draw on his experience and, therefore, autobiographical material to make a point in his letters and support his argumentation. Thus, Paul's theology or belief system is not

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[19] Marguerat and Reginato, *Paolo negli Atti e Paolo nelle lettere*, 183-200.

[20] Terence L. Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles: Remapping the Apostle's Convictional World*, (MN, Fortress, 1997), 236.

[21] All translations of the Bible are from the The New Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition (NRSVCE), unless otherwise indicated. See *Holy Bible: NRSV, New Revised Standard Version, Catholic Edition, Anglicized Text.* (NY: Harper Catholic Bibles, 2007). See also https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Acts%201%3A8&version=NRSVCE. Accessed on July 19, 2022.

separable from his personal story. Paul's theology is embodied in his life and praxis. As a Pharisee, Paul practiced the Torah and particularly cherished the writings of the prophets. He also believed in the resurrection of the dead. Scholars argue that Pharisees interpreted the verses of Isaiah 49:6, 56:5-7, and 60:3 in terms of a plan that one day all the nations would gather in the "City of the Lord" and praise the Holy One of Israel (Isaiah 60:14).

The "Christ event" would allow Paul to bring his Pharisaic beliefs to their full potential by reconfiguring his belief system. He finally understood God's justification as a free offering of God's grace so that, based on faith, all the nations could join to worship the God of Israel without necessarily following Jewish identity boundaries of circumcision, dietary restrictions, and other regulations.

However, Paul's writings respond to specific problems and questions from local churches and not systematic discussions on theological principles. His letters offer compelling material to consider different moments of his life: hints of his early formation and "former" life, the "newness of Christ" within the Jewish and Hellenistic environment, the mystical experience of Christ, missionary preaching, and the caring for churches he founded in the Diaspora, especially among the Gentiles. Moreover, Paul endured many sufferings and trials because of his apostleship (2 Cor 11:23-29) and for the sake of Christ by navigating in the Jewish and Greek worlds.

Paul's mystical experience of Christ and the apostolic ministry to which God called him can be compared and understood as an internal resource of his resilience in terms of an inner strength coupled with a sense of purpose and identity. Christ had chosen him as an apostle to carry his word to all Nations. God called him through grace and in his Son (Gal 1:15-16). No hardships and trials could stop him from following the call.

Paul's sufferings, instead, are a mark of apostolic ministry grounded in the story of the crucified and risen Christ (2 Cor 4:10-12). Despite his weakness, Paul experienced the overabundant power of God working through him (2 Cor 4:7).

Finally, the decisive consequence of Paul's mystical and revelatory experience of Christ leads him to the knowledge of his prophetic vocation. Paul continually emphasizes in his letters that God called him to become an Apostle of Jesus Christ (Rom 1:4-5; Gal 1:1; 1 Cor 1:1; 2 Cor 1:1).

Paul firmly excludes any human intervention or source concerning his vocation and reception of the gospel. He claims to have been called directly by Christ and God the Father (Gal 1:1), and to have received his gospel from the revelation of Jesus Christ (Gal 1:11). The Apostle underscores this fact when he claims his apostolic "credentials." Although nobody prepared Paul for preaching the gospel, including the apostles in Jerusalem, he had not usurped that authority because everything was revealed to him when he met Christ before Damascus. There, God called him to his ministry (Gal 1:15; 1 Cor 9:1).

After the Damascus experience, Paul progressively matured in his conviction that Christ's Gospel needed to be proclaimed to all nations from Jerusalem to Illyricum (see Rom 15:19). Corinth seemed to be a particularly challenging place to announce the good news of Christ.

Corinth

Michal Gorman points out that Corinth "was of considerable strategic importance for the spread of the gospel."[22] Why? Paul's Corinth, the capital of the Achaia Province, was a commercial, cultural, and multireligious metropolis of the Mediterranean world. It thrived economically because it was of the most important and wealthiest ports and trading hubs in ancient Greece. Due to the favorable geographical location on the land bridge or isthmus connecting the Peloponnese and mainland Greece across an expanse of the seas, Corinth had two harbors: the port of Cenchreae in the East, where the Saronic Gulf leads to the Aegean Sea, and the port of Lechaion in the West, with the Gulf of Corinth leading to the Ionian Sea. Therefore, the city was a transition point connecting northern and southern Greece and one of the main traffic flows between the Eastern and Western parts of the Empire. The two ports were connected by a paved road called the Diolcos, on which smaller ships could transport imports and exports from the Corinthian and Saron Bay. The connection brought the city large profits and allowed the ships to avoid a two hundred miles long sea journey around the Peloponnesian peninsula.[23]

The Romans destroyed the old Greek city-state of Corinth in 146 B.C.E. because of a rebellion of the Achaian people. The city was demolished, and the inhabitants were sold as slaves. In 44 B.C.E., Julius Caesar had the city rebuilt as a Roman colony with special privileges. The population mainly consisted of freed slaves, artisans, and workers looking for better socioeconomic conditions. Due to favorable commercial activity, the

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[22] Gorman, *Apostle of the Crucified Lord,* Kindle, Loc. 2858-2863.

[23] See J. Murphy-O'Connor, *St. Paul's Corinth: Text and Archaeology* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2002), 60-66; Gorman, *Apostle of the Crucified Lord*, Kindle. Loc. 2863-2868.

population grew rapidly. In addition to the Romans and Greeks, there were people from the East, including many Jews with whom Paul made first contact in the city.

In addition to trade routes, there were also a variety of religious and political movements. The city's life was also significantly impacted by the city's games, which attracted many athletes to the city. The games also drew in traders, sailors, and various other artisans. Archaeological excavations and literary fragments witness to lively cultural and sporting activities, but also cult and temple activity. People gathered in various associations, sharing devotional practices to different deities such as Poseidon, Apollo, Hermes, Aphrodite, Dionysus, Artemis Ephesus, and Roman Emperors. All these cults had their shrines where celebrations were held with feasts and meals. Corinth had a special reputation associated with the Temple of Aphrodite, located on the hill of Acrocorinth, which was the center of temple prostitution. The sacred sex trade was also a part of the thriving economy. Many writers in antiquity pointed to the Corinthian way of life as an expression of fornication. Knowing the context of the city, one should not be surprised by Paul's consideration of sexual issues in the church in 1 Corinthians 5-7.[24]

The Corinthian context was a major challenge for Paul. His difficulties went beyond how to proclaim the Gospel in such circumstances. Paul was more concerned about how to persevere and live out his alternative proclamation of "cruciform" life inaugurated by Christ: life in which the principle of self-giving love is grounded in the Cross of Christ as the highest form of God's wisdom and its revelation to man.[25] The crucified and risen Christ becomes the grounding reality of new humanity and the

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[24] Murphy-O'Connor, *St. Paul's Corinth: Text and Archaeology*, 55-57.

[25] Gorman, *Apostle of the Crucified Lord,* Kindle, Loc. 1505 of 8159.

development of the church. All these challenges find an echo in Paul's correspondence with the Corinthians. Many scholars, therefore, see Paul's choice of Corinth as a turning point in the apostle's pastoral strategy.[26]

The Churches in Corinth

The social setting of Pauline churches in Corinth implies an urban environment based on the household as a basic social structure of Roman society. Derek Tidball, a British theologian and sociologist of religion, points out that Pauline churches "were not abstract theological entities formed in a social vacuum but real-life communities of men and women who inhabited particular social settings."[27] Indeed, a social setting represents a world behind the text and frames it in its proper historical context. Pauline churches founded in a Greek-speaking urban environment, with a good network of communications, offered access to a more significant concentration of people from different social categories – traveling merchants, traders, formerly enslaved people, and artisans.[28] Wayne A. Meeks, a New Testament scholar, argues that the early Greek-speaking churches, such as in Corinth, most likely attracted people in the "social inconsistency" category. Many people did not fit into the established social categories. The Corinthian churches would gather people of different social and economic strata that

[26] Walter F. Taylor, *Paul, Apostle to the Nations: An Introduction* (MN: Fortress Press, 2012), 162-164.

[27] Derek J. Tidball, *Social setting of the mission churches.* In *Dictionary of Paul and his letters* (electronic ed.) by Gerald F. Hawthorne, Ralph P. Martin, & Daniel G. Reid, InterVarsity: Downers Grove, 1997, c1993.

[28] Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 73.

could be labeled by the middle and lower social classes. According to Acts 18:3-4, Paul was a tentmaker by trade and would fit well in these categories mentioned by Meeks.

Moreover, in Corinth, Paul met Priscilla and Aquila, Jesus Christ-followers, fellow tentmakers, and apostolic coworkers (Rom 16:3). However, another biblical scholar, E. Randolph Richards, points out that, "as a traveler, Paul was able on occasion to enter into business, but only in situations such as Corinth, where he was assisting in an established business with an established shop with regular suppliers, owners with memberships in the appropriate trade guilds and a regular clientele."[29] Paul's tentmaking was limited by certain conditions and practiced in a specific context, such as Corinth, where one could meet many people for trade. One can assume that for Paul, it was also a good way of making contacts and talking about the gospel of Christ (1 Cor 2:2). Paul's capacity to work, be displaced, and adapt to different social contexts are all characteristics of a resilient personality.

What types of social organizations provided a model for Pauline churches in the Corinthian context? Scholars have enumerated several social organizations that could be compared to the churches, such as Greco-Roman households, synagogues, philosophical schools, mystery cults, and voluntary associations.[30]

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[29] E. Randolph Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing: Secretaries, Composition, and Collection* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 170.

[30] See Dennis E. Smith, *The House Church as Social Environment.* In *Text, Image, and Christians in the Graeco-Roman World: A Festschrift in Honor of David Lee Balch,* by David L. Balch, Aliou Cissé Niang, and Carolyn Osiek (Eugene, Or: Pickwick Publications, 2012), 3-18; Derek J. Tidball, *Social setting of the mission churches.* In *Dictionary of Paul and his letters* (electronic ed.), by Gerald F. Hawthorne, Ralph P. Martin, & Daniel G. Reid (InterVarsity: Downers Grove, 1997, c1993).

The Letters of 1 and 2 Corinthians are framed within that particular social context. According to the letters, Paul's churches met in a household setting. The Jesus-Christ movement in Corinth was relatively small at the time of Paul's departure but very lively and diverse in social strata.[31] Their numbers were between 150 and 200, probably divided into several households, e.g., Stefan's house (1 Cor 1:16), which Paul calls the Church of God (ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ) (1 Cor 1:2; 11:22; 14:23). According to Paul, in a single assembly, the Church as a whole is present, and his words were intended for all believers. (1 Cor 4:17; 6:4; 7:17; 16,1:19; 2 Cor 1:1; 8:1; Gal 1:2.22). However, here Paul was addressing the problem of divisions among believers who claimed to belong to different teachers and leaders, such as Apollos or Cephas, and stresses that the communities should be in communion because Christ is not divided (1 Cor 1:13). One cannot, therefore, assume the existence of a strong and unified Church in Corinth. However, Paul's conviction is that God has called the nations into Christ's Church, as God has chosen and called Israel.

As mentioned above, 1 Corinthians shows the diversity of ethnicity and social strata. One part of the believers were former pagans (1 Cor 10:12-14; 12:2). Paul discusses several pagan habits and abuses, such as participating in cult feasts (1 Cor 8:10; 10:27), trials before pagan courts (1 Cor 6:1-8), and sexual immorality (1 Cor 6:12-18). Some believers were from the lower class (l:28), while others were ex-slaves (7:21). However, from Paul's statement about those of noble birth (1:26), one can assume that some were of middle and higher class, those in charge of households or other public officials. For example, Paul mentions Chloe's people, who would report to him about the

[31] Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul,* 70-73.

situation in Corinth (1 Cor 1:11). New Testament scholars Jean-François Racine and Brent Duckor assume that these people were likely Chloe's employees and that she (Chloe is a female name) was probably a householder.[32] Later, Paul also speaks about the treasurer Erastus, a kind of manager of the city and, therefore, a more prominent figure (see Rom 16:23).

Nevertheless, in Corinth and other cities, Paul would first contact the Jews. They were the first recipients of God's promises that in Jesus Christ have finally come true (1 Cor 1:22-24; Rom 2:9-10). Diaspora Jews often lived and worked together as artisans and traders. They were part of the Roman hierarchical culture and kept their own culture, rituals, and other boundary markers. If possible, they established synagogues that remained a privileged place to continue worshiping the one God. For example, in Corinth, an inscription was discovered that reads "(Syn)agogue of the Hebr(ews)." [33] Second Temple Judaism was very diverse, with different groups including Gentile converts and God-fearers. Paul most probably visited the local synagogues, inviting them to join the Christ movement.

The early Greek-speaking churches were organized similarly to the voluntary associations present in the Greek cities to assemble persons of the same religion or rituals, business, ethnicity, etc.[34] Voluntary associations gathered for common meals,

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[32] Brent Duckor and Jean-François Racine, "Leading in The Time That Remains: The Passion and Complexity of Paul's Leadership in 1 Corinthians," *Science et Esprit* 74, no. 2–3 (May 2022), 419.

[33] Gorman, *Apostle of the Crucified Lord,* Kindle, Loc. 356.

[34] Richard S. Ascough, "What Are They Now Saying About Christ Groups and Associations?" *Currents in Biblical Research*, 13 (2015), p. 207-213.

worshiped a common god, and welcomed displaced people with similar interests. In Corinth, all social classes had some sort of voluntary associations, usually open to both men and women. The social classes could also mix in the same voluntary associations, often leading to conflicts between the members. For example, Paul in 1 Corinthians addresses different factions among the churches, sometimes fighting for places at the common meal etc. Voluntary associations and households seem to be a helpful model for understanding churches in Corinth, their conflicts, and Paul's work for unity among the believers.[35]

In the First Letter to the Corinthians, one can see that Paul knew the situation of the Corinthian communities very well and understood their problems in depth. The Apostle wants to prevent abuse, establish peace and, respond to the problems that Corinth's believers face in their daily lives. At the beginning of the letter, it reveals its source of information and mentions the most likely rationale for creating a letter: "For it has been reported to me by Chloe's people that there is quarreling among you, my brethren." (1 Cor 1:11, RSV) Therefore, the letter is an extended call to unity of the Church in the matters of daily life. Paul was not primarily concerned about the differences between individual communities but that followers of Christ lived with each other in unity, not in conflict: "I appeal to you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that all of you agree and that there be no dissensions among you, but that you be united in the same mind and the same judgment" (1 Cor 1:10 RSV). However, the concrete foundation of this unity is the crucified Christ (1 Cor 1:23). Paul puts this announcement at the center of the first part of the 1 Cor to foster reconciliation among the

[35] Duckor and Racine, "Leading in the Time that Remains," 413.

communities. The message of the cross, namely of Christ's death and resurrection, and the theme of reconciliation is central to the understanding of Paul's catalogs of hardships in defense of his apostolic ministry in 2 Corinthians.

CHAPTER THREE: THE HARDSHIP CATALOGS AS A MEMOIR OF PAUL'S RESILIENCE

This chapter will demonstrate the reading of the catalogs of hardships as a memoir of Paul's resilience and show its explicit and implicit elements.[1] First, it will introduce 2 Corinthians, affirm its authenticity and reception, and point to the debated question of literary unity. Second, it will compare the biblical terminology that semantically corresponds to the concept of resilience. Finally, it will analyze three "case studies" of Paul's catalogs of hardships, illustrating their similarities and differences to prove the above thesis. 2 Corinthians provides textual evidence for the concept of resilience; in fact, the whole letter is semantically framed by it.[2] The textual analysis aims to prove how resilience functions as an interpretive lens that advances the understanding of Paul's capacity to endure sufferings expressed in the catalogs of hardships.

The concept of resilience and its elements can be summarized in the following way: resilience is an inner strength coupled with a sense of purpose and identity. It is an ability for interpersonal connectedness and a capacity to "bounce back" and overcome hardships and trauma. The elements of resilience are semantically expressed in a variety of terms, such as relational and spiritual strength, endurance, fellowship through sharing,

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[1] New Testament scholar Thomas Stegman SJ provides a useful definition of the term catalog of hardships or hardship list as "a convention in Paul's time used by some philosophers to show that the endurance of sufferings proves one's wisdom, courage, and ability to rise above the vicissitudes of life. Paul adapts this convention." Thomas Stegman, *Second Corinthians*, Book, Whole (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2009), 307.

[2] This chapter is a thematic study of 2 Cor through the lens of resilience as the opposite pole of Paul's weaknesses and sufferings. To what extent can one speak about the concept of resilience in 2 Cor, or is this an anachronism? Methodologically, one wants to compare two different disciplines with the same intent. Indeed, there is an evolution of the meaning in the language. What kind of vocabulary of endurance, strength, patience, etc., did Paul use in 2 Cor? One can see that some Greek words overlap with the concept of resilience if one compares their definitions. How can one evaluate the semantic field concerning resilience?

comfort, and reconciliation. All these elements are present in 2 Corinthians. However, before this chapter explores these elements in detail, let us introduce 2 Corinthians, defined by some scholars as the most challenging of Paul's letters to understand.[3]

2 Corinthians: An Introduction

2 Corinthians is like a big forest with many complex trails. Some of them are interrupted; one wonders where and how they continue. It is almost impossible to explore them all. One needs to find the proper trail by being informed by others, hoping that one will not get lost and that the trail will make sense in our current times. This introduction aims to give an interpretative framework of 2 Corinthians for our further investigation and textual analysis. At the same time, it invites the reader to consult the monumental introductory works of Pauline scholars Victor P. Furnish and Margaret E. Thrall.[4]

2 Corinthians depicts Paul as none of the other letters does. It is the most personal and autobiographical of his letters since it expresses various emotions coupled with apostolic struggles, weakness, and endurance. The letter shows the nature of Paul's apostolic ministry in Christ with all the challenges and criticism, and finally, his love for the Gospel and the Corinthians. Paul's apostolic credentials – contrary to the super-apostles he is confronting – are the scars on his body resulting from apostolic hardships and traumatic experiences, as well as his experience of God's power and comfort.

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[3] See Victor Paul Furnish, ed., *II Corinthians*, 1st ed, The Anchor Bible, v. 32A (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984), 3. Stegman, *Second Corinthians*, 15.

[4] Cf. Furnish, *II Corinthians*; Margaret Eleanor Thrall, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, The International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments (London: T & T Clark, 2005).

Moreover, 2 Corinthians conveys Paul's unique ongoing dialogue with the recipients, establishing a relationship of reconciliation and completing the collection for the poor in Jerusalem.[5] Thomas Stegman SJ defines 2 Corinthians as "a unique window into the way Paul understands his apostolic life and ministry as patterned after the example of Jesus."[6] Indeed, one of the main themes of the letter is a defense of Paul's apostolic ministry, patterned after the example story of Jesus Christ and therefore characterized by the "cross" (sufferings and contrasts, Cf. 1:13-7; 10-13). Furthermore, one could relate Paul's sufferings to the theme of "cruciformity,"[7] a key concept proposed by Michael Gorman. Cruciformity is the essential characteristic of Paul's apostolic ministry in service to the Gospel and the Corinthians and also an important argument against the rhetorical excellence of the "super-apostles."

The tone of the letter is both hortatory and apologetic, reconciliatory and dramatic. It combines Greco-Roman literary devices such as the catalogs of hardships and Old Testament (OT) elements, imagery, and theology, i.e., Paul's depiction of the community as a chaste virgin promised in marriage to Christ (2 Cor 11:2) or the blessing replacing the opening thanksgiving (1:3-11).[8] It also presents us with a conundrum

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[5] 2 Corinthians can be seen as a pastoral letter because it depicts Paul's care for the Corinthian communities by seeking reconciliation and their comfort (See 2 Cor 1-7).

[6] Stegman, *Second Corinthians,* 15.

[7] The idea of "cruciformity" stands for being "cross-shaped," metaphorically speaking, being conformed to the Christ crucified, to imitate his life or story. See Gorman, *Apostle of the Crucified Lord,* Kindle, Loc. 1505 of 8159.

[8] In Hebrew, *Berakah* is a form of praise directed to God. It typically starts with an expression such as: "*Blessed be you, God*."

regarding the question of literary unity and, more broadly, the written correspondence between Paul and the recipients.

Authenticity and Reception of 2 Corinthians

According to Furnish, 2 Corinthians has been part of the Pauline corpus from the second century CE onwards.[9] Although the letter was not as popular as the other three major Pauline letters, namely Romans, 1 Corinthians (1 Cor), and Galatians, 2 Corinthians has had an important reception history. It has been commented on since the fourth century by authors such as Ambrosiaster, who wrote a commentary of the canonical Pauline corpus of thirteen letters, and John Chrysostom, the fourth-century Church Father, who wrote a moral commentary of the entire letter.[10] In the Middle Ages, Thomas Aquinas commented on the letter, stressing the importance of Paul's ministry as a true apostle. If the patristic and medieval readings emphasized the moral dimensions of 2 Corinthians, modern biblical scholars have attempted to reconstruct the cultural context of early Christianity in connection with research on Paul's figure. Johann Salomo Semler's 1776 commentary was the first to question the integrity of the letter. The debate has continued until this day. The letter's integrity seems to be at the heart of the exegetical debate on 2 Corinthians, together with the historical context of the Corinthian community and the profile of Paul's opponents. The ongoing interpretation and the variety of hypotheses of the letter show a significant interest of biblical scholars for 2 Corinthians. Most scholars are in no doubt about 2 Corinthians being an authentic Pauline

[9] Cf. Furnish, *II Corinthians,* 30.

[10] Stegman, *Second Corinthians,* 51.

letter (its authorship is undisputed), even though the epistle does not mention a scribe or contain Paul's final remarks and signature like some other letters (1 Cor 16: 21-24, Gal 6:11-18, Col 4:18, 2 Thess 3:17-18).[11]

Literary Unity[12]

Margaret E. Thrall begins her introduction with the claim that the canonical 2 Corinthians is a continuation of an earlier correspondence in which only 1 Corinthians was preserved. One can observe that Paul in 1 Cor 5:9 refers to a letter previously sent to the church in Corinth, and in 2 Cor 2:4,7:8, he refers to a "tearful letter" that some scholars identify with 2 Cor 10-13. The abrupt change of tone, language, and argument would support this hypothesis. Because of different textual "seams" and incongruences, many scholars argue that the canonical 2 Corinthians is a compilation of two or more

[11] Furnish, *II Corinthians*; Thrall, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians,* 2-5.; Stegman, *Second Corinthians,* 16.

[12] The literary unity of 2 Cor is a real puzzle. Not only because of Paul's so-called "tearful letter" mentioned in 2 Cor 2:3-4 (cf. 2:9; 7:8, 12 (letter C), but because of textual 'seams' and contrasts between chapters 9 and 10, and 7 and 8. Numerous scholars have argued that 2 Cor is a patchwork of different letters or fragments that an editor put together. Gorman, for example, offers a valuable overview on the topic that it may be helpful to quote extensively to understand the complexity and variety of readings concerning 2 Cor: "A simple theory would posit two letters: chaps. 1-9 and 10-13. An example of a moderately complex theory would posit chaps. 1-7 as one letter, with 6:14-7:1 as a later addition; chaps. 8-9 as one or two separate letters; and chaps. 10-13 as a distinct letter. A still more complex theory, to the point of being unwieldy, would posit several letter fragments throughout chaps. 1-7, broken up and out of order, plus separate letters in chaps. 8, 9, and 10-13. Bornkamm, who identifies five independent units (1:1–2:13 plus 7:5–16 and chap. 8; 2:14–6:13 plus 7:2–4; 6:14–7:1; chap. 9; chaps. 10–13), and allows for a sixth if chap. 8 was a separate letter, is one of the few scholars to have struggled with the question of how, when, and where these disparate units (at least the three major ones) came to be put together in this way (1971:179–90, 192–94; the most elaborate earlier attempt was by Halmel 1904:112–35)." Michael J. Gorman. *Apostle of the Crucified Lord: A Theological Introduction to Paul and His Letters* (Kindle Locations 8025-8027). Kindle Edition.

letters. Nevertheless, in recent scholarship (rhetorical criticism), many have argued for literary unity, and the debate continues.[13]

From a literary perspective (synchronous approach),[14] one can divide the canonical letter into three parts. Chapters 1-7 give Paul's portrait as an apostle of Jesus Christ through his example of apostolic ministry in a tone of reconciliation with the Corinthians. Chs. 8-9 discuss Paul's collection project among the Gentile churches for Jerusalem's church. Chs. 10-13 announce the third visit to Corinthians, confront the super-apostles, and express the paradox of his apostolic ministry, the paradox of power in weakness.

The correspondence shows Paul's intense relationship with some of the believers in Corinth. The intensity is particularly evident in 2 Corinthians and is the reason for the letter's personal and apologetic nature. Paul is defending his ministry marked by profound suffering as proof of his apostolic authenticity. He responds to the issues that emerged in the churches in Corinth, especially to the criticism of some of its members. Paul is convinced of his God-given pastoral authority toward the churches.

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[13] See, i.e., Ben Witherington III, *Conflict and Community in Corinth: A Socio-rhetorical Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995).

[14] A synchronous approach is a literary or exegetical approach that considers the biblical passage or the entire text as a result of a unified redaction without paying attention to the historical dimension of the redaction. Using a synchronous approach, I am assuming the literary and canonical unity of 2 Cor. I recognize that three parts of the letter present various themes and take on a different tone. Aware of the complexity of the integrity of 2 Cor, I will first suggest an introductory description of the letter and finally focus on the case studies concerning the theme of the sufferings (hardship catalogues) compared to the resilience that frames the whole letter.

Thrall argues that the major importance of 2 Corinthians lies in its portrait of Paul and his theological ideas.[15] Indeed, Paul writes about the fundamental nature of apostolic ministry, which is not just an aspect of his life but concerns his entire life and personality.

Biblical Terminology Related to Resilience and Case Studies

This final section will analyze the meanings of biblical terminology, e.g., Paul's suffering, affliction, comfort, power in weakness, and endurance. Moreover, the section aims to prove the validity of our comparison between Paul's apostolic suffering in 2 Corinthians and the concepts of resilience and demonstrate how the catalogs of hardships function as a memoir of Paul's resilience.

Resilience is a modern term and, as such, appears in neither 2 Corinthians nor the other books of the Bible. However, one can find similar terms that semantically express the same idea of resilience as defined in the first chapter. Some terms have the identical meaning of resilience; others are more approximative. The grammatical analysis in this section will confirm the different meanings of the terms in 2 Corinthians. Besides looking at terms expressing different facets of resilience, this section will analyze how hardship catalogs frame Paul's resilience. Such catalogs were well-known in the Greco-Roman world. Therefore, the three case studies of Paul's sufferings can be seen as narratives of resilience. Exegetically, the section will explore Greek texts to underline their similarities and differences and determine how they contribute to the understanding of Paul's sufferings and resilience.

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[15] Thrall, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, 1*.

There is no doubt that Paul suffered a lot during his apostolic ministry, as Peter Yuichi Clark's underlines in his article comparing Paul's suffering with PTSD symptoms.[16] Suffering (Gr. πάθημα) was part of his apostleship, following the example of Christ. Paul endured and overcame the hardships through both the power of God and apostolic relationships. Paul's endurance is also grounded in the hope of the resurrection (cf. 2 Cor 5:1). The epistolary opening introduces significant themes of the letter in which Paul's sufferings and his apostolic ministry constitute one of the main threads in 2 Corinthians. The catalogs of hardships, to which the threads are related, hold together the entire letter.

However, in 1:3-11, both Paul's and the Corinthians' sufferings have their counterpart in the motif of comfort. If the term πάθημα expresses the experience of pain and distress (2 Cor 1:5.6.7), the term θλῖψις in the NT signifies, metaphorically speaking, "distress that is the result of outward circumstances, and more particularly suffering caused by brutal physical abuse (Ro 12:12; 2 Cor 4:17; Col 1:24; 2 Th 1:6)."[17] The same terms also appear in 2:4; 4:7; 6:4; 7:4; 8:2.13, altogether six times. Its verbal cognate θλίβω: 'pressing, pressure' metaphorically signifies to squeeze, oppress, or afflict found in 2 Th 1:6; mostly passive forms are found in 2 Cor 1:6; 4:8; 7:5.[18] In the opening blessing (*Berakah*), Paul informs the Corinthians about the mortal peril he averted in Asia (probably Ephesus). The language conveys the idea of extreme tribulation leading to

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[16] Boase and Frechette, *Bible through the Lens of Trauma,* 235.

[17] Frederick W. Danker and Kathryn Krug, *The Concise Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 170.

[18] Idem.

desperation: καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἐβαρήθημεν, ὥστε ἐξαπορηθῆναι ἡμᾶς καὶ τοῦ ζῆν.[19] However, despite Paul and his coworkers’ situation, God, who raises the dead, delivered them out of peril (1:10). They are confident that God will rescue them again if they find themselves in a similar situation. Kar Young Lim notes that, compared to other letters of Paul, the highest concentration of terms such as suffering, affliction, and other distress vocabulary is found in 2 Corinthians.[20] These terms, especially the θλῖψις and the idea of tribulation in 1:8, are comparable to the concept of trauma as suffering that remains inflicted on the body. As mentioned in the introduction of this study, Clark has pointed out a pastoral reading of 2 Corinthians through the lens of trauma and healing, mainly through post-traumatic stress disorder, by analyzing Paul’s sufferings. Contra Clark, his article does not develop the theme of resilience related to the catalogs of hardships.[21]

Furthermore, the theme of suffering is coupled with the motif of comfort. The term παράκλησις has two main definitions: “first, ‘emboldening’ for facing or carrying out a responsibility or task’, exhortation, encouragement (Acts 13:15; 15:31; Rom 12:8; 15:4f; 1 Cor 14:3; 2 Cor 8:4, 17; Phil 2:1) and second, ‘heartening in time of trouble,’ consolation, comfort (Lk 2:25; 6:24; Ac 9:31; 2 Cor 1:3–7; 7:4, 7, 13; 2 Th 2:16; Phlm

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[19] The Greek text of 2 Corinthians is from Eberhard Nestle and Erwin Nestle, *Novum testamentum Graece: = Novum testamentum Graece*, ed. Barbara Aland et al., 28th revised edition, 5th corrected printing (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2016). English translation: “[…]we were so utterly, unbearably crushed that we despaired of life itself.” 1:8b.

[20] Kar Yong Lim, *“The Sufferings of Christ Are Abundant in Us” (2 Corinthians 1:5): A Narrative-Dynamics Investigation of Paul’s Sufferings in 2 Corinthians*, Library of New Testament Studies 399 (London ; NY: T & T Clark International, 2009), 28.

[21] Elizabeth Boase and Christopher G. Frechette, eds., *Bible through the Lens of Trauma*, Semeia Studies, number 86 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017), 231-247.

7).”[22] Together with the cognate verb παρακαλέω, it is repeated ten times in 1:3-11 and refers both to God who comforts Paul and Paul who comforts Corinthians. The motif of comfort relates to God’s saving action (1:9-10). However, Furnish deduces another definition of the cognate verb παρακαλέω translated in Latin: *confortare*, which translates to strengthen. These terms implicitly convey the idea of resilience and constitute internal resources that enable a person to cope with afflictions and pain. The term comfort, therefore, is semantically related to the concept of resilience: strength that allows an individual or a group to bounce back from afflictions.

The third essential element in the passage concerns the motif of life and death related to God, Paul, and his coworkers (1:8-10), and also Jesus’s death and resurrection (4:10-11). For example, the first catalog of hardships in 2 Corinthians shows that Paul and his coworkers want to conform to and exemplify the story of Jesus, especially his sufferings (4:7-12). Further, what ensures they endure is the hope of the resurrection from the dead that will give them a place next to Christ (4:14). The motif of life and death is developed throughout the letter (2:14-16; 5:14-15; 6:9; 13:4).

The following section will analyze three case studies that explicitly and implicitly express the concept of resilience as defined in the first chapter.

Case Study #1

2 Cor 4:8-9

ἐν παντὶ
θλιβόμενοι ἀλλ’ οὐ στενοχωρούμενοι, ἀπορούμενοι ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐξαπορούμενοι, διωκόμενοι ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι, καταβαλλόμενοι ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀπολλύμενοι[23]

[22] Frederick W. Danker and Kathryn Krug, *The Concise Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 268.

[23] “We are afflicted in every way, but not crushed; perplexed, but not driven to despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; struck down, but not destroyed.”

This first catalog of Paul's sufferings in 2 Corinthians is framed within the broader passage (4:7-12). It is thematically related to the afflictions in the opening of the letter (cf. 1:4.6.8.). However, it plays a more general role as a literary device by supporting Paul and his coworkers' defense of ministry modeled on Jesus's life, death, and resurrection. In 4:1, Paul sets the tone for understanding the sufferings related to his ministry: "Therefore, since it is by God's mercy that we are engaged in this ministry, we do not lose heart." Significant for reading the catalog of hardships are the framing verses 4:7 and 4:10.

In 4:7, the "treasure" probably refers to the new covenant ministry entrusted to them by God to proclaim the gospel of the glory of Christ (4:6). The "earthen vessels" recall Jeremiah's image of the clay vessel in the potter's hands (Jer 18:1–6) and refers to fragile body experience. In light of 4:10, earthen vessels refer to the bodies of the ministers that become a manifestation of Christ's life and sufferings. Paul embodies and proclaims the gospel existentially because glory is revealed through suffering. The concept of power (δύναμις) is generally defined as a potential for functioning in some way; as power or strength. However, Paul's new covenant ministry relies not on his own strength but God's empowerment (4:7). God calls him to this ministry (3:5-6) and strengthens him despite its hardships. Finally, in 12:9, it is Christ who empowers Paul in his suffering ministry.

The opening prepositional words introduce the catalog: ἐν παντὶ - translated as "in all" or "in every way." The expression marks a new section and applies both to the first phrase or all of them. If generally applied, one can think of Paul's tribulations experienced for the gospel outside and inside the Corinthian community. The entire list is

constructed of four wordplays or "antitheses" using parallel participles indicating adversities. They are separated by a conjunction and adverb: "ἀλλ' οὐκ" – "but not." The four pairs of participles that syntactically repeat the same structure express the tension between afflictions and endurance by negating the second part, although they share the same semantic field.[24]

θλιβόμενοι ἀλλ' οὐ στενοχωρούμενοι,

ἀπορούμενοι ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξαπορούμενοι,

διωκόμενοι ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι,

καταβαλλόμενοι ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπολλύμενοι,

The passive forms put focus on the one who receives the action. The first person plural stands for Paul but can also imply his coworkers. The negative forms "ἀλλ' οὐκ" rhetorically produce an effect of reversal of the expected consequence. As Lim points out, "each of these four antitheses is a syndeton, a stylistic and rhetorical feature that generates an element of surprise to the readers."[25] Moreover, these rhetorical elements are related to the theme of "power in weakness" (cf. 4:7), which refers to Paul's (and his coworkers') internal resources to resist or bounce back. The accent is put on the positive effect of the four negated adversities: not crushed, not driven to despair, not forsaken, not destroyed.

The first pair of verbs, θλιβόμενοι (being afflicted) and στενοχωρούμενοι (being crushed), both express the idea of feeling pressure in constricting circumstances and are practically synonymous. In the New Testament, the verb στενοχωρέω is found only in

[24] See Lim, *"The Sufferings of Christ Are Abundant in Us,"* 104.

[25] Idem.

passive form and means to be confined to a narrow space, to be restrained.[26] The verb follows the idea of a limitation to a small space. The reference to the same vocabulary in 1:6 (θλιβόμεθα) is related to the theme of suffering announced at the beginning of the letter and its further development. Although the catalog seems to describe afflictions and sufferings in general, the vocabulary of "θλῖψις" relates to the example of Paul's afflictions in Asia (1:8).

If Paul was radically driven to despair on a human level, here one notes the development of a new paradigm: one connected to the power of God working through Paul and making him a resilient apostle.

The second pair, ἀπορούμενοι - ἐξαπορούμενοι, is a form of rhetorical wordplay or paronomasia based on the same verb, ἀπορέω, meaning to be at a loss or perplexed. Furnish points out that the preposition ἐξ intensifies the meaning of "to the final degree."[27] An appropriate translation is to despair, found as a compound verb in 1:8. Yet its negation points again to the divine power that enables Paul to overcome the obstacles.

The third pair of verbs, διωκόμενοι (being persecuted) and ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι (being forsaken), is more common in the Scriptures. The verb διώκω expresses the basic idea of being engaged in a pursuit. However, in a negative sense, it means to persecute (cf. 1 Cor 4:12; 2 Cor 4:9; Gal 1:23; Phil 3:6; Rv 12:13).[28] The verb ἐγκαταλείπω means to abandon or forsake, with the suggestion of peril (cf. Mt 27:46; Mk 15:34; Ac 2:27, 31;

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[26] Danker and Krug, *The Concise Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament,* 328.

[27] Furnish, *II Corinthians,* 254.

[28] Cf. Danker and Krug, *The Concise Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament,* 99.

2 Cor 4:9; 2 Ti 4:16.) The theme of persecution is already present in the OT, but God never abandons his people (cf. Ps 94:14, Ex 3:14-17).

The last of the four pairs, καταβαλλόμενοι (being struck down) - ἀπολλύμενοι (being destroyed), refers to more physical dimensions of the adversities inflicted on their bodies. Furnish underlines that *kataballein* has a "wide range of meanings, and in the passive voice (as here) could mean to be overthrown, laid low by a blow or a weapon, abused or bullied, cast off or rejected, stricken with an illness, or even slain."[29] The verb ἀπόλλυμι, used already in 2:15 and 4:3, means, in general terms: "cause severe damage" or destroy, and secondly: "experience disconnection or separation."[30] The violent aspect of both verbs is evident. Nevertheless, Paul's physical and psychological afflictions were great but never fatal. Moreover, the power of God does not deny the afflictions imposed on him (and the coworkers) but strengthens him to "bounce back" despite the desperate situation in which he was placed.

In sum, this is the so-called first catalog of hardships. The commentary has profited from Kim's grammatical analysis focusing on Paul's participation in Christ's death and life (cf. 4:10-12). However, reading the letter through the resilience lens has highlighted a missing aspect in Kim's analysis. Kim does not focus enough on how Paul survived the hardships with the help of divine power. On the other hand, by pointing to wordplay or paronomasia, Furnish focuses on reading these forms of speech as a refined form of humor expressing resilience. The subsequent catalogs of hardships will develop even more detailed descriptions of sufferings.

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[29] Furnish, *II Corinthians,* 255.

[30] Cf. Danker and Krug, *The Concise Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, 47.

Case Study #2

2 Cor 6:4-10

ἀλλ’ ἐν παντὶ
συνιστάνοντες ἑαυτοὺς ὡς θεοῦ διάκονοι·
ἐν ὑπομονῇ πολλῇ, ἐν θλίψεσιν, ἐν ἀνάγκαις, ἐν στενοχωρίαις, ἐν πληγαῖς, ἐν φυλακαῖς, ἐν ἀκαταστασίαις, ἐν κόποις, ἐν ἀγρυπνίαις, ἐν νηστείαις, 6 ἐν ἁγνότητι, ἐν γνώσει, ἐν μακροθυμίᾳ, ἐν χρηστότητι, ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἀνυποκρίτῳ, ἐν λόγῳ ἀληθείας, ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ·διὰ τῶν ὅπλων τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῶν δεξιῶν καὶ ἀριστερῶν, διὰ δόξης καὶ ἀτιμίας, διὰ δυσφημίας καὶ εὐφημίας·ὡς πλάνοι καὶ ἀληθεῖς, ὡς ἀγνοούμενοι καὶ ἐπιγινωσκόμενοι, ὡς ἀποθνῄσκοντες καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶμεν, ὡς παιδευόμενοι καὶ μὴ θανατούμενοι, ὡς λυπούμενοι ἀεὶ δὲ χαίροντες, ὡς πτωχοὶ πολλοὺς δὲ πλουτίζοντες, ὡς μηδὲν ἔχοντες καὶ πάντα κατέχοντες.[31]

The second catalog of hardships is part of the literary micro-unit that begins with verse 6:1. The unit consists of two parts. The first part presents Paul’s exhortation to Corinthians to accept the grace of God, supported by a quote from Isaiah 49:8 (cf. 6:1-2) and recalling the theme of the Suffering Servant. The second part emphasizes the integrity of Paul’s ministry in v. 3. Then, v. 4 introduces Paul’s testimony of his enduring character as a minister of God in facing numerous adversities for the gospel and the Corinthians. The second part confirms the first one, showing how Paul and his coworkers, dedicated to the ministry of reconciliation, persevere and endure despite the adversities. Rhetorically, it is well organized to support Paul’s exhortation, and the testimony portrays the sufferings as part of Paul’s ministry.

[31] “but as servants of God we have commended ourselves in every way: through great endurance, in afflictions, hardships, calamities, beatings, imprisonments, riots, labors, sleepless nights, hunger; by purity, knowledge, patience, kindness, holiness of spirit, genuine love, truthful speech, and the power of God; with the weapons of righteousness for the right hand and for the left; in honor and dishonor, in ill repute and good repute. We are treated as impostors, and yet are true; as unknown, and yet are well known; as dying, and see—we are alive; as punished, and yet not killed; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing everything.”

The first case study pointed out that suffering has a Christological meaning (cf. 4:7-12) and the way Paul embodied the power of God to make him bounce back and overcome the adversities. Here the second catalog of hardships develops the level of vocabulary and structure. It is an impressive and articulated piece of rhetoric that intertwines the list of hardships (vv. 4b-5), the list of virtues (vv. 6-7), "*dia*" phrases (the list), and the list of oxymorons. However, the unit defines Paul's self-boasting in the Lord as radically different from the boasting of the super-apostles. The lists are introduced by the prepositions ἐν and διὰ and the conjunction ὡς, forming a stylistic effect to be rhetorically more convincing. The general tone is more hortatory rather than juridical.

The first expression highly relevant for our investigation is the noun ὑπομονή found at the beginning of the catalog in 6:4. It is defined as "the capacity to hold out or bear up in the face of difficulty" and translates as "endurance, fortitude, patience, and perseverance shown in enduring toil and suffering (Rom 2:7; 5:3-4; 8:25; 12:12; 15:4-5, 1 Cor 13:7, 1Th 1:3, 2 Th 2:4, etc.)."[32] The same term appears for the first time in the opening of the letter as referring to the Corinthians, whom Paul and his coworkers strengthened to be able to endure (ὑπομονή) apostolic sufferings (cf. 2 Cor 1:6).

The term is also found at the end of the letter, where Paul explains how he gave proof of being an apostle (2 Cor 12:12). It explicitly and wholly (or at least partially) expresses the same idea as the concept of psychological resilience defined in Chapter One. Therefore, the term ὑπομονή can be seen as an explicit textual reference analogous to resilience and, in this case, directly referring to Paul. It is interchangeable with terms

[32] William Arndt, Frederick W. Danker, et Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English lexicon of the New Testament and other early Christian literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 925.

such as endurance, perseverance, and strength. Compared to other references in Paul's letters, it attests to the consistent use of the term ὑπομονή in the context of trials and suffering.

In 6:4, the term ὑπομονή refers to the attitude of the servants of God (θεοῦ διάκονοι) in the face of nine adversities divided into a triad of three sets as the list of hardships. They are all introduced with the same preposition ἐν and represent a more developed and detailed description of apostolic sufferings compared to those in 4:8-9.
6: 4b ἐν θλίψεσιν, ἐν ἀνάγκαις, ἐν στενοχωρίαις.[33] The vocabulary is similar to 1:6, 4:8, and 12:10. While the terms seem more general, they refer to real adversities experienced by Paul and his coworkers, e.g., 1 Cor 1:8.
6:5 ἐν πληγαῖς, ἐν φυλακαῖς, ἐν ἀκαταστασίαις, ἐν κόποις, ἐν ἀγρυπνίαις, ἐν νηστείαις.[34] The adversities are physical and inflicted on the ministers' bodies during imprisonment and other hardships. A similar reference to ἐν πληγαῖς, ἐν φυλακαῖς, is also found in 2 Cor 11:23.

Paul continues with the list of virtues describing the character of an apostle. He mentions the phrase ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ[35]. It is not one of the virtues but is their theological foundation (6:7). The term δυνάμει θεοῦ recalls the paradigm in 4:7. It puts in the proper perspective the understanding of ὑπομονή and other virtues as based on the power of God and not human strength. In the same verse, Paul also uses war imagery: the apostle's life is one of spiritual battle (See also 2 Cor 10:3-6; 1 Cor 9:7; Rm 13:12).

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[33] "in afflictions, hardships, calamities" (RSV).

[34] "in beatings, imprisonments, tumults, labors, watching, hunger" (RSV).

[35] "in/by the power of God."

The last part of the catalog in 6:8-10 presents antitheses or polarities. One can divide them into three phrases introduced by preposition διὰ and seven antitheses, each including two terms and introduced by the conjunction ὡς. Emphasis is again placed on the second set of terms, pointing to the resilient character of Paul and his coworkers, like in the list found in 4:8-9.

In sum, the literary structure of 6:4-10 appears impressively organized and structured. The passage is situated within a larger unit dealing with Paul's ministry of the new covenant, spirit, and reconciliation marked by suffering. The catalog of hardships in 6:4-10 develops the list of sufferings and the vocabulary related to the concept of resilience. However, the catalog of hardships in 6:4-10 is intended to support Paul's response to detractors who boast in outward appearances. When Paul presents himself as a servant (2 Cor 6:4 and 11:23), it is repeatedly in the same context as his description of suffering and endurance grounded in the power of God (cf. 2 Cor 6:4 and 11:23). Paul's sufferings are integral to his calling as a servant of God. Moreover, the citation of Isaiah 49:8 in 2 Cor 6:2 and the description of his suffering echoes references to the Isaianic servant. In addition, the essential reference to the power of God working in the ministers reflects the theological relevance of the passage.

Case Study #3

Paul's weaknesses in the context of 2 Cor 11:22-12:10 include his sufferings, the humiliating escape from Damascus, and the enigmatic thorn in the flesh (12:7). However, within the broader context, Paul's weakness in the eyes of the Corinthians and the opponents would have included:

• His appearance (10:10).

• Poor rhetorical performance – being inferior in speech (11:6).

• The strategy of offering the gospel freely and his self-support as an artisan by refusing financial support (11:7-10, 12:14-18).

• Being without ecstatic experiences (12:1).

However, there is another essential dimension to Paul's understanding of his weakness: the only sound criterion to evaluate one's worth is grounded in the Scriptures and the cruciform story of Jesus (2 Cor 13:4).

The longest, most descriptive, and extended list of hardships contains 26 elements not found elsewhere in 2 Cor. The listing of his sufferings and weaknesses had undoubtedly impacted the Corinthians.[36]

Paul's catalog of hardships (11:23-29) is rhetorically remarkable. It covers various aspects of his sufferings, including Jewish and Roman punishments, physical labor, dangers in his travels, death experiences, threats from multiple parties, material deprivation, and the daily pressure of his anxious concern for the believing communities and individuals. This hardship list further expands on his earlier lists in 1:3-11, 4:7-12, and 6:3-10. Paul focuses on "foolish" boasting about his weaknesses and the grace and power of Christ that sustains him (11:30, 12:9-10).

The list of hardships is presented as the credentials of Paul's ministry and is introduced by comparing Paul's "foolish" boasting and pedigree with the ministry of his opponents (detractors). If Paul initially appears equal to them, he will later establish the paradoxical superiority of his "credentials." The literary unity of 11:22-33 mainly

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[36] Lim, *"The Sufferings of Christ Are Abundant in Us,"* 175.

emphasizes the hardships of the ministry, and the following section focuses on visions and revelations. The self-praise seems ironic and counter-cultural because the difficulties and shameful scars are signs of weakness, not accomplishments about which to boast.

The comparison between Paul and his opponents starts with what they have in common and continues with a list of hardships proper to Paul. The latter shows God's activity but also Paul's participation in Christ. The list points to Paul's superiority in his relationship with Christ and the communities he founded.

Paul's superiority relies on ministry for the sake of Christ (12:10). His superiority over his opponents is expressed in an extended list of hardships endured during his apostolic ministry for the sake of Christ.

A focus on the same significant verses within this extended section will show the importance of understanding Paul's apostolic ministry through the lens of resilience.

The list in 11:23b-28 makes use of rhetorical figures such as repetitions and amplification. Paul seems to have mastered the classical elements of rhetoric. A closer reading of 11:23b-25 will suffice for the purpose of our case study.

11:23b makes a case for Paul's superiority by listing four adversities and the repetitive use of the preposition ἐν :

ἐν κόποις περισσοτέρως, ἐν φυλακαῖς περισσοτέρως,
ἐν πληγαῖς ὑπερβαλλόντως, ἐν θανάτοις πολλάκις.[37]

The second part of verse 11:23 serves as the heading for the third catalog of hardships in 2 Cor. Comparing verse 11:23b with the previous passage, one notices a

[37] "with far greater labors, far more imprisonments, with countless beatings, and often near death."

significant similarity in vocabulary: the terms κόπος, φυλακη, πληγη have already appeared in 6:5.

Moreover, the four final adverbs in 23b are characteristic of rhetorical amplification and support the idea of the superiority of Paul's hardships, namely labors, imprisonments, beatings, and near-death situations faced for the sake of Christ (cf. 12:10).

From the perspective of trauma studies, these situations would be considered potentially traumatic events that would have heavily impacted Paul and his capacity to perform his ministry efficiently. The reference to θανάτοις (deaths) recalls the theme of death in the hardship catalog in 4:8-12, although here it refers to situations in which Paul was in danger of death. The superiority of Paul's hardships over those of his opponents proves Paul's endurance as an apostle in the face of adversities. However, the power to endure does not come from him; he can only boast of his weakness (cf. 11:30). Christ is the one who empowers him with his grace and makes him a resilient apostle (cf. 12:9).

11:24-25

ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων πεντάκις τεσσεράκοντα παρὰ μίαν ἔλαβον, τρὶς ἐραβδίσθην, ἅπαξ ἐλιθάσθην, τρὶς ἐναυάγησα, νυχθήμερον ἐν τῷ βυθῷ πεποίηκα·[38]

In a very descriptive way, Paul enumerates his public punishments, dividing them into three categories. This enumeration parallels the so-called achievement lists or *res gestae* (Latin, "things done") typical of the Greco-Roman world. One of the most famous ones is "The Deeds of the Divine Augustus" from 14 C.E.

[38] "Five times I have received at the hands of the Jews the forty lashes less one. Three times I have been beaten with rods; once I was stoned. Three times I have been shipwrecked; a night and a day I have been adrift at sea."

The first category of the *res gestae* consists of the scourging Paul received from the Jews. Scourging was a punishment prescribed in Deut 25:2-3 and Mishnah Makkot 3:1-14 (with a maximum number of 39 lashes to avoid miscounting). Each time, Paul received the maximum punishment. The second category was beating with rods: the official Roman punishment. Stegman points out that Paul's preaching of Jesus as Lord had probably provoked the anger of Roman magistrates. The third category was stoning, also mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. In Lystra, a group of Jews stoned Paul (Acts 14:19). Moreover, Paul says that he was shipwrecked three times and spent a day on the open sea waiting to be rescued. In Antiquity, traveling by sea was very dangerous and life-threatening.[39]

The list of hardships continues by enumerating the circumstances of the frequent apostolic journeys that put Paul in danger. The form κινδύνοις is used anaphorically eight times in verse 11:26. The danger culminates in the threat of the false brothers or ψευδαδέλφοις who, as super-apostles, could undermine the work of the gospel. Paul not only faced the opposition of the Jews and Gentiles but also false believers. Paul concludes with the hardships imposed on himself because of his apostolic work, such as sleeplessness, hunger, thirst, cold, and as founder, the daily anxious concern for his communities (11:27-28).

Paul's credentials are his weaknesses, which he boasts about "as a servant of Christ." Paul can draw up a list of hardships to show that he was able to endure them, not because of his power, but because of the power of Christ (12:9). He embraces and endures all adversities by being strengthened by Christ and for his sake. Therefore, if

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[39] Thomas Stegman, *Second Corinthians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2009), 256.

Paul can overcome his hardships with God's grace, he has really been called by God. Moreover, Paul's groundedness in Christ and love for the Corinthians expressed in his anxiety are essential resources for his apostolic ministry.

In sum, the list of hardships in 11:23-29 more particularly demonstrates that Paul's weakness sets him apart from his opponents. Instead of conforming to the cultural expectations of his day – boasting of his credentials and achievements – Paul introduces a new perspective by boasting about his relationship with Christ. One can imagine the permanent scars on Paul's body that resulted from the beatings and floggings. Indeed, Paul's self-portrait points to his endurance of hardships and thus tells a story of resilience. This list looks forward to Paul's identification with Christ, who "was crucified in weakness but lives by the power of God" (13:4).

Final remarks on the catalogs of hardships

All three case studies are defined as *peristasis* or hardship catalogs typical for the Greco-Roman environment. John T. Fitzgerald was one of the first to analyze and compare Paul's catalogs of hardships in 1 and 2 Corinthians with the Greco-Roman *peristasis* catalogs (catalogs of hardships).[40] *Peristasis* catalogs are rhetorical figures common in antiquity and were used by some Greco-Roman philosophers as literary devices to list the adverse circumstances that Stoic and Cynic sages in particular had to

[40] See John T. Fitzgerald, *Cracks in an Earthen Vessel: An Examination of the Catalogue of Hardships in the Corinthian Correspondence*, SBLDS (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988). Fitzgerald argues that Paul uses these catalogs to represent himself as a sort of Christian sage to be imitated by defending his integrity and demonstrating himself as virtuous in his suffering. He applies his study of Greco-Roman catalogs of hardships to Paul's catalogs in 1 Cor 4:10-13, 2 Cor 4:7-12, and 2 Cor 6:3-10.

overcome to demonstrate their virtues and integrity. More specifically, these sages need to show their superiority over any circumstances and demonstrate indifference or *ataraxia* in the face of hardships and tribulations to prove their moral character.[41] As rhetorical devices, catalogs are usually part of a more considerable argument on adverse circumstances.

In 2 Corinthians, the catalogs of hardships reflect what has happened to Paul and his coworkers in terms of sufferings. Although Paul depicts himself similarly to Stoic and Cynic sages, he does not show indifference in the face of adversities but instead proves his paradoxical resilience. In chapters 10-13 in particular, he is full of passion and emotions. He discloses his weaknesses and points to the power of God that makes him resilient in adverse circumstances. Thus, Paul unfolds his vision of what it entails to be a type of sage by being Christ's minister and his coworker (2 Cor 6:1).

The rhetorical function of the catalogs of hardships is to show Paul's resilient character and the credibility of his apostolic ministry in the eyes of the believers against his detractors. Nevertheless, the catalogs prove his resilient character paradoxically. Paul uses such catalogs to show that he is an apostle of the crucified and risen Messiah (2 Cor 13:4a). He is such for the sake of the gospel and Corinthians. Stegman describes the essence of Paul's use of catalogs of hardships and his unique demonstration of "power in weakness" experience:

> Adversity brought with it the opportunity for the truly wise person to overcome difficult circumstances and to rise above the vicissitudes of life. The Stoics emphasized the importance of courage in the face of suffering, of resignation over what was beyond one's control, and the ideal of self-

[41] See Epictetus, *Dissertationes*, 1.1.22, 4.24, 11.33, 18.22; Seneca, *De Providentia*, 6.1ff.; *Epistulae*, 82.14; in Ben Witherington III, *Conflict and Community in Corinth: A Socio-rhetorical Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 387.

> sufficiency. Although Paul's hardship catalogues are similar to those of his pagan contemporaries, there is also a crucial difference. He lists personal hardships not to announce his bravery and merit but to highlight the power of God at work within him. Paul thus adapts a known philosophical convention to make one of his central claims in 2 Corinthians, namely, that true power is made perfect in weakness (12:9). Rather than strive for self-sufficiency, he has learned that God's grace is sufficient for him.[42]

Although Paul uses the catalogs of hardships, he introduces paradoxical values and a posture that does not correspond to the Stoic ideal of self-sufficiency. Instead, he points to the power of God (δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ) working through his weakness that expresses the humility and capacity to endure grounded in the experience of God's grace.

2 Corinthians has the highest concentration of hardship catalogs related to Paul's self-portrait. They function as a memoir of Paul's resilience because they show Paul's experience of sacred in terms of power in weakness (cf. 4:7; 6:4; 13:4-5), his participation in the story of Jesus, and also his relationship with the Corinthian community (cf. 2 Cor 4:8-12; 6:4-10; 11:28). Paul's defense of his apostleship is not measured according to external appearance or rhetorical eloquence typical for his detractors. Instead, it is based on apostolic sufferings and resilience by which Paul participates in Christ's death and resurrection.

At the same time, Paul's catalogs aim to establish empathy and connectedness with the Corinthians. These catalogs can be seen as a development of shared afflictions and comfort announced in the *exordium* of the letter (2 Cor 1:3-8) and therefore frame the whole letter with the theme of suffering and resilience.

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[42] Stegman, *Second Corinthians*, 152.

CONCLUSION: PAUL – THE RESILIENT APOSTLE

Challenged by the current circumstances of COVID-19, existential challenges, climate change, and wars around the world, particularly in Ukraine, Paul appears as an encouraging model of a resilient apostle, grounded in the story of Christ, and a pastor, related both to his coworkers as to his churches. Paul's letters are a two-millennia-old treasure that continues to "speak" throughout the centuries to various cultural contexts. One can be reassured that the hermeneutical task will continue despite the challenges and cultural diversity. This study aimed to present the relevance of trauma hermeneutics and the concept of resilience as a lens for a renewed reading of 2 Corinthians and Pauline letters in general. The concept of resilience continues to evolve and is, therefore, necessarily multifaceted, as seen from various definitions and analyses. By taking a comparative approach and elaborating on trauma hermeneutics frameworks, the study has showed different aspects of the semantic connections in Paul's letters related to resilience, especially by case studies in 2 Corinthians. The textual analysis of the hardship catalogs demonstrated the presence of terms and literary units that are semantically analogous or related to the concept of resilience and represent its internal and external resources. The study responded to Clark's insight to read 2 Corinthians from the perspective of trauma hermeneutics and Schreiter's invitation to engage with the concept of resilience in biblical studies. The catalogs of hardships as a memoir of Paul's resilience result from his apostolic calling lived in continuity with Christ's story (purpose). They show the interconnectedness between Paul, his coworkers, and the congregation (connection). Finally, they depict Paul's ability to bounce back from adversities, not as a Stoic sage but as someone centered in God's power and grace

(experience of the sacred). Hardship catalogs, as the literary expression of a collection of sufferings, can be seen as a sort of trauma narrative and, therefore, a form of resilience. Paul's resilience, however, comes from God, which makes it paradoxical. This study wanted to contribute to the interdisciplinary approach in biblical studies by using the concept of resilience as a lens to see Paul's sufferings in a different light and to advance the understanding of Paul's portrait as a resilient apostle.

Chapter One provided a trauma hermeneutic framework by exploring the origins and history of psychological trauma as defined first by Freud, then by Van der Kolk, Herman, Rambo, and Caruth. Trauma theory is more than a century-old field of mental health studies. Its slow social recognition was not only due to its complexity but also because political forces covered up the victims' truth. Moreover, the chapter has introduced a polysemic concept of resilience and pointed out its internal and external resources. In the light of Chapter One and the analysis of the hardship catalogs, one can deduce that Paul's sufferings were potentially traumatic experiences that affected his body and mind. Moreover, the hardship catalogs can be interpreted as traumatic narratives, in which a traumatic memory is given a voice, progressively developed and deepened from 4:8-9 to 6:4-10 and 11:23-12:10. The description of the sufferings goes from more general to very detailed public punishments that left concrete scars on Paul's body. Each description of them seems to recall more traumatic memories from the Apostle's experience.

Chapter Two presented some historical insights into Paul's world as a letter-writer. His apostolic ministry focused on announcing the Gospel and pastoring his churches empowered by the Spirit and shaped after the example of Christ. The

correspondence with the churches in Corinth was lively and received much attention on Paul's part. The chapter responded more generally to the question of Paul's identity as an apostle called by Christ to announce the Gospel to the Gentiles and his apostolic collaboration with his coworkers and communal life in the Church. Paul's call reorients his existence and allows him to find a purpose. He becomes a person who does everything for the sake of Christ. However, Paul's spiritual experience and emotional attachment to Christ and his churches save him from the breakdown and failure of his apostolic ministry. The latter is seen in 2 Corinthians as a new covenant ministry of reconciliation and the collection for the poor in Jerusalem.

The third chapter offered a closer reading of 2 Corinthians and the case studies about catalogs of hardships. 2 Cor appears highly personal among Paul's letters providing a particular take on Paul's portrait marked by sufferings and weakness. It was part of the ongoing correspondence between Paul and the Corinthians. The letter's aim was not only Paul's defense of his apostolic ministry against his detractors but also reconciliation and re-establishment of relationships within the Church in Corinth. Paul's boasting in weakness is unique and almost the opposite of the boasting of Stoic sages who boasted about their accomplishments based on the honor and shame codes of the time. Honor-shame codes were part of the social value system in antiquity related to social recognition and self-identity and were well-known in Paul's time. Paul reinterpreted these codes in the light of the cross and Christ's story, receiving paradoxical acknowledgment for his sufferings and weakness from his churches. Another limitation of this study is the lack of cultural anthropology studies on the role of honor-shame codes in the light of resilience. Moreover, the chapter comparatively illuminated explicit and implicit textual cues and

terminology that were analogous or semantically related to resilience. It interpreted them as internal and external resources that protected Paul from being beaten down by apostolic adversities and sufferings and, as a result, demonstrated that the "whole" letter is framed by resilience.

In summary, this study opened with Nietzsche's quotation pointing to the importance of finding one's purpose in life that serves as an internal resource to "bear almost any how." Paul's apostolic identity and purpose made him capable of bearing "almost any how" in his ministry. For the sake of the Gospel and his communities, Paul was a resilient apostle who endured and faced many potentially traumatic events. Despite his weaknesses, Paul felt empowered by Christ and interpersonal relationships with the believers. The term κοινωνία - koinonia[1] expresses both the fellowships in the Spirit through the grace of Christ and the shared community life between Paul and his churches. This fellowship is an essential resource for life with Christ and in Christ.

As a result of this study, Paul is seen as a resilient apostle and a model of new covenant relationships that prioritizes life in the Spirit and reconciliation, leading to unity among believers. Interestingly, his spiritual fatherhood to Corinthians may recall the reparative figure in the therapeutic process, which finally guarantees a secure and trusting relationship. Moreover, internal and external resources were a protective factor that balanced out the traumatic stressors described by the catalogs of hardships. Despite everything, Paul is somebody who does not let himself be crushed for the sake of Christ.

The significance of this study lies in the fact that it gives the reader a sense of what it was like for Paul to be an apostle in the first century and how Christians should

[1] See, e.g., 1 Cor 1:9; 2 Cor 6:14; 13:13.

strive to live despite the adversities and trauma in the twenty-first century. The findings could primarily affect Christian communities' understanding and development of resilience coupled with its resources illustrated through Paul's sufferings in 2 Cor.

However, there are several other aspects related to resilience that could be explored, such as the role of Paul's eschatological perception of the time between Christ's event and the day of the Lord ("the second coming of Christ" – *parousia*, e.g., 1 Cor 15:23; 2 Cor 1:14; 1 Thess 2:19).[2]

Finally, this study aimed to explore the theme of Paul's ethics and imitation in the formation of the "cruciform" character on the part of the believers. It opened up a horizon of new questioning and exploration. Paul dealt with concrete issues of the communal life of the Church. He offered his life grounded in the story of Christ as a model to imitate (e.g., 1 Cor 10:3-11:1; Phil 3:17). The optimal lens for this possible exploration would be virtue ethics which engages the question of identity, purpose, and character formation. In Paul's perspective, the virtues of faith, hope, and love could be examined within the broader Christian character formation and communal life in the Church (1 Cor 12-14). That would complement the results of this study that focused on the hermeneutics of resilience and would add to the conversation on how Christians can reimagine their lives today.

[2] See, e.g., Giorgio Agamben, *The Time that Remains: A Commentary on the Letter to the Romans. Stanford* (CA: Stanford University Press, 2005).

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