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**Glory as Power in
Paul's Epistle to the Romans**

**By
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**A thesis submitted for the degree of
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Abstract

The subject of “glory”, used to translate the Greek term δόξα, has been relatively neglected in Pauline scholarship. Due to the wide semantic range of δόξα, the few studies on glory in Paul’s epistles have focused on certain aspects of it, such as its association with honour, effulgence or immortality. Although the association of glory with power has been noted by classical and biblical scholars, it has not been explored in detail within the Pauline corpus, particularly Romans where the connection is immediately evident in Romans 1:18-21 and 6:4.

This study attempts to address this lacuna by exploring the relationship between glory and power in Romans by: (1) focusing on the concept of glory through paying attention to δόξα and other terms that are closely related to it, in particular honour and shame language, and (2) examining it from both Jewish and Graeco-Roman backgrounds since both traditions were probably influential on Paul’s Roman audience.

Our exploration of the correlations of glory with power in the Graeco-Roman and Jewish traditions demonstrates the centrality of glory/honour in the ancient Mediterranean world, with glory/honour often denoting or connoting power. Glory is often a function of power, and power a function of glory/honour, such that the two mutually reinforce each other. This provides insights into the ways in which they could have shaped Paul’s understanding of their relationship. Our journey of glory through Romans traces the variegated connections between glory and power, under the categories of divine, human, eschatological and communal glory/power, and across a wide range of Pauline theological themes, providing fresh insights into Paul’s theology of glory and his arguments in Romans.

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List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations used for the ancient authors and works cited follow the list of abbreviations in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, edited by Simon Hornblower, Anthony Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow, 4th ed., Oxford: OUP, 2012 and *The SBL Handbook of Style*, by Billie Jean Collins, Bob Buller, and John F. Kutsko, 2nd ed., Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2014 wherever possible. In addition, the following abbreviations are used:

BUP	Baylor University Press
CUP	Cambridge University Press
<i>EC</i>	<i>Early Christianity</i>
ECDSS	Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls
<i>Gk. Const.</i>	Oliver, James H., ed. <i>Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri</i> . Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1989
HUP	Harvard University Press
LUP	Leuven University Press
<i>OLD</i>	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i>
OUP	Oxford University Press
<i>PNTC</i>	<i>Pillar New Testament Commentary</i>
UBS	United Bible Societies
YUP	Yale University Press

Unless otherwise stated, the translations of the ancient texts used in this thesis follow, where available, the renderings of the Loeb Classical Library. Similarly, unless otherwise stated, the texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls have been obtained from and translations adapted from the texts and translations found in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, edited by Florentino García Martínez, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, 2 vols., Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000. The translations of the Old and New Testament texts are my own, unless otherwise stated.

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ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα
αὐτῷ ἢ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν. (Romans 11:36)

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 The Puzzle of Glory (δόξα) in Romans 6:4

In Romans 6, Paul begins by repudiating a possible implication that “believers should continue in sin, so that grace might increase” (6:1-2), arising from his assertion in 5:20 that “where sin increased, grace abounded much more”. Using baptismal imagery, Paul argues that the believers’ union with Christ in his death and resurrection means that they have died to sin and now walk in the newness of life just as “ἠγέρθη Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς” (6:3-4). What does it mean for Christ to be raised from the dead “διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς”; in particular, what does “δόξα” (glory) refer to?

In their *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*, Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida have listed nine possible meanings for the noun δόξα, distributed across eight semantic domains.¹ According to Louw and Nida, δόξα can denote

1. “splendour” - the quality of splendid, remarkable appearance,
2. “brightness” or “radiance” – the state of brightness or shining,
3. “glorious power” or “amazing might” – a manifestation of power characterised by glory,
4. “praise” – to speak of something as being unusually fine and deserving honour,
5. “honour” - honour as an element in the assignment of status to a person,
6. “greatness” - a state of being great and wonderful,
7. “glorious being” – a benevolent supernatural power deserving respect and honour,
8. “heaven” - a place which is glorious and as such, a reference to heaven, and

¹ Besides the nine meanings, “δόξα,” L&N 2:66 also list two idioms where (1) “δίδωμι δόξαν τῷ θεῷ” denotes “promise before God to tell the truth”, i.e. a formula used to place someone under oath to tell the truth (L&N 1:442), and (2) “μεγαλοπρεπῆς δόξα” denotes “Sublime Glory” or “Majestic Glory” as a title for God (L&N 1:139).

9. “pride” - the reason or basis for legitimate pride.²

Among the various meanings listed by Louw and Nida, several have been linked with δόξα in Romans 6:4 and supported by various scholars. With respect to δόξα denoting “honour”, we find that from classical Greek onwards, δόξα had the meaning of “opinion”, ranging from “my opinion of someone or something”, to “others’ opinion of me”, i.e. “repute”, with an emphasis on “good repute”, i.e. “honour”.³ Its verbal form, δοξάζω meant “to think”, “to have an opinion” or “to extol”, “to honour” with the meaning of “to honour” also found in the Jewish tradition (e.g., LXX Exodus 15:2; 1 Samuel 2:30 and Psalms of Solomon 17:30).⁴ Hence the social nature of δόξα points to it being primarily a relational term, be it divine-human or human-human.⁵ With this view of δόξα in mind, Robert Jewett has understood δόξα in Romans 6:4 to refer to “superior status”;⁶ thus he writes:

Although δόξα (“glory”) is viewed by many commentators as synonymous with δύναμις (“power”) in this context or as referring only to the glory to be revealed at the end of time, the distinctive wording suggests reference to past and present realities: the glory visible in the resurrection of Christ and the new life of believers is that of God the father “who alone creates life.” Once again, Paul makes clear that there is no room for boasting in human glory, even with regard to the most marvelous ethical achievements, except to boast in the God whose glory is therein manifest.⁷

With Jewett’s interpretation of the preposition “διὰ” in “*διὰ* τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς” as “designating the efficient cause in the resurrection and the new life”, it seems strange to view δόξα here as referring to God’s “superior status”.⁸ This brings us to another view of δόξα in 6:4, δόξα as “radiance” or “effulgence”.

² Ibid., 1:5, 149, 175, 311, 430, 682, 696, 734, 736; 2:66. Of the nine different meanings, (5) “honour” and (6) “greatness” have been classified under the same domain of “status”.

³ “δόξα,” LSJ 444; Gerhard Kittel, “The Greek Use of δόξα,” *TDNT* 2:233–35.

⁴ “δοξάζω,” LSJ 444; Gerhard Kittel, “δοξάζω, + συνδοξάζω,” *TDNT* 2:253.

⁵ Ben C. Blackwell, “Immortal Glory and the Problem of Death in Romans 3.23,” *JSNT* 32 (2010): 286–87.

⁶ Robert Jewett, *Romans: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2007), 157–58, 280.

⁷ Ibid., 399.

⁸ Ibid. The main ways of understanding the function of “διὰ” in 6:4 is as denoting (1) efficient cause or instrument (Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*,

In the LXX, δόξα was the most frequent word used to translate כבוד and through this connection, δόξα came to be associated with God's radiant presence (e.g. Exodus 24:16-17; Ezekiel 1:28; 10:4).⁹ George Boobyer has argued for the concept of δόξα as divine light-substance that was considered strong and powerful in the Hellenistic and Jewish tradition.¹⁰ Hence he indicates that

There also occur passages in Paul where this material δόξα, the divine light-substance, is regarded as the divine strength, or the seat of the divine power. In Rom. 6, 4, we read that Christ was raised from the dead διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς.¹¹

Although there is a clear association between δόξα and effulgence in the Jewish tradition and in Paul's other writings (e.g. 2 Corinthians 3:7-18), it is doubtful that the reference of δόξα here is to divine radiance. Rather, at the beginning of Romans, Paul associates δόξα with God's invisible attributes, i.e. his eternal power and deity (ἀίδιος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θεϊότης), seen through creation (1:18-21); the effulgence aspect of δόξα does not seem to be emphasized by Paul in Romans.¹² As suggested by Romans 1:18-21, δόξα in 6:4 seems to designate power; a meaning not only indicated by Boobyer in his association of δόξα with divine power, but also listed by Louw and Nida, who provide Romans 6:4 as an example of

AB 33 [New York, NY: Doubleday, 1993], 434; Douglas J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, NICNT [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996], 367; John Murray, *The Epistle to the Romans* [London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1967], 1:217), and (2) attendant circumstance (Matthew Black, *Romans*, 2nd ed., NCB [London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1989], 88; Brendan Byrne, *Romans*, SP [Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1996], 196; Ben Witherington III and Darlene Hyatt, *Paul's Letter to the Romans: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004], 158).

⁹ Arthur Haire Forster, "The Meaning of Δόξα in the Greek Bible," *ATHR* 12 (1930): 312–16. Carey C. Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology: Tradition and Rhetoric*, NovTSup 69 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 15–153 has explored the use of divine glory (כבוד יהוה) language and the כבוד-δόξα relationship in the Jewish tradition, with the conclusion that in the Jewish scriptures, "Glory is a technical term to refer to God's visible, mobile divine presence" (190).

¹⁰ George H. Boobyer, "Thanksgiving" and the "Glory of God" in Paul (Borna-Leipzig: Universitätsverlag von Robert Noske, 1929), 7–14, 35–72. Regarding כבוד יהוה or δόξα θεοῦ, Boobyer has noted the different Jewish pre-Exilic understanding of it as a dark, cloud-like substance (e.g. Deuteronomy 5:22-24; 1 Kings 8:10-11) and the post-Exilic conception of it as a shining, bright substance (e.g. Ezekiel 1:28; 10:4), and proposed that the change was due to Iranian and Babylonian influence on Jewish thought during and after the Exile (8-12).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹² Millard J. Berquist, "The Meaning of Doxa in the Epistles of Paul" (Ph.D. dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1941), 82–83; Blackwell, "Immortal Glory," 294 n. 29 also notes that the nature of glory as a "hope", yet 'unseen' (8.24) means that "the glory hoped for will be visible in the eschaton."

δόξα with this meaning.¹³ Before exploring the connection between δόξα and power, let us consider other possible meanings of δόξα in 6:4.

By observing the associations of δόξα and its cognates with honour language (e.g. 1:21-24; 2:7, 10; 15:6-9), and with incorruption and life (e.g. 1:23; 2:7; 8:21), Ben Blackwell has argued that, depending on the context, δόξα in Romans can refer to honour alone or to a state characterised by incorruptibility, effulgence and honour.¹⁴ Thus, besides the association of δόξα with honour and radiance noted above, Blackwell adds the notion of incorruption to the semantic range of δόξα.¹⁵ Blackwell attempts to establish the association of δόξα with incorruption in two ways.¹⁶ First, he highlights examples of antitheses in Romans (e.g. 1:23; 8:17-18; 8:21; 9:22-23) in which δόξα is used either synonymously with incorruption or antithetically with corruption. Next he provides three passages (2:7; **6:4**; 8:17-30) which correlate δόξα with incorruption or resurrection life. Regarding 6:4, Blackwell writes:

Second, in 6:4 Paul describes Christ as raised by ‘the glory of the Father’ so that believers may ‘walk in new life’ (ζωή). As the personified agent of God, glory not only brings new life to Christ, but also to believers.¹⁷

¹³ “δόξα,” L&N 1:682. “δόξα,” BDAG, 257 also cites Romans 6:4 as an example where the notion of power and might is present in δόξα.

¹⁴ See Blackwell, “Immortal Glory,” 292–99 for details of his argument and for his use of the categories of status and ontology to distinguish the different contexts in which δόξα and its cognates occur in Romans. He indicates that “In contexts of status alone, glory denotes the possession of a position of honour among a community. In contexts related to ontology, glory denotes a state of being characterized by both incorruption (and radiance) and honour.” (299). See *ibid.*, 298 for a table that groups the different occurrences of δόξα in Romans into these two categories.

¹⁵ The glory-incorruption association in Romans is also noted by Byrne, *Romans*, 130–31, 261; John R. Levison, “Adam and Eve in Romans 1.18-25 and the Greek Life of Adam and Eve,” *NTS* 50 (2004): 525–30; Preston Sprinkle, “The Afterlife in Romans: Understanding Paul’s Glory Motif in Light of the Apocalypse of Moses and 2 Baruch,” in *Lebendige Hoffnung, ewiger Tod?!: Jenseitsvorstellungen im Hellenismus, Judentum und Christentum*, ed. Michael Labahn and Manfred Lang (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2007), 214–16.

¹⁶ See Blackwell, “Immortal Glory,” 294–97 for details of argument; Blackwell further notes that “thematically δόξα functions as the culmination of the life of the new age described throughout the letter (e.g., 1.17; 5.21; 6:23; 8.10-11)” (297).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 296. Byrne, *Romans*, 196 also seems to correlate δόξα with immortality in 6:4 but with a different interpretation of διὰ as indicating “attendant circumstances.” Byrne’s alternative understanding of δόξα as “the glory attendant upon Christ’s resurrection or, more precisely, the glory or likeness to God, *into* which he rose as Last Adam” (196) suggests a correlation of δόξα with immortality as he associates δόξα with the primeval glory that enables humanity to share God’s eternal life (130-31).

However, Blackwell has noted the association of glory with God’s invisible attributes seen through creation in Romans 1:18-21 which Paul has identified as God’s eternal power and deity.¹⁸ Thus it is necessary for us to explore the association of δόξα with power, in order to see how this might correlate with incorruption.

A fourth approach, as proposed by Gerhard Kittel, is to understand divine δόξα as referring to the “divine mode of being” or “divine nature” which incorporates the meanings of divine “honour”, “effulgence”, “splendour” and “power” together.¹⁹ In other words, God’s power, splendour and effulgence are but expressions of δόξα as the divine nature, and divine honour is humanity’s acknowledgement of this nature. In a similar fashion, albeit in a more generalised way, Millard Berquist has argued for δόξα as denoting “essential nature” and that this is the most common Pauline usage in comparison to other categories such as “ascriptional”, “honorific” and “eschatological”.²⁰ Hence with regard to Romans 6:4, Berquist interprets “τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς” as the divine power which characterises God’s essential nature.²¹ In a recent study, Donald Berry also understands δόξα in 6:4 as denoting God’s “divine life and all that characterizes it – *his very character and nature* – imparted by the Spirit to believers” [italics mine], with connotations of divine power and Spirit.²² Although Romans 1:18-21 associates divine glory with God’s power and nature, viewing God’s δόξα as “essential nature” or the “divine mode of being”, which functions as a catch-all term, is such a general definition of the meaning of δόξα that it is not very useful in understanding the nuances in Paul’s use of the term in various contexts.

¹⁸ Blackwell, “Immortal Glory,” 294 n. 29.

¹⁹ Gerhard Kittel, “δόξα in the LXX and Hellenistic Apocrypha,” *TDNT* 2:244–45; Gerhard Kittel, “The NT Use of δόξα, II,” *TDNT* 2:247–48. Maurice Carrez, *De la souffrance à la gloire: De la Δοξα dans la pensée paulinienne* (Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1964), 11–15 seems to adopt a similar view with his understanding of δόξα in Romans 6:4 as the revelation of the true divine reality.

²⁰ See Berquist, “Meaning of Doxa,” 1–112 for details of his argument, especially his table (112), which includes the Deutero-Pauline epistles, that shows his distribution of Paul’s use of δόξα among various categories.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 96.

²² Donald L. Berry, *Glory in Romans and the Unified Purpose of God in Redemptive History* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2016), 92–93, cf. 13-15 for Berry’s understanding of divine δόξα as God’s nature and character.

By far, the most prevalent interpretation of δόξα in 6:4 is to see it as denoting divine power.²³ The connection between δόξα and power can be found at the beginning of Romans in 1:18-21 where Paul links δόξα with God's invisible attributes, i.e. his eternal power and deity, seen through creation. Furthermore, a comparison of Romans 6:4 with 1 Corinthians 6:14²⁴ where Paul indicates that God has raised Christ and will raise believers through his power (δύναμις), and 2 Corinthians 13:4²⁵ which states that Christ was crucified in weakness but lives, and believers, weak in Christ, will live because of God's power (δύναμις), support the association of δόξα with divine power in Romans 6:4.²⁶ We shall explore further the connection of δόξα with power in 6:4 later in our discussion of Romans.

The connection of δόξα with power in Romans 6:4 raises some interesting research questions for us to consider:

1. Is glory regularly and centrally associated with power?
2. If so, why? What is the background that can explain this association?
3. What could this reveal about Pauline theology?

The link between glory and power is not only recognised widely by many scholars in Romans 6:4, but also established by Paul at the beginning of Romans in 1:18-21 with the connection of divine glory with God's eternal power and deity; this observation suggests Romans as a fertile ground for us to sow our seeds of research. This impression is further strengthened by the fact that the occurrences of δόξα and its cognates among Paul's epistles are highest in Romans and 2 Corinthians, both at

²³ Johannes Schneider, *Doxa: Eine bedeutungsgeschichtliche Studie*, NTF, 3.3 (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1932), 89; Helmuth Kittel, *Die Herrlichkeit Gottes: Studien zu Geschichte und Wesen eines neutestamentlichen Begriffs*, BZNW 16 (Gießen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1934), 216–17; Otto Kuss, *Der Römerbrief*, RNT (Regensburg: Pustet, 1957-1978), 1:298-99; Heinrich Schlier, *Der Römerbrief*, HTKNT 6 (Freiburg: Herder, 1977), 194; Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (London: SCM, 1980), 166; James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, WBC 38A (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1988), 315; Black, *Romans*, 88; L&N 1:682; Peter Stuhlmacher, *Paul's Letter to the Romans: A Commentary*, trans. Scott J. Hafemann (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox, 1994), 91; Moo, *Romans*, 367 n. 72; BDAG, 257; Eduard Lohse, *Der Brief an die Römer*, KEK 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 187; C. E. B. Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, ICC (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 304–5; Sprinkle, "Afterlife in Romans," 212 n. 42.

²⁴ ὁ δὲ θεὸς καὶ τὸν κύριον ἠγάπησεν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐξέγερεῖ διὰ τῆς **δυνάμεως** αὐτοῦ.

²⁵ καὶ γὰρ ἐσταυρώθη ἐξ ἀσθενείας, ἀλλὰ ζῆ ἐκ **δυνάμεως** θεοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀσθενοῦμεν ἐν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ ζήσομεν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ **δυνάμεως** θεοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς.

²⁶ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 315 suggests other passages in the Deutero-Pauline epistles, e.g. Ephesians 3:16; Colossians 1:11 and 2 Thessalonians 1:9, that associate divine δόξα with power.

twenty-two each.²⁷ For 2 Corinthians, the occurrences of δόξα and its cognates are concentrated in 2 Corinthians 3:7-18 (13x) with its focus on the glory associated with the ministry of the new covenant and the Lord in contrast with Moses and the ministry of the old covenant; in this passage glory seems to be linked to splendour, effulgence, and the image of the Lord, with connotations of power in some places, especially transformative power (cf. 2 Corinthians 3:18). In contrast the occurrences of δόξα and its cognates, and other terms related to glory, such as honour (τιμή), to boast (καυχάομαι), praise (ἔπαινος), to be ashamed (ἐπαισχύνομαι), dishonour (ἀτιμία), etc. are distributed throughout Romans, showing the importance of the concept of glory in Romans and offering a more well-rounded view of it, especially the glory-power association.²⁸ Indeed, hints of the glory-power connection can be found at many important points of Paul's argument in Romans.

In Romans 1-3, we find in Paul's thesis statement (1:16-17) that he grounds his rejection of shame in the gospel on it being God's salvific power for everyone who believes (Οὐ γὰρ ἐπαισχύνομαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, δύναμις γὰρ θεοῦ ἐστὶν εἰς σωτηρίαν παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι). Next, Paul begins his indictment of all humanity as under the power of sin (1:18-3:20) by correlating divine glory with God's eternal power and deity (ἀίδιος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θεϊότης), seen in creation, i.e. his creative power, with the observation of humanity's refusal to glorify God as God (οὐχ ὡς θεὸν ἐδόξασαν) or give thanks though having known him (1:18-21). In Paul's description of the human exchange of divine glory and truth for idols and the lie (1:23-25), the collocation of divine glory with incorruptibility (τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ), in contrast to human corruptibility (φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου), and the human servitude to creatures (ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει), in contrast to God's command to rule (ἡγεῖν/ἄρχω) over creation (Genesis 1:26, 28), also suggest a link between glory and the power of incorruptibility and sovereign power. A comparison of Paul's pivotal statement in 3:23 of all humanity as lacking or falling short of divine glory as a result of universal sin (πάντες γὰρ ἥμαρτον καὶ ὑστεροῦνται τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ) with his statement in 5:12-14 about death's cosmic reign as a result of

²⁷ Occurrences of δόξα and its cognates in Romans: 1:21, 23; 2:7, 10; 3:7, 23; 4:20; 5:2; 6:4; 8:17, 18, 21, 30; 9:4, 23 (2x); 11:13, 36; 15:6, 7, 9; 16:27. Occurrences of δόξα and its cognates in 2 Corinthians: 1:20; 3:7 (2x), 8, 9 (2x), 10 (3x), 11 (2x), 18 (3x); 4:4, 6, 15, 17; 6:8; 8:19, 23; 9:13.

²⁸ Halvor Moxnes, "Honour and Righteousness in Romans," *JSNT* 10 (1988): 63–64; James R. Harrison, *Paul and the Imperial Authorities at Thessalonica and Rome: A Study in the Conflict of Ideology*, WUNT 273 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 203 n. 13.

universal sin (καὶ οὕτως εἰς πάντα ἀνθρώπους ὁ θάνατος διήλθεν, ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον) further reinforces this link between glory and the power of incorruptibility. With the link of glory with power, it is not surprising to find dishonour being linked to disobedience and weakness; this connection can be found in 2:23-24 through Paul's indictment of his Jewish interlocutor, and therefore all Jews, as having dishonoured God through their disobedience of the law (διὰ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῦ νόμου τὸν θεὸν ἀτιμάζεις). In 2:24, Paul's re-application of Isaiah 52:5, which indicates God's name being despised among the nations because of Israel's deportation as it shows God's inability to protect and deliver them, suggests that the Jews in Paul's day have dishonoured God by showing him to be weak and powerless through their disobedience.

Moving on to Paul's discussion on the example of Abraham as one having been justified by faith and as one who glorifies God in Romans 4, we find Abraham's act of giving glory to God (δοὺς δόξαν τῷ θεῷ) being related to God's creative-resurrective power (τοῦ ζωοποιούντος τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ καλοῦντος τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα) as Abraham was certain that God had the power to overcome the deadness of his body and Sarah's womb in order to fulfil the promise of a multinational progeny (ὁ ἐπήγγελται δυνατός ἐστιν καὶ ποιῆσαι) (4:17-21).

In Paul's account of the believers' road to glory (Romans 5-8), we find believers boasting in the hope of divine glory (καυχώμεθα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ), which reverses their condition of lacking or falling short of divine glory, as a result of them having been justified by faith (5:1-2). In Romans 5, we also discover a link between the believers' hope of divine glory (καυχώμεθα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ) (5:2) and their future reign in life (ἐν ζωῇ βασιλεύσουσιν) (5:17), thus relating eschatological glory with sovereign power and the power of incorruptibility. However, this hope of glory is closely linked to suffering, as suffering bolsters the hope of glory through character formation (ἡ θλίψις ὑπομονὴν κατεργάζεται, ἡ δὲ ὑπομονὴ δοκιμὴν, ἡ δὲ δοκιμὴ ἐλπίδα) (5:3-4); Paul will later highlight the role of co-suffering as the *sine qua non* of co-glorification with Christ (εἵπερ συμπάσχομεν ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν) (8:17). In Paul's discussion of the believers' freedom from slavery to sin (6:1-23), we have noted the association of divine glory with resurrective power in 6:4; glory is also linked to divine sonship and the power of

incorruptibility, as the hope of creation, in contrast to corruptibility in 8:21 (αὐτὴ ἡ κτίσις ἐλευθερωθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ).

In Paul's discussion of Israel's plight in light of the gospel (Romans 9-11), we find glory (δόξα) being associated with the power of incorruptibility, in contrast to destruction (ἀπώλεια), as God's purpose for believers (ἐπὶ σκεύη ἐλέους ἃ προητοίμασεν εἰς δόξαν) (9:22-23). Despite the widespread unbelief of Jews, Paul glorifies his gospel ministry (τὴν διακονίαν μου δοξάζω) to the Gentiles in the hope of stirring the Jews to jealousy (cf. 10:19) and saving some of them; this hope in turn is grounded in God's resurrective power that will give them life from the dead (ζωὴ ἐκ νεκρῶν) (11:13-15, cf. 11:23 which highlights God's ability to graft in branches that have been cut off and left to die, i.e. God's power to give life to the dead).

As Paul turns his attention to the believers' conduct, his ministry, travel plans and closing greetings in Romans 12-16, we find Paul exhorting believers to render honour (ἀπόδοτε πᾶσιν τὰς ὀφειλάς ... τῷ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν τιμὴν) to the governing authorities as an act of submission to them due to their appointment by God (13:1-2) and their role as divine servants in promoting good and punishing evil (13:3-4). In terms of the relations among believers, especially the strong and the weak, we find Paul exhorting the strong/powerful (οἱ δυνατοί) to follow Christ's example in sharing the insults (ὀνειδισμός) experienced by the weak/powerless (οἱ ἀδύνατοι), thus bearing their weaknesses (τὰ ἀσθενήματα τῶν ἀδυνάτων) (15:1-3). These insults can be viewed as a form of suffering, i.e. as co-suffering with Christ, which once again strengthens the hope of glory (τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχωμεν) through character formation (διδασκαλία) (15:3-4). Indeed we find that the path to glory is paradoxically trodden through the common experience of dishonour and powerlessness as the strong identify with the weak. As a preamble to Paul's sharing of his future plans and appeal for support from the Roman Christians, Paul explains the nature of his apostolic ministry to the Gentiles as God's grace to him and declares it as the content of his boasting (καύχησις) in Christ (15:15-17). Paul further justifies his boasting by explaining that his apostolic ministry is Christ's ministry through him for the obedience of the Gentiles (εἰς ὑπακοὴν ἔθνων); this is accomplished through the power (δύναμις) of signs, miracles and the Spirit (15:18-

19). Thus Paul's boasting (a term related to glory) is linked with the Gentiles' obedience and divine power.

In this brief survey of the glory-power connection in Romans, we have found associations of glory with power across a wide range of topics such as God, humanity, creation, eschatology, death, incorruptibility, resurrection, sin, soteriology, ecclesiology, suffering, hope, divine sonship and the Spirit.²⁹ Thus Romans provides a fruitful area of research into Paul's view of the variegated correlations between glory and power, giving us the opportunity to explore the association of glory and power across a range of central Pauline theological themes.

We can now turn our attention to another research question that was raised: What is the background that can explain Paul's association of glory with power?

1.2 Association of Glory and Power in Classical Writings and Jewish Scriptures

As a Jew (Romans 9:3-5; 11:1) living in the Graeco-Roman world and appointed as an apostle of Christ to minister the gospel to the Gentiles (Romans 1:1, 5; 11:13; 15:15-18), the understanding of glory in both the Jewish tradition and the Graeco-Roman world would have had a profound influence on Paul's understanding of glory. Indeed, even at a first glance we can find glory being associated with power in both traditions.

Biblical scholars such as Moshe Weinfeld and Gerhard Kittel have noted the association of כבוד-δόξα with power in the Jewish tradition.³⁰ For example, Isaiah 8:7 connects glory with power by associating the glory (כבוד/δόξα) of the Assyrian king with the mighty (עצום/ισχυρός) and abundant (רב/πολύς) waters of the River

²⁹ Joseph Fitzmyer has noted the close relationship between divine glory and power in Paul's theology and sought to explicate it in his study on the phrase "the power of his resurrection" in Philippians 3:10, thereby providing a better understanding of Paul's theology of the resurrection: see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "'To Know Him and the Power of His Resurrection' (Phil 3:10)," in *Mélanges Bibliques en hommage au R. P. Bédard Rigaux*, ed. Albert Descamps and André de Halleux (Gembloux: Duculot, 1970), 411–25, reprinted with minor revisions in Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "'To Know Him and the Power of His Resurrection' (Phil 3:10)," in *To Advance the Gospel* (New York, NY: Crossroad, 1981), 202–17 (hereafter cited from the later location).

³⁰ Moshe Weinfeld, "כְּבוֹד," *TDOT* 7:25; Kittel, *TDNT* 2:243–44.

Euphrates. Psalm 29 (LXX 28) provides another example of this relationship between glory and power. Psalm 29 begins by calling upon the sons of God to ascribe glory (כבוד/δόξα) and strength (עז/τιμή) (29:1; LXX 28:1) to the Lord.³¹ In response to the manifestation of power from the God of glory, the worshippers in God's temple acknowledge the Lord's glory (29:3-9; LXX 28:3-9). The final stanza (29:10-11; LXX 28:10-11) concludes with the meaning of the recognition of divine glory by those in heaven and on earth: the Lord's sovereign power as king over heaven and earth.³² Thus we find that glory in Psalm 29 has connotations of both honour and power; in this instance not only strength and might but also sovereign power.

John Lendon, a classical scholar, has also noted the association of glory/honour with power in the Roman world.³³ He provides many examples to illustrate the connection of glory/honour with power, of which we shall look at two briefly.³⁴ First, as described by Plutarch, is the example of the tribune Octavius, who faced the threat of being voted out of public office by the Roman tribes through the efforts of Tiberius Gracchus. Although Octavius appeared to relent at Gracchus' pleading, "when he turned his gaze towards the men of wealth and substance who were standing in a body together, *his awe of them*, as it would seem, and *his fear of ill repute among them*, led him to take every risk with boldness and bid Tiberius do what he pleased" [italics mine].³⁵ The glory/honour of the senate had the power to influence Octavius' behaviour. Another example can be found in Cicero's account of Verres' attempt, through his henchmen, to seize the daughter of Philodamus,³⁶ who was "in birth, in rank, in wealth, and in reputation by far the first man among the citizens of Lampsacus";³⁷ the citizens of Lampsacus were moved to protect the family due to Philodamus' prestige and the enormity of the injury to it.³⁸ Philodamus'

³¹ If the Hebrew text used by the LXX translator is very similar to the MT, it is noteworthy that the LXX translator used the Greek term "τιμή" (honour) to translate the Hebrew term "עז" (might/strength) which suggests a link between honour and might/strength.

³² Rolf A. Jacobson, "Psalm 29," in *The Book of Psalms*, by Nancy L. DeClaisse-Walford, Rolf A. Jacobson, and Beth LaNeel Tanner, NICOT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2014), 286.

³³ John E. Lendon, *Empire of Honour: The Art of Government in the Roman World* (Oxford: OUP, 1997), 30–106.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 56, 60.

³⁵ *Plut. Ti. Gracch.* 12.3.

³⁶ *Cic. Verr.* 2.1.63–67.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.1.64.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.1.67.

honour/glory had the power to move the citizens of Lampsacus to protect his family when threatened with violence.

We shall return to some of the abovementioned examples and many others in our discussion of the glory-power relationship in the Roman world and in the Jewish tradition. At this juncture, it is appropriate to consider the approach taken by this study in the examination of the association between glory and power in Romans 6:4 and on a wider scale, in Paul's epistle to the Romans.

1.3 Methodology

Several past studies on Paul's use of glory language in his epistles have concentrated on the term "δόξα", for example those done by George Boobyer, Millard Berquist, Carey Newman, Preston Sprinkle and Donald Berry.³⁹ Although Newman focused on the term "δόξα", he was conscious of James Barr's critique of the "word-concept" or "word-study" approach to doing biblical theology,⁴⁰ and was thus careful to integrate "the synchronic principles of semantics and semiotics, and, more generally, literary theory, into the diachronic reconstruction of the Glory tradition" in his investigation of the background and implications of Paul's identification of Christ as δόξα.⁴¹ Ben Blackwell and Donald Berry were also alert to other terms used together with glory (δόξα) language in their studies on Paul's use of glory language in Romans, with special foci on the relationship between glory and death in Romans 3:23, and on the eschatological glory of believers in view of God's purpose in redemptive history respectively.⁴² In a similar fashion, our study on the glory-power association in Romans will not be limited to the term "δόξα" but will instead focus on the concept of glory by paying close attention to terms that are

³⁹ Boobyer, *Thanksgiving*; Berquist, "Meaning of Doxa"; Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology*; Sprinkle, "Afterlife in Romans," 201–33; Berry, *Glory*.

⁴⁰ James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2004).

⁴¹ Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology*, 8, 12.

⁴² Blackwell, "Immortal Glory," 293; Berry, *Glory*, 6–10 also employs contextual circles in his study, from the immediate context in which δόξα occurs, to the wider context of Romans, Paul's other epistles, and information beyond the Pauline corpus, particularly the Old Testament. Similarly, Moxnes, "Honour and Righteousness," 61–78 includes terms that are associated with honour and shame, including δόξα, in his study of honour in Romans.

related to it, in particular honour and shame language such as “ἔπαινος”, “τιμή”, “ἀτιμία” and “ἐπαισχύνομαι”.⁴³

Another feature of our study is the examination of the glory-power relationship through the use of both the Roman world and the Jewish tradition as the background for understanding Paul’s link of glory with power. As indicated earlier, this approach is necessary due to Paul’s role as a Jewish apostle to the Gentiles. James Harrison and Halvor Moxnes have also shown that it is particularly fruitful to look at glory/honour from both Jewish and Graeco-Roman perspectives in their studies on glory/honour in Romans. From a political standpoint, James Harrison has employed Roman and Jewish perspectives in his study on “Paul and the Roman Ideal of Glory in the Epistle to the Romans”, while Halvor Moxnes has approached his study on honour in Romans from a socio-cultural perspective, in terms of both Jewish and Graeco-Roman society.⁴⁴ In doing so, both scholars are conscious of the Jewish and Graeco-Roman influences on the Roman churches, and of the impact of Paul’s letter on the Roman believers shaped by both traditions.⁴⁵ As such, the approach adopted in our study is unlike other studies that have focused primarily on the Jewish tradition, such as those done by George Boobyer, Millard Berquist, Carey Newman and Preston Sprinkle.⁴⁶

⁴³ We will utilise and expand on the list of terms that has been helpfully compiled by Moxnes, “Honour and Righteousness,” 77 n. 15.

⁴⁴ Harrison, *Paul*, 201–69; Moxnes, “Honour and Righteousness,” 61–78.

⁴⁵ Although the addressees were predominantly Gentile believers (cf. 1:5–6, 13; 11:13), with a minority of Jewish believers (cf. Jewett, *Romans*, 70–72; Robert Matthew Calhoun, *Paul’s Definitions of the Gospel in Romans 1*, WUNT II 316 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011], 7; Richard N. Longenecker, *Introducing Romans: Critical Issues in Paul’s Most Famous Letter* [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2011], 55–84; John M. G. Barclay, *Paul and the Gift* [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2015], 458), we may perhaps infer from Paul’s frequent use of the Jewish scriptures in Romans that the Roman Gentile believers were familiar with the Jewish scriptures, just as in other letters where Paul wrote to largely Gentile believers (e.g. Galatians 4:8), he assumed their knowledge of scriptures (e.g. Galatians 3–4) (as noted by Calhoun, *Paul’s Definitions*, 7 n. 11). In the same way, Roman Jewish believers would have also been shaped by the wider Graeco-Roman culture, especially in terms of notions of glory, honour and shame, as we shall see later in our study.

⁴⁶ Boobyer, *Thanksgiving*; Berquist, “Meaning of Doxa”; Newman, *Paul’s Glory-Christology*; Sprinkle, “Afterlife in Romans,” 201–33. Due to the unique nature of Boobyer’s study and his thesis that thanksgiving can sometimes be interpreted as increasing God’s glory in Paul’s writings, he also draws in Egyptian and Babylonian/Iranian writings besides Jewish and Christian literature. Although Blackwell, “Immortal Glory” utilises a literary approach, he draws from both Graeco-Roman and Jewish concepts of glory in his interpretation of glory as honour (sociological) and as participation in God’s effulgence (“ontological”). Nonetheless Blackwell’s study also seems to give more attention to Jewish concepts of glory.

The abovementioned features also provide the structure for our study. We will first investigate the association of glory/honour with power throughout the Roman world by examining the centrality of honour and the ways in which honour functioned as power throughout Roman society among aristocrats, the cities, the rest of society, and in the imperial cult (chapter two). Next, we will look at the connection between glory and power in the Jewish tradition, beginning with the Hebrew Scriptures and moving on to the Old Testament Apocrypha, the writings of Philo and Josephus before rounding off with the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha (chapter three). With the discussion of the Roman and Jewish backgrounds completed, we will then proceed on a journey of glory in Romans with an examination of the glory-power association and some of its implications for understanding the various passages in Romans (chapters four to eight). The final chapter completes our study by summarising our findings, together with some recommendations for further research (chapter nine).

With an explanation of our approach and structure of our study completed, we are now ready to examine the association between glory/honour and power in the Roman world.

Chapter 2 Glory/Honour and Power in the Roman World

2.1 Introduction

In the Roman world, personal influence could be used for various purposes: from buying a farm at a bargain price to obtaining an army post, from obtaining accommodation to protecting ownership of property.¹ We catch a glimpse of the power of personal influence in Dio Chrysostom's confession to his townsmen that though he had inherited a large estate from his father, many were wealthier than him.² Dio's father had amassed his wealth through relying on his influence, believing that nobody would challenge his claims. Dio, however, had found it hard to recover a sizeable proportion of his inheritance that was in the form of debts owed to his father. Dio's remarks bring us from a world where power depends on money to one where money depends as much on power, from New York's Wall Street to the Japanese Yakuza's turf.³

There are many types of influence prevalent in the Graeco-Roman world, some familiar to us, such as economic power shown in favours done by workers for bosses and borrowers for lenders, while others are more distant, such as the forms of power related to honour. Though less familiar to us, honour wielded great power in the ancient world due to its wide reach and deep roots in Graeco-Roman society, and the Graeco-Roman sense of glory, honour, dignity, prestige, authority and distinction – Lendon tells us that these words “stand for a galaxy of partial synonyms, *gloria*, *honos*, *dignitas*, *auctoritas*, *τιμή*, *δόξα*, *ἀξίωμα*.”⁴ In this chapter, we shall explore the importance of honour in the Roman world, focusing our attention on how people

¹ Lendon, *Empire*, 30. Farm and army post, see Plin. *Ep.* 1.24; 7.22. Accommodation and property ownership, see Cic. *Fam.* 13.2, 5. I am indebted to Lendon, *Empire*, 27–175 for much of what follows in this chapter.

² Dio Chrys. *Or.* 46.5–6.

³ Lendon, *Empire*, 30.

⁴ Lendon, *Empire*, 30–31; Lendon provides a helpful discussion of these words in *ibid.*, 272–79, highlighting the fact that although their semantic range is such that they could have meanings outside the realm of honour (e.g. *δόξα* can indicate an opinion and *claritas* can mean brightness of colour), they are nevertheless related semantically to one another and their semantic range overlaps when referring to honour. He further notes that the various terms can be differentiated roughly in two ways; in terms of degree or social status (e.g. from lesser to greater like *dignitas* to *maiestas*, and *ἔνδοξος* to *μεγαλειότης*), and secondly, their position in the process of honour, i.e. with an emphasis on the source/origin of honour (e.g. *laus*, *κλέος*), to quality (e.g. *claritas*, *τίμιος*), to the effects/results of honour (e.g. *auctoritas*, *σεμνότης*).

influenced one another through honour, honour as a form of power. We begin by examining the centrality of honour as a socio-cultural value in the Roman world. Next, we will consider how honour functions as power at different levels of Roman society, from the upper echelons of the aristocrats to the city as an entity possessing honour, and from the rest of society all the way up to the pinnacle in the form of the Emperor cult.

Before proceeding, I would like to make some remarks regarding my usage of ancient source material.⁵ There is a difference in the way political and social historians treat their source material.⁶ Keith Hopkins, a social historian, regards the traditional emphasis of historical research on historical veracity, shown in the tendency to ignore or skip over fictional accounts in ancient sources, as too narrow.⁷ Instead he emphasizes the importance of fictitious narratives in providing insights into the authors' socio-cultural values. While it is true that historically accurate sections reveal the writer's socio-cultural values, they offer, nonetheless, a perspective compromised by the complexities of everyday life. On the other hand, highly exaggerated and made-up accounts foreground the socio-cultural values of the authors and their world. Hopkins refers to these values as "the perceptions and beliefs of men" which are more apparent in non-historical source material.⁸ Indeed these "perceptions and beliefs of men" reveal how people expected things to work in the ancient Graeco-Roman world, especially where honour and power are concerned.

An illustration from Valerius Maximus' account of how the great Gaius Marius was saved by his *maiestas* will elucidate what I mean. When Marius was at the lowest point of his fortunes, a slave was sent to kill him; but the slave dropped his weapon and fled in amazement and trembling – "dazzled by his [i.e. Marius']

⁵ Insights and material for my methodology have been adapted from Joseph H. Hellerman, *Reconstructing Honor in Roman Philippi: Carmen Christi as Cursus Pudorum*, SNTSMS 132 (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), 4–6.

⁶ Insights for the differences between the political and social historian have been gleaned from *ibid.*, 5–6.

⁷ Keith Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (Cambridge: CUP, 1978), 198 notes: "Sober historians are interested primarily, sometimes exclusively, in the truth; they therefore usually ignore untrue stories. Indeed as one reads an ancient source, there is a temptation, rooted perhaps in modern scientific rationalism, to pass over these fabrications, roughly as most readers turn over a page which contains statistical tables, with barely a glance."

⁸ *Ibid.*

renown (*claritas*).”⁹ The political and social historian would approach Maximus’ narrative quite differently. Regarding the truthfulness of Maximus’ account, the political historian may consider questions such as: (1) Did this incident actually happen? (2) Was the slave really dazzled by Marius’ prestige? Although the political historian might conclude negatively regarding both questions, he might see this account as evidence of the threats on Marius at the nadir of his life. However, for the purpose of this chapter, I would adopt the lenses of a social historian, being interested to know why the prestige of Marius could have such an effect on his would-be assassin. This would create a different set of questions: (1) How would Maximus’ readers have responded to this account in their social world? (2) What were the Romans’ views about the physical nature of honour/prestige that it could actually “dazzle” someone? (3) How did the Romans conceive of the influential nature of honour that it could exert such power over the slave? The historical veracity of Maximus’ narrative is unimportant in answering these questions.

As accounts of doubtful historical reliability vividly reveal the socio-cultural values of their authors, this chapter contains many examples from Graeco-Roman writings that are elaborations of events they claim to narrate, statements that could be filled with bias, flattery, private motives or just plain imaginative invention of the writers.¹⁰ In showing people’s perception of how things worked in the Graeco-Roman world, these texts are valuable for understanding the importance of honour and its relationship with power.

2.2 Centrality of Honour in the Roman World

Nature has made us, as I have said before—it must often be repeated—enthusiastic seekers after honour, and once we have caught, as it were, some glimpse of its radiance, there is nothing we are not prepared to bear and go through in order to secure it.¹¹

⁹ Val. Max. 2.10.6.

¹⁰ Hellerman, *Reconstructing*, 6; Lendon, *Empire*, 28.

¹¹ Cic. *Tusc.* 2.24.58.

The relentless pursuit for honour, as observed by Cicero, applies to all within the ancient Roman world, from the lowest social strata of the slaves where Dio Chrysostom expected to see “fellow-slaves quarrelling with one another over glory (δόξα) and pre-eminence”¹² to the opposite end of the aristocratic class characterised by the unending quest for honour.¹³ Indeed, “Glory (*Gloria*) drags all, bound to her glittering chariot, the unknown no less than the nobly born.”¹⁴

In affirmation of Cicero’s observation, scholars who study socio-cultural values in the ancient Mediterranean world and Roman historians uniformly identify honour as a central value in the Graeco-Roman world.¹⁵ This can be seen in the respective statements by John Lendon, a Roman historian, on the pre-eminence of honour in the Graeco-Roman world and Halvor Moxnes, a New Testament scholar, on the importance of honour and shame in understanding the social milieu of early Christianity:

Honour was a filter through which the whole world was viewed, a deep structure of the Graeco-Roman mind, perhaps the ruling metaphor of ancient society. To us value is a consequence of price; the Greeks, needing a word for ‘price’, borrowed *τιμή* from the realm of honour. Every thing, every person, could be valued in terms of honour, and every group of persons: the honour of the Roman senate, of the equestrian order, or of a court of law, waxed and waned according to who its members were and their conduct.¹⁶

it is possible to fathom the Mediterranean kinship system only if one understands that family honor is on the line in every public interaction. Similarly, one can understand the division between public and private space,

¹² Dio Chrys. *Or.* 34.51.

¹³ See Lendon, *Empire*, 35–36 for examples of the obsessive quest for honour throughout the Graeco-Roman world; I am grateful to Hellerman, *Reconstructing*, 34–40 for insights on the centrality of honour.

¹⁴ Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.23-24, Loeb, slightly modified.

¹⁵ For the Mediterranean world, see Bruce J. Malina and Jerome H. Neyrey, “Honour and Shame in Luke-Acts: Pivotal Values of the Mediterranean World,” in *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation*, ed. Jerome H. Neyrey (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), 25–65. For the Roman historians’ perspective on honour as a central dynamic in the Roman world, see Lendon, *Empire*, and Carlin A. Barton, *Roman Honor: The Fire in the Bones* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001).

¹⁶ Lendon, *Empire*, 73.

a separation that often occurs along gender lines, only by recognizing the special roles of men and women in the honor system. Patronage, slavery, economic practices, purity rules, meal practices, and even the peculiar Mediterranean sense of identity that derives from group membership must likewise be understood in terms of honor and shame.¹⁷

Moxnes and Lendon are both echoing the views of the ancients of the Graeco-Roman world; for example, Pliny the Younger, a Roman magistrate who regarded honour and glory (*fama, gloria*) as the ultimate source of happiness, Cicero and Quintilian, rhetoricians who considered honour (*dignitas*) as the goal and concern of deliberative oratory, and Dio Chrysostom, a Greek philosopher who, despite his, and the general philosophical contempt for the quest for honour, acknowledged honour (φιλοτιμία, εὐφημία) as the primary motivation of humanity.¹⁸

From this brief overview, we can appreciate the dominant role of honour in the ancient Mediterranean social universe. Although honour was not the only influencer of social relations in the Graeco-Roman world, it is nevertheless reasonable to agree with Joseph Hellerman that “in the solar system of ancient goods and values, honour occupied the place of the sun around which other priorities orbited.”¹⁹ With an awareness of the extensive reach of honour and its centrality in the Roman world, we can now proceed to a definition of honour and consider the elements of honour in the Roman milieu before examining the ways in which people and entities to which honour was attributed could exercise power in their universe.

Julian Pitt-Rivers provides us with the classical anthropological definition of honour:

Honour is the value of a person in his own eyes, but also in the eyes of his society. It is his estimation of his own worth, his claim to pride, but it is also

¹⁷ Halvor Moxnes, “Honor and Shame,” in *The Social Sciences and New Testament Interpretation*, ed. Richard L. Rohrbaugh (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996), 19–20.

¹⁸ Hellerman, *Reconstructing*, 36–37; Lendon, *Empire*, 35; Plin. *Ep.* 9.3; Quint. *Inst.* 3.8.1; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.17, 20. As observed by Lendon, *Empire*, 92, the Epicurean Lucretius confesses his conflicting desire for praise of his poem (glory) (Lucr. 1.922–23; 4.4) in which he strongly supports disdain for praise (glory) (Lucr. 3.59–78; 5.1120–35).

¹⁹ Hellerman, *Reconstructing*, 37.

the acknowledgement of that claim, his excellence recognized by society, his right to pride.²⁰

Combining Pitt-Rivers' definition with Barton's observation about the public character of Roman social life ("For the Romans, being was being seen"²¹) enables us to appreciate Dio's remarks on the public nature of honour:²²

For all men set great store by the outward tokens of high achievement, and not one man in a thousand is willing to agree that what he regards as a noble deed shall have been done for himself alone and that no other man shall have knowledge of it.²³

It is little wonder that Seneca defines honour/renown (*claritas*) as "the favourable opinion of good men. For just as reputation does not consist of one person's remarks, and as ill repute does not consist of one person's disapproval, so renown (*claritas*) does not mean that we have merely pleased one good person."²⁴ Dio further highlights the unceasing nature of the public courtroom of honour:

Is not the trial concerning reputation (δόξα) always in progress wherever there are men — that is, foolish men — not merely once a day but many times, and not before a definite panel of judges but before all men without distinction, and, moreover, men not bound by oath, men without regard for either witnesses or evidence? For they sit in judgement without either having knowledge of the case or listening to testimony or having been chosen by lot, and it makes no difference to them if they cast their vote at a drinking bout or at the bath and, most outrageous of all, he who to-day is acquitted to-morrow is condemned. Accordingly, whoever is the victim of this malady of courting popularity is bound to be subject to criticism as he walks about, to pay heed to everyone, and to fear lest wittingly or unwittingly he give offence to somebody, but particularly to one of those who are bold and of ready wit.

²⁰ Julian Pitt-Rivers, "Honour and Social Status," in *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society*, ed. J. G. Peristiany (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965), 21.

²¹ Barton, *Roman Honor*, 58.

²² Cited in Hellerman, *Reconstructing*, 40–41.

²³ Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.22.

²⁴ Sen. *Ep.* 102.8.

For if he should have the misfortune to have offended somebody never so little, as often happens, straightway the offended person lets fly a harsh word; and if with that word he perhaps misses his mark, nevertheless he causes dismay, while if he should hit the vital spot he has destroyed his victim forthwith. For the fact is, many are so constituted that they are overwhelmed and made to waste away by anything.²⁵

If honour were a dish, what would be the ingredients found in its recipe, i.e. what were the elements perceived by the ancient Roman community as honourable? Before discussing these elements, we shall first consider the potential differences in social values among different people groups of the Roman Empire.²⁶ As mentioned earlier, honour existed as a core social value throughout the ancient Mediterranean world. Although the elements of honour varied between the different people groups, there were still many similarities among them. For example, while manual labour was honourable among Judeans but despised by Roman aristocrats, both Romans and Judeans regarded natal lineage and wealth as important elements of honour.²⁷ There were even more commonalities between Greeks and Romans in the standards of prestige, especially during the imperial period. Lendon provides some examples for the confluence of elements of honour among the Romans and Greeks over the long period of the empire.²⁸ Through Hellenistic influence, literary prowess became part of the résumé of a Roman aristocrat. Similarly, the Roman practice of *salutatio* gained popularity among Hellenistic circles; by the early second century CE, some Greeks had adopted retinues while by the fourth century, it was unusual to see an aristocrat in Antioch without followers.

Just as the origins of the ingredients often mattered in a recipe, the most basic element of prestige was one's natal origin. Hellerman provides some interesting evidence from Roman sources.²⁹ As natal origin defined one's status in Graeco-Roman society, Roman imperial biographers such as Plutarch and Suetonius would invariably begin their biographies of dignitaries with a description of their

²⁵ Dio Chrys. *Or.* 66.18-19.

²⁶ Insights for the discussion on the potential differences in social values and the elements of honour have been gleaned from Hellerman, *Reconstructing*, 45–50, and Lendon, *Empire*, 36–47.

²⁷ Hellerman, *Reconstructing*, 45.

²⁸ Lendon, *Empire*, 44–45.

²⁹ Hellerman, *Reconstructing*, 46–48.

ancestries.³⁰ Pliny begins his recommendation of a potential husband for his friend's niece by stating his birthplace (Brixia) and emphasizing his father's rank as "a leading member of the order of knights", even going to the extent of extolling the virtues of the prospective groom's grandmother and uncle.³¹ The importance of patrilineage to one's social status was underscored by the phenomena of people attempting to increase their honour by falsifying their membership in a prestigious family. The presence of a section entitled "Of Persons Born in the Lowest Station (*infimo loco nati*) Who Tried by Falsehood to Thrust Themselves into Illustrious Families (*clarissimis familiis*)" in Valerius Maximus' work suggests the popularity of such behaviour.³² One such person claimed to be Caesar Augustus' nephew:

There arose one who dared to make up a story that he was born from the womb of the most illustrious sister of the same, Octavia, and to say that because of his extreme bodily weakness he was exposed by his mother's order and kept by the person to whom he had been given as his own son and that person's real son put in his place.³³

After his lie was exposed, Augustus commanded that the man be "attached to the oar of a public trireme."³⁴

Besides a prestigious patrilineage, other ingredients of the recipe for honour include legal status (senator, equestrian, or minimally a citizen; no background of slavery), wealth (from honourable sources such as landed estates), a great house (at Rome and in the country), expensive clothes, a retinue of slaves and clients, and a good rhetorical education.³⁵

There were other more subtle qualities that contributed to a person's honour, as can be seen in Pliny's recommendation of the potential husband for his friend's niece: the groom's "general good looks have a natural nobility and the dignified

³⁰ Compare Plut. *Ages.* 1; *Cor.* 1; *Pel.* 3; Suet. *Aug.* 1–6; *Claud.* 1–2; *Tib.* 1–4.

³¹ Plin. *Ep.* 1.14.5–6.

³² Val. Max. 9.15.

³³ *Ibid.*, 9.15.2.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Hellerman, *Reconstructing*, 48; Lendon, *Empire*, 36.

bearing of a senator” – in other words, aristocratic behaviour.³⁶ Lendon notes that aristocrats only had to observe each other, without having to ask about patrilineage, to know that the other was a noble.³⁷

A final ingredient of the recipe for honour to be discussed is moral virtue; its inclusion in the recipe can be seen in Sallust’s comparison of the honour of Julius Caesar and Cato the Younger where he highlights the honour due Cato as arising from his moral excellence:

Cato, on the contrary, cultivated self-control, propriety, but above all austerity. He did not vie with the rich in riches nor in intrigue with the intriguer, but with the active in good works, with the self-restrained in moderation, with the blameless in integrity. He preferred to be, rather than to seem, virtuous; hence the less he sought fame (*gloria*), the more it pursued him.³⁸

Dio and Quintilian both agree with Sallust that moral virtue was an important element of honour.³⁹ This close link between prestige and moral virtue, coupled with the Romans’ strong desire for honour, meant that the avoidance of shame rather than internal guilt, i.e. the concern for one’s reputation, served as the primary motivation for and bulwark of virtuous behaviour in Graeco-Roman society, as Tacitus observes: “For to scorn fame (*fama*) is to scorn virtue (*virtus*)!”⁴⁰ Pliny expresses the same opinion regarding the Romans’ concern for honour rather than conscience:

Very few people are as scrupulously honest in secret as in public, and many are influenced by public opinion but scarcely anyone by conscience.⁴¹

³⁶ Plin. *Ep.* 1.14.8; Hellerman, *Reconstructing*, 48.

³⁷ Lendon, *Empire*, 37.

³⁸ Sall. *Cat.* 54.

³⁹ Hellerman, *Reconstructing*, 49. Dio noted that being “renowned among all Greeks and barbarians” meant “being pre-eminent in virtue and reputation and wealth and in almost every kind of power” (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 12.11). According to Quintilian, “Africanus’ energy gave him his excellence (virtue), his excellence (virtue) gave him his glory” (Quint. *Inst.* 9.3.56).

⁴⁰ Hellerman, *Reconstructing*, 49–50; Lendon, *Empire*, 41; Tac. *Ann.* 4.38.

⁴¹ Plin. *Ep.* 3.20.8-9.

Indeed, the Romans' desire for honour as the impetus for moral virtue is further corroborated by the type of motivation for proper conduct desired by Cicero in his ideal republic:⁴²

states in which the best men seek praise (*laus*) and glory (*decus*), and avoid disgrace (*ignominia*) and dishonour (*dedecus*). Nor indeed are they deterred from crime so much by the fear of the penalties ordained by law as by the sense of shame (*verecundia*) which Nature has given to man in the form of a certain fear of justified censure. The governing statesman strengthens this feeling in commonwealths by the force of public opinion and perfects it by the inculcation of principles and by systematic training, so that shame (*pudor*) deters the citizens from crime no less effectively than fear. And these remarks have to do with praise, and might have been stated more broadly and developed more fully.⁴³

Just as a person's financial health is determined by adding up one's assets and liabilities, income and expenses, all of one's achievements and qualities, whether venerable or shameful, were tallied up to provide a final assessment of one's honour.⁴⁴ This can be seen in Pliny's comments regarding the honour of the poet Silius Italicus,

Italicus had damaged his reputation (*fama*) under Nero – it was believed that he had offered his services as an informer – but he had maintained his friendship with Vitellius with tact and wisdom, won fame (*gloria*) for his conduct as governor of Asia, and removed the stigma of his former activities by his honourable retirement.⁴⁵

In his observation about Roman influence upon Greek social values at Philippi, Hellerman referred to “the principle of value replication, whereby non-elite persons tend to emulate the practices of their social superiors”.⁴⁶ This principle of value

⁴² Hellerman, *Reconstructing*, 50.

⁴³ Cic. *Rep.* 5.4.

⁴⁴ Lendon, *Empire*, 42.

⁴⁵ Plin. *Ep.* 3.7.3.

⁴⁶ Hellerman, *Reconstructing*, 46.

replication was at work throughout the Graeco-Roman world. Thus we move now to consider how honour functioned as a form of power for the upper stratum of the aristocratic class before moving down to the lower levels of Roman society.

2.3 Honour as Power: Aristocrats

All the qualities described previously were regarded as elements of honour only because of their recognition by the Roman aristocrats; but who were they?⁴⁷ John Lendon defines the Roman aristocrats as a sub-group within the rich and powerful, “a group defined by its shared values, and in particular by its members’ esteem of the same qualities. The aristocracy was an opinion-community; it granted and was defined by, honour.”⁴⁸ James Harrison further narrows the definition of the Roman aristocracy, or *nobilitas* (nobility) as “the upper stratum of the senatorial order in republican and early imperial times. The status of *nobilitas* belonged to the family descendants, patrician and plebeian, of that elite group of individuals who had held either the dictatorship, consulship, or consular tribunate at Rome.”⁴⁹ Nevertheless, in distinguishing between *fama* (reputation) and *gloria* (glory), Harrison agrees with Lendon that

the ‘best men’ from the political aristocracy who alone judge the virtuous correctly – appraised the reputation of those individuals who were deemed to possess the requisite *gloria* (glory) to be called *nobilis* (noble). [emphasis mine]⁵⁰

Thus aristocracy was not an objective characteristic; an aristocrat was one recognized by other aristocrats as having “the requisite *gloria*” to be a member of their exclusive club which differentiated nobles from commoners.⁵¹

Aristocrats used the honour they acquired as power in society; they could do so due to others’ desire for honour, and their anxiety not to lose it.⁵² Valerius

⁴⁷ Lendon, *Empire*, 37.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Harrison, *Paul*, 205.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 206.

⁵¹ Lendon, *Empire*, 37.

Maximus begins a section on “De Maiestate” with an explanation of “*maiestas*” that is indicative of the power of honour:

There is a sort of private censorship, the *maiestas* of famous men, **potent in maintaining its greatness** without lofty tribunals or the service of apparitors. It glides up to the hearts of men covered with the adornment of admiration and enters welcome and pleasing. One might well call it a protracted and enviable unofficial office. [emphasis mine]⁵³

Indeed *maiestas* is the pinnacle of honour; so great is the power associated with *maiestas* that it exercises almost real physical force on people.⁵⁴ We have observed earlier how Marius was saved by his *maiestas* when his *claritas* stunned his would-be assassin, causing him to flee in amazement and trembling (see chapter 2.1). Through his honour, a prestigious man could influence the behaviour of others. There were various ways in which this could happen: by his praise or censure, by others’ deference to him or by the exchange of reciprocal favours. Indeed, such is the desirability and power of honour that the ancients would go to the extent of obeying highly illustrious men simply by their anticipation of honour or dishonour from such grandees. This is illustrated in Plutarch’s narration of the situation of Octavius, who had vetoed Tiberius Gracchus’ agrarian reform bill in 133 BCE.⁵⁵ Utilizing his popularity with the masses, Tiberius had mobilised the citizens to vote for Octavius’ removal from his tribunate. When seventeen of the thirty-five tribes had voted in favour of deposing Octavius, with one more vote needed to remove Octavius from his tribunate, Tiberius pleaded with Octavius to relent. Octavius softened and wept; “But when he turned his gaze towards the men of wealth and substance who were standing in a body together, *his awe of them*, as it would seem, and *his fear of ill repute among them*, led him to take every risk with boldness and bid Tiberius do what he pleased” [italics mine].⁵⁶ Here we find the stare and threat of censure from the senate overpowering Octavius and influencing his behaviour.

⁵² Insights for this paragraph have been gleaned from *ibid.*, 55–56.

⁵³ Val. Max. 2.10; Lendon, *Empire*, 55.

⁵⁴ Refer to Lendon, *Empire*, 275–76 for a detailed explanation of *maiestas*.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁵⁶ Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 12.3.

The aristocratic community expected an individual's grant of honour or dishonour to a person to be commensurate with the community's own attribution of honour or dishonour to the same person.⁵⁷ As such, praise of the unworthy (flattery) or censure of the worthy (slander) was frowned upon by the aristocratic community; Plutarch expected to find these sins (flattery and slander) in the same person as they were signs of the same problem, the failure to grant each person his due.⁵⁸ Indeed this law of appropriateness or rule of *deference* was another way in which honour exercised its power in the Graeco-Roman world.⁵⁹

The power of honour through deference can also be seen in the various perks enjoyed by those with greater status, like getting more biscuits, oil or money from public donations and receiving less severe penalties from the same offences than commoners.⁶⁰ This rule of deference is well expressed by Pliny to a governor, "I cannot help sounding as if I were proffering advice when I meant to congratulate you on the way in which you *preserve the distinctions of class and rank*".⁶¹ Valerius Maximus further highlights the power of honour through deference from the examples of Scipio Africanus the Elder and Cato the Younger.⁶² Upon learning that the actresses were to be stripped naked on stage, Cato the Younger left the theatre with the rest of the audience following suit in deference to his *maiestas*. When the son of Scipio Africanus the Elder was captured by the soldiers of his enemy, King Antiochus, Antiochus treated Africanus' son with honour and returned him to Africanus promptly in deference to Africanus' *maiestas*. Indeed one's prestige demanded honour from others, even from one's enemy.

With the law of deference in place, it is a short step for prestige to flex its muscles of influence from eliciting honour to requiring obedience.⁶³ Cicero (or his glossarist) emphasises this notion by indicating that among several reasons for submission, one of them was due to "the outstanding excellence of the other's

⁵⁷ Lendon, *Empire*, 58.

⁵⁸ The flatterer and slanderer, Plut. *Quomodo adul. ab am. int.* 59d–60f, 66d, 67e–68b.

⁵⁹ Lendon, *Empire*, 58.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* In general, see Ramsay MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations, 50 B.C. to A.D. 284* (New Haven, CT: YUP, 1974), 109–10, 118 and Ramsay MacMullen, *Corruption and the Decline of Rome* (New Haven, CT: YUP, 1988), 64–65.

⁶¹ Plin. *Ep.* 9.5, italics mine.

⁶² Val. Max. 2.10.2, 8.

⁶³ Lendon, *Empire*, 60.

prestige” (*dignitatis praestantia*).⁶⁴ Cicero exemplified this principle in his life on several occasions: in his defence of Sextus Roscius of Ameria in submission to the prestige of those who had asked him, and in the expectation that he would allow Lentulus and Cethegus entry into his house, in obedience to their honour, and thereafter they would slay him upon Catiline’s arrival at Faesulae.⁶⁵ There were two main reasons for honouring and obeying prestige.⁶⁶ On a positive note, enthusiastic deference was regarded by aristocrats as a virtue that rewarded the one who demonstrated it with honour. Conversely, refusing deference was considered shameful and the one guilty of it was punished with dishonour. Furthermore, deference was instilled early among the young in the Roman household so that it functioned unconsciously. Thus a blush could result from bad behaviour in front of nobility, and a greater inner struggle was involved in refusing the requests of grandees than commoners.⁶⁷

The power of honour through deference was embodied in the concept of *auctoritas* (OLD “authority, influence, repute, esteem, prestige”), with one of its meanings denoting a great amount of honour that required deference.⁶⁸ We see the concept of *auctoritas* at work in the attempts of Pliny the Younger, upon the pleading of a freedman, to influence the freedman’s patron, Sabinianus, to pardon him when he had angered Sabinianus.⁶⁹ Pliny wrote to Sabinianus, “I’m afraid you will think I am using pressure, not persuasion, if I add my prayers to his – but this is what I shall do”. Sabinianus complied with Pliny’s request and received another letter, commending him for “bowing to my *auctoritas*, or, if you prefer, granting my request.” Though Pliny was kind enough to compliment Sabinianus, he obviously had the power, by virtue of his prestige, to command others and be obeyed. As a person of high stature, Pliny could influence the behaviour of others to realise his will simply by praising or condemning their actions: “So accept my compliments as well as my thanks, but, at the same time, a word of advice for the future: be ready to

⁶⁴ I am thankful to Lendon (ibid.) for the quote by Cicero and the following two examples; Cic. *Off.* 2.22.

⁶⁵ Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 4; Catiline, App. *B Civ.* 2.3.

⁶⁶ Lendon, *Empire*, 61.

⁶⁷ Ibid. Inculcating deference in the young, Plut. *de Vit. Pud.* 529b-d; Plin. *Ep.* 2.18; 6.6.3. Blush, Plin. *Ep.* 3.12. Refusing requests, Plut. *de Vit. Pud.* 534b–35b.

⁶⁸ “Auctoritas,” OLD 206–7. Lendon, *Empire*, 61. On *auctoritas* and related terms, see ibid., 272–79.

⁶⁹ Lendon, *Empire*, 61–62.

forgive the faults of your household even if there is no one there to intercede for them.”⁷⁰

When one’s own honour was not powerful enough, one could utilise the greater prestige of another, as indicated by Seneca: “I shall not deny that sometimes I shall give even to the unworthy in order to do honour to others.”⁷¹ This was illustrated in the abovementioned letter by Pliny in which the freedman tapped on Pliny’s great prestige; there were many letters of recommendation in which the recommender invoked the coercive power of his own honour or the honour of the person being recommended.⁷² The referee could also indicate that he (or another more prestigious person) was closely related to the person being commended – a childhood friend or a relative, thus increasing the odds of success of the recommendation by enfolding the person being recommended in the glory of others.⁷³ Such referral letters also signified the people caught up in the web of obligation if the recommendation was successful, indicating another way honour wielded power in the Graeco-Roman world: reciprocity.

The ancient honour protocols of deference and reciprocity were encapsulated within the typical Roman referral letter: “Welcome this most honoured (τιμιώτατος) and much sought-after (περισπούδαστος) man, and do not hesitate to show him hospitality, thus doing what is fitting for you and what will obligate (χαρίζομαι) me to you.”⁷⁴ That deference is to be given to the subject of the referral is encoded within the terms “most honoured” and “much sought-after”; the necessity of returning a favour, i.e. reciprocity, is specified by “obligate me to you”. This principle of reciprocity is clearly illustrated by Seneca’s concept of a world of circulating favours (*beneficia*):

Why do the sisters (the Graces) hand in hand dance in a ring which returns upon itself? For the reason that a benefit passing in its course from hand to

⁷⁰ Ibid.; quoted from Plin. *Ep.* 9.21.3; 9.24.

⁷¹ Sen. *Ben.* 4.30.1. Insights for this paragraph from Lendon, *Empire*, 62–63.

⁷² See Lendon, *Empire*, 62 for examples in which the honour of the person being recommended is invoked.

⁷³ Childhood friend, Cic. *Fam.* 13.5; Plin. *Ep.* 2.13; 6.8. Relatives/hereditary connection, Cic. *Fam.* 13.15, 39; Basil, *Ep.* 31; 137.

⁷⁴ Insights for this paragraph gleaned from Lendon, *Empire*, 63–64; Lib. *Char. Epist.* 55.

hand returns nevertheless to the giver; the beauty of the whole is destroyed if the course is anywhere broken, and it has most beauty if it is continuous and maintains an uninterrupted succession.⁷⁵

Seneca saw *beneficia* as passing from hand to hand in an uninterrupted circle, returning to their original giver. When requested, a person would do a favour so that he could request for a return when needed.⁷⁶ The value of a favour was its worth to its recipient; its value was quantifiable as shown in Cicero's treatise on the Moral Duties, where he encouraged his contemporaries to be "good calculators of duty (favours), able by adding and subtracting to strike a balance correctly and find out just how much is due to each individual", thus resulting in a bookkeeping of favours.⁷⁷

This bookkeeping of favours granted one great power to realize one's will through reciprocity, to the extent where a favour could be demanded from another, with whom one had no close relations or were on bad terms, simply by sending a letter with a catalogue of favours already done for the other.⁷⁸ More often, a favour would be politely requested and the requester's readiness to reciprocate indicated: "You would gladly seize any opportunity to oblige me, and there is no one to whom I would rather be in debt than to you."⁷⁹

To obtain a favour, fairly complex arrays of debt could be assembled which contributed to the immense reach of reciprocity's influence.⁸⁰ For example, a referee writes to a man requesting a favour for a protégé, indicating that both he and the protégé would have acquired a debt if the letter's recipient grants the favour. Upon agreement, the recipient has performed two favours and is owed two, while the protégé has received two favours and owes two; the referee has done one favour and owes one.⁸¹ Although this system was generally fair and widely practised

⁷⁵ Sen. *Ben.* 1.3.4.

⁷⁶ Cic. *Off.* 1.47-49.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.59.

⁷⁸ Lendon, *Empire*, 64. For examples of list of favours, reciprocity between people on bad terms and not well known to one another, see Cic. *Fam.* 13.77; 5.5, and Fronto, *ad Am.* 1.8 (van den Hout).

⁷⁹ Plin. *Ep.* 2.13.

⁸⁰ Insights for this paragraph from Lendon, *Empire*, 65-67.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 65. Conventional three-party scenario, Cic. *Fam.* 13 passim. For more complex scenarios, see e.g. Cic. *Fam.* 13.6a-b; 13.22.

throughout the Graeco-Roman world, in some instances, when the difference in power or honour between the giver and recipient of a favour was considerable, the inferior recipient was usually unable to return the favour, or according to Cicero, “unable to sustain the load of favours”.⁸² In this case, what the inferior could only do was be grateful, obedient and be ready to repay forever, thus making him a client.⁸³ Indeed, when a person incurs a perpetual favour-debt that he could never, and was not expected to reciprocate, clientage results - freeborn patronage/clientage is essentially the same as the clientage between a freedman and his former master.⁸⁴

There are several reasons to account for the power of reciprocity through the favour-debt system.⁸⁵ First, the duty of reciprocity was instilled early, as observed in Cicero’s remarks of children, “how good their memory is for those who have shown them kindness, and how eager they are to repay it!”⁸⁶ Second, the fear of being unable to obtain favours due to the failure to return them meant that reciprocity also worked at a conscious level, especially for those of humble means who “need[ed] the help of many”:⁸⁷ in Pliny’s words, “according to the code of friendship, the one who takes the initiative puts the other in his debt and owes no more until he is repaid.”⁸⁸ Finally, as gratitude was a prominent virtue that was an element of honour, returning favours contributed to one’s reputation as a grateful man, thus enhancing one’s prestige.⁸⁹

Even the trading of favours had honour consequences, depending on the difference in prestige between those involved.⁹⁰ A requestor of favours might face the following dilemma: receiving a favour from an illustrious man may increase one’s prestige, but accepting a favour might also reduce one’s honour, for to request a favour was humiliating: “a respectable man seals his lips and blushes if he has to

⁸² Lendon, *Empire*, 66; Cic. *Fam.* 2.6.2.

⁸³ Cic. *Fam.* 10.11.1; Sen. *Ben.* 5.4.1; 7.14-16.

⁸⁴ Lendon, *Empire*, 66–67; Cic. *Off.* 2.69-70; Fronto, *ad Ver.* 1.6.2 (van den Hout).

⁸⁵ Reasons drawn from Lendon, *Empire*, 67–68.

⁸⁶ Cic. *Fin.* 5.61.

⁸⁷ Cic. *Off.* 2.70.

⁸⁸ Plin. *Ep.* 7.31.7.

⁸⁹ Gratefulness as a moral virtue, Cic. *Planc.* 80–81; Val. Max. 5.2. Contributes to honour, Sen. *Ben.* 4.16.3.

⁹⁰ I am grateful to Lendon, *Empire*, 69 for the insights on the honour consequences resulting from the transaction of favours.

ask”.⁹¹ Indeed, one’s inability to accomplish one’s desires was exposed by the acceptance of a favour which obligated and dishonoured one as incurring a debt was shameful – “To accept a favour (*beneficium*) is to sell one’s freedom.”⁹²

In our discussion thus far, we have explored the various ways in which honour could be used to realize one’s will in the ancient Graeco-Roman world. Indeed honour performed various roles in Graeco-Roman society, manifesting its power through these roles.⁹³ First, honour was a powerful source of value. Honour formed a part or all of the value of one’s actions, which may be honouring or humiliating, and could be exchanged for goods, services and more honour. Secondly, honour was a source of social authority that people had been raised to obey. In the Graeco-Roman world, it was mandatory to defer to and obey prestigious men. Finally, honour was a social sanction. Anxiety over the loss of honour enforced social norms, of which some, such as deference, the reciprocity of favours and honours, and the duty of gratitude may be utilised powerfully to realize one’s desires in society.

However, the ideal system of deference and reciprocity did not always work as it should in practice, especially when there was a significant difference in prestige between individuals. In such cases, abuse of relationships of deference and reciprocity could arise when a person utilises the greater power associated with his weightier honour for his benefit. There were several ways this could happen.⁹⁴

First, one could profit from the ambiguous value of favours, as there could be differing views about their value, by investing or sowing favours for a lucrative return, particularly with the most “grateful” candidate who will treasure the favours received and multiply his return in praise and action.⁹⁵ Second, illustrious people were prone to be ungrateful and may not return favours properly, as observed by Cicero: “On the other hand, they who consider themselves wealthy, honoured, the

⁹¹ Sen. *Ben.* 2.1.3, Loeb, slightly adapted, cf. 2.2.1.

⁹² Publilius Syrus, B5 (Bickford-Smith).

⁹³ Information on the roles of honour has been gathered from Lendon, *Empire*, 69.

⁹⁴ The different ways in which an illustrious man could utilize his honour to his benefit have been summarised from *ibid.*, 70–73.

⁹⁵ For the need to be grateful by repaying a favour with interest, see Sen. *Ep.* 81.18–19. “Gratefulness” like that of the most “grateful” candidate, Cic. *Fam.* 13.4.1; Sen. *Ben.* 5.1.3.

favourites of fortune, do not wish even to be put under obligations by our kind services. Why, they actually think that they have conferred a favour by accepting one, however great".⁹⁶ Finally, the ideal system of deference and reciprocity could be disregarded by a grandee who insists that an inferior submit to him or be subject to the consequences, due to the fact of the grandee's superior power as a result of his greater prestige. Lendon cites the incident where Cicero failed in deference to the great Q. Metellus Celer. Q. Metellus Celer wrote to Cicero,

In view of our reciprocal sentiments and the restoration of our friendly relations I had not expected that I should ever be held up by you to offensive ridicule in my absence, or that my brother Metellus would be attacked at your instance in person or estate because of a phrase. *If his own honourable character did not suffice for his protection, the dignity of our family and my zeal on behalf of you and your friends and the commonwealth should have been support enough.* Now it seems that he has been beset, and I deserted, by those whom it least behoved.

So I wear the black of mourning - I, in command of a province and an army conducting a war! Well, you and your friends have managed it so, without reason or forbearance. *It was not like this in our forbears' time, and it will not be surprising if you all come to be sorry.* [italics mine]

Cicero had to write a long and polite explanation to Q. Metellus Celer to appease him.⁹⁷ Truly, honour was a form of power.

2.4 Honour as Power: The City

Honour was so ubiquitous in the ancient Roman world that almost anything and everything could have a measure of honour associated with it. Having been raised and trained to appreciate the honour of men and things, a Roman aristocrat would acknowledge the prestige of the gods if he were to pray to them before setting

⁹⁶ Cic. *Off.* 2.69.

⁹⁷ Lendon, *Empire*, 72–73; Cicero and Metellus: refer to Cic. *Fam.* 5.1; 5.2.

off on a journey from one city to another.⁹⁸ As the aristocrat travelled with his entourage, he might admire the honour of an overhead, soaring eagle, glorious mountains and illustrious buildings.⁹⁹ Finally, the prestige of the city from which he departed could be compared with that of his destination city. Now the πόλις/civitas (city) was the most important grouping of people in the Graeco-Roman world; it is to the honour and influence of cities to which our attention now turns.

The ingredients of the recipe for honour of a city were similar to those of human honour; cities too utilised the power of honour to influence behaviour. These ingredients include an illustrious history (cf. ancestry), population and city size, having subordinate cities (cf. retinue of followers), natural resources, revenue (cf. wealth), and man-made structures and events.¹⁰⁰

Like human honour, the perceived moral character and “elegance” of a city also enhanced its prestige. In his Rhodian discourse, Dio Chrysostom emphasizes the importance of the moral character of the city to its honour and the benefits accruing to it. He praised the Rhodians for their manners and customs which lent the city dignity but also castigated them for their stingy practice of honouring new benefactors by switching inscriptions on old statues which brought the Rhodians dishonour. Similarly, Dio warned the people of Tarsus that they were shaming and disgracing their city with their infamous snorting sound.¹⁰¹

In comparison, the honour of cities was similar in quality and quantity to that of humans. Although cities generally had more prestige than individuals, there were certainly exceptions like Publius Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Carthage and Numantia, who was regarded by Cicero to be equal in *auctoritas* to Rome, and the sophist Polemo, who “conversed with cities as his inferiors, Emperors as not his

⁹⁸ For honour of gods, see Douglas L. Cairns, *Aidōs: The Psychology and Ethics of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greek Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), *passim*; honour of other objects, see *ibid.*, 210.

⁹⁹ For eagle, see Fronto, *de Eloq.* 2.13 (van den Hout). For mountain, refer to Verg. *Aen.* 12.135. For building, see Cic. *Q Fr.* 3.1.1; Plin. *Ep.* 7.24.9.

¹⁰⁰ See Lendon, *Empire*, 74 for more details.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 74–75. For a city’s moral character and honour, see Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.5–7; Men. *Rhet.* 385.10–14. For the Rhodians’ elegant mannerisms, see Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.162–63; 32.52. Rhodes statues, see Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31 *passim* and especially 31.2. Tarsus, see Dio Chrys. *Or.* 33.34, 38, 51, 55.

superiors, and the gods as his equals”.¹⁰² Indeed the honour of cities was enhanced not only by the achievements of their citizens but also by the residence of prestigious individuals, for example, Polemo’s residence at Smyrna, “For just as its market-place and a splendid array of buildings reflect lustre on a city, so does an opulent establishment; for not only does a city give a man renown, but itself acquires it from a man.”¹⁰³

There was intense rivalry between cities, mirroring the competition among men for honour.¹⁰⁴ For example, cities were ranked in terms of honour and importance; citizens were not only eager to enhance the prestige of their cities with shouts of praise and diminish the honour of rival cities with cries of abuse, they also adored panegyrics of their cities, abhorred criticism and applauded attacks on competitors.¹⁰⁵ The rivalry can be so intense that citizens even regarded the panegyrics of rival cities as dishonouring to theirs and orators could appeal to this competition to influence cities to accomplish their will.¹⁰⁶ Here we begin to see the power of honour coming into focus.

The cities’ possession of prestige meant that their relationships could be viewed in terms of honour and power, such as deference, reciprocity and in the exchange of favours.¹⁰⁷ The bells of deference can be heard ringing in the complaints of Argos against Corinth and Ephesus against Smyrna, for failing to honour them in terms of treatment appropriate to the city’s ancient glory (Argos) or with regard to insulting the city (Ephesus).¹⁰⁸ The scent of reciprocity and the exchange of favours can also be detected in Dio Chrysostom’s advice to Nicomedia to bestow upon her neighbouring cities the benefaction of free utilization of her port, resulting in greater

¹⁰² Lendon, *Empire*, 75. Cities have more prestige, Aristid. *Or.* 24.12 (Behr). Africanus, Cic. *Mur.* 58. Polemo, Philostr. *V S* 1.25 (535).

¹⁰³ Lendon, *Empire*, 75–76. Polemo, Philostr. *V S* 1.25 (532). Citizens who bestow honour on their cities: Cic. *Planc.* 19–20, 22; Plin. *Ep.* 7.22.2; Aristid. *Or.* 30.1-2; 32.5; 32.20-21 (Behr).

¹⁰⁴ Lendon, *Empire*, 76–77.

¹⁰⁵ Ranking of cities: Lib. *Or.* 20.40; Cic. *Flac.* 74; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 43.1; Men. *Rhet.* 433.23-32. Praise and abuse of cities: Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.124, 154-55; 33.38, 51; 34.14; 38.41; 40.29; 48.4-5; Aristid. *Or.* 23.12 (Behr). Adoration of panegyric, Dio Chrys. *Or.* 32.37-38; abhorrence of criticism, Dio Chrys. *Or.* 32.11; 48.4-5; welcome of attacks on rivals, Aristid. *Or.* 23.5 (Behr).

¹⁰⁶ Praise of rivals regarded as ἀτιμία, Aristid. *Or.* 23.7, 29 (Behr). Influence through appeal to rivalry, Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.157-60; 38.30-31.

¹⁰⁷ Lendon, *Empire*, 77.

¹⁰⁸ Argos, [Julian], *Ep.* 198 (Bidez), 409b. Ephesus, *Gk. Const.* 135A.10-15.

esteem for Nicomedia among them by becoming their benefactor.¹⁰⁹ Dio's advice also highlights the reciprocal nature of the relationship between honour and power – Nicomedia's exercise of her power to benefit her neighbouring cities leads to the enhancement of her prestige.

In the ancient Graeco-Roman world, cities and individuals could interact with each other using honour language in similar ways as individuals relate to one another, for example, the value of a city's prestige-bestowing honours was proportional to the city's eminence.¹¹⁰ Dio Chrysostom claimed to have heard a Rhodian compare Rhodes, which could profess to rank second in glory to Rome, to other cities in the East with the following remark, "none of the Romans particularly cares to have a statue among those peoples, but they do not despise that honour here."¹¹¹ Such prestige-bestowing honours of a city included, for example, seats of honour, statues, praises by the assembly, testimonials and grants of citizenship.¹¹² Regarding these honours, Dio observed that "the pillar, the inscription, and being set up in bronze are regarded as a high honour by noble men," and notes the importance of "crowns and public proclamations and seats of honour, things which for those who supply them entail no expense, but which for those who win them have come to be worth everything", thus highlighting the allure of honour which accounts for an important way honour exercises power to influence behaviour.¹¹³ Conversely, a city could dishonour, as shown in Dio's remarks to the Alexandrians, "Why, inasmuch as, in case a leading citizen misbehaves publicly in the sight of all, you will visit him with your contempt and regard him as a worthless fellow, no matter if he has authority a thousand times as great as yours"; the contempt being in the form of jeering or shouts of abuse in public gatherings.¹¹⁴ In the same way, an aristocrat could honour a city by praising it, thus enhancing the city's honour, or dishonour it through ridicule.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁹ Dio Chrys. *Or.* 38.32.

¹¹⁰ Lendon, *Empire*, 78.

¹¹¹ Second only to Rome, Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.62. Quoted, Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.106.

¹¹² Lendon, *Empire*, 78.

¹¹³ Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.20; 75.7.

¹¹⁴ Lendon, *Empire*, 79. Alexandrians, Dio Chrys. *Or.* 32.31. For shouted abuse, see Dio Chrys. *Or.* 7.25-26; 32.11, 22.

¹¹⁵ Lendon, *Empire*, 79-80.

As cities were viewed as having human attributes, they could participate in the world of honour in their interactions with human beings, utilizing the power of honour for their own benefit and to realize their will.¹¹⁶ Thus with regard to honour's role as a powerful source of value, it is not surprising that cities used their honours in exchange for services from people. In his address to the city of Prusa, Dio commends it with the remark that, "*all the others [cities] have an eye only for what is profitable, and those who give them something – or might do so – alone receive their praise*"; whereas you regard as of great importance both the earnest desire and the willingness to give."¹¹⁷ In another discourse, Dio indicated that Prusa had bestowed "extravagant honours upon those private persons", hoping that they would help Prusa obtain some greatly desired concessions from the proconsuls.¹¹⁸ The honours offered by cities often attracted people to act for them: in response to Prusa's generous bestowal of honours upon other cities, individuals and the Emperor, Dio remarks, "what man would not be eager to do you [Prusa] any service in his power?"¹¹⁹ Distinguished aristocrats could also utilize the politics of honour to influence cities; not only did the prestige and ability of individuals to be of service to cities draw conferral of honours from them, but talented panegyrists could also use their skills to induce cities to bestow upon them the honour of citizenship.¹²⁰ In all these examples, we also observe the double-sided nature of the relationship between honour and power. The possession of honour and ability to give honour to others endowed one with power; on the other hand, the possession of power enabled one to gain honour for oneself.

The power of honour was also seen in the mutual deference and reciprocity between cities and men. When a prestigious philosopher rebuked the Athenians for watching gladiatorial shows in the Theatre of Dionysus, instead of applauding and obeying him, they ejected him from the city; Dio commented that Athens was shamed by such lack of deference.¹²¹ Prestigious men should, in turn, defer to the glory of renowned cities: Cicero reckoned that members of his jury would defer to

¹¹⁶ Insights and examples for the ways in which cities relate with individuals that demonstrate the power of honour through the acquiring of services, deference and reciprocity, gratitude, favour-debt, etc. have been adapted from *ibid.*, 80–84.

¹¹⁷ Dio Chrys. *Or.* 51.3.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 45.4.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 51.9.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 38.1, cf. *ibid.*, 41.1-2.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 31.120-23.

prestigious cities, and to appraise his defendants backed by them with favour; Pliny, despite his heavy workload, was glad to take on a case for the town of Firmani due to its *splendor*.¹²²

We find the power of honour through reciprocity at work in Aelius Aristides' assurance to Rhodes that after an earthquake, aid would arrive from many for her restoration, either in repayment of favour-debts or to make her indebted to them.¹²³ A city, even one as prestigious as Rome, could be in favour-debt to a person. When Publius Scipio Africanus, conqueror of Hannibal and the Carthaginians, was being prosecuted at Rome, debate erupted as to whether it was appropriate to do so. Eventually, Scipio was spared from pleading his cause before the tribunes, as having him stand as a defendant was regarded as ingratitude and a huge disgrace to the Roman people due to the great favour-debt Rome owed him.¹²⁴

As in the case of men, gratitude featured strongly in relationships of reciprocity between cities and men in several ways. First, gratitude was a prominent virtue; being known as a grateful city enhanced a city's reputation and contributed to its honour and ability to influence others. Citing ancient sources, Lendon notes that reciprocity to a benefactor through the city's granting of honours "pertains to the dignity of the city"; the primary purpose was not "so that he [the benefactor] will be even more well-disposed towards us ... but so that we may seem grateful to those who decide such things". "Those" were the grantees who provided information to each other on the cities' level of gratefulness.¹²⁵ Second, a city characterised by gratefulness could anticipate more favours in the future whereas the following fate awaits ungrateful cities: "those who insult their benefactors will by nobody be esteemed to deserve a favour. Consequently, the danger for you is that you will no longer receive benefactions at the hands of anybody at all".¹²⁶

¹²² Cic. *Cael.* 5; *Font.* 14; and esp. *Flac.* 61–64, 100–101, where Lendon, *Empire*, 81 n. 253 observes that "the prestige of Athens, Sparta, other cities of Achaëa, and Massilia, all supporting Cicero's client Flaccus, is set against that of towns in Asia Minor accusing him." Plin. *Ep.* 6.18.

¹²³ Aristid. *Or.* 25.55 (Behr).

¹²⁴ Livy 38.50.4–53.8.

¹²⁵ Lendon, *Empire*, 83. The ancient sources are taken from *AE* 1947.53 "pertinere ad municipi [sic] dignitatem", and *ILS* 6680. Providing information on cities' level of gratitude: Cic. *Fam.* 13.7.5; 13.11.3.

¹²⁶ Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.65; cf. 31.22. More favours from proper gratitude, Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.7.

Unable to repay its benefactor for his favour, the city council might vote to appoint the benefactor as their patron; such a relationship between man and city could be mutually beneficial. For the aristocrat, this was a prestigious designation, as indicated by Lendon with the example of the town of Bocchoris in Spain whose patron possessed a plaque in his house that highlighted this relationship between them while the city in turn gained an advocate in court, a protector and financial sponsor in the form of the patron whose prestige further enhanced the city's honour.¹²⁷

A man could also be in favour-debt to a city; the city of Atella had the benefit of a prestigious advocate in Cicero who wrote to C. Cluvius on behalf of them: "I hope you will believe me when I give you my word that I am under a great debt to this municipality (Atella)".¹²⁸ Cologne reaped the fruit of Julius Civilis' favour-debt to her for holding his son in honourable custody when he had been arrested in Cologne at the beginning of the revolt against Rome; Civilis' gratitude to Cologne caused him to debate as to whether he should allow his troops to pillage the city.¹²⁹

There is an intricate relationship between the financial arrangements of ancient Graeco-Roman cities, public benefaction, honour and power.¹³⁰ The cities' expenses were financed partly through taxes but mostly through contributions by wealthy individuals; such an arrangement is reminiscent of modern art galleries and opera companies that receive some of their funding from government grants and receipts, but most of it from wealthy sponsors.¹³¹ Why were the wealthy so willing to underwrite the city expenses? How is it related to honour and power?¹³² Our attention now turns to these questions.

¹²⁷ Lendon, *Empire*, 83–84.

¹²⁸ Cic. *Fam.* 13.7.4.

¹²⁹ Tac. *Hist.* 4.63.

¹³⁰ Insights for the relationship between city finance, public benefaction, honour and power have been drawn from Lendon, *Empire*, 84–89.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 85.

¹³² Paul Veyne, *Bread and Circuses: Historical Sociology and Political Pluralism*, abridged with an introduction by Oswyn, Murray, trans. Brian Pearce (London: Penguin, 1990), 5–419 provides several reasons for public benefaction, what he terms as euergetism or "private liberality for public benefit" (10). Some of the motives include piety, patriotism and prestige. In dividing euergetism into three categories (Greek, Roman and imperial), Veyne seems to suggest that among various reasons, the main ones are as follows. Greek euergetism is an expression of social superiority, in terms of wealth, power and prestige, by the notables who ruled the cities (152-55). In the case of the Roman oligarchs (politicians), euergetism enabled them to gain political prestige (259-61). Finally, with regard to

Philotimia, an attitude or act of “glory-love” was the usual Greek term used for a public benefaction – the wealthy, inspired by honour, contributed money and effort to the city and were rewarded with statues, honorific declarations and shouts of praise in the assembly, in short, honours.¹³³ Dio remarked that many who undertook the task of city government were those who “for the sake of reputation and honours and the possession of greater power than their neighbours, in the pursuit of crowns and precedence and purple robes, fixing their gaze upon these things and staking all upon their attainment, do and say such things as will enhance their own reputations.”¹³⁴ Indeed cities used their repertoire of honours to entice and influence the rich and powerful into serving as magistrates and giving benefactions. Ramsay MacMullen provides the example of

a mosaic with a text on it that records the rhythmic shouts of the citizens in anticipation of enjoying a wild-beast hunt, and congratulating the man who must pay for it all: “From you as an example may future benefactors (*munerarii*) learn! May those of the past listen! Whence came such a thing, when, ever? You will furnish the spectacle on the model of the quaestors and at your own expense, on that day. Magerius is paying! That is what wealth is, and resources – that is *it!*”¹³⁵

Magerius was probably so elated and honoured that he had the whole incident recorded on the mosaic.¹³⁶

Other factors that motivated public benefaction include gratitude to one’s city for the various blessings, such as upbringing, honour, etc. that one has received from it; we have witnessed gratitude’s close relationship with honour, as gratitude was an important moral virtue and proper gratitude begets more favours. Rich and powerful citizens might also act because the city’s honour required benefaction; it was also

imperial euergetism, Veyne suggests 3 motives: power, money and prestige (417-19). Thus, the common denominator among them seems to be honour/prestige.

¹³³ Lendon, *Empire*, 86.

¹³⁴ Dio Chrys. *Or.* 34.29.

¹³⁵ MacMullen, *Corruption*, 65.

¹³⁶ Lendon, *Empire*, 86–87.

expected that the city would requite them with honour.¹³⁷ More importantly, for our consideration, is the fact that, “the benefactor was honoured because he was a man whose *prestige entitled him to honour by virtue of the deference owed him.*”¹³⁸ [emphasis mine] Once again the power of honour through deference comes into prominence.

At the same time, there were other factors such as religious devotion that could serve as motivation for public benefaction as seen in the sponsoring of temple building projects and religious festivals by the wealthy and powerful.¹³⁹ Fear could be another reason for the rich were afraid of the disgruntled poor gathering en masse against them through rioting or destroying their property if they felt that the rich were stingy towards the needs of the city.¹⁴⁰ Thus *philotimia* could be expressions of religious fervour or as a payoff to the poor by the wealthy.¹⁴¹

But what is important is that honour was the veneer under which these feelings and motivations lay. In reality, the motivation behind public benefaction was probably like a brew in a cauldron, containing a mixture of honour, religious feeling and fear. Even the important admitted motivation of patriotism for public benefaction can be traced back to honour. To love one’s city meant to be concerned with its honour and to be properly grateful to it; patriotism was a public virtue which, when expressed through the bestowal of benefactions, was acknowledged with honours.¹⁴²

In our discussion of the Graeco-Roman cities’ participation in the world of glory/honour, we have observed the power of honour at work through the role of honour as a powerful source of value, and through the principles of deference and reciprocity. All these different ways in which honour exercised power were on display in the phenomenon of public benefaction in the ancient Graeco-Roman world. Indeed the powerful allure of glory/honour meant that both cities and humans

¹³⁷ See *ibid.*, 87–88 for examples of other blessings that one has received from one’s city and examples of benefactions that are required by a city’s prestige.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 88.

¹³⁹ Veyne, *Bread and Circuses*, 86–87.

¹⁴⁰ Plut. *Prae. ger. reip.* 822a; Suet. *Tib.* 37.3.

¹⁴¹ Lendon, *Empire*, 88.

¹⁴² See *ibid.*, 89 for a more detailed discussion of the relationship between patriotism and honour.

exercised power by virtue of their possession of honour and by their ability to grant honour to one another in various ways. We also sense the double-sided nature of the relationship between glory/honour and power; humans and cities not only possessed power because they had honour and could bestow honour on each other, but they also enjoyed honour due to the power they had – this further strengthened the powerful allure of glory/honour. Having examined the power of honour for the aristocrats and cities of the Graeco-Roman world, we now move on to explore the power of honour for the rest of society.

2.5 Honour as Power: The Rest of Society

We have witnessed how the behaviour and achievements of a city's citizens contributed to its honour. Indeed the citizens' cheering or jeering in public meetings also formed part of the city's honouring or dishonouring of an aristocrat. In this small but significant way, the commoners of the Roman Empire participated in the nobles' arena of honour. At the same time, these commoners also inhabited various realms of honour in the Graeco-Roman world with recipes of honour that often not only differed from but also challenged aristocratic notions of honour.¹⁴³ We shall examine the power of honour and influence of the aristocratic view of honour on these communities below the aristocracy, beginning with one – that of the philosophers – which repudiated the value of honour.

We have noted that the ancient philosophers regarded the quest of honour as futile; in Dio's eyes, the philosopher was one who "will bid farewell to honours and dishonours and to words of censure and of praise uttered by foolish persons, whether they chance to be many or whether they be few but powerful and wealthy. Instead, what is called popular opinion he will regard as no better than a shadow".¹⁴⁴ Yet honour pursued a philosopher like his shadow; honour was so deeply ingrained in Graeco-Roman society that the ancients had no other way to express their admiration for philosophers except in honour terms. Cicero observes that "Yet if there be any who are influenced by the authority (*auctoritas*) of philosophers, let them for a few

¹⁴³ Insights and examples for this section on honour as power for the rest of society have been obtained from *ibid.*, 89–105.

¹⁴⁴ Dio Chrys. *Or.* 67.3.

moments listen and attend to those whose authority (*auctoritas*) and reputation (*gloria*) stand highest among learned men”¹⁴⁵ – even the influence of philosophers was measured by their prestige. It is perhaps reasonable to say that the ancient philosophers were handicapped by their inability to provide the people with a different model for understanding and interacting with the world, and for admiring their views and way of life except that of honour; thus they were ironically honoured and thus possessed power for their rejection of honour.¹⁴⁶

At the same time, we often hear philosophers being criticized for hypocrisy regarding their repudiation of honour - Cicero observes that “upon the very books in which they (philosophers) bid us scorn ambition (*gloria*) philosophers inscribe their own names!”¹⁴⁷ But who could blame them, seeing that “the passion for glory is that from which even philosophers last divest themselves.”¹⁴⁸ Indeed the love-hate relationship between philosophers and honour shows us not only the power/influence of honour between philosophers and other communities but also the widespread power of aristocratic views of honour in the ancient Graeco-Roman world.¹⁴⁹

Besides philosophers, there were many other communities of honour below the aristocracy. However, in the social hierarchy of the ancient Graeco-Roman world, there comes a point below which, by aristocratic standards, there was no longer any honour. These communities without honour (since they lacked social power) include slaves and those classified by Roman law as incurring *infamia* (infamy, dishonour) which include soldiers discharged dishonourably from the army, actors, brothel-keepers, people convicted of serious crimes, gladiators, in short, the behaviour of such people showed a lack of shame and hence they were regarded as devoid of honour by the aristocrats.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ Cic. *Rep.* 1.12.

¹⁴⁶ Lendon, *Empire*, 91.

¹⁴⁷ Cic. *Arch.* 26.

¹⁴⁸ Tac. *Hist.* 4.6.

¹⁴⁹ Lendon, *Empire*, 92.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 96. On *infamia* in the law, see Dig. 3.2 with Barbara Levick, “The *Senatus Consultum* from Larinum,” *JRS* 73 (1983): 108–14. On slaves without honour, see Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, MA: HUP, 1982), 10–13 *et passim*, who also emphasizes the close link between honour and power, noting that in many slave societies, slaves possessed no honour because they had no power; in the Roman context, with regard to corporal punishment, see Richard P. Saller, *Patriarchy, Property, and Death in the Roman Family* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), 134–39.

Nonetheless, aristocrats recognized that slaves could have their own code of honour, as indicated by the poet, Claudius Claudianus: “There are grades even among slaves and a certain dignity; that slave who has served but one master holds a position of less infamy” – here we see the honour of slaves being dependent on the number of owners who had power over them.¹⁵¹ Although slaves were far down in the basement of the social hierarchy from the aristocrats, slaves formed their own circle of honour, granting one another honour in their own eyes.¹⁵² Valerius Maximus observed, regarding the joy of a soldier of servile background at being granted military honours, “So there is no rank too humble to be affected by the sweetness of glory.”¹⁵³

There were similarities and differences in the ways aristocrats and those below them related to each other in honour terms in their respective circles. The power of honour, an important factor in the financing of city expenses (see chapter 2.4), can also be detected in the associations of the lower classes where wealthier members contributed to the association’s expenses out of *philotimia*, in exchange for honour in various forms. On the other hand, there were often different ingredients in the recipe for honour of these groups and those of the aristocrats, for example, the criteria for people eligible for office. Freedmen were elected as officials in the associations of the lower classes but were excluded by nobles from positions of honour due to their servile background.¹⁵⁴

Although the behaviour of professional groups regarded by Roman law as incurring *infamia*, such as gladiators and professional artists, was considered shameful by aristocrats, the attractiveness of their code of honour to some nobles meant that aristocratic standards of honour were liable to be threatened by those below it.¹⁵⁵ There were various reasons to account for this allure. Elements of honour for the gladiatorial community, such as strength, courage, and skill at weaponry, coupled with cheering and admiration by the crowds proved irresistible to

¹⁵¹ Claud. *In Eutr.* 1.29-31.

¹⁵² Lendon, *Empire*, 97.

¹⁵³ Val. Max. 8.14.5.

¹⁵⁴ For more details and examples of similarities and differences, see Lendon, *Empire*, 97–98.

¹⁵⁵ Adapted from *ibid.*, 98–100.

some aristocrats like the emperor Commodus who engaged in gladiatorial combats. Other aristocrats like the emperor Nero, were drawn to participate in such communities by the intense rivalries among professional artists like actors, mimes and musicians, the support of fans, and the fierce competition in public games culminating in the crowning and glory of triumphs. In such respects, even here we see the power of the allure of honour.

Nevertheless, in the long run, aristocratic standards of honour held sway over these and other rival notions of honour as aristocrats like Nero and Commodus who were attracted by such communities of honour were insignificant in number.¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, as noted by both Hellerman and Lendon, the general trend was such that “non-elite persons tend to emulate the practices of their social superiors” so that “cultural influence flowed overwhelmingly downwards in Graeco-Roman society” (the principle of value replication)¹⁵⁷. Regarding value replication, the Latin poet Martial wrote wittily,

Torquatus has a palace at the fourth milestone:

Otacilius bought a small farm at the fourth.

Torquatus constructed splendid warm baths of varied marble:

Otacilius made a cooking pot.

Torquatus laid out a laurel grove on his land;

Otacilius planted a hundred chestnuts.

When Torquatus was consul, Otacilius was wardmaster,
in which high office he felt himself not inferior.

As once the bulky ox ruptured the tiny frog,

so, methinks, Torquatus will rupture Otacilius.¹⁵⁸

There were several reasons for such emulation by the non-elites.¹⁵⁹ First, as has been observed, such mimicry was inherent in a hierarchical culture. The second reason was the fact that power and wealth was held mainly by the aristocrats. This reality encouraged the imitation of aristocratic organisations by those below them so

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 100.

¹⁵⁷ Hellerman, *Reconstructing*, 46; Lendon, *Empire*, 100.

¹⁵⁸ Mart. 10.79.

¹⁵⁹ Reasons summarised from Lendon, *Empire*, 100–102.

that these associations of the non-elites could attract aristocratic benefactors and in turn establish them as organisations of honour and thus worthy of more benefaction. Once again, the reciprocal nature of the relationship between honour and power is on display. We witness the power of honour at work in the way aristocrats were influenced to become benefactors/patrons of associations of their social inferiors, and the resulting rewards of greater prestige and benefaction enjoyed by these associations. On the other hand, we observe the acquiring of honour by those with wealth and power.

The development of differing standards of honour by communities below the aristocracy was also curtailed by two factors.¹⁶⁰ First, the nobles assimilated the most honourable members of these groups into their ranks. Second, members of the lower classes also desired aristocratic honours. An example of these two factors can be seen in the honorific inscription for L. Aurelius Pylades, the emperor's freedman, and the elaboration of its background:

‘First among the pantomimes of his day, crowned four times in sacred games, patron of the association of Apollonian Parasites [a guild for mimes]; priest of the Synod of Performers, honoured by decree of the decurions of Puteoli with the ornaments of the decurionate and the joint-mayorship ...’ for giving Puteoli a gladiatorial show.¹⁶¹

In this inscription, we find two contrasting types of honours being mentioned – Aurelius Pylades’ prestige as a pantomime, which was a legally infamous occupation, and as a benefactor of the city of Puteoli. Due to his servile background and infamous profession, Aurelius Pylades could not hold the honourable position of a decurion but could be honoured with the ornaments of the decurionate and joint-mayorship. Even though the aristocratic honours seemed to publicise their shame, members of the lower classes were eager to obtain them with their wealth, be it ornaments or membership in the Augustales, a priesthood of the emperor, since they

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 101.

¹⁶¹ Information on Aurelius Pylades and concerning the allure of aristocratic honours taken from *ibid.*, 101–2.

could not hold positions of honour in public office.¹⁶² In the case of Aurelius Pylades, it was a win-win situation for both parties; the senate of Puteoli used the honours they could bestow to obtain Aurelius' cash while Aurelius gained the honours that he desired – the power and desirability of honour is again manifested.

The Roman emperor's slaves and freed-man assistants formed a community that clearly demonstrated the heavy influence of aristocratic standards of honour. Although they were restricted by their legal status, they were usually wealthy and influential, thus forming an unusual group in Graeco-Roman society. Despite the restrictions imposed on them, they behaved like nobles and were honoured in Roman society. This can be observed both in the inscriptions on their tombstones, such as imperial letters of appointments, positions in the imperial service, names of grandees whom they assisted, and the various honours bestowed by cities upon them for their public benefaction.¹⁶³

The domination of aristocratic notions of honour over other communities can also be observed in the phenomenon of borrowing honour among communities.¹⁶⁴ We have witnessed this phenomenon in the earlier examples of the freedman tapping on Pliny's greater honour to obtain his patron's pardon and the frequent appropriation of others' superior prestige in recommendation letters. An association could also borrow a city's prestige to honour its benefactor if it felt its own honours were lacking, by obtaining approval from the city's senate to erect a statue for its benefactor in the forum where the city's benefactors were honoured. Similarly, cities could also borrow the prestige of their provinces to honour their benefactors when they felt their own honours were insufficient.

The web of honour was so tightly knitted in the Graeco-Roman world that nothing could escape it.¹⁶⁵ Everything had honour and all utilized the power of honour to accomplish their will, from individuals to provinces, from aristocrats to slaves and freedmen. The double-sided nature of the relationship between honour

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ See *ibid.*, 102 for more details on the heavy influence of aristocratic notions of honour on the emperor's slaves and freed-man assistants.

¹⁶⁴ Information on the phenomenon of borrowing honour has been obtained from *ibid.*, 103–5.

¹⁶⁵ Some of the insights for this summary have been gleaned from *ibid.*, 105.

and power also meant that those who possessed power in various forms could easily accrue honour to themselves. Thus there is a mutually reinforcing relationship between honour and power that further enhanced the allure of honour and its power throughout the Graeco-Roman social scale. With respect to the existence of varying standards of honour within different communities in the great hierarchy of Graeco-Roman society, we have found that the values of one group clearly reigned over and influenced all others: those of the aristocrats. The phenomenon of borrowing honour also showed both the reality of a pecking order among various communities of honour and that their boundaries were permeable to the flow of honour. Hence, there was general agreement on the value and standards of honour across Graeco-Roman society. This consensus not only demonstrates the supremacy of the aristocratic code of honour but also the powerful allure of aristocratic honours, thus creating a sense of homogeneity and enabling honour to exercise its extensive power and influence over the Graeco-Roman world.

2.6 Honour as Power: The Gods and the Imperial Cult

In the first century CE, the cult of Artemis was fundamental to the identity of Ephesus; the city was proud of its close association with Artemis – it was Artemis’ birthplace, it had an image of her from heaven and cults of Artemis had originated from it.¹⁶⁶ The following Ephesian decree proclaiming the consecration of the whole month Artemision to Artemis reinforces the intimate relationship between the glory/honour of Ephesus and its chief goddess, Artemis:¹⁶⁷

... the goddess Artemis, defender of our city, is honored not only in her own land, which she has rendered more glorious than all other cities through her holiness, but [she is honored] also by Greeks and barbarians, so that holy places and precincts are everywhere established for her ... and this is the greatest sign of her cult, that we have called a month after her name, Artemision, ... during which festivals and holidays are held, notably in our

¹⁶⁶ Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price, *Religions of Rome* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), 1:360.

¹⁶⁷ James B. Rives, *Religion in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 108–9.

city, ... In this way, as the goddess will be the more honored, our city will abide for all time more famous and blessed.¹⁶⁸

Earlier, we have witnessed how the influence of a city was intimately bound up with its prestige. If the city's honour was dependent upon the glory of its chief deity, should we then postulate a close connection between a god's honour and power in the ancient Roman world? And if indeed this was true, what were the implications for the relationship between honour, power and the imperial cult? These questions will guide our discussion as we examine the Roman view of the gods, with a special emphasis on the deities' honour and power before moving on to explore the phenomenon of emperor worship in the Roman Empire. As the imperial cult played so many important roles in the ancient Graeco-Roman world, we shall limit our discussion to the relationship between honour, power and cult.¹⁶⁹

2.6.1 Honour and Power of the Gods

The Graeco-Roman conception of the divine world was diverse, spanning a wide spectrum of beings and abstractions.¹⁷⁰ Besides the pantheon of deities such as the Greek Zeus and his Roman equivalent Jupiter, there were many other gods such as Silvanus, the popular god of the woods and fields, and the goddess Magna Mater (Cybele).¹⁷¹ Other than the Olympian gods, Artemidorus' taxonomy of gods in his book, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, also includes features of the physical world like the Clouds, the Rivers and abstractions such as Fortune, Fear and Persuasion.¹⁷² The divine nature of such features and abstractions is further evidenced by them being objects of devotion through prayer, worship and votive offerings; altars can be found for them while public temples were dedicated to Pietas (Piety), Victoria (Victory),

¹⁶⁸ SIG 867; Translation by MacMullen and Lane in Ramsay MacMullen and Eugene N. Lane, eds., *Paganism and Christianity, 100-425 C.E.: A Sourcebook* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1992), 41.

¹⁶⁹ See Lendon, *Empire*, 160–61 for examples of the various roles of the imperial cult. Further, Beard, North, and Price, *Religions*, 1:348-65, and Rives, *Religion*, 148–56 show the diverse ways in which the emperor was related to the gods across the Roman Empire, emphasizing that there was no organized or coherent worship of the emperor as a god.

¹⁷⁰ The following discussion of the Graeco-Roman view of the divine has been adapted from Rives, *Religion*, 15–21.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 15; Hans-Josef Klauck, *The Religious Context of Early Christianity: A Guide to Graeco-Roman Religions*, trans. Brian McNeil, SNTW (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 28–29; Beard, North, and Price, *Religions*, 1:91-92, 96-98.

¹⁷² Artem. *Onir.* 2.34.

etc.¹⁷³ There were other objects with godlike/superhuman power such as *daimon* (δαίμων) and *heros* (ἥρωας) in Greek, or *numen* and *genius* in Latin. *Daimones* referred to beings which straddled the human and divine domains, such as guardian spirits, souls of the dead or living; *heros* were dead people who had performed some extraordinary deeds while alive, such as the founders of cities and mythical persons, and now had power over the living, providing benefits or causing harm, and had to be appeased through prayer and offerings.¹⁷⁴ *Numen* meant “divine power” or “divine will” while *genius* denoted the divine alter-ego of a person, building or place - people made offerings to the Roman emperor’s *numen* and dedications to the *genii* of various entities.¹⁷⁵ With these Greek and Latin terms, we find the divine and human domains encroaching on each other – the Romans offered cult to the dead, referring to them as gods while dead and even living Roman emperors were treated like gods. In the philosophical tradition, it was common to apply divine vocabulary to physical and metaphysical principles - in Stoicism, pantheistic notions of the divine were prevalent whereas Platonism entertained ideas of an absolute and transcendent deity.¹⁷⁶

With such diverse notions of the divine, it is easy to see how the Romans viewed the natural world as being filled with the presence of gods. The Roman philosopher, Seneca gives a vivid description of the popular view of the divine presence in nature,

If ever you have come upon a grove that is full of ancient trees which have grown to an unusual height, shutting out a view of the sky by a veil of pleached and intertwining branches, then the loftiness of the forest, the seclusion of the spot, and your marvel at the thick unbroken shade in the midst of the open spaces, will prove to you the presence of deity. Or if a cave, made by the deep crumbling of the rocks, holds up a mountain on its arch, a place not built with hands but hollowed out into such spaciousness by

¹⁷³ Rives, *Religion*, 16–17.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 18; Jon D. Mikalson, *Ancient Greek Religion* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 40–45; John Ferguson, *Greek and Roman Religion: A Source Book* (Park Ridge, NJ: Noyes, 1980), 92, 100.

¹⁷⁵ Rives, *Religion*, 19; John Scheid, *An Introduction to Roman Religion*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 153, 156, 162–66.

¹⁷⁶ Rives, *Religion*, 20–21; Jörg Rüpke, *Religion of the Romans*, trans. Richard Gordon (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), 66–67.

natural causes, your soul will be deeply moved by a certain intimation of the existence of God. We worship the sources of mighty rivers; we erect altars at places where great streams burst suddenly from hidden sources; we adore springs of hot water as divine, and consecrate certain pools because of their dark waters or their immeasurable depth.¹⁷⁷

James Rives has pointed out that an important way in which people of the ancient Graeco-Roman world responded to the divine presence and power in nature was with honour through offerings and acts of piety.¹⁷⁸ He further highlights that central to the conception of the divine in the ancient world was

... the acknowledgement of power, power that had an actual or potential impact on day-to-day life; hence the importance of acknowledging that power when people felt they had encountered it in the natural world.¹⁷⁹

At the same time, Graeco-Roman myths may imply the predominant view of the gods as capricious and some literary texts seem to suggest that fear lay behind people's interactions with them.¹⁸⁰ For example, in Plutarch's treatise on Superstition (δεισιδαιμονία, meaning "fear of the divine"), he considers superstition to be a problem worse than atheism because while the atheists "do not see the gods at all, the latter [superstitious] think that they do exist and are evil. The former disregard them, the latter conceive their kindness to be frightful, their fatherly solicitude to be despotic, their loving care to be injurious, their slowness to anger to be savage and brutal."¹⁸¹ In contrast to these negative views of the gods and fear towards them, the existence of many votive dedications show that many believed in the gods' benevolence - people erected them in gratitude to what they perceived to be divine answers to their prayers for safety, prosperity, health or advice.¹⁸² For

¹⁷⁷ Sen. *Ep.* 41.3. See Ferguson, *Greek and Roman Religion*, 17–23 for citations of other ancient writings and inscriptions concerning the divine presence in nature.

¹⁷⁸ Rives, *Religion*, 89–92 provides examples of associations of nature with the divine and ways in which people demonstrated their piety throughout the Roman Empire.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 92.

¹⁸⁰ Scheid, *Roman Religion*, 23; Rives, *Religion*, 98.

¹⁸¹ Plut. *De superst.* 6, 167d.

¹⁸² See Rives, *Religion*, 93–97, MacMullen and Lane, *Paganism*, 31, and Ferguson, *Greek and Roman Religion*, 125–27 for various examples. For more details on vows and votive dedications, see Rüpke, *Religion*, 154–67.

example, there is an inscription by a soldier in Apulum in Dacia – it expresses his thankfulness to Aesculapius and Hygiae (Health) for restoring his sight.¹⁸³ Moreover, the inscriptions on many of these dedications highlight various qualities attributed to the gods, such as “he/she who listens”, “saviour” or “preserver”, indicating that most believed in the gods’ goodness, that they were providers of protection and blessings.¹⁸⁴

Hence, in the Graeco-Roman tradition, the actions of the people demonstrated that most of them believed the gods to be omnipresent, mighty, benevolent and appreciative of piety. They in turn responded to the gods’ goodness and power through acts of piety, prayer and honour to obtain their favour/benefaction in all their endeavours. In other words, they deferred to the gods’ power through honour and worship, reciprocating the gods’ benefaction with gratitude in the form of offerings and dedications. Mary Beard, John North and Simon Price express a similar view,

Romans offered honour and worship in return for divine benevolence; the gods were free to be benevolent or not; if they were not, no obligation arose on either side; no rewards were given. There was, of course, a reciprocity, as in many other religious transactions.¹⁸⁵

And as I have demonstrated, reciprocity is also evident in many social transactions, especially in relations of honour and power. Indeed, we see similar attitudes and behaviours of deference and reciprocity in honour-power relations governing Graeco-Roman society also regulating the human-divine relationship. This is further echoed by Beard, North and Price,

Roman gods, whether or not anthropomorphic in form, were given mentality and behaviour that mirrored those of their worshippers on a large scale. There is no sense in which the gods should be seen as all-powerful or irresponsible, with humans as their helpless slaves. But nor

¹⁸³ Rives, *Religion*, 96; *ILS* 3847.

¹⁸⁴ Rives, *Religion*, 98; Martin Goodman, *The Roman World, 44 BC-AD 180*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2011), 318–19.

¹⁸⁵ Beard, North, and Price, *Religions*, 1:34.

could they be reliably controlled or predicted. They could, on the other hand, be negotiated with; *they were indeed bound to the human community by a network of obligations, traditions, rules* within which the skill of the priests, magistrates and senate could keep them on the side of the city.¹⁸⁶ [emphasis mine]

We can also observe the role of honour/glory and power in the divine-human interaction through the act of temple building. Temples were not only erected by citizens to house the gods for the purpose of worship, they were also constructed to honour the deities for their power and favours; citizens brought glory to themselves and in so doing, increased their influence by building temples and sponsoring festivals and games to please the gods.¹⁸⁷

In summary, honour-power relations were not only a key dynamic within Graeco-Roman society, they also featured strongly in the human-divine relationship. Deference and reciprocity in honour-power terms dominated the interaction between divine-human spheres and both deities and men were regarded as being part of the same community, with their behaviour conforming to Graeco-Roman social norms: humans deferred to the great honour and power of the gods while the deities reciprocated the honour and worship from individuals by bestowing favours upon them.¹⁸⁸

2.6.2 The Emperor as a God

After Julius Caesar's death, the appearance of a comet was interpreted by some as his soul rising to heaven; his apotheosis was officially recognised by the senate in 42 BCE with altars, sacrifices and a temple dedicated to him, making him *Divus Julius*. Caesar's successor, Augustus capitalized on his status as Caesar's adopted son, proclaiming himself on coinage as *divi filius* (son of a god).¹⁸⁹ After

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Goodman, *Roman*, 313, 316.

¹⁸⁸ Rives, *Religion*, 186.

¹⁸⁹ Goodman, *Roman*, 139.

Augustus' death, a formalized deification process began to evolve with the senate recognizing subsequent deceased emperors either as gods or not.¹⁹⁰

The background of the deification of the Roman emperors can be found in both the traditions of the Greek world and the development of Roman religious traditions. In the Greek world, Hellenistic kings like Alexander the Great and his successors received cult in various ways; with the expansion of the Roman Empire into the Eastern Mediterranean, Roman generals and governors began to receive similar divine honours from Greek cities.¹⁹¹ On the Roman front, military and political leaders had always enjoyed close connections with the gods; the success and prosperity of Rome was achieved by gods and human leaders working in partnership.¹⁹² An important implication of this view was that success brought human leaders into closer association with gods – “in the ceremony of triumph, the victorious general literally put on the clothes of Jupiter Optimus Maximus ... he [the general] slipped into the god's shoes.”¹⁹³ Nonetheless this close association between men and gods was essentially temporary as magistracies and military commands were held only for a period of time, just as the ceremony of triumph was for a moment.¹⁹⁴ Things began to change in the late Republic when great political leaders began to hold appointments and exercise power over extended periods of time, thus laying claim to long-term association with deities. The close identification between leader and deity can be observed in the following trends: various leaders were not only allowed to wear the triumphal dress of Jupiter more frequently at public occasions, some were offered food and libations while others had incense and candles burned before statues erected for them.¹⁹⁵ Another manifestation of the close association with the gods can be seen in the claim by political leaders of divine favour and protection, even divine ancestry as in the case of Caesar.¹⁹⁶ Thus Julius

¹⁹⁰ Refer to Scheid, *Roman Religion*, 159–62, and Rives, *Religion*, 150 for more details of the process.

¹⁹¹ Refer to Beard, North, and Price, *Religions*, 1:145–47 for a more detailed elaboration and examples of Roman governors/generals receiving divine honours from Greek cities; Rüpke, *Religion*, 60.

¹⁹² Refer to Beard, North, and Price, *Religions*, 1:142–45 for a description of the Roman background behind the divination of the emperor in greater detail.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 1:142.

¹⁹⁴ Beard, North, and Price (*ibid.*) also highlight “the story of the slave at the triumph constantly reminding the general *that he was a man* (not a god).”

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1:143–44.

¹⁹⁶ Rüpke, *Religion*, 60; Beard, North, and Price, *Religions*, 144–45 who also note that “For him (Caesar), Venus was more than a patron goddess; she was the ancestress of the family of Aeneas,

Caesar's apotheosis can be seen as the culmination of the trend of ever closer association with the gods till outright identification as one.

On a geographical and social basis, cult was offered to the emperor at a provincial level, among cities, by voluntary associations and private individuals.¹⁹⁷ Among them, of interest to our discussion would be cult offered by the provinces and cities. Through provincial cults, aristocrats expanded their prestige and patronage beyond the confines of their own cities while cities sought the emperor's permission for cult to him, although it was unnecessary to do so, due to the honour that accompanied imperial endorsement.¹⁹⁸ We shall examine the honour and power implications in the next section.

At the same time, there appears to be some distinction in the way cult was offered to emperors between Roman citizens and their subjects. Rives has provided several examples that seem to suggest that within official contexts and among citizens, the Roman authorities distinguished between living emperors, who were not worshipped as gods, and deified dead ones, who were.¹⁹⁹ Indeed, the oblique nature of worship offered to living emperors can be seen in the following ways. The living emperor's *genius* was often invoked in oaths, as if he were the head of a household, rather than his person, as if he were a god; the living emperor's *numen* and not his person was worshipped.²⁰⁰ Furthermore, prayers, offerings, sacrifices and dedications were made for the living emperor to deities for his well-being, indicating that the emperor was not a god since gods did not require divine blessings.²⁰¹

Besides cult, there were other ways of depicting the religious role of the emperor, especially through images such as statues and other depictions on reliefs and coinage.²⁰² The divine image of emperors was reinforced through some of these

from which his own family of the Julii traced their line. Caesar, in other words, could claim to be a direct descendant of the goddess herself." (145).

¹⁹⁷ Refer to Rives, *Religion*, 150–52 for examples of cult offered at the various levels. In examining the distribution of the imperial cult in Asia Minor S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: CUP, 1984), 78–100 emphasizes that it was found mainly in "communally organized, Greek urban settlements" (79).

¹⁹⁸ Rives, *Religion*, 151.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 150. See also Beard, North, and Price, *Religions*, 1:349.

²⁰⁰ Rives, *Religion*, 152.

²⁰¹ Price, *Rituals*, 215–20, 232–33; Rives, *Religion*, 152.

²⁰² Rives, *Religion*, 153; Goodman, *Roman*, 139–42.

images, for example by portraying the emperors in forms similar to specific deities, as in the statue of the emperor Claudius in Rome that is very much like Jupiter. Rives notes the divine image conveyed by the statue, especially its similarities to Jupiter: “he holds a sceptre, the sign of Jupiter’s divine rule, and is accompanied by an eagle, the traditional bird of Jupiter. Even his partial nudity is a marker of heroic or divine status; the real Claudius would never have appeared in public in such attire, nor is his physique likely to have been so splendid.”²⁰³ However there is an obvious difference between the statue of Claudius and Jupiter – while Jupiter holds a lightning bolt, Claudius holds a dish for offering libations.²⁰⁴ This leads to an ambiguity in the interpretation of the image – was Claudius the embodiment of Jupiter or was he merely like Jupiter?

This ambiguity leads to an important question – were the emperors viewed as deities or not? At the same time, this ambiguity highlights the various ways of including the emperor and understanding his role within the religious life of the empire – temples could be built for emperors, treating them like gods; prayers could be made for them to deities and they could be portrayed as pious worshippers offering sacrifices to gods, as though the emperors were human.²⁰⁵

Two observations are helpful for us to view the ambiguity and different strategies within a wider context.²⁰⁶ First, as we have discussed earlier, there was no sharp divide between the human and divine domains in the Graeco-Roman tradition.²⁰⁷ Rather it was more of a spectrum and with myths of the apotheosis of people like Herakles and Asklepios, regarding a significant individual like the emperor as a deity would not come as much of a shock in the ancient Graeco-Roman world. Secondly, the diverse and often ambiguous ways of viewing the emperor’s role were also due to the perception of the emperor as the crucial point of intersection between the human and divine realms.²⁰⁸ The Roman emperor was at the pinnacle of the Roman Empire in various ways, as its top politician, military

²⁰³ Rives, *Religion*, 153. See Price, *Rituals*, 172–88 for a more detailed discussion on imperial images, especially the portrayal of emperors with divine associations.

²⁰⁴ Rives, *Religion*, 153.

²⁰⁵ Price, *Rituals*, 215–20, 231–33; Rives, *Religion*, 153.

²⁰⁶ Adapted from Price, *Rituals*, 231–33, and Rives, *Religion*, 153–55.

²⁰⁷ Rives, *Religion*, 153–55.

²⁰⁸ Price, *Rituals*, 233; Rives, *Religion*, 155.

commander, chief aristocrat and head patron.²⁰⁹ Hence as a human, the emperor was viewed as acting on behalf of the empire in its relations with the gods. The Roman emperor sought divine blessings on the empire through prayers, sacrifices and other acts of piety as depicted in various images of him.²¹⁰ At the same time, the gods were viewed as bestowing favours on the empire through the emperor and this led the people to pray for his well-being. This view is echoed by the writer of a rhetorical handbook, “What prayers ought cities to make to the powers above, save always for the emperor? What greater blessing must one ask from the gods than the emperor’s safety? Rains in season, abundance from the seas, unstinting harvests come happily to us because of the emperor’s justice. In return, cities, nations, races and tribes, all of us, garland him, sing of him, write of him.”²¹¹ A key attribute of the gods is the ability to bestow blessings; in this instance the emperor was viewed as a god by the people since he ensured the peace and prosperity of the empire. Thus the emperor straddled both human and divine domains in his unique role as a go-between.

2.6.3 Honour and Power in the Imperial Cult

In the ancient Graeco-Roman world, one cannot help but be amazed by the plethora of honours bestowed upon the Roman emperor by his subjects. Cities and provinces honoured the emperor with coins, statues, honorific decrees, priesthoods and magistracies; they honoured him by renaming months, declaring holidays and holding sacrifices to commemorate his successes and accession; they honoured his visits with processions, incense and music.²¹² If the diverse array of honours could be ranked on a scale, then the Mount Everest among them would be acts of divine cult, as noted by the Roman emperor, Tiberius in his letter to Gytheum in Laconia, in response to their decrees of divine honours for him, his mother Livia, and the late Augustus:²¹³

²⁰⁹ Rives, *Religion*, 149; Price, *Rituals*, 233.

²¹⁰ See Rives, *Religion*, 155 for some examples of the images.

²¹¹ Men. Rhet. 377.19-28.

²¹² See Lendon, *Empire*, 161 for more details and examples of ways the emperor was honoured.

²¹³ Ibid.

The ambassador sent by you to me and to my mother, Decimus Turranius Nicanor, delivered your letter in which were recorded the laws you had established for veneration of my father and honour to us. I praise you for this; I consider it proper for all mankind in general and for your city in particular to maintain exceptional honours which are due to gods for the great benefactions of my father to all the world, but I myself am content with the more moderate honours which are proper for men.²¹⁴

Even if there was a distinction between human and divine honours in the emperor's mind, as in Tiberius' case, these two types of honours appear to vary only in degree but not in kind in his subjects' eyes.²¹⁵ Indeed in the Graeco-Roman tradition, just as there was no sharp disjunction between the divine and human domains, so human and divine honours existed within a continuum, with acts of divine cult at the apex of the pyramid of honours. This can be observed in the mixture of human and divine honours bestowed upon the emperor Claudius by Alexandria – observing his birthday as a sacred day, putting up statutes of him and his family, creating a Claudian tribe, dedicating sacred groves, establishing a high priesthood and temples for him; Claudius accepted all the accolades except for the priesthood and temples.²¹⁶

Nicolaus of Damascus, a first century BCE philosopher and historian, highlights the reasons for ascribing the summit of all honours, i.e. divine cult to the emperor:²¹⁷

Since men call him thus [sc. *Sebastos* = Augustus] in proportion to his degree of honour, they revere him with temples and sacrifices on the islands and continents, distributed through the cities and provinces [*deference*]. Thus they repay the greatness of his virtue and his benefactions to them [*reciprocity*].²¹⁸ (insertions mine)

²¹⁴ *Gk. Const.* 15.2.14-23.

²¹⁵ Lendon, *Empire*, 161–62.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 162; *Gk. Const.* 19.

²¹⁷ Examples of Nicolaus, Philo and Lucian obtained from Lendon, *Empire*, 163.

²¹⁸ Nic. Dam., *FGrH* 90 F 125; Lendon's translation in Lendon, *Empire*, 163.

Philo, in agreement with Nicolaus, examines cult as deference for the emperor's great honour while Lucian corroborates Nicolaus' view of divine honours as reciprocity: "the king's most important reward is praise, universal fame, reverence for his benefactions, statues and temples and shrines bestowed on him by his subjects – all these are payment for the thought and care which such men evidence in their continual watch over the common weal and its improvement."²¹⁹ As observed in the previous section, the Roman emperor stood at the top of various hierarchies in the Roman Empire, be it military, political, religious or social. As chief aristocrat, the emperor possessed utmost honour/glory; as head patron, he was the supreme benefactor without being the beneficiary of anyone.²²⁰ Consequently, in deference to the emperor's immense prestige and in reciprocation to his many favours, the people of the Roman Empire honoured him with a diverse array of honours, culminating with the best, i.e. divine cult, as only the best will do for the emperor in view of his supreme honour and bountiful benefactions.²²¹

However, this leads us to the question of sincerity: did the emperor's subjects really believe that his honour and benefactions were so overwhelming that only divine accolades were appropriate each time they offered some form of cult to him?²²² But lest we forget, the ancient Graeco-Roman world was a culture of honour and shame; of paramount importance was to *appear* deferential and grateful to avoid shame and gain honour with its associated power. In declaring divine accolades to the emperor, the town Gytheum, as an example of many other cities and provinces, publicized it by calling upon its officials to do the following:²²³

Let them also set up a marble stele and engrave upon it this *lex sacra* and let them deposit a copy of the *lex sacra* in the public files, in order that in a public building and in the open air *where it is visible to all the law which is in force may make apparent to all mankind the gratitude of the demos of the Gytheates toward the princes*.²²⁴ [emphasis mine]

²¹⁹ Philo, *Legat.* 140–52; Lucian, *Apologia* 13.

²²⁰ Rives, *Religion*, 149.

²²¹ Lendon, *Empire*, 163–64.

²²² Insights on the question of sincerity regarding divine honours were derived from *ibid.*, 164–65.

²²³ See *ibid.*, 165 for other examples.

²²⁴ *Gk. Const.* 15.1.34–40.

The decree shows the town's wish to appear grateful to those around it, thus betraying its desire for honour and power since having a reputation of gratefulness enhanced one's prestige. Hence the twin motivators of the imperial cult, deference and gratitude were not only, perhaps sometimes, heartfelt responses of the emperor's subjects towards his immense prestige and benefactions but also, more often than not, reflections of their desire for honour and power, once again demonstrating the potent attraction of honour.

But what about the appropriateness of divine accolades for eccentric emperors like Nero, Commodus and Elagabalus?²²⁵ Though it may seem strange to us, it was necessary for even such emperors to be recognized as possessing immense prestige, for the honour of many was dependent upon their perceived prestige. To understand this phenomenon, we need to recognize that the imperial cult not only belonged to the world of *philotimia*, it was also an arena in which individuals, cities and provinces competed with one another for honour and influence.²²⁶

For the imperial cult as belonging to the world of *philotimia*, Lendon observes that the imperial priesthood provided a platform for individuals to gain honour through providing public benefaction in the form of public distributions, games and meals in honour of the emperor.²²⁷ Thus the priesthood of the imperial cult became an avenue where rich freedmen who were denied prestigious membership in the town senate could pay for honour; it was also an opportunity for individuals to gain more prestige and power.

The struggle among cities for prestige through the imperial cult can be seen in their competition for the title of "pious" or even "most pious".²²⁸ The background of this rivalry has to be understood through the term "piety" (*eusebeia*). Piety can be understood within two contexts. With respect to the gods, *eusebeia* denoted veneration for the gods' honour. When this understanding was translated into the case of the emperor, piety came to mean deference for his prestige with acts of cult

²²⁵ Lendon, *Empire*, 165.

²²⁶ The insights on the imperial cult as part of the world of *philotimia* and as a competitive arena for honour have been gleaned from *ibid.*, 165–68.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 166.

²²⁸ Adapted from *ibid.*, 166–67.

towards him as an expression of it. In a culture where honour dominates, it is not surprising that the posture of piety towards the emperor also became an arena in which individuals, cities and provinces competed with each other for honour and power, with the titles mentioned earlier as prestigious prizes to be won.

Indeed the imperial cult was so deeply entangled within the world of *philotimia*, was such a battleground for honour, and with the honour, and associated power, of so many imperial priests, cities, provinces and individuals dependent upon the emperor's prestige that it was of paramount importance that the emperor possessed great prestige.²²⁹ There was so much at stake that it was unthinkable that the emperor be unworthy of divine honours and cult. Even eccentric emperors like Nero, Commodus and Elagabalus, who seemed unworthy of prestige, needed to be recognised as honourable and worthy of the honours bestowed upon them by their subjects; in this case, perhaps their subjects' honours made them honourable. In the imperial cult, we find that the emperors' subjects' *philotimia* and competition for honour once again demonstrates the powerful allure of honour which reinforces its dominance and influence in the Graeco-Roman world.

Since honour was such an integral part of the imperial cult, it comes as little or no surprise that cities and emperors could make use of it to influence each other, i.e. as a form of power. In the case of the emperor's subjects, cities may offer divine honours to the emperor in order to influence him to agree to their requests for new privileges and for the preservation of existing ones.²³⁰ Furthermore, their subjects' demonstrations of piety, which was regarded as motivation for cult and loyalty, could also induce emperors to reward them in various ways – Emperors Caligula, Claudius and Nero granted the union of states, preserved the rights and privileges of a guild and gave freedom and immunity to a province.²³¹

We will next examine the power wielded by the emperor over his subjects through honour associated with the imperial cult. Before doing so, let us consider the reasons, related to honour, for the emperors' refusal of direct worship, leading to

²²⁹ Some insights for this paragraph have been obtained from *ibid.*, 167–68.

²³⁰ Price, *Rituals*, 243; Lendon, *Empire*, 168; *Gk. Const.* 19, 23, 39; Philo, *Legat.* 137.

²³¹ Lendon, *Empire*, 169; *Gk. Const.* 18, 24, 296.

the oblique nature of worship offered to living emperors as indicated earlier. Even though divine honours for rulers were generally acceptable in the Greek East, Lendon notes that in the West, aristocratic opinion dictated that direct worship of a living emperor was disgusting and the one who agreed to it was considered rude, proud and boastful.²³² Thus emperors were keen to accept divine honours for their dead predecessors but refused conspicuous forms of cult for themselves as it would tarnish their prestige in the eyes of fellow nobles. Nonetheless their unwillingness eroded over time as direct public worship of living emperors slowly gained acceptance in the West.²³³

Since there was such a keen competition among the emperor's subjects for honours associated with the imperial cult, the emperor shrewdly used them to rule over his subjects.²³⁴ Emperors could make use of such honours to motivate their subjects to perform favours for them and Rome or to inspire loyalty. And the honours were a very useful political tool for the emperor especially when imperial consent had to be obtained for cult in the form of building temples, holding games and festivals. For example, the emperor Tiberius heard eleven cities competing with each other before the Senate for the honour of building him a temple, i.e. to become the *neokoros* or "temple warden"; the cities supported their request with claims of prestige, *and zeal for the Roman cause in their wars against others*.²³⁵ Lendon cites another example:

Septimius Severus granted Nicomedia a second neocorate, presumably as *one of the city's rewards for its help against Niger*. And after the same civil war the Tarsians awoke to discover in their province of Cilicia a rival city, Anazarbos, now also entitled to hold distinguished provincial games for the emperor. Perhaps Anazarbos *shrewdly backed Elagabalus against Macrinus* in 218, earning herself a second neocorate, and then *deftly*

²³² Lendon, *Empire*, 169.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 170.

²³⁴ Insights for the emperor's use of honours associated with the imperial cult as power over his subjects were gleaned from *ibid.*, 170–72.

²³⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 4.55–56. On *neokoros*, see Price, *Rituals*, 64–67, 72–73.

supported Decius in 249, thereby drawing ahead of Tarsus with three neocorates.²³⁶ [emphasis mine]

Truly, honour was so much a part of the imperial cult that the emperor could wield it as power to rule his subjects while his subjects could utilize it to influence him.

2.7 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, we have seen the different ways in which glory/honour expressed itself as power throughout the ancient Graeco-Roman world. We have found glory/honour to be a powerful source of value, capable of being exchanged for goods, services and more glory/honour, thus functioning as a form of power for men, cities and gods due to the people's desire for it and anxiety over losing it. Hence glory/honour exercised power among people in the Graeco-Roman world through its powerful allure.

Anxiety over the loss of honour also contributed to the role of glory/honour as a social sanction to enforce social norms, such as deference, reciprocity of favours and honours, and the duty of gratitude; any of which may be used to influence others. There were several reasons to account for the power of glory/honour as a social sanction. We have found that the duty of reciprocity was inculcated early in the Roman household. Positively, the prominence of gratitude as a virtue meant that having a reputation as a grateful returner of favours increased one's honour. Negatively, reciprocity functioned at a conscious level as fear of the inability to obtain favours meant that people were conscientious about returning favours.

The ancients have also been raised in their households to obey prestige through deference. Thus glory/honour also functioned as a source of social authority. The reasons for honouring and obeying prestige were twofold: first, those who refused deference were punished with dishonour and second, those who demonstrated enthusiastic deference were rewarded with more honour as it was

²³⁶ Lendon, *Empire*, 172.

considered a virtue. Last but not least, the social nature of glory/honour meant that one could gain power through association with another person who had greater glory/honour.

The double-sided nature of the relationship between glory/honour and power also meant that those with power in various forms could easily accrue honour to themselves. This mutually reinforcing relationship between honour and power further enhanced the allure of honour and its power throughout the Graeco-Roman world.

The relationship between city finance, public benefaction, honour and power in the Roman Empire also reinforced the association of glory/honour with power. The Greek term used for a public benefaction, *philotimia*, an attitude or act of 'glory love', emphasized the fact that the rich were motivated by glory/honour to contribute money and effort to the city; cities could thus use the honours they had to offer to influence the wealthy and powerful for their own benefit. While gratitude to one's city may inspire public benefaction, glory/honour probably provided greater stimulus since gratitude was a prominent virtue that enhanced one's honour. Finally, the power of deference benefitted both city and benefactor: deference to the city's honour required benefaction from the rich and powerful while deference to the benefactor's prestige entitled him to honour.

In the Graeco-Roman tradition, attitudes and behaviours of deference and reciprocity in honour-power relations not only held sway within Graeco-Roman society, they also regulated the divine-human relationship. Our study has shown that people deferred to divine power through honour and worship, and reciprocated divine favours with gratitude in the form of dedications and offerings. We have also found the Roman emperor to be in an ambiguous position of being regarded as both human and divine as he was perceived as being in a unique role as an intermediary between the human and divine spheres. As human, the emperor was viewed as acting on behalf of the empire in its relations with the gods. As divine, the emperor was seen as the channel through which the gods bestowed blessings upon the empire.

Glory/honour and power also featured prominently in the divine cult where acts of divine cult were given to the Roman emperor as they formed the apex in a pyramid of honours. As expressions of his subjects' deference and reciprocity to the emperor's overwhelming prestige and benefactions, thereby enhancing his subjects' reputation, and in turn honour and power, we have noted how the offering of divine honours and cult to the emperor reflects the powerful allure of honour. The potent attraction and power of honour is also shown in the subjects' *philotimia* and keen competition for honours associated with the imperial cult. The intense competition among the emperors' subjects for honours connected with the divine cult allowed emperors to utilise these honours as a means of rule to encourage loyalty and to inspire their subjects to perform favours for them. On the other hand, cities may offer divine honours to emperors in order to motivate emperors to act in their favour. Thus, we have explored the reciprocal nature of the relationship between glory/honour and power and the different ways in which glory/honour exercised its power in the Graeco-Roman world. We are now ready to move on and explore the associations between glory/honour and power in the Jewish tradition.

Chapter 3 Glory/Honour and Power in the Jewish Tradition

3.1 Introduction

Before examining the relationship between glory and power in the Jewish tradition, it would be helpful to identify and briefly examine the key Hebrew and Greek terms, “כבוד” and “δόξα”, used to refer to glory. The Hebrew word כבוד, derived from כבד (to be heavy) had the meaning of something “weighty” that gave a person importance, thus making him impressive to others.¹ Thus when כבוד was used with respect to humans, it could be associated with wealth (Genesis 31:1), status (Genesis 45:13) and power (Isaiah 8:7). When used with respect to God, it denotes “that which makes God impressive to man, the force of his self-manifestation”.² Among the various connotations of כבוד, such as radiance accompanying the divine presence (Ezekiel 1:28) and honour (Psalm 138:5), of interest to our discussion would be its association with power such as in the manifestation of God’s power through the phenomenon of a thunderstorm (Psalm 29; LXX 28), its connection with divine rule (Isaiah 6:3) and with salvific power (Isaiah 40:5).

Moving on to the Greek term δόξα, its two main meanings in Greek literature are an opinion, which may be true or false, and honour.³ The association of δόξα with honour could partly account for the reason the LXX translators used it to translate כבוד. Carey Newman has suggested another reason for the LXX translators’ choice of δόξα to translate כבוד.⁴ Newman points out that δόξα belonged to a semantic “field of signifiers for revelatory information, sensory perception, light terminology, and, most importantly, the appearance of gods”.⁵ Although δόξα belonged to the semantic field related to divine epiphanies, it was not a term used for pagan theophanies in antiquity (e.g. ἐπιφάνεια, φαντασία). Hence the LXX translators might have chosen δόξα to translate כבוד as Yahweh’s visible presence in

¹ Information on כבוד adapted from Gerhard von Rad, “כבוד in the OT,” *TDNT* 2:238–42; Harrison, *Paul*, 232–33.

² von Rad, *TDNT* 2:238.

³ Forster, “Meaning of Δόξα,” 311. Kittel, *TDNT* 2:234–35 further classifies the meaning of δόξα into 2 senses, subjective and objective. Subjectively, δόξα may imply (1) expectation, (2) opinion, (3) philosophical opinion, tenet or axiom, (4) conjecture and (5) dream, illusion or imagination. Objectively, δόξα denotes honour or reputation.

⁴ Newman, *Paul’s Glory-Christology*, 134–53, esp. 148–51.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 150.

order to distinguish it from pagan theophanies, thus preserving the “glory” tradition in the Hebrew Scriptures. In fact, the LXX translators were so successful in their use of δόξα that the old meaning of “opinion” for δόξα has disappeared from the New Testament.⁶ At the same time, with the use of δόξα to translate כבוד, the various associations of כבוד with power were also transferred over to δόξα.⁷ Besides the predominant utilization of δόξα in the LXX to render כבוד, Arthur Forster has pointed out that δόξα is also used to translate twenty four other Hebrew terms with meanings of strength, beauty and riches.⁸ Thus δόξα can refer to the display of power or status which further corroborates the correlation between glory and power.

From the brief discussion of כבוד and δόξα, we have discovered various hints of a close relationship between glory and power in the Jewish tradition. In this chapter, we will explore different aspects of this relationship in the Hebrew Scriptures, in the Second Temple literature such as the Old Testament Apocrypha, Dead Sea Scrolls, Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, and in the writings of Philo and Josephus.

Before proceeding with the discussion, I would like to make some observations about the methodology for analysing the various texts. In the following discussion, I will not be adopting a diachronic approach in examining the various aspects of the relationship between glory and power in the Jewish tradition. Source-critical issues will also not be considered but the texts will be examined in their final form to glean the influences that may have shaped Paul’s understanding of glory as power, or at least express the general connection between glory and power in his sociocultural context.

3.2 Glory and Power in the Hebrew Scriptures

3.2.1 Glory: Power to Redeem and Power of Restraint (Exodus 7-14)

⁶ Gerhard Kittel, “The NT Use of δόξα, I,” *TDNT* 2:237.

⁷ Kittel, *TDNT* 2:243–44.

⁸ Forster, “Meaning of Δόξα,” 312–14.

The Exodus is one of the milestones in the history of Israel; it is remembered yearly in the celebration of the Passover where the Israelites commemorate Yahweh's mighty deliverance from Egypt, the land of slavery (Exodus 13:3, cf. Exodus 6:6; 7:4).⁹

Besides the leitmotif of God's redemption, there are several other themes in the account of the Exodus. Among them, those relevant to our discussion include the demonstration of God's power through/to Pharaoh (Exodus 9:16),¹⁰ the proclamation of God's name in all the earth (Exodus 9:16)¹¹ and the manifestation of God's glory (δόξα/כבוד) through the hardening of Pharaoh (Exodus 14:4, 17-18).¹²

At the outset of Moses' call and commission to deliver the Israelites from Egyptian oppression, God promised his presence to be with Moses when Moses expressed great misgivings in his ability to fulfil the mission (Exodus 3:11-12). However, God also forewarned Moses that Pharaoh would deny Moses' request for the Israelites to undertake a three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to God. Yahweh would then demonstrate his powerful presence through many mighty wonders that would result in Pharaoh sending the Israelites away (Exodus 3:18-20).¹³ It is Yahweh's powerful presence that brings about the deliverance of the Israelites.

Indeed, throughout Exodus 7-14, there is frequent use of כבוד¹⁴ as a double entendre, both to mean "heavy, harden, stubborn, massive/great/numerous" and to denote God displaying his powerful presence (כבוד) and glory (δόξα/כבוד). Yahweh does this through the "כבוד-ing" (hardening) of Pharaoh's heart (e.g. Exodus 10:1)

⁹ Referencing will follow the MT in our discussion; referencing for the LXX will be indicated in parentheses where it differs from the MT.

¹⁰ John I. Durham, *Exodus*, WBC 3 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), 91, 128; Heikki Räisänen, *The Idea of Divine Hardening: A Comparative Study of the Notion of Divine Hardening, Leading Astray and Inciting to Evil in the Bible and the Quran*, 2nd ed. (Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society, 1976), 56.

¹¹ God's name refers to his presence and power in the immediate literary context (Durham, *Exodus*, 128) and signifies his character of being sovereign, merciful, compassionate, patient, trustworthy, forgiving and just in the wider context of Exodus (LXX Exodus 33:19; 34:6-7). We will examine some of the inter-relationships between God's name, sovereignty/power, glory, mercy and compassion later as we explore other passages in the Hebrew Scriptures and in greater detail when we discuss Romans 9:14-23.

¹² Another theme is the Israelites and Egyptians gaining a true knowledge of Yahweh through his deliverance (Exodus 6:6-7; 7:3-5).

¹³ Durham, *Exodus*, 36, 40.

¹⁴ Exodus 7:14; 8:11, 20, 28; 9:3, 7, 18, 24, 34; 10:1, 14; 12:38; 14:4, 17, 18, 25.

and by sending “כבד-ish” (great/heavy) plagues (e.g. Exodus 8:20; 9:18).¹⁵ The “never before and never again” nature (Exodus 9:18, 24; 10:6, 14) of the plagues further accentuates the divine hand behind the whole episode. The climax occurs with the Egyptians realizing that Yahweh (as divine warrior) was fighting for the Israelites when he caused the wheels of their chariots to drive “כבד-edly”.¹⁶

Within Exodus 7-14, we also find Yahweh providing an explanation of the purpose of the plagues in Exodus 9:13-19 which functions as the introduction to the seventh plague of hail (9:13-35). In Exodus 9:16, Yahweh indicates his reasons for sustaining Pharaoh thus far: to show Pharaoh his power and to proclaim his name throughout the earth – there seems to be some correlation between God’s demonstration of his power and the proclamation of his name. William Ford’s examination of this passage within his wider study of the theological issues related to the depiction of Yahweh in the plagues narrative in Exodus has shed some insights that are relevant to our study.¹⁷ Ford has argued that God’s demonstration of his power in Exodus 9:16, when read in the context of Exodus 9:13-19, refers to God’s expression of power through restraint, i.e. mercy, in not destroying the Egyptians (Exodus 9:15), in contrast to Pharaoh’s exercise of power over Israel through oppressive domination.¹⁸ He quotes two parallels to support his view of God’s demonstration of power through mercy.¹⁹ The first is found in Numbers 14:17-19 where Moses beseeches God to magnify his power by exercising mercy on the Israelites. Secondly, Yahweh’s response to Moses’ request for him to “show me your glory” (Exodus 33:18), which parallels Yahweh’s “show you my power” to Pharaoh, is the proclamation of the divine name (Exodus 33:19; 34:6-7), which also

¹⁵ Newman, *Paul’s Glory-Christology*, 38–39 n. 44; Räisänen, *Divine Hardening*, 52–56. From a source-critical analysis, Brevard S. Childs, *Exodus: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM, 1974), 174 has identified the following relationship between the hardening of Pharaoh’s heart and the plagues as signs: the hardening prevents Pharaoh from gaining a true knowledge of Yahweh through the signs and results in them being multiplied as judgment. In the final form of the text of Exodus, both the hardening of Pharaoh’s heart and the multiplication of the signs are part of the divine plan that will demonstrate Yahweh’s power and glory (Exodus 7:3-5; 14:4).

¹⁶ Exodus 14:25, cf. Exodus 14:14. The terms “כבד-ing”, “כבד-ish” and “כבד-edly” have been adapted from Newman, *Paul’s Glory-Christology*, 38–39 n. 44 as Newman uses “כבד-ing”, “כבד-ish” and “כבד-edly” instead.

¹⁷ William A. Ford, *God, Pharaoh and Moses: Explaining the Lord’s Actions in the Exodus Plagues Narrative* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2006), 30–82.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 30–76, in particular 60-70. Ford’s argument is based on understanding the divine action toward Pharaoh in Exodus 9:16 as “I have sustained you” instead of “I raised you up” as cited in Romans 9:17; both are valid interpretations of the Hebrew term הַעֲמִידְתִּיךָ in Exodus 9:16.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 65.

forms the second purpose of Exodus 9:16. Thus we observe a correlation between the demonstration of divine power and glory, through the proclamation of the divine name, in this passage; in particular God's use of power through restraint, i.e. mercy, within the Exodus narrative.

The account of the Israelite exodus from Egypt is an impressive display of divine power: in the plagues, in the deliverance of the Israelites and in the restraint, i.e. mercy, towards Pharaoh and the Egyptians, and divine glory. The correlation between the demonstration of divine power and glory points to the association of God's glory with his redemptive power and mercy.

3.2.2 Glory: Power, Might, Sovereign Ruler and Saviour (Isaiah)

Moving on to the Prophets, we find glory as an important theme in one of the major prophetic books of the Hebrew Scriptures: Isaiah.²⁰ Leonard Brockington has suggested that in the Greek translation of Isaiah, the LXX translator has used the word δόξα “to express and to reiterate the redemptive power of God”.²¹ In this section, we shall explore this and other associations between glory and power, first in Isaiah 8 and then in Deutero-Isaiah,²² focusing on Isaiah 40-48.

In Isaiah 8:5-8, Yahweh gives a word of judgment upon Judah to the prophet Isaiah as a result of Judah's failure to trust in him; instead Ahaz, king of Judah, sought help from Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria against the threat of Rezin, king of Aram, and Pekah, son of Remaliah, king of Israel.²³ In Isaiah 8:6-7, God's help or word is compared to the “gently flowing waters of Shiloah”, a likely reference to the streams of water that flowed from the Gihon spring via canals to pools at the lower end of Jerusalem, supplying water to the city.²⁴ This is contrasted with the mighty (מַצַּע/ἰσχυρός) and abundant (בַּר/πολύς) waters of the River Euphrates; a reference to

²⁰ John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 1-39*, NICOT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1986), 622.

²¹ Leonard Herbert Brockington, “The Greek Translator of Isaiah and His Interest in ΔΟΞΑ,” *VT* 1 (1951): 26; Brockington (ibid., 30–32) elaborates on the close association of δόξα with σωτηρία in Isaiah.

²² Generally identified as Isaiah 40-55.

²³ Cf. 2 Kings 16 and Isaiah 7.

²⁴ Oswalt, *Isaiah 1-39*, 225; Hans Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12: A Commentary*, trans. Thomas H. Trapp, CC (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1991), 343–44.

the awesome power of Assyria, to whom king Ahaz had looked for help.²⁵ Instead of aid, Assyria is God's instrument of bringing judgment upon Judah; like a river overflowing its banks, the Assyrian king and his army will soon inundate Judah.²⁶ In verse 7, we find glory being closely associated with might and power through the comparison of the glory (כבוד/δόξα) of the Assyrian king with the mighty (עצמ/ίσχυρός) and abundant (רב/πολύς) waters of the River Euphrates.²⁷

Moving on to Deutero-Isaiah, we find the larger context of Isaiah 40-48 possessing a thematic unity: Yahweh is the only true God because He is the only Creator, Sovereign Ruler of history and Redeemer.²⁸ This thematic unity includes several motifs: the return from exile (a second exodus), the fall of Babylon and its gods, and the work of the Servant.²⁹ Within Isaiah 40-48, we find several occurrences of glory language explicating the overall thematic unity and motifs.

Beginning with God's glory and his redemptive power, we observe this close connection between them in the opening verses of Isaiah 40, the introductory chapter of Isaiah 40-48.³⁰ In verses 1-5, the prophet declares the good news of comfort and restoration instead of judgment (vv. 1-2) and that the restoration involves the return and universal self-revelation of Yahweh (vv. 3-5).³¹ Within this segment of Isaiah's prophecy, δόξα is clearly associated with σωτηρία in Isaiah 40:5:

²⁵ Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah*, OTL (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 73.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 1-33*, rev. ed., WBC 24 (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2005), 154; Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, 345. Besides Isaiah 8:7, Weinfeld, *TDOT* 7:25 has also suggested other verses in Isaiah in which כבוד means "body", "substance", "mass" or "quantity" and thus imply "power" or "might." However, some of his suggested references of כבוד to "power" or "might" seem ambiguous, for e.g., כבוד in Isaiah 10:16 could refer to the same כבוד of the Assyrian king's forest in Isaiah 10:18 and imply "glory, pride, self-sufficiency, and power" (Oswalt, *Isaiah 1-39*, 267 n. 6); כבוד in Isaiah 16:14 could refer to the prosperity or honour of Moab which is contrasted with נקלה (despised/dishonoured) (Hans Wildberger, *Isaiah 13-27: A Continental Commentary*, trans. Thomas H. Trapp, CC [Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1997], 152). Finally, כבוד in Isaiah 21:16 probably refers to the wealth or prosperity of the Kedarites (Wildberger, *Isaiah 13-27*, 344-45).

²⁸ John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 40-66*, NICOT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 8-9.

²⁹ Ibid., 8-9, 15-17.

³⁰ For the reasons as to why and how Isaiah 40 functions as an introduction to Isaiah 40-48 and Isaiah 40-55, see John Goldingay and David Payne, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 40-55*, ICC (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 1:58-59 and Oswalt, *Isaiah 40-66*, 46-47. I am grateful to Brockington, "Greek Translator," 30-32 for highlighting the link between glory and salvation in LXX Isaiah 40:5; 44:23 and 45:21-24.

³¹ John Goldingay, *The Message of Isaiah 40-55: A Literary-Theological Commentary* (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 10-23; Oswalt, *Isaiah 40-66*, 47.

LXX	English
καὶ ὀφθήσεται ἡ δόξα κυρίου, καὶ ὄψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ· ὅτι κύριος ἐλάλησεν.	And the glory of the Lord shall be seen, and all flesh shall see the salvation of God, because the Lord has spoken.

Figure 1: Association of Divine Glory with Redemptive Power in Isaiah 40:5

The destruction of the Temple and Jerusalem was accompanied by the departure of Yahweh’s glory/presence (Ezekiel 10:18-19; 11:22-23). Thus, in proclaiming the return of Yahweh to Jerusalem and the manifestation of his glory in connection with Israel’s redemption/salvation, Isaiah 40:5 declares a reversal of this situation.³² John Oswalt further suggests that the salvation envisaged here is the fulfillment of God’s redemptive purpose for all people and not just the Israelite return from exile.³³

Another instance which speaks of the close connection between God’s glory and his redemptive power can be found in Isaiah 42:10-12. In this passage, the whole earth is called upon to glorify/praise Yahweh (42:10 - δοξάζετε/תהלתו שירו) and give glory to him (42:12 - δόξαν/כבוד), in this case either based on what precedes the passage, i.e. Yahweh’s proclamation of his Servant who will make his salvation available to all nations (42:1-9)³⁴ or what proceeds from it, i.e. the salvation from the Babylonian exile, as Yahweh is described as a divine warrior who prevails over his Babylonian enemies just as he fought the Egyptians during the Exodus (42:13)³⁵. We may note the juxtaposition of God as a divine warrior and his Servant as a meek minister of salvation.

³² Goldingay, *Message*, 20; Shalom M. Paul, *Isaiah 40-66: Translation and Commentary*, ECC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2012), 131–32.

³³ Oswalt, *Isaiah 40-66*, 52 points out that humanity’s greatest sin is claiming God’s glory for ourselves while rebelling against him and suggests that Isaiah would have learnt from his encounter in the temple (Isaiah 6) that participating in God’s glory is possible only through God’s grace in sharing it (cf. John 17:22-24). Thus the revelation of Yahweh’s glory is not just a second Israelite exodus but redemption for all humanity. He strengthens his argument by indicating that “all flesh” here refers to the eschaton.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 123.

³⁵ Paul, *Isaiah 40-66*, 191–95; Oswalt, *Isaiah 40-66*, 124–25.

In the call to the whole universe to rejoice over Israel's redemption in Isaiah 44:23, we find a close connection both between Yahweh's glory and his redemptive power (MT), and between Israel's glorification and salvation (LXX). The MT reads: "Exult, O heavens, ... For the Lord has *redeemed* Jacob and *glorifies* himself in Israel"³⁶ whereas the LXX has: "Rejoice, O heavens, ... because God has *redeemed Jacob* and *Israel will be glorified*".³⁷ Juxtaposing the MT and LXX suggests that the glorification of Yahweh and Israel are closely linked to each other and to Israel's salvation by Yahweh. Isaiah 43:1-7 also affirms Yahweh's redemption of Israel as based on the fact that Israel is called by Yahweh's name and created for his glory (43:7, cf. 43:4). In other words, Israel bears God's name and so Yahweh's glory is closely tied to her fate.³⁸ Besides the book of Isaiah, there are other passages in the Hebrew Scriptures that demonstrate this intimate connection between Yahweh's and Israel's glory. In the Pentateuchal narratives, there are two instances when God wanted to destroy the people of Israel; once in the incident of the golden calf (Exodus 32) and the other when the Israelites rebelled against him after hearing the report of the spies (Numbers 14). On both occasions, Moses interceded on behalf of the Israelites by appealing to God's glory - Yahweh would be dishonoured among the nations if he destroyed the Israelites (Exodus 32:12; Numbers 14:13-16) - and to God's character of covenant faithfulness in keeping his promise to the patriarchs (Exodus 32:13) and in forgiving his people (Numbers 14:17-19).³⁹ The psalmist (Psalm 79; LXX 78) and Daniel (Daniel 9:4-19) also appeal to the belief that God's glory is bound up with the exaltation or shame of Israel (Psalm 79:9; LXX 78:9; Daniel 9:17-19) in their petitions for God's forgiveness, deliverance and restoration of Israel.⁴⁰ Indeed Yahweh's glory is inextricably linked to the fate of Israel because the temple, the city of Jerusalem, and the people of Israel bear Yahweh's name (Daniel 9:17-19), and thus belong to Yahweh (Psalm 79:1; LXX 78:1).

³⁶ רָגַזוּ שָׁמַיִם ... כִּי־גָאֵל יְהוָה יַעֲקֹב וּבְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִתְפָּאֵר

³⁷ εὐφράνθητε οὐρανοί ... ὅτι ἐλυτρώσατο ὁ θεὸς τὸν Ἰακώβ καὶ Ἰσραὴλ δοξασθήσεται

³⁸ Oswalt, *Isaiah 40-66*, 142.

³⁹ Durham, *Exodus*, 428–29; Timothy R. Ashley, *The Book of Numbers*, NICOT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993), 255–59.

⁴⁰ Marvin E. Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, WBC 20 (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 1990), 301; John Goldingay, *Daniel*, WBC 30 (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1989), 255.

The final passage to be discussed contrasts God's unique ability to save with the inability of the Babylonian gods (Isaiah 45:20-25).⁴¹ In 45:23-24, the Septuagint reads: "... every tongue shall confess to God, saying, "**Righteousness** and **glory** shall come to him ...". Oswalt notes that in the MT, the plural "righteousnesses" (תקנות) which the LXX translates as singular δικαιοσύνη in 45:24) should be interpreted as God's saving actions.⁴² This coheres well with the larger context of Isaiah 45:20-25 about Yahweh's unique ability to save, especially with his claim of being "righteous and a saviour" (45:21), thus connecting God's glory with his power to save.⁴³

The next relationship to be explored is between God's glory and his power to rule over creation and history. Isaiah 40:12-26 focuses on the theme of Yahweh, who as creator is sovereign over creation and history.⁴⁴ In particular, 40:26 speaks of Yahweh as creator of the heavenly hosts, who are either physically the stars and planets or metaphysically the divine powers.⁴⁵ This verse also paints an image of Yahweh as a general who musters the heavenly hosts as his troops. Their orderly movements in the heavens are attributed to Yahweh's muster, which coupled with Yahweh's knowledge of their names demonstrates Yahweh's authority over them.⁴⁶ 40:26 concludes by stating that none of the heavenly hosts fails to appear because of Yahweh's abundant glory and might/sovereignty of strength,⁴⁷ in other words, his dominion over them, thus associating Yahweh's glory with his sovereign power.

Another reference to the link between God's glory and his sovereign power can be found in one of the Servant Songs, Isaiah 42:1-9.⁴⁸ In this song, God associates his glory with his name (character), the Lord (42:8), which Oswalt highlights, is a covenant name.⁴⁹ Thus God "keeps" his glory by being faithful to his

⁴¹ Oswalt, *Isaiah 40-66*, 220.

⁴² For more details, refer to *ibid.*, 225.

⁴³ Note that Isaiah 45:25 further connects justification/salvation (δικαιωθήσονται/יִקְדָּשׁוּ) with glorification (ἐνδοξασθήσονται/יִלְלִיחֻ).⁴³

⁴⁴ Oswalt, *Isaiah 40-66*, 56–70.

⁴⁵ Goldingay, *Message*, 61.

⁴⁶ Oswalt, *Isaiah 40-66*, 70; Goldingay, *Message*, 62.

⁴⁷ πολλῆς δόξης καὶ ἐν κράτει ἰσχύος. If the Hebrew text used by the LXX translator is very similar to the MT, it is significant that the LXX translator used δόξα (glory) to translate קֶדְשׁ (power) in Isaiah 40:26, thus suggesting a close connection between glory and power.

⁴⁸ Paul, *Isaiah 40-66*, 184.

⁴⁹ Oswalt, *Isaiah 40-66*, 119. Exodus 34:6 indicates that covenant loyalty (דַּבָּר) is an aspect of God's name (character).

covenant through delivering the Israelites from Babylonian captivity.⁵⁰ In 42:9, Yahweh anchors his glory in his sovereign power over history, i.e. his ability to explain the course of history as shown in his accurate prediction of past events and announcement of future events.⁵¹ Indeed, Yahweh is the glorious sovereign lord of history; he alone has the power to chart the course of history and bring his plans to pass.

The preceding section has described the association of God's glory with his name (character), a name signifying abundant mercy, grace and faithfulness.⁵² The connection between God's glory and his character of abundant mercy, grace and faithfulness is also elaborated in Isaiah 48:9-11 (MT). Despite Israel's propensity to idolatry, giving God's rightful glory to images (48:5), and rebellion (48:8), Yahweh restrains his wrath and does not destroy Israel for the sake of his name and praise (48:9).⁵³ Here we hear echoes of Exodus 34:6 which states that Yahweh's name signifies compassion and graciousness, slowness to anger, abounding in kindness/covenant loyalty and faithfulness/truth. Yahweh further affirms in 48:11 that it is for the sake of his own glory/name that he spares his people: "For my own sake, for my own sake, I will act, for how could it be profaned? And my glory to another I will not give."⁵⁴ Once again we see the close association between God's glory and his abundant mercy and covenant faithfulness.⁵⁵

3.2.3 Glory: Power to Rule, Create and Revive the Dead (Psalms)

As we journey on into the Book of Psalms, we find psalms that mention glory occurring in all five books of the Psalter;⁵⁶ many of them highlight various aspects of

⁵⁰ Ibid.; Goldingay, *Message*, 167 suggests that since the Israelites and Babylonians were enslaved to idols and their reputations, Yahweh's "keeping" of his glory through delivering the Israelites from Babylonian captivity will also lead to their freedom from these false gods.

⁵¹ Oswalt, *Isaiah 40-66*, 119; Paul, *Isaiah 40-66*, 191.

⁵² Exodus 34:6.

⁵³ Oswalt, *Isaiah 40-66*, 269.

⁵⁴ Both Goldingay, *Message*, 350, and Paul, *Isaiah 40-66*, 313 note that Yahweh's "acting" in this verse refers to the delay and restraint of his wrath in 48:9.

⁵⁵ Oswalt, *Isaiah 40-66*, 269 suggests that what is at stake here in terms of God's glory among the nations is not his justice but his grace. Despite Israel deserving destruction due to her repeated rebellion, Yahweh's restraint of his anger and deliverance of Israel would show the nations that he is not capricious like their gods but full of forbearance and mercy.

⁵⁶ According to the order of the MT, Book I: Psalms 1-41; Book II: Psalms 42-72; Book III: Psalms 73-89; Book IV: Psalms 90-106; Book V: Psalms 107-150.

the relationship between glory and power, for example, Psalms 8, 24, 57, 71, 79, 85, 106, 108 and 113 (LXX 8, 23, 56, 70, 78, 84, 105, 107 and 112). In this section, we will examine several psalms that reinforce some of the associations that have been discussed, such as glory and redemptive power, and illumine some new relationships.

Psalm 8 has been classified as a hymn of praise which celebrates God's power and might as creator king, and the sharing of his glory and sovereign power with humanity.⁵⁷ Following the superscription (8:1), the psalm may be divided into 4 sections (8:2-3, 4-5, 6-9, 10)⁵⁸ or two stanzas (8:2-5, 6-10).⁵⁹ The first stanza begins by praising God for his majesty (אדיר) and glory (הוד), both with connotations of power,⁶⁰ concluding with a question about humanity's worth; the second stanza begins with an answer to the question and ends where the first stanza began by praising God.⁶¹ In response to the question about God's care for humanity in view of their insignificance in comparison to the vastness of creation (8:4-5), the psalmist asserts that God has made humankind a little lower than the heavenly beings, or more likely God, and crowned them with glory (כבוד/δόξα) and honour (הדר/τιμή) in giving them the authority to rule (משל/καθίστημι) over all living creatures (8:6-9).⁶² This has parallels with the account in Genesis 1 where humanity was made in God's image with the power to rule over all living creatures (Genesis 1:26-28).⁶³ Thus, in Psalm 8, we find God's bestowal of glory and honour upon humanity being associated with the granting of sovereign power over animate creation.

Psalm 24 (LXX 23) has been described as a hymn of worship to Yahweh as King of glory.⁶⁴ The psalm can be divided into 3 sections,⁶⁵ namely verses 1-2, 3-6

⁵⁷ John Goldingay, *Psalms*, BCOTWP (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2006-2008), 1:154-55; Rolf A. Jacobson, "Psalm 8," in *The Book of Psalms*, by Nancy L. DeClaissé-Walford, Rolf A. Jacobson, and Beth LaNeel Tanner, NICOT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2014), 120.

⁵⁸ Peter C. Craigie and Marvin E. Tate, *Psalms 1-50*, 2nd ed., WBC 19 (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2004), 106-7.

⁵⁹ Jacobson, "Psalm 8," 120.

⁶⁰ See Goldingay, *Psalms*, 1:155 for scripture references where אדיר and הוד have connotations of power.

⁶¹ Jacobson, "Psalm 8," 120.

⁶² Jacobson (ibid.) highlights the theme of royalty in Psalm 8. In particular, Jacobson points out the royal connotations of the terms עטר, משל, כבוד and הדר in 8:6-7 which indicate that God has appointed humanity as royalty through the crowning of glory and honour with the associated power to rule over creation (125).

⁶³ Goldingay, *Psalms*, 1:159.

⁶⁴ Craigie and Tate, *Psalms 1-50*, 211-12.

⁶⁵ Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Psalms Part 1*, FOTL 14 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1988), 117.

and 7-10 with Yahweh being identified explicitly as the King of Glory (מֶלֶךְ הַכְבוֹד / βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης) in verses 8 and 10. In verses 7-10, military language is used to describe God as King of glory while he is being ushered into the temple; Yahweh is “mighty in battle” (גבור מלחמה) and the “Lord of hosts” (יהוה צבאות), i.e. armies. Since the ark of the covenant signified Yahweh’s presence, Peter Craigie has suggested that the underlying image in these verses is the victorious return of the ark from battle which in turn represented Yahweh’s return as a victorious warrior to Israel (Numbers 10:35-36, LXX 10:34-35).⁶⁶ Hence the connection is made between Yahweh as King of glory and as a conquering, warrior king. But the image of Yahweh as king is not limited to the historical experience of Israel; verses 1-2 also describe in primordial terms God’s kingship in terms of his work in creation of an ordered world. More precisely, Yahweh’s dominion over the world is based on the fact that he “has founded it upon the seas (ימים) and established it upon the rivers” (נהרות) (v. 2). Here we find echoes of Ugaritic-Canaanite mythology where “ים”, the Sea (also called “נהר”, the River) as a force of chaos represented a threat to order and Baal’s kingship was achieved through his conquest of “ים”.⁶⁷ In a similar manner, Yahweh’s kingship was established through his work of creating an ordered world, establishing it upon the seas and rivers, thus overcoming the chaotic forces. In summary, Psalm 24 associates Yahweh’s glory with his kingship, his role as a victorious warrior and his power to create.

The connection between God’s glory and his covenant faithfulness has been discussed earlier in Isaiah 42:8 and 48:9-11. This close association can also be found in Psalm 63 (LXX 62). Due to the presence of many affirmative statements or prayerful assurances in verses 4-9, Psalm 63 has been identified as a psalm of confidence with the key message that God’s covenant faithfulness or loyal-love is better than life (v. 4).⁶⁸ The psalm begins with an expression of the psalmist’s intense longing for God’s presence (v. 2). The psalmist’s thirst for God’s presence could have been caused by the extremely dry physical or spiritual climate (“a land dry and weary from lack of water” in v. 2) caused by the liars and those who seek the

⁶⁶ Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 213.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 212.

⁶⁸ Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 2: A Commentary on Psalms 51-100*, trans. Linda M. Maloney, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2005), 122; Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 125, 129; Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2, and Lamentations*, FOTL 15 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 15–16.

psalmist's/king's life (vv. 10-12).⁶⁹ As the psalmist recalls his past experiences of God's power (ἰσχύς/δύναμις) and glory (כבוד/δόξα) in the sanctuary, he associates them with God's covenant faithfulness/loyal-love (חסד/ἔλεος) which he claims is more precious than life itself (vv. 3-4).⁷⁰ This recollection quenches his thirst and satisfies his longing, like the satisfaction of richest food, thus resulting in his perpetual praise to God (vv. 4-6). In this psalm, we witness not only the close relationship between God's glory and his covenant faithfulness but also the surpassing worth of God's loyal-love.

The relationship between God's glory and his redemptive power that features so strongly in the prophetic book of Isaiah can also be found in Psalm 71 (LXX 70). Even though Psalm 71 has been classified as an individual complaint/lament, the classification has not been certain due to the mixture of elements in it, such as petitions, laments, statements of confidence, thanksgiving and vows to praise.⁷¹ The psalmist appears to be a mature adult, approaching old age (vv. 9, 18), who reflects upon a life of trust and dependence upon God (vv. 5-6).⁷² He continues to maintain this confident trust in God as his refuge despite the fact that many people see him as a negative portent (v. 7, cf. vv. 10-11).⁷³ The fact that Yahweh is the psalmist's strong refuge and hence powerful deliverer provides the basis for the psalmist to praise God's glory (δόξα) all day long (v. 8), thus establishing the link between God's glory and his redemptive power. In this psalm, God's redemptive power is not merely rescue from one's foes (vv. 2-4, 10-12) but also deliverance from the depths of the earth, which refers to the underworld, grave and death (v. 20).⁷⁴ Even though this resurrection-like renewal to new life may be metaphorical and not literal, when considered in light of the interpretation of the vision of the resurrection of the dry bones in Ezekiel 37:1-14 as return from exile and restoration to new life,⁷⁵ it does point to a connection between God's glory and his power to revive the dead. The

⁶⁹ Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 129.

⁷⁰ Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 124.

⁷¹ Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2*, 62; Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 211; Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 193.

⁷² Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 217.

⁷³ Tate (*ibid.*, 214) notes that the meaning of "sign/portent" (מופת) in verse 7 is ambiguous as it depends on the viewer's interpretation. Some could have viewed the psalmist's situation positively as a sign of God's providential care or negatively as a sign of divine judgment. But it is more likely to be negative since the psalmist is undergoing some kind of suffering and persecution by his enemies.

⁷⁴ Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 198.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*; Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 216.

psalmist further asserts that Yahweh's acts of deliverance are demonstrations of divine righteousness (הַקְדָּוָה/δικαιοσύνη) (vv. 2, 15-16, 19-20, 23-24),⁷⁶ thereby linking God's glory with his righteousness. Just as Psalm 71 contains a patchwork of different elements, for example, petition, lament, statements of confidence, etc. it is also a rich collage of various features related to God's glory, such as his redemptive power, righteousness and resurrection power.

The association between God's glory and his power to deliver and save is also a feature of Psalm 106 (LXX 105). Psalm 106 has been termed a psalm of lament,⁷⁷ with elements of a penitential prayer (vv. 6-46) framed by a hopeful prayer for deliverance and praise (vv. 1-5, 47-48). In this psalm, the link between God's glory and his redemptive power is made in the recounting of the episode of the golden calf in verses 19-23 (cf. Exodus 32, Deuteronomy 9:8-21). Here the psalmist understands the worship of the golden calf as an exchange of their glory (כְּבוֹד/δόξα), i.e. God's glory for the image of an ox that eats grass (vv. 19-20). The psalmist further connects this exchange of divine glory with the forgetting of God, their saviour (מִשְׁכַּח/σώζοντος), who had done great things in Egypt (v. 21), which alludes to Yahweh's great salvific act in his deliverance of the Israelites from slavery in Egypt through acts of mighty power. Thus the psalmist links God's glory with his redemptive power. In this psalm, we may also note the close connection between חֶסֶד (loyal-love/covenant faithfulness) and יְשׁוּעָה (salvation) as Yahweh's everlasting loyal-love/covenant faithfulness (חֶסֶד) forms the basis of the petitioners' hope for deliverance (vv. 1-5, 7-8, 45-47).⁷⁸

3.2.4 Glory: Covenant Faithfulness (2 Chronicles 6:40-7:3)

Arriving at the last passage to be discussed in the Hebrew canon, we observe God's glory being closely associated with his covenant faithfulness in 2 Chronicles 6:40-7:3. This passage contains Solomon's final petition (6:40-42) towards the end of his long prayer (6:12-42) at the dedication of the temple, and the responses of Yahweh and the people (7:1-3).

⁷⁶ Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 197; Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 218.

⁷⁷ Leslie C. Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, rev. ed., WBC 21 (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2002), 65–67; Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2*, 243 classifies it as “communal confession and hymnic instruction.”

⁷⁸ Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 70 notes the close connection between חֶסֶד and יְשׁוּעָה in the Psalms.

At the conclusion of his long prayer, Solomon invites/requests Yahweh and his mighty ark to go to their resting place in the temple (6:41) and entreats Yahweh not to reject his prayers based on Yahweh's סֶדֶק (covenant faithfulness in the form of promises) towards David (6:42).⁷⁹

Yahweh then indicates his approval of Solomon's temple and prayers by sending fire from heaven to consume the burnt offerings and sacrifices (7:1). The narrative then returns to focus on Yahweh's glory (7:1-3, cf. 5:13-14) which first filled the temple after the Levites proclaimed Yahweh's סֶדֶק (5:13-14). Upon seeing the whole magnificent scene of fire from heaven and Yahweh's glory filling the temple, the people worshipped and praised Yahweh's everlasting סֶדֶק (7:3).

In his commentary on 2 Chronicles, Ralph Klein proposes that the filling of the temple with a cloud in 5:13-14 may be due to the ark's presence; the priests' and Levites' music and praise ("for he is good, for his covenant faithfulness lasts forever") in 5:13 functioned as an accompaniment and interpretation of the cloud and glory.⁸⁰ Moreover, the people's praise (7:3) in response to Yahweh's glory filling the temple echoes the temple musicians' praise and could likewise be regarded as demonstrating a close connection between Yahweh's glory and his covenant loyalty. Klein also notes that other interpreters such as Wilhelm Rudolph⁸¹ and John W. Kleinig⁸² have suggested that through the music and praise, the temple musicians called for Yahweh's glory to be present by proclaiming his name, i.e. his goodness

⁷⁹ Ralph W. Klein, *2 Chronicles: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2012), 99–101 highlights the 2 possible interpretations of לְחַסְדֵי דָוִד (6:42) as being either an objective genitive ("loyalties towards David", i.e. Yahweh's loyal promises to David) or subjective genitive ("loyal actions of David", i.e. David's unceasing efforts to find a resting place for the ark). While Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM, 1993), 604–5 and Raymond B. Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, WBC 15 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), 51–52 advocate for the subjective genitive, Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 100–101 suggests that either interpretation provides a good reason for Yahweh not to reject Solomon's prayers. Nonetheless, in view of the Levites' proclamation of the Lord's סֶדֶק in 5:13 and the people's rejoinder in 7:3; both instances accompanied by the Lord's $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ filling the temple, and Solomon's repeated emphases on Yahweh's fulfillment of his promises to David in his prayer (6:4-10, 15-17), the objective genitive understanding might better fit the present context.

⁸⁰ Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 80.

⁸¹ Wilhelm Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (Tübingen: Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1955), 211.

⁸² John W. Kleinig, *The Lord's Song: The Basis, Function, and Significance of Choral Music in Chronicles*, JSOTSup 156 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 165–66.

and covenant loyalty.⁸³ Both understandings of the function of the priests' and Levites' praise, namely, of Yahweh's everlasting covenant faithfulness as interpretation of his glory, and as evoking Yahweh's glory through proclamation of his covenant loyalty reinforce the view of the close association between Yahweh's δόξα (glory) and his ἰσχύς (covenant faithfulness).

From the discussion of glory and power in the Hebrew Scriptures, we may discern two broad associations between divine glory and power, besides the association we have observed between human glory and power in Isaiah 8:7. First is the close link between God's glory and his power, particularly his sovereign power, which he has shared with humanity, and his redemptive, creative and resurrection power, even "merciful" power, i.e. power through restraint. God's glory can designate his power in some cases and connote his power in others. There appears to be a reciprocal relationship between Yahweh's glory and power; his power can be a manifestation of his glory or divine glory can result from Yahweh's mighty acts of power, and power through restraint, as can be seen in the Exodus narrative. Second is the intimate, mutual relationship between Yahweh's glory and his character (name), especially his abundant mercy, grace and covenant faithfulness. God's acts of mercy, which in the case of Exodus 9:16 can also be regarded as an expression of divine power through restraint, and covenant faithfulness are demonstrations of his glory and he will not denigrate his glory by acting out of character. Yahweh's and Israel's glory also appear to be inextricably intertwined primarily because Israel bears Yahweh's name.

3.3 Glory and Power in the Old Testament Apocrypha

Moving on to the Old Testament Apocrypha, we find similar associations between divine glory, power and character and the inextricable link between Yahweh's and Israel's glory. In view of the historical context of some books of the Apocrypha where the Hellenization of Judea would lead to a "Hellenization crisis"

⁸³ Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 80.

that threatened the survival of Judaism,⁸⁴ we also find a heightened emphasis on covenant faithfulness, i.e. Torah obedience, as a criterion for human glory/honour.

3.3.1 The Reciprocal Relationship between Glory and Power (Baruch, Prayer of Azariah, 1 Maccabees)

The reciprocal relationships between divine or human glory and power, Yahweh’s glory and his character can be found in the poetic final section of the book of Baruch 4:5-5:9. Baruch 4:5-5:9 is a psalm of lament, consolation, encouragement and hope that dramatically reviews the exilic past and prophesies the future redemption and return through two speakers: the author (4:5-9a, 4:30-5:9) and a personified Jerusalem (4:9b-29).⁸⁵ This is in contrast to the preceding “wisdom poem of admonition and exhortation” (3:9-4:4) that is more logical in nature.⁸⁶

In Baruch 4:5-5:9, the first mention of divine glory (4:24) occurs within a section in which Jerusalem encourages her exiled children to persevere and return to the Lord with promises of God’s deliverance (4:17-29).⁸⁷ In a passage replete with references to God’s deliverance/salvation (ἐξαιρέω/σωτηρία/σωτήρ),⁸⁸ it is no surprise that divine glory is associated with redemption in Baruch 4:24:

LXX	English
ὥσπερ γὰρ νῦν ἐωράκασιν αἱ πάροιχοι Σιων τὴν ὑμετέραν αἰχμαλωσίαν, οὕτως ὄψονται ἐν τάχει τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν σωτηρίαν , ἣ ἐπελεύσεται ὑμῖν μετὰ δόξης μεγάλης καὶ λαμπρότητος τοῦ αἰωνίου.	For as the neighbours of Zion have seen your captivity now, so they will soon see your salvation from God, which will come to you with great glory and splendour of the Everlasting.

⁸⁴ For more details on the historical context for the Old Testament Apocrypha, refer to David A. deSilva, *Introducing the Apocrypha: Message, Context, and Significance* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2002), 42–62, note especially pp. 45-55 on Hellenization and the Hellenization crisis in Judea.

⁸⁵ Anthony J. Saldarini, “The Book of Baruch,” *NIB* 6 (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1994), 971; Carey A. Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions*, AB 44 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977), 313.

⁸⁶ Saldarini, “Baruch,” 930; Moore, *Additions*, 313.

⁸⁷ deSilva, *Apocrypha*, 199; Saldarini, “Baruch,” 971.

⁸⁸ Baruch 4:18, 21, 22, 24, 29.

Figure 2: Association of Divine Glory with Redemptive Power in Baruch 4:24

This connection between Yahweh’s glory and his redemptive power recurs in Baruch 4:37⁸⁹ that is located within a passage (4:30-5:9) in which the author addresses Jerusalem with prophecies of judgment upon Israel’s enemies, Jerusalem’s transformation and her children’s return from exile. In this climactic end to the book, the reference to divine glory in Baruch 4:37 sparks off a proliferation of δόξα language⁹⁰ with various associations throughout Baruch 5:1-9.⁹¹

Jerusalem is prophetically told to change her garment of sorrow and affliction (5:1-4) and to arise to see her returning children (5:5-9).⁹² Jerusalem’s new attire, “the beauty of the *glory* from God” (5:1), is further described as “the double cloak of the *righteousness* from God” and “the diadem of the *glory* of the Everlasting” (5:2).⁹³ Here we see God’s glory being associated with his righteousness; the same connection, with the addition of divine mercy, can be observed in Baruch 5:9 where God leads the Israelites back to Jerusalem “by the light of his *glory*, with the *mercy and righteousness* that is from him.” The image of a diadem in Baruch 5:2 further links divine glory with sovereign power; this link can also be detected in Baruch 5:6 where God brings the Israelites back to Jerusalem, “carried in *glory*, as on a *royal throne*”. Thus through the bestowal of glory from God, Israel participates in Yahweh’s righteousness and sovereign power. With echoes of Isaiah 40:4-5, Baruch 5:7 returns to the connection between God’s glory and his redemptive power where God transforms the topography of the land so that the Israelites may return safely in God’s δόξα.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ Although there is no explicit mention of deliverance/salvation in this verse, it is clear from the context of the passage (4:36-5:9) which describes the return of the Israelites from exile that divine δόξα here most likely refers to God’s salvation.

⁹⁰ Baruch 5:1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 9.

⁹¹ Scholars have noted the close literary relationship between Baruch 5:5-9 and Psalms of Solomon 11. Some have claimed Baruch’s dependence on Psalms of Solomon while others have argued for the reverse. Still others have proposed that both could have been derived independently from a common source. For more details, see Saldarini, “Baruch,” 931–32, 972–73; Moore, *Additions*, 314–16.

⁹² Saldarini, “Baruch,” 980.

⁹³ Moore, *Additions*, 312 notes that the picture of Jerusalem in 5:1-4 is of a beautiful woman and not a mighty warrior.

⁹⁴ The other occurrence of δόξα is in Baruch 5:4 in the phrase δόξα θεοσεβείας which Moore (ibid.) translates as “glory through devotedness”, i.e. “glory of the fear of God.” Moore suggests that the idea is likely that “Jerusalem’s glory results from her fear of the Lord”.

The link between divine glory and redemptive power, and the inextricable connection between Yahweh's and Israel's glory, can also be found in the prayer of confession and repentance for deliverance and mercy in Baruch 1:15-3:8. Similar themes can be discerned in the prayers found in the Prayer of Azariah (Daniel 3:24-45 LXX), Daniel 9:4-19 and Baruch 1:15-2:18.⁹⁵ As such, we shall consider together the verses within these passages that explicate the aforementioned relationships.

Baruch 2:11 and Daniel 9:15 recall the Exodus event in which God was glorified (“made yourself a name”⁹⁶) through his mighty acts of power and deliverance. The Prayer of Azariah 20 (Daniel 3:43 LXX) also affirms that God's deliverance of the three young martyrs from the fiery furnace would bring glory to his name.⁹⁷ Conversely, verse 21 (Daniel 3:44 LXX) petitions Yahweh to put to shame, i.e. denigrate the glory of, all those who do harm to his servants through the deprivation of their power and breaking of their strength.⁹⁸ In these passages, we see the close connection between divine or human glory and power.

In their prayers for God's mercy and deliverance, Baruch 2:14-15, Daniel 9:17-19 and Prayer of Azariah 11 (Daniel 3:34 LXX) appeal to Yahweh's self-interest as the motivation for God to hear and act;⁹⁹ Baruch 2:14-15 and Daniel 9:17-19 in particular, emphasize the fact that Yahweh's and Israel's glory are closely intertwined because Israel is called by (bears) Yahweh's name.

In the earlier chapter that examined the relationships between glory/honour and power in the Roman world, we have seen how cities repaid their benefactors by honouring them with inscriptions, pillars, statues, etc. In 1 Maccabees 14:25-49, we observe a similar pattern in the way the Jews displayed their gratitude to Simon and his house in view of their service and benefaction to the Jewish nation.¹⁰⁰ As an act of reciprocity in gratitude for the benefaction of Simon and his house, the people

⁹⁵ deSilva, *Apocrypha*, 207, 228; Saldarini, “Baruch,” 931, 948–50.

⁹⁶ ἐποίησας σεαυτῷ ὄνομα

⁹⁷ καὶ ἐξελοῦ ἡμᾶς κατὰ τὰ θαυμάσιά σου καὶ δὸς δόξαν τῷ ὀνόματί σου, κύριε.

⁹⁸ καὶ ἐντραπήσαν πάντες οἱ ἐνδεικνύμενοι τοῖς δούλοις σου κακὰ καὶ κατασχυνθεῖσαν ἀπὸ πάσης δυναστείας, καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτῶν συντριβείη·

⁹⁹ Saldarini, “Baruch,” 956; deSilva, *Apocrypha*, 207.

¹⁰⁰ For more details on how reciprocity and gratitude to a benefactor function to justify the power of the Hasmonean dynasty, see deSilva, *Apocrypha*, 260–62.

honoured Simon with an inscription and public proclamation,¹⁰¹ bestowing upon him and his descendants both secular and religious power with leadership of the nation and the high priesthood.¹⁰² Here we see an intersection in the notions of glory/honour and power between the Jewish and Graeco-Roman traditions that reflects the dominant role of glory/honour in the ancient Mediterranean world.

3.3.2 Glory/Honour through Covenant Faithfulness and the Power of Influence (Sirach and 2 Maccabees)

We have explored the intimate relationship between Yahweh's glory and his character, especially his כֶּסֶד (covenant faithfulness) in the Hebrew Scriptures. The characteristic of covenant faithfulness, in particular faithfulness to the Mosaic covenant is also defined as the pathway to or criterion for human glory/honour in the Old Testament Apocrypha. We shall see how this notion is emphasized in the encomium on Jewish heroes (Sirach 44:1-50:24) and the story of the Jewish martyrs (2 Maccabees 6:12-7:42).

Belonging to Israel's wisdom tradition, Sirach contains two motifs, the fear of the Lord and wisdom, both of which Ben Sira associates with Torah obedience: "All wisdom is fear of the Lord, and in all wisdom there is doing of the Law" (Sirach 19:20).¹⁰³ Written during a time when Jews were increasingly attracted to the Hellenistic way of life as a road to success and honour, Ben Sira upheld the Jewish way of life through obedience to the commandments as the true route to glory.¹⁰⁴

What kind of offspring is honourable?

Human offspring.

What kind of offspring is honourable?

Those who fear the Lord.

¹⁰¹ John R. Bartlett, *The First and Second Books of the Maccabees*, CBC (Cambridge: CUP, 1973), 196 notes the similarities with Hellenistic inscriptions of honour; Jonathan A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, AB 41 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), 501–9, in addition notes the parallels with Hebraic and Aramaic communal documents, for example in Nehemiah 9-10.

¹⁰² 1 Maccabees 14:27-28, 35, 41-44, 46-49; deSilva, *Apocrypha*, 262.

¹⁰³ James L. Crenshaw, "The Book of Sirach," *NIB* 5 (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1997), 626–27; Patrick William Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, AB 39 (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1987), 75–76. Other references include Sirach 1:14-20, 25-27; 2:15-16.

¹⁰⁴ deSilva, *Apocrypha*, 159–61.

What kind of offspring is dishonourable?

Human offspring.

What kind of offspring is dishonourable?

Those who transgress the commandments ...

Rich and esteemed and poor,

their glory is the fear of the Lord.

It is not right to dishonour a wise poor person,

and it is not proper to glorify a sinful man.

Prince and judge and ruler are glorified,

but none of them is greater than the one who fears the Lord.

(Sirach 10:19, 22-24)¹⁰⁵

With the inter-relationships between wisdom, fear of the Lord, Torah obedience and glory/honour, it is no surprise that the connection between covenant faithfulness and glory/honour is a prominent theme in the encomium on the Jewish heroes. After an introduction identifying twelve categories of heroes and some pious individuals who have died without leaving a name (Sirach 44:1-15),¹⁰⁶ Ben Sira continues to extol a list of Jewish heroes from Enoch to Simon II (Sirach 44:16-50:24).¹⁰⁷ The key attribute of the Jewish heroes in the eulogy is signalled in the opening verse, Sirach 44:1 where the “glorious men” (ἄνδρας ἐνδόξους) in Greek are essentially “men of covenant loyalty” (אֲנָשֵׁי הַסֵּד) in Hebrew.¹⁰⁸ Abraham is praised as having unsurpassed כבוד/δόξα (44:19) for “He kept the law of the Most High and entered into a covenant with him; in his flesh he established a covenant and in a trial he was found faithful.” (44:20)¹⁰⁹ Faithfulness to the covenant, even under testing was worthy of outstanding glory. In the same way, Phinehas is ranked third in δόξα “for being zealous in the fear of the Lord and standing firm in the turning of the people” (45:23). David deSilva observes that Phinehas was glorified for being

¹⁰⁵ Other references include Sirach 1:11-13, 18-19; 40:18-27.

¹⁰⁶ Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 501 suggest that although these pious individuals have not been remembered by the Israelites (44:9), their faithfulness has not been forgotten by God (44:10).

¹⁰⁷ Harrison, *Paul*, 248.

¹⁰⁸ Robert T. Siebeneck, “May Their Bones Return to Life! - Sirach’s Praise of the Fathers,” *CBQ* 21 (1959): 417; R. A. F. MacKenzie, *Sirach* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1983), 168; Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 500.

¹⁰⁹ David A. deSilva, “The Wisdom of Ben Sira: Honor, Shame, and the Maintenance of the Values of a Minority Culture,” *CBQ* 58 (1996): 453.

steadfast in worshipping no other gods except Yahweh and for enforcing the boundaries between the Israelites and the nations (Numbers 25:1-9).¹¹⁰

Besides listing praiseworthy Jews, Ben Sira also mentions those who have fallen short in his endeavour to emphasize covenant loyalty as the true path to glory.¹¹¹ One such candidate is Solomon, who in contrast to Phinehas, stains his כבוד/δόξα through idolatry and intermarriage with foreign women (Sirach 47:19-21).¹¹² Except for David, Hezekiah and Josiah who were extolled, the remaining monarchs were dishonoured for Torah disobedience: “for they abandoned the law of the Most High ... for they gave their power to others and their glory to a foreign nation” (49:4-5).

Besides the connection between Torah disobedience and shame, we also see the association of glory (כבוד/δόξα) with power (יָרַק/κέρας) in Sirach 49:5 as the kings’ surrendering of sovereign power is associated with their giving up of glory.¹¹³ We observe a similar connection between glory and power in Sirach 47:11 where God’s exaltation of David’s “power” (κέρας) is paralleled by his gift of a “throne of glory” (θρόνον δόξης) to David.¹¹⁴ Moving down the list of the Jewish heroes, we arrive at a reference to Adam’s primordial glory in Sirach 49:16: “Σημ καὶ Σηθ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐδοξάσθησαν, καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων ζῶων ἐν τῇ κτίσει Ἀδαμ”. Different interpretations about the meaning of the verse with respect to Adam’s glory are possible using the Hebrew, Greek or Syriac text.¹¹⁵ Using the Greek text, John Levison proposed that “Shem and Seth are glorified by people (ἐν ἀνθρώποις), but Adam is glorified by the animals as well (ἐν τῇ κτίσει)”, thus possibly implying that “Adam alone possessed full dominion”.¹¹⁶ Glory is once again linked to sovereign power.

¹¹⁰ deSilva, *Apocrypha*, 185–86.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² deSilva, “Ben Sira,” 453–54.

¹¹³ James K. Aitken, “The Semantics of ‘Glory’ in Ben Sira - Traces of a Development in Post-Biblical Hebrew,” in *Sirach, Scrolls, and Sages*, ed. T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde, *STDJ* 33 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 13.

¹¹⁴ Newman, *Paul’s Glory-Christology*, 119–20.

¹¹⁵ For a discussion on Adam’s glory in this verse, refer to John R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism: From Sirach to 2 Baruch*, *JSPSup* 1 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1988), 44–45, 152–53. For a discussion on the Hebrew text, see Aitken, “Semantics of ‘Glory,’” 4–10.

¹¹⁶ Levison, *Portraits of Adam*, 45.

David deSilva has suggested that Ben Sira's encomium on the Jewish heroes is an example of epideictic rhetoric, which is aimed at promoting values that are shared by the community.¹¹⁷ Through the use of praiseworthy examples, the genre of the encomium seeks to motivate readers/hearers to adopt the values of those praised.¹¹⁸ Since glory/honour is an important source of value in the ancient Mediterranean world, it is not surprising to see Ben Sira utilizing it as a form of power in the encomium to influence his readers/hearers towards covenant faithfulness by linking it to glory/honour. With no room for rewards or punishment in an afterlife in Ben Sira's original Hebrew text,¹¹⁹ the destiny of immortal glory (44:13-15)¹²⁰ or perpetual disgrace (47:20; 49:4)¹²¹ becomes a powerful stimulus for the Jews to be faithful to the Mosaic covenant.

The account of the Jewish martyrs, namely Eleazar, a mother and her seven sons, and the destiny of the Hellenizing high priests in 2 Maccabees also illustrates the belief that covenant faithfulness leads to glory/honour while Torah disobedience results in shame.¹²² Faced with the option of death or life by eating pork, the aged scribe Eleazar chose death with glory/honour (εὐκλεία) in obedience to God's law rather than a life with defilement/disgrace (μύσος/κηλίς) (2 Maccabees 6:19, 23-25, 30). Eleazar's covenant loyalty is held up as a noble example (ὑπόδειγμα γενναῖον) to the youths and the Jewish nation (6:19-20, 27-28, 31). Even under torture, maltreatment and humiliation – the brothers were mocked (ἐμπαιγμός/ἐμπαίζω) by their torturers (2 Maccabees 7:7, 10) - all seven brothers similarly chose to die in obedience to God's laws than to eat unlawful swine flesh (7:9, 11, 23, 30).¹²³ Like Eleazar, the brothers died nobly (7:5, 29, 40) and their mother was extolled as “worthy of honourable memory” (7:20). In contrast, the Hellenizing high priests, Jason and Menelaus, courted disaster by acting impiously against God's

¹¹⁷ deSilva, *Apocrypha*, 185.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 83–87; deSilva, *Apocrypha*, 190–91.

¹²⁰ The כבוד/δόξα of the righteous “will not be blotted out” (44:13) and their שם/ὄνομα “lives for generations” (44:14). Other references to the immortality of glory/honour or a good name include Sirach 39:9-10; 41:11-13.

¹²¹ Solomon is remembered for staining his כבוד/δόξα and defiling his seed (47:20) while the other kings, except David, Hezekiah and Josiah suffer the perpetual ignominy of being great sinners and forsaking God's law (49:4). Another reference to eternal shame for abandoning God's law is Sirach 41:5-10.

¹²² deSilva, *Apocrypha*, 276.

¹²³ Ibid.

commandments (2 Maccabees 4:16-17) through the promotion of Hellenistic customs, murder of their countrymen, temple-robbery and bribery.¹²⁴ Thus they suffered the ultimate shame of lying unburied after death for violating God's laws (5:6-10; 13:3-8).¹²⁵ In the foregoing discussion, we observe a similar use by the author of glory/honour as a form of power to influence the Jews towards covenant loyalty.¹²⁶ The Jewish martyrs' noble deaths and covenant faithfulness were extolled as glorious/honourable examples while the law-breaking high priests were condemned to dishonourable deaths.

In the Old Testament Apocrypha, we continue to observe the reciprocal relationships between divine or human glory and power, between Yahweh's glory and his character, and the intimate connection between Yahweh's and Israel's glory that we saw in the Hebrew Scriptures. Due to the threat of Hellenization to the Jewish way of life, there is also an emphasis on covenant loyalty as the path to and criterion of human glory/honour. We also discern the intersections between Jewish and Graeco-Roman notions of glory/honour and power that demonstrate the central role of glory/honour in the ancient Mediterranean social universe – reciprocity in gratitude to a benefactor expressed by honouring with inscriptions, public proclamations and the bestowal of greater power, and the use of glory/honour as a form of power to influence values and behaviour.

3.4 Glory and Power in Philo and Josephus

In his vast allegorical and philosophical corpus, the Alexandrian Jew, Philo evinces a largely dismissive attitude towards glory, probably influenced by

¹²⁴ 2 Maccabees 4:7-16, 24, 32, 34, 39-42, 45; 5:6, 15-21. Daniel R. Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, CEJL (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 211; Robert Doran, *2 Maccabees: A Critical Commentary* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2012), 107.

¹²⁵ deSilva, *Apocrypha*, 276; Doran, *2 Maccabees*, 107, 128–29. Deuteronomy 28:26 states that dying unburied is a curse for Torah disobedience. Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 360 notes that the theme of corpses becoming food for birds and wild animals, which is the horrible result of death without burial, is both a Hellenistic and Hebrew one. As for Menelaus' death without burial Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 450-51 further highlights that Menelaus' main offense was temple-robbery and in the Hellenistic tradition, temple-robbery was linked to treason, and death without burial was the punishment for both crimes. However, from the wider perspective of 2 Maccabees, especially 4:16-17, it is also appropriate to view Menelaus' death without burial as God's punishment for his covenant disloyalty.

¹²⁶ Doran, *2 Maccabees*, 13 and deSilva, *Apocrypha*, 276–77 highlight that it is not just loyalty to God's laws but to ancestral laws and traditions or the Jewish way of life.

Stoicism.¹²⁷ Philo not only considers the desire for glory a source of corruption, conflict and wars between individuals and nations,¹²⁸ he regards glory itself as lifeless, illusionary, and together with wealth and bodily strength, as the greatest evil.¹²⁹ An example of Philo's negative perspective of glory can be found in the following quotation:

Glory (δόξαι) and honour (τιμαί) are a most precarious possession, tossed about on the reckless tempers and flighty words of careless men: and, when it abides, it cannot of its own nature contain genuine good.¹³⁰

In keeping with his Stoic leanings, Philo categorizes glory and riches among “external goods” but sometimes embraces Peripateticism in viewing all three categories of goods (of external things, of the body and of the soul) as valuable (e.g. *Det.* 7-9, *Leg.* 3.86-87, *Conf.* 16-20, *Fug.* 25-38).¹³¹ Thus Philo usually regards glory as mere human opinion and an external good; he downgrades it based on philosophical grounds.

However, Philo's writings occasionally reveal favourable views of glory. In *Migr.* 86-93, Philo displays such a positive attitude which could be due to his unwavering commitment to the Jewish scriptures, tradition and community.¹³² In *Migr.*, Philo is commenting on Genesis 12:1-6 and at *Migr.* 86 he begins his reflection on God's promise of a fourth gift to Abraham: μεγαλυνῶ τὸ ὄνομά σου. Now glory must be of great value if a great name was God's gift to Abraham.¹³³ Hence, in contrast to his usual negative view of glory, Philo infers from God's gift that

¹²⁷ Harrison, *Paul*, 243.

¹²⁸ Philo, *Conf.* 48; *Post.* 117; *Decal.* 153.

¹²⁹ Philo, *Gig.* 15, 36-37.

¹³⁰ Philo, *Abr.* 264, Loeb, slightly adapted. For other examples of Philo's negative view of glory, many cited in Harrison, *Paul*, 243 n. 151, see Philo, *Opif.* 79; *Leg.* 2.107; *Det.* 136; *Deus* 150-51; *Ebr.* 57; *Migr.* 172; *Her.* 92; *Congr.* 27; *Fug.* 39; *Mut.* 92-93; *Somm.* 1.124; *Ios* 254; *Spec.* 1.28; 3.1; *Vir.* 161-62; *Praem.* 24; *Prov.* 2.13.

¹³¹ John M. G. Barclay, “Paul and Philo on Circumcision: Romans 2.25-9 in Social and Cultural Context,” *NTS* 44 (1998): 541-42.

¹³² Some insights on Philo's favourable view of glory in *Migr.* 86-93 have been obtained from *ibid.*, 540-43.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 542.

he on whom God has bestowed both gifts, both to be morally noble and good and to have the reputation of being so, this man is really happy and his name is great in very deed. We should take thought for fair fame as a great matter and one of much advantage to the life which we live in the body. (*Migr.* 88)

However, in this instance, Philo still regards glory as secondary to virtue, as seen in his repeated emphasis in *Migr.* 86-87 that reality trumps reputation and with his concluding example on the effect of opinion on a person's health: the opinion of many that a person is healthy will not make him healthy if he is in fact sick and vice versa.

In *Migr.* 90, Philo further refers to the teaching of the sacred word "to have thought for good repute"; his high regard for glory could therefore be attributed to his faithfulness to the Jewish scriptures.¹³⁴ Philo also demonstrates his positive regard for glory in his exhortation to keep and observe the Jewish laws in areas such as the Sabbath, the celebration of the Feast and circumcision (*Migr.* 91-93). One reason he gives for doing so is that "we shall not incur the censure of the many and the charges they are sure to bring against us" (*Migr.* 93). Philo's concern about the opinion of the masses (οἱ πολλοί, *Migr.* 90, 93) is surprising, given his contempt for their interests and pursuits in life (*Agr.* 23-25) to the extent that he would encourage avoidance of cities as they are "full of turmoils and disturbances innumerable" (*Contempl.* 19-20, cf. *Ebr.* 25; *Decal.* 10-13).¹³⁵ However, with Philo's loyalty to the Jewish scriptures and tradition also comes his deep commitment to the Jewish community, thus accounting for his high regard for their opinion which forms the basis of a person's honour/glory among them.¹³⁶

Philo's commitment to the Jewish tradition as a basis for his occasional positive opinion of glory can also be seen in the way he uses the Jewish wisdom tradition to juxtapose true and debased glory.¹³⁷ In *Sobr.* 55-57, he describes the person who has the gift of wisdom from God as one who is "... not merely of high

¹³⁴ Barclay (*ibid.*, 542 n. 8) further observes that "Philo's inconsistency is often caused by the variant demands of the biblical text on which he comments."

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 541.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 542-43.

¹³⁷ Harrison, *Paul*, 243.

repute, but glorious, for he reaps the praise which is never debased by flattery, but ratified by truth; ...”. Other times, he utilizes Greek philosophy to contrast genuine and fake glory. In *Fug.* 17, he praises the virtue-loving souls (αἱ φιλάρετοι ψυχαί) by noting that, “The worthless man is destitute of the real riches and the true gloriousness; for these good things are won by sound sense and self-mastery and the dispositions akin to those, which are the inheritance of virtue-loving souls” (cf. *Fug.* 19; *Her.* 48).

From a consideration of Philo’s use of Greek philosophy to juxtapose true and tarnished glory, we move on to his discussion of the imperial cult as honour befitting the emperor through the use of the deference and reciprocity terminology of the ancient Mediterranean world.¹³⁸ In Philo’s narration of the Alexandrian pogrom and the attacks on the Jewish synagogues (*Legat.* 120-137), he questions the motives of the Alexandrians who installed images of Emperor Caligula/Gaius in the synagogues, thereby converting them into temples of the imperial cult (*Legat.* 137). Philo claims that their intent was not to honour Gaius but to shame the Jewish nation (*Legat.* 137). He defends his assertion by pointing out that the Alexandrians made no attempt to honour previous rulers such as the Ptolemies or Tiberius or Augustus by installing statues of them in the synagogues during their reigns (*Legat.* 138-152). In the case of Tiberius and Augustus, Philo goes to great lengths to list their claims to honour to show that they were much greater than those of Gaius (*Legat.* 140-152). Philo’s argument is based on the notion that there is no greater prestige befitting the emperor than cult in deference to his supreme honour and reciprocity for his great benefactions. From Philo’s discussion on the relative worth/honour of the different rulers, we can also detect an implicit connection between glory and power. On the one hand, the great power and dominion of the Roman emperors forms the basis for them to be honoured through deference and reciprocity (*Legat.* 141, 142). On the other, it is also through deference and reciprocity that the rulers’ glory grants them the power to rule and make things happen.

In contrast to Philo, the Palestinian Jew, Josephus displays a positive regard for glory and the desire for it in his works.¹³⁹ Josephus’ account of the exhortation of

¹³⁸ Lendon, *Empire*, 164.

¹³⁹ Harrison, *Paul*, 245.

Simon, the Hasmonean High Priest to the Jews in Jerusalem in their opposition to the Seleucid ruler, Tryphon, shows Simon's desire for glory that is similar to the Roman love for glory:

It was for your liberty, my countrymen, that I and my brothers together with our father have gladly dared death, as you cannot fail to know by now. And having such good examples before me, and believing that the men of my house were born to die on behalf of our laws and our religion, I know not any fear great enough to drive this thought from my mind or to introduce in its place a love of life and contempt for glory.¹⁴⁰

Josephus' writings also demonstrate a greater focus on human glory than divine glory,¹⁴¹ with his frequent use of δόξα terms for both Jews¹⁴² and Gentiles.¹⁴³ Nevertheless, in his comparatively few references to both God and glory, Josephus mentions the offense against God's majestic glory (AJ 4.48) by Korah, Abiram and Datham in their rebellion and dispute with Moses regarding Aaron's priesthood (AJ 4.14-58), the revelation of divine glory in Solomon's temple when the ark was installed in it (AJ 8.106)¹⁴⁴ and God's bestowal of glory on Jewish (David, AJ 7.95; Solomon, AJ 8.24)¹⁴⁵ and Roman (Vespasian, BJ 4.372, cf. 4.370)¹⁴⁶ rulers.¹⁴⁷ As in

¹⁴⁰ Josephus, AJ 13.198.

¹⁴¹ Harrison, *Paul*, 245.

¹⁴² Examples of Israelites, many cited in *ibid.*, 245 n. 159, include Abraham (AJ 1.165, 1.280), Moses (AJ 2.205, 2.268), Samuel (AJ 5.351), Saul (AJ 6.80, 6.368), Jehoshaphat (AJ 8.394, 9.16), Shallum (AJ 10.59), Daniel (AJ 10.264, 10.268), Onias (AJ 13.63), Herod (AJ 15.316), and Ananias (AJ 20.205).

¹⁴³ Examples of non-Israelites, many cited in Harrison, *Paul*, 245 n. 159, include the Queen of Sheba (AJ 8.166), Nebuchadnezzar (AJ 10.204), Ptolemy II Philadelphus (AJ 12.49), and Gaius (AJ 18.297).

¹⁴⁴ “ταῖς δὲ διανοίαις ταῖς ἀπάντων φαντασίαν καὶ δόξαν παρεῖχεν ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ κατεληλυθότος εἰς τὸ ἱερόν” (AJ 8.106) can be translated as “but it afforded to the minds of all a visible image and **glorious appearance** of God's having descended into this temple” (Flavius Josephus, *The Works of Josephus: Complete and Unabridged*, trans. William Whiston, new updated ed. [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1987], 219), or “At the same time, it conveyed to the minds of all the impression and **opinion** that God was descending into the sacred precinct” (Flavius Josephus, *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary, Volume 5: Judean Antiquities, Books 8-10*, trans. Paul Spilsbury and Christopher Begg [Leiden: Brill, 2005], 30). When AJ 8.106 is compared with 1 Kings 8:11 and 2 Chronicles 5:14 to which it refers, it is more likely that δόξαν refers to God's glory.

¹⁴⁵ In AJ 7.95, David worships and thanks God for raising him from a shepherd to a position of great power and glory, while in AJ 8.24, God promises to give Solomon wealth, glory and victory over his enemies, in addition to intelligence and wisdom greater than any man in response to Solomon's prayer.

¹⁴⁶ In BJ 4.370, Vespasian claims that God was a better general than him in granting the Romans victory over the Jews through the Jews' infighting, without any effort on the Romans' part. He then elaborates on the merits of the glory of victory without a fight in BJ 4.372-73.

¹⁴⁷ Harrison, *Paul*, 245-46.

the case of Philo, Josephus' account of the divine conferral of glory upon Jewish and Roman rulers shows the intimate connection between glory and power.

Like Philo, Josephus also utilizes the honour/glory language of the ancient Mediterranean world in an attempt to account for Herod's inconsistent behaviour of benefaction upon foreigners and yet harsh treatment of his own subjects and relatives (*AJ* 16.150-59). He names Herod's love of honour (φιλότιμος) as the reason – Herod's generous benefaction as his attempt to gain honour while at the same time resulting in Herod's harsh taxation upon his subjects to finance his expenses (*AJ* 16.153-55). Josephus also points out other instances of Herod's harsh treatment of his subjects as resulting from his perception of their failure to satisfy his desire for honour/glory. For example, Josephus cites the ethical grounds of the Jews in their refusal to honour Herod with conventional Graeco-Roman honours:¹⁴⁸

But, as it happens, the Jewish nation is by law opposed to all such things and is accustomed to admire righteousness rather than glory (πρὸς δόξαν). It was therefore not in his good graces, because it found it impossible to flatter the king's ambition with statues or temples or such tokens. And this seems to me to have been the reason for Herod's bad treatment of his own people and his counsellors, and of his beneficence toward foreigners and those who were unattached to him.¹⁴⁹

In emphasizing the Jewish preference for righteousness over glory, Josephus not only highlights the moral superiority of the Jews but also downgrades the value of honour as in the case of Philo who devalues glory on philosophical grounds.

The foregoing discussion shows that the views of Philo and Josephus on glory form a spectrum. On one end of the spectrum, glory is viewed negatively, being regarded as mere human opinion and downgraded on philosophical grounds (Philo) or being considered as inferior to other values such as virtue (Philo) and righteousness (Josephus). At the other end, the positive value of glory is affirmed through the strong desire for it, as in the case of the high priest Simon (Josephus) or

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 246–47.

¹⁴⁹ Josephus, *AJ* 16.158-59.

in the discussion on the relative worth/honour of the different rulers (Philo). At the same time, in their discussions of glory, both Philo and Josephus demonstrate an implicit connection between glory and power, through either deference and reciprocity terminology (Philo) or the divine bestowal of glory on Jewish and Roman rulers (Josephus).

3.5 Glory and Power in the Dead Sea Scrolls

We continue our search for signs of associations between glory and power in the fragmented terrain of the Dead Sea Scrolls and further on into the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha.¹⁵⁰ Among the scrolls, we find glimpses of a possible connection between glory and dominion in a passage within the Words of the Luminaries, likely a pre-Qumran text,¹⁵¹ 4Q504 (4QDibHam^a) fragment 8 (recto), which reads:

¹ ... Rememb]er, Lord, that ... [...] ² [...] ... us. And you, who lives for ev[er, ...] ³ [...] the marvels of old and the portents [...] ⁴ [... Adam,] our [fat]her, you fashioned in the image of [your] glory ([כבוד] כה) [...] ⁵ [... the breath of life] you [b]lew into his nostril, and intelligence and knowledge (ובינה ודעת) [...] ⁶ [... in the gard]en of Eden, which you had planted. You made [him] govern ([המשלת]ה) [...] ⁷ [...] and so that he would walk in a glorious land ... [...]

Crispin Fletcher-Louis notes that this passage is a retelling of the Genesis account of Adam's creation and his life in Eden.¹⁵² Of interest to us is line 4 which narrates Adam's creation in the likeness of God's glory ("בדמות כבוד כה"), thus echoing Genesis 1:26 "Let us make man in our image, according to our likeness (בצלמנו כדמותנו)", with the mention of rule (משל) in line 6 resuming the account in

¹⁵⁰ Fitzmyer, "To Know Him," 1981, 212–13 has highlighted the "striking" frequency of parallelism between glory and power in Qumran literature with examples from the Community Rule (1QS) and Hodayot (1QH^a), thereby demonstrating the growing frequency of parallelism between glory and power in some sectors of Judaism approximately contemporaneous to Paul.

¹⁵¹ Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 92; Lutz Doering, "Urzeit-Endzeit Correlation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Pseudepigrapha," in *Eschatologie - Eschatology*, ed. Hans-Joachim Eckstein, Christof Landmesser, and Hermann Lichtenberger, WUNT 272 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 41.

¹⁵² Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory*, 92.

Genesis 1:26 of humanity's dominion (רדה) over creation.¹⁵³ Although the text is quite fragmentary, we observe a possible link between Adam being made in the likeness of God's glory on the one hand, and being given intelligence and knowledge (line 5), and being made to rule (line 6) on the other. Besides intelligence and knowledge, there is thus an association between the power to rule and glory.

There are three other texts within the Dead Sea Scrolls that refer to Adam's glory through the term "all the glory of Adam" (כול כבוד אדם).¹⁵⁴ Within the Two Spirits Treatise (1QS 3:13-4:26), 1QS 4:20-23 states that

... to those of perfect behaviour (having been cleansed from all impurity). For those God has chosen (בחר) for an everlasting covenant²³ and to them shall belong all the glory of Adam (להם כול כבוד אדם).

1QS 3:13-4:26 probably represents wider traditions beyond Qumran as Lutz Doering observes that the text could have come from groups before the formation of the Qumran community and it was later assimilated into the Community Rule.¹⁵⁵ Within the Hodayot, 1QH^a 4:26-27 (Sukenik 17:14-15) states: "And [their] na[m]es you (sc. God) have raised up [...] transgression and casting out all their iniquities and giving them an inheritance in all the glory of Adam (בכול כבוד אדם) for long life."¹⁵⁶ The last reference can be found in the Damascus Document, where CD-A 3:18-20 reads that for the Qumran community, God

... atoned for their iniquity and pardoned their sin. And he built for them a safe home in Israel, such as there has not been since ancient times, not even till now. Those who remained steadfast in it will acquire eternal life, and all the glory of Adam (וכל כבוד אדם) is for them.

In a similar fashion, 4QpPs^a (4Q171) 3:1-2, commenting on Psalm 37:18-19, states that

¹⁵³ Ibid., 93.

¹⁵⁴ Doering, "Urzeit-Endzeit," 41–43.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 41–42.

¹⁵⁶ Texts and translations for 1QHodayot^a according to Hartmut Stegemann and Eileen Schuller, *Qumran Cave 1.III: 1QHodayot^a, with Incorporation of 1QHodayot^b and 4QHodayot^{a-F}* (Translation of Texts by Carol Newsom), DJD 40 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2009).

those who have returned from the wilderness (שבֵי המדבר), who will live for a thousand generations, in salva[tio]n; for them there is all the inheritance of Adam (כול נחלת אדם), and for their descendants forever.

Some observations on the four texts are in order. While the general eschatological context of 1QS 4:6-26 points to the possession of “all the glory of Adam” as being a future reality,¹⁵⁷ the situation is unclear in CD-A as to whether the community’s enjoyment of “all the glory of Adam” is present, future or inaugurated.¹⁵⁸ At the same time, 1QH^a 4:26-27 and 4QpPs^a 3:1-2 seem to suggest the community’s participation in “all the glory of Adam” as a present experience since 1QH^a 4:26-27 highlights things that God has done for them while 4QpPs^a 3:1-2 emphasizes long life and the inheritance of Adam for them and their descendants.¹⁵⁹ Perhaps the concept of an inaugurated eschatology is apropos: “in and through the community this glory begins to be recovered”.¹⁶⁰ Secondly, all the texts, except for 1QS 4:20-23, highlight longevity together with the glory of Adam as promised blessings for the community. With regard to the notion of power/rule, longevity or incorruptibility has the connotation of power over death. Finally, all three texts, 1QS 4:20-23, 1QH^a 4:26-27 and CD-A 3:18-20, stress purification and forgiveness; a similar emphasis can be found in the term “שבֵי המדבר” (penitents of the wilderness) in 4QpPs^a 3:1-2.¹⁶¹ Hence the forgiveness of and removal of sin appears to be a prerequisite for the possession of Adam’s glory.

Our earlier discussion on 4Q504 fragment 8 (recto) suggests that the concept of glory in “all the glory of Adam” may include the idea of rule (משל). This association is further confirmed by 1QH^a 5:34-35 (Sukenik 13:17-18) which Fletcher-Louis regards as an elaboration on “all the glory of Adam” for several reasons which will be discussed below.¹⁶² 1QH^a 5:34-35 states

¹⁵⁷ Although Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory*, 97 acknowledges the eschatological context in 1QS 4:23, nonetheless he notes the use of the perfect verb בחר in 1QS 4:22 and argues that just as “God has chosen” in 4:22, the possession of “all the glory of Adam” could also be a present reality in 4:23.

¹⁵⁸ Doering, “Urzeit-Endzeit,” 42.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 42–43.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory*, 106.

Only through your (sc. God's) goodness³⁴ can a person be righteous, and by [your] abundant mer[cy ...] By your splendour you glorify him, and you give [him] dominion [with] abundant delights together with eternal³⁵ peace (בהדרך תפארנו ותמשילנ[ו] ב[רוב עדנים עם שלום עולם] and long life.

In a similar fashion to the three texts on “all the glory of Adam” and 4QpPs^a 3:1-2, 1QH^a 5:34-35 emphasizes God's cleansing and forgiveness of sins as a pre-condition for receiving divine blessings. Like line 6 of 4Q504 fragment 8 (recto) which associates glory (more specifically Adam's or God's glory) with the power to rule (משל), the verb משל in 1QH^a 5:34-35 can be regarded as an echo of Adam's/humanity's rule (הרה) over creation in Genesis 1:26, 28. 1QS 3:17-18 further corroborates this observation by stating that God “created man to rule (לממשלת) the world”.¹⁶³ The term עדנים in 1QH^a 5:34 could possibly be a reference to Eden. Finally, the gift of divine splendour, dominion and long life in 1QH^a 5:34-35 echoes the blessing of Adam's glory and longevity in 1QH^a 4:26-27, CD-A 3:18-20 and 4QpPs^a 3:1-2.

In sum, having Adam's glory means possessing divine splendour, longevity and dominion, thus pointing to a connection between glory and sovereign power. There are other portions of texts that also point to this association, for example within the Messianic Apocalypse (4Q521), which may be non-sectarian¹⁶⁴ and the Songs of the Sage (4Q510-511). The Songs of the Sage is a text containing magical and protective songs that enable the wise man (*maskil*) to “frighten and terr[ify] all the spirits of the ravaging angels and the bastard spirits, demons, Lilith, owls and [jackals ...]” (4Q510 1 4-5).¹⁶⁵ 4Q511 2 i 7-10 reads

¹⁶³ Fletcher-Louis (ibid.) provides examples of other Dead Sea Scroll texts such as 4Q381 1 7, 4Q422 1:9 and 4Q423 2 2 which use משל as a corresponding term for the הרה of Adam's dominion. He suggests that the inspiration could have come from תמשילנהו in Psalm 8:7.

¹⁶⁴ Geza Vermes, “Qumran Forum Miscellanea I,” *JJS* 43 (1992): 303–4, and Devorah Dimant, “The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance,” in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness*, ed. Devorah Dimant and Lawrence Harvey Schiffman, *STDJ* 16 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 48 indicate that it is non-sectarian. In contrast, Craig A. Evans, “Qumran's Messiah: How Important Is He?,” in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. John J. Collins and Robert A. Kugler (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), 137 n. 17 lists out various themes and emphases in 4Q521 that are common with other sectarian literature in Qumran and argues that it could be a Qumran composition.

¹⁶⁵ Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory*, 162.

By ⁷ [Go]d's perceptive knowled[ge] he placed [I]srael [in t]welve camps ... [...] ⁸ [...] the lot of God with the ange[ls of] his glorious luminaries (מאורות כבוד). On his name he instituted the pr[ai]se of ⁹ their [...] according to the feasts of the year, [and] the communal [do]minion (ומ[משלת] יחד), so that they would walk [in] the lot of ¹⁰ [God] according to [his] glory ([כבוד]), [and] serve in the lot of the people of his throne.

Lines 8 to 9 seem to allude to Genesis 1:14 as there is a correspondence between “למועדי שנה” in line 9 and the creation of the luminaries (מארת) to be for “ולמועדים ... ושנים” in Genesis 1:14.¹⁶⁶ Furthermore, the mention of luminaries (מאורות) and dominion (ומ[משלת]) parallels Genesis 1:16 where the luminaries (המארת) were created to govern (לממשלת) the day and night.¹⁶⁷ Fletcher-Louis notes that the reference to communal dominion in line 9 seems to imply the co-reigning of Israel (referred to in line 7) with the sun, moon and perhaps stars over “the order of creation (particularly the regions of day and night – Genesis 1:16)”.¹⁶⁸ Of interest to us is that the purpose of the collective dominion is for Israel to “walk [in] the lot of [God] according to [his] glory”, thus establishing a connection between the power to rule and glory.

The most well-preserved and longest portion of the Messianic Apocalypse, 4Q521 2 ii (with a small section in fragment 4) reads¹⁶⁹

¹ [for the heav]ens and the earth will listen to his anointed one, ² [and all th]at is in them will not turn away from the precepts of the holy ones. ³ Strengthen yourselves, you who are seeking the Lord, in his service! *Blank*
⁴ Will you not in this encounter the Lord, all those who hope in their heart? ⁵
 For the Lord will consider the pious, and call the righteous by name, ⁶ and his spirit will hover upon the poor, and he will renew the faithful with his strength. ⁷ For he will glorify (יכבד) the pious upon the throne of an eternal

¹⁶⁶ Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III (4Q482-4Q520)*, DJD 7 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 222.

¹⁶⁷ Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory*, 174.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 174–75.

¹⁶⁹ John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: Messianism in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 131; Craig A. Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies: A Guide to the Background Literature* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2005), 122.

kingdom,⁸ freeing prisoners, giving sight to the blind, straightening out the twis[t]ed.⁹ And for[e]ver shall I cling [to those who h]ope, and in his mercy [...] ¹⁰ and the fru[it of ...] ... not be delayed. ¹¹ And the Lord will perform marvellous acts such as have not existed, just as he sa[id,] ¹² [for] he will heal the badly wounded and will make the dead live, he will proclaim good news to the poor ¹³ and [...] ... [...] he will lead the [...] ... and enrich the hungry. ¹⁴ [...] and all ... [...]

The text predicts the coming of a Messiah (“anointed one”) to whom heaven and earth will listen (line 1). It also speaks about the Lord (or Messiah) freeing prisoners, restoring sight to the blind, healing the wounded, reviving the dead, and proclaiming good news to the poor (lines 8 and 12). Amidst such marvellous acts, line 7 claims that God “will glorify (כבוד) the pious upon the throne of an eternal kingdom”. This seems to imply that the pious being glorified by God is equivalent to them having sovereign power (or sharing God’s sovereign power if the throne referred to is God’s throne). Here we find another association between glory and dominion.

There are other passages within the War Scroll, which attest to wider Jewish traditions of an eschatological war and of which portions could be pre-Qumran,¹⁷⁰ and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, which may be pre-Qumran,¹⁷¹ that depict the connection between human glory and dominion, and divine glory and sovereign power. In the depiction of the eschatological war between the sons of light and the sons of darkness in the War Scroll, 1QM 12:7-16 emphasizes God’s presence in Israel’s battle formations and describes the results of their victory:¹⁷²

⁷ You, God, are awe[some] in the glory of your majesty (בכבוד מלכותה), and the congregation of your holy ones (ועדת קדושיכה) is amongst us for everlasting assistance. We will [treat] kings with contempt, with jeers ⁸ and mockery the heroes, for the Lord is holy (קדוש אדוני) and the King of glory (ומלך הכבוד) is with us the nation of his holy ones (עמ קדושים) are [our] he[roes, and] the host of his angels (עבא מלאכים) is enlisted with us; ⁹ the mighty one

¹⁷⁰ See Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory*, 395 n. 1; Philip R. Davies, “War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness,” *EDSS* 2:966–67.

¹⁷¹ Carol A. Newsom, “Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,” *EDSS* 2:887.

¹⁷² Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory*, 433.

of war is in our congregation; the host of his spirits (ועבא רוהיין) is with our steps. Our horsemen are [like] clouds and fogs of dew that cover the earth,¹⁰ like torrential rain that sheds justice on all its sprouts. Get up, Mighty One (גבור), take your prisoners, Man of Glory (איש כבוד),¹¹ collect your spoil, Performer of Valiance (עושי חיל)! Place your hand on the neck of your enemies and your foot on the piles of slain! Strike the peoples, your foes, and may your sword¹² consume guilty flesh! Fill your land with glory (מלא ארצכה כבוד) and your inheritance with blessing: may herds of flocks be in your fields, /silver,/ gold, and precious stones¹³ in your palaces! Rejoice, Zion, passionately! Shine with jubilation, Jerusalem! Exult, all the cities of Judah! Open¹⁴ your gate[s] continuously so that the wealth of the nations can be brought to you! Their kings shall wait on you (ישרתוך), all your oppressors lie prone before you (והשתחוו לך), the dust¹⁵ [of your feet they shall lick. Daughter]s of my nation, shout with jubilant voice! Adorn yourselves with finery of glory (כבוד)! Rule over the king[dom of ...] (למלוך עולמים)¹⁶ [... and] Israel to reign forever (ורדינה במלכות ...).

In praising God for the glory of his majesty/kingship (בכבוד מלכותה) and giving him the appellation “King of glory” (מלך הכבוד), lines 7 and 8 highlight the intimate relationship between divine glory and sovereign power. We see a similar phenomenon in the description of the divine warrior as Mighty One (גבור), Man of Glory (איש כבוד), Performer of Valiance (עושי חיל) (lines 10-11), thus linking glory with might/power and valiance.

Fletcher-Louis also highlights the parallels in this passage to Genesis 1:28 and Isaiah 6:3 that are useful for our discussion.¹⁷³ He provides several reasons, some of which we shall briefly discuss, for the connection between this passage and the creation account in Genesis 1.¹⁷⁴ Fletcher-Louis proposes that 1QM 12:7-16 describes the restoration of creation by the divine warrior through its depiction of the army of spirits and cavalry as clouds and mists, bringing rain and restoring fertility to the earth (lines 9-10), resulting in herds of flocks in the fields (line 12). The creation imagery is further reinforced by the possible allusion of the mist to the

¹⁷³ Ibid., 435–41.

¹⁷⁴ Details of his arguments can be found on *ibid.*, 435–36.

“spirit of God” in Genesis 1:2, with reference to Sirach 24:3 where the “spirit of God” could be seen as a mist covering the earth. The creation imagery climaxes in lines 15-16 where Israel is commanded to rule (וּרְדִינָה) and reign eternally, thus echoing God’s command in Genesis 1:28 for humanity to rule (רָדָה) over creation. Prior to the command to rule in line 15, the Israelites are instructed to adorn themselves with finery of glory (כְּבוֹד), seemingly in preparation for, or in conjunction with, their newfound sovereign power, thus connecting glory with dominion.¹⁷⁵

In pointing out that 1QM 12:7-16, as a hymn, could be patterned after the Qedushah of Isaiah 6,¹⁷⁶ i.e. Isaiah 6:3,¹⁷⁷ Fletcher-Louis suggests that the first strophe, 1QM 12:7-10a (ending at “sprouts”) is an adaptation of “Holy (קְדוּשׁ), holy, holy is the LORD of hosts (עֲבֹאוֹת)” with the triple reference to the root קְדוּשׁ (holy) in lines 7-8 and the hosts (עֲבֹאוֹת) specified as angels and spirits (lines 8-9).¹⁷⁸ The second strophe, 1QM 12:10b-16 (beginning at “Get up”) is then an elaboration of “the whole earth is full of his glory”:¹⁷⁹ the defeat of God’s enemies, the blessings of prosperity upon creation and Israel, the subjugation of Israel’s oppressors and Israel’s eternal reign.¹⁸⁰ Among the list of things associated with the earth being filled with divine glory, we can discern a connection between God’s glory and Israel’s dominion over the kingdoms. Indeed, 1QM 12:15, through the juxtaposition of Isaiah 6:3 (“Adorn yourselves with finery of *glory* [כְּבוֹד]”) and Genesis 1:28 (“*Rule* [וּרְדִינָה] over the king[dom of ...]”)¹⁸¹ shows an association between divine glory and rule (with Israel as God’s agent of rule), and human (in this case Israel’s) glory and dominion over creation.

The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice seem to depict the Sabbath worship of an angelic priestly community in the celestial temple.¹⁸² The Songs are comprised of thirteen songs which were probably used by the Qumran community in their liturgy

¹⁷⁵ Fletcher-Louis (ibid., 447) further suggests that Israel is being given the status originally intended for Adam in which to exercise dominion over creation.

¹⁷⁶ Fletcher-Louis (ibid., 437–38) has a table showing the modelling of 1QM 12:7-16 after Isaiah 6:3.

¹⁷⁷ “Holy, holy, holy is the LORD of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory”.

¹⁷⁸ Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory*, 438–39.

¹⁷⁹ The echoing of Isaiah 6:3 (מְלֵא כְּבוֹדָא רִצְקָא) in 1QM 12:12 (מְלֵא אֲרִצְכָה כְּבוֹד) is highlighted in ibid., 438.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 438–39.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 441.

¹⁸² James R. Davila, *Liturgical Works*, ECDSS (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), 83.

over thirteen Sabbaths of one quarter of the year.¹⁸³ The seventh song begins with seven calls to praise;¹⁸⁴ the passage of our interest occurs in the third call (4Q403 1 i 32-33):

Chiefs of the praises of ³² all the gods, praise the God [of] majestic praises, *for in the magnificence of the praises (כי בהדר תשבחות) is the glory of his kingdom (כבוד מלכותו)*. Through it (come) the praises of all ³³ gods, together with the splendour of all [his] maje[sty.] ([הדר כול מלכ[ותו]) [italics mine]

Fletcher-Louis has proposed that the theology behind the reason for worship (in italics) seems to be that “when the community worships the substantial presence, the Glory of God (viz. his “kingship”) is made manifest.”¹⁸⁵ Indeed, the clause “in the magnificence of the praises is the glory of his kingdom” seems to associate God’s glory with his sovereign power through the phrase “the glory of his kingdom (כבוד מלכותו)”. Here we observe another example of a close connection between divine glory and sovereign power that is revealed in the context of worship.

Several other passages within the Words of the Luminaries (4QDibHam) and the Peshier on Isaiah of Qumran Cave 4 (4QpIsa) also demonstrate the correlation between glory and power in a Messianic context. The Words of the Luminaries comprise prayers for each day of the week,¹⁸⁶ of which the passage of our interest, 4Q504 1-2 iv 1-9 reads:

¹ [...] ² your re[si]dence [...] a place of rest ³ in Jerusa[lem the city which] you [cho]se from the whole earth ⁴ for [your Name] to be there forever. For you loved ⁵ Israel more than all the peoples. And you chose the tribe of ⁶ Judah, and established your covenant with David so that he would be ⁷ like a

¹⁸³ Ibid., 84, 89; Davila (ibid., 87) further notes that the twelfth song probably marked the climax as it was sung on the Sabbath after the Festival of Weeks when the Qumran community celebrated their annual covenant renewal ceremony. Nonetheless, due to the significance of the number seven as a structuring element within the Songs and in the overall structure of the Songs, Song VII was probably a mini-climax.

¹⁸⁴ Carol A. Newsom, “Shirot ^COlat HaShabbat,” in *Qumran Cave 4. VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1*, by Esther Eshel et al., DJD 11 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 270; the beginnings of the seven summons to praise are indicated in Newsom’s translation on pages 271-72.

¹⁸⁵ Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory*, 333.

¹⁸⁶ Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 239.

shepherd, a prince over your people, and would sit in front of you on the throne of Israel ⁸ forever (וישב על כסא ישראל לפניך כול הימים). And all the countries have seen your glory (כבודכה), ⁹ for you have made yourself holy in the midst of your people, Israel.

Lines 6-8 show that 4QDibHam understands the Davidic covenant to be fulfilled when a Davidic messianic shepherd prince is enthroned before God forever; this is juxtaposed with the revelation of God's glory to all nations.¹⁸⁷ Thus the exercise of sovereign power by the Messiah serves to reveal God's glory to all peoples.

In a similar fashion, 4Q161 (4QpIsa^a) 8-10 iii 18-22, a commentary on Isaiah 11:1-3, links the messianic "throne of glory" with dominion and judgment:

¹⁸ [The interpretation of the word concerns the shoot] of David which will sprout in the fi[nal days, since] ¹⁹ [with the breath of his lips he will execute] his [ene]my and God will support him with [the spirit of c]ourage [...] ²⁰ [...thro]ne of glory (כסא כבוד ...), h[oly] crown and multi-colour[ed] vestments ²¹ [...] in his hand. He will rule over all the pe[ople]s and Magog (ובכורל הג[ואי]ם ימשול ומגוג) ²² [...] his sword will judge [al]l the peoples.

This passage foretells the eschatological coming of a Davidic Messiah who will be given a throne of glory (lines 18-20). His enthronement in glory is connected with his rule and judgment over all peoples (lines 21-22); this points to a correspondence between glory and sovereign power, besides judgment.

We shall summarize the observations in our journey through the Dead Sea Scrolls before moving on to the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Two individuals emerge as important figures in the foregoing discussion on the correlation between glory and power: Adam and the Davidic Messiah. In relation to Adam, there is an inaugurated eschatological element to the possession of Adam's glory; it begins to be

¹⁸⁷ Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology*, 122. Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 259 however understands the context to be the united monarchy under David and Solomon since there is reference to David (lines 1-7) and Israel's flourishing under Solomon (lines 8-14). An eschatological context seems preferable in view of the correlation of the language of a long, or perhaps even eternal reign (כול הימים) by the shepherd prince with the revelation of God's glory (lines 7-8).

realized in and through the Qumran community. At the same time, forgiveness and removal of sin is emphasized as an important prerequisite to the possession of Adam's glory. In terms of the different aspects of power, the blessing of longevity or incorruptibility together with all the glory of Adam suggests the correlation of glory with power over death. There is also a cosmic dimension to the power to rule: dominion over creation and over the "order of creation", i.e. the regions of day and night (cf. Genesis 1:16). From an eschatological standpoint, there is an association between glory and co-reigning with God as reward for the pious or perhaps between divine glory and rule with humanity as the agents of God's rule. The eschatological renewal of creation is also an important motif in the filling of the earth with divine glory that is linked to the exercise of human dominion over creation. Keeping to the eschatological emphasis and moving on to the Davidic Messiah, glory is correlated with power through the eschatological enthronement of (exercise of sovereign power by) the Davidic Messiah that corresponds to the revelation of divine glory. Last but not least, the worship of the community also appears as a context for the manifestation of divine glory and kingship; this can be viewed as an inaugurated eschatological dimension to the revelation of divine glory/power which brings us full circle to the beginning of our summary.

3.6 Glory and Power in the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

Moving on to the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, we find passages that point to the association between glory and power in the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* (*GLAE*).¹⁸⁸ There has been much debate about the authorship, whether Jewish or Christian, and the date of this work, ranging from the first to fourth century CE.¹⁸⁹ In the midst of the ongoing debate, John Levison, in examining the correspondences between this work and Romans 1:18-25, has proposed that Paul may have utilized some form of *GLAE*, either written or oral, in his argument.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ Levison, "Adam and Eve," 519 n. 2 notes that it was previously known as the *Apocalypse of Moses*.

¹⁸⁹ M. D. Johnson, "Life of Adam and Eve," in *OTP*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983-1985), 2:251-52 supports the view of an original Hebrew composition by a Jewish author between 100 BCE and 200 CE, probably toward the end of the first century CE, with the Greek translation written between 100 and 400 CE. On the other hand, Marinus de Jonge and Johannes Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve and Related Literature* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997), 65–78 argue for a Greek original of Christian authorship from the second to fourth century CE.

¹⁹⁰ Levison, "Adam and Eve," 522–23.

The passages of interest to us lie between *GLAE* 20-21 where Eve recounts the moment when she ate the fruit (20:1-2), her call to Adam (21:2) and Adam’s response after eating the fruit and realizing his nakedness (21:6).¹⁹¹

¹ “And in that very hour my eyes were opened, and I knew that I was naked of the righteousness (τῆς δικαιοσύνης) with which I had been clothed, and I wept saying to him (the Tempter): ² ‘Why have you done this that I have been deprived of my glory (δόξης) [with which I was clothed]?’” (20:1-2)

“But when your father (Adam) came, I spoke to him words of transgression which have brought us down (κατήγαγον) from great glory (δόξης).” (21:2)

“And to me he said, ‘O wicked woman! What have you done to us (τί κατειργάσω ἐν ἡμῖν)? You have deprived me of the glory of God (τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ).’” (21:6)

We can make some preliminary observations about the nature of glory in these passages. First, glory was something Adam and Eve originally had but which they forfeited after the Fall.¹⁹² Glory also appears to be correlated with righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) (20:1-2) and it was the glory of God (τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ) that was lost (21:6).¹⁹³ Other connotations of glory may be discerned by comparing *GLAE* 21:6 with a parallel passage in *GLAE* 14:2.¹⁹⁴

14:2	21:6
And Adam said to Eve: “O Eve, What have you done to us (τί κατειργάσω ἐν ἡμῖν)? You have brought great wrath upon us	“And to me he said, ‘O wicked woman! What have you done to us (τί κατειργάσω ἐν ἡμῖν)? You have deprived me of the glory of

¹⁹¹ Greek texts for *GLAE* have been taken from Johannes Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve in Greek: A Critical Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 2005). Translations have been adapted from Gary A. Anderson and Michael E. Stone, eds., *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 2nd revised ed. (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1999).

¹⁹² Sprinkle, “Afterlife in Romans,” 205.

¹⁹³ Levison, *Portraits of Adam*, 169, 186–88.

¹⁹⁴ The table for comparison has been adapted from Levison, “Adam and Eve,” 527.

<p>which is death ruling over (θάνατος κατακυριεύων) our entire race.”</p>	<p>God (τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ).”</p>
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Figure 3: Association of Divine Glory with the Power of Immortality in *GLAE* 14:2 and 21:6

Levison has highlighted that the question “τί κατειργάσω ἐν ἡμῖν” only occurs in 14:2 and 21:6 which establishes a connection between them.¹⁹⁵ This helps us understand the deprivation of the glory of God (τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ) (21:6) as related to the advent of the dominion of death (θάνατος κατακυριεύων) (14:2).¹⁹⁶ Hence the forfeiture of glory is correlated to a loss of immortality and dominion.¹⁹⁷ In this instance, Adam being deprived of “the glory of God” denotes his loss of the power of immortal life.

Now the loss of dominion is not just limited to death. Other passages in *GLAE* indicate that humankind’s loss of sovereign power extends to a loss of rule over the animal kingdom.¹⁹⁸ In Eve’s account of God’s judgment on Adam for his disobedience, God says to Adam: “The beasts, over whom you ruled (ἐκυρίευσες), shall rise up in rebellion against you, for you have not kept my commandment.” (24:4). The loss of rule over animals as a result of human sin is also reinforced in the conversation between Eve and a wild beast in the account of the beast’s attack on Seth (*GLAE* 10:3-11:3):

10:3 And she (Eve) spoke to the beast: “You wicked beast, Do you not fear to fight with the image of God? How was your mouth opened? How were your teeth made strong? How did you not call to mind your subjection? For long ago you were made subject to the image of God.”^{11:1} Then the beast cried out and said: “It is not our concern, Eve, your greed and your wailing, but your

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ By pointing out the association of the verb *κατάγειν* with a descent to death, the grave or Sheol, Levison (ibid., 529) argues that the descent of Adam and Eve from great glory in *GLAE* 21:2 is a descent from immortality to death, further establishing the connection between glory and immortality. This is especially so in light of the use of *κατάγειν* in *GLAE* 39:1-3 to describe the bringing down of Adam to death (or to Hades).

¹⁹⁷ See Sprinkle, “Afterlife in Romans,” 206, and Levison, “Adam and Eve,” 525–30 for other arguments supporting the association between glory and immortality.

¹⁹⁸ Levison, “Adam and Eve,” 532 highlights these passages to support his idea of the “exchange of natures between ruler (humankind) and ruled (animals)” as a result of the primal sin.

own; for (it is) from you that the rule of the beasts (ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν θηρίων) has arisen.² How was your mouth opened to eat of the tree concerning which God commanded you not to eat of it? On this account, our nature also has been transformed.³ Now therefore you cannot endure it, if I begin to reprove you.”

This passage emphasizes humankind’s loss of dominion to the wild animals (ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν θηρίων) as a result of disobedience (11:1-2); this is a reversal of the natural order where humankind was to rule over the animals as indicated in Genesis 1:26 (“ἀρχέτωσαν”) and 1:28 (“ἄρχετε”).¹⁹⁹

Among the restoration passages (13:3-5; 28:4; 39:2-3; 41:3; 43:2-3) in *GLAE*,²⁰⁰ of interest to us is 39:2-3:

² [God speaking to Adam] “Yet, I tell you that I will turn their joy to grief and your grief will I turn to joy, and I will return you to your rule (τὴν ἀρχὴν σου), and seat you on the throne of your deceiver (τὸν θρόνον τοῦ ἀπατήσαντός σε).³ But that one [the one who sat on it prior to his becoming arrogant] shall be cast into this place that he may see you seated upon it. Then he himself shall be condemned along with those who obeyed him and he shall grieve when he sees you sitting upon his throne (τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ).”

This passage highlights the promise of joy, restoration of dominion (τὴν ἀρχὴν σου) and Satan’s throne (τὸν θρόνον τοῦ ἀπατήσαντός σε) to Adam; the throne of Satan appears to imply Satan’s rule over Adam which will be reversed in the eschaton. Beside these blessings, a survey of the restoration passages indicates other rewards to the righteous such as resurrection, immortality, righteousness and a transformed heart. Although Preston Sprinkle has noted that there is no explicit mention of glory (δόξα) in any of the restoration passages,²⁰¹ yet due to the correlations between glory and righteousness, immortality and sovereign power, the restoration of glory seems to be implied even though the term δόξα is not used.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Sprinkle, “Afterlife in Romans,” 206.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

Another passage of interest lies within the Testament of Abraham (*T. Ab.*). *T. Ab.* exists in two different recensions, a longer form (RecLng.) and a shorter form (RecShrt.), each witnessed by various manuscripts in Greek and other languages.²⁰² The two recensions come from two separate *Vorlagen* in Greek, both *Vorlagen* probably deriving from a common Greek original.²⁰³ The authorship of the original was likely to be Jewish but the two present recensions show extensive revision by Christians.²⁰⁴ As to dating, the original text was likely to be written between 200 BCE and early first century CE with some form of RecShrt. existing in the second century CE and RecLng. in the early Byzantine period.²⁰⁵ The passage relevant to us, *T. Ab.* RecLng. 18:8-11, reads²⁰⁶

⁸ And the righteous one [Abraham] said, “Now I know that I have come to the faintness of death, so that my breath failed. ⁹ But I beg you, all-ruinous Death, since the servants died untimely, come let us pray to the Lord our God that God might hearken to us and raise (ἀναστήσῃ) those who died untimely because of your savageness.” ¹⁰ And Death said, “Amen, let it be so.” Then rising Abraham fell on his face upon the ground praying, and Death with him. ¹¹ And God sent a spirit of life upon those who had died and they were made to live again. Then the righteous Abraham gave glory (δόξαν) to God.

The conversation recorded here between Abraham and Death occurs after Death has revealed his true form to Abraham, which leads to the death of seven thousand servants of Abraham (cf. *T. Ab.* RecLng. 17:9-19). In response to the prayers of Abraham and Death for the servants, God resurrects them, resulting in Abraham giving glory (δόξαν) to God. Here we see Abraham glorifying God in response to the manifestation of divine power in reviving the dead. In other words, Abraham’s

²⁰² Dale C. Allison, Jr., *Testament of Abraham*, CEJL (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 4–11. The abbreviations for the longer (RecLng.) and shorter (RecShrt.) recensions follow those used by Dale Allison.

²⁰³ E. P. Sanders, “Testament of Abraham,” in *OTP*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983-1985), 1:871-74.

²⁰⁴ Allison, *Testament of Abraham*, 28–31.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 34–40. In contrast, Sanders, “Testament of Abraham,” 1:875 argues for a date for the original to be between 75 CE and 125 CE.

²⁰⁶ Greek text and translations have been taken from Allison, *Testament of Abraham*, 359–67.

act of giving glory to God can be viewed as his acknowledgement of God's power to give life to the dead, thus demonstrating a connection between glory and power.

The final stop in our journey through the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha lies within the Book of 1 Enoch,²⁰⁷ in particular the Book of Parables (or Similitudes) (1 Enoch 37-71). Although the Book of Parables is extant only in Ethiopic, it is likely to have been derived from a Greek version²⁰⁸ which in turn was translated from an Aramaic (or Hebrew) original.²⁰⁹ Its authorship is probably Jewish with the date of composition likely to be between 40 BCE and the early decades of the common era.²¹⁰ The Book of Parables consists of three parables (chapters 38-44; 45-57; 58-69), bookended by an introduction (chapter 37) and a conclusion (chapters 70-71).²¹¹

Through a series of journeys through the cosmos, stories about Noah and the Flood and a sequence of heavenly scenes, the Book of Parables announces the coming eschatological judgment which will result in punishment for "the kings and the mighty" and salvation for the "righteous and chosen".²¹² Our discussion will focus on chapter 62 as it associates glory with various forms of power. Chapter 62 is nestled within a developing drama (chapters 61-63) which describes the eschatological judgment with the enthronement of the Chosen One/Son of Man, the vindication of the "righteous and chosen", and the punishment of "the kings and the mighty".

²⁰⁷ George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2004), 1 notes that 1 Enoch (also known as the Ethiopic Apocalypse of Enoch) comprises five main sections, namely, The Book of the Watchers (chapters 1-36), The Book of Parables (chapters 37-71), The Book of the Luminaries (chapters 72-82), The Dream Visions (chapters 83-90), The Epistle of Enoch (chapters 91-105), and two short appendices: The Birth of Noah (chapters 106-107); Another Book by Enoch (chapter 108).

²⁰⁸ George W. E. Nickelsburg, "1 Enoch 37-71: The Book of Parables," in *1 Enoch 2: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch Chapters 37-82*, by George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2012), 33 cites the twofold evidence as being that some passages in 1 Enoch are best accounted for by assuming a translation from a Greek *Vorlage* and that with the translation of the Ethiopic Bible from the Greek, it was likely that the Ethiopic version of 1 Enoch (including the Parables) was derived from a Greek ancestor.

²⁰⁹ Nickelsburg (*ibid.*, 32) notes Michael Knibb's caution that the Book of Parables could be written in Aramaic or Hebrew. Nonetheless Nickelsburg opts for an Aramaic original as there are many close parallels between the Book of Parables and the Book of the Watchers which was written in Aramaic; another contributing factor to his preference is the fact that the rest of the Enochic material also originated in Aramaic.

²¹⁰ For details of the arguments for the dating and authorship, refer to *ibid.*, 58-63, 65-66.

²¹¹ Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 3-6.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 3-4.

We begin by considering the phrase “throne of (his) glory” which occurs frequently in the second and third parable (45:3; 47:3; 55:4; 60:2; 61:8; 62:2, 3, 5; 69:27, 29; 71:7).²¹³ The term “throne” conjures a royal image with its connection to sovereign power/rule. The frequent collocation of “throne” with “glory” suggests the association of glory with sovereign power which is reflected in 62:5-6,²¹⁴

⁵ And one group of them [the kings and the mighty] will look at the other;
and they will be terrified and will cast down their faces,
and pain will seize them when they see that Son of Man sitting on the
throne of his glory.

⁶ And the kings and the mighty and all who possess the land
will bless and glorify and exalt him who rules over all, who was
hidden.

In this judgment scene, the kings and the mighty respond with fear and pain at the sight of the “Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory” (62:5) which is associated with his sovereign rule (62:6). 62:6 also emphasizes their act of glorifying the Son of Man, besides blessing and exalting him, as their acknowledgement of his dominion, thereby further establishing the link between glory and rule. Here we see echoes of Daniel 7:13-14 in which one like a Son of Man, as God’s agent of everlasting rule, was given dominion, glory and a kingdom in an implied enthronement scene.²¹⁵

At the same time, with the theme of eschatological judgment, it is not surprising that the expression “throne of glory” also connotes judgment. This can be observed in 62:2-3,

² And the Lord of Spirits <seated him> [the Chosen One] upon the throne of
his glory;
and the spirit of righteousness was poured upon him.
And the word of his mouth will slay all the sinners,

²¹³ Nickelsburg, “The Book of Parables,” 261.

²¹⁴ Translations for the various passages in the Book of Parables have been taken from Nickelsburg, “The Book of Parables.”

²¹⁵ Ibid., 262, 265.

and all the unrighteous will perish from his presence.

³ And there will stand up on that day all the kings and the mighty
and the exalted and those who possess the land.

And they will see and recognize that he sits on the throne of his glory;
and righteousness is judged in his presence,
and no lying word is spoken in his presence.

These verses describe the enthronement of the Chosen One with respect to the judgment of all the sinners and the unrighteous (62:2), and within the larger framework of the Book of Parables, the judgment of “the kings and the mighty” (62:3), thereby associating the divine throne of glory with the power to judge. George Nickelsburg further emphasizes this close relationship by highlighting that all the passages within the Book of Parables that have the Chosen One/Son of Man seated on the divine throne of glory occur within the context of judgment.²¹⁶ He further points out that among the biblical antecedents associated with the divine enthronement of God’s agent, such as Daniel 7:13-14, Psalm 2 and Psalm 110 (LXX 109), both Psalm 2 and Psalm 110 are related to judgment.²¹⁷ With implied enthronements in Psalm 2:6 and 110:1 (LXX 109:1), Psalm 2 depicts the king as the agent of God’s judgment against defiant kings and rulers (Psalm 2:1-6, 8-11) while Psalm 110 describes the king’s (or God’s) judgment of the kings and nations (Psalm 110:1, 5-6; LXX 109:1, 5-6).²¹⁸ At the same time, all three passages also connect the divine enthronement of God’s agent with the implementation of sovereign rule (Daniel 7:14; Psalm 2:8-11; 110:1-2; LXX 109:1-2). With the power of judgment comes the power to punish “the kings and the mighty” (1 Enoch 62:10-12)²¹⁹ and the

²¹⁶ Nickelsburg (ibid., 261–62) indicates that this includes all the passages containing the expression “the throne of (his) glory” except for 71:7, which is not associated with sitting, 47:3 and 60:2, both of which are associated with the Lord of Spirits being seated. Nonetheless, 47:3 and 60:2 are also situated within the context of final judgment.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 262.

²¹⁸ Nickelsburg (ibid., 262–63) further highlights “‘the throne of glory’ as the locus of messianic judgment appears to have been a traditional motif” by pointing out the juxtaposition of Isaiah 11:2-4, which describes the shoot from the stump of Jesse (Isaiah 11:1) as a righteous judge, with the throne of glory in 1 Enoch 62:2-3 and the juxtaposition of the throne of glory with Isaiah 11:3 in Qumran peshet^a on Isaiah (4Q161 8-10 iii 11-24). He also points out references to Isaiah 11:4 in messianic sections in Psalms of Solomon 17:24, 35 (27, 39) and 4 Ezra 13:4 which are also situated within the context of eschatological judgment.

²¹⁹ “And he will deliver them to the angels for punishment, so that they may exact retribution from them for the iniquity that they did to his children and his chosen ones.” (62:11)

power to vindicate the righteousness of the chosen and save them from their enemies (62:13-16, cf. 45:1-6; 47:1-4; 48:1-7²²⁰; 58:1-6).²²¹

Within the passage describing the eschatological salvation of the “righteous and chosen” (62:13-16), we find another correlation between glory and power. 62:15-16 reads

¹⁵ And the righteous and chosen will have arisen from the earth,
and have ceased to cast down their faces,
and have put on the garment of glory.

¹⁶ And this will be your garment, the garment of life from the Lord of Spirits;
and your garments will not wear out,
and your glory will not fade in the presence of the Lord of Spirits.

The passage describes the resurrection of the righteous dead and transformation of the righteous living, both of whom will be clothed with eschatological bodies of glory, i.e. garments of glory (62:15). Verse 16 further elucidates the “garment of glory” as the “garment of life”, more precisely eternal life as the garments will not wear out, thus associating glory with eternal life, in other words, power over death or the power of an indestructible life. At the same time, glory in 62:16 also seems to connote effulgence with the reference to an unfading glory.

As we review our journey through the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha (*GLAE*, *T. Ab.* and the Enochic Book of Parables), we discover that besides the usual associations of glory with splendour, glory is also closely related to righteousness. Glory was also something Adam and Eve possessed which they forfeited after the Fall; the loss of glory came with the associated surrendering of power over death and sovereign power. The loss of dominion includes the loss of rule over the animal world which hints at a reversal of the natural order indicated in Genesis 1:26, 28. At the same time, there are certain associations between glory and power that seem to be divine prerogatives, namely the power to give life to the dead and the power to

²²⁰ “And the wisdom of the Lord of Spirits has revealed him to the holy and the righteous; for he has preserved the lot of the righteous. ... For in his name they are saved, and he is the vindicator of their lives.” (48:7)

²²¹ Nickelsburg, “The Book of Parables,” 54.

judge in the eschatological judgment. With the divine power to judge comes the corresponding vindicative and salvific power for the benefit of the righteous, and punitive power over sinners.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter began with an examination of the key Hebrew and Greek terms, “כבוד” and “δόξα”, used to refer to glory in the Jewish tradition. From the brief exploration, it was found that כבוד, derived from כבד (to be heavy), had the meaning of something “weighty” that gave a person importance, thus making him impressive to others. This understanding of כבוד established its associations with, among various things, honour and power. At the same time, the LXX translators’ decision to render כבוד with δόξα, probably due to the connection of δόξα with honour, meant that the correlations of כבוד with power were also transferred over to δόξα, thus establishing the association of glory with power.

The various ways in which glory was related to power were further explored as we undertook a journey through the Hebrew Scriptures, the Second Temple literature such as the Old Testament Apocrypha, Dead Sea Scrolls, Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, and the writings of Philo and Josephus.

From this journey, we can discern a reciprocal relationship between glory and power (Exodus and Baruch). There also appears to be an inextricable connection between Yahweh’s and Israel’s glory because Israel bears Yahweh’s name (Isaiah, Baruch, Prayer of Azariah and Daniel).

With respect to divine glory and power, we found that God’s glory was associated with his creative power (Psalms), sovereign power (Isaiah, War Scroll, Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice, 1 Enoch), redemptive power (Exodus, Isaiah and Baruch) and “merciful” power, i.e. power through restraint (Exodus). Yahweh’s glory also signified his power to give life to the dead (Psalms, *T. Ab.*). Last but not least, God’s glory is also closely related to his character, especially his covenant faithfulness, abundant mercy and righteousness (Isaiah, Psalms and 2 Chronicles).

With respect to humanity, righteousness is also closely related to glory (*GLAE*). Glory also signified, for human beings, the power of an indestructible life or immortality (1QH^a, CD-A, 4QpPs^a, *GLAE* and 1 Enoch) and sovereign power (Genesis, Psalms, 4QDibHam^a, Messianic Apocalypse, War Scroll and *GLAE*). Although humanity once possessed glory, it was forfeited after the Fall (*GLAE*). Both pre-sectarian (1QS 4:20-23) and sectarian (1QH^a 4:26-27, CD-A 3:18-20 and 4QpPs^a 3:1-2) writings of Qumran emphasized forgiveness and removal of sin as a prerequisite to the recovery of Adamic glory. Within the Qumran community, there is a sense of inaugurated eschatological glory where Adamic glory begins to be recovered in and through the community (1QS 4:6-26, CD-A 3:18-20, 1QH^a 4:26-27 and 4QpPs^a 3:1-2). With the correlation of glory with sovereign power, it is not surprising that the eschatological restoration of glory to the righteous entailed the recovery of sovereign power (*GLAE*) or sharing in divine sovereign power (Messianic Apocalypse). Finally within the War Scroll, which represents part of a wider Jewish tradition about the eschatological war, we find the eschatological renewal of creation as an important motif in the filling of the earth with divine glory that is linked to the exercise of human dominion over creation.

Moving on to the Messiah (4QpIsa^a) or Son of Man (1 Enoch), we find glory being linked with sovereign power and judgment through the throne of glory. The granting of the prerogative of judgment to the Messiah also implies the granting of the power to save, vindicate and punish. At the same time, the exercise of sovereign power by the Messiah also serves to reveal God's glory to all peoples (4QDibHam).

In the previous chapter, we have examined the ways in which glory/honour functioned as a form of power in Graeco-Roman society. Although glory may be construed generally as associated with power sociologically in both the Graeco-Roman and Jewish traditions, there is a slight difference in the way they are related. In Graeco-Roman society, glory/honour functions as a form of power because of its role as a source of value; in the Jewish tradition, glory's relation to power is established through the way it makes one impressive to others. Nonetheless, these two ways of relating glory to power are not hermetically sealed off from each other, for example, in the Jewish writings of 1 Maccabees, Philo and Josephus, we can discern intersections in the notions of glory and power between these two traditions

through the use of deference and reciprocity language. These intersections reflect and affirm the dominant role of glory/honour in the ancient Mediterranean social universe. With the ancients' desire for glory/honour and anxiety over losing it, it is not surprising to find glory/honour being utilized as a form of power to influence behaviour also in the Jewish tradition (Sirach and 2 Maccabees).

After completing this journey to explore the various aspects of the relationship between glory and power in both the Graeco-Roman and Jewish traditions, we are now ready to move on to examine the various associations between glory and power and to see if they shed any new light in understanding Paul's epistle to the Romans.

Chapter 4 Loss of Glory (Romans 1-3)

4.1 Introduction

Before embarking on our journey of glory through Romans proper, we shall provide some brief remarks regarding the issues of authorship, dating, provenance, integrity, audience, ethnic composition of the audience, and occasion of the letter. The authorship of Paul, with Tertius as the scribe (Romans 1:1; 16:22), is rarely challenged nowadays with the letter being likely to be written between the middle to late 50s C.E. and probably from Corinth to Rome (1:7).¹ Many scholars have also argued for and accepted the integrity and coherence of Romans without any major interpolations.² The ethnic composition of the audience is also likely to be primarily Gentile (cf. 1:5-6, 13; 11:13).³ After an extensive survey of many possible purposes for Paul's writing of Romans, Richard Longenecker has concluded that Paul had two main purposes: to impart some spiritual gift to the Roman Christians (1:11) and to seek their support for his Gentile mission to Spain (15:24), both of which Paul indicates in the epistolary frame⁴ and elucidates throughout the main body (1:16-15:13) of the letter.⁵ Regarding the occasion of Romans, John Barclay has argued that what was important to Paul was that 'the Roman believers must first understand and embrace him as *their* apostle. The most important exigency that Paul addresses in this letter is the one that he himself will create: his imminent arrival in Rome as "apostle to the Gentiles."⁶ To support his argument, Barclay has pointed out that

¹ These are the conclusions of many scholars such as, for e.g. Werner Georg Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, trans. Howard Clark Kee, rev. ed., NTL (London: SCM Press, 1975), 311; Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, xxxix–xliv; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 40–43, 85–88; Moo, *Romans*, 1–3; Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 1–16; Jewett, *Romans*, 18–22; Longenecker, *Introducing Romans*, 3–14, 43–51; Colin G. Kruse, *Paul's Letter to the Romans*, PNTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2012), 12–13.

² Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, lviii–lxiii; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 55–67; Moo, *Romans*, 5–9; Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 5–11; Longenecker, *Introducing Romans*, 15–42; Kruse, *Romans*, 13–14. See also the comments regarding this issue in Calhoun, *Paul's Definitions*, 6–7 n. 9.

³ See references and comments provided by Calhoun, *Paul's Definitions*, 7 n. 11; Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 458.

⁴ Longenecker, *Introducing Romans*, 136–41 identifies the epistolary frame of Romans as comprising of the opening "salutation" (1:1-7), "thanksgiving" (1:8-12), "body opening" (1:13-15), "body closing" (15:14-32) and "concluding section" (15:33-16:27).

⁵ See *ibid.*, 92–166 for details. Besides these two primary purposes, Longenecker also lists three other secondary purposes relating to Paul's defence of his person and message, and his counsel regarding a dispute between "the strong" and "the weak" and the relationship of the Roman believers with the government authorities (158-59).

⁶ Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 457 who also notes Paul's identification of his calling, role and ministry as "apostle to the Gentiles" in important parts of the letter.

Paul's hopes for a mutually beneficial visit and for their support for the Spanish mission (1:11-12; 15:24, 28), both of which Longenecker highlighted as Paul's primary purposes, hinged on their acceptance of Paul as the apostle to the Gentiles, i.e. to them.⁷ Barclay has further shown how the reason he has suggested for Romans helps to clarify Paul's explanation of only certain motifs in Paul's theology.⁸ Although Alexander Wedderburn has concluded that the "reasons for Romans are thus a cluster of different interlocking factors", he has also indicated that Paul's apostolic commission to the Gentiles had made him responsible for the Roman Christians as he was their apostle (cf. 1:11-15; 15:15-16) and that this "may have been his major reason for going there, and thus for preparing the way in writing".⁹ Wedderburn has also emphasized that the success of Paul's visit and hopes for support depended on the Roman believers not having "an unfavourable view of him and his work",¹⁰ i.e. their reception of Paul as their apostle.

As we begin our "glorious" journey through Romans, we shall refer to Moxnes' list of terms which he has identified as forming Paul's vocabulary of honour and shame in Romans as a guide for our journey.¹¹ This list includes τιμή, δόξα, δοξάζω, ἔπαινος, ἐπαινέω, καύχημα, καύχησις, καυχάομαι, ἀσημισύνη, ἀτιμία, ἀτιμάζω, ἐπαισχύνομαι and καταισχύνομαι; to this list we have added αἰνέω, κατακαυχάομαι and συνδοξάζω.

4.2 Preamble: Not Being Ashamed of the Gospel Because it is God's Power (1:3-5, 16-17)

The first instance of glory language, more accurately "not being ashamed", occurs in Romans 1:16-17 which has often been read as the thesis statement or *propositio*:¹²

⁷ For details of Barclay's arguments, see *ibid.*, 456–59.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 457–59.

⁹ A. J. M. Wedderburn, *The Reasons for Romans*, SNTW (T&T Clark, 1988), 98–99, 102, 142.

¹⁰ Wedderburn (*ibid.*, 101, 108) indicates that this required Paul's defence of his gospel; the reason being that "some in Rome had in fact claimed that he indeed ought to be ashamed of his gospel and his proclamation, for that gospel was in some way discredited and disgraceful" (104, emphasis author's, cf. 1:15-17). Wedderburn has also highlighted Paul's possible fear that the Roman believers would neither support him in his plans nor welcome him as their apostle upon his arrival (141-42).

¹¹ Moxnes, "Honour and Righteousness," 77 n. 15.

¹² Käsemann, *Romans*, 21–22; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 253; Stuhlmacher, *Romans*, 28–29; Jewett, *Romans*, 135.

For (γάρ) I am not ashamed (ἐπαισχύνομαι) of the gospel (εὐαγγέλιον), for it is the power of God (δύναμις θεοῦ) unto salvation (σωτηρίαν) to everyone who believes, both to the Jew first and to the Greek. For in it the righteousness of God is revealed from faith to faith, as it is written: But the righteous by faith will live.

In the thesis statement, verse 16a (γάρ) explains Paul's eagerness to preach the gospel in Rome (1:15). As to Paul's assertion that he is not ashamed of the gospel, various interpretations have been proposed.¹³ For example, Brendan Byrne argues that Paul's assertion is an example of a litotes, an understatement in the form of a double negative (I am not ashamed) which functions to emphasize the associated positive affirmation (I am very proud).¹⁴ A related proposal is that Paul may be echoing Jesus' statement in Mark 8:38//Luke 9:26 and thus identifying himself with Jesus.¹⁵ Drawing from 1 Corinthians 1:18, Douglas Moo suggests that the nature of the gospel as "foolishness of the word of the cross" could possibly cause shame and account for Paul's assertion.¹⁶ Finally, Steve Mason has suggested that Paul's assertion arises from the criticism he is facing from members of the Roman church who think that Paul should be ashamed because "he had corrupted the apostles' teaching in order 'to please men' (Galatians 1:10-12), and that he had effectively written off Israel and its traditions (Acts 21:21, 28)."¹⁷

¹³ Most of the interpretations have been summarized from Rikki E. Watts, "'For I Am Not Ashamed of the Gospel': Romans 1:16-17 and Habakkuk 2:4," in *Romans and the People of God: Essays in Honor of Gordon D. Fee on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Sven K. Soderlund and N. T. Wright (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), 21–22.

¹⁴ Byrne, *Romans*, 51.

¹⁵ Watts, "Not Ashamed," 21–22 attributes this view to C. K. Barrett, "I Am Not Ashamed of the Gospel," in *Foi et Salut Selon S. Paul*, AnBib 42 (Rome: Institut Biblique Pontifical, 1970), 19–50, especially 19–41. Ulrich Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer*, EKKNT 6 (Zürich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978–1982), 1:82 offers a similar view by understanding "»Sich nicht schämen« ist gesteigertes Äquivalent zu ὁμολογεῖν" (cf. Mark 8:38; Luke 12:8–9), i.e. expressing commitment to the gospel. Lohse, *Römer*, 76 understands the phrase as expressing confession as opposed to denial.

¹⁶ Moo, *Romans*, 65–66.

¹⁷ Steve Mason, "'For I Am Not Ashamed of the Gospel' (Rom. 1.16): The Gospel and the First Readers of Romans," in *Gospel in Paul: Studies on Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans for Richard N. Longenecker*, ed. L. Ann Jervis and Peter Richardson, JSNTSup 108 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994), 280, citing Gerd Lüdemann, *Opposition to Paul in Jewish Christianity*, trans. M. Eugene Boring (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1989), 35–115.

By considering the content of Romans, Paul's other epistles and the book of Acts, it is possible to evaluate the plausibility of each of the abovementioned and other proposals.¹⁸ Nonetheless, it is difficult to decide conclusively as to which interpretation is the most valid as they attempt to explain Paul's assertion with reasons that lie behind the text. By focusing our attention on verse 16, we find that Paul provides the reason: for (γάρ) it [i.e., the gospel] is the power of God (δύναμις θεοῦ) unto salvation (σωτηρίαν) to everyone who believes, both to the Jew first and to the Greek. Once again we find honour/glory (= no-shame) associated with and founded on power.

In Romans, Paul's emphasis on salvation is primarily eschatological, involving both deliverance from God's wrath (5:9) and sharing in the divine glory (8:17-18).¹⁹ Hence Paul's confidence in the gospel as God's power for salvation from God's wrath and for sharing in the divine glory to everyone who believes, both Jew and Greek, grounds Paul's repudiation of shame now (1:16) and in the eschaton (10:6-11; see discussion in chapter 7.2). After providing an "abbreviated proof" of the gospel as God's power for salvation in 1:17, Paul will spend a significant portion of the rest of Romans expounding on and defending his thesis statement.²⁰ But what about the content of the gospel of which Paul is not ashamed? For that, we have to turn to an earlier part of Romans, 1:3-4.

Using epistolary analysis, Romans 1:3-4 has been identified as forming part of the prescript (1:1-7) which expresses the relationship between the sender and the

¹⁸ Such an attempt can be found in Watts, "Not Ashamed," 21–22.

¹⁹ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 39; Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 88–89.

²⁰ Calhoun, *Paul's Definitions*, 147–48 highlights that 1:17 provides an "abbreviated proof" for the gospel as God's power for salvation to everyone who believes, both to Jew first and to Greek (1:16b). For a discussion on the interpretation of 1:17, especially with regard to "δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ", "ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν" and Paul's citation of Habakkuk 2:4, see Benjamin Schliesser, *Abraham's Faith in Romans 4*, WUNT II 224 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 240–390; Calhoun, *Paul's Definitions*, 156–90; Kruse, *Romans*, 69–81. In particular, "δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ" probably refers to God's saving righteousness, i.e. "God's saving action in Christ whereby he brings people into a right relationship with himself" (Kruse, 81). Kruse (75) and Calhoun (186-87) have argued that "ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν" refers to the missionary spread of the gospel. Meanwhile, Schliesser (243-48) has proposed that the phrase refers to the "missionary proclamation" of the gospel, i.e. God's righteousness is revealed in both "salvation history" (the eschatological Christ-event of faith) (ἐκ πίστεως) and "individual history" (everyone who believes and participates in it) (εἰς πίστιν). The ambiguity of Paul's citation of Habakkuk 2:4 in terms of the identity of the subject of "πίστις" as compared to the MT and LXX provides Paul with the flexibility of connecting "πίστις" with God or with the righteous person (Calhoun, 187-89), although it is more likely to be connected with the righteous person due to Paul's emphasis on the gospel as divine power for eschatological salvation to everyone who believes.

recipient.²¹ In Romans, the greatly lengthened “sender” portion (1:1-6) demonstrates Paul’s concern in emphasizing his apostolic authority in his relationship with the Roman Christians, based on a shared gospel message.²² Combining epistolary analysis with rhetorical criticism, 1:3-4 has also been regarded as part of the *exordium* which, with its position at the beginning of a speech, served primarily to win its listeners’ favour, and among its various elements, contained a summary of the key topics of an oration.²³ Thus within the prescript, especially in 1:3-4 which concerns the content of the shared gospel message, we should expect to find topics being raised as essential components of Paul’s purposes and themes in his letter to the Romans.

After describing the gospel as God’s promises to Israel through his prophets in the Holy Scriptures (1:2), Paul continues to elaborate on its content as concerning God’s son in 1:3-4:

concerning his son – having come from the seed of David according to the flesh (κατὰ σάρκα), having been designated (ὀρισθέντος) son of God (υιοῦ θεοῦ) in power (ἐν δυνάμει) according to the spirit of holiness (κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης) from the resurrection of the dead (ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν), Jesus Christ our Lord (κυρίου),

In his elaboration of the gospel, Paul uses two parallel participial clauses to describe God’s son as shown below:²⁴

1:3	1:4
having come	having been designated
from the seed of David	son of God in power
according to the flesh	according to the spirit of holiness

²¹ Samuel Byrskog, “Epistolography, Rhetoric and Letter Prescript: Romans 1.1-7 as a Test Case,” *JSNT* 19 (1997): 34–35. For comparison of Paul’s letter openings with Greek epistolary traditions, see Sean A. Adams, “Paul’s Letter Opening and Greek Epistolography: A Matter of Relationship,” in *Paul and the Ancient Letter Form*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Sean A. Adams (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 33–55.

²² L. Ann Jervis, *The Purpose of Romans: A Comparative Letter Structure Investigation*, *JSNTSup* 55 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 78–79; Adams, “Paul’s Letter Opening,” 49–52, 55.

²³ Byrskog, “Epistolography,” 38–40.

²⁴ Table adapted from Moo, *Romans*, 45.

	from the resurrection of the dead
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Figure 4: Parallel Participial Clauses in Romans 1:3 and 1:4

Before examining the clauses in detail, it is helpful to note that they refer to different understandings of Jesus during his incarnation (“seed of David”) and following his resurrection (“son of God in power”), rather than his human and divine natures.²⁵ In the first participial clause, Paul focuses on Jesus’ identity as a descendant of David, thus alluding to promises connected to the Davidic Messiah in the Hebrew Scriptures and Second Temple Jewish writings, and to Christian belief of Jesus as the Davidic Messiah.²⁶ The parallel phrase in the second clause describes Jesus as “having been set aside as son of God in power” (ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει), which has been argued to refer to a change in status or function for Jesus rather than declaring who he was all along, i.e. his deity.²⁷ Daniel Kirk has provided two main reasons for this interpretation.²⁸ Firstly, ὀρίζω, in its NT occurrences, means either “to set apart for a particular use or function”²⁹ or “to happen according to an established plan of God”³⁰, thus agreeing with its range of meaning in secular Greek which excludes the meaning: “declaration of what has always been the case”.³¹ Secondly, as evidenced by its usage in the Hebrew Scriptures and Second Temple Jewish literature, “son of God” did not always identify one as divine; this is also shown by Paul’s usage in Romans (8:14-17).³² Hence ὀρίζω is better translated as “designated” or “appointed” than “declared”.³³ At his resurrection, Jesus was appointed “son of God” which seems to refer to the enthronement theology in 2

²⁵ Kruse, *Romans*, 42.

²⁶ Some of the references listed on Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2016), 65 n. 109, and Kruse, *Romans*, 43 include 2 Samuel 7:12-13; Psalm 89:3-4, 20-29; Isaiah 11:1, 10; Psalms of Solomon 17-18; 1QM 11:1-18; Matthew 1:1; John 7:42; Revelation 5:5.

²⁷ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 13–14; Jewett, *Romans*, 104–5.

²⁸ J. R. Daniel Kirk, *Unlocking Romans: Resurrection and the Justification of God* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 40–41.

²⁹ Acts 10:42; 11:29; 17:31; Hebrews 4:7.

³⁰ Luke 22:22; Acts 2:23; 17:26.

³¹ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 40; “ὀρίζω,” L&N 1:360, 483; “ὀρίζω,” LSJ 1250–51; Wilckens, *Römer*, 1:57; Moo, *Romans*, 47–48.

³² Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 41 indicates the title could refer to “the Jewish people as a whole, their judges, and the Davidic kings”; see Paul-Émile Langevin, “Quel est le ‘fils de dieu’ de Romains 1:3-4,” *ScEs* 29 (1977): 150–51 for the list of Jewish literature.

³³ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 41. Longenecker, *Romans*, 65–66 reaches a similar conclusion while rejecting the understanding of ὀρίζω as “to predestine”, adopted by e.g. Jerome’s Vulgate and some Church Fathers.

Samuel 7:12-14 and Psalm 2:7-9.³⁴ Psalm 2:7-9,³⁵ in particular, helps to illuminate our understanding of Romans 1:5, “through whom we received grace and apostleship for obedience of faith among all the Gentiles on behalf of his name”. Paul’s apostleship role in bringing about the “obedience of faith”³⁶ among all Gentiles through their believing response to the gospel corresponds to the nations being given as an inheritance to the newly enthroned king (Psalm 2:8); this in itself is “a transformation of the militant expectations of Psalm 2:9”.³⁷

In our exploration of glory/honour and power in the Roman world, we have found obedience to be an essential element of showing deference to prestige; this in turn is an important way in which glory/honour exercises power. In the same way, 1:5 informs us that Paul’s ministry to bring about the obedience of the Gentiles is on behalf of Jesus’ name (ὕπερ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ), i.e. for the sake of Jesus or his reputation.³⁸ In either case, the overall sense seems to be “in order that Jesus may be known and glorified”,³⁹ especially with the intimate relationship between obedience and glory/honour in the ancient Mediterranean world. In other words, when read together with Psalm 2:7-9, we find that the Messiah’s rule over the Gentiles results in Jesus’ glorification.⁴⁰

³⁴ Peter M. Head, “Jesus’ Resurrection in Pauline Thought: A Study in Romans,” in *Proclaiming the Resurrection*, ed. Peter M. Head (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1998), 61–63.

³⁵ John J. Collins, “The Interpretation of Psalm 2,” in *Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament*, ed. Florentino García Martínez, *STDJ* 85 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 56–66 points out the widespread messianic interpretation of Psalm 2 in Second Temple Jewish texts such as the Pseudepigrapha (Psalm of Solomon 17, Similitudes of Enoch, particularly 1 Enoch 48:10, and 4 Ezra, particularly 4 Ezra 13) and the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QSa 2:11-12; 4Q246). Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 14 highlights the early use of Psalm 2:7 in association with Jesus’ resurrection in Acts 13:33; Hebrews 1:5; 5:5. Eric F. Mason, “Interpretation of Psalm 2 in 4QFlorilegium and in the New Testament,” in *Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament*, ed. Florentino García Martínez, *STDJ* 85 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 70–73 provides further examples of NT quotations of or allusions to Psalm 2 that are associated with the gathering of enemies against Jesus (e.g. Revelation 19:19; Acts 4:25-27, cf. Psalm 2:1-2) and Jesus’ reign over the nations (e.g. Revelation 2:26-27; 19:15, cf. Psalm 2:8-9).

³⁶ Kruse, *Romans*, 50–52 argues that the genitive of apposition, “obedience that consists in faith” is a better interpretation of “obedience of faith” in this context, while Longenecker, *Romans*, 79–82 prefers the genitive of source, “obedience that comes from faith.” Nonetheless, Paul may be expressing both ideas at the same time, as indicated by Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 17; D. B. Garlington, “The Obedience of Faith in the Letter to the Romans, Part 1: The Meaning of Ὑπακοή Πίστεως (Rom 1:5; 16:26),” *WTJ* 52 (1990): 201–24; Moo, *Romans*, 51–53.

³⁷ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 42.

³⁸ “Ὄνομα,” L&N 1:106, 403, 418, 588 list the meanings of ὄνομα under four semantic subdomains of person, name, reputation and category. Among them, the subdomains of person and reputation are a better fit for the context of Romans 1:5, cf. Jewett, *Romans*, 111.

³⁹ Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 67; Thomas R. Schreiner, *Romans*, BECNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1998), 45.

⁴⁰ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 46–47; Moo, *Romans*, 51–53.

Colin Kruse and Richard Longenecker have also pointed out the associations between the title “Son of God” and messiahship in Second Temple Judaism.⁴¹ Hence Romans 1:3-4 bears close similarities with the account of Peter’s proclamation in Acts 2:32-36 about the resurrection as God’s vindication of the crucified Jesus as both Lord and Messiah.⁴²

Returning to 1:4, we find that the phrase “in power” (ἐν δυνάμει) could qualify either “designated”, i.e. “designated with power to be Son of God”, or “son of God”, i.e. “designated son of God in power”.⁴³ N. T. Wright combines both understandings by suggesting that “ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει” refers both to God’s power that resurrected Jesus, thereby declaring his messiahship, and to “the powerful nature of his sonship, through which he confronts all the powers of the world, up to and including death itself, with the news of a different and more effective type of power altogether.”⁴⁴ This dual understanding coheres well with 1:16 where the gospel is the power of God (δύναμις θεοῦ) for salvation; this power could refer both to God’s mighty power that resurrected Jesus and to Jesus’ powerful sonship; through him God saves all who believe in Jesus.

We come now to the next item in the two parallel clauses: according to the flesh (1:3) and according to the spirit of holiness (1:4).⁴⁵ Moo has highlighted Paul’s “flesh/spirit” antithesis as his salvation-historical scheme which was distinguished by two contrasting ages - Jesus’ earthly life was marked not only by human descent but was lived out in the old age ruled by sin, death, the law and the flesh while Jesus’ resurrection signified the dawn of the new age characterised by righteousness, life,

⁴¹ Kruse, *Romans*, 46; Longenecker, *Romans*, 66–67. Examples of Second Temple Jewish texts showing the messianic connotations of “Son of God” include 4Q174 (4QFlor) 1:10-14, 4Q246 and 4 Ezra 7:28-29; 13:32 (see Collins, “Psalm 2,” 62, 64–66; Collins, *Scepter and the Star*, 171–90 for more details).

⁴² Kruse, *Romans*, 46–47.

⁴³ Kruse (ibid., 45) suggests that Jesus “having been appointed son of God in power” to be a better interpretation, with reference to Philippians 2:6-11 where God exalted Jesus to the position of supreme power after his humble obedience to death on a cross; Michael Wolter, *Der Brief an die Römer*, EKKNT 6 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Theologie; Ostfildern: Patmos Verlag, 2014-), 1:90 also argues for Kruse’s translation.

⁴⁴ N. T. Wright, “The Letter to the Romans,” *NIB* 10 (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2002), 418–19.

⁴⁵ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 42 notes that πνεῦμα ἁγίωσόνης is a unique title for the Holy Spirit in Paul’s letters; Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 62–64 notes that the term could be emphasizing the Spirit’s sanctifying work.

grace and the gift of the Holy Spirit (Romans 6-7).⁴⁶ Indeed, in Romans, the Spirit is the agent of sonship, power and resurrection (1:4; 2:29; 8:11, 13-17, 23, 27-30), and the mark of new life in Christ (5:5; 7:6; 8:1-6) – a life characterised by, among other features of the new age, glory (5:2; 6:4; 8:16-18, 21, 29-30).⁴⁷

Finally, with Rome as the imperial capital and the Roman emperor who regarded himself as son of God (υἱὸς θεοῦ) and lord (κύριος) with ultimate glory/honour and overall political, economic and religious power in the Roman Empire, the declaration of Jesus as κύριος (1:4), coupled with his designation as υἱὸς θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει, may seem particularly significant to the Roman Christians. However, Jesus was not only κύριος of all Christians but υἱὸς θεοῦ with glory and power infinitely greater than Caesar, who was only one among other more significant powers like sin and death.⁴⁸ Jesus had power over every power “in heaven and on earth and under the earth” (Philippians 2:9-11) and his burgeoning reign over the Gentiles results in his glorification.⁴⁹

In sum, at the beginning of Paul’s letter to the Romans, according to both epistolary conventions (prescript) and rhetorical strategies (*exordium* and *propositio*), we find glory, power, sonship, rule and resurrection, among other things, as key themes that Paul will expound in the rest of the letter. Indeed, in the thesis statement (1:16-17), Paul rejects shame in the gospel because of his firm conviction that it is God’s power for salvation from divine wrath and for glorification to everyone who believes. Many of the abovementioned themes are integral to Paul’s understanding of glory as power that awaits our discovery in our journey through the rest of Romans. At this point, we find them closely related to Jesus; what is said about him now will be true for believers later on in Romans.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Moo, *Romans*, 49–50.

⁴⁷ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 42–43.

⁴⁸ The topic of the relationship between Paul and the Roman empire is one of continuing debate. For a survey of the current research on Paul and the Roman empire, especially on the contribution by N. T. Wright and a response to him, see John M. G. Barclay, “Why the Roman Empire Was Insignificant to Paul,” in *Pauline Churches and Diaspora Jews*, WUNT 275 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 363–87. For Wright’s response to Barclay, see N. T. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God* (London: SPCK, 2013), 2:1307-19.

⁴⁹ Kruse, *Romans*, 47.

⁵⁰ Here I have expanded the idea beyond the link between Jesus and believers in terms of the Spirit found in Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 42.

4.3 Human Plight: Refusal to Glorify God Results in Shame and Powerlessness (1:18-32)

From a statement about the revelation of God's righteousness in the gospel (1:17), Paul moves on to elaborate on the revelation of God's wrath against human sinfulness (1:18). Romans 1:18-32 is commonly known as "the plight", being situated within the larger context of Paul's *Verdamnisgeschichte* in 1:18-3:20, with "the solution" appearing from 3:21 onwards.⁵¹ Within 1:18-32, we find glory language being featured where the primary human sin of suppressing⁵² the truth in unrighteousness (1:18) is conjoined with the failure to glorify God (1:21), resulting in a series of sinful actions that are religious (1:22-25), moral/sexual (1:26-27) and public/social (1:28-32) in nature.⁵³

Before focusing our attention on the verses that contain glory language, namely 1:21, 1:22-24, 1:25-27 and other verses relevant to our discussion, it will be helpful to identify the group of people at whom Paul directs his indictment in 1:18-32. Although Paul seems to be speaking broadly about "humanity" (ἄνθρωπων, 1:18), there are two reasons that suggest a reference primarily to Gentiles.⁵⁴ First is Paul's appeal to God's revelation in creation rather than the Law, which is the standard of judgment for Jews (cf. 2:12-13, 17-29), as the benchmark by which the people are being judged. Second, 1:18-32 closely resembles Jewish critique against Gentile idolatry and sin reflected in, for example, Wisdom of Solomon 12-15. However, Moo has suggested that Paul's argument in 1:18-32 is best understood as "a series of concentric circles, proceeding from the general to the particular."⁵⁵ 1:18, as the thematic statement and outermost circle of 1:18-32, begins with a condemnation of all people, both Jew and Gentile, with the discussion in 1:19-32

⁵¹ Simon J. Gathercole, "Sin in God's Economy: Agencies in Romans 1 and 7," in *Divine and Human Agency in Paul and His Cultural Environment*, ed. John M. G. Barclay and Simon J. Gathercole (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 159. Gathercole (ibid., 171) highlights that the *Verdamnisgeschichte* in Romans 1:18-3:20 functions as the background for understanding the gospel and therefore as the prologue for the revelation of God's righteousness.

⁵² Kruse, *Romans*, 89 indicates that the Greek term translated as "suppressing", κατεχόντων, can be understood here in either of two complementary ways. It can mean that people are "rejecting" the truth they know or that they are "holding on to" it but behaving in a contrary manner.

⁵³ Edward Adams, "Abraham's Faith and Gentile Disobedience: Textual Links Between Romans 1 and 4," *JSNT* 19 (1997): 48; Jewett, *Romans*, 165.

⁵⁴ The reasons have been adapted from Moo, *Romans*, 97.

⁵⁵ Ibid.; Longenecker, *Romans*, 196. Gathercole, "Sin," 170 notes that only through the lens of the gospel (cf. 1:16-17) is it clear that 1:18-32 expresses God's judgment on all human sin.

also encompassing all people from the perspective of their responsibility to God with respect to his creational revelation, apart from the Law. The focus then narrows in 2:1-11 on the “moral person”, who is the Jew implicitly, subsequently becoming the Jews explicitly in 2:17-29 as the Law becomes the basis of judgment.

In 1:18-32, glory language first appears in 1:21 where the primary human sin of suppressing the truth in unrighteousness (1:18) is expressed through a failure to glorify God despite having known him:⁵⁶

because although having known God, they did not glorify (ἐδόξασαν) him as God or gave thanks (ἠὲχαρίστησαν), but they were made foolish in their reasonings and their senseless heart was darkened.

1:21 forms the end of an argument beginning from 1:18 in which Paul makes and defends his statement about God’s wrath against humanity’s suppression of the truth and maintains their responsibility for their predicament. He does this by first pointing out that they have been given a knowledge about God: God has manifested what can be known (γνωστός) about him to them (1:19).⁵⁷ Next he explains that this knowledge concerns God’s invisible attributes (ἀόρατα), i.e. both his eternal power and divine nature (ἢ τε αἰδίοις αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θεϊότης), which can be clearly seen, being understood since the creation of the world from the things made (1:20).⁵⁸ Humanity’s resulting response in light of this knowledge leads them to be without excuse (1:20-21).

A few observations can be made about glory (δόξα) from Paul’s argument in 1:18-21. First, glory appears to be related to God’s invisible attributes, i.e. his

⁵⁶ Levison, “Adam and Eve,” 527–28 draws a parallel between the suppression of truth in Romans 1:18 and *GLAE* 21:1-6; 23:3-5 where Eve suppressed the truth to Adam about the consequences of eating the fruit with promises of godlikeness, knowledge and freedom of danger from God.

⁵⁷ Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 113 points out that although γνωστός in all its other NT usages means “known”, such a meaning would render the translation of 1:19 – “because what is known about God is manifest among them” tautologous. In this case, the context of 1:19 makes “knowable”, i.e. “what can be known”, which is also a valid meaning of γνωστός, the preferred translation, cf. Longenecker, *Romans*, 205–6.

⁵⁸ Kruse, *Romans*, 91 points out the parallels between Romans 1:20 and Wisdom of Solomon 13:1-5 which asserts humanity’s culpability for not perceiving God through the revelation of his power and deity in creation, cf. Hans Wilhelm Schmidt, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer*, 3rd ed., THKNT 6 (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1972), 35.

eternal power and deity, seen through creation.⁵⁹ Kruse highlights Psalm 19:1-5 (LXX 18:1-5) as a parallel to 1:20, which together associate God's glory with his eternal power and deity revealed in creation.⁶⁰ There is probably an emphasis here on God's power to create as it relates to his creational revelation.⁶¹ Second, there are close parallels to our earlier discussion of the Graeco-Roman tradition where people deferred to the gods' power through honour and worship, and reciprocated the gods' benefaction with gratitude in the form of offerings and dedications. Robert Jewett cites the Stoic philosopher, Epictetus on the importance of having "a sense of gratitude", especially towards God,⁶² and of praising God as being consistent with human nature: "But as it is, I am a rational being, therefore I must be singing hymns of praise to God" (Epictetus *Diss.* 1.16.20).⁶³ In refusing to glorify God and thank him, human beings have essentially committed two cardinal sins within the ancient Mediterranean world of honour, that of denying God due deference to his power and deity, and reciprocal gratitude for his benefactions. In our investigation on the relationship between glory/honour and power in the Graeco-Roman world, we have also found obedience/submission to be an important aspect of showing deference to prestige. Hence there is a hint here of humanity's rebellion against God in its failure to glorify him. Finally, the social nature of honour, with δόξα/τιμή being primarily a relational term, in the ancient Mediterranean world would also imply a rupture in the divine-human relationship resulting from humanity's refusal to glorify God.⁶⁴

After describing the human meta-sin of suppressing the truth expressed through a failure to glorify God and thank him, Paul begins three cycles of depictions of humanity's rejection of God and God's "ironic measure-for-measure

⁵⁹ Blackwell, "Immortal Glory," 294 n. 29. Dominika A. Kurek-Chomyc, "The Scent of (Mediated) Revelation? Some Remarks on φανερόω with a Particular Focus on 2 Corinthians," in *Theologizing in the Corinthian Conflict: Studies in the Exegesis and Theology of 2 Corinthians*, ed. R. Bieringer et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 100–103 has highlighted the mediated, sense-perceptible and publicly accessible nature of the use of φανερόω in 1:19, and "thus mediated by God's created works, what can be known about the invisible power and divine nature becomes sense-perceptible, or more precisely, visible" (100).

⁶⁰ Kruse, *Romans*, 91.

⁶¹ This is reinforced by the reference to God as Creator in 1:25.

⁶² Epictetus, *Diss.* 1.6.1-2; 4.4.18.

⁶³ Jewett, *Romans*, 157.

⁶⁴ The social nature of honour has been highlighted throughout chapter 2, cf. Blackwell, "Immortal Glory," 286–87.

punishment” (vv. 22-24, 25-27 and 28-31);⁶⁵ glory language features quite prominently in the first two cycles. The first cycle, 1:22-24, reads:

²² Professing to be wise they were made foolish, ²³ and changed the glory (δόξαν) of the incorruptible God into a likeness of an image of corruptible man and birds and quadrupeds and reptiles. ²⁴ Therefore God gave them over in the lusts of their hearts to impurity for their bodies to be dishonoured (ἀτιμάζεσθαι) among themselves;

Paul’s account of the human exchange of divine glory for idols (καὶ ἠλλάξαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνοσ φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ τετραπόδων καὶ ἔρπετῶν, 1:23) is reminiscent of several episodes in Israel’s history. Three passages⁶⁶ associated with idolatry that Paul seems to allude to include Psalm 106:20 (LXX 105:20): καὶ ἠλλάξαντο τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν ἐν ὁμοιώματι μόσχου ἔσθοντος χόρτον, which points to the golden calf incident at Sinai (Exodus 32:1-35), Jeremiah 2:11: ὁ δὲ λαός μου ἠλλάξατο τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, ἐξ ἧς οὐκ ὠφελήθησονται, which refers to Israel’s forsaking of Yahweh for Baal worship, and Deuteronomy 4:15-18 which contains Moses’ warning to the Israelites against idolatry in the Promised Land.⁶⁷

Niels Hyldahl has suggested Genesis 1:20-27 as another passage that has influenced Paul in his formulation of Romans 1:23.⁶⁸ Hyldahl noted that Paul followed the terminology and order of the creatures in Genesis: πετεινά (1:20, 22), τετράποδα (1:24) and ἔρπετά (1:24, 25); among them, only ἔρπετόν is common between Romans 1:23 and Deuteronomy 4:15-18. Next, the term ἄνθρωπος in Romans 1:23 occurs in Genesis 1:26, 27 but not in Deuteronomy 4:15-18; Hyldahl also highlights that Paul followed Genesis in using the singular form for ἄνθρωπος

⁶⁵ Moo, *Romans*, 107, cf. 96; Wilckens, *Römer*, 1:95-96. Gathercole, “Sin,” 162–66 provides an elaboration of God’s “ironic measure-for-measure punishment” in response to human sin which also has ironic elements; some of them will be pointed out in our discussion.

⁶⁶ These three passages are also noted as parallels in NA²⁸. I have highlighted the textual correspondences between Romans 1:23 and two of the passages. See Niels Hyldahl, “A Reminiscence of the Old Testament at Romans i.23,” *NTS* 2 (1956): 285–86 for the textual correspondences between Romans 1:23 and Deuteronomy 4:15-18.

⁶⁷ Otto Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer*, KEK 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1978), 102–3; Moo, *Romans*, 108–9; Kruse, *Romans*, 96–98.

⁶⁸ Hyldahl, “Romans i.23,” 285–88.

and the plural for the animals. Finally, Hyldahl argues that the expression ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνοσ φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου in Romans 1:23 finds its correspondence in Genesis 1:26: Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν; Paul's substitution of ὁμοίωσιν with ὁμοιώματι is explained as a possible interchange in NT Greek.⁶⁹ The link between Romans 1:23 and Genesis 1:20-27 is further strengthened by the parallels between Romans 1:22, "Professing to be wise they were made foolish" and Genesis 3:1-7, with the illusion of wisdom in Genesis 3:6 (לכש).⁷⁰

In ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian society, the king was viewed as the image of God and divine or royal images were regarded as representatives of the associated deity or royalty.⁷¹ Thus, in Genesis 1:26, the significance of man being created in the divine image (עלצ/εἰκόν) is that it makes man God's representative on earth, with royal connotations as seen in the corresponding task and mandate to rule (ההר/ἄρχω) (Genesis 1:26, 28).⁷² Similarly, Psalm 8 proclaims man as being made a little lower than the angels, crowned with glory (ההב/δόξα) and made to rule (להמ/καθίστημι) over God's creation,⁷³ thus connecting the divine image with glory, and both with dominion. Paul also associates the divine image closely with glory, for example, in 1 Corinthians 11:7 where he writes that man is the image and glory of God (εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ), which seems to parallel Genesis 1:26.⁷⁴ With the link between divine glory, image and dominion, we can sense the irony in Romans 1:23 - humanity has rebelled against God and surrendered the divinely endowed power to rule over creation, both of which are reflected in the phrase, "they changed the glory of the incorruptible God", and placed themselves in subservience to the creatures over which they were supposed to rule: birds (πετεινά), quadrupeds (τετράποδα) and reptiles (έρπετά). This observation is strengthened by the correspondences between

⁶⁹ Levison, "Adam and Eve," 524 n. 19 argues against Fitzmyer's disagreement (see Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 283) with the allusion to Genesis 1:26. Levison argues that Fitzmyer makes an unnecessary distinction between ὁμοίωσις and ὁμοίωμα. Fitzmyer also does not give Hyldahl appropriate credit when he argues that not every use of ἄνθρωπος implies a reference to the Genesis passage; Hyldahl's argument is that the combination of all three terms can be found in Genesis 1:26 but not in Deuteronomy 4:15-18.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 524-25.

⁷¹ Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, WBC 1 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), 30-31.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 29-32.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁷⁴ M. D. Hooker, "Adam in Romans I," *NTS* 6 (1960): 305 n. 1 cites other Pauline passages in which the divine image and glory are closely related, for e.g. Romans 8:29f.; 1 Corinthians 15:42-49; 2 Corinthians 3:18.

1:23 and 1:25 where the exchange (ἤλλαξαν/μετήλλαξαν) is depicted in distinct but related ways, as shown in the following table:⁷⁵

1:23	1:25
καὶ ἤλλαξαν τὴν δόξαν	οἵτινες μετήλλαξαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν
τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ	τοῦ θεοῦ
ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνοσ φθαρμοῦ ἀνθρώπου	ἐν τῷ ψεύδει
καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ τετραπόδων καὶ ἑρπετῶν.	καὶ ἐσεβάσθησαν καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, ὅς ἐστιν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.
and changed the glory	who exchanged the truth
of the incorruptible God	of God
into a likeness of an image of corruptible man	for the lie
and birds and quadrupeds and reptiles.	and worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed forever, amen.

Figure 5: Correspondence between Romans 1:23 and 1:25 in the Exchange of Divine Glory and Forfeiture of Sovereign Power

From the comparison, we can see the links between the glory of the incorruptible God (1:23) and the truth of God (1:25), both surrendered, on the one hand, and the likeness of birds, quadrupeds and reptiles (1:23) and the worship and service rendered to creation (1:25), both embraced, on the other.⁷⁶ Indeed, humanity's exchange of the glory of God for idolatry implies a forfeiture of its power to rule to the animals.

⁷⁵ Levison, "Adam and Eve," 531.

⁷⁶ We have noted the inversion of human rule over the animal world in *GLAE* 10:3-11:3; 24:4 in our discussion in chapter 3.6, cf. *ibid.*, 531-33. Hooker, "Adam in Romans I," 301 further notes the possible reference of Romans 1:25 to Genesis 3 where the primordial couple/Adam believed the serpent's lie instead of God's truth and effectively worshipped/served the creature (the serpent), rather than the Creator (God).

Another Pauline text, 1 Corinthians 15:45-50 helps to further illumine our understanding of Romans 1:23, “ἠλλαξαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνας φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου”.⁷⁷ In 1 Corinthians 15, Paul explains the transformation of believers’ bodies from perishable to imperishable at the Parousia. In 1 Corinthians 15:45-50, he describes the descendants of Adam, the first man, as bearing the image of the earthly man which is associated with perishability; as believers, they will bear the image of Christ, the last Adam, the heavenly man which is associated with imperishability: “And just as we have borne the image of the earthly man (τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χοϊκοῦ), we shall also bear the image of the heavenly man (τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου). Now I say this, brothers, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; nor does the perishable inherit the imperishable (οὐδὲ ἡ φθορὰ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν κληρονομεῖ)” (15:49-50). With the divine image also closely linked with glory in 1 Corinthians 15:42-49, we can view the change of “the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of an image of corruptible man” in Romans 1:23 as implying an exchange of immortality for mortality. In other words, humanity has exchanged the power of an indestructible life for the reign of death over them.⁷⁸

Another way of understanding “ἠλλαξαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνας φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου” as the exchange of incorruptibility for corruptibility is through the lens of idolatry, with the maxim, “You become what you worship” as indicated in passages that condemn idolatry, like Psalm 115:1-8 (LXX 113:9-16) which concludes “Those who make them will become like them, all who trust in them.”⁷⁹ Thus ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνας φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου denotes not only what humanity worshipped but also the corruptible beings that they have become,⁸⁰ thereby exchanging the power of life found in the glory of the incorruptible God for the reign of death associated with the image of mortal man.

As a result of humanity’s sinful act of idolatry, “God gave them over (παρέδωκεν αὐτούς) in the lusts of their hearts to impurity for their bodies to be

⁷⁷ Levison, “Adam and Eve,” 525.

⁷⁸ The connection between glory and immortality has been noted in 1QH^a, CD-A, 4QpPs^a, GLAE and 1 Enoch in our discussion in chapters 3.5 and 3.6.

⁷⁹ Sprinkle, “Afterlife in Romans,” 223 provides examples of other passages such as Jeremiah 2:5; Hosea 9:10; 2 Kings 17:15 and Wisdom of Solomon 14:12.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

dishonoured (ἀτιμάζεσθαι) among themselves” (1:24). Kruse points out that the term utilized by Paul in saying God “gave over” (παρέδωκεν) is used frequently in the LXX to denote God delivering people into their enemies’ hands and vice versa, and also in the NT to signify people being handed over to other powers.⁸¹ In this context, Louw and Nida similarly indicate the meaning of παραδίδομι as “to hand over to or to convey something to someone, particularly a right or an authority”, listing it under the subdomain of “give” with “the focus on the initiative and activity of the former possessor”.⁸² Eduard Lohse and Jewett highlight the notion of handing over for the purpose of punishment in the way the term is used here.⁸³ In sum, Romans 1:24 indicates that God has handed humanity over to be ruled by impurity, perhaps acting as an enslaving power, for the dishonouring of their bodies as a punishment for their sin of rebellion against his rule. Simon Gathercole has provided an OT example of this phenomenon in 1 Samuel 8 where the Israelites’ rejection of Yahweh’s kingship resulted in his granting of their request for a human king characterised by oppressive/enslaving rule as an ironic measure-for-measure punishment for their ungodly desire.⁸⁴ The phenomenon of the ironic measure-for-measure punishment can also be observed in Romans 1:23-24 where humanity’s rejection of divine glory results in the dishonouring of their bodies.⁸⁵

We can observe a similar situation in the second cycle, Romans 1:25-27 where we have previously noted the similarities between 1:23 and 1:25 in the exchange of the glory of God for idolatry. In 1:25-27, humanity’s rejection of the glory of God in the refusal to submit to him and the relinquishment of dominion over creatures for worship of and servitude to them results in the ironic measure-for-measure divine punishment of dishonour and enslavement: God gave them over (παρέδωκεν αὐτούς) to be ruled by passions of dishonour (πάθη ἀτιμίας), expressed in the shameful act (τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην) of lesbianism and homosexuality.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Refer to Kruse, *Romans*, 99 for examples of passages in the LXX and NT.

⁸² “Παραδίδομι,” L&N 1:558, 567.

⁸³ Lohse, *Römer*, 89; Jewett, *Romans*, 166–67.

⁸⁴ Gathercole, “Sin,” 164–66.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 162–63. M. D. Hooker, “A Further Note on Romans I,” *NTS* 13 (1967): 182 has noted another aspect of the ironic measure-for-measure punishment where humanity’s worship of the various animals, most of which were regarded as unclean, led to them being handed over to impurity (ἀκαθαρσία); the animals in Acts 10:12 which Peter refuses to eat because they are unclean (ἀκάθαρτος) are listed with the same terminology as in Romans 1:23: τετράποδα, ἔρπετά and πετεινά.

⁸⁶ Gathercole, “Sin,” 163–64 has suggested two ways of understanding the relation between idolatry and homosexual activity. First is to see them both as being unnatural: παρὰ φύσιν (1:26). Second is to

Our survey of Romans 1:18-32 has found that the fundamental human sin of suppressing the truth of God in unrighteousness, expressed through a failure to glorify God despite having known him, has resulted in divine ironic measure-for-measure punishment. The correlation between divine glory and power meant that human refusal to glorify God, and exchange of divine glory for idolatry, implies rebellion against God's rule, forfeiture of power to rule over creation and enslavement by foreign powers, e.g. impurity. This has resulted in a rupture in the divine-human relationship, servitude to creatures and dishonour. The association of divine glory and incorruptibility further points to a human surrendering of the power of an indestructible life for the dominion of death in the human exchange of divine glory. Thus the mention of death in Romans 1:32 is an appropriate culmination of Paul's description of the consequences of humanity's sins: who having known God's righteous requirement that those who practise such things are worthy of *death* (*θανάτου*), not only do them but also approve of those who practise them.⁸⁷

4.4 Quest for Glory and the Jewish Boast (2:1-29)

After describing the human exchange of δόξα and experience of ἀτιμία in Romans 1, Paul goes on to depict the human search for glory, honour, incorruptibility, eternal life and peace in 2:7-10. As mentioned earlier, in Romans 2, Paul narrows the focus of his condemnation on the Jews, implicitly in 2:1-16 and explicitly from 2:17 onwards, through an imaginary dialogue with a Jewish interlocutor who acts as a representative of the nation as a whole.⁸⁸ It has been argued that the focus of Paul's diatribe in Romans 2, in fact up to 3:20, is to

view them both as comprising a rejection of the "other" for the "same", i.e. "the *incurvatus in se* of worship (Romans 1:25) results in the *incurvatus in se* of sex" which he argues is a better understanding.

⁸⁷ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 69 suggests that Paul could be referring to the Genesis 2-3 narratives concerning Adam's rebellion and the death penalty (Genesis 2:16-17); thus death in Romans 1:32 denotes humanity "standing under the primeval sentence of death" as a result of humanity's rebellion (Romans 1:29-31). Kruse, *Romans*, 108 argues that "deserving death" in Romans 1:32 could refer to the eschatological condemnation of the unrighteous, cf. Schmidt, *Römer*, 40; Dieter Zeller, *Der Brief an die Römer*, RNT (Regensburg: Pustet, 1985), 60.

⁸⁸ See Simon J. Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?: Early Jewish Soteriology and Paul's Response in Romans 1-5* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002), 197–200 for arguments for a Jewish interlocutor who acts as a representative of the Jewish nation throughout Romans 2, cf. Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 137–40. On the other hand, Longenecker, *Romans*, 239–43 suggests that 2:1-16 functions as a hinge between 1:18-32 to 2:17-29, addressing an interlocutor that represents everyone, both Jews and Gentiles, who passes judgment, before focusing on the Jews in 2:17-3:20.

convince his interlocutor of Israel’s sinfulness.⁸⁹ Although Paul begins by seemingly addressing the judgmentalism of his dialogue partner (2:1-3), it is not his interlocutor’s main sin; rather the key issue is his unrepentance (2:4-5) which enables us to realize that Paul’s main contention in 2:1-3 is that his interlocutor is guilty of the sins he judges in others, which Paul argues based on empirical (2:21-24) and scriptural evidence (3:10-20).⁹⁰

The aforementioned observations help us locate the emphasis of 2:6-11, the passage of our interest, which has been identified to form a chiasm as shown below:⁹¹

A	God will judge everyone according to his works	v. 6
B	Those who do good will obtain eternal life	v. 7
C	<i>Those who do evil will suffer wrath</i>	v. 8
C ¹	<i>Affliction for those who do evil, to Jew first and to Greek</i>	v. 9
B ¹	Glory for those who do good, to Jew first and to Greek	v. 10
A ¹	God judges impartially	v. 11

Figure 6: Chiastic Structure of Romans 2:6-11

The focus is at C and C¹, which emphasizes divine punishment for all doing evil, both Jews and Greeks, in light of God’s impartial judgment according to works.⁹² This main point coheres with the observation about Paul’s strenuous efforts to convince his Jewish interlocutor of Israel’s guilt and sinfulness.

Paul begins the passage (2:6) by quoting an axiom of Jewish faith: God will recompense to each man according to his works (ὁς ἀποδώσει ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα

⁸⁹ Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 203.

⁹⁰ For details of Gathercole’s argument, see *ibid.*, 203–14.

⁹¹ Kendrick Grobel, “A Chiastic Retribution-Formula in Romans 2,” in *Zeit und Geschichte: Dankesgabe an Rudolf Bultmann zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Erich Dinkler (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1964), 255–61.

⁹² Jewett, *Romans*, 194 notes an anthropological emphasis of universal human accountability according to works at vv. 8, 9; however, Moo, *Romans*, 135–36 identifies a theological emphasis on divine impartial judgment of all by works at vv. 6, 11.

αὐτοῦ).⁹³ The verse appears to be an almost verbatim quotation of Proverbs 24:12⁹⁴ with the tense of ἀποδίδωμι modified to the future, as in LXX Psalm 61:13,⁹⁵ to fit the eschatological context.⁹⁶ Flowing from this theological principle, Paul asserts that “to those who by perseverance in good work seek glory (δόξαν) and honour (τιμὴν) and incorruptibility (ἀφθαρσίαν), eternal life (ζωὴν αἰώνιον)” (2:7). The plausibility of Paul’s belief in the divine reward of eternal life through perseverance in doing good and the identity of those who fall into this category will be discussed later as 2:13-14 address a similar issue. Meanwhile, by pointing out several direct associations of δόξα with incorruption and life in Romans (1:23; 8:17-18, 21; 9:22-23), Ben Blackwell has argued that δόξα in this verse designates the eschatological blessings of the status of τιμή and experience of ἀφθαρσία and ζωὴ αἰώνιος.⁹⁷ The correlation of δόξα with ἀφθαρσία and ζωὴ αἰώνιος emphasizes the association of glory with power in two ways. With ἀφθαρσία, it matches our earlier identification of glory with the power of incorruptibility or an indestructible life in our discussion of Romans 1:23; with ζωὴ αἰώνιος, it points to the eschatological recovery of glory that signals freedom from the dominion of death.

The triad of “δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν” that is sought after through perseverance in good work in 2:7 is replaced by “δόξα καὶ τιμὴ καὶ εἰρήνη” as divine rewards to everyone who does good in 2:10. According to BDAG, εἰρήνη can denote either “a state of concord, *peace, harmony*” or “a state of well-being, *peace*”; in 2:10, εἰρήνη has been interpreted as denoting salvation while James Dunn has highlighted the association of εἰρήνη with the Hebrew notion of peace (שָׁלוֹם) which denotes total well-being, with primarily social connotations, rather than individual.⁹⁸ With δόξα being primarily a relational term and following Paul’s account of a ruptured divine-human relationship in Romans 1, the co-occurrence of εἰρήνη with δόξα in 2:10 may suggest a slightly different emphasis. By extending Blackwell’s proposal to 2:10, it may be more appropriate to understand εἰρήνη here as denoting

⁹³ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 85; Roman Heiligenthal, *Werke als Zeichen: Untersuchungen zur Bedeutung der menschlichen Taten im Frühjudentum, Neuen Testament und Frühchristentum*, WUNT II 9 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1983), 186.

⁹⁴ ὃς ἀποδίδωσιν ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ.

⁹⁵ σὺ ἀποδώσεις ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ.

⁹⁶ Jewett, *Romans*, 204.

⁹⁷ Blackwell, “Immortal Glory,” 294–96. Berry, *Glory*, 37 similarly notes the close correlation between glory and incorruptibility.

⁹⁸ “Εἰρήνη,” BDAG, 287-88, cf. Jewett, *Romans*, 208–9. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 20, 88.

total well-being, including a harmonious divine-human relationship which is also a key aspect of eschatological salvation. Indeed, the mending of the ruptured divine-human relationship is essential to the restoration of δόξα to humanity due to the social nature of glory. However, Blackwell's connection of δόξα with ἀφθαρσία in 2:7 cannot apply to 2:10 since there is only a co-occurrence of δόξα with τιμή and εἰρήνη. Rather, our association of glory with power works better in this instance with the social nature of glory, which is the primary way in which glory is connected with power, explaining the co-occurrence of δόξα with εἰρήνη. But how is "good work" ("ἔργου ἀγαθοῦ", "ἐργαζομένω τὸ ἀγαθόν") in 2:7, 10 to be understood so that it can result in δόξα, ἀφθαρσία and εἰρήνη? For that, we turn to a discussion on justification for the doers of the law (2:13, cf. 2:7, 10, 13-15, 25-27).

Paul's statements of eschatological divine reward according to good work (2:7, 10) and justification for the doers of the law (2:13) has created a conundrum as it seems to contradict his assertion that no flesh will be justified by works of the law (3:20) and that a man is justified by faith apart from works of the law (3:28). As such, Klyne Snodgrass has summarized the following common ways of explaining the texts:

1. Paul is speaking only hypothetically *as if* the law could be fulfilled and *as if* the gospel had not come. What Paul really believes one finds in 3:9f. and 3:20f.
2. This section and other texts speaking of judgment are unexpurgated and unnecessary fragments from Paul's Jewish past.
3. This chapter is merely a contradiction in Paul's thought which must be allowed to stand.
4. Paul only means to say in 2:14-15 that Gentiles have a law and therefore are responsible and will be judged. There is only one outcome for both Jews and Gentiles on the basis of works and it is negative.

5. Paul was speaking of Gentile Christians (in 2:14-15, 26-27 while 2:7, 10, 13, 28-29 likely refer to both Jewish and Gentile Christians) who fulfil the law through faith in Christ and a life in the Spirit.⁹⁹

First, to argue that Paul is speaking only hypothetically is difficult as his discussion on judgment according to works grows out of a point of agreement between him and his interlocutor in 2:2, with the intervening verses continuing the dialogue straight into 2:6-10.¹⁰⁰ Gathercole lists two other reasons, which we shall explore in more detail later, against the hypothetical reading, namely the “Christian” reading of 2:13-15 and the argument in 2:25-29 that membership in the elect people of God is defined by obedience to the law.¹⁰¹ Moreover the theme of judgment by works also recurs in Romans and other Pauline writings (e.g. Romans 14:10-12; 1 Corinthians 3:13-15; 2 Corinthians 5:10; Galatians 6:7).¹⁰² Indeed, no one would dispute the negative aspect of Paul’s view of judgment according to works, i.e. that punishment for evildoers is only hypothetical.¹⁰³ The fact that judgment according to works, both the positive and negative aspects, is a key feature of Paul’s teaching also effectively rules out explanations 2 to 4.¹⁰⁴

In view of the likely reference to the fulfilment of the promises of Jeremiah 31:33 (LXX 38:33) and Ezekiel 36:26-27 about God’s writing of the law on his people’s hearts and his gift of a new heart and divine spirit to enable obedience to his laws in Romans 2:15, 26-29, the Gentile Christian view seems most likely.¹⁰⁵ We

⁹⁹ Quoted with some modifications from Klyne R. Snodgrass, “Justification by Grace - To the Doers: An Analysis of the Place of Romans 2 in the Theology of Paul,” *NTS* 32 (1986): 73. See Longenecker, *Romans*, 260–64 for an updated summary of the various views.

¹⁰⁰ Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 126.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 126–29.

¹⁰² See Snodgrass, “Justification,” 74 for examples of other Pauline passages.

¹⁰³ Kent L. Yinger, *Paul, Judaism, and Judgment According to Deeds*, SNTSMS 105 (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), 146.

¹⁰⁴ Snodgrass, “Justification,” 75.

¹⁰⁵ Kruse, *Romans*, 138–40. This view of the Gentiles in 2:14-15, 25-29 as Gentile Christians is also supported by Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 155–59, 172–76; Jewett, *Romans*, 212–17, 233–34; Simon J. Gathercole, “A Law unto Themselves: The Gentiles in Romans 2.14-15 Revisited,” *JSNT* 24 (2002): 27–49 and N. T. Wright, “The Law in Romans 2,” in *Paul and the Mosaic Law*, ed. James D. G. Dunn (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 131–50. Some German works (cited in Jewett, *Romans*, 213 n. 199) supporting this view include: Felix Flückiger, “Die Werke Des Gesetzes Bei Den Heiden (Nach Röm 2, 14ff.),” *TZ* 8 (1952): 17–42; J. B. Souček, “Zur Exegese von Röm 2, 14ff.,” in *Antwort: Karl Barth zum siebzigsten Geburtstag am 10. Mai 1956*, ed. E. Wolf (Zürich: Evangelischer Verlag, 1956), 99–113; Roland Bergmeier, “Das Gesetz im Römerbrief,” in *Das Gesetz im Römerbrief und andere Studien zum Neuen Testament*, WUNT 121 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 31–102.

shall outline some of the main arguments for the Gentile Christian view in 2:14-15.¹⁰⁶ Based on considerations of Pauline usage of φύσις to qualify identity rather than behaviour (Romans 1:26; 2:27; 11:21, 24; Galatians 2:15; 4:8; Ephesians 2:3), the φύσει (by nature/birth) in 2:14 goes better with what precedes (τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα) than with what follows (τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιῶσιν).¹⁰⁷ Furthermore the notion of the Gentiles being characterised as “those who by nature do not have the law” is paralleled earlier in 2:12 where “those who sinned without/apart from the law (Gentiles) will also perish without/apart from the law”; later on in 2:27, “the by nature uncircumcision (ἡ ἐκ φύσεως ἀκροβυστία) who keeps the law” parallels the idea in 2:14 of the Gentiles “who by nature do not have the law, do the things of the law”.¹⁰⁸ Thus φύσει qualifies the identity of the Gentiles who by nature do not have the law, rather than their behaviour. Next, “the things of the law” (τὰ τοῦ νόμου), do not refer to parts of Torah but to the whole Torah as the “τὰ τοῦ/τῆς” phrases in the New Testament have an inclusive and comprehensive scope of reference.¹⁰⁹ Third, the close connection between 2:13 and 2:14 is shown by the “γάρ” in 2:14, which both explains 2:13 and applies the principle in 2:13 that “the doers of the law will be justified”; thus leading to the inference that the Gentiles who do the things of the law (2:14) will be justified (2:13).¹¹⁰ Next, the fulfilment of Jeremiah 31:33 (LXX 38:33) in 2:15, where the Gentiles “demonstrate the work of the law written in their hearts” suggests that they are Gentile Christians. Finally, Paul’s rhetorical point to his Jewish interlocutor in 2:15 is the surprising situation where the thoughts of some Gentiles could even defend them at the eschatological judgment.¹¹¹ Thus 2:14-15

¹⁰⁶ See Gathercole, “Law unto Themselves” for detailed arguments for the Gentile Christian view and responses to objections against it.

¹⁰⁷ Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 156–57; Paul J. Achtemeier, *Romans*, Interpretation (Louisville, KY: John Knox, 1985), 45; P. Maertens, “Une étude de Rm 2.12–16,” *NTS* 46 (2000): 510. Wright, “Law in Romans 2,” 145 n. 9 indicates that only in 1 Corinthians 11:14 does φύσις “point in the direction of an abstract ‘nature.’” Gathercole, “Law unto Themselves,” 35–37 provides other arguments based on Greek syntax, grammar and the observation that Paul nowhere suggests that Gentiles spontaneously carried out some aspects of Torah.

¹⁰⁸ Kruse, *Romans*, 131; Gathercole, “Law unto Themselves,” 36–37.

¹⁰⁹ Gathercole, “Law unto Themselves,” 34 provides examples of the “τὰ τοῦ/τῆς” phrases in antithetical usage in Matthew 16:23//Mark 8:33 and non-antithetical usage in Romans 14:19; 1 Corinthians 13:11; 2 Corinthians 11:30 with the same sense of general but comprehensive scope.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 32–34.

¹¹¹ Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 127. Wright, “Law in Romans 2,” 146 suggests that the strange situation in 2:15 of “their thoughts alternately accusing or even defending them” can be explained by the fact that Gentile Christians, who do the Jewish law and have it written on their hearts (2:14-15), are not like the lawless Gentiles described in 2:12. Instead they have an ambiguous relationship with the Torah; this creates conflicting thoughts within them at the final judgment as they contemplate their eschatological justification through doing the law (2:13). Gathercole, “Law unto Themselves,” 40–46 argues that the three witnesses of 2:15, namely “the work of the law written in their hearts”, the

provide “concrete examples of those in 2:13 who are justified on the final day by virtue of their obedience”.¹¹²

Although Paul’s view of final judgment according to obedience is similar to that of various Second Temple Jewish texts in obedience being a criterion, it is dissimilar in the nature of the obedience.¹¹³ Paul’s theology of obedience is Christocentric as imitation of and obedience to Christ (Romans 15:1-3), pneumatological as empowered and led by the indwelling Spirit (Romans 8:6, 9, 11; Galatians 5), and theocentric as God’s continuing work in the believer (Philippians 1:6; 2:12-13).¹¹⁴ Hence Torah fulfilment is not the goal of but a by-product of Christian obedience.¹¹⁵

The preceding discussion enables us to view the “good work” in 2:7, 10 as Christian obedience or obedience to God that results in the divine recompense of δόξα, τιμή, ζωὴ αἰώνιος and εἰρήνη. This understanding of good work as obedience is corroborated by the corresponding contrast of those who disobey the truth but obey unrighteousness (ἀπειθοῦσιν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ πειθομένοις δὲ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ) receiving divine wrath and fury in 2:8. In 2:7, 10, we see the reversal of the situation in 1:18-32 where humanity suppressed the truth in unrighteousness (1:18) and exchanged the truth of God for a lie (1:25). With obedience being a key aspect of showing deference to prestige, we can see the “good work” as glorifying God and thus undoing humanity’s failure to glorify God in 1:18-32. This leads to divine restoration of what was lost, δόξα, τιμή, ζωὴ αἰώνιος and εἰρήνη to those who persevere in obedience to God. Thus the understanding of “good work” as obedience further reinforces the association of glory with power which serves as a better correlation than Blackwell’s connection of glory with incorruption.

“conscience” and the “thoughts alternately accusing or even defending” are characteristics of a Christian. However, Kruse, *Romans*, 132–34 argues for only 2 witnesses, the conscience and the thoughts of the Gentiles, both confirming the work of the law written in their hearts.

¹¹² Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 127.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 133. See *ibid.*, 37–160 for examples of Jewish literature demonstrating Jewish soteriology as based on both divine election and human works/obedience.

¹¹⁴ Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 131–33.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 128, cf. Stephen Westerholm, *Israel’s Law and the Church’s Faith* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1988), 201–2.

Another important point is the contrast between 1:18-32 and 2:14-15 in the transformation of the heart (καρδία).¹¹⁶ The heart condition of humanity/Gentiles was described in 1:21 and 1:24 as “ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνητος αὐτῶν καρδία and παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν εἰς ἀκαθαρσίαν”. In 2:15, we see the divine gift of a new heart, on which the work of the law is written, thus enabling persevering obedience to God which results in eschatological justification and glorification.¹¹⁷

Moving on to 2:17-29, the identity of Paul’s dialogue partner is revealed to be a Jew (2:17) as Paul continues his indictment of his interlocutor’s/Israel’s sinfulness as he focuses on two features of Jewish identity, namely the law (2:17-25) and circumcision (2:26-29). In 2:17-24, Paul begins and ends a list of Jewish privileges, responsibilities to others and incongruent sinful behaviour with a term within the glory vocabulary in Romans: καυχᾶσθαι (boast).

καυχᾶσθαι means to “express an unusually high degree of confidence in someone or something being exceptionally noteworthy”, “take pride in something” or “make a boast about something”, with the legitimacy of the boast being dependent on the object of the boast in a particular context.¹¹⁸ Gathercole has argued that καυχᾶσθαι (boast) in 2:17, 23 refers to the Jewish confidence, and self-glorifying, in God’s eschatological vindication over against Gentiles based on her election and obedience to the law.¹¹⁹ We shall briefly outline his argument. A survey of various Jewish texts before and after 70 CE has shown Jewish soteriology to be based on both divine election and human obedience to Torah, with some groups and individuals demonstrating belief in their vindication through their works/obedience.¹²⁰ Paul, for example, expresses this confidence in obedience to the law in his pre-Christian days in Philippians 3:6 as he regards himself blameless (ἄμεμπτος) as to the righteousness in the law.¹²¹ Returning to Romans 2:17-24, we find καυχᾶσθαι being closely related to the law through the juxtaposition of “rely

¹¹⁶ Gathercole, “Law unto Themselves,” 43.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Jeremiah 31:33 (LXX 38:33) and Ezekiel 36:26-27

¹¹⁸ “Καυχᾶσθαι,” L&N 1:431; “Καυχᾶσθαι,” BDAG, 536.

¹¹⁹ See Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 200–215 for details of his argument.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 37–194.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 181; Lauri Thurén, *Derhetorizing Paul: A Dynamic Perspective on Pauline Theology and the Law*, WUNT 124 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 168–69, 176–77.

upon the law” and “boast in God” in 2:17, and “boast in the law” in 2:24. The Jewish boast is also located within the context of final judgment as the theme of eschatological judgment runs consistently throughout 2:1-16, 25-29. As indicated earlier, Paul’s vigorous efforts to convince his Jewish interlocutor of Israel’s sinfulness in Romans 2 expose the interlocutor’s confidence in his obedience to Torah which forms the basis of God’s vindication at the eschaton. On the other hand, John Barclay, in his comparison of Paul’s notion of divine grace/mercy with several Second Temple Jewish texts, has highlighted the distinctiveness of Paul’s view as the incongruity of divine grace/mercy, i.e. its mismatch with the worth of its recipients, in relation to the Christ-event and the Gentile mission.¹²² With regard to Romans 2:17-24, he views the Jewish boast as taking pride in the Law by attributing exceptional worth to it (“symbolic capital”).¹²³

Gathercole’s and Barclay’s insights on *καυχάομαι* in 2:17-24 enable us to sense the irony in 2:23-24 which reads,

You who boast (*καυχᾶσαι*) in the law, through transgression of the law you dishonour (*ἀτιμάζεις*) God;²⁴ for “God’s name is blasphemed among the nations because of you”, as it is written.

In 2:23, we see Paul ironically indicting his Jewish interlocutor, who as a representative of Israel takes pride in the Law, self-glories in and is confident of his obedience to the law, of dishonouring God through his transgression of Torah. 2:24 further indicates how God is dishonoured through Paul’s re-application of Isaiah 52:5 which says that God’s name is despised among the nations because of Israel’s deportation or oppression; this shows God’s apparent inability to protect and deliver his people.¹²⁴ Paul reapplies Isaiah 52:5 to mean that the Jews’ disobedience of Torah dishonours God because it shows God to be weak and powerless,¹²⁵ thereby reaffirming the relationship between glory/honour and power, and echoing humanity’s failure to glorify God in 1:18-32.

¹²² Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 189–328.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 469.

¹²⁴ Oswalt, *Isaiah 40-66*, 363–64; Goldingay, *Message*, 449–50.

¹²⁵ Moxnes, “Honour and Righteousness,” 70.

Obedience to the law is once again a key issue as Paul continues his diatribe regarding a key mark of covenant relationship with God: circumcision.¹²⁶ Paul emphasizes the importance of keeping the law by contending that transgression of the law can empty circumcision of its significance (2:25) whereas obedience can qualify an uncircumcised Gentile for entry into the covenant people of God (2:26). The context of eschatological judgment is emphasized through the use of the future tense, λογισθήσεται in 2:26 which suggests an eschatological divine reckoning, and κρινεῖ in 2:27 which points to the obedient Gentiles condemning the law-breaking Jew at the final judgment.¹²⁷ In explaining why the law-abiding Gentile will condemn the disobedient Jew, Paul reaffirms the relationship between obedience to the law and covenant status in 2:28-29 through a triple contrast between the “evident” and “hidden” Jew:¹²⁸

ἐν τῷ φανερῷ	ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ
ἐν σαρκὶ περιτομῇ	περιτομῇ καρδίας
(ἐν) γράμματι	ἐν πνεύματι

Figure 7: Triple Contrast between the "Evident" and "Hidden" Jew in Romans 2:28-29

The notion of circumcised hearts (περιτομῇ καρδίας in 2:29) and uncircumcised hearts (ears/lips) can also be found in the Hebrew Scriptures¹²⁹ and Second Temple literature¹³⁰ with the sense being obedience and disobedience to the law or God respectively.¹³¹ The connection of the circumcision of the heart with the Spirit (περιτομῇ καρδίας ἐν πνεύματι) is a likely reference to the fulfilment of the promise of a new heart and divine Spirit in Ezekiel 36:26-27. Thus “περιτομῇ καρδίας ἐν πνεύματι” refers to obedience to the law/God that is enabled by the Spirit; the praise (ἔπαινος) for such a “hidden” Jew comes not from men but from God.

¹²⁶ See Genesis 17:9-14

¹²⁷ Byrne, *Romans*, 102–3.

¹²⁸ See Barclay, “Paul and Philo on Circumcision,” 550–55 for a detailed explanation of the three antitheses.

¹²⁹ Leviticus 26:41; Deuteronomy 10:16; Jeremiah 4:4; 6:10; 9:24-25 (English Translation 9:25-26).

¹³⁰ 1QS 5:5; 1QH^a 10:20 (Sukenik 2:18); 1QH^a 21:6 (Sukenik 18:20); 1QpHab 11:13; Jubilees 1:23; Philo, *Spec.* 1.305, cf. *Migr.* 92.

¹³¹ Byrne, *Romans*, 104; Barclay, “Paul and Philo on Circumcision,” 551–52.

Drawing the threads together, we find that the obedience of the “hidden” Jew, enabled by the Spirit, renders proper deference to God’s glory, i.e. his eternal power and deity. In turn, the “hidden” Jew gains the eschatological reward of divine ἔπαινος¹³² which denotes δόξα (cf. 2:7, 10), i.e. honour, the power of an indestructible life and total well-being, including a harmonious divine-human relationship, thus undoing humanity’s sins and its consequences in 1:18-32.¹³³

In Paul’s sustained efforts to convince his Jewish interlocutor of Israel’s sinfulness, we see the misguided aspect of the Jewish boast (καυχάομαι) in its pride in the Law, in its self-glorifying and confidence in God’s vindication based on her obedience to Torah. Instead the nation’s transgression of Torah has dishonoured (ἀτιμάζεις) God in showing him to be weak and powerless. In contrast, the divine inscribing of the law upon the hearts of Jewish and Gentile Christians and the circumcision of their hearts by the Spirit has enabled persevering obedience shown in good works; this gains the eschatological praise (ἔπαινος) which denotes δόξα, τιμή, ζωὴ αἰώνιος and εἰρήνη, i.e. what was lost through humanity’s failure to glorify God. Here we see the continuing association of δόξα with the power of an indestructible life through its correlation with ἀφθαρσία and ζωὴ αἰώνιος. The social nature of δόξα also points to the eschatological reward of εἰρήνη as total well-being, including a harmonious divine-human relationship through sustained obedience. Thus Romans 2 begins to hint at the eschatological restoration of δόξα through the theme of obedience, which as an aspect of showing deference to prestige, is a key way in which glory exercises its power.

4.5 Universal ὕστεροῦνται of Divine Glory and Exclusion of the Jewish Boast (3:1-31)

Paul’s attempts to convince his Jewish interlocutor of Israel’s sinfulness has led to his insistence on covenant membership as defined primarily by obedience to the law and circumcision of the heart by the Spirit, and not just possession of Torah

¹³² Schreiner, *Romans*, 144; Wilckens, *Römer*, 1:158.

¹³³ Barclay, “Paul and Philo on Circumcision,” 546–50 highlights the high social cost of Paul’s radical redefinition of “Jew” and “circumcision” in 2:25-29 to both Jewish and Gentile Christians; this means that the present context of divine praise cannot be ruled out. Keeping in mind the eschatological focus of 2:26-27, 2:29 could refer to forgoing human praise now for divine praise both now and in the eschaton.

and physical circumcision. Paul's statements on covenant membership would naturally lead to questions regarding the validity of God's promises to Israel, her status as God's covenant people, and larger issues concerning the truthfulness of Scripture and divine faithfulness.¹³⁴ Paul addresses these issues as he drives forward his indictment of universal sinfulness in 3:1-8, which contains the terms unrighteousness (ἀδικία), truth (ἀλήθεια), lie (ψεῦσμα) and glory (δόξα), thus paralleling 1:18-32 as we shall soon see.

Before delving into Paul's argument, some observations concerning the broad topics and group of people that Paul addresses would be helpful. Moo notes two general approaches regarding these issues.¹³⁵ The first argues that in 3:1-4 (or 3:1-3), Paul focuses on God's faithfulness to the *Jews* despite their unfaithfulness, with a change in subject from 3:5 (or 3:4) onwards to divine righteousness in judging *humanity* when their unrighteousness enhances God's glory. The second, which Moo supports and is adopted by this thesis, maintains that the focus is on Jews throughout 3:1-8, with the topic being God's faithfulness and righteousness even in judging his own people.¹³⁶

After Paul's emphatic affirmation of Jewish advantages, especially the primary privilege (πρῶτον μὲν) of being entrusted with the oracles of God (3:1-2),¹³⁷ he goes on to stress God's faithfulness to his word despite Jewish unfaithfulness (3:3-4). In defence of God's faithfulness, Paul maintains "γινέσθω δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἀληθής, πᾶς δὲ ἄνθρωπος ψεύστης" (3:4);¹³⁸ James Dunn notes the connection between the ἀλήθεια of God (3:4) and the πίστις of God (3:3) through the Hebrew term אֱמוּנָה which "usually translated by πίστις elsewhere in the LXX ..., is almost always translated ἀλήθεια in the Psalms, regularly to denote God's covenant faithfulness to

¹³⁴ Jewett, *Romans*, 239; Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 176-77.

¹³⁵ Moo, *Romans*, 178-80.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 179-80; Longenecker, *Romans*, 336-38; Wilckens, *Römer*, 1:161-63. Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 471 suggests that 3:1-8 argues that the Jews are distinguished by their dependence on God's incongruous grace/mercy which functions as hope for humanity.

¹³⁷ In 3:2, "first of all" (πρῶτον μὲν) with respect to the Jews being entrusted with the oracles of God probably has a double entendre. It indicates "of first importance" as Paul goes on to uphold God's faithfulness to his word despite Jewish unfaithfulness (Kruse, *Romans*, 159-60) and "first in a series" as Paul, in his focus on Jewish response to God's oracles and its implications, omits other Jewish privileges, returning to the topic in 9:4-5 (Moo, *Romans*, 181-82; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 326).

¹³⁸ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 133 notes that πᾶς δὲ ἄνθρωπος ψεύστης could be a quotation of Psalm 116:11 (LXX 115:2) while γινέσθω could either mean "be" or more likely maintain its dynamic force with an eschatological emphasis, and mean "let God become = be seen to be true."

Israel”.¹³⁹ In 3:3-4, the connection between divine πίστις and God being ἀληθής implies a similar connection between Jewish ἀπιστία and every human being ψεύστης, with allusions to the earlier parts of Paul’s argument in the indictment of universal human sinfulness (ἀλήθεια in 1:18, 25 and ψεῦδος in 1:25) and of Jewish disobedience (ἀλήθεια in 2:2, 8, 20). Thus, Paul effectively includes Israel, who in her unfaithfulness has suppressed the truth (1:18), exchanged the truth for a lie (1:25) and disobeyed the truth (2:8), in his condemnation of human sinfulness.¹⁴⁰

In Paul’s almost verbatim quotation of Psalm 50:6 LXX (MT 51:6) in Romans 3:4,¹⁴¹ the use of ὅπως, indicating a purpose clause, may suggest that Jewish unfaithfulness/falsehood serves to justify or manifest God’s faithfulness/truth, thus bringing into question God’s justice in condemning them (3:5-8).¹⁴² There are various ways to make sense of Paul’s citation of which we shall highlight two. Dunn, taking the κρίνεσθαι in “ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε” (Psalm 50:6 LXX) as a passive, understands the psalm as depicting God as a defendant in a lawsuit. Hence Paul’s citation of the psalm indicates his confidence that God’s truth and faithfulness will be vindicated in the eschatological judgment as his indictment of the Jews includes a corresponding indictment of God who remains unjustifiably faithful to them.¹⁴³ Moo, taking κρίνεσθαι as a middle with the meaning “when you judge”, understands Paul’s citation as “expressing the faithfulness of God when he judges sin because the “truthfulness” of God in v. 4a itself includes this negative aspect of God’s faithfulness to his word”.¹⁴⁴ Whichever may be the case, of interest to us are the links between Jewish ἀδικία (3:5), ψεῦσμα (3:7) and ἀπιστία (3:3), and between divine δικαιοσύνη (3:5), ἀλήθεια (3:7) and πίστις (3:3), the reference to divine δόξα (3:7) and the allusions to 1:18-32.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 140.

¹⁴¹ Jewett, *Romans*, 246–47 indicates the change of the subjunctive, νικήσης in the LXX to the future indicative, νικήσεις in Romans 3:4 suggests a shift to an eschatological context.

¹⁴² Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 182–83.

¹⁴³ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 133–34.

¹⁴⁴ Moo, *Romans*, 186–88.

Joachim Jeremias has pointed out the chiasmic structure of 3:4-8, with 3:5-6 relating to 3:4b and 3:7-8 relating to 3:4a,¹⁴⁵ which reinforces our understanding of the discussion in 3:4-8 as arising out of Paul's insistence on divine faithfulness despite Jewish unfaithfulness. The parallelism between 3:3 and 3:5 points to the parallelism between ἀδικία (3:5) and ἀπιστία (3:3), which in turn suggests a similar parallelism between divine δικαιοσύνη (3:5) and πίστις (3:3).¹⁴⁶ These associations, together with our earlier observation on the connections between divine πίστις and ἀλήθεια, Jewish ἀπιστία and human ψεύσμα enable us to understand divine δόξα in 3:7 as relating not only to God's status of honour but also to divine faithfulness, righteousness and truth, correlations that we have seen in our earlier discussion on glory/honour and power in the Jewish tradition (see chapters 3.2 and 3.3).¹⁴⁷ Here we see a different referent for divine glory: in Romans 1, divine δόξα is associated with God's eternal power and deity while it is connected with God's character in 3:7.

Although the rejoinder of the Jewish interlocutor in 3:5 (εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀδικία ἡμῶν θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην συνίστησιν) and 3:7 (εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ψεύσματι ἐπερίσσευσεν εἰς τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ) alludes to Paul's indictment of humanity's suppression of the truth in unrighteousness expressed through a failure to glorify God in 1:18-32, it undermines Paul's condemnation by questioning God's justice in judging Jewish unfaithfulness (τί ἔτι κἀγὼ ὡς ἁμαρτωλὸς κρίνομαι;) since it enhances divine glory. Nonetheless, Paul maintains that God is not unjust in inflicting wrath with the axiom that God must be just in order to be the eschatological judge (3:5-6). In 3:8, Paul equates the Jewish interlocutor's objection in 3:7 with the blasphemous charge against him, “ποιήσωμεν τὰ κακά, ἵνα ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀγαθὰ”, which could also be understood as an absurd conclusion of the objection.¹⁴⁸ Paul's use of βλασφημέω in 3:8 could also imply an attack on God's character;¹⁴⁹ thus, the interlocutor's viewpoint ironically dishonours God instead of abounding to God's glory.

¹⁴⁵ Joachim Jeremias, “Chiasmus in den Paulusbriefen,” in *Abba. Studien zur neutestamentlichen Theologie und Zeitgeschichte*, by Joachim Jeremias (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 287–89.

¹⁴⁶ Moo, *Romans*, 189.

¹⁴⁷ E.g. Exodus 34:6-7

¹⁴⁸ Moo, *Romans*, 195.

¹⁴⁹ Wilckens, *Römer*, 1:167; Moo, *Romans*, 195 n. 95.

On the other hand, Paul's dialogue with his Jewish interlocutor in 3:3-7 also reveals another dynamic at work: God's righteousness and faithfulness, despite human faithlessness and sin, abounds to his glory.¹⁵⁰ Extending this view further, with the perspective of the gospel as God's power for salvation (1:16), may suggest that God's power is demonstrated in the triumph of his righteousness and faithfulness over human faithlessness and unrighteousness to bring salvation to those who believe, resulting in humans sharing Christ's glory (8:17) which redounds to his glory.

Paul proceeds to declare all humanity, both Jews and Greeks to be under the power of sin (3:9) as he continues to demonstrate the sinfulness of Israel through scriptural evidence (3:10-18), thereby proving her guilt with the whole world held accountable before God (3:19). Paul draws the conclusion to 1:18-3:20 by declaring that no flesh will be justified by works of the law, for through the law comes the knowledge of sin (3:20).

Wright has highlighted an important aspect of Paul's portrayal of sin in 3:9, which recurs later in Romans, especially in 7:7-25, that of "sin" being a personified force to which humanity is enslaved. He writes,

In Paul's usage, "sin" refers not just to individual human acts of "sin", of missing the mark ... "Sin" takes on a malevolent life of its own, exercising power over persons and communities ... By analysing the human plight in this way he is able to introduce the notion of enslavement to sin (e.g. 6:20) ...¹⁵¹

We shall see the relevance of this observation soon as we continue our exploration on the theme of glory and power. Returning to Romans 3:21, we see Paul marking a major transition in his epistle, both rhetorically and temporally, with the phrase "ὡὐὐ δέ", which signifies the change in epoch from the rule of sin to the advent of salvation, the eschatological present.¹⁵² In this new era, God's saving righteousness

¹⁵⁰ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 136. We will see this dynamic at work in greater detail in Romans 9-11.

¹⁵¹ Wright, "Romans," 457, cf. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 148-49, 156-57.

¹⁵² Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 164; Moo, *Romans*, 221.

(δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ) has been manifested ¹⁵³ and it is received apart from or independently of the law (χωρὶς νόμου) but through faith in Jesus Christ by all those who believe (3:21-22).¹⁵⁴ After claiming that there is no distinction, i.e. between Jews and Gentiles, Paul then asserts: “for all have sinned and ὑστεροῦνται the glory of God” (3:23).

As we examine the link between glory and power in 3:23-25, the first thing to consider is the form of ὑστερέω in 3:23, which could be deponent, meaning “to miss or fail to reach”,¹⁵⁵ or passive, meaning “to lack or be deficient”¹⁵⁶. Paul’s association of universal sin with the ὑστεροῦνται of divine δόξα in 3:23 recalls our discussion of 1:18-3:20 where humanity’s fundamental sin of suppressing God’s truth in unrighteousness, expressed through the failure to glorify God and the exchange of divine glory for idolatry, is connected with a ruptured relationship with God, and the *loss of power that is linked to glory* in various ways: the power of an indestructible life, dominion over creation and enslavement by foreign powers, and dishonour. With Blackwell’s note that “The emphasis here [in 3:23] is on the problem [of sin and “ὑστεροῦνται” of divine glory] as it presently stands”, “lack” would seem to be a better translation.¹⁵⁷ This translation is further corroborated by a similar idea in 5:12 where death, i.e. the loss of power of an indestructible life, is the result of universal sin (πάντες γὰρ ἥμαρτον).¹⁵⁸ Nevertheless, Paul is expounding on the present problem of human sin and loss of glory for which the solution is the future restoration of divine glory (8:16-23).¹⁵⁹ Hence Dunn’s observation is apropos, “Paul probably refers here *both* to the glory lost in man’s fall *and* to the glory that fallen man is failing to reach in consequence.”¹⁶⁰ Besides the connections between

¹⁵³ Regarding the use of φανερόω in 3:21, Kurek-Chomycz, “Scent,” 101–3 highlights that God’s saving righteousness has been manifested (πεφανέρωται), i.e. mediated by, made visible and publicly accessible, in the historical Christ-event.

¹⁵⁴ Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 224–25. See Longenecker, *Romans*, 168–76, 402–5 for a detailed discussion on δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ, with a conclusion that Paul uses it in a comprehensive sense in 3:21–23, including both “attributive” (God’s righteous character and actions) and “communicative” (God’s justification of repentant sinners and bestowal upon them a status of righteousness) senses (404). Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 475–76 emphasizes 3 aspects of δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ in 3:21–26: (1) it is revealed “now” in the Christ-event, (2) it is enacted in Christ’s death which atones decisively for sin, and (3) it is related to God considering/making sinners righteous through the Christ event.

¹⁵⁵ Ulrich Wilckens, “Υστερέω,” *TDNT* 8:596 n. 21; Moo, *Romans*, 226–27.

¹⁵⁶ “Υστερέω,” *BDAG*, 1044; Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 204–5.

¹⁵⁷ Blackwell, “Immortal Glory,” 302.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 300–301, cf. Wilckens, *Römer*, 1:188.

¹⁵⁹ Blackwell, “Immortal Glory,” 302.

¹⁶⁰ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 168.

glory and power, Paul's use of the phrase "δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ" in describing what humanity has lost and is failing to reach also emphasizes the relational aspect of glory, i.e. the divine glory which humans share by virtue of their relationship with God.

Viewing 3:24 (being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus) as the solution to the problem of human sin and lack of divine glory in 3:23 enables us to see the association between glory and power through the phrase "τῆς ἀπολύτρωσεως τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ" (3:24). In this context, ἀπολύτρωσις means "release from a captive condition, *redemption, deliverance*" as a "figurative extension of the original use in connection with the manumission of captives or slaves"; thus ἀπολύτρωσις may include the idea of the payment of a ransom.¹⁶¹ Connecting 3:23 with 3:24, together with the earlier reference in 3:9 of humanity's enslavement by sin, ἀπολύτρωσις thus designates deliverance from sin's penalty (God's wrath) and power which resolves the problem of the lack of divine glory as domination by sin. This recalls our earlier discussion of 1:18-32 where God's ironic measure-for-measure punishment for the humanity's refusal to glorify him includes the enslavement by foreign powers.

The ransom paid for the redemption is indicated in 3:25: God put forward Jesus as an atoning sacrifice (ἱλαστήριον). In this context, ἱλαστήριον most likely refers to the mercy seat in the tabernacle and contains both ideas of expiation (cleansing of sins and forgiveness) and propitiation (appeasement of God's wrath).¹⁶² Hence justification was achieved through redemption in Christ Jesus, who was put forward by God as an atoning sacrifice for the forgiveness and cleansing of sins, and appeasement of God's wrath. With glorification as the result of justification (cf. 5:1-2; 8:29-30), 3:23-24 may suggest this connection implicitly;¹⁶³ thus expiation and propitiation becomes the pre-condition for the restoration of divine glory. We have seen a similar connection earlier in our examination of the Dead Sea Scrolls where 1QS 4:20-23, 1QH^a 4:26-27, CD-A 3:18-20, and possibly 4QpPs^a 3:1-2, emphasize

¹⁶¹ "Ἀπολύτρωσις," BDAG, 117.

¹⁶² "Ἱλαστήριον," BDAG, 474; See Kruse, *Romans*, 186-91 for arguments that ἱλαστήριον in 3:25 includes ideas of both expiation and propitiation, cf. Longenecker, *Romans*, 426-29.

¹⁶³ Blackwell, "Immortal Glory," 297-98.

the forgiveness and removal of sins as a prerequisite for the possession of Adam's glory.

In 3:27-28, Paul then rules out boasting (καύχησις) through the law of faith and not of works on the basis that a man is justified by faith apart from works of the law. καύχησις in 3:27 points back to 2:17-24,¹⁶⁴ and as previously indicated, should be understood as pride in symbolic “human capital” in making one worthy of divine justification or as confidence, and self-glorifying, in God's eschatological vindication/justification based on election and obedience to Torah.¹⁶⁵ Barclay and Gathercole both offer good explanations of Paul's argument in 3:27-28; we shall trace the outline of their explanations.¹⁶⁶ Barclay indicates that the exclusion of pride in all forms of symbolic human capital (boasting), including works of the Law that has characterised the Jews' quest to establish their worth in the pursuit of God's righteousness, shows that justification is through faith, i.e. complete reliance on what God has done in Christ (3:27-28, cf. 9:30-10:4). Gathercole first highlights the similar connection between boasting, justification and obedience as related to Israel in 3:27 and to Abraham in 4:2 (For if Abraham was justified by works, he has a boast), giving rise to the following schema: works → justification → boasting. He then observes the correspondences between νόμου ἔργων and νόμου πίστεως in 3:27, and Israel's approach to the law in 9:31-32, thereby shedding light on understanding νόμος πίστεως as the law that should be pursued by faith in 9:31-32. An examination of 9:30-10:4 shows that Israel's mistake was to pursue God's righteousness through their obedience to the commandments rather than through faith in the promises. Since the law directs one to faith in the one God (νόμος πίστεως), rather than obedience to its commandments (νόμος ἔργων), as the means to justification, the schema “works → justification → boasting” is excluded in favour of “faith → justification”.

After evoking the Shema to support his contention that both Jew and Gentile are justified by faith apart from works of the law (3:29-30), Paul concludes with the assertion that he upholds the law rather than nullify it through faith (3:31). He will

¹⁶⁴ Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 362; Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 185.

¹⁶⁵ Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 482; Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 225–26.

¹⁶⁶ See Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 226–30, and Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 482, 537–41 for details of their discussion.

show this in the next chapter, where *καύχημα* and *δόξα* feature, through the example of Abraham.¹⁶⁷

In Romans 3, besides highlighting the nation's unfaithfulness, Paul has successfully established Israel's complicity in the sinfulness of the rest of humanity in its lies and unrighteousness despite the objections of the Jewish interlocutor.¹⁶⁸ We also see how the Jewish interlocutor justly deserves condemnation as his viewpoint ironically dishonours God instead of redounding to divine glory. In the process, Paul has brought out another aspect of divine *δόξα*: God's faithfulness, righteousness and truth. On the other hand, Paul's conversation with his diatribe partner highlights another important dynamic: God's faithfulness and righteousness, despite human faithlessness and sin, abounds to his glory. Paul's statement on humanity's loss of *δόξα* as a result of sin, coupled with the introduction of sin as an antagonist recalls the earlier account in Romans 1 on the loss of power, especially the power of an indestructible life, and the domination by foreign powers, in this case sin. However the power of sin is broken by God putting forward his son as an atoning sacrifice which provides propitiation of divine wrath and expiation in the purification and forgiveness of sins, leading to justification which is a necessary prerequisite for the restoration of glory. Paul's teaching on justification by faith both rules out all Jewish boasting through the *νόμος πίστεως* and upholds the law; Paul will go on to demonstrate this through the example of Abraham.

4.6 Conclusion

We began our "glorious" journey by identifying glory, power, sonship, rule and resurrection as key motifs in Romans. Early glimpses of the association of glory with power can be observed in the content and function of the gospel in Romans 1:3-5, 16-17 where Paul's denial of shame in the gospel is grounded in his confidence of it being God's power for salvation to everyone who believes, and the observation that the Messiah's rule over the Gentiles, through their obedience of faith, results in Jesus' glorification.

¹⁶⁷ Kruse, *Romans*, 199 suggests another way in which Paul's teaching on justification by faith upholds the law is that "it enables a fulfilment of what the law sought to bring about in human behaviour" through "the lives of the justified who live according to the Spirit" (Romans 8:3-4).

¹⁶⁸ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 143.

In Paul's *Verdammnisgeschichte* in 1:18-3:20, we can discern further signs of the connection of glory with power that help illumine our understanding of the text. In 1:18-21, divine glory is associated with God's invisible attributes, i.e. his eternal power and deity. As such, the fundamental human sin of suppressing the truth in unrighteousness expressed in the refusal to glorify God and the exchange of divine glory for idolatry, leading to divine ironic measure-for-measure punishment, can be seen to imply several things. These include human rebellion against God, relinquishment of rule over creation, forfeiture of the power of an indestructible life, enslavement by foreign powers and rupture in the divine-human relationship.

Paul's depiction of the resulting human quest for glory, honour, incorruptibility, eternal life and peace, which can be seen as elements of eschatological praise, further reinforces the link between glory and power. The correlation of glory with incorruptibility and eternal life as recompense for perseverance in good work, i.e. Christian obedience, connects glory with the power of an indestructible life. The eschatological reward of εἰρήνη as total well-being, including a harmonious divine-human relationship is also crucial to the restoration of glory due to the social nature of glory.

The misguided aspect of the Jewish boast, in its pride in the Law, in its self-glorifying and confidence in God's vindication based on her obedience to Torah, is seen in its disobedience to Torah which has dishonoured God in showing him to be weak and powerless. In the Jewish interlocutor's continuing objections, we see Israel's complicity in the sinfulness of the rest of humanity in its lies and unrighteousness. In the process, different aspects of the relationship between God's glory and his character are also highlighted: God's faithfulness, righteousness and truth. Paul's dialogue with his Jewish interlocutor also affirms God's righteousness and faithfulness despite human faithlessness and sin; this redounds to divine glory.

As Paul begins his elaboration on the solution to the plight of human sin, the association of glory with power is resumed with the statement on humanity's loss of glory as a result of sin, coupled with the appearance of sin as an antagonist. This loss of glory is correlated with the loss of power, especially the power of an

indestructible life and the domination by foreign powers, in this case sin. God's putting forward of Christ as an atoning sacrifice breaks the rule of sin as it provides both propitiation and expiation, thus leading to justification as a prerequisite for the restoration of glory. Justification by faith apart from works of the law rules out all Jewish boasting as we look forward to Romans 4 to see how glory is associated with power in the example of Abraham.

Chapter 5 Abraham as Example of One who Glorifies God (Romans 4)

In Paul's discussion of the example of Abraham in Romans 4, glory language occurs in only 2 instances: *καύχημα* in 4:2 and *δόξα* in 4:20. Despite the paucity of references to glory, its co-occurrence with power (4:20-21) helps to strengthen the associations between them; Paul's use of certain vocabulary and concepts also have links to Romans 1, further reinforcing and developing the relationship between glory and power.

5.1 Divine Justification of Ungodly Abraham by Faith Disqualifies Boasting (4:1-5)

Paul continues his discussion by introducing Abraham as *the* example of justification by faith for God's people in 4:1.¹ Paul asserts in 4:2,

For if Abraham was justified by works, he has a *boast* (*καύχημα*), but not before God.

Paul appears to be arguing against the Jewish exegetical tradition that Abraham was justified by works, i.e. declared righteous because of his obedience to the law and faithfulness under testing as evidenced in Sirach 44:19-20, 1 Maccabees 2:52, Jubilees 19:8-9, cf. 23:9-10, CD 3:2-4, Josephus, *AJ* 1.233-34; this tradition further emphasizes the importance of Abraham in Paul's discussion on justification.²

¹ Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 233 provides two reasons for Abraham's role as the "paradigm par excellence." As "forefather" and an important Jewish figure, Abraham is both *the* example for his descendants to follow and a significant person to remember and emulate. See Moo, *Romans*, 257–58 n. 9 for a discussion on the textual problems of 4:1. Richard B. Hays, "Have We Found Abraham To Be Our Forefather According To the Flesh? A Reconsideration of Rom 4:1," *NovT* 27 (1985): 76–98 has argued for a re-punctuation of 4:1, leading to the following translation: "What then shall we say? Have we found Abraham (to be) our forefather according to the flesh?" instead of "What then shall we say that Abraham, our forefather according to the flesh, has found?" See Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 199, and Troels Engsborg-Pedersen, *Paul and the Stoics* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 363–64 n. 3 for the objections to Hays' reading.

² Adams, "Abraham's Faith," 49; Moo, *Romans*, 256. See Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 235–40 for a discussion on the Jewish exegetical tradition of Abraham being justified by works, with the note that Abraham's justification in this tradition was not eschatological. For portrayals of Abraham in Jewish literature, see Halvor Moxnes, *Theology in Conflict: Studies in Paul's Understanding of God*

Similar to our earlier discussion on the nature of Jewish boasting, Abraham's boast in 4:2 refers to his confidence of acceptance by God and claim to honour or worth, based on his obedience as shown in Jubilees 21:1-3.³ Paul emphatically rejects this understanding of Abraham being justified by works with the statement, "but *not* before God",⁴ replacing it with the understanding of Abraham being justified by faith with a citation of Genesis 15:6 in 4:3.⁵ Gathercole suggests that the difference between Paul's interpretation of Genesis 15:6, leading to Abraham being justified by faith, and that of his Jewish contemporaries, resulting in Abraham being justified by works, was that he read it together with Genesis 12:1-4 while they understood it through the lens of Genesis 17 and 22.⁶

In 4:4-5, Paul provides an example from the commercial world to contrast the right and wrong means to justification: the "worker" seeks God's righteousness as a reward on the basis of works while for the "believer", like Abraham, who does not work but believes in God, his faith is credited to him as righteousness.⁷ In 4:5, God is described as "the one who justifies the ungodly" (τὸν δικαιοῦντα τὸν ἀσεβῆ).⁸ This description not only depicts Abraham as ungodly before justification by God but also recalls the juxtaposition of ἀσέβεια and ἀδικία in 1:18.⁹ Edward Adams has pointed to the growing Jewish tradition during Paul's time of portraying Abraham as

in *Romans*, NovTSup 53 (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 117–69; Günter Mayer, "Aspekte des Abrahambildes in der hellenistisch-jüdischen Literatur," *EvT* 32 (1972): 118–27.

³ Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 240–41 further cites Jubilees 7:34; 35:2 which describes obedience as a basis for honour.

⁴ Some scholars (e.g. Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (London: SCM, 1980), 106 and Moo, *Romans*, 260–61) maintain that "not before God" rejects the logic in 4:2ab, thus ruling out all boasting before humans and God. Others (e.g. Wilckens, *Römer*, 1:261-62. and Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 241–42) argue that "not before God" limits Abraham's boast to "before humans"; this position is preferable with two reasons suggested by Gathercole, *Where is Boasting?*, 241-42: firstly, the accusation against enemies of Christianity of attempts at self-justification before humans (cf. Luke 16:14-15) and secondly, the indication in Jewish texts that their heroes, in particular Abraham, had a right to glory among humans (cf. Sirach 44:7, 19).

⁵ For a discussion on the reception history of Genesis 15:6 from the Old Testament to Paul, see Schliesser, *Abraham's Faith*.

⁶ See Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 235–43 for details.

⁷ Schreiner, *Romans*, 215. Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 244–45 notes that with the understanding of Paul continuing the discussion with his Jewish interlocutor in Romans 4, the worker represents the interlocutor and the Jewish nation.

⁸ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 204 notes that Paul's description of God as "the one who justifies the ungodly" is provocative as it is a great injustice (cf. Exodus 23:7; Proverbs 17:15; Isaiah 5:23). Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 483–86 emphasizes the notion of God's incongruous grace in 4:4-8 by pointing out that with regard to Abraham's justification by faith, the inverse of "pay-for-work" is not "gift-to-the-worthy" but gift-to-the-unworthy ("justifies the ungodly") (485-86).

⁹ Adams, "Abraham's Faith," 51 notes that the juxtaposition of a δικ- or ἀδικ- word with ἀσεβής or ἀσέβεια occurs in the undisputed Pauline epistles only in Romans 1:18 and 4:5.

an idolater and polytheist who turned to the worship of the creator God, as shown in Jubilees 11:16-17; 12:1-21, Apocalypse of Abraham 1-8, Philo, *Virt.* 211-216; *Abr.* 68-72 and Josephus, *AJ* 1.155-56, through an expansion of Genesis 11:27-12:9 based on Joshua 24:2-3.¹⁰ Thus Paul associates Abraham, an ungodly idolater, and the Jewish nation with the rest of sinful humanity as characterised in 1:18-32 while at the same time providing a contrast with Abraham's status as justified.¹¹ This leads us to two other attributes of God indicated in 4:17, "the one who makes alive the dead and calls the things that are not ὡς they are".

5.2 Glory, Resurrection, Sonship, Cosmic Inheritance and Power (4:13-25)

The meaning of God as the one who makes alive the dead evidently denotes God's resurrective power while the reference of the second attribute seems ambiguous.¹² Some commentators have suggested that the expression points to God's creative power, with reference to *creatio ex nihilo*.¹³ By considering the syntax and immediate context, Douglas Moo has argued for a reference to God's summoning power, i.e. God summons before Abraham "these nations that 'are not' as if they were" (cf. 4:17-21), that guarantees the fulfilment of God's promise.¹⁴ However, understanding the phrase as referring to God's creative power is just a short step away from viewing it as God's summoning power; it also fits the immediate context where God's promise entails his creation of nations out of Abraham and Sarah when they did not have a descendant yet, just as it fits also the wider context as we shall soon see. Thus 4:17 connects God's identity as creator and

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 55–62. Adams further argues that although this tradition may form the background for the contrast pattern he has noted for Romans 4:5, 17b-21 and 1:18-25, Paul focuses his discussion of Abraham's faith on Genesis 15:5-6 and 17:1-18:15, not on Genesis 11:27-12:9 because of Paul's purpose of concentrating on the characteristics of Abraham's faith that form the model for Christian faith.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 52.

¹² Jewett, *Romans*, 333–34 suggests that the description could have been adapted from the second of the Jewish Eighteen Benedictions (cited by Michel, *Römer*, 171), with Josephus, *AJ* 18.14-15 referring to the Pharisaic belief of resurrection which probably influenced Paul. Other Jewish texts showing belief in God's resurrecting power include Wisdom of Solomon 16:13-14 and 2 Maccabees 7:23.

¹³ Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 244–45; Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 218 with ὡς being understood as expressing consequence (*so that*).

¹⁴ Moo, *Romans*, 281–82 with ὡς interpreted as "as though/if."

resurrector, an association also expressed by the mother of the martyrs in 2 Maccabees 7:22-23, 28-29.¹⁵

God's declaration of Abraham as righteous, i.e. as justifying the ungodly (4:5), can therefore be understood as God's creative power at work through his "creative speech act" in calling "the things that are not so that they are".¹⁶ Daniel Kirk has further emphasized the importance of God's resurrecting power, especially with respect to Abraham's faith in relation to Christian faith (4:24), in Paul's argument from 4:17-25.¹⁷ Kirk highlights that the first reason for Abraham's faith to be reckoned as righteousness is for believing in the one who justifies the ungodly (4:5), the second, corresponding to 4:17, is for believing in the one who vivifies the dead – this is corroborated by 4:22 (διὸ καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην).¹⁸ Although the emphasis may be on God's resurrective power, the characterisation of God as creator-resurrector in 4:17 suggests that Abraham's belief in God's creative power may also form part of the reason for his faith to be credited as righteousness. The description of God as creator-resurrector implies that the same power is at work to create and resurrect, thus highlighting the continuity between God's redemptive and creative work.¹⁹ This relationship also emerges when we consider the link between Romans 1 (1:20, 25) and 4 regarding God's creative power and identity as Creator, and the reference in 4:20 to 1:21, i.e. Abraham gave glory to God in contrast to sinful humanity who refused to glorify God.²⁰ Perhaps one way of combining God's resurrecting and creating power is to understand it as God's "life-creating power", in light of God having to create life out of the deadness of Abraham's body and Sarah's womb to fulfil his promise (4:18-19).²¹ This brings us to the second instance of glory language in Romans 4 (4:20-21):

¹⁵ Richard Bauckham, "Life, Death, and the Afterlife in Second Temple Judaism," in *Life in the Face of Death: The Resurrection Message of the New Testament*, ed. Richard N. Longenecker (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 85.

¹⁶ Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 243.

¹⁷ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 70–73.

¹⁸ See *ibid.*, 73 n. 59 for the discussion on the originality of the καὶ in 4:22, placed in square brackets in NA²⁸. Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 489 highlights that "Abraham's hope against all reasonable expectations (4:18) is a mirror of his faith in the absence of works (4:4-5): Paul traces a deep homology between the incongruity of divine grace and the incongruity of divine power."

¹⁹ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 217–18, 236–37; Adams, "Abraham's Faith," 64–65.

²⁰ The reference of 4:20 to 1:21 has been noted by several commentators such as Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 249; Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 221, 238; Käsemann, *Romans*, 124–25.

²¹ Douglas A. Campbell, "Towards a New, Rhetorically Assisted Reading of Romans 3.27-4.25," in *Rhetorical Criticism and the Bible*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Dennis L. Stamps, JSNTSup 195

yet at the promise of God he did not waver in unbelief, but *was empowered* in faith (*ἐνεδυναμώθη* τῇ πίστει), giving *glory* (δοῦς *δόξαν*) to God ²¹ and being fully convinced (*πληροφορηθείς*) that what he had promised he was *powerful* (*δυνατός*) also to do.

Romans 4:17-22 describes Abraham's unwavering faith in God's promise that he would be a father of many nations despite the contradictory fact that his body and Sarah's womb were already dead, i.e. unable to produce any descendant due to their old age and Sarah's barrenness (cf. Genesis 15, 17).²² We have noted the reference of 4:20 to 1:21, which contrasts Abraham glorifying God with the primal sin of humanity. From our earlier discussion of 1:18-21, we have observed that glory (*δόξα*) refers to God's invisible attributes, i.e. his eternal power (*δύναμις*) and deity, seen through creation, with God's creational revelation indicating an emphasis on God's creative power. Humanity's refusal to glorify God means a failure to acknowledge and defer to his power and deity, which implies rebellion against God, leading to a breakdown in the divine-human relationship. Thus Abraham giving glory to God (4:20) denotes Abraham acknowledging and deferring to God's power which reverses the sin of humanity, leading to a restoration of the divine-human relationship. The association of glory with power is reinforced by 4:21 which describes Abraham as being fully convinced that God had power (*δυνατός*) to do what he had promised.²³ From the immediate context of God's promise of a multinational progeny to Abraham, it is clear that God's power refers to his resurrective and creative power (4:17) that is needed to overcome Abraham's

(Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2002), 379; the term "life-creating power" has been adapted from *ibid.*, 383.

²² Campbell, "Rhetorically Assisted," 374–87 notes that in 4:16b-22, the problem confronting Paul is that Abraham's fatherhood of Isaac (Genesis 21) and of a multinational progeny is linked to and occurs after the covenant of circumcision (Genesis 17); this concept was probably prevalent in Judaism during Paul's time. Campbell suggests that Paul overcomes this problem through "a mixture of bombast, pathos and narrative suggestion". Narratively, Paul incorporates Genesis 17:5 within an elaborated Genesis 15:6 by avoiding any mention of the issue of circumcision and arguing that the divine promise in Genesis 17:5 has its roots in Abraham's faith in God in Genesis 15:6; Abraham's hopeful faith persists over time (about 13 years from Genesis 15 to 17) and in spite of death (of his body and Sarah's womb). From another perspective, Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 217–19 suggests that Paul, in contrast to contemporary Judaism, argues that any later formulations of God's promise to Abraham (Genesis 17, 22) must be understood in terms of the earlier (Genesis 15:5), "where its acceptance by Abraham is related and his consequent status before God clearly expressed (Gen 15:6)."

²³ Adams, "Abraham's Faith," 53 elaborates on the link between Romans 1 and 4 in terms of the word "power" (*δύναμις* in 1:20 and *ἐνεδυναμώθη*, *δυνατός* of 4:20-21).

situation of death (deadness of his body and Sarah's womb) to fulfil the promise.²⁴ Using the language of glory and power, 4:19-21 can be seen as Abraham contemplating or clearly perceiving (κατενόησεν),²⁵ i.e. recognising the “death” of his power to accomplish/realize God's promise, which can be understood as the end of self-glorifying;²⁶ his faith was empowered as he gave glory to God, i.e. acknowledged and deferred to divine power, and relied fully on God's creative-resurrective power.

Before continuing with the discussion, it is appropriate to delineate briefly the syntactical relationship between the main verb ἐνεδυναμώθη, an aorist passive indicative and the two aorist participles, δούς and πληροφορηθείς, in the subordinate clauses in order to clarify the relationship between glory and power in 4:20-21.²⁷ As the main verb and participles are aorist, it is likely that the participles are contemporaneous, rather than prior, to the action of the main verb.²⁸ Examining the second subordinate clause (πληροφορηθείς ὅτι ὁ ἐπήγγελται δυνατός ἐστιν καὶ ποιῆσαι) with the main clause (ἐνεδυναμώθη τῇ πίστει) suggests a secondary notion of means for the participle πληροφορηθείς; this secondary notion can also be applied to the participle δούς in the first subordinate clause.²⁹ Daniel Wallace notes that “sometimes means [participle of means] blends imperceptibly into cause [participle of cause], especially with aorist participles” which is probably applicable in this instance.³⁰ Hence, Abraham “was empowered in faith” is defined or explained by Abraham giving glory to God (4:20) and by Abraham being fully convinced that God was powerful to accomplish what he had promised (4:21). In other words, God's creative and resurrective power, which Abraham acknowledged and deferred to (glorified), and of which Abraham was fully convinced of being capable of

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ “Κατανοέω,” L&N 1:350, 381 note that in 4:19, κατανοέω can mean that Abraham considered carefully or that he understood completely, perceived clearly. Several textual witnesses include οὐ before κατενόησεν in 4:19. However, the presence or absence of οὐ does not affect the overall emphasis of 4:18-21 regarding Abraham's persevering faith. Since the absence of οὐ has stronger textual support and its addition might be an attempt to improve the text, οὐ should be excluded. For discussions on the textual variant, see Moo, *Romans*, 271–72 n. 2; Jewett, *Romans*, 322.

²⁶ Jewett, *Romans*, 338.

²⁷ The main clause in 4:20 contains two main verbs, διεκρίθη and ἐνεδυναμώθη of which ἐνεδυναμώθη is probably the controlling verb in relation to the two participles, δούς and πληροφορηθείς.

²⁸ See Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1996), 624–25 for more details.

²⁹ See *ibid.*, 628–30 for more details.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 629 n. 41.

overcoming the obstacles to the fulfilment of God's promise, was that which empowered Abraham in his faith. This coheres well with understanding ἐνεδυναμώθη as a divine passive.³¹

Returning our attention to Abraham's situation of death, Jon Levenson has argued that in the Hebrew Bible, childlessness serves as the equivalent of a final and irreversible death with the birth of descendants as the reversal of death and equivalent of resurrection.³² Paul's narration of Abraham's story places Abraham in a situation of final and irreversible death, with sinful humanity also facing a death sentence in Romans 1:18-32. The resolution of Abraham's problem of "death" comes through the birth of Isaac which can be viewed as Abraham's resurrection; God brought new life out of Abraham's dead body in the person of Isaac.³³ From another perspective, Isaac can also be seen as resurrected since he was born out of death.³⁴ Paul's account of the Abrahamic narrative in terms of death and resurrection not only places emphasis on God's resurrective power but also connects it to Jesus' death and resurrection.³⁵ At various points in Romans 4, Paul has stressed that Abraham's descendants are those who share the faith of Abraham (4:11-12, 16-17): faith in God who is a justifier of the ungodly (4:5), resurrector and creator (4:17). And in the section of Romans 4 that focuses on the fulfilment of God's promise of a multinational progeny to Abraham (4:17-18), we find the spotlight turning towards resurrection: Abraham's faith in God's resurrective power, Abraham's resurrection in the person of Isaac or Isaac's birth as his own resurrection, and ultimately Jesus' resurrection (4:24). Indeed, it is Jesus' resurrection that enables the fulfilment of God's promise to Abraham,³⁶ i.e. those who believe in God who resurrected Jesus share Abraham's resurrection faith and are declared righteous (4:23-24),³⁷ thus

³¹ Wilckens, *Römer*, 1:276; Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 248-49; Kruse, *Romans*, 219.

³² Jon D. Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel: The Ultimate Victory of the God of Life* (New Haven, CT: YUP, 2006), 108-22, especially 114-16.

³³ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 73.

³⁴ Campbell, "Rhetorically Assisted," 379.

³⁵ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 73-74 argues that the distinctiveness of Paul's portrayal of Isaac's birth as a resurrection suggests that Paul is modelling the Abrahamic story after Jesus' resurrection.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 76.

³⁷ Campbell, "Rhetorically Assisted," 379 suggests that the analogy between Christians and Abraham in terms of faith being reckoned to them as righteousness holds in the following way: "Christians trust God 'the father' concerning 'his son', dead and raised, just as Abraham trusted God concerning his son, conceived from the dead and thereby brought to life."

making them children/sons of Abraham; they are the people/sons of God for whom Jesus was raised for their justification (4:25)³⁸.

Referring back to Romans 1, we discover some correlations between chapters one and four. With regards to the content of Paul's gospel in which Jesus is described as having been designated son of God in power according to the spirit of holiness from the resurrection of the dead (1:4), we find that sonship in Romans 1 and 4 are both effected by God's resurrective power, resulting in resurrection life.³⁹ Therefore believers, as children of God, can also look forward to resurrection life with the corresponding power over death that accompanies divine sonship. Resurrection as the resolution to Abraham's situation of death also points to resurrection as the answer to the problem of death facing sinful humanity. Abraham's faith, acknowledgement of and deference to God's power function as a prototype of Christian faith and glorification of God. We will return to many of these aspects in more detail in our continuing journey through Romans.

We turn now to another aspect of God's promise to Abraham and his descendants, that he would be heir of the world (τὸ κληρονόμον αὐτὸν εἶναι κόσμου, 4:13). In Genesis, what God promised to Abraham and his descendants was the land of Canaan (Genesis 15:7, 18-21). But, as Edward Adams has argued, "the world" (κόσμος) in Romans 4:13 probably refers to "the future eschatological world, the restored creation".⁴⁰ We shall briefly outline his argument.⁴¹ Adams first points to later Jewish reinterpretation and expansion of the divine promise of land to cosmic proportions as shown in Sirach 44:21; Jubilees 17:3; 22:14; 32:19; 1 Enoch 5:7; Philo, *Somn.* 1.175; *Mos.* 1.155; 2 Baruch 14:13; 51:3, and suggests a similar eschatological, cosmic frame of reference for the inheritance in Romans 4:13. He

³⁸ There is some debate concerning the use of *διὰ* in the two clauses in 4:25: who [Jesus] was given over *διὰ* our trespasses and was raised *διὰ* our justification. The options include: (i) both are causal (i.e. because of); (ii) the first is causal while the second is prospective (i.e. with a view to); (iii) both are prospective. Most scholars agree that the first *διὰ* is causal. Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 76–79 argues for the causal use of the second *διὰ*; Michael Bird, "'Raised for Our Justification': A Fresh Look at Romans 4:25," *Colloq* 35 (2003): 39–44 explores the three options and argues for the prospective use of the second *διὰ* which is more likely. Kruse, *Romans*, 223–24 emphasizes that 4:25 was not meant to separate the effects of Christ's death and resurrection as they are one salvific event achieving both forgiveness and justification for the believer.

³⁹ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 74, 82.

⁴⁰ Edward Adams, *Constructing the World: A Study in Paul's Cosmological Language*, SNTW (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 171; cf. Murray, *Romans*, 1:142.

⁴¹ See Adams, *Constructing*, 167–71 for details.

further reasons that Paul's use of κόσμος (world), with an enlarged cosmic reference, rather than γῆ (land), removes any allusion to Canaan and a Jewish nationalistic interpretation of the promise to Abraham; this approach would have been beneficial to Paul's argument. Finally, Adams points to the development of Paul's eschatological cosmic understanding of the inheritance in Romans 8:17-23, with the implication that the inherited κόσμος (4:13) is the same as the liberated κτίσις (8:21).

From the foregoing discussion, we have seen that the theme of inheritance links Romans 4 and 8 closely together. As we shall see later, motifs of sonship, resurrection, glory and power, which feature in Romans 4, are also prominent in Romans 8. Charles Cranfield and James Dunn have also suggested that the enlarged promise of cosmic inheritance in 4:13 denotes the promise to Abraham and his descendants of “the ultimate restoration ... of man's inheritance (cf. Gen 1.27f) which was lost through sin”⁴² and “the restoration of God's created order, of man to his Adamic status as steward of the rest of God's creation”;⁴³ this shows its close connection with Genesis 1. We have observed the association of glory with sovereign power in our earlier discussion on glory/honour and power in the Jewish tradition (Psalm 8, 4QDibHam^a, War Scroll and *GLAE* – see chapters 3.2.3, 3.5 and 3.6), especially in relation to humanity's rule over creation in Genesis 1; a similar observation has been made in our exploration of Romans 1:23. Tying these threads together, we find that the eschatological cosmic inheritance in 4:13 implicitly refers to *the eschatological restoration of dominion over a renewed creation, which also implies restoration of glory, to God's children*, i.e. Christian believers who are Abraham's multinational progeny. We shall see this concept being elaborated in our exploration of Romans 8.

5.3 Conclusion

In Romans 4, Paul rejects the Jewish exegetical tradition that Abraham had a boast before God through his justification by works and shows from the Torah that Abraham was justified by faith in God concerning the divine promise of a multinational progeny and a cosmic inheritance. As Paul's argument unfolds

⁴² Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 240.

⁴³ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 213.

regarding the promise of Abraham's fatherhood of many nations, we discover the link with sinful humanity of Romans 1 in the portrayal of Abraham as ungodly and in Abraham's situation of death. In facing the situation of final and irreversible death, Abraham, in contrast to sinful humanity, glorifies God, i.e. acknowledges and defers to God's creative-resurrective power, believing that God had the power to overcome the obstacles to the fulfilment of the divine promise. Abraham's faith in God's life-creating power overcomes Abraham's problem of death through the resurrection of Abraham in the person of Isaac; this hints at the future restoration of the power of an indestructible life and thus glory for believers. In Paul's argument we also see that sonship for Christians in Romans 4, just as sonship for Jesus in Romans 1, is realized by God's resurrective power, resulting in the power of an indestructible life, i.e. glory that accompanies divine sonship. In Paul's argument on the promise of a cosmic inheritance being granted on the basis of faith, we discover connections with Romans 1, 8 and Genesis 1. These links enable us to view the inheritance as referring to the eschatological restoration of sovereign power, and therefore glory, over a restored creation to God's children. In Romans 4, motifs of sonship, inheritance and resurrection help to reinforce and develop the relationship between glory and power; these motifs will reappear in Romans 8. We now move on to Romans 5 in continuation of our exploration of glory and power as Paul discusses the consequences of justification by faith.

Chapter 6 Road to Glory (Romans 5-8)

6.1 Hope of Glory (5:1-21)

In Paul's discussion of the blessings of justification by faith for believers (5:1-11) and of the Adam-Christ antithesis (5:12-21), glory language appears to be confined to 5:1-11 through the terms *καυχάομαι*, *δόξα* and *καταισχύνομαι* (5:2, 3, 4, 11). Yet references to the results of humanity's loss of glory and the future benefits of its restoration permeate the entire chapter as we shall soon discover.

The dissension regarding the function of 5:1-11, whether it begins a new section or concludes a previous one,¹ points to its transitional nature, as evidenced by the temporal movement with respect to salvation: God's past work in Christ (3:21-4:25), its present outworking in the Roman Christian community (esp. 5:1-5, 11) and its future eschatological aspect (esp. 5:9-10).² As Paul begins his elaboration on the consequences of justification by faith,³ we encounter the textual variants for *ἔχω* (5:1), which in turn affect the mood of *καυχάομαι* (5:2), raising the issue as to whether such consequences of peace and boasting are duties (hortatory subjunctive) or facts (indicative).⁴ Although the subjunctive reading (*ἔχωμεν*) for *ἔχω* enjoys stronger textual support,⁵ the context favours the indicative (*ἔχομεν*) which is to be preferred with the implication that *καυχώμεθα* (5:2) is also likely to be an indicative although its form could be either indicative or subjunctive.⁶

The consequences of justification highlighted by Paul that lead up to “*καυχώμεθα ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ*” include “*εἰρήνην πρὸς τὸν θεόν*” (peace with God) and “*τὴν προσαγωγὴν*” (access), both phrases emphasizing the relational aspect of the glory of God.⁷ The use of *πρὸς* with *εἰρήνην* in “*εἰρήνην πρὸς τὸν θεόν*”

¹ For various views, see Nils A. Dahl, “Two Notes on Romans 5,” *ST* 5 (1951): 37–48, esp. 37-42; Moo, *Romans*, 290–95; Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 252–55.

² Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 85–86.

³ Michel, *Römer*, 176.

⁴ Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 255.

⁵ The subjunctive is supported by Otto Kuss, *Der Römerbrief*, RNT (Regensburg: Pustet, 1957-1978), 1:201-2; Stanley E. Porter, “The Argument of Romans 5: Can a Rhetorical Question Make a Difference?,” *JBL* 110 (1991): 662–65; Jewett, *Romans*, 344, 348.

⁶ See Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 255–56 for the arguments for the indicative reading of *ἔχω*; cf. Moo, *Romans*, 295–96 n. 17; Wolter, *Römer*, 1:316-17 n. 1.

⁷ Sprinkle, “Afterlife in Romans,” 226.

stresses the relationship of peace a Christian has with God, with peace denoting all that contributes towards well-being and harmony,⁸ an emphasis reinforced by the language of reconciliation in 5:10-11.⁹ The relational aspect of προσαγωγή can be seen in its use in only two other places in the NT, in Ephesians 2:18; 3:12 where it refers to access to God.¹⁰ Even though the access in 5:2 is into the realm of God's grace through Christ, the context suggests the image of Christians being ushered into God's royal presence by Christ.¹¹ Hence the restoration of the believer's relationship with God, signified through peace with God and access into God's presence, provides the basis for the present boast/assurance that the journey into God's presence will certainly culminate in glory (8:17).

Moving on to “καυχώμεθα ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ”, we find that καυχώμεθα (we boast) refers to both having confidence¹² and taking pride in “the hope of eschatological salvation”¹³ with ἐλπίς denoting a confident or sure expectation.¹⁴ This eschatological salvation is further characterised as “the glory of God” which humanity exchanged/forfeited (1:23) and is presently lacking or failing to reach (3:23). James Dunn and N. T. Wright have described the glory of God as “the share in God's life and in his dominion over the rest of creation”,¹⁵ and “the status and task of being God's vicegerent over creation”.¹⁶ Their descriptions match our earlier observation that the human forfeiture of divine glory includes the surrender of rule over creation and the loss of the power of an indestructible life, both of which will be restored to Christians at the eschaton. This confident hope of a share in the divine glory, which is the content of the believers' boast, comes as a result of justification, thus recalling our earlier discussion on justification being a prerequisite for glorification in 3:23-24 and in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

⁸ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 262–63.

⁹ Moo, *Romans*, 299; “Πρός,” L&N 1:792 indicate that πρὸς is used in Romans 5:1 as “a marker of association, often with the implication of relationships – ‘with.’”

¹⁰ Kruse, *Romans*, 227. “Προσαγωγή,” LSJ 1500 state that προσαγωγή refers to *approach, access, introduction* to a person, esp. to a king's presence.

¹¹ Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 396; Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 263–64.

¹² Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 256.

¹³ Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 396.

¹⁴ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 249.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 264.

¹⁶ Wright, “Romans,” 516.

Christian boasting is not limited to the hope of the glory of God; it also includes sufferings (5:3). These sufferings may refer to sufferings in general,¹⁷ persecution¹⁸ or eschatological tribulation,¹⁹ referred to later as the groaning and childbirth pains of creation in eager anticipation of the eschaton (8:19-23).²⁰ Paul then begins a chain in which suffering, as part of the process of character formation, ultimately leads to hope (5:3-4); this process sheds light on why Christians can boast in sufferings – because it does not weaken but rather strengthens the hope of glory.²¹ We shall summarize Gathercole’s outline of 5:5-10 as a commentary on the hope of glory before discussing the aspects related to glory.²² 5:5 provides a brief comment on the hope of glory being assured by God’s love in the past;²³ 5:6-8 then elucidates the nature of that love while 5:9-10 grounds the future hope on divine love in Christ’s death.

In 5:5, Paul asserts that the hope of glory does not put to shame (καταισχύνει) because God’s love has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit. Dunn has pointed out that the hope of glory “causes no shame – no shame either at the indignity and pain of the suffering or at the possibility of its being disappointed, as though it was an unrealistic hope.”²⁴ As Paul continues to elaborate on the nature of God’s love in the past and implications for the future (5:6-10), we find depictions of the past state of Christians as weak/helpless (ἀσθενής) and ungodly (ἀσεβής) (5:6), sinners (ἁμαρτωλός) (5:8), and enemies (ἐχθρός) (5:10); these descriptions correspond to the status of humanity when it refused to glorify God – in rebellion against God, under the dominion of sin, ungodly and powerless (1:18-32; 3:9, 23).

¹⁷ Wilckens, *Römer*, 1:291; Moo, *Romans*, 302–3.

¹⁸ Kuss, *Römerbrief*, 1:204; Walter Schmithals, *Der Römerbrief: Ein Kommentar* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1988), 156.

¹⁹ Käsemann, *Romans*, 134; C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, 2nd ed., BNTC (London: A & C Black, 1991), 96–97.

²⁰ Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 257.

²¹ For different views on the mechanics of how suffering leads to hope, see Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 264–65; Moo, *Romans*, 303–4; Berry, *Glory*, 74–79.

²² Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 257–58.

²³ Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 262 n. 2 notes that ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ in 5:5 denotes God’s love for Christians rather than their love for God as divine love provides “a more cogent proof of the security of . . . hope” and 5:6-8 further characterises God’s love for Christians.

²⁴ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 265. Ben Witherington III, with Darlene Hyatt, *Paul’s Letter to the Romans: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004), 136 note that in Paul’s honour-shame culture, “to have believed in a false God, to have placed one’s hope in a hoax, and for this to become public knowledge was one of the ultimate forms of humiliation (see Ps. 22:5; 25:3, 20)”.

In 5:6,²⁵ Paul's association of ἀσθενής with ἀσεβής suggests the negative connotation of ἀσθενής as “morally weak” or “helpless/powerless”;²⁶ ἀσεβής further recalls ἀσέβεια in 1:18 in which human ungodliness and unrighteousness was expressed through a refusal to glorify God, resulting in shame and powerlessness, i.e. the loss of glory. The connection between ἀσθενής and the human loss of glory suggests a possible reference to humanity's loss of power in association with the forfeiture of glory; this relationship is reinforced through the depiction of the previous state of Christians as ἀμαρτωλός (5:8), i.e. under the dominion of sin.

In 5:9-10, Paul uses the Jewish *qal wahomer* (“light and heavy”) or *a minori ad maius* (“from minor to the major”) argument (πολλῷ μᾶλλον) to emphasize the future greater hope of eschatological salvation through Christ's resurrection as compared to the present reality resulting from his death in the past.²⁷ The parallel nature of 5:9 and 5:10,²⁸ with changes in metaphors used, suggests that two different aspects of eschatological salvation are being referred to: deliverance from God's wrath (5:9) and glorification (5:10). Recalling the social/relational nature of glory, we find this view of a dual reference of salvation in 5:9-10 being further supported by the change in the nature of the metaphors from 5:9-10; from the juridical “δικαιωθέντες” to the more relational “κατηλλάγημεν/καταλλαγέντες”.²⁹ With the understanding of “σωθησόμεθα ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ” in 5:10 as a reference to eschatological salvation through sharing in Christ's resurrection life,³⁰ we find that future glorification comes about through sharing in Christ's power of an indestructible life.

With the move in the focus of the hope of final salvation from deliverance from divine wrath to glorification, Paul returns to boasting in 5:11, but this time the

²⁵ See Jewett, *Romans*, 345 for a discussion on the textual issues of 5:6.

²⁶ “Ἀσθενής,” L&N 1:243, 755 note that the two possible meanings in 5:6 include “being morally weak and hence incapable of doing good” or “a state of helplessness in view of circumstances.”

²⁷ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 87; Longenecker, *Romans*, 565–66. On the other hand, Moo, *Romans*, 309–10 suggests that Paul's argument proceeds from the “greater” to the “lesser”; if God has justified and reconciled Christians while they were sinners and enemies (the greater), they can be certain of their eschatological salvation through Christ (the lesser).

²⁸ See Moo, *Romans*, 309 for table showing parallel nature of 5:9 and 5:10.

²⁹ Patricia M. McDonald, “Romans 5.1-11 as a Rhetorical Bridge,” *JSNT* 13 (1990): 90 notes the personal/relational emphasis in 5:10 through the use of other terms such as “enemies” and the reference to Christ as God's son.

³⁰ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 260–61; Wright, “Romans,” 520.

object of the Christian boast is God. Noting the parallelism in 5:2, 3, 11 as shown in the table below,³¹ Gathercole has suggested that the “not only” in 5:11 refers to the whole of 5:2-10, which elaborates the boast in hope of God’s glory; thus Christians not only boast in the hope of divine glory, and in sufferings which reinforce the hope of glory, but they also boast in God through Christ, through whom they have now received the reconciliation.³² C. K. Barrett notes that “‘Here and now’ (vñv) describes the anticipation in the present of God’s verdict at the judgement, the peace of the kingdom of God.”³³

5:2	... we boast in the hope of the glory of God.
5:3	<i>And not only so, but we also boast</i> in our sufferings, ...
5:11	<i>and not only so, but we also boast</i> in God through our Lord Jesus Christ

Figure 8: Parallelism between Romans 5:2, 3 and 11

At this juncture, it is appropriate to make some observations about glory, and the similarities and differences between Jewish and Christian boasting before moving on to examine the Adam-Christ antithesis in 5:12-21.³⁴ At first glance, both Jewish and Christian boasts appear similar in being grounded in the same one God and involves having confidence and taking pride in God that he will vindicate the one who boasts at the final judgment. Upon closer inspection, we find that unlike Jewish boasting that is based on Israel’s election and obedience to Torah as criteria of worth for divine justification, Christian boasting is based on God’s action in Christ, i.e. their only worth is found in Christ; to Paul, there is no room for boasting apart from Christ. The foregoing discussion has also shown glory to be an eschatological status (cf. 2:7, 10) which believers boast about in relation to God, and which comes about through sharing in Christ’s resurrection life, all with connotations of power. This depiction of glory points forward to Romans 8 where Paul will fill out the content of what the hope of divine glory entails.

³¹ Table adapted from Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 259.

³² For details of argument, see *ibid.*, 258–60; cf. Schlier, *Römerbrief*, 156–57.

³³ Barrett, *Romans*, 101.

³⁴ The comparison between Jewish and Christian boasting has been adapted from Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting?*, 260–62; Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 469, 482, 537–41.

In 5:12-21, Paul moves his discussion on to the Adam-Christ antithesis in which the actions of both have far reaching consequences for many/all – the nature and consequence of Christ’s actions being far greater than that of Adam’s.³⁵ From here till the end of Romans 8, Christ’s death and resurrection serves as the hinge upon which the ages turn: Christ’s death functions as half of the hinge associated with the old age dominated by sin, death and the law, while Christ’s resurrection serves as the other half signalling the inbreaking of the new age that inaugurates the reign of righteousness, life and grace.³⁶ Martinus de Boer has emphasized the “cosmological-apocalyptic” framework of 5:12-21 in which sin, death and grace are hypostatized as cosmological rulers.³⁷ Due to the associations of glory with power, we shall examine the possible references to glory in Paul’s use of “reigning” (βασιλεύω) language in 5:14, 17, 21.

In 5:12-14,³⁸ Paul discusses the entry of sin and death³⁹ into humanity⁴⁰ through Adam,⁴¹ and the spread of sin and death to all people (5:12)⁴², with the reign of death among humanity proving the existence of sin despite sin not being accounted when there is no law (5:13-14).⁴³ Scholars have debated the interpretation of 5:12, with much of the discussion focused on the meaning of ἐφ’ ᾧ, giving rise to various understandings regarding the relationships between Adam’s sin, humanity’s sin, and death.⁴⁴ In the ongoing debate, Colin Kruse has noted the consensus among

³⁵ Adams, *Constructing*, 172.

³⁶ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 100.

³⁷ Martinus C. de Boer, *The Defeat of Death: Apocalyptic Eschatology in 1 Corinthians 15 and Romans 5*, JSNTSup 22 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 157–65.

³⁸ For a discussion on the various ways “διὰ τοῦτο” connects 5:12-21 to what Paul has discussed earlier, as a conclusion or basis of Paul’s earlier argument, see Moo, *Romans*, 316–18.

³⁹ For a summary on the three different meanings of death as bodily/physical, spiritual/moral and eschatological/eternal, with the unifying notion of death denoting separation from God, see de Boer, *Defeat*, 83–84.

⁴⁰ Adams, *Constructing*, 172–73 has argued that κόσμος in 5:12, 13 refers to humanity.

⁴¹ Berry, *Glory*, 81 indicates the possible reference to Adam’s sin and the punishment of death in Genesis 3.

⁴² Scholars have noted the anacoluthon in 5:12 where Paul begins a comparison (denoted by ὅσπερ), gets interrupted in his discussion and abandons the comparison, resumes and completes it in 5:18-19 (Moo, *Romans*, 318–19) or 5:21 (de Boer, *Defeat*, 157–63).

⁴³ In 5:12-14, Paul addresses humanity’s problem of sin and death, which he develops further through the Adam-Christ antithesis (5:15-21). As Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 105–6 points out, “the problem God must address is broader than the reach of the law, and thus his [Paul’s] articulation of God’s solution in Christ must also be broader than the reach of the law. Death reigns even when there is no law (from Adam until Moses, 5:14), and it reigns over those who do not sin through an act of disobedience (cf. 5:19) or transgression (cf. 5:18) of a command, as Adam did (5:14).”

⁴⁴ For a discussion on the various views, see Brian Vickers, “Grammar and Theology in the Interpretation of Rom 5:12,” *TJ* 27 (2006): 271–88.

several scholars of a primary and secondary cause of human death; the primary being Adam's sin which first brought death to humanity, and the secondary as humanity's sin, bringing death to themselves.⁴⁵ In our earlier discussion, we have noted the similar idea in 3:23 and 5:12 which correlates humanity's loss of divine glory (ὕστεροῦνται τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ) with worldwide death (εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὁ θάνατος διήλθεν), i.e. the loss of power of life, as a result of universal sin (πάντες ἥμαρτον). Paul's depiction of the cosmic reign of death (5:14) further recalls our earlier discussion on *GLAE* 14:2 and 21:6 which associates Adam's deprivation of divine glory with the reign of death over the human race.

The next occurrence of "reigning" (βασιλεύω) language is found in 5:17 which summarises and develops the Adam-Christ antithesis in 5:15-16⁴⁶ by contrasting the greater reign instituted by the superior work of Christ (πολλῶ μᾶλλον) with the reign of death inaugurated by Adam's trespass.⁴⁷ The contrast in reign is indicated in three ways which are relevant to our discussion: (1) the reign of death (ὁ θάνατος) is contrasted not with the reign of life but with those who receive (οἱ ... λαμβάνοντες), (2) the past reign of death (ἐβασίλευσεν) is contrasted with the future reign (βασιλεύσουσιν), and (3) the future reign is characterised as ἐν ζωῇ.⁴⁸

First and foremost, the future orientation of the reign suggests its close connection with the hope of divine glory in 5:1-11, especially with the close association of glory with power. The characterisation of those who will reign as those who have received "the abundance of grace and the gift of righteousness", i.e. the justifying benefits of Christ's work (5:15-16),⁴⁹ further corroborates the aforementioned connection of glory with reign, with our earlier observation of justification as a prerequisite for glorification. With the association of glory with power, it is not surprising that the hope of divine glory will be realized (here

⁴⁵ Kruse, *Romans*, 242; cf. Käsemann, *Romans*, 147–49; Byrne, *Romans*, 177; Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 274–79; Longenecker, *Romans*, 590–91.

⁴⁶ Chrys. C. Caragounis, "Romans 5.15–16 in the Context of 5.12–21: Contrast or Comparison?," *NTS* 31 (1985): 142–48 has suggested rendering 5:15-16 as questions instead of statements, thus changing the comparison between Adam and Christ from contrast to similarity. See Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 496 n. 3 for the problems with Caragounis' proposal.

⁴⁷ For an elaboration on how 5:17 summarises and develops the Adam-Christ antithesis in 5:15-16, see Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 101–3.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 102; cf. Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 287–88.

⁴⁹ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 102.

connected with the consummation of God's victory over death)⁵⁰ not merely in the restoration or reign of life, the opposite to death, but in the future reign of those who receive the benefits of Christ's work.

Second, the past reign of death inaugurated by Adam's trespass is contrasted with the future reign of believers established by Christ's work. This future orientation suggests that Paul had in mind believers being God's vicegerents in the world to come (cf. the eschatological cosmic inheritance in 4:13), which is also an element of Jewish hope for God's people as shown in Daniel 7:22, 27; Wisdom of Solomon 3:8; 1QM 12:13-16.⁵¹ In particular, our earlier discussion of the Qumran War Scroll (1QM 12:7-16) has shown the close connection between divine glory and rule (with Israel as the divine agent of rule), and Israel's glory and dominion over kingdoms and a renewed creation. Here we find a clarification of the believers' future reign that is linked to the realization of their hope of divine glory, i.e. their sharing of God's dominion over a renewed creation in the world to come. However, there is a clear distinction between these Jewish documents and Paul in the portrayal of the enemies of God's people – humans in contrast to the inimical powers of sin and death.⁵²

Daniel Kirk has provided a discussion, which we shall summarize, on the relationship between the believers' future reign in life and Christ's resurrection through the lens of Romans 1.⁵³ The earlier discussion on Romans 1:3-5 has shown that at his resurrection, Jesus' appointment as "son of God" refers to his enthronement as Davidic king; the divine human agent through whom God restores his worldwide reign. Believers participate in Christ's victory over the powers of sin, death and the law by walking in the new life established by Jesus' resurrection, as elaborated in Romans 6 to 8; this victory will be fully realized at the believers' future bodily resurrection and glorification with Christ (Romans 8). Thus the believers' hope of divine glory that is closely linked to the believers' future reign comes in the life established by Jesus' resurrection (cf. 5:10).

⁵⁰ Byrne, *Romans*, 180.

⁵¹ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 282.

⁵² Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 102–3.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 103.

The final occurrence of “reigning” (βασιλεύω) language is found in 5:21, appearing within a context (5:20-21) in which the entry of the law (νόμος δὲ παρεῖσθη) is painted negatively through the term παρεῖσθαι which Louw and Nida define as “to join surreptitiously with evil intent – ‘to slip into a group unnoticed, to join unnoticed’”;⁵⁴ the only other use of the term in the Pauline epistles in Galatians 2:4 has the negative meaning of “sneaked in” or “infiltrated”. The purpose (ἵνα) of the law’s entry was to intensify the seriousness and power of sin, but the increase in sin’s power was more than overcome by the superabundance in grace (ὑπερπερίσσευσεν ἡ χάρις).⁵⁵ 5:21 indicates the purpose (ἵνα) of the superabundance of grace: at the apex of the dominion of sin and death, the reign of God’s grace prevailed through (διὰ) righteousness resulting in (εἰς) eternal life through (διὰ) Christ. The agency of righteousness through which grace reigned probably refers both to God’s saving righteousness and the gift of righteousness, which in turn results in eternal life to believers.⁵⁶ This understanding of righteousness coheres well with our earlier discussion on justification being a prerequisite for glorification, in light of the association of divine glory with the power of an indestructible life, i.e. eternal life. Although the second διὰ might indicate Christ as the second agency through which grace reigns,⁵⁷ it more likely designates Jesus as the mediator of grace, righteousness and eternal life.

From the foregoing discussion, we have seen that although glory language does not appear in 5:12-21, the passage uses “reigning” (βασιλεύω) language in ways that associate it with glory. The depiction of the cosmic reign of death through sin (5:12-14) parallels the description of humanity’s loss of divine glory through sin (3:23). 5:12-21 also speak of the eschatological purpose/goal of salvation and thus of “the hope of glory”. The fact that the content of this hope is described as “reigning” (5:17) strengthens the association between glory and power.

Glory language continues to permeate Paul’s discussion of the benefits of justification by faith and the Adam-Christ antithesis. In Romans 5, we are reminded of the consequences of Adam’s trespass associated with humanity’s loss of divine

⁵⁴ “Παρέισθαι,” L&N 1:450.

⁵⁵ Schmithals, *Römerbrief*, 178–79; Moo, *Romans*, 347–49.

⁵⁶ Kruse, *Romans*, 254.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

glory – a hostile relationship with God, powerlessness and domination by sin and death. In contrast, the superior justifying work of Christ has paved the way for believers to boast in the hope of divine glory and in present sufferings that bolster the hope. In Paul’s discussion, we see forensic and relational aspects related to glory coming together – justification and the gift of righteousness as prerequisites for glorification, reconciliation and peace with God, and access into God’s presence resulting from justification. The believers’ hope of divine glory is further elucidated as sharing in Christ’s resurrection life, i.e. the power of an indestructible life, and sharing in God’s reign over a renewed creation in the world to come. This future reign necessarily implies liberation from the dominion of sin and death which comes through participation in Christ’s victory by walking in the life inaugurated by Jesus’ resurrection. Romans 6-8 will elaborate on the believers’ overcoming of the reigns of sin, death and the law through participation in Christ’s victory over them; this victory will be fully consummated in the eschaton when the hope of sharing in the divine glory will be realized.

6.2 Freedom from Sin and the Law (6:1-7:6)

Paul begins his discussion on the believers’ freedom from the reign of sin and the law in 6:1-7:6 by refuting a possible inference (6:1-2) arising from his assertion in 5:20 that “where sin increased, grace abounded much more”.⁵⁸ In Paul’s ensuing discussion, the believers’ participation in Jesus’ death and resurrection forms an important foundation for his arguments for the change in lordship over believers.⁵⁹

We encounter a reference to glory language in Paul’s first argumentative unit, 6:3-4, which utilizes baptismal imagery: ἠγέρθη Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς. Most scholars have understood “διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς” as expressing the means or efficient cause by which Christ was resurrected, with δόξα as a reference to God’s power.⁶⁰ Our discussion of Romans thus far has established

⁵⁸ Kruse (ibid., 259) notes that the conclusion in 6:1 is not hypothetical as 3:7-8 suggests that Paul’s opponents accused him of promoting sinful behaviour through his gospel.

⁵⁹ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 108.

⁶⁰ Kittel, *Die Herrlichkeit Gottes*, 216–17; Kuss, *Römerbrief*, 1:298-99; Schlier, *Römerbrief*, 194; Käsemann, *Romans*, 166; Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 315; Stuhlmacher, *Romans*, 91; Moo, *Romans*, 367 n. 72; Lohse, *Römer*, 187; Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 304–5; Sprinkle, “Afterlife in Romans,” 212 n. 42. Although Byrne, *Romans*, 196 translates διὰ instrumentally and understands δόξα as referring to

the close association between glory and power which reinforces the connection between divine δόξα and power in 6:4. In particular, 1:18-21 associates God's glory with his invisible attributes, i.e. his eternal power and deity while 4:20-21 links divine glory with God's creative and resurrective power which is especially relevant in 6:4 where divine δόξα is the means to Christ's resurrection. Besides strengthening the association of glory with power, 6:4 also has conceptual parallels with 1:4⁶¹ in terms of filial language (πατήρ, υἱὸς θεοῦ), resurrection (ἠγέρθη ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν) and glory/power (δόξα, δύναμις).⁶² Our earlier discussion has indicated that "ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει" in 1:4 refers both to God's power that resurrected Jesus and to Christ's powerful sonship; these conceptual parallels between 6:4 and 1:4 further reinforce the connection between divine glory and power. A comparison of 6:4 with our discussion on 1:16 also strengthens the association of divine glory with power: Paul's description of the gospel as God's power for salvation in 1:16 suggests that this power could refer to God's power that resurrected Christ and to Jesus' powerful sonship; through Christ God saves all who believe in him. Douglas Moo has indicated that "this power [glory in 6:4] is specifically the power of the new age ... Even now believers participate in this glory (cf. 2 Cor. 3:16) as they look forward to the final manifestation of glory in connection with the transformation of the body (Phil. 3:21)."⁶³ Indeed, as observed in our discussion of 5:12-21, Christ's glorious/powerful resurrection has instituted a new regime; the logic of Paul's arguments in 6:3-4 and 6:5 shows that believers, through their participation in Jesus' death and resurrection have been transferred from the old to the new regime. This is illustrated in the diagram below in which statements are depicted above statements that substantiate them.⁶⁴

God's power, he suggests an alternative understanding of the phrase as 'indicating "attendant circumstances": the glory attendant upon Christ's resurrection or, more precisely, the glory or likeness to God, *into* which he rose as Last Adam'. This is because Byrne, Romans, 130-31 associates δόξα with the primeval glory that enables humanity to share God's eternal life. Byrne's interpretation seems to connect δόξα with immortality than with power; our discussion of Romans 2 has shown that such an association is inadequate for understanding glory. Furthermore, with Paul's emphasis on the gospel as God's power for salvation, with power referring both to God's power that resurrected Christ and to Jesus' powerful sonship (see discussion on 1:4, 16), it is more likely for Paul to emphasize God's power as the means to Christ's resurrection in 6:4, in light of the association of divine glory with power. Comparison of 6:4 with 1 Corinthians 6:14 and 2 Corinthians 13:4 also supports the reference of δόξα to power.

⁶¹ τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγιοσύνης ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν, ...

⁶² Romans 8 will elaborate on the relationship between sonship, glory and resurrection for believers.

⁶³ Moo, *Romans*, 367 n. 72.

⁶⁴ Figure adapted from Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 110.

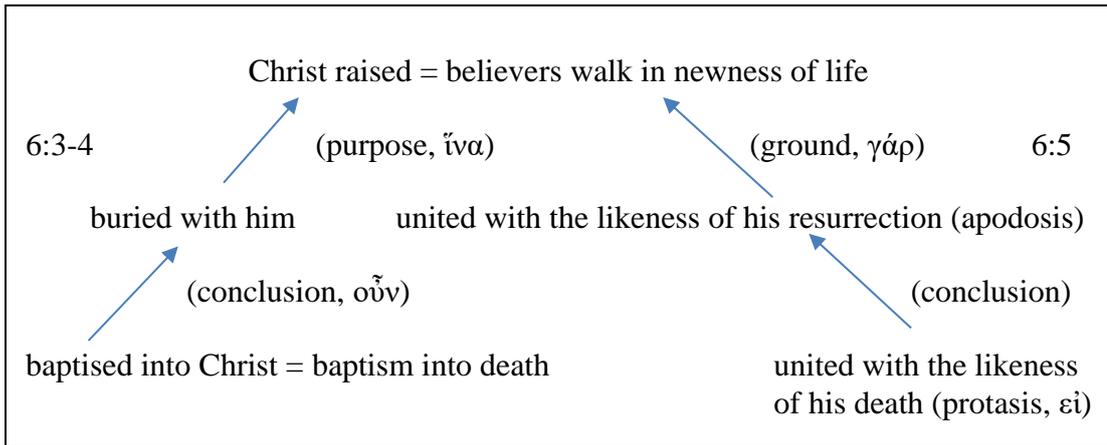


Figure 9: Logic of Paul's Argument in Romans 6:3-4 and 6:5

As can be seen from the diagram, both sets of arguments begin with the believers' union with Christ's death and lead on to their present new life; the link between death and new life is provided by Christ's past resurrection in 6:3-4 and by the believers' future union with the likeness of Christ's resurrection in 6:5.⁶⁵ There is some dispute regarding the future tense of εἰμί (ἐσόμεθα) in 6:5, whether it is a logical or eschatological future; the fact that 6:8 makes a similar point with an eschatological future (συχθήσομεν) renders it likely to be eschatological.⁶⁶ Thus 6:3-5 show that Jesus' past resurrection and the believers' future union with the likeness of his resurrection impinge upon the believers' present new life, just as 6:11, 13 make it clear that believers now live in the power of Christ's resurrection.⁶⁷ In the upcoming discussion, we shall see how the believers' participation in Jesus' death and resurrection liberates them from the power of sin, death and the law. Although believers have been liberated from the power of sin and the law, their existence as mortal beings means that liberation from the power of death awaits full realization at the eschaton through their bodily resurrection.⁶⁸ With the link between glory and power, we can say that believers now share in some aspects of their future glorification while other aspects, such as the power of an indestructible life and

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Wilckens, *Römer*, 2:15; Moo, *Romans*, 370–71.

⁶⁷ Wilckens, *Römer*, 2:15-16; Moo, *Romans*, 371. C. E. B. Cranfield, "Romans 6:1-14 Revisited," *ExpTim* 106 (1994): 41 notes that 6:11, 13 indicate that believers have already been raised with Christ from the dead in some sense.

⁶⁸ See John M. G. Barclay, "Under Grace: The Christ-Gift and the Construction of a Christian Habitus," in *Apocalyptic Paul: Cosmos and Anthropos in Romans 5-8*, ed. Beverly Roberts Gaventa (Waco, TX: BUP, 2013), 65–66 for a discussion on the believer as "mortal" and yet "eternally alive" through sharing in Christ's resurrection life.

reigning over a renewed creation, will only be realized at the eschaton. With this proviso, we can say that 6:3-5 show that it is Christ’s glorious resurrection, in which believers participate, that empowers believers in their present new life. 6:6-7 will further expound on the believers’ death with Christ while 6:8-11 elaborate on the implications of their death with Christ and life with him.⁶⁹

Like 6:3-5, Paul’s arguments in 6:6-7⁷⁰ also begin with death, as illustrated in the diagram below.⁷¹

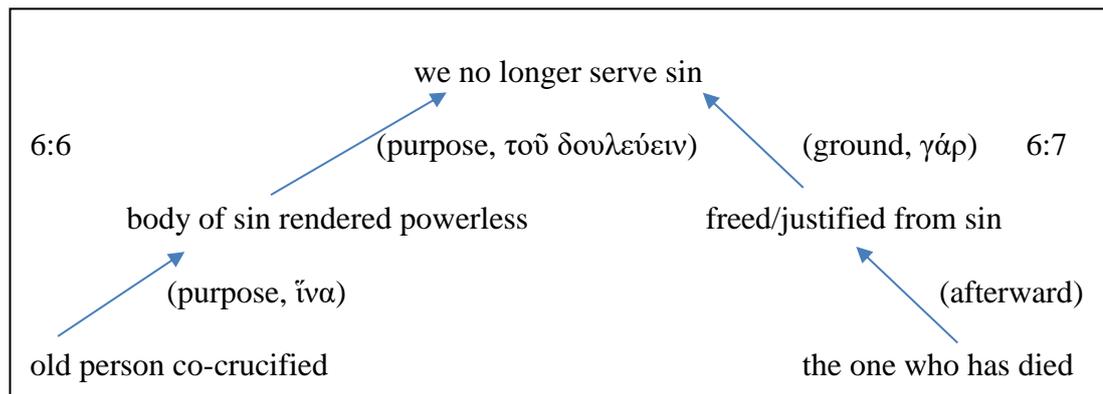


Figure 10: Logic of Paul's Argument in Romans 6:6 and 6:7

Through the notion of co-crucifixion of the old person with Christ, 6:6 indicates that believers have died to the old age dominated by sin and death through their participation in Christ’s death. This implies freedom from servitude to sin, a reversal of the consequences of humanity’s loss of glory, in their current new life; this conclusion is further grounded by the argument in 6:7, “for the one who has died has been freed/justified from sin.” There are three exegetical choices for the identity of “ὁ ἀποθανών”: a general maxim referring to anyone,⁷² the believer⁷³ or Christ.⁷⁴ Assuming that Paul’s use of “γάρ” in 6:7 indicates that it supports 6:6, the option of the general maxim is problematic as it contradicts Paul’s “keystone position that

⁶⁹ Moo, *Romans*, 372.

⁷⁰ Moo (ibid.) understands the participial phrase (τοῦτο γινώσκοντες) linking 6:5 to 6:6 not as causal but as indicating attendant circumstances and observes a break between 6:5 and 6:6, with 6:6 beginning a new sentence.

⁷¹ Figure adapted from Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 114.

⁷² Moo, *Romans*, 376–77.

⁷³ Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 310–11.

⁷⁴ Wilckens, *Römer*, 2:17-18. Refer to Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 111–14 for an evaluation of the three possible interpretations of ὁ ἀποθανών.

freedom from sin and its guilt comes through the act of Christ.”⁷⁵ The problem with the second option of the believer is that it bases the conclusion in 6:6 upon the believer’s own death instead of union in death with Christ; even if there was an implicit reference to the believer’s participation in Christ’s death, it makes the arguments in 6:6-7 tautological: “The old humanity died and has overcome sin, because the old humanity that died has overcome sin.”⁷⁶ Finally, a christological understanding for 6:7 makes sense as Christ’s death meant a death to the old aeon, leading to freedom from the reign of sin and death in which believers participate through co-crucifixion of the old humanity with Christ (6:6).⁷⁷

Paul’s discussion in 6:8-11 focuses on the change in lordship resulting from Jesus’ death and resurrection and its implications for believers. In similar fashion to 6:3-5, 6-7, Paul begins his argument in 6:8 with the believers’ death with Christ, leading to the conclusion of belief or hope (πιστεύομεν ὅτι) of future resurrection life with him.⁷⁸ Taking the participle εἰδότες in 6:9 as casual, Paul then establishes this hope on the change in lordship resulting from Christ’s death and resurrection: death no longer rules (οὐκέτι κυριεύει) over him because he died to sin once for all, now he lives (in submission) to God (6:9-10).⁷⁹ Thus Christ’s death marks the end of his existence in the old age dominated by sin and death, his resurrection inaugurates his life in the new age under God’s reign; both form the basis for the believers’ belief that those who died with Jesus will also live with him.⁸⁰ With the association of glory with power, we can say that Jesus was not only resurrected through the glory/power of the Father (6:4), but he now also lives under the glory/reign of God (6:10).⁸¹ This leads to Paul’s exhortation in 6:11 for believers to consider (λογίζεσθε) themselves dead to sin but alive to God because of their union with Christ (ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ). Indeed, through their union with Christ, believers participate

⁷⁵ Robin Scroggs, “Romans VI.7 Ο ΓΑΡ ΑΠΟΘΑΝΩΝ ΔΕΔΙΚΑΙΩΤΑΙ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΣ,” *NTS* 10 (1963): 105.

⁷⁶ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 113; cf. Moo, *Romans*, 377.

⁷⁷ See J. R. Daniel Kirk, “Resurrection in Romans: Reinterpreting the Stories of Israel in Light of the Christ Event” (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 2004), 283–87 for detailed arguments for a christological interpretation of 6:7. Although Kirk argues that “δεδικαίωται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμαρτίας” refers to Christ’s resurrection, Paul’s emphasis in 6:7 seems to be on liberation from the power of sin resulting from Christ’s death. Nonetheless, either interpretation does not affect my argument.

⁷⁸ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 322.

⁷⁹ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 115–16.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Cf. our discussion on 1QM 12:7-16 and Romans 1:23 which associate divine glory with rule.

proleptically in the blessings of Christ's death and resurrection, including resurrection life and glory, which will be fully realized in the eschaton.⁸² C. H. Dodd summarizes it well,

Those "saving facts," the death and resurrection of Christ, are not merely particular facts of past history, however decisive in their effect; they are re-enacted in the experience of the Church. If Christ died to this world, so have the members of His body; if He has risen into newness of life, so have they; if He being risen from the dead, dieth no more, neither do they; if God has glorified Him, He has also glorified them.⁸³

In the next phase of his argument in 6:12-14, Paul uses military language (e.g. present your members as weapons [ὄπλα] of righteousness to God) that is consistent with the concepts of lordship and reign which he began in 5:12.⁸⁴ Through the use of Jewish apocalyptic holy war traditions, such as those of the Qumran War Scroll, Joel Marcus interprets the third person imperative, βασιλευέτω which has posed translational difficulties, in 6:12 as a prayer to God to overthrow the reign of sin in the bodies of Roman believers.⁸⁵ Drawing further from Israel's holy war theology, Marcus further suggests that although believers are exhorted to action through the use of second person imperatives (παριστάνετε, παραστήσατε) in 6:13, "God's action has a logical priority over human action ... Obedient human action does not mean fighting one's own battles, but reporting for active duty to the line of battle where *God's power* is being unleashed."⁸⁶ [emphasis mine] The exhortation for believers to present their members as weapons of righteousness to God is juxtaposed with the call to present themselves to God as those alive from the dead; this in turn is based on the believers' present participation in their future resurrection with Jesus as seen in 6:4-11.⁸⁷ Remembering that Jesus' resurrection comes through the glory/power of the Father and his resurrection life is lived under God's glory/reign,

⁸² Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 116.

⁸³ C. H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1966), 62–63, cited in Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 116–17.

⁸⁴ Joel Marcus, "'Let God Arise and End the Reign of Sin!' A Contribution to the Study of Pauline Parenthesis," *Bib* 69 (1988): 392; Moo, *Romans*, 384–85.

⁸⁵ Marcus, "Let God Arise," 386–92.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 390–94.

⁸⁷ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 117–18. Kirk notes that the οὖν of 6:12 indicates that the imperatives result from the preceding verses.

we see God's power also at work through believers as they present themselves as weapons of righteousness in the eschatological battle against the cosmic power of sin. Paul's concluding statement in 6:14, which also substantiates (γάρ) 6:12-13, effectively links the reigns of sin and the law as dominant powers of the old age (cf. 5:20-21 in which the law, rather than being the means to righteousness and life, intensified the power of sin and death), thus generating the question (6:15) for the next phase of his argument emphasizing the believers' liberation from slavery to sin to become slaves to God.

To the Jewish mind, Paul's statement that the reign of grace has supplanted the reign of the law in the new age (6:14) implies a removal of the law as God's deterrent to sin and raises the question as to whether believers now have free rein to sin (6:15).⁸⁸ Paul emphatically rejects this possible inference by arguing that believers, having been freed from slavery to sin and enslaved to righteousness, must no longer subject themselves to sin (6:16-23). The image of slavery dominates Paul's discussion as he contrasts the believers' pre-Christian existence in the Adamic old age with their present existence in the new age inaugurated by Christ.⁸⁹

The believers' pre-Christian existence, which is associated with humanity's lack of glory and thus power due to universal sin, is characterised by slavery to sin (6:17, 18, 20, 22), impurity and lawlessness (6:19). Our earlier discussion of glory/honour and power in the Roman world has shown that slaves belonged to the basement level in the hierarchy of glory/honour and owed obedience to their masters, a notion reflected in 6:16. The consequences of slavery to sin, impurity and lawlessness are increased lawlessness (6:19) and fruit of which they are now ashamed of (ἐπαισχύνομαι) (6:21), with the ultimate result of death (6:16, 21, 23). The believers' shame towards their pre-Christian lives is a positive sign of their transformation and sanctification resulting from the change in their lordship from sin to righteousness.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 352.

⁸⁹ Moo, *Romans*, 396 n. 1 notes that δούλος and δουλόω occur a total of eight times in all verses in 6:15-23 except in 6:15, 21, 23.

⁹⁰ Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 328; Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 356.

With the transfer of ownership of the believers, they have been freed from slavery to the old master of sin and were enslaved to a new master, righteousness (6:18). We have noted earlier that the believers' union with Christ has enabled them to participate proleptically in the benefits of Christ's death and resurrection, including some aspects of glory, which will be fully realized in the eschaton. This "already and not yet" notion is also reflected in the believers' adoption: though adopted as God's children (8:15-16), believers still await their adoption, the redemption of their bodies (8:23).⁹¹ Hence, believers now share in some aspects of their future glorification with Christ (8:17) with the restoration of glory, power and reign, giving a sense of inaugurated eschatological glory as seen in our discussion of glory and power in the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QS 4:6-26, CD-A 3:18-20, 1QH^a 4:26-27 and 4QpPs^a 3:1-2). Nonetheless, the restoration of glory and power does not mean freedom from all external power and rule; believers are now enslaved to righteousness. The notion of slavery as the present experience of believers might have seemed jarring and surprising to Paul's Roman audience since slavery was associated with shame and powerlessness. The inadequacy of slavery as a metaphor, with other associations such as exploitation and fear, to characterise the believers' personal relationship with God may be reflected in 6:19a – "I am speaking in human terms because of the weakness of your flesh".⁹² Yet Paul's continued use of it in 6:19, 22, and positively elsewhere in Romans (1:1; 12:11; 14:4) may suggest not only the appropriateness of slavery as a metaphor to describe the believers' life in the new age, albeit without the negative associations,⁹³ but also the infusion of new positive associations with the believers' status as slaves of God, such as glory, and the fruit resulting in sanctification/holiness and the outcome of eternal life (6:22). If Roman imperial slaves enjoyed honour through their association with the Emperor, how much more the slaves of God now share and will fully share Christ's glory.

Righteousness is not only depicted as the new master of believers (6:18, 19, 20) but also as the result of a new obedience, an obedience from the heart (6:16-

⁹¹ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 116 n. 61.

⁹² Moo, *Romans*, 403-4; Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 355 suggests that 6:19a might further imply that believers were "prone to live as though still slaves of sin" that Paul had to constantly exhort them to live according to their new relationship with God, as shown in 6:19b, especially with the conjunction γάρ. See Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 498-99 for other reasons for Paul's remark, e.g. from the perspectives of gift-obligation, temptation to pride, etc.

⁹³ Moo, *Romans*, 404.

17).⁹⁴ Nevertheless, the juxtaposition of the believers' obedience (6:17) with the aorist passive verbs (“ἐλευθερωθέντες” and “ἐδουλώθητε” in 6:18) describing their past experience of being freed from sin and enslaved to righteousness suggests that believers are ultimately dependent on God's glorious power to enable their obedience.⁹⁵ The believers' obedience and slavery to righteousness, depicted also as slavery to God (6:22), result in sanctification/holiness (6:19, 22) with the eschatological outcome of eternal life in Christ (6:22, 23). Consistent with Paul's statement in 6:14, the law has no part in the regime of the new age; Paul returns to the issue of the believers' freedom from the reign of the law in 7:1-6.

In 7:1-6, Paul replaces the role of sin in chapter 6 with the law as shown in the following comparison.⁹⁶ Through union with Christ in his death and resurrection, believers have died to sin (6:2, 11) and have been put to death to the law (7:4). Consequently, they have been freed from sin (6:18, 22) and the law (7:2, 3, 6) so that they no longer rule over believers (6:14, 7:1). Their resulting freedom means service to righteousness or God, producing fruit resulting in sanctification/holiness (6:18-22) on the one hand and a new service of the Spirit, bearing fruit for God (7:4-6) on the other. The law is so closely associated with sin that it generates the inescapable question for the next section in 7:7, “Is the law sin?”⁹⁷

As shown in the preceding comparison, participation with Christ in his death and resurrection remains central in Paul's discussion concerning the believer's freedom from the law in 7:1-6.⁹⁸ This theme can also be found in Paul's marriage illustration (7:2-3) that serves more than to elucidate the principle found in 7:1, as can be seen from the inference in 7:4 (ὥστε). Due to the problematic nature of the connection between the illustration and its application, most interpreters are resigned

⁹⁴ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 119.

⁹⁵ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 345. Dunn (*ibid.*, 342) also notes that the two parallel genitive phrases, “ἁμαρτίας εἰς θάνατον” and “ὑπακοῆς εἰς δικαιοσύνην” in 6:16 might suggest the “double causation” for sin and obedience, i.e. both as man's responsible action but also as a “power dominating man” (for sin) or as an “enabling or motivating power” (for obedience).

⁹⁶ Comparison adapted from Moo, *Romans*, 409. Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 120–21 provides a table detailing the correspondences between 6:1-23 and 7:1-6 to show how Paul replaces sin and death with the law.

⁹⁷ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 122.

⁹⁸ Kruse, *Romans*, 289–90 notes that “those who know the law” in 7:1 probably refers to Jewish believers and Gentile believers who knew the law through participation in the synagogue. Moo, *Romans*, 411–12 suggests that the phrase could refer to all believers who have been exposed to the Hebrew Scriptures.

to the limitations of the illustration in its lack of exact correspondence with the conclusion.⁹⁹ However, in his proposal that 7:1-4 is an analogy with several points of correspondence,¹⁰⁰ John Earnshaw has argued that “Paul’s marriage analogy is properly understood only when *the wife’s first marriage is viewed as illustrating the believer’s union with Christ in his death and her second marriage is viewed as illustrating the believer’s union with Christ in his resurrection*”.¹⁰¹ Earnshaw’s proposal dovetails with Paul’s main point and application in 7:4 that believers’ union with Christ in his death and glorious resurrection liberates them from the reign of the law in order to bear fruit for God.¹⁰² The believers’ pre-Christian existence has been characterised as sharing humanity’s common plight of lacking in glory and in this instance is associated with being under the rule of the law. Dying with Christ releases them from the law’s reign, a necessary step for the restoration of glory as we shall see in 7:5, and being joined with Christ’s glorious resurrection enables them to bear fruit for God which may suggest God’s glorious power at work in believers in enabling fruit bearing.

7:5-6 (γάμ) grounds 7:4 as Paul goes on to show the need for and results of the believers’ liberation from the law’s reign by contrasting their pre-Christian and present existence.¹⁰³ In 7:5, we see the triad of sin, law and death coming together to define the believers’ pre-Christian life in the flesh (ἐν τῇ σαρκί)¹⁰⁴ in the Adamic age. Earlier, we have seen that humanity’s problem of the lack of glory due to universal sin corresponds to the loss of power, for example, the power of an indestructible life, and the enslavement by foreign powers. Instead of being part of the solution, the law compounded humanity’s problems by perpetuating sin and bearing fruit for death (7:5). Hence the believers’ union with Christ in his death to the law, together with sin and death, which achieves liberation from the rule of sin, death and the law, is a necessary step towards the restoration of divine glory. Moving on to the believers’

⁹⁹ For a brief discussion, see Kruse, *Romans*, 291–92. See John D. Earnshaw, “Reconsidering Paul’s Marriage Analogy in Romans 7.1-4,” *NTS* 40 (1994): 68–70 for a survey of different interpretative approaches.

¹⁰⁰ For details of Earnshaw’s argument, see Earnshaw, “Reconsidering,” 70–88.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 72.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Moo, *Romans*, 411.

¹⁰⁴ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 363, 370 indicates that σάρξ refers to “the weaknesses and corruptibility of the creature which distances him from the Creator” and “ἐν τῇ σαρκί” as “a kind of living dominated or characterized by the weakness and appetites of this life.” Moo, *Romans*, 418 describes σάρξ as “another ‘power’ of the old age, set in opposition to the Spirit.”

present existence which 7:4 has described as being joined to Christ in his glorified, resurrected state for the purpose of fruit bearing for God, 7:6 further depicts it as service in “newness of Spirit” and not in “oldness of letter”. The antithesis is probably a contrast between life in the new and old age, under the new and old covenant.¹⁰⁵ The characterisation of life in the new age through participation in Christ’s resurrection as service in newness of Spirit further recalls and foreshadows the Spirit’s role not only as agent of sonship, power and resurrection for Christ in 1:4 and for believers in Romans 8, but also the mark of the new life of glory in Christ in Romans 8.

In 6:1-7:6, Paul depicts the believers’ pre-Christian life in the flesh, which is associated with humanity’s lack of glory and thus power due to universal sin, as domination by and slavery to the triumvirate of sin, death and the law.¹⁰⁶ Through their participation in Jesus’ death and resurrection, believers have been freed from the tyranny of this triumvirate in the old Adamic age, an essential step for the restoration of divine glory, and transferred to the regime of grace and righteousness, under the rubric of God’s reign in the new christological age. Through their union with Christ, believers participate proleptically in the benefits of Jesus’ death and resurrection, including resurrection life and glory, giving a sense of inaugurated eschatological glory in their lives as God’s slaves. In particular, God’s glory is the power of the new age that resurrected Jesus and empowers believers in their new life of heartfelt obedience, in fruit bearing for God resulting in sanctification/holiness with the outcome of eternal life, and in the eschatological war against the cosmic power of sin. Finally, the parallels between 6:4; 7:6 and 1:4 not only strengthen the association of glory with power but also recall and foreshadow the Spirit’s role as agent of sonship, power and resurrection for Christ and believers in their new life of glory in Romans 8. At the same time, the antithesis between Spirit and law in 7:6 provides an opportunity for Paul to clarify the nature of the law, and contrast life in the flesh with life in the Spirit (7:7-8:11).¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Moo, *Romans*, 421; Stephen Westerholm, “Letter and Spirit: The Foundation of Pauline *Ethics*,” *NTS* 30 (1984): 238–39. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 366, 373, and Kruse, *Romans*, 296 also highlight the likely reference to the fulfilment of the prophecies in Ezekiel 36:26-27 and Jeremiah 31:31-34 (LXX 38:31-34).

¹⁰⁶ The idea of sin, death and the law as a “triumvirate” has been adapted from Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 368.

¹⁰⁷ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 123.

6.3 Life under the Law and in the Spirit (7:7-8:11)

Paul's close association of the law with sin in 6:1-7:6 has led to the inescapable question: "ὁ νόμος ἁμαρτία;" which he emphatically rejects (7:7). Instead Paul affirms the law's nature as holy, righteous, good and spiritual (7:12, 14). Nonetheless, Paul depicts the law in 7:7-13 as being co-opted by sin as a vicegerent to achieve its ends that contradict the law's purpose; this accounts for the close link and yet distinction between them.¹⁰⁸

Indeed, 7:7-25 characterise the law's main problem as its impotence in the face of sin.¹⁰⁹ The law is co-opted by sin as a base of operations (ἀφορμή)¹¹⁰ for its attack on "ἐγώ" to effect death in contradiction to the law's purpose of producing life (7:8, 10, 11, 13).¹¹¹ In doing so, sin paradoxically fulfils the divine purpose of exposing itself in its true colours (7:13).¹¹² The law also cannot empower the person, especially one who delights in it, to fulfil its requirements (7:7-8, 15-25). With obedience as an essential aspect of showing deference to prestige, we observe here the law's failure to enable a person to glorify God (cf. 2:21-24). Finally, the law lacks the power to free the "I" from bondage to sin as "it comes as a spiritual entity to fleshly people, but without the power to make them spiritual" (7:14, 24).¹¹³

Regarding the identity of "ἐγώ" in 7:7-25, Kruse has argued that Paul utilizes "ἐγώ", through the technique of speech-in-character (προσωποποιία), to refer to Israel's experience prior and subsequent to the receiving of the Mosaic Law in 7:7-12, with allusions to Adam's transgression, and a Jew's [or Gentile God-fearer's]¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸ Klyne R. Snodgrass, "Spheres of Influence: A Possible Solution to the Problem of Paul and the Law," *JSNT* 32 (1988): 99; Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 124.

¹⁰⁹ The discussion on the law's powerlessness has been adapted from Stefano Romanello, "Rom 7,7-25 and the Impotence of the Law. A Fresh Look at a Much-Debated Topic Using Literary-Rhetorical Analysis," *Bib* 84 (2003): 526, and Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 124.

¹¹⁰ "Ἀφορμή," BDAG, 158.

¹¹¹ Susan Eastman, "Double Participation and the Responsible Self in Romans 5-8," in *Apocalyptic Paul: Cosmos and Anthropos in Romans 5-8*, ed. Beverly Roberts Gaventa (Waco, TX: BUP, 2013), 105.

¹¹² Gathercole, "Sin," 171.

¹¹³ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 124.

¹¹⁴ Beverly Roberts Gaventa, "The Shape of the 'I': The Psalter, the Gospel, and the Speaker in Romans 7," in *Apocalyptic Paul: Cosmos and Anthropos in Romans 5-8*, ed. Beverly Roberts Gaventa (Waco, TX: BUP, 2013), 88.

ongoing experience under the law in 7:13-25 which Paul could identify with from his pre-Christian past, albeit from his present Christian perspective.¹¹⁵ Alternatively, by focusing on the paraenetic purpose of 7:7-25, Susan Eastman has suggested that

As the anonymous I vividly expresses the anguish of the self co-opted by sin's use of the law, and then receives the freedom from condemnation announced in 8:1-4, the affective language draws Paul's auditors personally into the same experience, so that they each may know and reckon themselves as liberated agents and act accordingly.¹¹⁶

The reason for Paul's paraenesis is that though believers have been transferred to Christ's lordship, they nevertheless exist in a world ruled by sin and death and thus need to be exhorted to continue in the struggle to actualise being "dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus" in their lives (6:11-14).¹¹⁷ Paul's paraenetic purpose reinforces the fact of the believers' participation in both the new and old age which points to the partial realization of glory in the believers' lives as indicated earlier.

7:7-25 also depicts the predicament of fallen humanity, lacking the divine glory, under the tyranny of sin. Sin engenders the desire forbidden by the divine commandment (7:7-8). Sin deceives and kills the "ἐγώ" through the law (7:11).¹¹⁸ Sin's dominion over the "I" is so comprehensive that it exercises its power over the "ἐγώ" from without (7:14)¹¹⁹ and from within (7:17, 20) so that his service to God's law is only wishful thinking (7:25).¹²⁰

As such, the remedy to the human predicament of being trapped in a body of death (7:24) must deal with the issue of sin and transform fleshly humanity so that

¹¹⁵ Kruse, *Romans*, 298–99, 305. See *ibid.*, 314–21 for other interpretations of the identity of "ἐγώ."

¹¹⁶ Eastman, "Double Participation," 104.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 103–4.

¹¹⁸ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 384–85, 402 suggests that 7:11 alludes to the serpent's deception of the primordial pair. Moo, *Romans*, 439–40 argues that sin deceives the "ἐγώ" through the law's promise of life for those who fulfil it (7:10) which proved impossible for the "I."

¹¹⁹ Moo, *Romans*, 454 argues that the description of "I" as "sold under sin" in 7:14 shows that the "I" is a non-Christian, as it indicates that the "I" is under enslaved captivity to sin, in contrast to Christians who have "died to sin" (6:2) and are no longer "slaves to sin" (6:18, 22); cf. Käsemann, *Romans*, 200. See Moo, *Romans*, 445 for a list of reasons for viewing 7:14-25 as the experience of an unbeliever (from a believer's perspective).

¹²⁰ Romanello, "Rom 7,7-25," 521.

they can fulfil a spiritual law (7:14).¹²¹ This twofold solution is expressed by Paul in 8:3-4 – God condemning sin in the flesh through Christ (8:3) in order that the law’s righteous requirement might be fulfilled in a spiritually transformed people (8:4). In other words, the Spirit of him who resurrected Jesus (1:4; 7:6; 8:11) is an essential ingredient of this remedy.¹²²

In 8:1-11, Paul contrasts the life of those in the Spirit with those in the flesh. Through God’s work in Christ, the Spirit plays a prominent role in overcoming the law’s impotence and the powers of the old age, both essential to the restoration of glory to believers.

Paul begins by combining forensic and participationist categories in declaring that there is no condemnation (forensic) for those who are in Christ Jesus (participationist) and grounds it (γάρ) in the believer’s liberation by the Spirit, through Christ’s work, from sin and death (8:1-2).¹²³ In 8:2, νόμος is used both with the Spirit of life, and with sin and death; its first use with the Spirit has been argued to be a wordplay on νόμος, with no substantive meaning attached to it,¹²⁴ or more likely, a figurative reference to “governing power”,¹²⁵ while its second use with sin and death could refer to the Mosaic Law,¹²⁶ but more likely, to “governing power” in light of a similar usage in 7:23.¹²⁷ With our earlier correlation of humanity’s loss of glory with domination by the alien powers of sin and death, through sin (3:23; 5:12-14), the exchange of glory and divine punishment (1:18-32) (see chapters 4.3, 4.5 and 6.1), the believer’s liberation from captivity to sin and death can be viewed as an essential aspect of the restoration of glory.

¹²¹ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 124.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Moo, *Romans*, 472–77. Gordon D. Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994), 524 notes that “Christ Jesus [has] set us free from sin and death ... but ... God’s current, ongoing remedy for sin and death is the indwelling, life-giving Spirit.”

¹²⁴ Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 522–23.

¹²⁵ “Νόμος,” L&N 1:426-27; Michel, *Römer*, 249; Leander E. Keck, “The Law And ‘The Law of Sin and Death’ (Rom 8:1-4),” in *The Divine Helmsman*, ed. James L. Crenshaw and Samuel Sandmel (New York, NY: KTAV, 1980), 49.

¹²⁶ Wilckens, *Römer*, 2:122-23; Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 416–19.

¹²⁷ Michel, *Römer*, 249; Keck, “The Law,” 46–49; Moo, *Romans*, 476.

Paul continues to explain (γάρ), through elaboration, the nature of the Spirit's liberation by returning to the issue of the law's powerlessness (ἀδύνατος) in dealing with sin due to its weakening by the flesh (8:3). God resolves this problem by sending Christ as a sin offering (περὶ ἁμαρτίας)¹²⁸ to condemn sin in the flesh (8:3), thereby breaking sin's tyranny over believers,¹²⁹ in order (ἵνα) that the righteous requirement (δικαίωμα)¹³⁰ of the spiritual law (7:14) might be fulfilled in them as they live according to the Spirit (8:4).¹³¹ Kevin McFadden has argued that "the fulfilment of the δικαίωμα of the law in Romans 8:4a refers to Christian obedience of the law's righteous requirement by the empowering Spirit."¹³² The Spirit, through God's work in Christ, not only liberates believers from sin's tyranny, resolving humanity's predicament of the lack of glory as domination by sin, but also empowers them to glorify God in obedience, undoing humanity's failure to glorify God (1:18-32).

In contrasting life according to the flesh and the Spirit (8:5-8),¹³³ Paul characterises the fleshly mindset as death (θάνατος), and hostility (ἔχθρα) against God as it does not subject itself (ὑποτάσσω) to God's law for it lacks the power (δύναμαι) to do so. All these descriptions match Paul's earlier depiction of the state of fallen humanity lacking divine glory: powerlessness, domination by sin and death, enemies of God and lacking submission to God (1:18-32; 3:9, 23; 5:6-10, 12-14). In contrast, the mindset of the Spirit is life and peace which are elements of the eschatological reward of glory for Christian obedience (2:6-11), with peace, total well-being and a restored harmonious relationship with God, being a benefit of justification (5:1). The implicit contrast with the fleshly mindset also indicates the

¹²⁸ Kruse, *Romans*, 327 n. 300 notes that περὶ ἁμαρτίας is frequently used in the LXX (66 times) to refer to sin offering. Cf. N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1992), 221–22.

¹²⁹ Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 534 notes that since 8:3-4 elaborates 8:2, God's judgment on sin results in the liberation of believers from sin's dominion. Cf. our earlier discussion on 3:23-25 regarding the liberation of believers from sin's power through Christ being put forward as an atoning sacrifice.

¹³⁰ Kruse, *Romans*, 328–29 has argued that τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου in 8:4 refers to the love commandment (cf. Galatians 5:13-16; Romans 13:8-10).

¹³¹ Berry, *Glory*, 108–9 highlights the connections between Romans 8 and Ezekiel 36-37 in support of his view of the new covenant as the backdrop to Romans 8.

¹³² Kevin W. McFadden, "The Fulfillment of the Law's Dikaioma: Another Look at Romans 8:1-4," *JETS* 52 (2009): 490; cf. Stuhlmacher, *Romans*, 120–21; Schreiner, *Romans*, 404–6. For details of McFadden's argument, see McFadden, "Fulfillment," 483–97.

¹³³ Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 538–42 argues for 8:5-8 as a description of life before Christ and present life in the Spirit.

Spirit empowering the believer to submit to God's law (cf. 8:4), i.e. obey God and thus glorify him since obedience is an aspect of deference to prestige (cf. 1:18-23).

In Paul's elaboration on the Spirit's liberation of believers from death's power (8:9-11), we find that "the indwelling Spirit and the indwelling Christ are distinguishable but inseparable."¹³⁴ Indeed, the Spirit has displaced indwelling sin (7:17, 20) in believers and acts as the agent of life (8:10-11), in keeping with the Spirit's role as agent of Christ's resurrection life (cf. 1:4).¹³⁵ Nevertheless, Paul depicts the believer's existence paradoxically as "mortal", in a body destined for death, and yet "eternally alive", through sharing in Christ's resurrection life that culminates in their own future bodily resurrection through the indwelling, life-giving Spirit (8:10-11).¹³⁶ The believer's paradoxical existence emphasizes the sense of inaugurated glory where "the believer's future resurrection life is the consummation of the resurrection life which is now already begun".¹³⁷

In Paul's juxtaposition of life in the flesh under the law against life in the Spirit, fallen humanity is depicted as being dominated by sin and death, and as hostile against God as it does not submit to God's law due to its inability to do so. This depiction corresponds to the earlier analysis of the human plight of lack of glory: powerlessness, ruled by sin and death, enemies of God and disobedient to him. The spiritual law is unable to give life to fleshly humanity by freeing it from bondage to sin and death, and enabling it to obey God and thus glorify him due to the law's impotence in the face of sin and the flesh. In contrast, the indwelling, life-giving Spirit, through God's work in Christ, inaugurates the restoration of glory to believers by overcoming the flesh, sin and death, and enabling believers to glorify God in obedience. The believers' paradoxical existence as mortal and yet eternally alive, coupled with the paraenetic purpose of Paul's language, further emphasizes the partial nature of the restoration of glory, which will be consummated at the eschaton. The stage is set for us to see the far-reaching effects of the restoration of glory on believers and the rest of creation.

¹³⁴ Moo, *Romans*, 491.

¹³⁵ See Richard B. Gaffin, *Resurrection and Redemption: A Study in Paul's Soteriology*, 2nd ed. (Phillipsburg, N.J.: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1987), 66–74 on the Spirit's agency in Christ's resurrection.

¹³⁶ Barclay, "Under Grace," 65–66.

¹³⁷ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 128.

6.4 Future Glory (8:12-39)

In Paul's discussion on the sonship of believers, hope of future glory amidst present suffering (8:12-30) and the eschatological judgment (8:31-39), he draws many threads together as he juxtaposes glory language with language of the Spirit, sonship, adoption, inheritance, suffering, hope, creation, resurrection, image and justification.¹³⁸ Amidst suggestions of various OT and Jewish themes that Paul could be reinterpreting in 8:12-30, such as "Adam and creation, Abraham, the exodus, the Davidic kingship ... eschaton",¹³⁹ Daniel Kirk has proposed that

Paul is reinterpreting a Jewish eschatological vision that portrays the world to come (*Endzeit*) as a (super-) restoration of the original creation (*Urzeit*). To the extent that other episodes from Israel's story are audible, they are so insofar as they, too, are reflections of God's restoration of his original dealings with and/or intentions for humanity.¹⁴⁰

In our discussion, we shall focus on aspects of Paul's reinterpretation that relate glory to power.

In 8:12-17, the Spirit's transformative work in believers mirrors Jesus' transition (1:3-4) in two aspects.¹⁴¹ First, the Spirit institutes a new form of existence in contrast to the flesh. While *σάρξ* has a more neutral meaning in 1:3, emphasizing the physical realm of Jesus' human descent in fulfillment of God's promises, it refers to the old realm ruled by sin and death in 8:12-13.¹⁴² The second parallel is the

¹³⁸ We have adopted the view that *κτίσις* in Romans 8 refers to "subhuman creation" over against the understanding of Nikolaus Walter, "Gottes Zorn und das 'Harren der Kreatur'. Zur Korrespondenz zwischen Römer 1,18-32 und 8,19-22," in *Christus Bezeugen*, ed. Karl Kertelge, Traugott Holtz, and Claus-Peter März (Leipzig: St. Benno-Verlag, 1989), 218–26 that it refers to unbelievers. For an overview of various interpretations of *κτίσις* and arguments that it refers to subhuman creation, see Harry Alan Hahne, *The Corruption and Redemption of Creation: Nature in Romans 8.19-22 and Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, LNTS 336 (New York; London: T&T Clark, 2006), 176–81; Adams, *Constructing*, 175–78.

¹³⁹ See footnotes on Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 133 for a list of works that have expounded on these themes.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 138–39. For the importance of and arguments for *Endzeit* being greater than *Urzeit*, see Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 484; Hahne, *Corruption*, 199.

¹⁴¹ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 134.

¹⁴² Schmithals, *Römerbrief*, 49; Moo, *Romans*, 46–47, 493–94; Kruse, *Romans*, 42–43.

Spirit's role as agent of divine sonship. Trevor Burke has noted the close connection between obedience, sonship and the Spirit in 8:12-14 where divine sonship is identified with being led by God's Spirit and juxtaposed with putting to death the practices of the body, as a possible reference to being obedient like Christ, the Son of God.¹⁴³ Thus the Spirit can be said to be the transformational and empowering force of believers to become obedient sons of God. This in turn points to redeemed humanity glorifying God through obedience since it is an essential aspect of deference to prestige, thus undoing humanity's rebellion and failure to glorify God in Romans 1.

The already-not yet nature of divine sonship can be observed in 8:23 where believers, as children of God, still await their adoption to sonship, the redemption of their bodies, i.e. resurrection. Hence the Spirit's work of adoptive divine sonship, with the benefit of being heirs of God and co-heirs with Christ, is completed with the believers' future resurrective glorification with Christ (8:17-18).¹⁴⁴ In our earlier discussion on 4:13, we have found that the divine promise of a cosmic inheritance refers to the eschatological restoration of dominion over a renewed creation, which also implies restoration of glory to God's children. In 8:17-23, the juxtaposition of glory, resurrection and inheritance language, together with the language of a restored creation, points to redeemed humanity's future glorification both as power of an indestructible life and as dominion over a renewed creation. This in turn is a reversal of the situation in Romans 1 which depicts humanity as exchanging the power of incorruptibility for corruptibility and forfeiting its power to rule over creation by worshipping and serving the creature instead of the Creator.

In 5:3-4, we have seen that *suffering* bolsters the hope of *glory* through the process of character formation; Paul takes this relationship one step further by characterising christological co-suffering as the *sine qua non* of co-glorification (8:17). Such co-suffering could be part of the messianic woes inaugurated by Christ's sufferings, with the notion of eschatological glory resulting from the

¹⁴³ Trevor J. Burke, "Adoption and the Spirit in Romans 8," *EvQ* 70 (1998): 318–20.

¹⁴⁴ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 134.

consummation of eschatological suffering.¹⁴⁵ For the children of God, christological co-suffering is the pathway to the goal of eschatological co-glorification, as sharing in the suffering of the Son of God is essential to participating in his glory.¹⁴⁶ The telic nature of divine glory, which we have observed in 3:23, is juxtaposed with motifs of image and sonship in Paul's discussion on God's purpose for believers in 8:28-30. It is to this passage that we now turn.

We first note the link between 8:28-30 and 1:4 through the association of the root word “ὀρίζω” with divine sonship: Jesus was appointed (ὀρισθέντος, 1:4) son of God at his resurrection while believers were pre-appointed (προὐρίσεν, 8:29) to be conformed to his image (εἰκόν), thus becoming like him, participating in his sonship, thereby becoming his siblings (8:29).¹⁴⁷ The word “εἰκόν” recalls the Genesis creation narratives where humanity was created in God's image and likeness (Genesis 1:26); commentators have also suggested that the futility of creation in 8:20 alludes to God's curse on the earth because of primeval humanity's sin in Genesis 3:17-19.¹⁴⁸ Indeed, Daniel Kirk has argued that 8:12-30 highlights the Genesis creation stories through the language of sonship, image and glory, and the motif of creation's fate being linked to that of humanity; the themes of sonship and creation, in turn, provide connections with other aspects of Israel's story through the divine promises of seed and land.¹⁴⁹ We shall summarize Kirk's argument and draw some implications for the relationship between glory and power.¹⁵⁰

Kirk first highlights glorification as God's goal for believers as an important motif in Romans 8. Next, he demonstrates its connection with the language of image, sonship, creation of humanity and new creation by drawing attention to Paul's understanding in the Corinthian epistles of salvation as transformation to the image and glory of Christ, God's Son who is God's image, as a renewal of creation

¹⁴⁵ Dale C. Allison, *The End of the Ages Has Come: An Early Interpretation of the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1985), 62–66.

¹⁴⁶ Kuss, *Römerbrief*, 2:607-8; Moo, *Romans*, 505–6.

¹⁴⁷ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 137.

¹⁴⁸ Byrne, *Romans*, 257–58; Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 413; Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 470.

¹⁴⁹ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 139.

¹⁵⁰ For details of Kirk's argument, see *ibid.*, 139–49.

(1 Corinthians 15:49; 2 Corinthians 3-5, particularly 3:17-4:7).¹⁵¹ These themes can also be found in Romans, for example, in Romans 1 which depicts the reversal of God's intention "when humanity, created in the image of God for the glorification of God, chooses instead to serve the image of creatures over which humanity was created to rule."¹⁵² In contrast, Romans 8 portrays the new creation as a super-restoration of creation in conjunction with the restoration of the glory of God's image in believers through conformance to the image of Christ, his Son. Next, Kirk highlights the link between sonship and image-bearing in Genesis 1:26-27 and 5:1-3, which suggests equivalence between the two terms within the context of the Genesis creation narratives,¹⁵³ and relates them to Jesus in Luke 3:38 and Colossians 1:15, thus showing their close association with Christ in the early church. After demonstrating the Genesis creation stories as the main link to the image, glory and sonship language in Romans 8, Kirk then shows how these motifs and other themes, such as suffering, fatherhood, inheritance, adoption and being God's vicegerent, can be found in other aspects of Israel's story such as the Abrahamic story, exodus and Davidic monarchy, especially in Psalm 2. Finally, Kirk adds the notion of creation's fate being linked to that of its ruler, as shown in Genesis 1:26-27 and 3:17-19, to the matrix including sonship, image-bearing and rule and shows how they help to tie various aspects of Romans 8 together.¹⁵⁴

Our earlier exploration of Romans 1 has established the close connection between image, glory and rule through a discussion of Genesis 1:26, 28; Psalm 8 and 1 Corinthians 11:7. In particular, we have found that both image and glory have royal connotations which emphasize humanity's role, in bearing the divine image and glory, as God's vicegerent in exercising dominion over the rest of creation (see chapter 4.3). Sonship is now added into this nexus through its association with

¹⁵¹ Kirk (*ibid.*, 140) also highlights Paul's reference to the creation of humanity whereby men are the image and glory of God (1 Corinthians 11:7-8); cf. Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, rev. ed., NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2014), 567–72.

¹⁵² Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 140–41 also notes "the connection between the believer's suffering, as participation in Christ's suffering, and its ultimate goal, the super-restoration of the cosmos in new creation" in Romans 8.

¹⁵³ Cf. Victor P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 1-17*, NICOT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990), 255; Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 142 indicates that he is not "arguing that image (εἰκών) is a technical term for sonship", noting that "its dominant usage in the Septuagint is in reference to idols" (142 n. 38).

¹⁵⁴ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 149–53 further shows how Paul is reinterpreting Jewish eschatological hopes, often in terms of various aspects of Israel's story, by comparing Romans 8 with texts from Qumran (CD-A 3:12-14, 17-20; 1QS 4:20-25), 4 Ezra and other Jewish texts (e.g. 2 Maccabees).

image-bearing; 2 Samuel 7:8, 14 and Psalm 2:8 confirm its inclusion by linking sonship with being God's vicegerent over his people, the nations and the entire cosmos as inheritance.¹⁵⁵ Thus, in being designated son of God through resurrection (and glorification) (1:4), Christ not only realizes God's intention for pre-fall humanity by being his vicegerent over a renewed creation (cf. Genesis 1:26), but also fulfils God's purpose for redeemed humanity as they share his sonship and rule through conformance to his image and glory (8:17, 29-30).¹⁵⁶

In our discussion so far, we have observed the sense of inaugurated glory for believers who have been liberated from the dominion of sin and the law while they await the power of immortality and rule over a renewed creation. The close connections between image, glory and sonship further affirm this understanding with the already-not yet nature of divine sonship (8:14-17, 23). In 2 Corinthians 3:18, Paul expresses a similar understanding of glorification as a process already begun, to be completed at the eschaton. This could explain Paul's use of an aorist tense for δόξαζω in 8:30.¹⁵⁷ However, the fact that some aspects of the believers' glorification still await consummation in the future, together with the theme of the hope of future glory amidst present suffering pervading 8:12-30, could indicate Paul's use of the aorist verb in a proleptic sense to assure believers of the certainty of its fulfilment.¹⁵⁸ Nonetheless the string of aorist verbs in 8:29-30, with foreknowing, predestination and calling as past events, and justification as having occurred (3:23-26; 5:1), tilts the balance towards understanding the aorist tense for δόξαζω in 8:30 as indicating a process already started, to be consummated at the eschaton.¹⁵⁹

The notion of creation's fate being tied to that of its ruler draws our discussion back to 8:18-25 in which the solidarity between creation and believers in terms of suffering and future glory is emphasized: both groan while awaiting redemption (8:21-22, 23); in particular, creation's liberation from corruption is

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 146–47.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 143; cf. Berry, *Glory*, 119–21.

¹⁵⁷ Byrne, *Romans*, 269–70; M. D. Hooker, "Raised for Our Acquittal," in *Resurrection in the New Testament*, ed. R. Bieringer, V. Koperski, and B. Lataire (Leuven: LUP, 2002), 336.

¹⁵⁸ Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 433. Moo, *Romans*, 536 notes that "Paul is looking at the believer's glorification from the standpoint of God, who has already decreed that it should take place." Besides "ἐδόξασεν" in Romans 8:30, Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 563–64 also provides Mark 11:24; John 13:31; 1 Corinthians 7:28 and Revelation 10:7 as examples of the use of the proleptic aorist.

¹⁵⁹ Byrne, *Romans*, 267–70; Hooker, "Raised," 336.

dependent on the believers' glorification as it eagerly awaits the revelation of God's children (8:19, 21).¹⁶⁰ 8:18 emphasizes the insignificance of the present suffering in comparison to the glory about to be revealed "εις ἡμᾶς", which has been interpreted in various ways, such as "in us",¹⁶¹ "to us",¹⁶² "for us",¹⁶³ "upon us"¹⁶⁴ and "unto us".¹⁶⁵ Among them, the two main options are "in us" and "to us"; this will be shown by our exploration of the nature of δόξα in 8:18. First, we note that the γάρ in 8:18, 19 indicates that 8:18 elaborates on the relationship between suffering and glory in 8:17 while 8:19, in fact 8:19-30, provides the grounds for 8:18.¹⁶⁶ The connection between συνδοξάζω and δόξα in 8:17-18 emphasizes the christological nature of δόξα in 8:18 while its qualification by μέλλουσιν indicates its future, imminent aspect. On the other hand, the juxtaposition of "glory" and "sons of God",¹⁶⁷ both used together with "revelation" (ἀποκαλύπτω/ἀποκάλυψις) in 8:18, 19 suggests that glory in 8:18 is related to divine sonship (8:19) which in turn is associated with the power of incorruptibility (8:23) and rule over a renewed creation (8:28-30) as previously discussed.¹⁶⁸ This suggests 8:18 as describing the manifestation of Christ's glory "in" the believers' redeemed bodies and dominion over a restored cosmos.

Harry Hahne has summarized various facets of the concept of the revelation of the sons of God in 8:19. These include the primary aspect of the glorified believers' appearance with Christ at the Parousia, in their resurrected bodies, which consummates their divine adoption, with the public revelation of their identity and true status as God's children.¹⁶⁹ The eschatological orientation of the believers' glorification, the revelation of glory and the manifestation of God's children in 8:17-

¹⁶⁰ Adams, *Constructing*, 181.

¹⁶¹ Byrne, *Romans*, 260.

¹⁶² Lohse, *Römer*, 246 n. 10.

¹⁶³ Moo, *Romans*, 512 n. 21; Klaus Haacker, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer*, THKNT 6 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1999), 163.

¹⁶⁴ Wright, "Romans," 595.

¹⁶⁵ Schlier, *Römerbrief*, 257–58; Sprinkle, "Afterlife in Romans," 217.

¹⁶⁶ Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 408, 410.

¹⁶⁷ See Hahne, *Corruption*, 184–86 for arguments that τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ in 8:19 refers to glorified believers instead of angels, as proposed by Olle Christoffersson, *The Earnest Expectation of the Creature: The Flood-Tradition as Matrix of Romans 8:18-27*, ConBNT 23 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990), 120–24.

¹⁶⁸ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 468, 470 and Hahne, *Corruption*, 183–84 emphasize the sense of ἀποκαλύπτω and ἀποκάλυψις in 8:18, 19 as unveiling or manifestation of an eschatological event or person, in this case glory and the children of God.

¹⁶⁹ Hahne, *Corruption*, 183–84.

19, coupled with the christological nature of glory and the associated notion of the Parousia, suggests an alternative understanding of 8:18 as depicting the manifestation of Christ's glory "to" believers with a powerful transformative effect.¹⁷⁰ This emphasis on the power of Christ's glory to transform believers is akin to the association of divine glory with power in 6:4. Each interpretation of "εἰς ἡμᾶς", i.e. "in us" or "to us", has its own merits and it is difficult to decide between them. In any case, both ways of understanding 8:18, be it the manifestation of Christ's glory "in" believers or "to" believers,¹⁷¹ highlight the association of divine glory with power.

We move on to the next mention of δόξα which occurs in 8:20-21. The γάρ indicates that 8:20-21 provides the reason for creation's eager anticipation for the revelation of God's children (8:19): the manifestation marks the realization of creation's hope of being set free to enjoy the freedom of the glory of God's children as it has been subjected to futility (ματαιότης) and enslaved to corruption (φθορά). According to BDAG, ματαιότης refers to a "state of being without use or value, *emptiness, futility, purposelessness, transitoriness*", in 8:20 "frustration", while φθορά refers to the "breakdown of organic matter, *dissolution, deterioration, corruption*", in 8:21 "decay".¹⁷² Earlier, we have pointed out the allusion of 8:20 to Genesis 3:17-19 in relating God's subjection of creation to futility with his curse on the earth as a result of the primeval couple's sin.¹⁷³ The punishment of death in Genesis 3:19 may also be in view in 8:21 with respect to creation's slavery to corruption, i.e. death and decay; in this case, Paul may be extending the consequences of death due to Adam's sin beyond humanity (cf. 5:12-19) to the rest of creation.¹⁷⁴ The background of Genesis 3:17-19 in 8:20-21 highlights the concept of creation's fate being linked to that of its ruler, i.e. as humanity was granted dominion over creation (Genesis 1:26-28), Adam's sin affected the rest of creation

¹⁷⁰ Sprinkle, "Afterlife in Romans," 217.

¹⁷¹ Susan Eastman, "Whose Apocalypse? The Identity of the Sons of God in Romans 8:19," *JBL* 121 (2002): 265 n. 3 understands εἰς as both "in" and "to."

¹⁷² "Ματαιότης," BDAG, 621; "Φθορά," BDAG, 1054–55.

¹⁷³ See Hahne, *Corruption*, 187–91 for a discussion on various views on who subjected creation to futility and the different meanings of ματαιότης, with his conclusion that "God subjected creation as a judicial pronouncement in response to Adam's fall" and that ματαιότης means that "creation is not able to fulfil the purpose for which it was made."

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 188, 194–95 which also contains a discussion on different views on the meaning of φθορά with Hahne's conclusion that it refers primarily to death and decay in 8:21.

for which he was responsible; creation became frustrated in its purposes and enslaved to corruption, just as fallen humanity is failing to reach its goal of divine glory and is dominated by death.¹⁷⁵

The solidarity between creation and believers also extends to a common hope. This hope is described for believers as “the glory about to be revealed in us” (8:18), “adoption to sonship, the redemption of our body” (8:23), and for creation as “the revelation of the sons of God” (8:19), “the freedom of the glory of the children of God” (8:21). The believers’ hope of divine glory has been elucidated earlier in Romans 5 as sharing in Christ’s resurrection life, i.e. the power of an indestructible life, and in God’s reign, further clarified as Christ’s reign in Romans 8, over a renewed creation. In 8:21, the creation’s hope of enjoying “the freedom of the glory of the children of God” (τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ) is contrasted with its present state of “slavery to corruption” (τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς). Joseph Fitzmyer’s suggestion that φθορά here “denotes not only perishability and putrefaction, but also *powerlessness*, lack of beauty, vitality, and strength that characterize creation’s present condition”¹⁷⁶ [emphasis mine] coheres well with our view of δόξα, expressed here as creation’s hope in opposition to φθορά, as power (of incorruptibility), albeit in a manner appropriate to creation’s non-rational nature.¹⁷⁷ Hahne has reviewed the different ways of understanding the phrase “τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ” and concluded: “The freedom is both an aspect of the eschatological glory (content) and the freedom will result from the glorification of believers (source).”¹⁷⁸ From our discussion on 6:1-7:6, we have found that the believers’ freedom from the power of sin and the law does not imply absolute freedom but a qualified freedom as they are now slaves of God, characterised by obedience, a trait to be found also in their status as God’s children. In a similar manner, creation’s freedom is also qualified, in this case by its submission to believers as they exercise their dominion over a renewed creation that is concomitant with their glorification. Thus we see the δόξα of God’s children here

¹⁷⁵ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 471.

¹⁷⁶ Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 509.

¹⁷⁷ Murray, *Romans*, 1:304.

¹⁷⁸ Hahne, *Corruption*, 197–98.

as referring both to their power of incorruptibility and their rule over a renewed creation that will be realized at the eschaton.¹⁷⁹

The relationship between creation, redeemed humanity and Christ in terms of creation's fate being connected to that of its ruler in Romans 8 has been well expressed by Daniel Kirk:

(1) Jesus, being raised, is the son/image-bearer of God; (2) as such, Jesus is the one who rules the created order on God's behalf (cf. Rom 10:9); (3) redeemed humanity will go the way of its ruler, being conformed to his image in resurrection; therefore (4) creation, too, over which humanity was placed, will participate in eschatological redemption when humanity itself is raised.¹⁸⁰

The mention of believers being conformed to Christ's image draws our attention back to 8:28-30 which contains a "fivefold chain"¹⁸¹ of God's gracious dealings with believers (8:29-30), with the justification of believers as the penultimate link before glorification. This "golden chain" leads on to the assurance of vindication in the eschatological judgment (8:31-34) and that nothing, whether earthly suffering, supernatural powers or anything in creation, will be able to separate believers from God's love in Christ (8:35-39).¹⁸² In this concluding section of assurance to believers, although there is no explicit mention of glory, we observe two instances that point to the believers' future inheritance of a renewed cosmos that is associated with their future glorification.

The opening question of 8:31 suggests 8:31-39 to be the conclusion to "these things" which could refer to Paul's discussion on the gospel in 1:18-8:30,¹⁸³ the blessings to believers in 5:1-8:30¹⁸⁴ or more likely, God's acts for Christians in

¹⁷⁹ Berry, *Glory*, 136–39 argues for the theme of glory, in this case the glory of God's children as the focus of the groaning of creation, believers and the Spirit, and also of the Spirit's intercession that links 8:26-27 to the rest of 8:17-30.

¹⁸⁰ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 149.

¹⁸¹ Cranfield, *Romans 1-8*, 432.

¹⁸² Moo, *Romans*, 538–39; Kruse, *Romans*, 364.

¹⁸³ Kruse, *Romans*, 359–60.

¹⁸⁴ Käsemann, *Romans*, 246; Moo, *Romans*, 539.

Christ.¹⁸⁵ In 8:32, Paul grounds the future divine gift¹⁸⁶ of all things (τὰ πάντα) to believers on God's past act of giving up his own son for them, possibly alluding to Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac in which Isaac was spared while Christ was not.¹⁸⁷ While "τὰ πάντα" could refer to all the benefits of salvation,¹⁸⁸ in view of the close proximity of the discussion on the believers' joint inheritance with Christ of a restored cosmos (8:17-23), it most likely refers to the believers' future reign with Christ over a renewed creation that is associated with their eschatological glorification with Christ (8:28-30).¹⁸⁹

As Paul continues his argument that nothing, neither earthly suffering nor worldly powers, will be able to separate believers from God's love in Christ (8:35-39), he cites Psalm 44:23 (ET 44:22; LXX 43:23) in reference to the believers' suffering. Psalm 44 begins with a recollection of God's acts for his people relating to their possession of the Promised Land, that form the basis of the psalmist's declaration of trust in God's deliverance (44:1-9).¹⁹⁰ However, their present predicament of defeat, shame and exile despite their faithfulness leads them to understand their undeserved suffering as for God's sake (44:10-23). The psalm concludes with a petition for God's deliverance based on his יְהוָה (44:24-27) or for the sake of his name (LXX 43:27).

Earlier Paul has enlarged the promise of land to Abraham to the whole world (4:13) and further depicted it as the restored cosmos that forms the inheritance of God's children who are glorified with the resurrected Christ (8:17-23).¹⁹¹ Recalling Paul's portrayal of God's love for believers as being demonstrated through Christ's death and resurrection (5:8-10), one of Paul's aims in citing Psalm 44:23 could be to assure believers that as they suffer with Christ, they can be certain that tribulations

¹⁸⁵ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 153.

¹⁸⁶ As shown by the future tense of χαρίζομαι (χαρίσεται) in 8:32.

¹⁸⁷ Wilckens, *Römer*, 2:172-73; Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 501; Kruse, *Romans*, 360.

¹⁸⁸ Kruse, *Romans*, 360-61.

¹⁸⁹ See Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 502 for arguments that "τὰ πάντα" refers to a restored creation.

¹⁹⁰ Summary of Psalm 44 adapted from James Luther Mays, *Psalms*, Interpretation (Louisville, KY: John Knox, 1994), 176-80.

¹⁹¹ Wright, "Romans," 591.

will not thwart “the consummation of God’s love for them in the resurrection glory of the new creation inheritance”¹⁹² (8:37).

In Romans 8:12-39, as Paul reinterprets Jewish eschatological hopes around Jesus, the future glorification of believers with Christ emerges as an important motif. This in turn is viewed as the consummation of the believers’ adoptive sonship by the Spirit who transforms and empowers them to be children of God who glorify him through their obedience. In our exploration of this section of Romans, we have found that the association of eschatological glory with the power of incorruptibility and rule over a restored cosmos reverberates throughout various facets of Paul’s discussion. These include the believers’ and creation’s hope of future glory amidst present suffering, the reversal of fallen humanity’s predicament of the forfeiture of the power of incorruptibility and rule, creation’s fate being linked to that of its ruler, the fulfilment of God’s purpose for humanity to serve as vicegerents over creation as they share Jesus’ sonship and rule through their conformance to his image, and last but not least, the assurance to believers that nothing will frustrate the consummation of God’s love in Christ for them in their future resurrection glory with the new creation as inheritance.

6.5 Conclusion

Our journey on glory began with the identification of glory and power as important themes; an early association between them was observed where Paul’s denial of shame in the gospel was rooted in its function as divine power for salvation and that Jesus’ glorification flowed from the Messiah’s burgeoning rule over the Gentiles, expressed in their obedience of faith. The link between glory and power was further noted in the association of divine glory with God’s eternal power and deity, and in the implications of fallen humanity’s suppression of the truth in unrighteousness, expressed in their failure to glorify God and exchange of divine glory for idolatry, and resulting punishment. These include rebellion against God,

¹⁹² Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 156 also argues that in Paul’s citation of Psalm 44, he has transformed “the past event of God’s faithfulness” from his gift of the Promised Land to Israel to “what God has done in bringing his (redefined) son into his promised inheritance through his death and resurrection.”

surrender of rule over creation and the power of incorruptibility, domination by alien powers and a broken divine-human relationship.

As Paul narrows the focus of his condemnation on the Jews, further observations from his discussion on humanity's subsequent quest for glory, incorruptibility and peace strengthened the relationship between glory and power. Glory is associated with the power of immortality through its correlation with incorruptibility and eternal life as reward for Christian obedience. The juxtaposition of glory and peace as divine recompense also reflects the social nature of glory with the understanding of peace as well-being in all aspects, including a harmonious divine-human relationship. Paul's efforts to convince his Jewish interlocutor of Israel's sinfulness exposes the irony of the Jewish boast, in its pride in the Law, in its self-glorifying and confidence in divine vindication based on obedience to the Torah; Israel's disobedience to the Law has instead resulted in God's dishonour in showing him to be weak and powerless. Paul's dialogue with his Jewish interlocutor also highlighted the relationship between God's glory and his character of faithfulness, righteousness and truth, and revealed an important dynamic at work: God's righteousness and faithfulness, despite human faithlessness and sin, abounds to his glory – we will find this dynamic at work in greater clarity in Romans 9-11.

In turning the spotlight on the solution to the problem of human sin, Paul indicts all humanity for having sinned, resulting in the lack of divine glory and failure to reach it as a goal. This lack of glory is associated with the loss of power of incorruptibility and with domination by sin. Christ's death as atoning sacrifice breaks sin's power, by providing expiation and propitiation, leading to justification, by faith apart from works, as prerequisite for glorification and as ruling out all Jewish boasting.

Paul then argues from the Jewish Scriptures that Abraham was justified by faith, not by works, regarding God's promise of a multinational progeny and cosmic inheritance. The connection between glory and power is seen in Abraham's glorification of God by acknowledging and deferring to God's creative-resurrective power which overcomes Abraham's situation of "death", resulting in his "resurrection" in the person of Isaac; this in turns points to the believers'

eschatological glory as restoration of the power of incorruptibility. Paul's argument on the cosmic inheritance being granted by faith further strengthens the link between glory and power in enabling us to understand the believers' eschatological glorification as rule over a renewed creation.

Glory and power language continue to permeate Paul's discussion on the blessings of justification by faith and the Adam-Christ contrast. The consequences of Adam's trespass are depicted in terms associated with fallen humanity's loss of glory – a ruptured relationship with God, powerlessness and rule by sin and death. Christ's greater justifying work enables believers to boast in the hope of glory that is depicted as sharing in Christ's resurrection life with the associated power of incorruptibility and rule over a restored cosmos. Subsequent chapters continue to depict the believers' glorification inaugurated by Christ's resurrection in power terms – liberation from the reigns of sin, the law and death.

In Romans 6-7, life in the old Adamic age, associated with fallen humanity's lack of glory, is characterised as domination by the triumvirate of sin, death and the law. The law, though spiritual, is powerless to give life to fleshly humanity by liberating it from bondage to sin and death and enabling it to obey God and thus glorify him. Through participation in Christ's death and resurrection, believers are freed from the tyranny of this triumvirate and transferred to the new christological age where their share in the benefits of Christ's death and resurrection conveys a sense of inaugurated glory. Indeed God's glory is the power of the new age that raised Christ from the dead, and empowers Christians in their new life of heartfelt obedience and fruit bearing that results in holiness and eternal life, and in the eschatological battle against sin. Parallels between 6:4; 7:6 and 1:4 demonstrate and foreshadow the Spirit's role as agent of sonship, power and resurrection for Christ and believers in Romans 8, and further strengthen the correlation between glory and power.

In Romans 8, connections between glory and power continue to permeate Paul's discussion of life in the Spirit and reinterpretation of Jewish eschatological hopes around Jesus. The Spirit, through God's work in Christ, overcomes the flesh, sin and death, inaugurating the restoration of glory in believers and enabling them to

glorify God in obedience. The already-not yet nature of glorification is seen in the believer's paradoxical existence as mortal and yet eternally alive. As agent of divine sonship, the Spirit transforms and empowers believers to be God's children; this sonship is consummated in their future glorification that is linked with the power of incorruptibility and eschatological reign over a restored cosmos. Indeed the association of future glory with power in these two ways forms a refrain in various aspects of Paul's discussion in Romans 8. These include redeemed humanity's and creation's common hope of glory, the reversal of fallen humanity's plight, creation's fate being connected to that of its ruler, the fulfilment of God's purpose for humanity and the assurance to believers of the consummation of God's purpose for them despite appearances to the contrary in the form of suffering. Paul's vision of future glory for believers and creation exacerbates the present plight of unbelieving Israel; his discussion on the problem of Israel's unbelief in Romans 9-11 will form the next phase of our "glorious" journey.

Chapter 7 Glory and the Plight of Israel (Romans 9-11)

7.1 Glory as Divine Promise and Purpose (9:1-29)

Recent scholarship has agreed that Romans 9-11, in which Paul discusses God's dealings with Israel amidst the present crisis of widespread Jewish unbelief in Christ (3:3; 9:32-33; 11:20, 23), forms an integral part of the letter and not an excursus to Paul's main argument.¹ At the same time, John Barclay has highlighted several apparent inconsistencies in Paul's argument in Romans 9-11 and has argued for God's incongruous grace/mercy as the central motif that provides coherency to Paul's discussion regarding Israel's constitution in the past (9:6-29), her present predicament (9:30-10:21) and hope for her future salvation (11:1-32).²

In 9:1-5, Paul expresses great sorrow over the plight of his Jewish brethren, whose salvation is at risk (10:1) due to their unbelief in Christ. In response to this crisis, Paul enumerates God's promises and privileges to Israel, which to Paul are irrevocable (9:6; 11:1-2, 29); he will go on to show how these promises are to be realized.³ Nestled within the list of privileges and promises is δόξα; its use in an absolute form without any modifier in 9:4 has been observed to be unusual, with no clear example in the Hebrew Scriptures or Rabbinic texts.⁴ The reason for the absolute form of δόξα could be stylistic, as shown below where the two groups of three privileges in the relative clause of 9:4 exhibit assonance:⁵

<p>ὧν ἡ υἰοθεσία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ αἱ διαθήκαι καὶ ἡ νομοθεσία καὶ ἡ λατρεία καὶ αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι</p>

Figure 11: Assonance in the Two Groups of Privileges in Romans 9:4

¹ Wilckens, *Römer*, 2:181-83; James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, WBC 38B (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1988), 519; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 541; Byrne, *Romans*, 282-83; Moo, *Romans*, 547-52; Lohse, *Römer*, 263; C. E. B. Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, ICC (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 445-47.

² See Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 520-61.

³ *Ibid.*, 522; Moo, *Romans*, 555.

⁴ Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, 462; Moo, *Romans*, 563 n. 43.

⁵ John Piper, *The Justification of God: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Romans 9:1-23*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1993), 21; Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 522, 526.

There are two main ways of understanding δόξα in 9:4, either as the manifestation of God’s presence to Israel (e.g. Exodus 16:10; 24:16-17; 40:34-35; 1 Kings 8:10-11; 2 Chronicles 7:1-2),⁶ or as Israel’s eschatological hope, i.e. the eschatological divine glory that Israel was to participate in, in view of the motif of glory in Romans.⁷ John Piper has argued convincingly that δόξα in 9:4 refers to the future eschatological glory; we shall outline his arguments.⁸

Against the likelihood of δόξα in 9:4 as referring to God’s presence, Piper highlights the occurrence of the term δόξα over seventy times in the Pauline (fifty-seven times) and Deutero-Pauline (twenty times) letters, but it refers to an OT theophany only in one passage (2 Corinthians 3:7-11; eight times). Next, the absolute usage of δόξα without any modifier (as in 9:4) frequently denotes future eschatological glory (Romans 2:7, 10; 8:18; 9:23; 2 Corinthians 4:17; Colossians 1:27; 3:4; 2 Timothy 2:10). Third, Paul’s indication in 2:10 that God will render “δόξα ... Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἑλληνι” suggests that eschatological glory was Israel’s special privilege. This notion is further corroborated in 9:23-24, where “οὐ μόνον ἐξ Ἰουδαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ἔθνῶν” indicates that Paul’s readers are expected to view the Jews as part of the “σκεύη ἐλέους ἃ προητοιμάσεν εἰς δόξαν” because of his earlier statement that (eschatological) glory is an Israelite privilege (9:4). Next, the use of δόξα in 8:18 (absolutely as in 9:4) to refer to future eschatological glory, and in 8:21, with “τέκνα θεοῦ”, links δόξα with the eschatological υἰοθεσία of 8:23 (see chapter 6.4). Paul’s subsequent utilization of υἰοθεσία and δόξα in 9:4 to begin the list of Israelite privileges suggests that both terms “look to the future with roots in the past”.⁹ Finally, the eschatological manifestation of divine glory to and for Israel was an important aspect of Israel’s eschatological hope as expressed in the Jewish prophetic texts (e.g. Isaiah 40:5; 43:7; 60:1-2; 66:18-19; Jeremiah 13:11; Haggai 2:7, 9; Zechariah 2:9 [ET 2:5]) and apocalyptic writings (e.g. 4 Ezra 7:91-98; 2 Baruch 21:23-26; 51:1-10), also evidenced in Simeon’s statement in Luke 2:32; this suggests that Paul would similarly link Israel’s glory with divine eschatological

⁶ Michel, *Römer*, 295; Käsemann, *Romans*, 258–59; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 546.

⁷ Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 534; Piper, *Justification*, 33–34; Jewett, *Romans*, 563.

⁸ Piper, *Justification*, 33–34.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 34.

glory. Thus there are good reasons to view δόξα in 9:4 as a reference to divine eschatological glory as Israel's privilege and eschatological hope.

At the same time, Donald Berry has highlighted that the notion of divine presence should not be excluded from the understanding of δόξα as eschatological glory as God's presence that was manifested to the Israelites in the OT is what he plans to share with his people.¹⁰ Hence δόξα in 9:4 probably refers to "God's manifest presence with Israel and to Israel's eschatological glory."¹¹ Our discussion shall focus on this aspect of δόξα as the promise of sharing in God's glory as an eschatological blessing for Israel, and its association with power.

From our earlier discussion, we have observed Paul's use of δόξα, with and without modifiers, to refer to the believers' future eschatological glory (2:7, 10; 5:2; 8:18, 21; 9:23) which we have identified to be associated with the power of incorruptibility and reign (see chapters 4.4, 6.1 and 6.4). We have also observed similar connections between eschatological glory and power in other Second Temple Jewish writings (*GLAE*; 1 Enoch 62:15-16; 1QM 12:7-16) that express Jewish eschatological hopes (see chapters 3.5 and 3.6). As such, δόξα in 9:4 is associated with the power of incorruptibility and reign as in the Jewish eschatological hope.

This aspect of δόξα as the common hope of both Jews and Christians highlights the observation that five of the six Jewish privileges in the relative clause in 9:4, all except νομοθεσία, are connected with the blessings of Christians in the Pauline corpus.¹² This likely reflects Paul's emphasis on the continuity between God's blessings to Christians and the divine privileges to Jews,¹³ both derived from God's mercy and goodness (11:17-24). The twofold reason for this emphasis could be to warn Gentile Christians not to boast against unbelieving Jews, since they are both dependent on God's goodness and mercy (11:17-24), and to provoke Jews to

¹⁰ Berry, *Glory*, 164 further indicates that divine glory refers to "his presence and person, character and nature."

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 165; cf. Moo, *Romans*, 563; Sprinkle, "Afterlife in Romans," 227.

¹² Thomas H. Tobin, *Paul's Rhetoric in Its Contexts: The Argument of Romans* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004), 304. Of the five Jewish privileges, διαθήκη is associated with Christians outside Romans (1 Corinthians 11:25) while the rest, νομοθεσία (8:15, 23; Galatians 4:5), δόξα (5:2; 8:18, 21; 1 Corinthians 2:7), λατρεία (12:1) and ἐπαγγελία (4:13-14, 16; 2 Corinthians 1:20), are connected with Christians within Romans.

¹³ *Ibid.*

jealousy, leading them to salvation (11:11, 14) as they see Gentile Christians enjoying the divine blessings promised to them.¹⁴

The next occurrence of glory language can be found within the potter analogy (9:19-23), which is an extension of the third example of divine choice between Moses and Pharaoh (9:14-18), the first two being Isaac as a child of promise (9:6-9) and between Jacob and Esau (9:10-13).¹⁵ Barclay and Dunn have emphasized that 9:6-29 focuses on how election works and not on who the elect are; Barclay further highlights the process of election as fundamental to Israel's identity.¹⁶ In view of the parallels between Exodus 32-34 and Romans 9-11, especially on the motif of divine mercy, several scholars have explored the "theological dynamics of Exodus 32-34" to clarify Paul's discussion of divine mercy in Romans 9-11.¹⁷ Barclay, in highlighting 9:15-16 as Paul's elucidation on the process of election with respect to Israel's constitution, has pointed out some aspects that are useful for our understanding of 9:22-23. First, Paul's citation of Exodus 33:19, with "the future tense, the divine 'I', and the undefined object of mercy", in 9:15 emphasizes the indeterminate nature of divine mercy.¹⁸ Next is Paul's understanding of divine mercy as God's creative power that "*re-constitute*[s] Israel after she has lost her covenant status" in the aftermath of the Golden Calf crisis.¹⁹ This understanding of divine mercy as God's creative power follows the pattern of the first two examples whereby God's promise, in "birthing" Isaac (9:8), and God's call (9:12) are both instantiations of God's creative power (cf. 4:17-21).²⁰

¹⁴ See Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 548–53 for details and arguments for the root in the olive tree analogy in Romans 11 as referring to God's calling/election, mercy/grace and kindness.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 529; cf. Jean-Noël Aletti, "L'argumentation paulinienne en Rm 9," *Bib* 68 (1987): 41–56 for a structural analysis of 9:6-29.

¹⁶ John M. G. Barclay, "'I Will Have Mercy on Whom I Have Mercy': The Golden Calf and Divine Mercy in Romans 9–11 and Second Temple Judaism," *EC* 1 (2010): 98; Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 539–40.

¹⁷ Barclay, "Golden Calf," 82–106; Piper, *Justification*, 75–89; J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul "In Concert" in the Letter to the Romans*, NovTSup 101 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 51–56. For an account of the "theological" and "narrative dynamics of Exodus 32-34" with an emphasis on God's self-revelation of his identity/nature as merciful/gracious which renews the covenant, reconstitutes Israel and ensures Israel's future in the aftermath of the Golden Calf incident, see Barclay, "Golden Calf," 84–87.

¹⁸ Barclay, "Golden Calf," 86, 100.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 100.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 98–99; Beverly Roberts Gaventa, "On the Calling-Into-Being of Israel: Romans 9:6-29," in *Between Gospel and Election: Explorations in the Interpretation of Romans 9-11*, ed. Florian Wilk and J. Ross Wagner, WUNT 257 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 259–63.

Conversely, Pharaoh's hardening by God seems to function as a foil to Moses' experience of divine mercy, both as acts of God's free choice and will (9:17-18).²¹ In Paul's citation of Exodus 9:16 in Romans 9:17, God's δύναμις can be viewed as his redemptive/salvific power by which he delivered Israel from Egypt, and God's ὄνομα as his nature of being merciful/gracious (cf. Exodus 33:19; 34:6-7), thus creating a link back to 9:15.²² On the other hand, we have noted earlier William Ford's argument that God's demonstration of power in Exodus 9:16, when read in the context of Exodus 9:13-19, refers to God's show of power through restraint, i.e. mercy, in not destroying the Egyptians (Exodus 9:15), in contrast to Pharaoh's exercise of power over Israel through domination (see chapter 3.2.1).²³ Of the two parallels cited by Ford in support of his understanding of God's demonstration of power through mercy, of interest to us is the example in Exodus 33-34 where God's response to Moses' request for him to "show me your glory" (Exodus 33:18), which parallels God's "show you my power" to Pharaoh, is the proclamation of the divine name (Exodus 33:19; 34:6-7), which is also the second purpose of Exodus 9:16.²⁴ Indeed, Paul seems to link Exodus 33:19 and 9:16 together in Romans 9:14-18; this may hint at Pharaoh as the object of both divine hardening and mercy which is similar to the situation of most of Israel in Paul's time (11:25-31).

The foregoing analysis enables us to have a better understanding of the potter analogy (9:19-23), in which glory language (τιμή, ἀτιμία) is first used to describe the purpose of the vessels. Paul asserts the potter's right (ἐξουσία) to use the clay according to his will/purpose (9:21) as the third counter-question to the question regarding human accountability in view of the irresistible divine will/purpose (9:19).²⁵ In 9:21, τιμή and ἀτιμία refer to the purpose for which the vessels were

²¹ Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 553–55, 563–64.

²² *Ibid.*, 553–54, 563.

²³ Ford, *God, Pharaoh and Moses*, 30–76, in particular 60-70. Ford's argument is based on understanding the divine action toward Pharaoh in Exodus 9:16 as "I have sustained you" instead of "I raised you up" as cited in Romans 9:17; both are valid interpretations of the Hebrew term חַיֵּינוּךְ in Exodus 9:16. Paul could have either changed the LXX term *διετηρήθης* in Exodus 9:16 to *ἐξήγειρά σε*, or he could have adopted his translation from the Hebrew, to strengthen the notion of the sovereignty of God's purpose (see Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, 485–87) while at the same time maintaining the notion of divine power as mercy.

²⁴ Ford, *God, Pharaoh and Moses*, 65.

²⁵ Jewett, *Romans*, 590–92, 594–95.

created, one perhaps as “an elegant decanter for wine” (εἰς τιμὴν) and the other as a ‘common “chamber pot”’ (εἰς ἀτιμίαν).²⁶

The comparison between the two types of vessel continues into 9:22-24, with a shift from equivalence between the two vessels to a focus on teleology (God’s purposes, cf. 9:17).²⁷ Romans 9:22-24 has been identified as a paraphrase of Exodus 9:16, as shown in the table below, with the corresponding elements numbered accordingly:²⁸

Exodus 9:16 (cited in Romans 9:17)	Romans 9:22-24
(1a) εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο (2a) ἐξήγειρά σε (3a) ὅπως ἐνδείξωμαι ἐν σοὶ τὴν <u>δύναμίν</u> μου (4a) καὶ ὅπως διαγγελῆ τὸ ὄνομά μου (5a) ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῆ.	(1b) εἰ δὲ θέλων ὁ θεὸς (3b) ἐνδείξασθαι τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ γνωρίσαι τὸ <u>δυνατὸν</u> αὐτοῦ (2b) ἤνεγκεν ἐν πολλῇ μακροθυμίᾳ σκεύη ὀργῆς κατηρτισμένα εἰς ἀπόλειαν, (4b) καὶ ἵνα γνωρίσῃ τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς δόξης ²⁹ αὐτοῦ (5b) ἐπὶ σκεύη ἐλέους ἃ προητοίμασεν εἰς δόξαν; Οὕς καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς οὐ μόνον ἐξ Ἰουδαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ἐθνῶν,

Figure 12: Correspondences between Exodus 9:16 and Romans 9:22-24

In 9:22, the two divine purposes of the demonstration of wrath and power find their parallel in Romans 1 with the revelation of God’s wrath (1:18) and with God’s power being seen in creation (1:20). Romans 1 also refers to the salvific nature of God’s power (1:16) and perhaps also of Jesus’ power (1:4). However, it may be unwise to posit a clear distinction between God’s power as creative and as salvific since they are closely linked with Paul’s view of salvation as new creation (cf. 2 Corinthians 4-5; Romans 4:17; 8:14-30, see chapters 5.2 and 6.4). Comparing

²⁶ Ibid., 594–95.

²⁷ See Francis Watson, *Paul, Judaism, and the Gentiles: Beyond the New Perspective*, rev. and expanded (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007), 314–17 for the change from “equivalence to teleology.”

²⁸ Table adapted from *ibid.*, 315–16.

²⁹ The variant χρηστότητος in P (sy^p) could be an “unconscious or deliberate echo of 2:4” (τοῦ πλούτου τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ) (Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 550), probably because χρηστότητος “gives a more obvious sense” (Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, 496 n. 3).

elements of Paul's paraphrase of Exodus 9:16 in Romans 9:22 (see 3a and 3b in table) also supports the understanding of divine power in 9:22 as God's redemptive power or mercy as indicated in our earlier discussion on 9:17-18. The fact that God "ἤνεγκεν ἐν πολλῇ μακροθυμίᾳ σκεύη ὀργῆς" further emphasizes the notion of mercy (cf. 2:4).³⁰

Relating the third divine purpose of making known "the wealth/abundance of his glory" (τὸν πλοῦτον³¹ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ) in 9:23 with its corresponding element of the proclamation of the divine name (τὸ ὄνομά μου) in Exodus 9:16 indicates that δόξα here is associated with God's name, which in turn is expressed in his character of being merciful/gracious, as seen in our discussion on 9:17-18. The genitive in "σκεύη ἐλέους" likely denotes "those in and through whom God displays his mercy", indicating the divine purpose of mercy in making known "the wealth of his glory" which strengthens the association of divine glory with mercy.³² God's mercy can be further understood as God's creative power, as suggested by Barclay in our discussion of 9:15-16 regarding Israel's reconstitution after the Golden Calf incident; this points to the association of divine glory with power. This understanding of divine mercy as creative power is reinforced by 9:24-26, where with reference to Gentile believers as vessels of mercy, God calls (creates) something ("my people" and "sons of the living God") out of nothing ("not my people").³³ The predestinarian sense of προετοιμάζω in the phrase "ἐπὶ σκεύη ἐλέους ἃ προητοίμασεν εἰς δόξαν" recalls προορίζω in 8:29-30 concerning the predestination of believers to be conformed to Christ's image and glory, which we have observed to refer to believers sharing Christ's sonship and rule over a renewed creation (see chapter 6.4). As such, δόξα here probably refers to the believers' sovereign power. On the other hand, the antithetically parallel phrase "σκεύη ὀργῆς κατηρτισμένα εἰς ἀπώλειαν" in 9:22, with ἀπώλεια as the antithesis of δόξα could indicate δόξα as referring to the power of incorruptibility. Since the nature of δόξα here is likely to be eschatological, it is not surprising for both notions of power to be present.

³⁰ Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, 494–95.

³¹ "Πλοῦτος," BDAG, 832 indicate that πλοῦτος here refers to a "plentiful supply of someth., a wealth, abundance"; the reference of πλοῦτος to abundance can also be found in 11:12, 33.

³² Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 560.

³³ Barclay, "Golden Calf," 102; Gaventa, "Calling-Into-Being," 267.

At the same time, the use of “τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ” in 9:23 also suggests God making known “the *wealth/abundance* of his glory” upon vessels of mercy by *sharing his glory*, and thus power, with them, thereby beginning the process of glorification that culminates in *the believers’ eschatological glory* as they share Christ’s glory, i.e. his reign and power of incorruptibility.³⁴ This notion of divine generosity is strengthened by the use of πλουτέω, a cognate of πλοῦτος, in 10:12 to refer to Jesus “being rich and generous (πλουτῶν) to all ...”, i.e. “who gives of his wealth generously to all ...”.³⁵ A similar dynamic to 9:23 can be observed in 5:12-21 where *believers who receive the abundance of divine grace* (5:17), thus coming under *the reign of superabundant divine grace* (5:20-21), *will reign in life* (5:17), which is connected with the *hope of glory* (see chapter 6.1).

In summary, the emphasis of 9:22-24 seems to be on God’s display of mercy on the vessels of wrath, enduring them with patience and perhaps recreating some of them into vessels of mercy in the future, and on the vessels of mercy.³⁶ This is reinforced by the observation of 9:22-23 as a protasis without an apodosis that resolves the fate of both vessels; rather, 9:22-23 continues into 9:24 with the identification of the vessels of mercy as both Jewish and Gentile believers.³⁷ Nonetheless, we must not overlook the fact of the divine hardening of Pharaoh and the demonstration of wrath on the vessels of wrath made ready for destruction, with both Pharaoh and the vessels of wrath referring to unbelieving Jews and Gentiles. Barclay’s comments regarding the duality of Romans 9 are apropos:

It is only because God can be seen as responsible for hardening that it can also be hoped, with firm confidence, that he will recreate Israel in mercy. Placing God’s mercy against the background of God’s own hardening/rejection is necessary to show that God’s mercy reaches into a humanly irresolvable plight, and thus to clarify that it is divine power alone that is the source of salvation.³⁸

³⁴ See chapters 6.2 and 6.3 for a discussion on the notion of inaugurated eschatological glory and its implications for the restoration of glory, which is linked to power, for believers.

³⁵ “Πλουτέω,” BDAG, 831.

³⁶ Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, 492–98; Jewett, *Romans*, 595–99.

³⁷ Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 533–34. For the exegetical issues in 9:22-23, see Wilckens, *Römer*, 2:202-5; Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 558–61.

³⁸ Barclay, “Golden Calf,” 101 n. 62.

In Paul's enumeration of God's promises and privileges to Israel, we find δόξα associated with power as promise, with δόξα referring to the future eschatological glory as a share in the divine glory which is associated with the power of incorruptibility and reign. We find similar correlations between δόξα and power in Paul's discussion of divine mercy in the potter analogy with respect to the vessels of mercy. As "the wealth of divine glory" made known to them, δόξα refers both to divine mercy as creative power, and to divine glory as power which God shares with believers as the inauguration of the process of glorification. As the divine purpose for them, δόξα refers to eschatological glory as the power of incorruptibility and reign. Paul's discussion of the calling of Gentiles and believing Jews as a remnant (9:24-29) provides a transition for him to examine Israel's present predicament (9:30-10:21) where glory language is associated with the "stone of stumbling", in whom the person who believes "οὐ κατασχυνθήσεται" (9:33; 10:11).

7.2 The Rock that Does Not Put to Shame (9:30-10:21)

Paul begins his discussion of Israel's failure to obtain righteousness (9:30-10:4) by highlighting the ironical situation in which Israel, as the runners in a race, pursuing the law of righteousness, did not arrive at the law whereas Gentiles, as non-runners, have attained righteousness by faith (9:30-31).³⁹ Paul attributes Israel's failure to their stumbling over the stumbling-stone which is further characterised by an amalgamation of Isaiah 8:14 and 28:16 (9:32-33).⁴⁰ Ross Wagner has argued that LXX Isaiah 8:14 and 28:16 refer to God's promise that those who trust in him will be vindicated and delivered from his judgment in the impending Assyrian crisis facing Judah; they will not encounter him as a stumbling-stone (8:14) or be put to shame (28:16).⁴¹ In Paul's conflation of Isaiah 8:14 and 28:16 in 9:33, he has changed the referent of the stone to Jesus (as confirmed by his re-citation of Isaiah 28:16 in 10:11 where "ἐπ' αὐτῷ" refers to Jesus) and transposed God's judgment to an eschatological context (with the juxtaposition of "οὐ κατασχυνθήσεται" in 9:33

³⁹ Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 537 suggests that "τέλος νόμου" in 10:4 is best understood as the Law's "goal" or "fulfilment" (cf. 537 n. 38).

⁴⁰ See *ibid.*, 538 for an elaboration of Israel's stumbling in different ways. See Wagner, *Heralds*, 126–55 for a discussion on Paul's conflation of Isaiah 8:14 and 28:16 in Romans 9:33.

⁴¹ Wagner, *Heralds*, 136–51.

and 10:11, with eschatological salvation in 10:1 and 10:13).⁴² In Paul's discussion, we find "οὐ καταισχυνθήσεται" in 9:33 being associated with δικαιοσύνη (9:30; 10:4), both resulting from faith. Hence faith in Christ is the means to deliverance from shame, i.e. obtaining vindication/righteousness (9:33), and salvation (10:1) at God's eschatological judgment.⁴³

The next occurrence of glory language can be found at 10:11 in which 10:11-13 provides scriptural warrants for the soteriological principles in 10:9-10, i.e. righteousness and salvation result from heart-belief in Jesus' resurrection and mouth-confession of Jesus' lordship, 10:9-13 itself being an exposition of Deuteronomy 30:14 as cited by Paul in 10:8.⁴⁴ Daniel Kirk has argued for Paul's quotation of Deuteronomy 30:12-14 in 10:6-8 regarding Jesus' incarnation and resurrection as the content of the gospel (cf. 1:3-4), with the reference of 10:6 to Deuteronomy 8:17 and 9:4 ("μὴ εἴπῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου") emphasizing the fact that salvation is enabled by God's power and righteousness, not humanity's.⁴⁵ Drawing the threads of 10:6-10 together gives the overall message of the gospel as God's power, i.e. life-creating power that resurrected Jesus (10:9, cf. 1:4; 4:17), for salvation in the revelation of righteousness to everyone who believes, which recalls the thematic statement in 1:16-17.⁴⁶ Paul's addition of πᾶς to the quotation of Isaiah 28:16 in 10:11 (πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων) not only emphasizes the universality implicit in Isaiah 28:16 but also creates a correspondence to "παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι" (1:16; 10:4), reinforcing the link with 1:16-17.⁴⁷ Indeed, it is Paul's confidence in the gospel as God's power for salvation and righteousness to all through faith in Jesus that leads him to repudiate shame both now and in the eschaton (1:16-17; 10:6-11).⁴⁸ As in 9:33, "οὐ καταισχυνθήσεται" in 10:11 is once again associated with δικαιοσύνη (10:10), both

⁴² See C. Kavin Rowe, "Romans 10:13: What Is the Name of the Lord?," *HBT* 22 (2000): 142–45 for arguments that "ἐπ' αὐτῷ" in 10:11 refers to Jesus and that καταισχυνθήσεται in 9:33 and 10:11 refers to "eschatological shame in the face of God's judgment."

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁴⁴ Wagner, *Heralds*, 168; Mark A. Seifrid, "Romans," in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, ed. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic; Nottingham: Apollos, 2007), 659.

⁴⁵ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 165–72.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 174.

⁴⁷ The addition of πᾶς to the Isaiah quotation in 10:11 could be influenced by "παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι" in 10:4 (Wagner, *Heralds*, 169), or the Joel quotation in 10:13 (James W. Aageson, "Scripture and Structure in the Development of the Argument in Romans 9-11," *CBQ* 48 [1986]: 276); Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 176.

⁴⁸ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 176.

resulting from faith (cf. 10:6).⁴⁹ The series of γάρ statements in 10:12-13 further indicate that Christ's universal lordship (10:12) establishes the confidence of *all* who have faith in him for righteousness and salvation.⁵⁰

The occurrence of glory language in 9:30-10:21 is not limited to the two quotations of Isaiah 28:16. Paul's mention of Jesus being rich and generous (πλουτῶν) to all who call on (ἐπικαλουμένους) him in 10:12 recalls 9:23-24 where God makes known the wealth (πλοῦτον) of his glory by sharing it with those he has called (ἐκάλεσεν). This link suggests that Jesus being rich and generous to all who call on him (10:12) is associated with Jesus sharing his glory with them (cf. 8:17). With the association of salvation with glorification, 10:13 further affirms the connection between Jesus' generosity and the sharing of his glory with a citation of LXX Joel 3:5 where being saved corresponds to the experience of Christ's generosity in the sharing of his glory.⁵¹ Furthermore, the full text of LXX Joel 3:5⁵² indicates that those who call on the name of the Lord are those who have been called by him,⁵³ thus reinforcing the connection with 9:23-24.

Paul's use of "πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων" in 10:11 also creates a parallel with "πάντας τοὺς πιστεύοντας" in 3:22; this further strengthens the connection between "οὐ κατασχυνθήσεται" and δικαιοσύνη (3:22), and alerts us to other parallels between 10:11-13 and 3:1-31, particularly 3:9 (Ἰουδαίους τε καὶ Ἕλληνας), 22-23 (οὐ γάρ ἐστιν διαστολή), 29-30 where "εἷς ὁ θεός" who justifies all through faith corresponds to "ὁ αὐτὸς κύριος" who saves all through faith. Through a comparison between the two passages, we find the bad news of universal human sin and lack of divine glory (3:9, 22-23) being replaced by the good news that all have the same Lord (3:29-30; 10:12), who vindicates/justifies all through faith (3:30; 10:11) and shares his glory generously with them (10:12-13, cf. 9:23-24) such that they suffer no shame.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Wagner, *Heralds*, 168–69.

⁵⁰ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 176–77; Rowe, "Romans 10:13," 147 n. 38 notes that Jesus' universal lordship "is the theological centerpiece of 10:11-13."

⁵¹ See chapter 6.1 for a discussion on 5:9-10 which refers to deliverance from God's wrath and glorification as two aspects of eschatological salvation.

⁵² καὶ ἔσται πᾶς, ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσῃται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου, σωθήσεται· ὅτι ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σιών καὶ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἔσται ἀνασφύζομενος, καθότι εἶπεν κύριος, καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενοι, οὓς κύριος προσκέκληται.

⁵³ Rowe, "Romans 10:13," 154.

⁵⁴ Wagner, *Heralds*, 169; Rowe, "Romans 10:13," 146–48.

In 9:30-10:21, the avoidance of shame at the eschatological judgment for everyone who believes in Jesus is linked with eschatological righteousness and vindication, and is based on Christ's universal lordship. All who are saved through calling on Jesus are those who have been called by God to experience Christ's generosity through sharing his glory. We also find the bad news of universal human sinfulness and lack of glory in 3:22-23 being replaced by the good news of righteousness and restoration of glory to all through faith in Jesus. Romans 10 ends with an image of God patiently reaching out to a rebellious Israel, filling us with a sense of anticipation in our journey of glory as we approach the climax of Paul's discussion of Israel's salvation.

7.3 Glory and the Salvation of Israel (11:11-36)

In 11:1-10, Paul discusses the division of Israel into two groups: a chosen remnant according to divine grace, as a symbol of hope and evidence that God has not rejected his people (11:1-6), and a hardened majority (11:7-10), whose fate Paul explores before concluding with a doxology (11:11-36). We shall focus our discussion on 11:11-36 where traces of glory language can be found.

In 11:11-15, Paul addresses the issue of the salvation of Gentiles and Israel through Israel's stumbling and the Gentile mission by the use of the jealousy and *qal wahomer* motifs.⁵⁵ With reference to his citation of Deuteronomy 32:21 in 10:19, Paul highlights the purpose and hope of provoking Israel to jealousy (11:11, 14) through the Gentile mission as they see Gentiles enjoying the blessings of the gospel, blessings originally belonging to them, as a result of their trespass.⁵⁶ He then argues for greater blessings through Israel's inclusion if their exclusion has already resulted in such rich blessings on the Gentiles (11:12, 15).

⁵⁵ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 182; Wilckens, *Römer*, 2:241.

⁵⁶ See Wagner, *Heralds*, 190–217 for a discussion of Paul's use of Deuteronomy 32:21 in 10:19. For the idea of Israel's trespass leading to or being the means of the Gentiles' salvation, Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 547–48 points to the similar paradoxical logic of 5:12-21 where the superabundance of grace overcomes the increase in sin.

Paul uses “πλοῦτος” to characterise the blessings on the Gentiles that result from Israel’s trespass and loss/defeat (11:12). He has earlier associated “πλοῦτος” with the abundance and generous sharing of divine glory (9:23) and with Christ’s generosity in saving, thus sharing his glory with, those who call on him (10:12-13) (see chapters 7.1 and 7.2).⁵⁷ We observe a similar association here where “πλοῦτος” of the Gentiles corresponds to “σωτηρία” to them (11:11-12), and later on with “ἔλεος” (11:30-31), both resulting from Israel’s trespass/disobedience, thus connecting wealth with salvation and mercy, and in turn glory.

Paul continues to discuss his motivation for his apostolic ministry to the Gentiles by indicating that he “glorifies” (δοξάζω), i.e. exalts and takes pride in, his gospel ministry, in the hope of provoking his fellow Israelites to jealousy, leading to their salvation (11:13-14).⁵⁸ With reference to the characterisation of δόξα as the Jewish privilege and eschatological hope now possessed by believers in Romans 9, Donald Berry has argued that δοξάζω indicates that in his gospel ministry, Paul emphasizes the “riches of God’s δόξα” (9:23), in the hope of stirring the Jews to jealousy, resulting in their salvation; his understanding coheres well with 11:11-12. In support of his argument, Berry highlights other Pauline and Deutero-Pauline letters which indicate Paul’s focus in his gospel ministry as the proclamation of the riches of Christ’s/divine glory (2 Corinthians 4:1-6; Ephesians 3:8; cf. 3:16; Colossians 1:25-27).⁵⁹ Nonetheless, we find that Paul’s hope is not based on (γάρ) the direct result of his ministry but on the greater blessing of God’s acceptance of Israel which corresponds to “life from the dead” (ζωὴ ἐκ νεκρῶν) (11:15).⁶⁰

The phrase “ζωὴ ἐκ νεκρῶν” could refer to the final resurrection or to Israel’s resurrection, a metaphorical and yet very real life from the dead, as argued by Daniel Kirk.⁶¹ Based on considerations of the context, Paul’s eschatological framework of thought and the parallel phrase “ἐκ νεκρῶν ζῶντας” in 6:13, the reference to Israel’s resurrection provides a better reading, as we shall see from a summary of Kirk’s

⁵⁷ In 2:4, Paul uses “πλοῦτος” in association with divine kindness which is linked with divine grace/mercy and in turn God’s glory.

⁵⁸ “Δοξάζω,” BDAG, 258.

⁵⁹ Berry, *Glory*, 172–74.

⁶⁰ See Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 182–84 for arguments that 11:15 refer to God’s rejection/loss and acceptance of Israel; cf. Wilckens, *Römer*, 2:244–45; Moo, *Romans*, 693.

⁶¹ See Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 188–91 for details; cf. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 613.

arguments and the following discussion. Against the view that “ἐκ νεκρῶν” refers to the final resurrection, Kirk points to “ἐκ νεκρῶν ζῶντας” in 6:13 (the closest parallel to “ζωὴ ἐκ νεκρῶν” which occurs nowhere else in the NT)⁶² as the exception that refers to the believers’ present resurrection life with Christ. Moreover, Paul’s apocalyptic notion of the present as the eschatological “now” with the arrival of the new age also militates against the claim that the phrase, together with other indicators, suggests an apocalyptic/eschatological framework with reference to the future eschatological consummation of history. Kirk also contends against two other arguments that the parallel with 11:12, together with the *qal wahomer* motif, indicate that the result of Israel’s acceptance is a blessing that encompasses the world, with eschatological resurrection as (1) the final blessing left after the salvation of all Israel, following the “fullness of the Gentiles” (11:25-26), and (2) the only blessing that is greater than the reconciliation of the world. With the notion that Paul is discussing the eschaton in 11:15 dismissed, Kirk further argues that besides the proposed understanding of 11:25-26, nowhere else in Paul is there a suggestion that a mass conversion of Israelites will usher in the eschaton, and that Israel’s salvation is indeed a huge blessing to all believers (cf. 15:8-13); thus the parallel with 11:12 does not necessarily imply a reference to eschatological resurrection. Paul’s focus on the irony of Israel’s rejection of the gospel while Gentiles are enjoying its blessings in Romans 9-11 also indicates that Israel’s salvation is truly something greater than the reconciliation of the world.

With Romans 6 supporting his suggestion of understanding “ζωὴ ἐκ νεκρῶν” in 11:15 as referring to Israel’s participation in Jesus’ resurrection life, Kirk suggests that Paul’s hope of provoking his fellow Israelites to jealousy, resulting in their salvation is based not on “the direct result of his ministry to the Gentiles but of Israel’s reception by God which will bring them life out of death”; Paul will return to this notion of God restoring life to Israel in the olive tree metaphor (11:17-24).⁶³ Thus Paul *glorifies* his gospel ministry to the Gentiles, in the hope of stirring his compatriots to jealousy and saving them; this hope in turn is based on *God’s glorious, life-creating power* (4:17) that resurrected Christ (6:4) and is now at work

⁶² Murray, *Romans*, 2:83.

⁶³ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 190–91.

in believers through the Spirit (8:2, 9-11).⁶⁴ We can sense a parallel here with 1:16 where Paul's *repudiation of shame* in the gospel is based on it being *God's power for salvation*.

Moving on to the olive tree analogy (11:17-24), Paul warns Gentile believers against arrogance towards unbelieving Jews (broken-off branches) and argues for God's ability to graft them in again if they do not continue in unbelief.⁶⁵ Paul's exhortation to Gentile Christians not to boast against (κατακαυχάομαι, 11:18) unbelieving Jews is premised upon Gentiles being a wild olive branch, inferior to Jews who belong by nature to the cultivated olive tree (11:17-18, cf. 11:24), but more importantly, upon their common dependence on "the root of fatness" (11:17) which Barclay has argued to be a reference to God's calling/election, mercy/grace and kindness (cf. 11:22).⁶⁶ Furthermore, the fact that branches were broken off for unbelief while Gentile believers have stood by faith should inspire not arrogance but fear as Gentile unbelief, i.e. a failure to depend on divine kindness, will result in a similar fate (11:19-22).⁶⁷ The warning against Gentile boasting, coupled with the reminder of dependence upon divine grace recalls our earlier discussion on Jewish and Christian boasting where the only ground for boasting is God's ultimate act of grace in Christ (see chapter 6.1). Despite the fact that cut-off branches do not survive but wither and die, Paul argues that if they do not persist in unbelief, God is able (δυνατός) to graft them in again (11:23), thus giving life to the dead (4:17-21, cf. 11:15).⁶⁸

In 11:25-32, Paul refers to divine grace/mercy and faithfulness as the basis for his confidence in the salvation of all Israel in the scriptural promise of divine grace (11:26-27), the irrevocability of God's election/calling and gifts (11:28-29), and the power of divine mercy (11:30-32). With obedience as an integral aspect of deference to prestige (see chapter 2.3), our attention is drawn to 11:30-32 where Paul describes the paradoxical relations between Gentiles and Jews in terms of

⁶⁴ Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 549.

⁶⁵ Moo, *Romans*, 703 suggests the "branches" which Gentile Christians are warned not to boast against (11:18) include Jewish non-believers and believers (cf. 14:1-15:13). See Kruse, *Romans*, 439-41 for a discussion on Paul's utilization of the olive tree metaphor that is contrary to arboricultural practices.

⁶⁶ Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 550-52.

⁶⁷ Watson, *Paul, Judaism, and the Gentiles*, 342.

⁶⁸ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 191; Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 665-66.

disobedience and divine mercy. The flood of divine mercy shown to Gentile believers, who were once disobedient to God (dishonouring God), as a result of Israel's disobedience (failure to glorify God) will surely envelop Israel in its embrace (11:30-32).⁶⁹ Thus, human disobedience, an expression of their failure to glorify God and reason for their loss of glory (1:18-32; 3:23), is ultimately no obstacle to the power of God's mercy, his very own glory, to save and restore them to glory.

In response to the twists and turns in the pattern of God's incongruous grace/mercy for the salvation of Jew and Gentile, Paul celebrates the depth of divine wealth, wisdom and knowledge (11:33-35), concluding with an ascription of glory to God (11:36).⁷⁰ Paul begins his paean with an acclamation of the inexhaustible and unfathomable nature (βάθος)⁷¹ of divine "πλοῦτος" which has been associated with kindness (2:4), glory (9:23), salvation (10:12-13; 11:11-12) and here mercy (11:30-32). After elaborating on the unsearchable and inscrutable character of divine wisdom and knowledge, and the divine priority in giving (11:34-35), Paul uses a series of prepositions to depict God as the source (ἐκ), agent (διὰ) and goal (εἰς) of all things, including in this case, salvation, thereby reaffirming a central tenet of Jewish creational theology.⁷² Thus Paul concludes his doxology with an ascription of glory to God, in deference to God's creative-resurrective power and deity, in a reversal of humanity's failure to do so (1:18-23).

In Romans 11, Paul uses a wealth of glory language that is associated with power in various ways as he reaches the climax of his discussion on Israel's salvation. The language of wealth (πλοῦτος) is associated with the salvation of Gentiles (11:11-12) and divine mercy (11:33), and both in turn with glory. Paul glorifies his gospel ministry to the Gentiles, emphasizing the riches of divine glory, in the hope of provoking his Jewish countrymen to jealousy, leading to their salvation; this hope in turn is based on God's life-creating power (11:13-15). In the olive tree metaphor, Paul warns Gentile believers not to boast against Jewish

⁶⁹ See Jewett, *Romans*, 694 for arguments for the presence of the second "vuv" in 11:31. It could refer to the eschatological "now", emphasizing the urgency of the Gentile mission for Israel's salvation (Jewett, *Romans*, 711) or indicate imminence, i.e. "anytime now" (Moo, *Romans*, 735).

⁷⁰ Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 555. Jewett, *Romans*, 714, 718 notes that 11:34-35 are "a chiasmic development of" divine wealth, wisdom and knowledge in 11:33.

⁷¹ Adolf Strobel, "Βάθος," *EDNT* 1:190.

⁷² Jewett, *Romans*, 721-22 further notes that the use of the prepositions to describe the relationship between God and creation can be found in other Graeco-Roman texts.

unbelievers because of their common dependence on the root of divine calling/election and grace/mercy which is an integral aspect of God's glory (11:17-18). The warning against Gentile arrogance is matched by a corresponding exhortation to fear as unbelief will result in Gentile believers being cut off while God is able to graft Jewish unbelievers in again through his creative-resurrective power if they do not persist in unbelief (11:19-24). Human failure to glorify God through disobedience is ultimately no hindrance to the power of divine mercy, God's glory, to restore them to glory (11:30-32). In deference and reciprocity to the divine creative-resurrective power in the redemption of and restoration of glory to humankind, Paul concludes with an ascription of glory (11:36).

7.4 Conclusion

Glory language continues to feature prominently in Paul's discussion of the problem of Israel's unbelief in Romans 9-11. In response to the crisis of widespread Jewish unbelief, Paul lists Israel's divine promises and privileges (9:1-5). In this list, δόξα appears as a promise, referring to the future eschatological glory as a share in the divine glory which is associated with the power of incorruptibility and reign. As Paul explores Israel's constitution in the past (9:6-29), we find his understanding of divine mercy, an integral aspect of God's glory, as creative power which further reinforces the connection between divine glory and power. This relationship between God's mercy and creative power is shown in the re-constitution of Israel following the Golden Calf incident. As the "wealth of divine glory" made known to vessels of mercy, δόξα also refers to divine mercy as creative power, with reference to Gentile believers, which creates something ("my people" and "sons of the living God") out of nothing ("not my people"), and to divine glory as power which God shares with believers as the inauguration of the process of glorification. God's purpose of glory for believers, as vessels of mercy, also points to their eschatological glory as they share Christ's glory, i.e. his reign and power of incorruptibility.

As Paul continues to discuss Israel's present predicament (9:30-10:21), he changes the referent of the stumbling-stone in his amalgamation of Isaiah 8:14 and 28:16 to Jesus and shifts God's judgment to an eschatological context. He further links the deliverance from shame at the eschatological judgment for all who believe

in Jesus with the receiving of eschatological righteousness and vindication, and grounds it on Christ's universal lordship. The parallel between 10:6-11 and 1:16-17 shows us that Paul's confidence in the gospel as divine power for salvation and righteousness to all believers leads him to reject shame both now and in the eschaton. Paul's mention of Jesus being rich and generous to all who call on him once again links wealth language with salvation/glorification where those who are saved through calling on Jesus are the ones called by God to experience Christ's generosity through sharing his glory.

As Paul discusses his hope for Israel's salvation in Romans 11, glory language continues to be associated with power in various ways. Israel's trespass has led to wealth for the Gentiles, in order to make Israel jealous, where wealth is once again associated with salvation and in turn glory. As such, Paul expresses his hope of making his Jewish compatriots jealous, leading them to salvation through the *glorification* of his gospel ministry to the Gentiles, i.e. exaltation, taking pride in or emphasizing the riches of divine glory; this hope in turn is based on God's *resurrective power*. In this, we find a parallel to 1:16 where Paul's *rejection of shame* in the gospel is based on it being *God's salvific power*. In the olive tree analogy, Paul warns Gentile believers against arrogance and argues for God's ability to graft in Jewish unbelievers. Paul's admonition to Gentile believers not to boast against Jewish unbelievers is based upon their common dependence on God's calling/election and grace/mercy which is an aspect of divine glory. Fear, instead of arrogance, should be the Gentile believers' appropriate response as unbelief will also result in them being broken off while God is able to graft Jewish unbelievers in again through his life-creating power if they do not persist in unbelief. Indeed the power of divine mercy, i.e. God's glory, is able to overcome human failure to glorify God through disobedience and restore them to glory. In response to the paradoxes in God's grace/mercy, Paul offers a paean to God. Paul begins by celebrating the depth of God's wealth of mercy and concludes by ascribing glory to God in deference and reciprocity to his creative-resurrective power in the salvation/glorification of Jew and Gentile, in a reversal of humanity's failure to do so (1:18-23). In Romans 9-11, we witness the outworking of a dynamic mentioned earlier in Romans 3: divine faithfulness, righteousness and mercy, despite human faithlessness and sin, redounds to God's glory.

Chapter 8 Glorifying God and Honouring One Another (Romans 12-16)

8.1 Glory Within and Beyond the Christian Community (12:1-13:14)

Glory language continues to permeate Paul's exhortation to the Roman believers to embody the gospel in their lives (12:1-15:13), the discussion of his ministry and plans (15:14-33) and concluding greetings (16:1-27). Recent scholarship has also emphasized the integral connection of Romans 12-15 to Romans 1-11, addressing issues facing the Roman congregations rather than forming a general parenthesis.¹

In 12:1-2, Paul appeals, through God's mercy (οἰκτιρμός), to the Roman believers to present (παραστήσαι) their bodies as sacrifices to God, which is their reasonable worship, not being conformed to this age but being transformed by the renewal of the mind so as to discern and do God's will. Romans 12:1-2 has various verbal and thematic connections with Romans 1 and 6 that are relevant to our discussion.² Humanity's refusal to glorify God (1:21) has resulted in their bodies (τὰ σώματα) being subject to dishonour, shame and the power of death (ἀτιμάζεσθαι, ἀτιμία, ἀσχημοσύνη, θάνατος) (1:24-27, 32); Paul now exhorts believers to offer their bodies (τὰ σώματα) as sacrifices, holy and living (ἀγίαν, ζῶσαν), to God (12:1). Sinful humanity's service (ἐλάτρευσαν) to creation (1:25) is now reversed by the believers' reasonable worship/service (λατρεία) to God (12:1). Indeed, we may say that Paul exhorts believers to glorify God with their bodies (cf. 1 Corinthians 6:20), in contrast to sinful humanity's failure to glorify God.³ The use of "presentation" (παρίστημι) language in 12:1-2 recalls similar usages in Romans 6 (6:13, 16, 19).⁴ In particular, our discussion of 6:13 has highlighted divine glory as the power at work through believers as they present themselves to God as those alive from the dead, as weapons of righteousness in the eschatological battle against sin, the dominant

¹ Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 705–6; Moo, *Romans*, 744–47; Adams, *Constructing*, 199–220; Victor Paul Furnish, *Theology and Ethics in Paul*, NTL (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2009), 98–106.

² David Peterson, "Worship and Ethics in Romans 12," *TynBul* 44 (1993): 176–79, 284; Moo, *Romans*, 748; Berry, *Glory*, 178–79.

³ Berry, *Glory*, 180 (cf. 180 n. 17).

⁴ Wilckens, *Römer*, 3:3; Furnish, *Theology*, 105.

power of this age (see chapter 6.2). We have also observed the association of divine mercy with glory, and of both with power (see chapter 7), thus pointing to the power of God's mercy/glory in another role in 12:1-2 as the basis, or perhaps the source, of Paul's exhortation.⁵ John Barclay has further suggested that the unconditioned and incongruous nature of divine mercy, which grounds Paul's appeal, means that Paul is exhorting believers to a new mindset and way of life, to be elaborated in 12:3-15:13, that is in contradistinction to this age and ignores whatever attributes that had previously formed their sense of worth and superiority over others.⁶ As pointed out by Barclay, if the only basis of boasting and of worth is God's work in Christ, then the renewal of the believers' minds includes the negation, or reversal, of the competitive quest for honour so prevalent in the ancient Graeco-Roman world, since there is no room for any other "claim to superiority, attributed or acquired."⁷

As such, Paul cautions believers against hubris (ὕπερφρονέω) and exhorts them to practise moderation (σωφρονέω) in their opinion of themselves (12:3). Through a comparison of Dio Chrysostom's speeches and some aspects of Stoicism with Paul's instructions in Romans 12:3-16, Halvor Moxnes has highlighted their common understanding of arrogance and the quest for honour as sources of conflict while σωφροσύνη was an important virtue in promoting harmony and unity within the community.⁸ On the other hand, Paul's instruction for the virtue of moderation (σωφροσύνη) is rooted in God's grace/mercy, as indicated by the parallels of 11:18-20, 25 (μη ὑψηλὰ φρόνει ... ἵνα μη ἦτε [παρ'] ἑαυτοῖς φρόνιμοι).⁹ This is further corroborated by the comparison used by Paul to counteract hubris and encourage sober-mindedness, "ἐκάστω ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἐμέρισεν μέτρον πίστεως" (12:3). John Goodrich has argued that "μέτρον πίστεως" should be translated as "a measure, namely a trusteeship" and refers to the different gifts or ministries that God has given to the believers as entrusted communal responsibilities (12:6-8).¹⁰ Of particular interest to us is the observation that in the ancient Graeco-Roman world, such

⁵ Wilckens, *Römer*, 3:2-3; Moo, *Romans*, 749.

⁶ Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 508-9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 509.

⁸ Halvor Moxnes, "The Quest for Honour and the Unity of the Community in Romans 12 and in the Orations of Dio Chrysostom," in *Paul in His Hellenistic Context*, ed. Troels Engberg-Pedersen (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), 203-30.

⁹ Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 510.

¹⁰ See John K. Goodrich, "'Standard of Faith' or 'Measure of a Trusteeship'? A Study in Romans 12:3," *CBQ* 74 (2012): 753-72.

trusteeships endowed trustees with much honour (especially for those involving appointments to public office), which was proportional to the prestige of the person who had entrusted them, and reflected the trustworthiness of the trustee (for those in the private sphere).¹¹ John Lendon notes:

The honour of a man was inextricably bound up with the office he was holding and the offices he had held. To gain an office in the Roman world was to enjoy an accretion to one's honour ... The honour that each office enjoyed independently of its holder, and of which its incumbents ... partook, was not the only reason why obtaining an office conferred prestige in the Roman world: posts were at the same time favours, *beneficia*. In a world where one was appointed to posts by high personages, the receipt of an office publicized the esteem of the great man who had given it.¹²

Thus Paul's instruction against arrogance and for sober-mindedness is predicated on the fact that all believers have been assigned distinct functions (πρᾶξις, 12:4), favours, (χάρισμα, 12:6) according to the divine grace given to them (χάρις, 12:3, 6), for mutual dependence and ministry (12:4-6).¹³ In granting each believer a trusteeship, God has glorified every believer so that in brotherly love, they can take the lead in honouring one another (τῆ τιμῆ ἀλλήλους προηγούμενοι, 12:10).¹⁴ Secure in God's present granting of honour and confident of their future co-glorification with Christ (8:14-30), believers do not have to fear being deprived of honour through honouring others; their mutual honouring, grounded in reciprocity, also militates against such loss.¹⁵ Thus Paul calls for a transformation of the believers' self-understanding in accordance with their God-given ministries/gifts that have elevated the honour of every believer, in contrast to the values and practices of this age which

¹¹ Ibid., 764–66.

¹² Lendon, *Empire*, 181, 185; cited in Goodrich, "Standard of Faith," 764 n. 42.

¹³ Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 510; Goodrich, "Standard of Faith," 770.

¹⁴ See Jewett, *Romans*, 761–62 for arguments that "προηγούμενοι" should be translated as "taking the lead".

¹⁵ Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 510 n. 33. S. Scott Bartchy, "Undermining Ancient Patriarchy: The Apostle Paul's Vision of a Society of Siblings," *BTB* 29 (1999): 71 highlights the countercultural nature of Paul's exhortation by noting the ancients' reluctance to honour others for fear of losing honour.

are characterised by social stratification according to prestige and the competition for honour.¹⁶

Honouring others is not just confined within the Christian community; it also extends to the external governing authorities (13:1-7).¹⁷ Moxnes has highlighted the link between honour and power in this passage.¹⁸ He first notes the occurrence of words associated with power such as ἐξουσία (13:1, 2, 3), κρίμα (13:2), μάχαιρα, ὀργή (13:4); some of which are used to describe civil authorities: ἐξουσία (13:1), λειτουργός (13:6), ἄρχων (13:3), with the inference that Paul depicts “a society stratified according to *power*” and his audience as “subordinates within this society.”¹⁹ The main thrust of Paul’s argument is for his addressees to submit to civil authorities (13:1), based on their appointment by God (13:1-2) and their role as God’s servants to support the good and punish evil (13:3-4).²⁰ As an instantiation of the general command to submit to civil authorities, Paul exhorts the Roman Christians to pay them their dues, which include direct (φόρος) and indirect taxes (τέλος), respect (φόβος) and honour (τιμή) (13:7), thus reflecting the close connection between honour and power.²¹ At the same time, Paul’s use of language that suggests the repayment of a debt owed to the governing authorities (ἀπόδοτε πᾶσιν τὰς ὀφειλάς) may indicate the Roman Christians’ rendering of honour as a kind of reciprocity to the “service” provided by the civil authorities (13:4) as a benefaction to them.²² This mirrors the observations in our discussion on the relationship between glory/honour and power in the Roman world (see chapter 2)

¹⁶ Bruce W. Winter, “Roman Law and Society in Romans 12-15,” in *Rome in the Bible and the Early Church*, ed. Peter Oakes (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2002), 78–79. Moxnes, “Honour and Righteousness,” 74–75 further notes the challenge faced by the Roman believers as the paradigm shift, which would create an equality in terms of honour, could create potential tensions within the Christian community as believers with higher social status, who expected to receive honour from those with lower status, now had to render them honour and vice versa.

¹⁷ See Wilckens, *Römer*, 3:30-31; Jewett, *Romans*, 782–84 for arguments concerning the authenticity of 13:1-7 rather than it being a non-Pauline gloss or interpolation. See Moo, *Romans*, 790–93 for some possible reasons for Paul’s inclusion of this instruction concerning submission to civil authorities.

¹⁸ For details, see Moxnes, “Honour and Righteousness,” 65–66.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 65.

²⁰ For the structure of Paul’s argument in 13:1-7, see Robert H. Stein, “The Argument of Romans 13:1-7,” *NovT* 31 (1989): 325–43.

²¹ See Thomas M. Coleman, “Binding Obligations in Romans 13:7: A Semantic Field and Social Context,” *TynBul* 48 (1997): 307–27 for a discussion on the nature of φόρος, τέλος, φόβος and τιμή as tangible and intangible obligations which Paul exhorted the Roman believers to fulfil to the state as their obedience to the civil authorities.

²² Jewett, *Romans*, 801–2; Moo, *Romans*, 805.

where benefactors are honoured for their generous giving and service. Thus, unlike the relationship between believers which is characterised by humility and mutual honouring on the basis of God’s grace/gifts and mercy, the relationship between believers and the state is marked by social stratification where the state is due honour as submission to its power.

Our discussion on honour for benefactors draws our attention to the fact that the governing authorities are not the only ones who are due honour, believers could also receive honour in the form of praise (ἔπαινος) for doing what is good (τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖ) (13:3). Now “doing what is good” has been interpreted in various ways.²³ Using epigraphic and literary evidence, Bruce Winter has argued that the good works refer to public works undertaken by benefactors to benefit the city, with ἔπαινος as a reference to the public recognition by the city council as a form of honour to the benefactor, as we have observed in our discussion in chapter 2.4.²⁴ However, the broader nature of Paul’s exhortation indicates that good works refer to something all Roman believers were capable of doing, rather than being limited to benefaction as material donations to the city, which only wealthy Christians were capable of.²⁵ On the other hand, good works may refer specifically to the payment of taxes and other obligations (13:6-7).²⁶ Consequently, good and evil deeds (13:3-4) could refer to the issue of payment and non-payment of taxes and the associated punishment.²⁷ Finally, van Unnik has demonstrated that Hellenistic literary sources frequently highlighted an important role of the governing authorities as praising/honouring the “ἀγαθός” and punishing the “κακός”, with these opposing terms often denoting obedience and disobedience to the law; this interpretation

²³ For a discussion of τὸ ἀγαθὸν in 13:1-7 and in the wider context of Romans, see Dorothea H. Bertschmann, *Bowing before Christ - Nodding to the State?: Reading Paul Politically with Oliver O’Donovan and John Howard Yoder*, LNTS 502 (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 145–69.

²⁴ Bruce W. Winter, “The Public Honouring of Christian Benefactors: Romans 13.3-4 and 1 Peter 2.14-15,” *JSNT* 11 (1988): 87–103.

²⁵ Philip H. Towner, “Romans 13:1-7 and Paul’s Missiological Perspective,” in *Romans and the People of God: Essays in Honor of Gordon D. Fee on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Sven K. Soderlund and N. T. Wright (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), 166–68 further argues that good works refer to humble service of all believers to the community.

²⁶ Kuo-Wei Peng, *Hate the Evil, Hold Fast to the Good: Structuring Romans 12.1-15.13*, LNTS 300 (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 91–92, 97.

²⁷ Johannes Friedrich, Wolfgang Pöhlmann, and Peter Stuhlmacher, “Zur historischen Situation und Intention von Röm 13, 1-7,” *ZThK* 73 (1976): 153–59 suggest that Paul is exhorting believers to submit to the Roman authorities by paying the direct and indirect taxes in view of the public protests against the payment of indirect taxes referred to by Tacitus (*Ann.* 13.50ff.).

seems more plausible in view of the generalized nature of Paul's exhortation.²⁸ Nonetheless, all the interpretations demonstrate the power of honour to influence people towards "good" behaviour desired by the governing authorities. At the same time, using the idea of benefaction, with reference to 1 Timothy 6:1-2 and Luke 22:25-27, Philip Towner has suggested that Paul is redefining benefaction by asking all Roman believers to act as honourable benefactors in doing good to society through humble service in various ways from a position of power, gaining honour as the reward for benefaction.²⁹ This redefinition of benefaction also emphasizes the correlation between honour and power.

Romans 13 closes with a series of exhortations to the Roman believers to live in light of the coming day of final salvation (13:11-14). Daniel Kirk has highlighted the importance of Christ's resurrection as the basis of Paul's exhortations.³⁰ By exploring Paul's use of resurrection imagery in 13:11-14, and observing the similarities between 13:12b-14 and 6:12-13, Kirk has emphasized that in both Romans 6 and 13, Paul is exhorting believers to live righteously before God through participation in Jesus' resurrection life.³¹ Although Kirk argues for Christ's resurrection as the source of power for believers to fulfil Paul's exhortation, the fact that Jesus was raised through God's glory (6:4) suggests divine glory, i.e. power, as that which empowers believers to live out their resurrection life in Christ (see chapter 6.2). The observation that 12:1-2, with the power of God's mercy/glory as the basis/source of Paul's exhortations, and 13:11-14 provide the eschatological framework for Paul's instructions in 12:1-13:14,³² reinforces the notion of divine glory as that which empowers the believers' resurrection life in Christ. Finally Kirk notes the theme of participation in Christ's resurrection as that which frees believers from the power of sin and death, and enables them to fulfil the law in 5:12-8:11; this theme is echoed in 13:8-14 where putting on Christ, thus living out the resurrection life of Christ, enables one to love one's neighbour and fulfil the law.³³

²⁸ W. C. van Unnik, "Lob und Strafe durch die Obrigkeit: Hellenistisches zu Röm 13,3-4," in *Jesus und Paulus: Festschrift für Werner Georg Kümmel zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. E. Earle Ellis and Erich Grässer (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1975), 334-43; cf. Bertschmann, *Bowing*, 163.

²⁹ Towner, "Romans 13:1-7," 166-68.

³⁰ For details, see Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 195-98; cf. Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 793-94.

³¹ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 196-97.

³² Wright, "Romans," 701.

³³ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 196-98.

In Romans 12, Paul grounds his exhortation to believers to offer their bodies as a sacrifice to God and to be transformed by the renewal of their mind upon God's mercy, an essential aspect of divine glory, and thus power. Paul's exhortation presents a reversal of sinful humanity's refusal to glorify God and service to creation that has resulted in their bodies being subject to dishonour, shame and the power of death; believers are exhorted to glorify God through their reasonable worship/service by offering their bodies as sacrifices, holy and imbued with the power of life, to God. His instruction against hubris and for moderation in the believers' opinion of themselves is based on the fact that God has elevated the honour of every believer through granting each of them a trusteeship, thus enabling them to take the lead in honouring one another in brotherly love; this is a reversal of the competitive quest for honour of this age. Paul's instructions on the believers' relationship with the civil authorities further reinforce the close association between honour/glory and power: believers are to render the governing authorities honour in submission to them and in reciprocity to their service while praise/honour, in the hands of the civil authorities, can also function as reward for the believers' good behaviour, and benefaction through humble service. Before addressing the issue of Torah observance, Paul returns to ground his exhortations upon the believers' participation in Christ's resurrection life, empowered by divine glory, by putting on Christ; we will find the association between glory/honour and submission to Jesus's lordship, bestowed upon him through his resurrection, in 14:1-15:13 as we continue our exploration of glory and power.

8.2 Glory and the Divine/Christological Welcome (14:1-15:13)

In 14:1-15:13, Paul attempts to adjudicate the differences between the "strong" (15:1) and "weak" (14:1) among the Roman believers. There has been much discussion concerning the identities of the strong and the weak, and the nature of the issue at stake;³⁴ it seems best to understand the controversy as pertaining to Torah observance with respect to food laws (14:2) and the Sabbath, perhaps including other special days (14:5).³⁵ The weak, mainly Jewish and some Gentile

³⁴ See Kruse, *Romans*, 509–10 for a discussion on the different options.

³⁵ See John M. G. Barclay, "'Do We Undermine the Law?': A Study of Romans 14.1-15.6," in *Paul and the Mosaic Law*, ed. James D. G. Dunn (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 288–93 for detailed

believers, observe such laws while the strong, mainly Gentile and some Jewish believers like Paul (15:1), do not; the strong are disposed to despise the weak while the weak condemn the strong (14:3).³⁶ While urging tolerance from both groups on these issues (14:1-12), Paul's emphasis seems to be on food as he exhorts the strong to accommodate the weak only on this issue (14:15, 20), probably because of its impact on commensality in the Christian communal meals.³⁷

In 14:3-4, Paul grounds his appeal to the weak and the strong against judging one another on the fact that God has welcomed them (προσλαμβάνω), with a bestowal of worth/honour on each of them that cannot be nullified by any human valuation, thus granting them new identities as “household slaves” (οικέται).³⁸ We may compare this with the status of imperial slaves who enjoyed honour through their association with the Roman Emperor. As οικέται, believers seek to serve and please their common Lord and are accountable solely to him (15:12, 18). Indeed, whatever activity and decision the weak and strong are engaged in – eating or not eating, observing or not observing special days – has to be done and made “to the Lord” and with “thanksgiving to God” (14:6-9), i.e. in honour and with thanksgiving to God in a reversal of humanity's primal failure to glorify God or give him thanks (1:21).³⁹ Because all believers now belong to Christ, who became Lord over all through his death and resurrection, their every decision and action is to be made and done in submission and obedience, i.e. in honour, to Christ their Lord to whom they owe allegiance.

arguments on the key issue being Torah observance with the weak being Torah-observant believers while the strong, with whom Paul identifies (15:1), are believers who do not observe such laws; cf. Michel, *Römer*, 419–21; Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, 690–98.

³⁶ John M. G. Barclay, “Faith and Self-Detachment from Cultural Norms: A Study in Romans 14-15,” *ZNW* 104 (2013): 194 has characterized the strength of faith in 14:1-15:6 as “the degree to which faith, although always expressed in culturally specific practice, is disaggregated from any one cluster of cultural norms ... the stronger the faith the more it allows the recalibration of worth in Christ to render indifferent any standards of worth (inherited or adopted) not derivable from the Christ-event”. In a comparison between strength of faith with regard to Abraham (4:19-22) and to the issue about food and days (14:1-15:6), Barclay, “Faith and Self-Detachment,” 205 has further highlighted the difference between them as pertaining to reliance on power, divine versus human in the case of Abraham, and reliance on worth, divine versus human definitions of worth in the case of food and days, while the similarity between them is that strength of faith in both instances is measured by the degree to which one “allows attachment to God to dissolve human attachments, whether in the form of reliance on human capacity or in the form of commitment to human systems of evaluation.”

³⁷ Barclay, “Do We Undermine the Law?,” 302–3.

³⁸ Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 512–13.

³⁹ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 200.

In 14:13-23, Paul urges the strong not to cause their weak siblings to stumble on the issue of food but to work towards peace and mutual construction. Thereafter, we find a proliferation of glory language in 15:1-13 as Paul exhorts the strong/powerful to support the weak/powerless in their weaknesses, and for them to welcome one another, concluding with a series of quotations from the Hebrew Scriptures and a prayer-wish.

In 15:1-6, Paul identifies himself with “the strong/powerful” (οἱ δυνατοί) and exhorts them to bear the weaknesses of “the powerless” (οἱ ἀδύνατοι), not to please themselves but to please the neighbour for the good towards upbuilding (οἰκοδομή). He draws upon Christ’s example for his exhortation, grounding it with an explanation on the role of Scripture, and ends with a prayer-wish that the Roman Christians worship God in unity. We shall focus our attention on Paul’s citation of Psalm 68:10 LXX in 15:3, exploring its significance within Paul’s discourse with regard to our study on glory and shame.

In 15:3, Paul appeals to Christ’s example of not pleasing himself through a quotation of Psalm 68:10 LXX, which can be understood as Christ absorbing the reproaches and insults against God, to undergird his exhortation to the strong/powerful to bear the weaknesses of the powerless and not to please themselves (15:1-2).⁴⁰ John Barclay has suggested a sociohistorical context in which slander and reproach could take place. With reference to several Jewish and Roman sources, Barclay has found that Roman Jews were careful to observe their food laws, which often drew ridicule from Romans for their peculiar dietary regulations, and that Gentile observance would identify them with Jews.⁴¹ As such, Paul’s call to accommodation from the strong/powerful to the weak/powerless in the observance of Jewish food laws could involve dishonour for the strong, thus suggesting that with

⁴⁰ Matthew Scott, *The Hermeneutics of Christological Psalmody in Paul: An Intertextual Enquiry*, SNTSMS 158 (New York, NY: CUP, 2014), 74–81 has argued, based on the interaction between Paul’s discourse in Romans and Psalm 68:10 LXX, with God as the referent for σέ and with metaleptic reference to Psalm 68:10a, “1) that Christ pleased God by his consuming zeal for God’s house, understood as his people, which led him into sharing reproach; and 2) that pleasing the other, if in imitation of Christ, entails an equivalent zeal for God’s house, understood as his people, which will likewise lead into shared reproach” (81). He clarifies the nature of reproaches against God by indicating that the reproach of God’s people entails reproach against God as God’s people, which is his house, bear God’s name and glory (81-82).

⁴¹ Barclay, ““Do We Undermine the Law?,”” 294–95, 304–5.

respect to the citation of Psalm 68:10 LXX, “Paul intended to indicate a quite specific application to the case in point: the slanders and reproaches levelled at Jews in Rome would be shared by the strong to the extent that they were willing to adopt Jewish eating habits in their common Christian meals.”⁴²

In 15:4, Paul continues to ground (γάρ) his exhortation to the Roman believers, especially the strong/powerful, to imitate Christ in the role of Scripture for their formation (διδασκαλία) through endurance (ὑπομονή) and the encouragement of Scriptures that result in hope (ἐλπίς).⁴³ The understanding of διδασκαλία as Scripture’s role of character formation is reinforced with reference to 5:3-4 where suffering (θλίψις), which in the case of 15:3 would refer to the suffering of reproaches and insults (ὀνειδισμός), produces endurance (ὑπομονή), and endurance, *proven character* (δοκιμή), and proven character, hope (ἐλπίς), where proven character provides the middle term between endurance and hope in 15:4.⁴⁴ Bringing Romans 5:2, which has identified this hope as the hope of divine glory, and 8:17 which has characterised christological co-suffering as the *sine qua non* of co-glorification, into conversation with 15:3-4 helps us to see the sharing of the strong in the reproaches of the weak as an instantiation of christological co-suffering which insures co-glorification.

Matthew Scott has pointed out that Paul’s use of “the powerful” (οἱ δυνατοί) and “the powerless” (οἱ ἀδύνατοι) to characterise the Roman believers in 15:1 moves the focus from “private religious conviction” in Romans 14 to the issue of agency in Romans 15, i.e. Paul is exhorting “the powerful” to give up their power/agency to support “the powerless” in their weakness through shared reproach.⁴⁵ With the association between glory and power that we have seen so far throughout this thesis, we can sense the reversal contained within the hope of glory for the strong/powerful: the strong gain glory from God (cf. 2:29) not by wielding their power but by surrendering it through shared reproach and shame with the powerless (cf. 12:16 on

⁴² Ibid., 304–5.

⁴³ See Scott, *Christological Psalmody*, 86–89 for arguments that διδασκαλία in 15:4 refers to character formation.

⁴⁴ Scott (ibid., 88–91) who also elaborates on the difficulty of understanding Psalm 68 LXX, an individual lament, as a source of hope unless Christ is established as the speaker of the citation, thereby placing “a Christological narrative on the spare framework of lament: a narrative that embodies the patient endurance whose telos is hope (Rom 5:3-4).”

⁴⁵ Ibid., 70–74.

humility); such shared suffering carries with it the promise and confident hope of glory, i.e. honour and power, that reverses their experience of dishonour and powerlessness.

In 15:5-6, Paul's description of God as the source of endurance and encouragement indicates his continuing emphasis on Scripture's role, now refocused in its divine origin, in the Roman believers' formation (cf. 15:4) which will result in their conformity of mind and bring about unity in worship.⁴⁶ The phrase "τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν ἐν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν" could emphasize the conformity of the Roman believers' minds according to Christ's example, i.e. having a Christlike attitude, or to Christ's will, i.e. subjecting themselves to their Lord's will, with Christ's will and attitude shown in his desire not to please himself by absorbing the reproaches/insults against God (15:3).⁴⁷ The purpose (ἵνα) of God's gift of a Christlike mind or a mind in submission to Christ's will is "ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐν ἐνὶ στόματι δοξάζετε κτλ." which refers to unity in worship. Indeed, having a common Christlike attitude of not pleasing oneself but pleasing the neighbour towards upbuilding, leading the strong/powerful into solidarity with the weak/powerless in the shared suffering of reproach and slander, as Christological co-suffering, will unite the Roman believers to glorify God in worship. In turn, this reverses humanity's primal sin in their failure to render glory to God (cf. 1:21).

In 15:7-13, Paul concludes the parenthesis he began in 12:1, recapitulating the themes he has covered so far in the epistle.⁴⁸ At the same time, Paul continues to build upon his exhortations in 15:1-6 (διό in 15:7) as he elaborates on God's glory as the τέλος of Christ's ministry.⁴⁹ Paul begins by appealing to Christ as the example or basis for the Roman believers' mutual welcome, with divine glory specified as the goal/purpose of Christ's welcome (καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς προσελάβετο ὑμᾶς εἰς

⁴⁶ Ibid., 91.

⁴⁷ Besides these two understandings, Scott, *Christological Psalmody*, 91–92 n. 95 suggests a third way of understanding "τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν" without an extrinsic referent, with an emphasis on a common mind as different believers are formed by Psalm 68:10 LXX.

⁴⁸ Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 844–45; Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven, CT: YUP, 1989), 70–73; Thomas Söding, "Verheißung und Erfüllung im Lichte paulinischer Theologie," *NTS* 47 (2001): 167; J. Ross Wagner, "The Christ, Servant of Jew and Gentile: A Fresh Approach to Romans 15:8-9," *JBL* 116 (1997): 473.

⁴⁹ Scott, *Christological Psalmody*, 100. For the parallel structure between 15:1-6 and 15:7-13, see Scott Hafemann, "Eschatology and Ethics: The Future of Israel and the Nations in Romans 15:1-13," *TynBul* 51 (2000): 169.

δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ).⁵⁰ Viewing Christ's welcome as basis draws our attention to 14:1-12 where the divine welcome of believers has granted them a new status and allegiance as household servants of Christ/God (14:3-4, 8).⁵¹ As an expression of their obedience/submission to Christ/God, every aspect of their lives is now oriented towards honouring Christ/God with thanksgiving (14:6-8), thus bringing glory to God and reversing the primal human sin (1:21-23). On the other hand, viewing Christ's welcome as example points us to the previous Christological example in 15:3 which provides a model for welcome whereby not pleasing oneself and pleasing the other leads to sharing the reproaches and insults that have befallen one's brother (and God).⁵² This sharing of suffering inculcates endurance in the Roman believers, leading to the formation of their character that results in their hope of glory and unites them in doxology (15:3-6; cf. 5:3-4). At the same time, Paul's use of the conjunction γάρ in 15:8 suggests forthcoming elaboration on the Christological welcome that has divine glory as its τέλος.

The syntax of 15:8-9a is complicated, with the main difficulty in discerning the relationship between 15:9a, τὰ δὲ ἔθνη ὑπὲρ ἐλέους δοξάσαι τὸν θεόν, and 15:8. Most ETs, such as the NRSV, NASB and NIV, have construed Christ's διακονία to the circumcised/Jews as both confirming the promises to the fathers (15:8) and leading to the Gentiles glorifying God for his mercy (15:9a), i.e. the Gentiles as the subject of "δοξάσαι". This understanding suggests the reason for the Gentiles' glorification of God as divine mercy that has been shown to them, which in turn recalls the divine bestowal of mercy upon the Gentiles in Romans 9-11. Thus the Gentiles glorify God for his mercy as creative power that makes a people and divine children out of no people, i.e. the Gentiles (9:25-26), and which overcomes the disobedience of all (11:32; see chapter 7).

However this view involves a harsh change of subjects in 15:9a, as Christ has been the subject of the verbs from 15:7b onwards to the citation of Psalm 17:50 LXX

⁵⁰ Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 512. Kruse, *Romans*, 532 n. 59 indicates that καθώς in 15:7 can be understood as an adverb of comparison or as a conjunction indicating reason; cf. Käsemann, *Romans*, 385.

⁵¹ Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 513.

⁵² Scott, *Christological Psalmody*, 100–101.

in 15:9b.⁵³ Ross Wagner has highlighted other problems related to this view, examined several other options and suggested the following solution, supported also by Matthew Scott, that involves one ellipsis, “διάκονον γεγενῆσθαι”, with “τὰ ἔθνη” understood as an accusative of respect, and retains Christ as the subject in 15:9a, providing a balanced structure to 15:8-9a:⁵⁴

For I say that Christ has become a servant of the circumcision on behalf of God’s truth, in order to confirm the promises to the fathers, and [a servant] with respect to the Gentiles on behalf of [God’s] mercy in order to glorify God,

Thus Christ’s servanthood to both Jew and Gentile, which might bolster Paul’s exhortation for mutual welcome (15:7), confirms God’s promises to the patriarchs, proving God’s truthfulness, and glorifies God, showing God’s mercy.⁵⁵ Christ’s glorification of God is therefore related to the demonstration of divine mercy, which we have seen in our discussion of Romans 9-11 to be God’s power, both creative (9:25-26) and overcoming human disobedience (11:32) (see chapter 7). Our discussion of 9:23 has also shown the demonstration of divine wealth of *glory* upon vessels of *mercy* as the sharing of *divine glory* with them, which initiates the process of glorification and culminates in the believers’ eschatological sharing of *Christ’s glory*, i.e. his *reign and power of incorruptibility* (see chapter 7.1). Furthermore, Paul’s likely view of the apostolic mission as Christ’s διακονία to the Gentiles for the obedience of the Gentiles (15:18) also correlates their submission to Christ’s reign with divine glorification.⁵⁶ At the same time, Paul’s introduction to his series of scriptural quotations, καθὼς γέγραπται, suggests an upcoming comparison or basis that will elucidate 15:8-9a.

⁵³ Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, 743.

⁵⁴ See Wagner, “The Christ,” 473–85; Scott, *Christological Psalmody*, 101–2 who notes the slight weakness in the “imbalanced parallel between the genitive περιτομῆς and the accusative τὰ ἔθνη.”

⁵⁵ Wagner, “The Christ,” 479 n. 32 highlights that “the contrast between ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας and ὑπὲρ ἐλέους is not absolute” as the promises envisage the incorporation of the Gentiles while the relationship between God and Israel is marked by mercy. Rather the contrast indicates “the priority of Israel in God’s saving purposes ... and God’s different methods of working with each group.” Wagner (*ibid.*, 483 n. 48) also addresses the objections against Paul’s view of Christ as a διάκονος to the Gentiles.

⁵⁶ Wagner, “The Christ,” 483 n. 48.

Utilising a cinematographic approach, Matthew Scott has explored the logical development in Paul’s catena found in 15:9b-12 and its relationship with the surrounding text.⁵⁷ We shall draw on some of Scott’s insights that are relevant for our thesis by first outlining the sequence of thought in Paul’s citations before exploring the salient points related to glory, i.e. glory and Christ’s welcome, and glory and Christ’s rule.⁵⁸

The overall theme of the catena, which grounds Paul’s declaration in 15:8-9a, points to the τέλος of Christ’s διακονία as the formation of a community, comprising Jews and Gentiles, that glorifies God.⁵⁹ Paul begins his catena with Psalm 17:50 LXX (15:9b) in which Christ as κύριος and as second Adam, glorifies God among the Gentiles, thus fulfilling the τέλος of humanity (1:21; cf. 4:20).⁶⁰ Next, in Paul’s citation of Deuteronomy 32:43 LXX (15:10), Christ calls upon the Gentiles to rejoice with God’s people (Israel), thus uniting Jew and Gentile in common praise.⁶¹ A new speaker enters the scene in Paul’s citation of Psalm 116:1 LXX (15:11), calling upon all the nations/Gentiles and all the peoples to praise the κύριος. In this instance, the likelihood of a metaleptic reference to Psalm 116:2 LXX, which grounds (ὅτι) the glorification of the κύριος upon the ἔλεος and ἀλήθεια of the Lord towards the psalmist and his people, is significant when considered in view of Romans 15:8-9a where Christ’s διακονία to Jew and Gentile is ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας θεοῦ and ὑπὲρ ἐλέους [θεοῦ]. Scott summarizes the implications of Paul’s quotation of Psalm 116:1 LXX and the reference to 116:2 well:

... a universal call to praise is issued to the universal beneficiaries of mercy. “All peoples” – subject without distinction to divine mercy and faithfulness – must now voice their common praise of the κύριος who brought them together.⁶²

⁵⁷ Scott, *Christological Psalmody*, 93–132.

⁵⁸ See *ibid.*, 116–17 for an outline of the sequence of thought in Paul’s catena.

⁵⁹ Wagner, *Heralds*, 310–11.

⁶⁰ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 50; See Scott, *Christological Psalmody*, 103–7 for arguments supporting Christ to be the speaker of Paul’s quotation of Psalm 17:50 LXX; cf. Wilckens, *Römer*, 3:108; Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, 744–46.

⁶¹ See Scott, *Christological Psalmody*, 115–17 for arguments that Paul’s quotation of Deuteronomy 32:43 LXX envisages Christ as speaker.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 125. There is a possible allusion to Exodus 33:18-34:7 in which God declares himself to be merciful and true in the manifestation of his glory to Moses, especially in light of Paul’s citation of Exodus 33:19 (Romans 9:15) and his depiction of God making known the wealth of his glory upon

Isaiah concludes Paul's catena (15:12) by revealing the κύριος as the root of Jesse who will arise to rule the Gentiles (Isaiah 11:10 LXX).

In terms of glory and the Christological welcome (15:7), we find 15:3 and 15:9 providing two aspects of welcome for imitation: Christ, as strong, "welcomes" the weak (mainly Jewish), and identifies with them by sharing their reproaches and insults; Christ, as Lord, "welcomes" the Gentiles on behalf of God's mercy, uniting with them in praise.⁶³ In either case, God's glory functions as the τέλος of Christ's welcome (15:7) since both result in divine glorification (15:6, 9).⁶⁴

In terms of glory and the Christological rule, we find that the nature of Christ's rule (15:12), not just over the Gentiles but over the all-inclusive "you" (ὅμοιας) in 15:13 (cf. 15:7), has been elucidated by the sequence of the catena: the dismantling of ethnic division and the empowerment of united praise.⁶⁵ Conversely, "all the peoples" demonstrate their submission to Christ's rule by obeying his summons to praise God (15:10) and the psalmist's call to praise the Lord (15:11). The glorification of God by "all the peoples" reverses humanity's primal sin and fulfils its τέλος (1:21; cf. 4:20).⁶⁶ Indeed the Christological welcome constitutes a community of Jews and Gentiles, united in doxology in every aspect of their lives, under the Christological rule, i.e. a people created for God's glory (15:7; cf. 14:3-9).⁶⁷

Paul's citation of Isaiah 11:10 LXX characterises the Gentiles' hope as being given by the root of Jesse who arises (ὁ ἀνιστάμενος) to rule over them; the theme of hope continues into 15:13 with God as its provenance and the Roman believers as its recipients. Based on various grounds, Daniel Kirk has argued for "ὁ ἀνιστάμενος" as a reference to Christ's resurrection and has concluded, in agreement with Wagner, that the verb "ἀνίστημι" creates a double entendre, referring both to the "arising" of

vessels of mercy which include both Jew and Gentile (9:22-24) (see Hafemann, "Eschatology and Ethics," 183 and chapter 7.1).

⁶³ Scott, *Christological Psalmody*, 107.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 128.

⁶⁶ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 50.

⁶⁷ Scott, *Christological Psalmody*, 129.

a ruler and to Jesus' resurrection.⁶⁸ Of particular interest to us are the links between hope, resurrection and glory pointed out by Kirk. By charting their occurrences in Romans, Kirk has highlighted the content of the believers' hope as sharing in divine glory (5:2, 4-5), which is equated with sharing in Christ's bodily resurrection (8:17-25), i.e. the power of an indestructible life, and, as we have seen in our discussion, also includes sharing in Christ's reign over a renewed creation (see chapters 6.1 and 6.4).⁶⁹ The likelihood of the content of the Gentiles' hope as glory is further reinforced by applying metaleptic extension to Paul's quotation of Isa 11:10, drawing our attention to the resting place of the root of Jesse as honour (τιμή) or glorious (כבוד). Indeed, Jesus Christ, who was the seed of David and root of Jesse according to the flesh, has been appointed the Son of God and Lord in power, by resurrection from the dead, according to the Spirit of holiness (1:3-4); the Spirit's power will also cause the Roman believers, who have experienced Christ's welcome and are under his rule, to abound in the hope of glory (15:13) of sharing Christ's sonship, with the power of an indestructible life and reign over a renewed creation.⁷⁰

In 14:1-15:13, glory language continues to be linked with power in various ways, especially in the reversal of humanity's failure to glorify God and its loss of glory. Christ's welcome has its τέλος in the glory of God, through the formation of a community of Jews and Gentiles, united in doxology in every aspect of their lives by their recognition of God's welcome, mercy and power, including the power of the risen Lord, thus reversing humanity's primal sin and fulfilling its τέλος in glorifying God (1:21). The content of hope (15:4, 12-13) is eschatological glory (cf. 8:18), i.e. restoration from the present human condition of powerlessness and dishonour; this restoration process has begun with the bestowal of honour/glory upon believers through the divine welcome and their status as God's slaves (14:3-4). On the other hand, the way to eschatological glory is paradoxically through the experience of powerlessness and shame/dishonour by sharing the powerlessness and dishonour of the weak, in imitation of Christ (15:3-6). As Paul brings his letter to a close, we find

⁶⁸ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 49–54; Wagner, *Heralds*, 319; cf. Schlier, *Römerbrief*, 425; Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 850.

⁶⁹ Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 53.

⁷⁰ Scott, *Christological Psalmody*, 129. See Kirk, *Unlocking Romans*, 52 for parallels between 1:3-5 and 15:12.

that glory language continues to feature in the explanation of his apostolic ministry and in the concluding doxology.

8.3 Glory in Paul's Ministry and Glory to God (15:14-16:27)

In the final section of Romans, Paul affirms the Roman believers before discussing his ministry and travel plans, and requests their prayers (15:14-33). Thereafter, he provides a commendation of Phoebe, urges the Roman believers to greet a number of believers among them, warns them about false teachers, sends greeting from his associates, before concluding with a doxology (16:1-27). We shall focus our discussion on Paul's boasting (15:17-19) and the concluding doxology (16:25-27).

In 15:17, Paul concludes (οὖν) his explanation of the nature of his apostolic ministry as God's grace to him in the form of a priestly ministry to the Gentiles (15:15b-16) by declaring it, i.e. the content of 15:16, as his boasting (καύχησις) in Christ pertaining to the things of God.⁷¹ He further justifies (γάρ) his boasting by explaining that his apostolic ministry to the Gentiles is in fact Christ's ministry through him, with the goal/purpose in the obedience of the Gentiles (15:18; cf. 1:5).⁷² This recalls 15:9a in which Paul has described Christ's διακονία to the Gentiles as having its τέλος in the glorification of God (see chapter 8.2), thus correlating God's glorification with the Gentiles' obedience; in other words, the Gentiles' submission to Christ's rule (see chapter 4.2 on Romans 1:4-5) glorifies God. As such, Paul's boasting in his apostolic ministry, or perhaps in its success as seen in the obedience of the Gentiles, is grounded in Christ's work through him, with its τέλος as the Gentiles' obedience to Christ's rule, bringing glory to God. Paul's boasting in his ministry is also related to divine power through the means by which Christ has accomplished things through him – by the power (δύναμις) of signs and wonders, by the power (δύναμις) of the Spirit, with the result that Paul has brought to completion

⁷¹ Cranfield, *Romans 9-16*, 757 has noted that the reading with τήν in 15:17, with τήν serving as a demonstrative pronoun referring back to 15:16, is to be preferred as being more difficult and as providing a better connection between 15:16 and 15:17.

⁷² Moo, *Romans*, 891–92 who further notes that “obedience” refers to the believers’ response to Christ, “including, but not limited to, faith.”

the gospel from Jerusalem to Illyricum (15:19).⁷³ Thus the divine power is recognised in Paul's boasting in Christ. We find further links between glory and power in the concluding doxology (16:25-27).

Paul begins the doxology by focusing on divine power,⁷⁴ with a characterisation of God as “the one who has the power (δυναμένοϛ) to strengthen (στηρίζω) you according to my gospel” (cf. 1:4, 16, 20), thus acknowledging God's power and perhaps that it is the source of what he hopes to do among the Roman believers (1:11).⁷⁵ The focus on divine power continues with a depiction of the gospel as “according to the revelation of the mystery ... but now having been manifested”, the purpose being for the Gentiles' obedience of faith (cf. 1:5; 15:18), i.e. their submission to Christ's rule as both consisting in and stemming from faith.⁷⁶ Indeed, the gospel as God's salvific power for the obedience of faith is focused on the person and work of Jesus Christ (cf. 1:3-4).⁷⁷ Thus Paul glorifies God through Christ (16:27), who as second Adam, has realized the τέλος of humanity in glorifying God and reigning over creation, and as Lord, is the one to whom all offer obedience in faith to God's glory.

In Paul's boasting in his apostolic ministry and in the concluding doxology, the association between glory and power can be seen in the τέλος of the gospel ministry as the content of Paul's boast, i.e. the Gentiles' obedience of faith to Christ's rule which glorifies God, with divine power as the means by which this is

⁷³ Kruse, *Romans*, 540 has highlighted that the description of Paul's apostolic ministry as being accomplished “in the power of signs and wonder, in the power of the Spirit”, parallels the description of Christ's ministry, thereby reinforcing the idea of Christ continuing his work through the apostolic ministry.

⁷⁴ Although the position of the doxology after 16:23 is strongly attested among the textual witnesses (P⁶¹, ⱼ, B, C, D, etc.), it has also been found in other locations: after 14:23 (L, Ψ, etc.), or 15:33 (P⁴⁶), or after both 14:23 and 15:33 (1506), or after both 14:23 and 16:23 (A, P, etc.), or missing (F, G, etc.). For a discussion of the textual evidence, see Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: German Bible Society, 1994), 470–73, 476–77. Moo, *Romans*, 936–37 n. 2 provides a summary of the issues regarding the placement of the doxology and its authenticity, arguing for its inclusion after 16:23 as part of Paul's original letter; cf. Schmidt, *Römer*, 265–66; Stuhlmacher, *Romans*, 244–46, 256. For arguments on 16:1-23 as an original part of Romans, see Peter Lampe, “The Roman Christians of Romans 16,” in *The Romans Debate*, ed. Karl P. Donfried, rev. and expanded (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991), 217–21.

⁷⁵ Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 914; Moo, *Romans*, 938.

⁷⁶ Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 17; Kruse, *Romans*, 50–52.

⁷⁷ Regarding the use of φανερόω in 16:25-26, Kurek-Chomycz, “Scent,” 102–3 suggests the object of manifestation as God's saving righteousness (cf. 1:16-17), which has been mediated, made sense-perceptible (instead of being silenced, σιγάω) and universally accessible in the Christ-event.

accomplished. With Christ as the climax of God's salvific power/plan in the gospel for the glorification of God and humanity, it is only appropriate for all to render glory to God through him.

8.4 Conclusion

In our discussion of 12:1-16:27, we have found glory to be associated with power in various ways in Paul's exhortation to the Romans believers, boasting in his apostolic ministry and concluding doxology, especially with respect to the resolution of humanity's sin in its failure to glorify God and its loss of glory.

Through the divine mercy, welcome and power, God has begun to restore believers from the present human condition of powerlessness and dishonour with a bestowal of glory/power upon them in the distribution of a trusteeship to each believer, their status as God's slaves and their participation in Christ's resurrection life. Recognising and being secure in God's present granting of glory and their future co-glorification with Christ, believers can engage in reasonable worship/service, holy living, mutual welcome and humble service, taking the lead in honouring each other in brotherly love, without fear of being deprived of honour, in a reversal of the competitive quest for honour of this age. On the other hand, the path to eschatological glory, as the content of the believers' hope, is paradoxically trod through the experience of powerlessness and shame/dishonour by sharing the powerlessness and dishonour of the weak, in imitation of Christ.

In their interaction with civil authorities, believers render honour as an act of submission to them based on their appointment by God and their role as God's servants in promoting the good and punishing evil. Assured in their God-given position of glory/power, believers can also assume the role of honourable benefactors in doing good to society through humble service, gaining honour from the civil authorities as reward for their benefaction.

In recognition of God's mercy, welcome and power, including the power of the risen Lord, believers, comprising of Jews and Gentiles united in Christ, glorify God with thanksgiving in every aspect of their lives, thus reversing humanity's

primal sin and fulfilling its τέλος in doxology. Indeed the very τέλος of the gospel and the content of Paul's boast in his apostolic ministry is the glory of God in the realization of fallen humanity's obedience of faith to Christ's rule; this is accomplished through nothing else but by divine glory/power, with the gospel centred in the person and work of Jesus Christ, through whom all glorify God.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

Our study began with a consideration of the meaning of δόξα in Romans 6:4 and found the different ways in which scholars have interpreted its meaning, such as honour (e.g. Robert Jewett), effulgence (e.g. George Boobyer), incorruption (e.g. Ben Blackwell), and essential nature (e.g. Millard Berquist).¹ Although the semantic range of δόξα comprises each of these denotations and others that are listed in various lexicons and theological dictionaries, the most common view of δόξα in 6:4 is that it denotes divine power; this interpretation is well supported by the connection between δόξα and power in Romans 1:18-21 and by parallel statements in 1 Corinthians 6:14 and 2 Corinthians 13:4. Without denying the fact that δόξα can have various denotations and connotations within different contexts in which it is used, our study has sought to focus on a particular aspect of the meaning of δόξα, i.e. its correlation with power. The association of δόξα with power in Romans 6:4 has raised some key questions that have guided our study, namely:

1. Is glory regularly and centrally associated with power?
2. If so, why? What is the background that can explain this association?
3. What could this reveal about Pauline theology?

The connection between glory and power in Romans 6:4 and 1:18-21, together with the high occurrence and wide distribution of δόξα and its cognates, and other glory-related terms, in Romans have pointed to Romans as a fruitful area for research. This is further corroborated by a brief survey of Romans which has indicated many places, especially at key points of Paul's argument, where glory appears to be related to power in various ways and across a wide range of topics. Hence Romans provides a fertile ground for study and a window into Paul's view of the variegated associations between glory and power across a spectrum of theological themes.

¹ Jewett, *Romans*, 399, cf. 157-58, 280; Boobyer, *Thanksgiving*, 13; Blackwell, "Immortal Glory," 296, cf. 294-97; Berquist, "Meaning of Doxa," 96.

Instead of restricting our research to the term “δόξα”, our study has focused on the concept of glory by paying close attention to terms that are related to it, in particular honour and shame language, thus providing a more holistic understanding of Paul’s view of the glory-power connection in Romans. Cognizant of Paul’s role as a Jewish apostle to the Gentiles and the Jewish-Gentile composition of the Roman believers, our study has also utilised both Graeco-Roman and Jewish traditions as the background for understanding Paul’s link of glory with power.

Beginning with the Graeco-Roman world, within the Jewish tradition and in Paul’s epistle to the Romans, we have shown how glory is associated with power in various ways. The dominant role of glory/honour in the ancient Mediterranean socio-religio-cultural universe has enabled us to establish a strong relationship between glory and power. In some instances, glory can denote power while in others, glory has strong connotations of power. There is also a reciprocal relationship between glory and power – power can be a manifestation of glory or glory can result from acts of power, i.e. glory as an acknowledgement of power, especially in the case of divine glory and power. Our investigations into the different ways in which glory is associated with power in the Graeco-Roman world and Jewish tradition have enabled us to appreciate the ways they could have shaped Paul’s understanding of glory as power and establish the ways in which glory can be correlated with power in his socio-religio-cultural context.

9.2 Glory and Power in the Graeco-Roman World and Jewish Tradition

Our study has shown glory/honour to be a powerful source of value in the ancient Graeco-Roman world, functioning as a form of power for gods, cities and men because of people’s desire for it and fear of losing it. As such, we may say that glory/honour exercised power through its powerful allure. Glory/honour was also a source of social authority that people had been brought up to obey through deference. There were two main reasons for honouring and obeying prestige: firstly, the shame associated with refusing deference and secondly, the honour associated with zealous deference as it was regarded as a virtue. Glory/honour was also found to be a social sanction as the anxiety over the loss of honour helped to enforce social norms, such as deference, the duty of gratitude and reciprocity of favours and honours, which

may be used by one to influence others. There were three reasons to account for the power of glory/honour in this way: (1) the duty of reciprocity was inculcated early in children, (2) reciprocity also functioned at a conscious level as worry about not obtaining any more favours kept people on their toes to return favours, and (3) being known as a grateful returner of favours enhanced one's reputation/honour. The social nature of glory/honour also meant that one could gain power by being associated with someone with greater prestige than oneself. The reciprocal nature of the relationship between glory/honour and power was also evident in our study. The possession of honour and ability to grant honour to others endowed one with power; on the other hand, the possession of power enabled one to accrue honour to oneself – this further enhanced the allure of honour and its power throughout the Graeco-Roman world. The association of glory/honour with power was also evident in the relationship between city finance, public benefaction, honour and power. Cities used honours to influence the rich and powerful to public benefaction. The prominence of gratitude as a virtue motivated public benefaction since expressions of gratitude to one's city enhanced one's glory/honour. The power of deference also proved beneficial to both benefactor and city: deference to a city's honour required benefaction while deference to a benefactor's prestige entitled him to honour. In relation to the gods, we have found that in the Graeco-Roman tradition, people deferred to divine power through honour and worship, reciprocating divine benefaction with gratitude in the form of offerings and dedications. Indeed in our study, we have found that similar attitudes and behaviours of deference and reciprocity in honour-power relations governed both Graeco-Roman society and the divine-human relationship. We have also witnessed the ways in which glory/honour functioned as forms of power in the hands of cities and emperors through the phenomenon of the divine cult. Once again, the desirability and power of honour is evident in the way offers of divine honours and cult to the emperor by his subjects enhanced their reputation, and in turn their honour and influence, and also in the subjects' *philotimia* and keen competition for honours associated with the imperial cult. Emperors used their subjects' intense competition for honours as an instrument of rule by motivating their subjects to perform favours for them or Rome, and to inspire loyalty, while cities may offer divine honours to emperors to influence them to act in their favour.

With regard to the Jewish tradition, we have found that כבוד, the key Hebrew term used to denote glory, was derived from כבד (to be heavy), and meant something “weighty” that gave someone importance, thus making that person impressive to others. With this understanding, כבוד came to be associated with, among various things, honour and power. With the LXX translators’ rendering of כבוד with δόξα, the links between כבוד and power were transferred over to δόξα, thus establishing the correlation of glory with power. Our investigation of the Hebrew Scriptures, Second Temple literature, and the writings of Josephus and Philo have also uncovered various ways in which glory was associated with power. We have found God’s glory to be closely associated with his character, especially his abundant mercy, which can also be understood as power through restraint, and his creative power, sovereign power, redemptive power and power to give life to the dead. With respect to humanity, we have discovered glory to be associated with righteousness, the power of incorruptibility and sovereign power; glory was once possessed by human beings but was relinquished after the Fall. While the forgiveness and removal of sin was established to be an important prerequisite to the restoration of glory to humanity, the restoration of eschatological glory to humanity was found to coincide with the renewal of creation. With regard to the Messiah or Son of Man, glory was found to be associated with sovereign power and judgment; the power to judge also implied the power to save, vindicate and punish. The Messiah’s exercise of sovereign power also manifested God’s glory to all peoples.

The foregoing summaries have also shown a difference in the way glory is associated with power sociologically in the Graeco-Roman and Jewish traditions. In the Jewish tradition, glory is related to power through the way it makes one impressive to others while in Graeco-Roman society, glory/honour acts as a form of power because of its roles as a source of value, social authority and social sanction. Nevertheless, there is some common ground between both traditions whereby glory is related to power; this can be seen in the use of deference and reciprocity language in both traditions that demonstrates the correlation of glory with power. The intersections in the notions of glory and power between these two traditions affirm the dominant role of glory/honour in the ancient Mediterranean world. Hence, it is not surprising that many of the correlations between glory and power in both

traditions can be found in Romans; we have pointed them out in our journey of glory through Romans.

9.3 Glory and Power in Romans

In our study, summaries of the discussion, especially highlighting the relationship between glory and power, have been provided at various points and at the end of each chapter. In our journey of glory through Romans, I have emphasized how viewing glory as power has illuminated, in many instances, our understanding of Romans. I have also traced out the relationship between glory and power in Romans 1-8, 9-11 and 12-16 at the end of chapters 6, 7 and 8.

It is now appropriate to draw the various threads together and provide a synthetic account of Paul's depiction of glory as power in Romans, lest we miss the wood for the trees in the midst of our detailed study of Romans. We shall organize the following discussion under the rubrics of divine glory and power, human glory and power, eschatological glory and power, and glory and power within and beyond the Christian community, before ending with suggestions of areas for further study.

9.3.1 Divine Glory and Power

In Romans, we find divine glory being associated with the *power of incorruptibility* in Paul's depiction of divine glory as the "glory of the incorruptible God" (Romans 1). Divine glory is also characterised as *sovereign power* when Paul indicates that the Messiah's (Christ's) rule over the Gentiles, through their obedience of faith, results in Jesus' glorification (Romans 1). Conversely, Israel's disobedience to the Law has dishonoured God in showing him to be weak and powerless (Romans 2).

God's glory is also associated with his *creative power* in Romans 1 which links divine glory with God's eternal power seen in creation. Divine glory is also connected to creative power through mercy, an essential aspect of divine glory, which reconstitutes Israel following the Golden Calf incident, and which creates

something (“my people” and “sons of the living God”) out of nothing (“not my people”), with reference to Gentile believers (Romans 9).

Divine glory is linked with *resurrective power* in Abraham’s glorification of God through his acknowledgement of and deference to God’s creative-resurrective power which overcomes Abraham’s situation of “death”, resulting in his “resurrection” in the person of Isaac (Romans 4). Indeed God’s glory as resurrective power is the power of the new age that raised Jesus from the dead and empowers believers in their new life of heartfelt obedience and fruit bearing that results in holiness and eternal life, and in the eschatological battle against sin (Romans 6).

Last but not least, divine glory is associated with *salvific power* in that all who experienced God’s salvific power through calling on Jesus are those who have been called by God to experience Christ’s generosity in the sharing of his glory (Romans 10). This association is further reinforced in Paul’s assertion that human failure to glorify God through disobedience is ultimately no obstacle to the *power of divine mercy*, i.e. God’s glory, to restore them to glory (Romans 11). Paul ascribes glory to God in deference and reciprocity to his creative-resurrective power in the salvation/glorification of humankind (Romans 11). Thus, it is of no surprise that Paul’s *repudiation of shame* both now and in the eschaton is grounded in his confidence in the gospel as *God’s salvific power* for all who believe; this deliverance from eschatological shame for all who believe is also grounded in *Christ’s universal lordship* (Romans 1 and 10). We find a parallel in Paul’s *glorification* of his gospel ministry to the Gentiles, i.e. exaltation, taking pride in or emphasizing the riches of divine glory, in the hope of provoking his Jewish brethren to jealousy and salvation; this hope is grounded in *God’s resurrective power* (Romans 11).

9.3.2 Human Glory and Power

In Romans, human glory is primarily derivative, i.e. it is glory that is bestowed by God or a share in divine glory. There are some aspects of divine glory as power that are divine prerogatives, for example creative power, resurrective power and salvific power, while others are shared with humanity, in particular sovereign power and the power of incorruptibility. Hence, humanity’s sin in its

failure to glorify God and in the exchange of divine glory for idolatry has disastrous results for human beings in terms of the loss of glory; these results are also depicted as the consequences of Adam's trespass - a ruptured relationship with God, powerlessness, dishonour, shame and *domination by sin and death* (Romans 1 and 5).

In Romans 1, human glory is associated with *sovereign power* in the description of humanity's refusal to glorify God and exchange of divine glory for idolatry; this has led to the surrender of sovereign power over creation. Instead human beings served and worshipped the creature instead of the creator. As a result of their surrender of glory and power, humanity is now enslaved by foreign powers such as impurity (Romans 1), and in particular, the *powers of sin and death* (Romans 3 and 5). The power of sin over humanity is broken by Christ's death as atoning sacrifice which provides expiation and propitiation, leading to justification by faith as the prerequisite for glorification (Romans 3). Through their participation in Christ's death and resurrection, believers are liberated from the domination of the triumvirate of sin, death and the law, and are transferred to the new age where they share in the benefits of Christ's death and resurrection, including resurrection life and glory (Romans 6-7).

Romans 1 also associates human glory with the *power of incorruptibility*: humanity's exchange of the glory of the incorruptible God for the likeness of an image of corruptible creatures has led to the exchange of the power of an indestructible life for the dominion of death. Human glory is further linked with the power of immortality through its correlation with incorruptibility and eternal life as the reward for Christian obedience in Paul's account of humanity's quest for glory, incorruptibility and peace (Romans 2). We also observe this link through the already and not-yet nature of glorification as seen in the believer's paradoxical existence as mortal and yet eternally alive (Romans 8).

9.3.3 Eschatological Glory and Power

Eschatological glory as the believers' *hope of future glory* is portrayed primarily as *sovereign power* and the *power of incorruptibility*. We observe this connection in various ways. Fallen humanity's lack of divine glory and failure to

reach it as a goal is characterised as domination by sin and as the loss of the power of incorruptibility (Romans 3, cf. Romans 5). In Romans 4, the promise of a future cosmic inheritance to Abraham and his descendants by faith refers to the eschatological restoration of sovereign power, and glory, over a renewed creation. Romans 5 characterises the believers' hope of future glory as sharing in Christ's resurrection life with the associated sovereign power over a restored creation and the power of incorruptibility (Romans 5, cf. Romans 4).

In Romans, there are other ways in which future eschatological glory is associated with the power of incorruptibility and reign. First, it is associated as *divine promise* to Jews and Gentiles as descendants of Abraham through resurrection faith (Romans 4 and 9). It is also linked as the *divine purpose* for vessels of mercy (Romans 9). Finally the association between eschatological glory and the power of incorruptibility and reign can also be found in the notion of *divine wealth/generosity* as the “wealth of divine glory” made known to vessels of mercy, in the believers' experience of Christ's generosity through the sharing of his glory, and in the wealth for Gentile believers (Romans 9-11).

The motifs of *suffering* and *divine sonship* are also closely linked with eschatological glory. Romans 5 highlights the fact that suffering bolsters the hope of glory through character formation – suffering produces perseverance, perseverance produces proven character and proven character results in hope (cf. Romans 15). Indeed, Paul asserts that Christological co-suffering is the *sine qua non* of co-glorification for believers (Romans 8, cf. Romans 15). With respect to divine sonship, we find the *Spirit* as the agent of divine sonship in its role of transforming and empowering believers to be God's children to glorify him in obedience; this sonship is consummated in their future glorification through their conformity to Christ's image as they share his sonship that is linked with the power of incorruptibility and eschatological reign over a renewed creation (Romans 8).

The discussion of suffering and eschatological glory also brings us to the notion of the relationship between the *glory and power of creation*. Romans 8 highlights the notion of creation's fate being tied to that of its ruler by describing the solidarity between creation and believers in terms of suffering and future glory.

Romans 8 also depicts the restored glory of creation as its liberation from corruption, i.e. enjoying the freedom of the power of incorruptibility, albeit as a qualified freedom in its submission to believers as they exercise their dominion over a renewed creation that is concomitant with their glorification.

The subject of human *boasting* touches the areas of divine, human and eschatological glory. Paul rules out all boasting that denotes pride in symbolic “human capital” which makes one worthy of divine justification, or confidence and self-glorifying in God’s eschatological vindication/justification, based on election and obedience to the Torah (Romans 3). Instead the only valid boasting is based on God’s action in Christ, i.e. the only worth is found in Christ, and is associated with *divine power*. We see this in the content of boasting, be it (1) the *hope of divine glory*, i.e. *eschatological glory*, that is grounded in God’s work in Christ and denotes a share in Christ’s sonship that is associated with *sovereign power* and the *power of incorruptibility*, or (2) *suffering* that not only bolsters the hope of glory but as co-suffering with Christ is the essential condition for *co-glorification*, or (3) *God through Christ through whom believers have received reconciliation* (Romans 5 and 8). Paul’s *gospel ministry* also forms the content of boasting because it is Christ’s ministry with its *τέλος* as the *Gentiles’ obedience of faith to Christ’s rule* that glorifies God, with *divine power* as the means by which this is achieved (Romans 15).

9.3.4 Glory and Power Within and Beyond the Christian Community

Glory is also closely associated with power in various ways within and beyond the believing community. In the *divine restoration of glory/power* to believers, God has begun to restore believers from the present human condition of powerlessness and dishonour with a bestowal of glory/power upon them in the distribution of a trusteeship to each believer, in their status as divine slaves and through their participation in Christ’s resurrection life (Romans 12-14). Secure in God’s present bestowal of glory and in their future co-glorification with Christ, believers can glorify God through their reasonable worship/service, live holy lives, welcome one another, serve each other humbly and take the lead to honour one

another in brotherly love, without fear of loss of honour, in a reversal of the competitive quest for honour and power of this age (Romans 12-15).

Glory is also linked to power in the *paradoxical nature of the path to eschatological glory*, as the content of the believers' hope; this path is trodden through the experience of powerlessness and shame/dishonour by sharing the powerlessness and dishonour of weaker siblings, in imitation of Christ (Romans 15).

Glory is also correlated with power in the *believers' interaction with civil authorities* whereby believers honour the civil authorities as *an act of submission* to them based on their appointment by God and their role as God's servants in encouraging the good and punishing evil (Romans 13). Confident in their God-given positions of glory/power, believers can also act as honourable benefactors in doing good to society through humble service, and gain honour from the civil authorities as reward for their benefaction (Romans 13).

Finally, glory is linked to power with the *glorification of God as the telos of Christ's ministry and power*. Jewish and Gentile believers, united in Christ, glorify God in all aspects of their lives, in recognition of the divine mercy, welcome and power, including the power of the risen Lord, thus fulfilling the telos of humanity in doxology (Romans 14-15). The telos of the gospel, centred in the person and work of Christ, and the content of Paul's boast in his apostolic ministry, as an extension of Jesus' ministry to the Gentiles, is the glory of God in the realization of humanity's obedience of faith to Christ's rule (Romans 15-16). With the association of glory with power, it is not surprising that this is accomplished solely through divine glory/power (Romans 15).

9.4 Areas for Further Study

A study on the association between glory and power can also be undertaken in other Pauline letters such as Philippians and 1 Thessalonians, in the Deutero-Pauline epistles such as Ephesians and Colossians, and in the wider NT corpus such as Revelation. In Philippians 3, glory is closely associated with power and resurrection, as noted by Joseph Fitzmyer, where Paul desires to know Christ and

“τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ” and indicates that Christ will transform believers’ bodies into “σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ὑποτάξαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα” (Philippians 3:10, 21).² Ephesians 1 contains a high occurrence of the use of δόξα associated with divine glory, culminating with Paul’s prayer that the Ephesian believers may be enlightened to know the *hope* of God’s calling, the riches of the *glory* of God’s inheritance in the saints and the greatness of the divine *power* for them; this is the same power that raised Christ and enthroned him above all other powers (Ephesians 1:18-22) – language that is similar to what we have seen in Romans. Revelation, with frequent collocations of glory with power, especially in the ascription of glory and power to God, is another book that holds much potential for fruitful study on the association between glory and power, and the implications of such an association for understanding various passages, for example Revelation 1:6; 11:13 and 19:1. It is hoped that this study on the association of glory with power in Romans has contributed to the study of glory in Romans and opened up new vistas for fruitful investigation of glory in other parts of the Pauline corpus and in the wider NT.

² Fitzmyer, “To Know Him,” 1981, 209–12 notes various associations of glory with power in the Pauline corpus.

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