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Abstract

Paul's Purpose in Writing Romans:
The Upbuilding of a Jewish and Gentile Christian Community in Rome

Lung-Kwong Lo
October, 1988

The aim of this thesis is to provide a comprehensive study of Paul's purpose in writing Romans, showing the coherence between the 'frame' and the 'body' of the letter and the relationship between the situation of Roman Christians and the main argument of the letter. In order to bring a more objective approach to the study of the letter, we develop a methodology which we call *personae* analysis. This approach takes Romans seriously as a letter and as Paul's argumentation in the context of the interaction between himself and his addressees.

In Chapter 1, we argue for the feasibility of studying Romans as a letter addressed to the situation in Rome. In Chapters 2 to 4 (Part I), we use information mainly from Roman authors, Jewish authors and the inscriptional data from Roman Jewish catacombs to reconstruct a plausible situation of the Roman Jewish community in the first century C.E. with special reference to the social intercourse between Jews and Gentiles.

In Chapters 5 to 8 (Part II), we reconstruct a plausible situation of the Roman Christians and develop a hypothesis of Paul's purpose in writing Romans. We suggest that one of Paul's main purposes in writing the letter is to persuade the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome to build up a Christian community net-work, which he does by arguing in accordance with his understanding of the gospel. With the assumption that Gentile Christians are not required to become Jews and Jewish Christians are not expected to relinquish their connection with non-Christian Jews, Paul expects that he can promote the upbuilding of this community net-work by means of his letter before he arrives in Rome to launch his mission to Spain. Thus this community net-work would give concrete support to his mission to Spain and spiritual support for his journey to Jerusalem.

In Chapters 9 to 11 (Part III), we test our hypothesis in a survey of Paul's main argument in the doctrinal core of the letter, Rm. 1-11.

In the Conclusion, we draw out from our study some theological, missiological and hermeneutical implications for our understanding of Paul, his letters and his relationship with Judaism.

Paul's Purpose In Writing Romans: The Upbuilding of A Jewish and Gentile Christian Community In Rome

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from it should be acknowledged.

by

Lung-Kwong Lo

Thesis submitted in Fulfil ment of the Requirements
For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
University of Durham

October, 1988

21 APR 1992

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Preface

In the modern history of China, to be Chinese and a Christian is not easy. Since the nineteenth century, Christianity has been accused of being a foreign religion which helped western imperialism to invade China. Among many intellectuals, to be an authentic Chinese is to reject Christianity. To embrace Christianity is to be a traitor to Chinese culture. This is surely a sad consequence of the encounter between Christian gospel and Chinese culture.

Nevertheless, the issue of the relationship between gospel and culture is not new. As a matter of fact, it probably emerged at the beginning of the Christian movement in the contexts of first century Judaism and Hellenism. How to be a Jew and a Christian, how to be a Gentile and a Christian, how to be a Jew and a Roman citizen, and how to be a Jew, a Roman citizen and a Christian, were probably crucial issues faced by the earliest Christians. With this assumption and the hope that a study of the identity crisis among the Jews and Christians may shed light on the understanding of the situation of Chinese Christians, I started my research as a comparative study of Paul and Josephus' understanding of Jewish identity with particular reference to the situation of the Jewish community in Rome. However, even this limited goal soon proved too ambitious in the time available and I realized the validity of Prof. E. P. Sanders' (1977: xi) statement that "comparative studies should not be undertaken too early, nor under the time pressure of a doctoral program." At the same time, studies of the relationship between the situation of the Christian community in Rome and Paul's purpose in writing to that community proved to be a continuing and growing subject of controversy which justified and indeed required a fresh full scale treatment. I would however hope to be able to return to my original plan in the future because of the continuing relevance to my future which is in the Far East.

In bringing these years of research to a close, it is only appropriate to thank those who have contributed so much to the preparation of this thesis. First of all I would like to give thanks to the Methodist people in Hong Kong and Britain. The Hong Kong Methodist Church (HKMC) generously granted me a three years study leave after I had served nine years in circuits. The British Methodist Church Overseas Division (MCOD) kindly provided financial help to me and my wife during the period of our stay in Durham. The personal support of Rev. Lincoln Leung, the ex-President of HKMC, and Miss Susan Barr of MCOD are very much appreciated.

In the lonely path of research, my supervisor, Prof. James D. G. Dunn, deserves my highest gratitude. In the past three years he has read nearly 180,000 words of my writing. His constant support, encouragement, guidance and direction throughout the development of the thesis have made the completion of this study possible. His

generosity in making available time and materials, and his assistance in arranging opportunities for me to meet other scholars, have meant more than can be expressed here. Furthermore, I would add a special word of thanks for his kindness in giving me access to the complete manuscript of his forthcoming commentary on Romans before I finished this thesis. The friendship of Prof. and Mrs. Dunn has made both mine and my wife's life in Durham even more enjoyable.

The privilege of studying Romans in Durham is of course the chance to meet two great modern English commentators on Romans. Prof. and Mrs. Barrett warmly invited us to their home. Prof. Barrett kindly spared time to discuss my research and read my paper on Acts 28. His advice and constant concern about my work is so valuable to me. In his busy schedule of editing the ICC, Prof. Cranfield always made time available to see me. He read the draft of the Introduction, Conclusion and almost all my exegesis on Romans (Chs. 5 to 11). He patiently gave detailed advice on my papers and discussed all the questions I raised. He kindly allowed me to disagree with him on some issues and constantly encouraged me by saying that scholarship is advanced by people constantly developing new hypotheses. The loving generosity and hospitality of Prof. and Mrs. Cranfield are deeply felt in my heart.

The link between Durham and Tübingen has provided opportunity for me to spend August of 1987 in Tübingen. Prof. Otto Betz kindly spared time to meet me three times during my short stay there. Throughout the period of my research, he read nearly all my manuscript and gave invaluable comment on it through correspondence. The hospitality of Mrs. Betz and Cornelia made my time in Tübingen most memorable. The kindness of Prof. Betz made me very much indebted to him.

In the course of my study, with the kind assistance of Prof. Dunn, I had the chance to discuss my research with Profs. Raymond Brown, Peter Stuhlmacher, Howard Kee and Martin Rese. Prof. Rese kindly read and commented on the draft of Chapter 5 and 9. Furthermore, in different stages of my research, Drs. John Barclay, James Beckford, Per Bilde, William Campbell, Andrew Chester, David Hunt, David Jasper, Walter Klaiber, Tessa Rajak, Rainer Riesner, Anthony Thi selton, Profs. J. C. Beker, Peter Lampe, Hermann Lichtenberger read and gave advice on parts of the draft. Dr. William Morrice read and corrected some mistakes in the draft of Introduction and Chapters 5 to 8. Prof. Klaus Haacker kindly sent the manuscript of his lecture on Romans to me. I am very grateful to all for their help. Moreover, I have to single out Dr. Francis Watson for my gratitude. Although we have some critical differences in interpreting Paul and Romans, we share some basic assumptions in studying Romans. In fact, his stimulating book helped me in clarifying my own position and in developing my own thesis. Dr. Watson also kindly spared time to discuss my thesis in his office, answered my numerous questions and gave very useful comments on the draft of Chapters 5 to 8 through correspondence. His encouragement and friendship are one of the invaluable profits I gained during my

study in England.

In listing the names of so many prominent scholars here, I am fully aware of the danger of loading upon them the responsibility for the shortcomings of my thesis. However, my purpose is simply to record my gratefulness and happy memory of the time I had with them and to show that without their help the quality of my work would be the poorer. Needless to say, the responsibility for any mistakes in this thesis remains solely my own.

Academic research would be futile without the support of many other friends. Mrs. Rebecca and Rev. John Wong in London provided every support we needed during our stay in Britain. Miss Regina Stierlen and Mr. Kin Wah Ku and his family made my stay in Tübingen more enjoyable and memorable. Prof. and Mrs. Kaim-Caudle of the Sociology and Social Policy Department; friends in the Theology Department, especially Mrs. Margaret Parkinson, Young Ki Yu, Paul Trebilco, Nicholas Taylor, Ellen Christiansen; staff in the University Library: Mrs. Hilda Guy, Alisoun Roberts, Joyce Geyer, Margaret Lawton, Eric Watchman, Gwynneth Thomas, Anne Billen, Iris Armstrong, Brenda Roberts, Wendy Stephenson; caretakers and security guards of the University: John, Ernie, Derek, Jeff, Bill, Lawrence, Ken, Mark, all of them provide a warm and loving environment to study in Durham. Friends from Hong Kong, who are also in Durham, especially Deborah Au, Andy Choy, Raymond Choy, Moby, Hilda and John Chow, gave numerous help and made a lot of fun in the past years. Friends of Elvet Methodist Church, especially Anne, Jamie, Daphne and John Reece, Mary Tribe, Brenda and John Farish, and friends of Newcastle Chinese Christian Fellowship, especially Chou Wee Pan and his family, Alice and Eddy Tang, Teresa and Desmond Chong, share fellowship and their love with us. Furthermore, Miss Sue Corp, Mr. John Farish and Mr. Eric Watchman kindly and generously spared a lot of their time and energy to help me in making my 'Chinese English' in this thesis more intelligible. To all of them, I am greatly indebted.

Finally on a personal note, I and my wife are very grateful for the support of our families in Australia and Hong Kong. Their love and support made us feel at home even in a foreign land. Above all comes my debt to my mother, whose years of sacrifice on her family's behalf is I hope rewarded in some small measure by the completion of this thesis, and to Anne, my wife, whose love and encouragement have been a constant support in all the hours spent on this work. Moreover, the loving memory of my father, whose example of faith in Christ, love of people and our country, and endurance in suffering, has always been a supporting force behind me in facing challenges in my daily life. To my mother and my wife, and in memory of my father, I dedicate this thesis.

Declaration

I confirm that no part of the material offered has previously been submitted by me for a degree in this or in any other university.

Lung Kwong Lo

Date: 25th October, 1988.

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Note on Bibliogaphical References

The BIBLIOGRAPHY on pp. 549-592 is divided into three parts: I. Primary Sources, II. Commentaries, III. Articles, Books and Theses. Dictionaries are not listed in the bibliography, but are to be found in the ABBREVIATIONS on pp. xii-xvii. In the notes, most of the primary sources are referred to by abbreviations, e.g. AJ, or by the author's name together with key word(s) of the title, e.g. Philo, Legatio. Other works are referred to by the author's name followed by (in brackets) the year of publication, volume or section number, and page number(s), e.g. Bultmann (1952 I: 234ff.). In most cases, the year refers to the publication year of the work in its original language. Commentaries are further indicated by an abbreviation (see pp. xii-xvii) of the book, e.g. Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 345). If an author published more than one work in any year, the works are differentiated by letters following the year of publication, e.g. Dunn (1987a: 221), (1987b: 2878). Full bibliographical details are found in the bibliography; in it, a year following the name of the publisher refers to the year of printing of the work consulted. In this thesis, most of the biblical references are quoted from RSV unless stated otherwise, e.g. NASB, NIV.

Note on Greek Transliterations

In this thesis, all Greek words are in bold type. ~~With regard to the transliteration, I have followed the practice of J. R. Alsop in Index to the Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich Greek Lexicon (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1977).~~ Accents are not indicated and rough breathing is represented by h. The transliteration is straight forward except for a few characters as indicated below:

ē	=	η
th	=	θ
x	=	ξ
r	=	ρ
ph	=	φ
ch	=	χ
ps	=	ψ
ō	=	ω

With regard to the *iota subscriptum*, I have followed the basic suggestion of H. Leclercq in "The Transliteration of New Testament Greek" NTS 19 (1972-73: 187 - 190) as follows:

a/i	=	α_{ι}
8/i	=	η_{ι}
w/i	=	ω_{ι}

Abbreviations

A	Commentary on Acts
AB	The Anchor Bible, N. Y.: Doubleday
A - G	A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, ed. W. F. Arndt & F. W. Gingrich. (Chicago: University Press, 1957)
AHG	Apostolic History and the Gospel, Biblical and Historical Essays presented to F. F. Bruce on his 60th Birthday, edd. W. W. Gasque & R. P. Marton (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1970)
AJ	Antiquitates Judaicae, Josephus
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, edd. H. Temporini & W. Haase (Berlin/N.Y., Walter de Gruyter) multi-volume work divided into sections.
APOT	The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, ed. R.H. Charles (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913) 2 vols.
ATR	Anglican Theological Review, Evanston
AV	Authorized Version
BDF	A. Blass and A. Debrunner, A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature, trans. & rev. R. W. Funk (Chicago and London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1961)
Beginnings	The Beginnings of Christianity, ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson & K. Lake (London: Macmillan, 1920 - 1933) 5 volumes.
BJ	Bellum Judaicum, Josephus
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester.
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries, ed. H. Chadwick.
BZNW	Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der Alteren Kirche, (Berlin, Verlag con Alfred Topelmann)

CA	Contra Apionem, Josephus
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CCNTG	Computer Concordance to the Novum Testamentum Graece, ed. Institute for New Testament Textual Research and the Computer Centre of Münster University, 2nd ed. (Berlin and New York: W.de Gruyter, 1985)
CHI	Christian History and Interpretation: Studies Presented to John Knox, ed. W. R. Farmer, C. F. D. Moule, R. R. Niebuhr (Cambridge: University Press, 1967)
CIH	Corpus Inscriptionum Hebraicarum
CIJ	Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum, ed. J. B. Frey, 1935 (Rome: Pontifical Institute of Christian Archaelogy, 1936, 1952) 2 vols.
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
Col	Commentary on Colossians
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testament, ed. M. de Jonge & S. Safrai (Assen, Van Gorcum & Comp. B. V.) 3 volumes divided into sections.
DCA	A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities: Mythology, Religion, Literature and Arts, rev. & edd. H. Nettleship & J. E. Sandy (London: Swan Sounenschein, 1894)
Debate	The Romans Debate, ed. K. P. Donfried (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1977)
E	Commentary on Exodus
EJ	Encyclopaedia Judaica (Jerusalem, Keter)
EKK	Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum NT
ET	English translation
EvTh	Evangelische Theologie
ExpT	Expository Times
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments series (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht)
FS	Festschrift
G	Commentary on Galatians

GLAJJ	Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism, ed. M. Stern (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974, 80, 84) 3 vols.
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr)
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament (Freiburg/ Basel/ Wien, Herder & Herder)
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
I	Commentary on Isaiah
IC	Commentary on I Corinthians
ICC	The International Critical Commentary
IDB & IDBS	The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, (Nashville: Abingdon, 1962) 4 vols. & Supplement (1976)
II C	Commentary on II Corinthians
ITQ	Irish Theological Quarterly, Dublin, Maynooth.
J	Commentary on the Gospel of John
JAC	Jahrbuch fuer Antike und Christentum
JAOS	Journal of American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JETS	Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JSJ	Journal for Study of Judaism
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament, Sheffield
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Sheffield
KEK	Kritish - exegetischer Kommentar ueber das NT
L	Commentary on the Gospel of Luke
LCL	Loeb Classical Library

M & M	The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-literary Sources, ed. J. H. Moulton & G. Milligan. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1914 - 29)
Mk	Commentary on the Gospel of Mark
MNTC	Moffatt New Testament Commentary
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
Mt	Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew
MT	Masoretic Text of OT
NASB	New American Standard Bible, The Lockman Foundation
NCB	New Century Bible
NDIEC	New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity, ed. G. H. R. Horsley (Sydney: Macquarie Univ., 1981-) multi-volume work.
NEB	New English Bible
NIC	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIDNTT	The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology, ed. C. Brown, (Exeter: Paternoster, 1975 - 1978), 3 volumes.
NIGTC	The New International Greek Testament Commentary
NIS	Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes, ed. L. Robert, Paris, 1964.
NIV	New International Version, 1978, New York International Bible Society.
NovT	Novum Testamentum, Leiden.
NT	New Testament
NTE	C. K. Barrett, New Testament Essays (London: SPCK, 1972)
NTS	New Testament Studies
NTQT	New Testament Questions of Today, E. Kaesemann, (London: SCM, 1969)
OCD	The Oxford Classical Dictionary, edd. N.G.L. Hammond & H.H. Scullard (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970)

ODCC	The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 2nd ed., ed. F. L. Cross & E. A. Livingstone (Oxford: Univ. Press, 1983)
ODS	D. H. Farmer, The Oxford Dictionary of Saints (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978)
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTP	The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, ed. J.H. Charlesworth (N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983,1985) 2 vols.
P	Commentary on Philippians
P & P	Paul and Paulinism: Essays in Honour of C. K. Barrett, edd. M. D. Hooker and S. G. Wilson (London: SPCK, 1982)
PS	Pauline Studies, Essays presented to Prof, F.F. Bruce on his 70th birthday, edd. D.A. Hagner & M.J. Harris (Exeter, Paternoster)
R	Commentary on Romans
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RTR	The Reformed Theological Review, Victoria, Australia.
RV	Revised Version
S - B	Strack, H. L. & Billerbeck, P.. Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch (München: C. H. Becksche Verlagsbuchhandlung Oskar Beck, 1920-1961) 6 vols.
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology, Edinburgh
SLA	Studies in Luke-Acts, ed. L. E. Keck and J. L. Martyn, first published in 1966 and reprinted with a new introduction in 1980 (Philadelphia, Fortress)
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series (Cambridge, University Press)
SPCIC	Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus Internationalis Catholicus, 1961 (Rome: Pont ifical Biblical Institute Press, 1963) 2 vols.
StEv	Studia Evangelica, Texte und Untersuchungen, (Berlin, Akademie Verlag)

StTh	Studia Theologica
T	Commentary on Thessalonians
TAPA	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, ed. G. Friedrich & G. Kittel, trans. & ed. G. W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964 - 1976), 10 volumes.
TEV	Today's English Version
THNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum NT
TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
TRE	Theologische Realenzyklopaedie, hrsg. G. Krause, G. Mueller et al. (Berlin / N.Y., Walter de Gruyter), multi-volume work.
TU	Text und Untersuchungen: zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur (Berlin, Akademie-Verlag)
TWNT	Theologisches Woerterbuch zum Neuen Testament, hrsg. G. Kittel und G. Friedrich (Stuttgart,1933 - 73), 10 vols.
TynB	Tyndale Bulletin
TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
V	Vita, Josephus
VKGNT	Vollstaendige Konkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament, ed. K. Aland et al. (Berlin & N. Y.,: Walter de Gruyter, 1978-1983) 3 vols.
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary, Edd. D. A. Hubbard et al. (Waco: Words Books)
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, Tuebingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck)
ZNW	Zeitschrift fuer die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZTK	Zeitschrift fuer Theologie und Kirche

INTRODUCTION

A. The Issue

The position of Paul's letter to the Romans as the first of the Pauline letters[1] in our NT canon is probably not accidental. Its great influence in the history of Christianity has been adequately shown by its effect on great Christian figures, such as Augustine, Luther, Wesley and Barth. However, although much attention has been paid in NT research to the study of Romans,[2] and much of this in the context of its purpose,[3] the debate on Paul's purpose in writing the letter has not yet reached any strong consensus.

In 1977, the publication of The Romans Debate,[4] a collection of essays which mainly related to the recent dispute about the purpose of Romans,[5] focused upon the diverse opinions on the topic most sharply. ***The issue at stake is whether the letter addressed itself to the situation of Roman Christians or not.***[6] In other words, to enquire into Paul's purpose in writing Romans is, essentially, to ask why Paul raised in his letter issues, such as: his own Jewish identity and his apostleship to the Gentiles (1: 1-5; cf. 9: 1-4; 11:1, 13; 15: 16-28); "salvation to every one who has faith, to the Jew first and also to the Greek" (1: 16; cf. 2: 9, 10; 3: 1; 9: 4f.);

"the righteousness of God is revealed through faith" (1: 17; cf. 3: 20-31; 4: 11-16; 5: 1; 9: 30 - 10: 11); "there is no distinction between Jew and Greek" (10: 12; cf. 1: 16; 2:11; 3: 9, 22, 29, 30; 4: 9, 16; 9: 24); circumcision and faith (4: 9-16); peace and hope (5: 1-11); sin, grace and law (5: 20 - 7: 25); spirit and the love of Christ (Rm. 8); salvation of Jews and Gentiles (9-11); "one body in Christ" (12: 5); the 'weak' and the 'strong' (14: 1 - 15: 13); his plan to visit Rome (1: 9-15; 15: 22-32), Jerusalem (15: 25-31) and Spain (15: 23, 24, 28). Was Paul reflecting on his past experiences in his letter or was he applying wisdom gained from the past to the concrete situation of Roman Christians? Was Paul summing up his gospel or interpreting his gospel in a specific context? Was he expressing his own need or solving the problems of his addressees?

Although the alternatives in these questions are not necessarily mutually exclusive, they surely represent a very different orientation in interpreting Paul's message in Romans. They also have different theological, missiological and hermeneutical implications, such as: Whether Paul was generalizing his theology to a universal level in Romans[7] or applying his theological argument to a concrete situation? Whether Romans is 'the gospel' according to Paul[8] or is an example of his skill in contextualizing the gospel? Whether Romans is the key to interpreting the other Pauline letters[9] or is just one among all his letters, even though a very important one, which together provide evidence to help us to understand Paul and his thought? Whether it is justified in applying

historical critical method *fully* to the study of Romans?[10] Answers to these questions surely affect our presuppositions in understanding Paul, his works and theology. Therefore, *how to correlate satisfactorily the purpose of Romans with its content is a basic issue in interpreting Romans;*[11] *its result can deeply affect our study of Paul.*

B. A Review of Two Different Approaches in Tackling the Issue[12]

1. Romans as a letter *not* addressed to the situation in Rome

One clear consensus in the recent debate on Paul's purpose in writing Romans is that Romans was not intended as a timeless compendium of the Christian faith (christianae religionis compendium) as Melanchthon suggested.[13] However, although all scholars agree that Paul's letters usually addressed the situation of his addressees, many of them think that Romans is an exceptional case.[14] Most scholars suggest that Romans reflects Paul's past experiences rather than the situation of the Roman Christians.[15] Jervell,[16] who follows Fuchs[17] and is also followed by others,[18] advocates that it reflects Paul's concern for his journey to Jerusalem. Their main reasons in rejecting Romans as a letter addressed to the situation of Roman Christians are based on the textual problems of Rm. 16,[19] the general nature of the content of the letter,[20] Paul's ignorance about the situation of the Roman Christians,[21] and the observation that some main issues discussed in Romans are also found in other Pauline

letters, especially in Galatians and Corinthians.[22]

As will be shown in detail below (Ch. 1), these objections do not carry sufficient weight to make us reject the application to Romans of the methodological principle employed in studying other letters as letters addressed to concrete situations. Indeed, there is a reasonable amount of evidence to enable us to reconstruct a plausible situation in Rome and to study the letter accordingly (see chs. 2 - 5). Furthermore, there are at least two vital weaknesses in the approach of studying Romans as a letter only or mainly reflecting Paul's past experiences:

a. It emphasizes the similarities between Romans and other Pauline letters but overlooks the distinctive features of Romans.[23] The similarities can be easily explained by the common authorship, but the distinctiveness would be better explained by referring to the specific situation of the addressees.[24]

b. This approach does not provide a coherent explanation of the relationship between the 'frame' (1: 1-17; 15: 14-33; 16) and the 'body' (1: 18 - 15: 13) of the letter. In fact it usually overlooks the significance of both Paul's expression of his personal feelings towards his addressees, and of his plan of visiting Rome in the 'frame' of the letter.[25] Many scholars point out that the difficulties in understanding Paul's purpose in writing the letter from the evidence revealed in the 'frame' lie in some 'discrepancies' found there. The most important 'discrepancies' are such as Paul's 'contradictory' intentions of visiting Rome as seen in

1: 11-15 and 15: 23f.,28;[26] and Paul's inconsistency in expressing his wish to make Rome his mission field on the one hand (1: 13-15), and, on the other, asserting his missionary principle that he would not build on another man's foundation (15: 20; cf. II Cor. 10: 15f.).[27] However, these 'discrepancies' are not real obstacles. As will be shown below (chs.6 and 8), the two paralleled "apostolic parousia" passages[28] in 1: 8-15 and 15: 14-32 probably 'bracket' the message addressed in the body of the letter. A close examination of the similarities and differences between these two passages will probably give important evidence which will help us to understand Paul's purpose in writing Romans. Furthermore, the confusion caused by Paul's ambiguous intention of making Rome his mission field is probably based on a wrong traditional interpretation of **karpos** in 1: 13 (see **Ch. 8**).

With regard to the interpretation of Romans as a letter reflecting Paul's concern for his journey to Jerusalem, this suggestion also does not make much sense when considered with those passages in which Paul persistently expresses his wish to visit Rome and Spain on the one hand, and does not explain the fact that the letter was sent to Rome on the other.[29] Furthermore, as will be shown in our study of 15: 14-33 (see **ch. 6**), as Paul's account of his journey to Jerusalem (15: 25-28a, 31) is bracketed by the expression of his desire to visit Rome (15: 22-24, 28b, 29, 32), it is more natural to interpret the significance of Paul's account of his journey to Jerusalem in the context of his plan to visit Rome and Spain rather than *vice versa*.

Therefore, *any suggestion about Paul's purpose in writing Romans must be judged on the principle of whether it is consistent with the evidence found in both the 'frame' and the 'body' of the letter.*[30] According to this principle, the approach of seeing Romans *not* as a letter addressed to the situation in Rome lacks conviction.

2. Romans as a letter addressed to the situation in Rome

Since there does not seem to be any strong a priori reason to study Romans as different from Paul's other letters, it is more natural to study Romans as a letter addressed to the situation of Roman Christians. Moreover, while not many scholars have explored this approach in the past,[31] it is probably a fruitful way for us in studying the letter.

F. C. Baur is perhaps the first to advocate an interpretation of Romans based not only upon knowledge of Paul's circumstances but also upon knowledge of the Roman Christian community at the time the letter was written.[32] However, his insight was probably marred by his mistakes in insisting that the majority of Roman Christians were Jewish Christians,[33] and also in introducing the Hegelian philosophy of history as a dominant underlying principle for interpreting early church history.[34] Nevertheless, his insight in so interpreting Romans has rightly been reemphasized recently. This is shown in a growing consensus among scholars that the situation in Rome must be taken into account in the study of Romans.[35] As far as we are aware, there are two major monographs published in the last

two decades which are devoted to studying Paul's purpose in writing Romans as a letter addressed to the situation of Roman Christians.[36]

The first one is written by Paul Minear. In his The Obedience of Faith: The Purposes of Paul in the Epistle to the Romans (1971), Minear rightly points out that the Christian Community was composed of at least five or six different house churches rather than a single Christian congregation where Jewish Christians worshipped side by side with Gentile Christians.[37] He is probably also correct in taking Rm. 14 - 16 as his starting point for delineating the situation of Roman Christians and then interpreting the whole letter accordingly. However, the weaknesses of Minear's work are rightly, in our opinion, criticized by Donfried. He says "While the direction of Minear's general interpretation is persuasive, it is open to question whether one can determine so precisely that there were five differentiated groups in the Roman churches.... we are hesitant to concur with Minear in attempting to relate almost every passage to some problem or opponent in Rome....[and] it is perhaps misleading to suggest an almost point by point correlation".[38] Furthermore, as will be shown below (see ch. 5-8), the problem in the Roman Christian community, which is reflected in Rm. 14 - 16 and 1: 1-17, was probably not "the question of how strength of faith was to be measured and secured" as stated by Minear.[39]

The second book is written by Markku Kettunen, Der Abfassungszweck des Roemerbriefes (1979). It is a revised

edition of his 1976 Tuebingen doctoral dissertation. In this book, Kettunen pays most of his attention to the evidence found in the 'frame' of the letter. He is probably right to suggest that the intention of Paul's visit to Rome is closely linked with the purpose of his letter,[40] and Paul's main purpose in writing Romans is to win support from Roman Christians in implementing his plan for a mission to Spain.[41] However, the main weakness of his work is that he does not spell out clearly the situation of the Roman Christians or show how his understanding of the purpose of the letter can be related to the main argument in the letter as a whole.

In the following study, we will engage ourselves further in discussing the opinions of Minear and Kettunen, as well as other scholars who also argue that the purpose of Romans is better explained from the perspective of the situation of Roman Christians.

C. The Challenge of the 'Paradigm Shift' in Pauline Study

One of the main defects of most of the recent studies on the purpose of Romans is that they did not incorporate the insights of recent developments in Pauline study into their discussion. In 1963, Stendahl published his influential article, "Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West". In that article, he challenged the Lutheran view on "Pauline Christianity"[42] and suggested that the original framework for interpreting Paul's thought was the relationship between Jews/Gentiles or Jewish Christians/Gentile Christians.[43] Stendahl's suggestion is largely confirmed by Sanders' in Paul and Palestinian

Judaism (1977). In his book, Sanders argues against the prevalent Christian view of Rabbinic Judaism as a religion of works-righteousness. He suggests that the general pattern of religion in Palestine before the destruction of the Temple was "co venantal nomism".[44] This pattern attributes salvation to God's gracious election of Israel and sees the law not as a way of 'getting in', but as a way of 'staying in' the covenant.[45] This new understanding of early Judaism has greatly challenged the Lutheran understanding of Paul as one who was attacking Judaism as a religion of legalistic works-righteousness.[46] Furthermore, Sanders agrees with Stendahl that the principal problem in Romans is that of Jews and Gentiles.[47]

However, although Stendahl and Sanders are pioneers in the recent development of Pauline study and their insights in this area have been widely claimed to give force to a 'paradigm shift' in Pauline study, especially on Romans,[48] their view on the Sitz im Leben of Romans follows a more traditional line of thinking. They both agree with Bornkamm's suggestion that Romans must be interpreted in the light of Paul's own situation and not in light of the situation in Rome.[49] Thus, an important challenge in the study of Romans is ***how to integrate the 'paradigm shift' in Pauline study with the growing consensus that Paul's letter to the Romans should be interpreted as a letter addressed to the situation of Roman Christians.***

Recently, this challenge has been partially taken up by Francis Watson. In his book, Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles (1986), he accepts Stendahl's and Sanders' views on Paul

and Judaism,[50] then attempts to reconstruct Paul's attitude towards Judaism and Jewish Christianity from those polemical passages in Galatians (e.g. Gal. 2) and Philippians (e.g. Phil. 3), and tests his case in Romans.[51] Watson claims that "there is the closest possible relationship between Paul's theological reflection and the social reality of Gentile Christian congregations separated from the synagogue. He [Paul] engages in theology in order to legitimate that reality".[52] As far as his discussion of Romans is concerned, there are at least five serious shortcomings in his work:[53]

(1) Although he claims to follow Baur in studying Romans "as a response to problems within the church at Rome",[54] his approach shows that he is primarily concerned to interpret Romans according to the understanding which he derived from his study of Paul's situation *before* Paul wrote his letter to Rome. He seems to assume that the "social reality" was basically the same at Galatia, Philippi and Rome.[54a]

(2) Since he does not pay serious attention to the situation in Rome,[55] he oversimplifies the situation of Roman Christians as if there were only two congregations organized by Jewish and Gentile Christians respectively.[56] In his reconstruction of the social reality of Roman Christians, he does not seem to be aware of the significance of Wiefel and Minear's observation that there were several house churches in Rome.[57] Furthermore, he also shows no awareness of the significance of the possible existence of several

synagogues in Rome and their interaction with the Gentile environment.[58] Rather, he seems to assume a well organized Roman Jewish community and a clear cut separation between Jews and Gentiles in the social life of Rome.[59]

(3) As will be shown below (see Ch. 5), although Watson rightly sees that "exegesis of Rm. 14: 1 - 15: 13 provides the key to the purpose of Paul's letter to the Romans",[60] his study of that passage does not do justice to the text and thus fails to reconstruct the situation of Roman Christians accordingly.

(4) He takes considerable pains to relate his interpretation of Paul's purpose in writing Romans with the 'body' of the letter. However, he does not show how this interpretation can be related to Paul's explicit statements of his expectations of the Roman Christians in the 'frame' of the letter.[61]

(5) His suggestion that Paul's addressees in Romans were primarily Jewish Christians[62] does not square with the general consensus that the majority of Christians in Rome were Gentiles.[63] In fact, he does not discuss the question of the relevance of Paul's message to the Gentile Christians. His suggestion is surely inconsistent with the evidence that Paul's climactic exhortation in 14: 1 - 15: 13 was directed more explicitly to the Gentile Christians (the 'strong', see **Chapter** 5 below).

Therefore, we conclude that Watson has failed to meet the challenge of integrating the 'paradigm shift' in Pauline study with the interpretation of Romans as a letter

addressed to the situation in Rome. That task is still waiting to be done.

D. Methodology: Personae Analysis

In the debate as to whether Romans was a letter addressing itself to the situation of Roman Christians or not, a kind of mirror-reading method is usually employed by both sides in arguing whether the letter reflects the past experiences of Paul's own situation or the situation of the Roman Christians. Since the text of Romans is our primary source for understanding the context of the letter, both of Paul and his addressees, there is no way to avoid this mirror-reading method in studying the letter.[64] Nevertheless, the point at stake is whether a more objective framework can be established within the text to serve as a kind of control in our mirror-reading of the text.

In searching for a more objective approach to study the purpose of Romans, there are two observations which come from considering the argument of both sides of the debate which are significant to our concern:

1. *Romans as a letter*

In the debate, the nature of Romans as a letter is not questioned.[65] In other words, it is agreed that Romans was a letter sent from Paul to Christians in Rome, no matter what purpose Paul had in mind.[66] According to the study of ancient epistolography,[67] there were three essential elements belonging to the basic character of the letter:[68]

(a) philophronēsis: the basic element of friendship which exists between the sender and the recipient.[69]

(b) parousia: this is considered as the most important function of the letter, which is to make the 'absent' become 'present' ("die apousia zur parousia machen").[70]

(c) homilia: this primarily denotes a dialogue. In other words, homilia through a letter leads to communion and intercourse one with the other.[71]

If this was indeed the case, it implies that Romans probably functioned as a means of social intercourse between Paul and the Roman Christians as if Paul were present among them.[72] In other words, Paul and the Roman Christians were the primarily dialogical partners in the letter. The persons 'I' (**egō**) and 'you (plural)' (**humeis**), together with the related verbs, in the text should primarily represent Paul and Roman Christians, as a whole or in part, unless proved otherwise from the context of the letter.[73] From the text, we can see what characteristics were attributed to the 'I' and 'you (plural)', and what was the relationship between them. Furthermore, we have to pay attention to the other 'persons' occurring in the text, especially 'we' (**hēmeis**) and 'you (singular)' (**su**). For 'we' primarily denotes the 'I' and other(s), who could be his audience or someone else.[74] Moreover, 'we' could be used as an authorial plural.[75] Although the occurrence of 'you (singular)' in a letter addressed to a community seems to be strange. As will be discussed below (see **Ch. 1**), it can denote individuals in the community or function as a rhetorical device (in diatribal style) to typify the

experiences or concern of individuals among the audience in order to involve them in dialogue with the sender of the letter.[76] Nevertheless, the identities and functions of these first and second persons in the text would be decided in the context of each occurrence.

In 1982, Cranfield published an important article to discuss the changes of persons and number in Paul's letters. He observes that Paul's use of the different persons and his sometimes remarkably rapid transitions from one to another are significant for our understanding of Paul's argument in his letters. He suggests that a closer attention to them may contribute to the exegesis of the letters.[77]

Thus it is quite possible that by analysing the occurrences of the first person (singular and plural) and the second person (singular and plural), pronouns and verbs, we might establish a basic framework within the text for us to study the characteristics of the sender (as presented by himself) and the addressees (as presented by the sender) and the interaction between them.

2. *Romans as Paul's argumentation*

As a response to the debate between Donfried and Karris on the purpose of Romans, Wuellner charges that their methodological premise is based on a false presupposition which sees Paul's letter as literature or poetics. He suggests that Paul's letter should be considered primarily as argumentation.[78] He quotes Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca in defining argumentation as the use of discourse "to

influence the intensity of an audience's adherence to certain theses".[79] If we apply this understanding to our study of Romans,[80] it implies that in Romans Paul was persuading his Roman audience to accept certain theses. In other words, the letter was not simply providing information by the sender to the recipients but represented a process of persuasion. If this observation is correct, it implies that the 'I' and the 'you' in the text are also involved in a process of persuasion. In other words, there are two processes of persuasion. One is in process between the sender and the recipients in which the letter is the means of persuasion. The other is in process within the letter, primarily between the 'I' (the "implied author") and the 'you' (the "implied reader").[81] If the sender is a competent communicator, these two processes of persuasion should correspond. The one within the letter should reflect the one attempted by means of the letter.[82]

These two observations are significant for us in seeking to find a more objective approach to study Romans. Firstly, the fact that Romans was a letter implies the existence of a relationship between the sender and the recipients. If the sender has any knowledge about the recipients his knowledge should be reflected in the text. The characteristics of the sender (the "implied author"), reflected in the letter, are the characteristics which the sender chooses to communicate to his recipients.[83] The fact that they were chosen may suggest that they were relevant to his interaction with his recipients. Secondly, the observation that Romans is Paul's argumentation leads us to understand the nature of the interaction between the

sender and his recipients in terms of persuasion. This process of persuasion should be represented primarily by the method of persuasion involving the first person and second person in the letter.

Thus, in the following study of Paul's purpose in writing Romans, we will approach the text by bearing the following questions in mind:

(1) *Who are the persons in the text?*
(2) *What are the characteristics of these persons?*
(3) *What are the relationships between these persons?*
(4) *What are the positions and functions of these persons in the process of persuasion as reflected in the letter?*

For convenience, we name this approach **personae analysis.**[84] Since the first person (singular and plural) and second person (plural and singular) form the basic framework of interaction in the letter, our personae analysis will focus on studying the occurrences of the first and second person (singular and plural) pronouns and verbs. If the context requires us to pay attention to the third person as well, we will do so accordingly. While we will proceed in our study with the assumption that Romans was a letter addressed to the situation of Roman Christians, we will also focus our enquiry on ***how the persuasion in the letter can be related to the situation in Rome.*** We hope that by using the interaction between the first person and the second person within the text as the framework for our study of Paul's purpose in writing

Romans, we can also have a better approach to understanding what was the aim of Paul's persuasion in the letter.

E. The Aim and the Outline of the Study

In view of the importance of understanding the purpose of Romans in interpreting the letter, and the challenge of the recent 'paradigm shift' in Pauline study, a comprehensive study of Paul's purpose in writing Romans which can show the coherence between the 'frame' and the 'body' of the letter on the one hand, and the relationship between the situation of Roman Christians and the main argument of the letter as a whole on the other, is necessary. This is what we attempt to do in this thesis.

In the following chapters, we will first answer the questions raised against the interpretation of Romans as a letter addressed to the situation of Roman Christians and also show the distinctive features of Romans which called for an interpretation in relation to the situation in Rome (**Chapter 1**). Then we hope to show that we have a reasonable amount of evidence to reconstruct a plausible social reality in Rome with special reference to the situation of the Roman Jewish community and the social interactions between Jews and Gentiles (**Part I: Chapter 2 -4**).

In the light of our understanding of the situation of the Roman Jewish community, we study the situation of the Roman Christians from the evidence in the text of Romans. We attempt to show that the Sitz im Leben of Rm. 14: 1 - 15: 13 was not as general as many scholars have thought, and we will demonstrate that it is best interpreted in

relation to the specific occasion of the communal meal which was held as part of the worship in the house churches of Rome. We will suggest that after Claudius died in 54 C.E., many Jews, among them some Christians, returned to Rome. They probably started to reorganize the Jewish community into different synagogues as they had been before their expulsion by Claudius in 49 C.E.. There were some Christians, whether of Jewish or other ethnic origin, who continued to observe the Mosaic law (hereafter, we call them 'Jewish Christians') and also organized house churches. Alongside these were house churches which were organized by other Christians, whether Gentiles or Jewish, who did not observe the Mosaic law, especially in their worship (hereafter, we call them 'Gentile Christians'). These Jewish and Gentile Christians, who belonged to several different house churches, had difficulty in worshipping and eating the communal meal together in one another's house churches.

By means of our personae analysis, we hope to show that in 14: 1 - 15: 13 Paul explicitly admonished the Gentile Christians as a whole (with the understanding that the Jewish Christians stood in the background to overhear his message) to consider the difficult position of those Jewish Christians who were probably still connected with synagogues in Rome. In this analysis, on the one hand we hope to show a dialogical pattern of Paul's argument in Romans, which is probably also found in other parts of Romans; and on the other hand we will propose that in 14: 1 - 15: 13 Paul probably recommends a plausible condition

(14: 1 - 15: 6) for both Jewish and Gentile Christians to welcome one another to participate in worship and the communal meal held at their house churches (15: 7 -13).

This interaction between Jewish and Gentile Christians implies that a close social relationship linked up different house churches, probably in a similar fashion to the relationship among those synagogues in Rome. In shorthand form, we describe this social relationship as a *community net-work*. The hyphenated form of *'net-work'* is intended to show the relationship between different synagogues and house churches which were closely connected but not as a united organization. Through the relationships within the net-work, members of different house churches could worship and eat the communal meal at one another's house churches, could share faith, hope, knowledge, and spiritual experiences with one another (cf. 15: 14), and could share information (cf. Acts 28: 15, see **Excursus I**) or even resources (e.g. catacombs) with one another in a similar way to the Roman synagogues (see **Ch. 4**). ***Thus we will propose a preliminary hypothesis from the evidence of 14: 1 - 15: 13 that one of Paul's main purposes in Romans was to persuade the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome to build up a Christian community net-work, with the condition that Gentile Christians were not required to become Jews and Jewish Christians were not expected to relinquish their connection with non-Christian Jews*** (**Chapter 5**).

Our hypothesis will be tested and further developed in 15: 14 - 33 (**Chapter 6**). We will show that Paul expects

this community net-work to be able to provide concrete support for his mission plan in reference to Spain and spiritual support for his journey to Jerusalem. However, Paul's account of his journey to Jerusalem mainly functions in the letter as part of his exhortation to the Roman Christians to build up a Jewish and Gentile Christian community net-work in Rome before he arrives there from Jerusalem.

We will show that our hypothesis can be tested and further developed in our study of Rm. 16 (**Chapter 7**) and Rm. 1: 1-17 (**Chapter 8**). It will even be tested by considering whether it sheds light for us in understanding Acts 28: 13b-31, the only passage in the NT which gives an account of Paul's meeting with Christians and Jews in Rome (**Excursus I**).

Thus we will propose as our <u>further developed hypothesis</u> of Paul's main purpose in writing Romans that he hopes to persuade the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome to build up a Christian community net-work by arguing in accordance with his understanding of the gospel, so that he can promote the upbuilding of this community net-work before he arrives in Rome to launch his mission to Spain. He expects that this community net-work will give concrete support to his mission to Spain and spiritual support for his journey to Jerusalem.

The final test of our hypothesis will be carried out in a survey of Paul's main argument in the doctrinal core of Romans, chapter 1 to 11. We hope to demonstrate that Paul's argument in Rm. 1-11 is not purely theoretical but

related to the concrete situation of Roman Christians. Our hypothesis is not only consistent with the evidence in the doctrinal core of the Romans, but will also shed light in interpreting the letter (**Part III: Chapter 9 - 11**). Our findings not only are significant for the interpretation of Romans and the methodology for studying NT letters, but also have theological, missiological and hermeneutical implications for us in understanding Paul, his works and theology. We hope that our study will also help to inform and discipline our use of Romans for the practical needs and interests of the church in our own time (**Conclusion**).

Notes to Introduction

1. Traditionally, there are thirteen letters which are ascribed to Paul. In this thesis we will mainly use the evidence in the seven undisputed letters to support our argument, namely, Rm., I and II Cor., Gal., Phil., I Thess., Philm..
2. Donfried (1977a: ix) rightly sees that "the attention which Paul's letter to the Romans is receiving in contemporary biblical scholarship is staggering". For references to those commentaries and major monographs published between 1970-77, see Donfried (1977a: ix nn. 1-9). Commentaries and major new monographs on Romans published in 1977 and after, e.g. Cranfield (R, 1979 II); Wilckens (R, 1978-82); Maillot (R, 1984); Dunn (R, forthcoming); Gamble (1977); Kettunen (1979); Moxnes (1980); Stowers (1981); Bassler (1982); Huebner (1984); Badenas (1985); Wedderburn (1988b); for further references, see our bibliography.
3. In this study, although we use the singular form of **'purpose'** in discussing Paul's 'purpose' in writing Romans, we do not assume that Paul would have just one single purpose in mind.
   Apart from the fact that nearly all commentaries on Romans discuss the purpose of Romans in their introduction or appendix; e.g. Wilckens (R, 1978 I: 33-48); Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 814-23); many articles and monographs on Romans also discuss the relationship between the subject with which they

are concerned and the purpose of Romans; e.g. Gamble (1977: 132-7); Stowers (1981: 1f.; 181-4); Bassler (1982: 166-70); Badenas (1985: 137); Jewett (1985b: 121f.); Snodgrass (1986: 75ff.). Although Beker (1980) and Sanders (1983a) write their books on Paul and his thought, they are aware of the importance of the question of the purpose of Romans to their argument and devote considerable attention to it, see Beker (1980: 59-74); Sanders (1983a: 30-32, 58 n.70).

4. Donfried (1977b).
5. Apart from Introduction and an appendix, there are nine essays collected in The Romans Debate; they are Manson (1948); Bornkamm (1963a); Klein (1969); Wiefel (1970); Donfried (1970), (1974b) with a response of Karris (1974); Jervell (1971); Karris (1973); Wuellner (1976). For recent references to the on going debate, see e.g. Kettunen (1979); Wedderburn (1979); Drane (1980); Beker (1980: 59-74); Bruce (1981-82); Campbell (1981b); Jewett (1982); Theobald (1983); Brown (1983: 106); Stuhlmacher (1986); Watson (1986: 88-91); Haacker (1988).
6. See Donfried (1974b: 120), (1977a: xvii).
7. E.g. Bornkamm (1963a: 31).
8. E.g. Bruce (1977b: 325); cf. Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 823).
9. E.g. Hultgren (1985: 9).
10. See discussion in Donfried (1974b).
11. E.g. Gamble (1977: 133); Beker (1980: 62); Campbell (1981a: 23).
12. See also Campbell (1973-74), (1981b); Donfried (1974b), (1977a); Kettunen (1979: 7-22); Wedderburn (1979); Sanders (1977a: 487f.); (1983: 30-2).
13. Melanchthon (1532); see comments on Melanchthon's position in Donfried (1977a: xi); Beker (1980: 59, 61); Stuhlmacher (1986: 180).
14. E.g. Nygren (R, 1944: 4); Jervell (1971: 62); Keck (1979: 15f.).
15. E.g. Nygren (R, 1944: 8); Manson (1948: 15); Bornkamm (1963a: 23); Drane (1980: 223f.).
16. Jervell (1971).
17. Fuchs (1954: 191); see Jervell (1971: 67 n.14). This idea has also been picked up by Bornkamm (1963a: 18ff, 29) and Suggs (1967:295ff.).
18. E.g. Wilckens (1974a: 128); Bassler (1982: 166ff.).
19. See e.g. Manson (1948); Bornkamm (1963a: 23f.).
20. See e.g. Bornkamm (1963a: 21f.); Jervell (1971: 61f.).
21. See e.g. Furnish (1972: 115); Drane (1980: 211).
22. See e.g. Bornkamm (1963a: 25ff.); Furnish (1972: 115); Karris (1973: 83).
23. It is quite incredible that under the title of "The Distinctiveness of the Letter to the Romans", Bornkamm (1963a: 25-7) lists 16 points to show the similarities of themes and subjects between Romans and other Pauline letters. The so called 'distinctiveness' of Romans is that "the previous actual and concrete references [in Paul's other letters] has disappeared" and "all of these ideas ...received a strongly universal meaning [in Romans]...For Paul, the Jew [in Romans] represents man in general" (p. 28, our emphasis). For our discussion of the distinctiveness of Romans, see **Chapter 1** below.
24. The other way of interpreting the distinctiveness of Romans is by a 'developmental theory', e.g. Drane (1975: 3f.); Huebner (1978: 1-7). However, this interpretation is not well

received among many scholars; see e.g. Morgan (1987); Beker (1988: 366f.).

25. Manson's suggestion (1948: 15) that Paul only added "a statement of his future plan" after he had summed up his positions ("a record") of the former controversy is not convincing. Paul's expression of his deep desire to visit Rome in the introduction and conclusion (the 'frame') of his letter does not look like a simple addition; cf. Beker (1980: 62).
26. See Munck (1954: 298); Barrett (R, 1962: 24f.); Huebner (1978: 69); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 397); Stuhlmacher (1986: 183).
27. See Dodd (R, 1959: 34f.); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 45); Kuss (R, 1957, I: 19); Barrett (R, 1962: 24f.); Haas (1971: 29 n.9); Schmithals (1975: 167ff.); O'Neill (R, 1975: 37); Huebner (1978: 69); cf. Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 764); Stuhlmacher (1986: 183). Huebner (1978: 62) describes this discrepancy as one of the hard facts in Romans which has to be considered by any reconstruction of historical situations from which and to which Romans was written.
28. For discussion on the use of the phrase apostolic parousia, see Funk (1967), Mullins (1973).
29. See criticism also in Campbell (1973-74: 267).
30. Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 819) rightly says that "we are convinced that close attention to the course of Paul's argument, the connexions of thought between his sentences (which are usually indicated with care) and the general structure of the whole of 1:16b - 15:13, together with, of course, close attention to what he has actually said explicitly in 1: 1-16a and 15: 14 - 16: 23, is absolutely indispensable, if we are to obtain anything approaching an objective understanding of what Paul was trying to do in his letter to the Romans"; so Kaesemann (R, 1980: 402); Dunn (1987b: 2843).
31. There are some scholars who advocated this approach before Minear, e.g. Luetgert (1913); Preisker (1952-53); Harder (1959); Marxsen (1964: 92-104); Bartsch (1965a), (1968), (1971).
32. Baur (1836).
33. Baur (1875-76 I: 331ff.).
34. See comments in Kuemmel (1970: 132ff.); Krentz (1975: 26f.) and Bruce (1977a: 42f.).
35. E.g. Guthrie (1970: 399); Minear (1971); Schmithals (1975: 7); Kettunen (1979); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 405); Beker (1980: 74); Bruce (1981-82: 337); Roetzel (1982: 71); Patte (1983: 245f.); Brown (1983: 105-111); Stuhlmacher (1986); Dunn (1987b: 2844).
36. Campbell's 1972 doctoral thesis was also devoted to this purpose. He rightly uses the evidence of the Roman Jewish community to shed light on his understanding of the situation of Roman Christians (pp. 464f.), and sees the letter as a whole rather than a part addressed to the situation in Rome. However, he is probably wrong in using the doctrinal core (Rm. 1-11) rather than the paraenetic sections (Rm. 12-15) of the letter as the starting point to reconstruct the situation of Roman Christians. This approach does not help him to depict a more clear and specific picture of the Roman Christians. Furthermore, he does not show how his understanding of Paul's purpose in writing Romans is consistent with the evidence in both the 'frame' and the

'body' of the letter. The other work which also pays a considerable attention to Paul's purpose in writing Romans as a letter addressed to the situation of Rome is written by Watson (1986). However, his primary aim is to use Romans as a test case for his reconstruction of Paul's attitude towards Judaism and Jewish Christianity. So we will discuss his work in the next section below.

37. Minear (1971: 7).
38. Donfried (1974b: 125f).
39. Minear (1971: 30; cf. 40, 54, 81, 86).
40. Kettunen (1979: 146-7).
41. Kettunen (1979: 158f., 169f.).
42. According to Stendahl (1963: 82-6), the Lutheran view of "Pauline Christianity" is based on the problem of late medieval piety and theology which interpret the law, the Torah, with its specific requirements of circumcison and food restrictions as a general principle of "legalism" in religious matters. Paul's concern for the possibility of Gentiles to be included into the people of God is read as "answers to the quest for assurance about man's salvation out of a common human predicament" (p. 86). See further criticism of Lutheran view of Paul in Sanders (1977a: 436-41); Dunn (1983a: 98-101); Watson (1986:1-18).
43. Stendahl (1963: 84-7).
44. Sanders (1977a: 75, 236, 428).
45. Sanders (1977a: 235ff.; 422).
46. For discussion of the challenge of this understanding to Lutheran view of Paul, see Dunn (1983a: 98ff.); Watson (1986: 15ff.); Moo (1987: 287f.).
47. Sanders (1977a: 488 n.49).
48. See Porter (1978); Gager (1983: 198ff.); Jewett (1985a: 341); cf. Davies (1980: xxix-xxx); Dunn (1983a: 97,, 100); Moo (1987: 287); Campbell (1988: 1).
49. See Stendahl (1977b: 127) and Sanders (1977: 487f.), (1983: 31f.).
50. See Watson (1986: 13f., 15ff.).
51. See Watson (1986: ix, 49-80, 88).
52. Watson (1986: 88).
53. For criticisms of the application of Watson's sociological models on Qumran, Johannine community and Paul, his understanding of Jesus movement as a reform movement, his interpretation of of the origins of Paul's view of the law, and his view of the Hellenists, see Court (1987); Rowland (1987:103); Barclay (1987); Wedderburn (1988a: 177f. n.19); Campbell (1988); Raeisaenen (1986: esp. 243, 247, 251).
54. Watson (1986: 88).

54a. This problem is probably related to Watson's 'sociological approach'. He (1986: 41) argues that there are "common underlying sociological patterns" in different historical phenomena, and "The social reality which underlies Paul's discussions of Judaism and the law is his creation of Gentile Christian communities in sharp separation from the Jewish community" (p. 19). However, his use of Qumran and Johannine community as cases to demonstrate the "common underlying sociological patterns" which also underlies Paul is unconvincing, see Court (1987: 397) and **note 89 in Ch. 11** below. Moreover, the application of his sociological models (denunciation, antithesis, reinterpretation) on **Rm.** 2-4 is problematic, see **Chs. 9** below. In fact, his sociological

models are not applicable to Rm. 14:1 - 15:13, the passage which Watson recognizes as providing "the key to the purpose of Paul's letter to the Romans" (p. 123), see Ch. 5 below. Although we agree with him in this study that the employing of sociological approach in NT study is "a natural extension of accepted historical method" (p. ix) and that the starting point of a sociological approach is the hypothesis that "a text presupposes an existing social situation and is intended to function within that situation in ways not necessary immediately apparent from the text itself" (pp. ix-x, our emphasis), we emphasize that in the case of Romans the existing social situation is primarily the situation of the recipients (Roman Christians) rather than the author (Paul). The interpretation of Romans should start from the text and a sound reconstruction of the situation of the Roman Christians rather than start from Paul's experience expressed in those polemic passages of Galatians or Philippians.

55. In contrast to the 65 pages, which Watson (1986: 23-87) devotes to discussing Paul's controversy with Judaism and Jewish Christians before he wrote the letter to the Romans, Watson (1986: 88-105) spends only 18 pages in reconstructing the situation in Rome.
56. Watson (1986: 94f., 97, 99f., 102, 104f.).
57. Although Watson (1986: 88ff.) indicates that he follows Minear's approach in studying the purpose of Romans, and he also notices (p.89) Wiefel's suggestion (1970: 113) that house churches provided a setting for us to understand the situation of Roman Christians, he obviously does not take their observations into account for his reconstruction of the social reality of the Roman Christians. In fact, Watson does not use 'house churches' to interprete those groups in Rm. 16: 3-15, although the phrase **oikon .... ekklēsian** is found in v.5.
58. Although Watson does not refer to the important work of Leon (1960), quoted by Wiefel (1970: 101 n.9), he should at least have gained a preliminary knowledge of the Roman Jewish community from Wiefel (1970).
59. One of Watson's basic assumptions in his book (p. 134) is that "participation in the life of Pauline Gentile Christian congregation is incompatible with continuing membership of the Jewish community". Based on this assumption, Watson (1986: 178; cf. 97, 102, 104ff., 108, 123, 141f., 149, 160, 173f.) proposes that "Paul's aim [in Romans] was to persuade the Jewish Christians to recognize the legitimacy of the Gentile congregation and to join with it in worship, even though this would inevitably mean a final separation from the synagogue". As will be shown below, although we agree with Watson that the main issue in Romans was the relationship between Jewish and Gentile Christians, we disagree with him on the understanding of the situation of the Roman Jewish and Christian communities on the one hand, and Paul's purpose in writing Romans on the other.
60. Watson (1986: 123; cf. 94-8, 107, 109, 117, 119, 122f., 143).
61. Apart from defending his thesis over against the evidence of the collection in 15: 25ff. which apparently contradicts his argument in an excursus (pp. 174-6), Watson's treatment (1986: 102-5) of the 'frame' of Romans is very brief. He only mentions in passing that "Rm. 1: 11ff. and 15: 23ff. also provide hints of a longer-term aim: having won over the Roman Jewish Christians by means of this letter, he would be able

to use the Roman church as a base for mission in Rome (1: 13ff.) and in Spain (15: 24, 28)." However, he does not show how his understanding of Paul's purpose in writing Romans is related to Paul's long term plan. Furthermore, he does not discuss Paul's account of his gospel in 1: 3-4, 16-17, in which Paul indicates the Jewishness of Jesus Christ and the priority of Jews in God's salvation plan. As will be shown below (see **Ch.8**), his interpretaion of **prōton** (p.104) as a reference to "the priority and the pre-eminence of the Roman Jewish Christian congregation" is not consistent with the evidence of the text.

62. Watson (1986: 98, 102ff., 106f., 171).
63. So Barrett (R, 1962: 22); Kuemmel (1973: 309-11); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 15, 366); Brown (1983: 109); Dunn (R, MS: 66). For discussion of the composition of Roman Christians, see Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 16-22).
64. So Keck (1979: 16); for discussion of the problem of mirror-reading method, see Barclay (1987).
65. See Nygren (R, 1944: 8); Bornkamm (1963a: 24); Suggs (1967: 294); Jervell (1971: 64); Donfried (1974b: 143f.)
66. Bornkamm (1963a: 24) emphasizes that "the close and original connection of our letter [Romans] with the church in Rome must not be denied". Although Jervell (1971: 65) maintains that "It [Romans] is primarily directed to Jerusalem, but also to Rome", he admits that "Romans, however, is addressed directly to the congregation in Rome and not to Jerusalem" (p. 72).
67. See Koskenniemi (1955); Cancik (1967); Thraede (1970); White (1984).
68. See Koskenniemi (1955: 34-47); Cancik (1967: 46-88); cf. Funk (1967: 263); Doty (1973: 11f.); Donfried (1974a: 21f.).
69. Koskenniemi (1955: 36); cf. Donfried (1974a: 22).
70. Koskenniemi (1955: 38).
71. Koskenniemi (1955: 43f.).
72. Cf. Schubert (1939a: 376); Lofthouse (1946-47: 181); Doty (1973: 27).
73. Cf. Cranfield (1982a: 215).
74. See Lofthouse (1946-47: 180), (1952-53: 241); Hanson (1961: 47); Cranfield (1982a: 221).
75. See discussion in Moule (1959: 118) 'epistolary plural'; BDF: 146 (s. 280, The Literary plural); and Cranfield (1982a: 225). BDF: 146f. suggest that in Romans, in which Paul does not write in the name of two or more persons, no authorial plural is found; however, Cranfield (1982a: 225) argues against this suggestion and he thinks that such plurals are found in Rm. 1: 5; 3: 8f.. Stendahl (1976a: 23) obviously overstates his case when he says "Many of Paul's uses of "we" and "our" are that stylistic plural by which he really means only himself" (our emphasis).
76. See Stowers (1981: 84- 93, 105f. 152); Cranfield (1982a: 218f.). BDF: 147 (s. 281) suggest that Paul sometimes uses second person singular to represent any third person in order to illustrate something universal in a vivid manner by reference to a single individual, as though present among his audience (2: 17; 11: 17; 14: :4 etc.); however, they agree that the second person singular can be used in combination with a direct address to the persons in mind. Stowers (1981: 99, cf. 100, 106, 135) rightly points out that "In the diatribe there is often little distance between the real audience and the fictitious interlocutor", and he adds that

"The immediate addressee [second person singular] may be fictitious, but the members of the real audience are actually the ones on trial" (p. 106). Furthermore, Stuhlmacher (1986: 191) emphasizes that Paul's dialogues in Romans represent his real dialogues with his opponents in Rome; see also Stuhlmacher (1985: 89 n.8); although he seems to be mistaken in interpreting Stowers' position as if he suggests that the "fictitious interlocutor" has no relation to the real audience.

77. Cranfield (1982a: 215, 228); see also a similar discussion on singular and plural in Paul's letter in Lofthouse (1946-47), (1952-53). As a matter of fact the significance of paying attention to Paul's use of different persons in his letters is observed by some scholars, e.g. Hanson (1961: 47); Robinson (1974: 236-44); Stendahl (1976a: 23). See also Wilson (1964) who attempts to study the significance of the use of 'We' and 'you' in Ephesians.
78. Wuellner (1976: 152f.).
79. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1958: 14), quoted in Wuellner (1976: 153).
80. Our application of Wuellner's observation to the study of Romans is different from Wuellner's application of it. Based on his observation, Wuellner proposes to use "theories of rhetorical argumentation" to study Romans (p.157). Wuellner's suggestion is discussed and further developed in Jewett (1982); (1986). For recent discussion of this approach, see Wuellner (1987) and Fiorenza (1987: 386-8).
81. Our understanding of the 'I' and 'you' in the letter is equivalent with the "implied author" and the "implied reader" respectively, as suggested by Booth (1983: 70-6, cf. 138); see also Iser (1972: 30); McKnight (1985: 101f.). The 'I' is not simply the 'speaker' in the letter, but "an implied version of himself [the author]", which is the picture of the presence of the author, see Booth (1983: 70-4) and McKnight (1985: 101f.). The 'you', the "implied reader", is the image of the reader as created by the author in the text, see discussion in Booth (1983: 138); Iser (1972: 30-2) and McKnight (1985: 102).
82. This idea is probably paralleled with Petersen's observation (1985: 8) that "in letters there is no distinction between contextual history and referential history corresponding to what we have seen in narrative".
83. See above **note 81.**
84. We borrow this phrase from David J.A. Clines (1976: 37ff.), who uses it to denote his analysis of the relationships and function of the four <u>personae</u> - 'I', 'he', 'we', and 'they' in Isaiah 53.

CHAPTER ONE

The Feasibility of Studying Romans as a Letter Addressed to the Situation in Rome

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Introduction

Before we start our study of Paul's purpose in writing Romans in relation to the situation in Rome and the main argument of Romans, we would like to answer the questions raised against our basic assumption that *Romans was a letter addressed to the situation in Rome.*

As we have briefly mentioned in the **INTRODUCTION** above, the main objections are as follows:[1]

1. Chapter 16 of Romans is not part of the letter sent to Rome, therefore it cannot provide any evidence for us to understand the situation of the Roman Christians.[2]
2. The content of Romans is so general in nature, that it is difficult to reconstruct the situation of Roman Chritians with any degree of certainty from the evidence in the letter.[3]
3. Since Paul had never been in Rome when he wrote the letter to the Romans, his knowledge of the Roman Christians must have been minimal.[4]
4. The main issues discussed in Romans are also found in other Pauline letters, especially in Galatians and Corinthians, therefore Paul's message in Romans is a generalized adaptation of the argument he had earlier

worked out in relation to other places, such as Galatia and Corinth.[5]

In this chapter, we would like to discuss these questions according to the following topics:

I. The Significance of Rm. 16 in Providing Evidence for the Study of the Situation of Roman Christians

A. The Integrity of Romans

The textual problem[6] of Romans was discussed as early as Origen. He tells us that Marcion excised the last two chapters and the doxology.[7] However, in 1829, David Schulz proposed the hypothesis that Rm. 16 is not part of what Paul wrote to Rome but is a fragment of a Pauline letter to the Ephesians.[8] Manson, by using the evidence of P^{46}, which has the doxology placed between Rm. 15 and 16, claims that Schulz's conjecture is supported by this oldest known MS of Romans found in 1935.[9] Furthermore he reiterates the argument[10] that it is unlikely for Paul to have so many personal friends (as listed in Rm. 16: 3-15) in Rome, and those in the list, who are otherwise known, are connected with Asia and Ephesus. He claims that the exhortations in 16: 17-20 read rather oddly if they are taken to be addressed to a church to which Paul was a stranger.

Nevertheless, the evidence and argument put forward by Manson and his followers[11] do not carry the weight to reject Rm. 16 as part of Romans. The reasons are as follows:

1. *Textual Evidence*

Although P^{46} seems to lend some support to the conjecture of Schulz, it remains a single witness and cannot carry the case for the originality of the fifteen-chapter text form by itself. Moreover, the best MSS support the view that Rm. 16 was an integral part of the letter.[12] Recently Gamble has given a detailed study[13] of the textual history of Romans, and further confirmed the probability of regarding Rm. 16: 1-23 (at least)[14] as part of the original letter which Paul wrote to Rome.[15]

2. *The Evidence in Rm. 16*

The argument based on the low probability of Paul having so many personal friends in Rome is unconvincing. Since "all roads lead to Rome", it is not surprising that some of Paul's friends, especially Prisca and Aquila, who came from Rome, had returned to Rome when Paul wrote his letter to the Romans. The fact that Paul gave his greetings to individuals in Rm. 16: 3- 15 rather than the Christian community as a whole is quite an unusual practice. Many scholars point out that[16] it would be more unlikely for Paul to greet individuals in a church such as Ephesus which he probably knew well and where he would consider all the Christians to be his friends. On the contrary, in a Christian community like Rome, where Paul was not personally known to most of the Christians, personal greetings may serve as a useful indication that he had some connections within the community.[17] As will be shown below, whether Paul personally knew all of them is another matter.

Thus, it is probably useful to discuss briefly below the possible characteristics of Roman Christians as revealed in Rm. 16. In the development of our thesis, we will further show how the findings here are well integrated with our understanding of the situation of Jewish and Christian communities in Rome from other evidence. With regard to the exhortation in 16: 17-20, we will show its significance to our understanding of Paul's purpose in writing Romans and the situation of Roman Christians in the context of Rm. 14 - 16 in **Chapter 7**.

B. Characteristics of Roman Christians: the Evidence in Rm. 16: 3 - 15

1. *Names in Greek and Latin*

In Rm. 16:3-15, there are 26 names. Besides Prisca and Aquila (I Cor. 16: 19; II Tim. 4: 19; Acts 18: 2, 18, 26), we do not have any other reference in the New Testament to the others. However, in the Greco-Roman world, the name of an individual usually reflects the background and status of the person. Therefore we may draw some observations by paying attention to these 26 names.

Among the 26 names, six are certainly Latin,[18] namely, Aquila, Junia(s),[19] Ampliatus, Urbanus, Rufus and Julia; while most of the rest are Greek. Those people with Latin names were probably more Romanized and more integrated into Roman society.[20] Therefore, it is quite possible that most of the Christians greeted by Paul were not natives of Rome but rather recent immigrants to Rome. If we compare the names found in Roman Jewish catacombs, more than half of

them were Latin names.[21] This evidence may imply that there were more Gentiles than Jews among the 26 people named in Rm. 16: 3-15. This understanding is consistent with the consensus about the composition of Roman Christians at the time Paul wrote his letter to Rome.[22]

2. *Names of slaves and freedmen*

Among these names, some are typical of slaves and freedmen. Lietzmann[23] cites the following: Ampliatus, Tryphaena, Asynkritos, Phlegon, Philologos. Cranfield finds that Urbanus was a common Roman slave name and Persis was a typical Greek slave name.[24] Moreover, Stachys, Hermes, Patrobas and Hermas were likely to have been either slaves or freedmen.[25] Some names of these people were associated with imperial households.[26] This evidence also supports the Roman destination of Rm. 16. If this was the case, these slaves and freedmen had either followed their masters to Rome or were there already as freedmen.[27] They probably belonged to the lower social strata in Rome.[28]

3. *Jewish Christians*

Apart from the studying of names to gather some general information about the characteristics of Roman Christians, we can get more specific information from Paul's description of these 26 people. It is quite clear that five people in the list are Jews:[29] Prisca, Aquila and those kinsmen of Paul, Andronicus, Junia(s) and Herodion. Whether Maria (v.6) or other people are Jews is uncertain.[30]

a. Prisca and Aquila

According to Acts,[30a] Aquila was a native of Pontus (18:2) and later lived in Rome, Corinth (18:2) and Ephesus (18:18f.). The couple's occupation was tentmaking and they were probably quite affluent. They opened their home for a house church while they were at Ephesus (I Cor. 16: 19) and also in Rome (Rm. 16: 5). Their close relationship with Paul in his ministry is well testified in Rm. 16: 3f. and I Cor. 16: 19 (cf. Acts 18: 2f., 18; II Tim.4: 19).[31]

b. Andronicus and Junia(s)

With regard to Andronicus and Junia(s), Paul calls them his "fellow prisoners", "who are outstanding among the apostles (NASB)"[32] and they were in Christ before him (v.7). Although we have no knowledge as to the time when Paul, Andronicus and Junia were prisoners together,[33] it is more natural to interpret the phrase literally, namely, that they had been imprisoned together for the sake of Christ in the East.[34] This probably implies that they were Paul's fellow workers as well.[35]

There is no evidence of how they came to be designated as 'apostles'. However, they possibly belonged to itinerant missionaries who were recognized by the churches as constituting a distinct group among the participants in the work of spreading the gospel (Cf. Acts 14:4, 14; I Cor. 12:28; II Cor. 8:23; Phil. 2:25; Eph. 4:11; I Th. 2:7; and also Didache 11:3-6).[36]

Furthermore, Paul acknowledges that they were senior to him as Christians. This is evidence that they must have been converted within a very short time of the earliest beginnings of the church in Jerusalem.[37] Kettunen suggests that they were members of the 'Hellenist' Jewish Christian group there, for whom circumcision was unessential.[38] Thus from the above evidence, we may assume that Andronicus and Junia(s) were Greek-speaking Jews who were converted in Judaea and later became itinerant missionaries in the East. They were once fellow workers with Paul and shared Paul's gospel of 'freedom from the law'.[39]

Among these five Jews, we have little information about Herodion.[40] However we can conclude that Prisca and Aquila as well as Andronicus and Junia(s) were probably fellow workers of Paul and had gifts of leadership. They were or might have been Christian leaders in Rome.

4. *Other Christian workers*

In vv.6, 12, Paul praises Mary as one "who has worked hard among you", Tryphaena and Tryphosa[41] as the ones "who work hard in the Lord" (NIV) and Persis as one "who has worked hard in the Lord."

Paul uses the same word, **kopiaō**, to describe these four individuals, all women. This word is distinctively used in NT for Christian work in and for the community. This use is found first and most frequently in Pauline letters,[42] where it first appears to refer to his own work (I Cor 15:10), and later also to the work of others (I Cor. 15:58; II Cor.

10:15). In Romans, this word only appears in the above mentioned two verses. It is obvious that these four women were Christian workers held in the highest esteem by Paul (cf. I Cor. 16:16; I Thess. 5:12).[43]

In view of the fact that women played an important role in both the ministry of Jesus[44] and the apostolic church (Acts 16:13-15; 17:4, 12, 34; 18:2 etc.),[45] it is not surprising that Mary, Tryphaena, Tryphosa and Persis played an important role as Christian workers and possibly as leaders in the Christian community in Rome.

Other than these four women workers, Urbanus was described as Paul's fellow worker (v.9).[46] This indicates that he possibly was (or had potential to be) a Christian leader in Rome as well.

5. ***Christians Related to Pauline Circle***

Among the 26 names of individuals who were mentioned by Paul in Rm. 16:3-15, we have no means of being certain that all of them were known to Paul personally.[47] However, we should probably at least count those whom the text specifically calls Paul's 'fellow workers' or equivalent, 'beloved' and those related to the genitives '**mou**', '**emou**' and '**hêmwn**'.[48] Then we have ten names: Prisca and Aquila, Urbanus, Andronicus and Junia(s), Herodion,[49] Epaenetus, Ampliatus, Stachys,[50] and Persis,[51]. To this list, we should of course add Rufus and his mother as well.[52]

In view of the fact that Paul uses such a personal and

affectionate language to address them, they could not be his opponents or people who had a deep suspicion of his gospel.[53] Indeed, as Paul was writing to a Christian community which he had neither founded nor visited, it would be more reasonable to assume that they were people who would accept Paul and who were known by the other Roman Christians. In other words, they were greeted individually in order to be of help to Paul as his implicit personal references to the Roman Christian community.[54]

From our above study, we can classify these twelve individuals into three groups:

(1) Paul's fellow workers: Prisca, Aquila, Andronicus, Junia(s) and Urbanus.
(2) Paul's spiritual children: Epaenetus,[55] Ampliatus, Stachys, Persis,[56] probably Herodion and Rufus.[57]
(3) Paul's patron: Rufus' mother.[58]

Among these twelve individuals, quite a wide spectrum of people is represented: Jews and Gentiles, native Roman Jews and Jews connected with Judaea, affluent persons and slaves, leaders and lay people. As will be shown below, it is quite possible that there were at least five house churches in Rome when Paul wrote his letter to the Romans. From the evidence of the text, these twelve Christians probably did not form into one group but rather were distributed among different house churches in Rome.

If this was the case, these Roman Christians who related to the Pauline circle formed part of the Roman Christian community. Therefore, although Paul did not found

the Roman Christian community, the Roman Christian community was formed partly by Christians of his circle. In this sense, the existing Christian community in Rome was not completely independent of Paul's mission. Thus we are justified in saying that through those Christians who knew Paul personally, a relationship was established between Paul and the Roman Christian community when Paul wrote his letter to Rome. It is quite possible that because of this relationship Paul sent this letter to Rome with the confidence that his letter would be read in the different house churches.

6. *The house churches*

According to Acts and the Pauline letters, the meeting places of the early Christians were private houses.[59] In Rm. 16:5, Paul greets the **ekklésia** in the house of Prisca and Aquila. In vv. 10, 11, he greets the Christians among the members of the households of Aristobulus[60] and Narcissus.[61] It is possible that they were organized as two different house churches. Nevertheless, Aristobulus and Narcissus are not greeted. So, if they were alive, the presumption must be that they were not Christians.[62] In vv.14, 15, Paul greets two other groups of individuals together with the 'brethren' (v.14) and 'all the saints' (v.15) who are with them. This evidence points to the probability that the Christians mentioned in Rm. 16: 3-15 were assembled in different places, with at least five different house churches[63] and different leaders. With regard to those individual Christians greeted by Paul who were not related to these five congregations (e.g. Mary,

Ampliatus, Rufus), they probably belonged to other house churches in the Roman Christian community.

It is most significant that in the long list of salutations, Paul does not greet individuals or members of house churches directly. The sixteen occurrences of the verb aspazomai in 16: 3-16a are all in the second person plural aorist imperative. In other words, Paul probably asks them to reciprocate salutation among themselves whenever they meet.[64] The fact that Paul gives the credentials of those to be greeted further implies that the members of these house churches were probably not familiar with one another. The evidence suggests a large city with several Christian congregations, loosely connected, as the destination of the letter.[65] As will be shown in **Chapter 4, 5 and Excursus 1** below, this suggestion fits in neatly with our understanding of the situation of the Roman Jewish community on the one hand, and the possible situation of the Roman Christians on the other.

7. *Roman Christian community*

As the textual evidence supports the Roman destination of Rm. 16, and our above analysis of evidence in Rm. 16: 3-15 has demonstrated that it is well integrated with the evidence of the situation of Jewish and Christian communities in Rome found in other sources, we are probably justified in suggesting that the evidence in Rm. 16: 3-15 both reflects Paul's knowledge of and connections with Roman Christians and can be used to illuminate our understanding of the Christian community in Rome. Although the evidence we derived does not provide a full picture of

the Roman Christian community on which we can rely heavily for our interpretation of Romans, it does show some possible characteristics of the Roman Christians, such as the following:

a. The Roman Christian community was composed of more immigrants than natives of Rome.[66]
b. There were more Gentiles than Jews.
c. There were at least nine Christian workers or leaders serving among them, but we are not sure about the relationships between them.
d. There were at least five house churches in Rome (vv. 5, 10, 11, 14, 15) which were loosely connected.
e. Among those listed in Rm. 16: 3-15 there were twelve who were personally known to Paul. They were his fellow workers (vv. 3, 7, 9a), his spiritual children (vv. 5, 8, 9b, 12b, 13) and possibly one of his patrons (v.13b).

II. The Connections between Paul and Rome

It is indisputable that Paul had not visited Rome when he wrote his letter to the Roman Christians and this fact implies that he was not the founder of the 'church' in Rome. However, can we infer from this fact that Paul's knowledge of Rome and the Roman Christians must have been minimal?

As a matter of fact, Paul did have a strong desire to visit Rome (Rm. 1:10; 15; 22ff.; cf. Acts 19:21) and wrote the letter to Rome. We suggest that there were adequate channels for Paul to gain reasonable knowledge of Rome and of the Roman Jews and Christians, so that he could address

his letter to the situation of Rome accordingly.

A. The sources of Paul's knowledge of Rome

In the study of Romans, most scholars usually deal with the problem of Paul's knowledge of Roman Christians and do not pay much attention to his knowledge of Rome.[67] However, Rome was the Sitz im Leben of the Roman Christians and it is important for us to know whether Paul understood the situation in the city when he wrote his letter. There are several factors which enable us to affirm that Paul had a considerable knowledge of Rome:

1. *Rome as the capital*

Rome became the centre of the Mediterranean world in the second century B.C.E. and gradually became a centre of migration.[68] After Augustus inaugurated the new era of Pax Augusta at the end of the first century B.C.E., he launched a major road-repaving and road-building programme, which made 'all roads lead to Rome'.[69]

Furthermore, transport by sea around the Mediterranean was even more convenient; and Rome, being the capital and centrally located, was inevitably the best served with routes fanning out in all directions.[70] At that time, a constant movement to and from Rome of officials, troops, merchants, shipowners, bankers, buyers, and their various agents brought knowledge about Rome to all parts of the empire.[71] Meeks is probably right to point out that "the merchant whose tombstone attests that he had been to Rome from Phrygia seventy-two times was not unique".[72]

2. *Paul as a Roman citizen and a native of Tarsus*

According to Acts, Paul was born a Roman citizen in Tarsus.[73] Although we do not know how he obtained his Roman citizenship, this status implied that members of his family had a close relationship with Romans.[74]

Furthermore, Tarsus was 'no mean city' (Acts 21: 39). In 67 B.C.E., it became the capital of the Roman province of Cilicia, which retained its autonomy as a free city.[75] The Roman proconsul of Cilicia used to take up residence in it.[76] The relationship between Tarsus and Rome was further strengthened by road and harbour which were constructed with great effort.[77] These facilities made it possible for Tarsus to be active in trade. Together with other cities, it had a station in Rome right in the middle of the forum.[78]

Although there is dispute over whether Paul was brought up in Tarsus or Jerusalem,[79] according to Acts, Paul did return to his home town Tarsus and stayed there for a considerable period after his conversion and the visit to Jerusalem (Acts 9:28ff.; 11:24ff.).[80] Dibelius suggests that Tarsus was the 'travel centre' for his mission to Syria and Cilicia (cf. Gal. 1:21ff.) during this period.[81] Therefore, both his Roman citizenship and his close link with Tarsus suggest that Paul had lots of opportunities to acquire knowledge of Rome.

3. *Paul as a traveller*

Many people travelled regularly in the first century

C.E.,[82] so it is not surprising that Paul travelled widely during his missionary activities probably from 37/38 to 55 or 57 C.E..[83] According to the evidence of Acts and of his own letters, Paul's activities originated from various cities, such as Antioch, Corinth and Ephesus, which were 'travel centres' and reached out to the nearby regions.[84] Some of these were Roman colonies.[85]

Hock has calculated that Paul travelled nearly ten thousand miles during his reported activities, which included roads busy with government officials, traders, pilgrims, athletes, artisans, teachers, and students.[86] It would be quite certain therefore that Paul met numerous people on his missionary activities,[87] including Government officials,[88] his associates,[89] church delegates,[90] and friends, such as Priscilla and Aquila from Rome (Acts 18:2),[91] as well as the Asiarchs in Ephesus (Acts 19:31), who were Romans but not Christians.[92]

In his long period of travelling and missionary activities among cities and Roman colonies, it would be most natural for Paul to obtain a considerable knowledge of the situation in Rome from those people who had been in Rome and to share with them his desire to visit Rome.[93]

B. The sources of Paul's knowledge of the Jews and Christians in Rome

It is indisputable that Paul had no personal experience of Christian living in Rome before he wrote Romans. However, it is also agreed that Paul would surely have gained at least some knowledge of the Roman Christians (Rm.

1:8; 16:19).[94] The issue at stake is whether Paul's knowledge about the Roman Christians was 'specific' enough for him to write his letter to the situation. Some answers to this question can best be provided by examining the nature of the sources which were available to Paul.

It is generally agreed that the earliest Roman Christians would be Jews, or Jewish proselytes.[95] The situation of the Jewish community in Rome would have greatly influenced the development of the Christian life in Rome.[96] As we will shown in Part II of our thesis, one of the main issues in Romans was the relationships between the Gentile Christians, Jewish Christians and the non-Christian Jews. If this should be the case, Paul's knowledge of the Jewish community in Rome would be directly related to his understanding of the situation of the Roman Christians. According to our knowledge, there is at least the following evidence to show that there were some sources available to Paul to acquire specific information about the Jews and Christians in Rome.

1. *Roman Jews and the other Jews in the Diaspora*

It is well known that the Jewish community in Rome was big and influential.[97] While they were part of the Jews of the Diaspora, they were not an isolated Jewish community but rather had close relationships with other Jewish communities in the Roman Empire. There are some cases which support this understanding.

In 59 B.C.E., we learn from a speech of Cicero[98] of a case against a Roman aristocrat, Lucius Valerius Flaccus,

who was charged with extortion and misappropriation of funds while serving as governor of the Roman province of Asia in the year 62 B.C.E.. Among the charges against Flaccus was the accusation that he had confiscated the gold which the Jews of the province had collected for their annual contribution towards the maintenance of the Temple at Jerusalem. The trial of Flaccus in Rome aroused considerable attention among the Jews in Rome. Cicero contended that the presence of Jews in the tribunal influenced the verdict of the jury. Although there are the usual exaggerations and distortion in a speech by a lawyer in such a polemical setting, the presence of a group of Roman Jews in a tribunal to hear a case related to other Diaspora Jews is obviously evidence which demonstrates a close relationship among the Jews in the Diaspora.

In Philo's account of his embassy to Gaius (37-41 C.E.), he gives a detailed description of the situation of the Jewish community in Rome (Legatio 155-8). Although we have no evidence that Philo had contacted the Roman Jews, his account suggests that the situation of Roman Jews was known to him and probably therefore also to other Jews in the Diaspora. It is true that we have no written evidence to show whether the other Jewish embassies which came to Rome from Cyrene and Asia Minor during the reign of Augustus (AJ XVI: 161) had any meeting with the Jews in Rome. However, if we take into account the fact that some of the Jews in Rome were from the other parts of the Mediterranean world,[99] it is quite likely that they had contact with them.

Furthermore, Philo (Legatio 161) mentions that after the death of Sejanus, who is believed to have been responsible for the expulsion of Jews from Rome in 19 C.E. and the anti-Jewish measures executed by Pontius Pilate in Judaea,[100] Tiberius realized that the charges against the Jews living in Rome were unfounded slanders and issued instructions to the governors in office throughout the empire to reaffirm the rights of the Jews to practise their religion.

The above evidence surely shows that the Jewish community in Rome was part of the Jewish Diaspora under Roman rule. The attitude of Romans towards Jews in the Diaspora would affect the Jews in Rome and *vice versa*. This kind of interdependence probably led to close relations with one another. It was therefore possible for Paul to know the situation of the Roman Jews through his contacts with the Jewish communities in the Diaspora.[101]

2. *Prisca (Priscilla) and Aquila*

As we have mentioned above, among the 26 names listed in Rm. 16: 3-15, Prisca (Priscilla) and Aquila are the only two that were also mentioned in other parts of the NT (cf. I Cor. 16:19; II Tim. 4:19; Acts 18:2, 18, 26).

According to Acts, this Jewish couple[102] left Rome when the Emperor Claudius issued an edict expelling all Jews from the city (Acts 18:2).[103] They were probably Christians by the time Paul met them in Corinth. Harnack suggests that they were foundation members of the Roman church.[104] They were tentmakers, the same trade as Paul.

Their relationship with Paul must have been very close.[105] Paul not only stayed and worked with them in Corinth where he lived for one and a half years (Acts 18:11),[106] but he went to Ephesus with them (18:18).[107] In I Cor. 16:19, we learn that they had a church in their house at Ephesus where Paul stayed for the best part of three years (cf. Acts 19:8, 10; 20:31).[108]

Their close relationship with Paul is further testified in Rm. 16:3f.. They are not only mentioned at the very beginning of the list of greetings but described affectionately as "my fellow workers in Christ Jesus, who risked their necks for my life, to whom not only I, but also all the churches of the Gentiles give thanks."[109]

Furthermore, from the evidence of their mobility, their career, their capability to host churches in their different houses, it is quite probable that they were affluent business people who had branches in several cities.[110] Dodd suggests that they may have left a Gentile procurator in charge of their Roman branch when they could no longer stay in Rome.[111] Bruce further suggests that another manager was left in charge of their Corinthian branch when they moved to Ephesus and set up yet another branch there.[112]

In view of the frequency of travelling and correspondence[113] in that period, Prisca and Aquila would probably have received messages from time to time about the situation in Rome after they left.[114] Moreover, it is not

surprising that they returned to Rome shortly after Claudius' death in 54 C.E. and not long before Paul wrote his letter to Rome from Corinth probably between 55 to 57 C.E..[115]

Furthermore, since Prisca and Aquila were closely associated with Corinth, and the time required for travelling between Rome and Corinth was probably only 7 to 8 days (cf. Pliny, Natural History, XIX: 3f.),[116] it is quite possible that Paul received certain messages from Rome just before he wrote his letter.[117]

Thus we may conclude that Paul would probably have learnt good general information about the situation of the Jews in Rome from those Jews in the Diaspora, and more specifically, first hand and updated information about both the Jews and the Christians in Rome from his contact with Prisca and Aquila.[118]

III. Distinctive Style and Content of Romans

On the study of Romans, there are two generally agreed observations. On the one hand, Romans is different from the other letters of Paul in its unspecific and general features, while on the other hand, Romans recapitulates many themes from other correspondence. However, although we agree with these observations, we disagree with the idea that they support the suggestion that Romans should be understood as a summary of Paul's theology or as a letter containing *only* Paul's reflection of his own situation. In fact, the thematic continuity or similarity between Romans and Paul's other letters, especially Galatians and

Corinthians, is over-emphasized, but the uniqueness and distinctive features of Romans are underemphasized. We would like to pin-point the distinctive style and content of Romans as follows:

A. The Distinctive Style of Romans: The Diatribe

The question of the diatribe as it has been raised in the Romans debate has centred on the problem of how to interpret the feature of the diatribe style which is most distinctive, the dialogical element.

Bornkamm suggests that the objections in the diatribe and thus in Romans "always arise out of the subject, or more accurately, out of a misunderstanding of the subject. In no way do they demand an appeal to particular groups or opponents in Rome."[119] However, Donfried has strongly contested Bornkamm's understanding of the diatribe and his argument against the use of rhetorical materials in Romans to understand the situation of the Christian community in Rome.[120]

Recently, Stowers offers a comprehensive study on the problems of the diatribe and Romans.[121] In his analysis of the problem of the diatribe, he demonstrates that the basic conception of the diatribe which Bultmann and subsequent New Testament scholars have held is in error. The diatribe is neither a form of mass propaganda which is used in order to create interest and persuade the common man in the street, nor an expression of polemic nor an attack on the enemies and opponents of philosophy. Rather, it is a type of discourse employed in the philosophical school and its

style may be imitated literally. The form of the diatribe and the way it functions, presuppose a student-teacher relationship and aim not simply to impart knowledge but to transform the students, to point out error and to cure it.[122] In other words, those scholars who see Romans as a polemical letter and look for the identities of opponents are probably wrong.[123] In fact, Romans is better understood as a letter of 'reconciliation'.[124]

Moreover, Stowers points out that the address to the 'interlocutor' as second person singular (e.g. Rm. 2: 1-5, 17-24; 9: 19-21; 11: 17-24; 14: 4), and the 'objections and false conclusions' style of argument (e.g. Rm. 3: 1-9; 4: 1f.; 6: 1-3, 15f.; 7: 7, 13f.; 9: 14f.; 19f.; 11: 1-3, 11, 19f.), are two major features of the dialogical element in diatribe.[125] By means of these dialogical elements, various types in the teacher's audience are caught up in the indictment-protreptic process.[126] In other words, by using diatribe in a letter, there are three levels of dialogue. On the one hand, there is a dialogue between the 'implied speaker' and the 'interlocutor' in the diatribal passages, on the other hand, there is a dialogue between the 'implied author' and the 'implied reader' in the letter.[127] These two levels of dialogues are carried out in the context of the dialogue between the 'real author' and the 'real reader'. While the 'implied speaker' in the diatribal passage is identified with the 'implied author' and the 'real author' of the letter, the shift between the dialogue with the 'interlocutor' and the 'implied reader' will probably create a dynamic to involve the 'real reader' into the dialogue in the letter.[128]

This diatribal-dialogical element in Romans is clearly somewhat different from that in other Pauline letters. In Romans, the dialogical style is employed throughout the major portion of the body of the letter rather than in a few isolated texts.[129] Stowers says that "only Romans has dialogical exchanges".[130] By studying several important diatribal passages in Romans,[131] Stowers concludes that Paul's use of the diatribe in Romans is conscious and intentional.[132] He suggests that objections and the discussions initiated in the diatribal passages are probably shaped by Paul's attempt to speak to various typical constituencies, (presumably within his audience, the Roman Christian community), by means of the letter.[133] Although the 'interlocutor' in the diatribe does not refer to any particular individuals or groups, it represents various types of behavior known or found among the 'real readers'.[134] In this manner, there is little distance between the 'real reader' and the 'interlocutor'.[135] This suggestion is most obviously supported by 11: 17-24. In that diatribal passage, Paul makes it clear that in addressing the wild olive shoot as a second person (singular), he is admonishing the Gentile sector of his audience (cf. 11: 13f.).

This understanding of the use of diatribe in Romans is most significant for our study. As will be shown below (see **Ch.** 5), we suggest that in Romans, Paul was probably aware of the tensions between different groups among his audience, especially between Jewish and Gentile Christians. He employs a kind of dialogical pattern in which he

addresses explicitly one sector among his audience in some passages (e.g. 14: 1f., 13b - 15: 6; cf. 2: 1-4: 11; 6: 1-14; 7: 1-25; 11: 13ff.), and the audience as a whole in the others (e.g. 15: 7ff.; cf. 4: 12; 8: 1ff.; 11: 32ff.). However, his message is not only significant to both Jewish and Gentile audiences in the passages in which he obviously addresses the audience as a whole, but also in those passages where he explicitly directs his address to one sector of his audience. In these passages, he probably expects that his message will be ***overheard*** by and be ***relevant*** to the other sector of the audience. In this way, Paul involves his audience as a whole into dialogue with him in the whole letter. In other words, Paul probably enters into dialogue with both Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome by means of his letter.[136]

B. The distinctive content of Romans

Those scholars who believe that Romans is not addressed to the situation of Rome always emphasize the finding of similarities in the content of Romans to Paul's other letters and underplay or even fail to appreciate the distinctive content of Romans.[137]

Nevertheless, even if their observation of the similarities of Romans to Paul's other letters is correct, it only illustrates that everyone lives in a kind of continuum with the past, but ignores the fact that everyone has also to face new situations. The new situation will provoke one to new thinking even though it will still be in continuity with past experiences. We believe that this is

the case when Paul wrote his letter to Rome.[138] Furthermore, in Romans, there are in fact some passages with no parallel in Paul's other letters. Before we carry out a more detailed study of the text of Romans in Part II and III below, we would like to identify some of that distinctive content of Romans as follows:

1. *Rm. 1:1-7*

Bornkamm realizes that this is the longest preface in all the Pauline letters and rightly understands that it speaks of Paul's apostolate to the Gentiles (vv.1, 5).[139] However, he fails to recognize the paradoxical nature of this preface. In this passage, the Jewishness of the gospel is emphasized as:

(a) the gospel of God which is promised through his prophets in the holy scriptures (v.2); and

(b) the gospel concerning his son, who was descended from David according to the flesh (v.3).

In fact, there is no other direct reference to Christ's Davidic descent in the undisputed Pauline letters. Many scholars agree that Paul is making use of the language of an already existing formula in order to show his readers that he shares with them a common faith and gospel.[140] However, why should Paul combine the affirmation of his apostleship to the Gentiles with the emphasis on the Jewishness of the gospel? What does a Jewish gospel for Gentiles mean for his readers at Rome? As will be shown in **Chapter 8** below, the answer is probably found in the relation of this preface to the letter as a whole, as well as to the situation of the Roman Christian community.

2. *Rm. 1:16; 2:9-10*

In Romans, the paired words: "Jews and Greeks", "Jews and Gentiles" or "circumcision and uncircumcision" are frequently used (cf. 3:9, 29; 9:24; 10:12; 2:25-27; 3:30; 4:9-12).[141] In 10:12, Paul says "there is no distinction between Jew and Greek". This statement is clearly echoed in 3:9, 22; I Cor. 1:24; 10:32; 12:13; and Gal. 3:28 (cf. Rm. 3:29, 30; 4:9; 9:24; Eph. 2:14f.). However, in Rm. 1:16; 2:9-10, Paul emphasizes the priority of the Jew. This paradoxical insistence both on the priority of the Jew to the Greek and the notion of no difference between them is unparalleled in any other of Paul's letters. As will be shown in **Chapter 8** below, it can be much better explained with reference to the main argument of the letter as a whole and to the situation in Rome.

3. *Rm. 3:1f.; 9-11*

In 3:1f., Paul introduces the notion of the advantage of the Jew; however, he does not continue his explanation until Rm. 9-11. In this lengthy section, Paul gives a most detailed exposition of his understanding of the uniqueness of the Jews (9:4ff.) and the unbelief of the Jews (9: 30-33; 10: 18-21; 11: 11, 20), his own Jewish identity (9:3; 11:1) and his apostleship to the Gentiles (11: 13), an interdependent relationship between the salvation of Jews and Gentiles (10: 19; 11: 11f., 14f., 19f., 25f., 30f.), and the identification of the Jewish Christians as 'a remnant' (9: 27ff.; 11: 5). The significance of Rm. 9-11 in the letter as a whole has been a storm centre among

scholars.[142] Nevertheless, this long section is unparalleled in any of Paul's other letters.[143] As we will argue in **Chapter 11**, Rm. 9-11 has an unique place in the main argument of the letter as a whole and a significant reference to the situation of the Jewish and Christian communities in Rome.

4. *Rm. 12-15*

In this paraenetic section, some scholars argue that the form and content of its material fit the general pattern of ethical instruction current in many churches.[144] However, although it contains similarities in content to some of Paul's letters, there are distinctive features in Romans, which are overlooked by many scholars.

a. 12: 4 - 5

Although Paul uses the same concept of 'body' and 'members' to denote the relationship between members of the Christian community in both I Cor. (12: 12-27) and Romans (12: 4-5), it does not necessarily imply that Paul simply summarizes in Romans his discussion in I Cor.. The most significant evidence is that the catch phrase "the body of Christ" (**sōma Christou**) in I. Cor. 12: 27 does not occur in Romans. The phrase Paul uses in Rm. 12: 5 is "one body in Christ" (**hen sōma en Christō/i**). One possible interpretation of Paul's use of the body terminology in Romans is by reference to the story told by Livy (History 2: 32).[145] In that story, Livy says that in the early days of the Roman republic, Menenius Agrippa used the parable of belly and limbs to persuade the plebian soldiers, who had withdrawn

to the Mons Sacra and threatened to found a new city of their own, to return to Rome. Since Livy probably lived between 64 B.C.E. - 12 C.E. (or 59 B.C.E. - 17 C.E.),[146] it is quite probable that this story was quite well known in Rome at the time Paul wrote his letter to the Romans. If this was the case, it would be possible that Paul also knew this story and that he used the phrase "one body in Christ" to appeal to the Roman Christians to avoid separation and to build up a good relationship among themselves.

b. Rm. 13:1-7

The distinctiveness of this passage among Pauline letters is well known.[147] Manson and Bornkamm are not justified in suggesting that it dealt with an issue which was connected with I Cor. 6.[148] While the relationship of this passage to its context is considered as problematic,[149] some scholars try to solve the problem by simply denying the Pauline authorship of the section.[150] However, many scholars argue that this passage is in fact well integrated with its context;[151] and recently some scholars have shown that its distinctiveness can be better explained with reference to the situation in Rome.[152]

c. Rm. 14: 13 - 15: 13

Many scholars try to play down the distinctiveness of the passage by suggesting that 'the weak' and 'the strong' in Rm. 14-15 do not refer to any particular groups in Rome but only "a generalized adaptation of a position he had earlier worked out respecting an actual, known situation in Corinth."[153] However, Karris is probably the one who

provides a most detailed study on this passage and argues strongly that we cannot use 14: 1 - 15: 13 as evidence to understand the situation of the Christians in Rome.[154] His argument is three fold:

(1) there was only one established Christian community instead of many communities in Rome;[155]

(2) the difficulties of identifying the 'weak' and the 'strong';[156]

(3) the similarities between Rm. 14:1 - 15:13 and I Cor. 8; 9; 10:23 - 11:1.

However, there are several vital weaknesses in Karris's argument:

(1) Karris admits that "the beginnings and early development of the Roman church are obscure".[157] Nevertheless, he fails to see the significance of Minear's argument[158] based on the great size of the city of Rome and its polyglot population, as well as the fact that the Jewish community in Rome was not organized into a single congregation (see Ch. 4 below). Furthermore, as we have mentioned above, the earliest Christian communities were house churches and it is quite possible that there was more than one house church in Rome when Paul wrote his letter to Rome. The only evidence that Karris proposes to support his argument is that "within Rm. 14:1 - 15:13 Paul quite frequently addresses the same imperatives and arguments to the entire community".[159] However, this evidence gives no force to counter our understanding of the situation of the Christians in Rome. What we will suggest is that Romans was

written to address the entire Christian community which was composed of different house churches. As we have mentioned above, and will show in detail below (Ch. 5), Paul addresses more explicitly the Roman Gentile Christians in 14: 1 - 15: 6, with the understanding that his message will be overheard by and be relevant to the Jewish Christians who belong to the other house churches.

(2) Karris argues that there was no law commanding Jews to abstain from meat or wine.[160] However, he overlooks the evidence in Dan. 1:8-16; Jud. 12:1-4; Esth. 14:17 (LXX) and Josephus, V 14 which suggest that Jews abstained from meat and wine in a situation controlled by Gentiles.[161]

(3) Karris' weightiest argument is the similarity between Rm. 14:1 - 15:13 and I Cor. 8; 9; 10:23 - 11:1.[162] However, the differences between Rm. 14:1 - 15:13 and I Cor. 8-10 are in fact quite remarkable:

(a) The problem in I Cor. 8-10 is mainly concerned with "things sacrificed to idols" (**eidōlothutos**), but this is clearly not the issue in Rm. 14:1 - 15:13.[163] The problems in Rm. 14:1 - 15:13 are related to food and days; these are probably similar to the issues faced in Galatia (Gal. 2: 12; 4:10). If that is the case, the issues at stake in Romans are not just "difference of opinion in indifferent matters",[164] but issues concerning the significance of the boundary between Jews and Gentiles among Christians.

(b) I Cor. 8 - 10 does not talk about the 'strong' and I Cor. 10: 23 - 11: 1 does not mention the 'weak'.[165] In

I Cor. 8 even where 'weak' does occur, it refers three times out of five to *weak conscience* (8: 7, 10, 12; cf. 8: 9, 11).[166] Thus the identification of the 'weak' is one who has a weak conscience and the 'strong' is never made.[167] However, in Rm. 14:1 - 15:13, the 'weak' (ho asthenōn, 14: 2; ta asthenēmata tōn adunatōn, 15: 1) and the 'strong' (hoi dunatoi, 15: 1) obviously designate different types of Christians within the Christian community, who despise and judge one another (Rm. 14: 3-13a). The 'weak' is "the man who is weak in faith" (14:1). In Rm. 14, "faith" is most probably not equivalent with "conscience".[168] Furthermore, Paul identifies himself with the 'strong' in Rm. 15:1, but with the 'weak' in I Cor. 4: 10 and 9: 22.[169] Again, there is no indication in Rm. 14:1 - 15:13 that Paul saw any harm at all in the practices of the strong in themselves, apart from their effects on the weak. But in I Cor. 10: 20-22, there is a warning against a danger to which the Corinthian "sensible men" (I Cor. 10:15) were exposed.[170]

(c) the main issue in I Cor. 8 - 10 was obviously related to the social intercourse between Christians and society (8:10; 10:25, 27).[171] In Rm. 14:1 - 15:13, the issue concerned was mutual acceptance between different Christians within the Christian community.

Therefore, we may agree that in Rm. 14: 1 - 15: 13 Paul adapted a position he had earlier worked out in Antioch, Corinth or Galatia, but it is ***not a generalized***

adaptation. Rather, it is probably *Paul's application of the wisdom which he gained in his previous experience to the specific situation in Rome*.[172]

In the above survey, we have by no means exhausted all the distinctive features in style and content of Romans, but have attempted to identify some of them in order to show the feasibility of studying Romans as a letter addressed to the situation in Rome.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have tried to answer those objections which are directed against a study of Romans as a letter addressed to the situation in Rome. Although these answers may not have settled all the questions raised at the beginning of this chapter, they can at least show that:

1. Rm. 16 is probably part of the original letter sent to the Romans, and it is significant for us in understanding the situation of Roman Christians.
2. It is possible that Paul had a considerable amount of knowledge about the situation of Rome and of the Roman Jewish and Christian communities at the time he wrote his letter to the Roman Christians.
3. Though the style and content of Romans have similarities to other Pauline letters, they also have a number of significant distinctive features which call for an explanation with reference to the situation of Roman Christians.

Thus we conclude that it is feasible for us to study Romans as a letter addressed to the situation in Rome. Our

study, which will be devoted first to the reconstruction of a plausible situation for Roman Jewish and Christian communities (Chapter 2-5), and then to the interpretation of Romans according to our understanding of the situation of Roman Christians and Paul's purpose in writing Romans (Chapter 6-11), will further prove the validity of our assumption that ***Romans was a letter addressed to the situation in Rome.***

Notes to Chapter One

1. See also discussion in Gamble (1977: 134-6); Beker (1980: 59-61).
2. E.g. Manson (1948); Bornkamm (1963a: 23f.).
3. E.g. Bornkamm (1963a: 21f.); Jervell (1971: 61f.); Drane (1980: 212).
4. E.g. Furnish (1972: 115); Drane (1980: 211).
5. E.g. Bornkamm (1963a: 25ff.); Furnish (1972: 115); Jewett (1971: 47); Karris (1973: 83).
6. The main textual problems of Romans which concern us are the omission of 'Rome' (en Rōmē/i) in Rm. 1: 7, 15 in some MSS, e.g. G 1739^{mg} 1908^{mg} Origen, see Metzger (1971: 505f.); and the doxology (16: 25-27) is variously placed in the textual tradition, see discussion in Metzger (1971: 533-6); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 6f.); Gamble (1977: 15-35); Lampe (1985). However, the reason behind the omission of 'Rome' in these MSS is generally accepted as the intention to turn a particular letter into a more general one, so that it becomes more 'catholic' rather than 'locally' oriented, see Dahl (1962) and Metzger (1971: 505f.); for objection to this explanation, see Manson (1948: 5). Nevertheless, even Manson (1948: 15), the chief exponent of the hypothesis that Romans was not a letter particularly written for the Romans, agrees that a copy of the letter (without ch. 16) was sent to Rome. Therefore we will focus our attention on the textual problem of Rm. 16. For discussion of the hypothesis of Romans as a circular letter and the Ephesian hypothesis, see Guthrie (1970: 400-413; Kuemmel (1973: 314-320); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 5-11); Gamble (1977: 36-55); Lampe (1985).
7. See quotation of Origen in Kuemmel (1973: 315); cf. Wikenhauser (1956: 408) and Metzger (1971: 533).
8. See Manson (1948: 9 n. 18).

9. Manson (1948: 9f., 13).
10. Manson (1948: 12); see also the discussion in Kuemmel (1973: 318f.).
11. E.g. Bornkamm (1963a: 24); Marxsen (1964: 107f.); Roetzel (1982: 69); Patte (1983: 251);
12. See e.g. Guthrie (1970: 408ff.); Metzger (1971: 534); Gamble (1977: 35. 53f.).
13. Gamble (1977), whose work is well received among many scholars, e.g. Drane (1980: 225 n.21); Luedemann (1980: 174 n.111); Bruce (1981-82: 335); Meeks (1983: 201 n.41); Brown (1983: 106); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 11 n.2); Dunn (1987b: 2883); and Malherbe (1983: 65 n.13), who refers to Gamble's 1971 thesis.For another independent study on the textual history of Rm. 16, which also confirms that it was part of the original letter sent to Rome, see Lampe (1985).
14. Verse 24 is omitted by Nestle, see Metzger (1971: 540), and the authenticity of the doxology, Rm. 16: 25-27, is under dispute; see Wikenhauser (1956: 410f.); Kuemmel (1975: 223).
15. So Barrett (R, 1957: 13); Kuemmel (1973:320); Cranfield (R, 1975 I:11); Bruce (1981-82:334f.); see also Wikenhauser (1956: 409); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 29). In a recent discussion of the form and function of letter writing in the Greco-Roman world, McDonald (1969-70) suggests that Rm. 16 could be a separate letter of recommendation. However, the evidence in I Cor. 16: 15-18; Phil. 2: 29-30; 4: 2-3; and I Thess. 5: 12-13a is that Paul could include a commendation passage as part of his letter. As the form and structure of Rm. 16: 1-23 are similar to these passages, it is possible that Rm. 16: 1-23 is a commendation passage within the letter; see further discussion of the Greek letter of recommendation in Kim (1972: 119-42, esp. 132-42). Although Kim (1972: 120, 141) follows the Ephesian hypothesis (with caution), his suggestion that Rm. 16 was a letter sent to "a Christian community of several congregations (and possibly individuals) loosely connected by the common bond of Christian fellowship" fits in well with our understanding of the situation of the Roman Christian community; see our discussion at section B below.
16. See detailed discussion in Wikenhauser (1956: 409f).; Dodd (R, 1959 : 14-17); Guthrie (1970: 401f.); Kuemmel (1975: 318f.); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 9ff.); Gamble (1977: 47-52).
17. See Kuemmel (1973: 320); Brown (1983: 107); Kennedy (1984: 152).
18. See Wiefel (1970: 112).
19. Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 422) point out that there is some doubt as to whether this name is masculine, **Iounias**, a contraction of Junianus, or feminine Junia (**Iounian**). As there is no other evidence of a male name **Iounias**, Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 788) follows Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 422) in suggesting that the person referred to was a woman and most probably Andronicus' wife. Although Sanday & Headlam doubted the possibility of a female apostle, Chrysostom (quoted by Sanday & Headlam, p.423) appears to consider the idea as possible and Paul's own statement in I Cor. 9:5 indicates that other apostle were accompanied by their wives.
20. See Leon (1960: 94, cf. 110).
21. See Leon (1960: 107f.).
22. See references in **note 63** in **Introduction.**
23. Quoted by Wiefel (1970: 112); cf. Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 790, 795); Meeks (1983: 57).

24. Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 790, 793); cf. Bruce (R, 1963: 274); Black (R, 1973: 182).
25. Cf. Cranfield (R, 1979: 791, 795).
26. Such as Ampliatus, Urbanus, Stachys and Tryphaena; see Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 790f., 793).
27. So Wiefel (1970: 112).
28. See Gager (1975: 103ff.).
29. So Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 423, 425); Wiefel (1970: 112f.).
30. See Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 787).
30a. For discussion of the historical value of the evidence in Acts, see **Excursus**.
31. For further discussion of Prisca and Aquila, see section II.B.2 and **Chapter 7** below.
32. The phrase **episēmoi en tois apostolois** has sometimes been understood as meaning 'outstanding in the eyes of the apostles'. On this view, 'the apostles' could have the more limited meaning. However, in this case, Cranfield (R, 1979 II:789) thinks it is much more probable that we should understand the phrase as meaning 'outstanding among the apostles'; so Rengstorf (TDNT VII: 268 n.1). On this interpretation, 'the apostles' must be given the wider sense of itinerant missionaries; see Rengstorf (TDNT I:422f.); Schmithals (1961:61f.); Barrett (1970) and Schnackenburg (1970:293f.); cf. Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 51f.).
33. According to Acts, we know only three imprisonments of Paul, i.e. in Philippi (16: 23-40); in Caesarea (23: 23-31); and in Rome (28: 16). However, from the evidence of II Cor. 11: 23, Paul had probably been imprisoned more than that, e.g. Ephesus (cf. II Cor. 1:8-10), see Watson (1986: 73f.).
34. See Barrett (R, 1962: 283); Schnackenburg (1970: 293); Kuemmel (1973: 318f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 414); Wilckens (R, 1982 III: 135); Meeks (1983: 57). Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 423) are quite inconsistent in rejecting the metaphorical explanations of **aichmalōtos** (Kittel, TDNT, I: 196f.) on the one hand, and suggesting a symbolic meaning that they "had been prisoners for Christ sake, though not actually together with him" on the other; also Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 789) and Watson (1986: 99).
35. So Wilckens (R, 1982 III: 135f.).
36. See Munck (1954: 208); Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 789); Meeks (1983: 131f.). Watson (1986: 100f.) defines Paul's understanding of 'apostle' solely according to the polemical statements in Gal. 2 and I Cor. 9: 1f., but this is unjustified.
37. So Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 790).
38. Kettunen (1979: 76f.); cf. Dodd (R, 1959: 240); Bruce (R, 1963: 272); Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 790).
39. Against Watson (1986: 100f.), who argues that Andronicus and Junia(s) were Paul's suspicious opponents. It seems quite inconceivable that Paul would use such personal and affectionate acclamations to refer to opponents.
40. Some scholars suggest that Herodion is a name which was possibly connected with the Herod family; see Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 425); Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 792); but it is doubted by Kaesemann (R, 1980: 414).
41. Some scholars suggest that they may be sisters and even twins, e.g. Bruce (R, 1963: 273); Black (R, 1975: 182); Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 793). However, this can hardly be proved; cf. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 414f.).

42. Hauck (TDNT, III: 829).
43. Hauck (TDNT, III: 829).
44. See Witherington (1984: 80ff.).
45. See Hurley (1981: 115ff.); Witherington (1988).
46. Against Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 790f.), who suggests that Urbanus had perhaps not been a colleague of Paul personally but was a worker for Christ in general.
47. So Wiefel (1970: 112); Kuemmel (1973: 318f.); Meeks (1983: 56). However, it would probably be more natural to assume that Paul knew most of them personally in differing degrees. Wilckens (1974a: 124f.) thinks that Paul personally had known all those who are greeted; so Malherbe (1983: 64f.); Bruce (R, 1963: 267f.). Nevertheless, in vv.10 and 11, the names Aristobulus and Narcissus are used not to denote the individuals but their families. Therefore, Paul probably did not know Aristobulus and Narcissus, but knew some of the Christians in their households.
48. Cf. Meeks (1983: 56); Watson (1986: 99). It is generally accepted that Paul greeted these individuals by name in order to establish contact with the Roman 'church' which he had not yet visited; see e.g. Kuemmel (1973:320). Therefore, it is probably more natural to understand that the first person singular or plural genitives are used as indicators to show the personal relationship of Paul with them. This understanding is confirmed especially in vv.3, 5, 8, 9, in which the genitives are used to qualify 'fellow workers' and 'beloved'.
49. Against Meeks (1983: 56) and Watson (1986: 99), who think Paul did not know him.
50. So Watson (1986:99); against Meeks (1983: 56), who omits him from his list.
51. So Watson (1986:99); against Meeks (1983: 56). who also omits him from his list.
52. Rufus is included on the basis that Paul acknowledged his mother as also his own (v.13); so Kuemmel (1973:318f.); Watson (1986: 99).
53. See **note 39** above.
54. So Jewett (1982: 18); Brown (1983: 107); Kennedy (1984: 152).
55. Black (R,1973:180) suggests that he may have belonged to the household of Prisca and have been their first convert in Ephesus. If this was the case, he may still be regarded as the spiritual child of Paul on the basis that Prisca was Paul's fellow worker; cf. Leenhardt (R,1957: 380).
56. Ampliatus (v.8) and Stachys (v.9) are greeted as 'my beloved' and Persis is greeted as 'beloved' (v.12). A - G: 6 suggest that **agapētos** indicates a close relationship, especially that between parent and child; cf. Leenhardt (R, 1957: 380).
57. The identification of Rufus has been suggested as the one mentioned in Mk. 15:21, where Simon of Cyrene is called the father of Alexander and Rufus; cf. Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902:426); Cranfield (R, 1979 II:793f.); it is doubted by Kaesemann (R, 1980:414). Nevertheless, in view of the close relationship between Paul and his mother, Rufus can probably be considered as the one who also received teaching from Paul.
58. Cranfield (R, 1979 II:794) suggests that presumably "on some occasion Rufus' mother had befriended Paul in a motherly way, and that this is Paul's graceful acknowledgement and expression of his grateful affection." In view of the fact that there are some important similarities between Pauline

groups, private associations and Diaspora synagogues, cf. Meeks (1983:77f., 80f.), it seems plausible that Rufus' mother had acted as a patron to a Pauline group. In the structure of synagogues in ancient Rome, there were also persons who functioned as patrons and received the title of 'mother of synagogue'; cf. Leon (1960: 188).

59. See Filson (1939); Petersen (1969); Malherbe (1977:68ff.); Klauck (1981: 21-68); Meeks (1983:75). For detailed discussion of the 'household' in the Roman Christian community, see Elliott (1981: 264ff.).
60. For detailed discussion of the possible identification of Aristobulus, see Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 791f.). However, even if this Aristobulus was the grandson of Herod the Great, which is doubtful, see Kaesemann (R, 1980: 414), it is not necessary to assume that there would be a good many Jews in this household, contra Watson (1986: 101). Although the Jewish aristocrats in Rome would probably imitate their Roman friends in having slaves and freedmen to serve them, these slaves were probably not be of Jewish origin, because this was against the Jewish law; cf. Lev. 25:47ff..
61. Detailed discussion of the identification of Narcissus, see Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 792f.).
62. So Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 791f.).
63. Wiefel (1970: 113) suggests that Paul seemed to have known of at least three house churches in Rome (16:5, 14, 15); cf. Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 420f.); Malherbe (1983: 70). However, most scholars seem to agree that Paul sent his greetings to at least five house churches; see Bruce (R, 1963: 266f.); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 22),(R, 1979 II: 786, 791, 793, 795); Jewett (1982: 19); Brown (1983: 108); Meeks (1983: 75f.); Lampe (1987: 301f.); Dunn (1987b: 2884). Minear (1971: 7) suggests that ch. 16 distinguishes at least five or six different house churches.
64. See Kim (1972; 140f.); Watson (1986: 101f.).
65. So Kim (1972: 120, 141f.); however he mistakenly follows (cautiously) Manson's suggestion that Rm. 16 was sent to Ephesus.
66. Cf. Munck (1954: 208f.); Judge & Thomas (1966: 81f.). However, it is also possible that Paul knew more Christians who were recent immigrants to Rome than native Roman Christians.
67. Among the commentaries on Romans listed in our Bibliography, only Sanday and Headlam (1905: xiii-xxv) gives us an account of the situation of the city and the Jews in Rome. But now, also Dunn (R, MS: 58f.).
68. See La Piana (1927: 200f.).
69. Metzger (1955:13f.); Scullard (OCD:930); Casson (1974:121f., 163ff.); Cary & Scullard (1975: 327f.) and Meeks (1983:17f.).
70. Casson (1974:121f., 128ff., 149-153.); cf. Metzger (1955:14); Meeks (1983: 18).
71. See Casson (1974: 128ff., 149ff.).
72. Meeks (1983; 17).
73. Acts 22:24-29; 21:39 and also 9:11; 16:39; 25:10-12. The evidence for Paul as a Roman citizen exists only in Acts (22:24-29, and also 16:39, 25:10-12) but not in his letters; for discussion of the dispute on this issue, see Grant (IDB II: 631f.). The way that Paul might have received his citizenship is discussed in Sherwin-White (1963: 151f); Barclay, (1972: 22f); Bruce (1969: 234f); Meeks (1983: 14).
74. It does not necessarily imply that the members of Paul's

family were assimilationist Jews who compromised with Gentile ways; see Bruce (1977b: 37f.).

75. See Ramsay (1907: 192, 195ff.); Bruce (1977b: 34).
76. Cicero took up residence in the city during his pronconsulship of Cilicia in 51-50 B.C.E.; see Ramsay (1907: 191f.); Welles (1962: 52); Bruce (1977b: 34).
77. See Ramsay (1906: 277ff.) and (1907: 105-116).
78. Station was an office which was like a consulate, providing service in a city-state for the interests of another city-state; see Casson (1974: 129).
79. See van Unnik (1952), followed by Bruce (1977b: 43) and Ziesler (1983: 13), who argues that although Paul was a citizen of Tarsus, he was brought up in Jerusalem. For an opposite view see Longenecker (1964: 25f.).
80. There is no way of knowing the length of the period between Paul's return to Tarsus and Barnabas' fetching him to Antioch; see discussion in Dibelius (1953:69f.); Marshall (A, 1980: 202); Jewett (1979: 33; 160ff.).
81. Dibelius (1953: 69f.); cf. Hahn (1963a: 96 n.2).
82. See Casson (1975: 121ff.) and Meeks (1983: 17).
83. According to the information in Paul's letters and Acts, different chronologies for Paul's missionary activities are suggested; see Jewett (1979: 160ff.); Luedemann (1980: 262-263) and Koester (1982:103f.); cf. Hemer (1980).
84. See Dibelius (1953: 68ff.); Hahn (1963a: 95f.); Koester (1982: 102) and Meeks (1983: 9ff.).
85. Such as Lystra (Acts 14:6-21; 16:1-5); Pisidian Antioch (13:14-51) and Iconium (14:1-7); see Ramsay (1907); Mellink (IDB I: 144f.), (IDB III: 194f.); Kepler (IDB II: 672f.); Meeks (1983: 15).
86. Hock (1980: 27f.); cf. Meeks (1983: 16).
87. Paul's ability to make friends is well evidenced by the fact that there are about seventy people mentioned by name in the New Testament of whom we should never have heard were it not for their association with Paul. Furthermore, there is also a host of unnamed friends; see Bruce (1985: 8f.); cf. Meeks (1983: 55ff.).
88. Such as proconsuls Sergius Paulus and Gallio (Acts 13:7-12; 18:12-17); Erastus (Rm. 16:23).
89. Such as Timothy (I Thess. 1:1; 3:2-6; I Cor. 4:17; 16:10, 11; Rm. 16:21; Phil. 2:20ff.; Acts 16:1; 19:22; 20:4; cf. Col. 1:1); Titus (Gal. 2:1; II Cor. 2:13; 7:6-16; 8:6) and two unnamed 'brothers' (II Cor. 8:16-24); Mark (Philm. 24; Acts 12:12; cf. Col. 4:10; II Tim. 4:11); Aristarchus (Philm. 24; Acts 19:29; 20:4; 27:2; cf. Col. 4:10); Epaphras (Philm. 23; cf. Col. 1:7; 4:12); Andronicus and Junia(s) (Rm. 16:7); Philemon of Colossae (Philm. 1); Epaphroditus of Philippi (Phil. 2:25; 4:18); Clement (Phil. 4:3); Urbanus (Rm. 16:9) etc.; see detailed discussion in Ellis (1970-71); Ollrog (1979); Bruce (1985); cf. Meeks (1983: 16).
90. Such as Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus from Corinth (I Cor. 16:17; cf. 7:1); cf. Meeks (1983: 16).
91. See more detailed discussion in below section B.2.
92. Asiarchs were probably men of wealth and public influence in the cities of the province of Asia. They were elected or appointed as protectors and promoters of the expanding imperial cult and the worship of the goddess Roma. They would probably be rated as Romans of the most loyal kind; see discussion in Gealy (IDB I: 259).
93. It would be most natural for those people from Rome to talk

about Rome with other people who had not visited Rome or who desired to go to Rome. Hock (1980: 28) cites an example of Dio Chrysostom who was on a trip to Borysthenes. When he was still some distance outside the city, he was greeted by some of the citizens and was engaged in discussion for the rest of the way to the city.

94. So Bornkamm (1963a: 21).

95. The earliest evidences for the Jewish origin of Roman Christians are the Claudius edict reported by Suetonius and the 4th century unknown writer of a commentary on the letters of Paul, usually referred to as Ambrosiaster; see Wikenhauser (1956: 399); Klijn (1965: 74ff.); Wiefel (1970: 110); Kuemmel (1973: 308); Drane (1980: 217); Bruce (1981-82: 337).

96. See Wiefel (1970); cf. Marxsen (1964: 99f.); Donfried (1974b: 123f.); Drane (1980), pp.215ff..Against Brown (1983: 97-104), who argues that the Jewishness of Roman Christians was the result of influence from Jerusalem.

97. See Leon (1960:1-45, 135f.) and our discussion in **Chapter 3** below.

98. Pro Flacco 28: 66-69; see discussion in Leon (1960: 5ff.).

99. There were synagogues of the Tripolitans and of Elaea in Rome. They were possibly formed by Jews coming from Tripolis and Elaea; see Leon (1960: 153f., 146f.). For discussion on the possible composition of the Roman Jews, see **Ch.4** below.

100. See discussion in Maier (1968); Stern (1974b: 164); Smallwood (1981: 201f.); Schuerer (1986 III.1: 76).

101. According to Acts, Paul's pattern of mission always started in the synagogues (Acts 9:20; 13:5, 14; 14:1; 17:1-2, 10, 17; 18:4, 19; 19:8) and, though frequently frustrated, his efforts continued up to the very end of Acts (28:23ff.). The historical reliability of this portrait has been radically questioned by Schmithals (1963: 54-62), but Haenchen (A, 1965: 538-541; Bornkamm (1966a: 199f.); Wilson (1973: 249); Holmberg (1978: 30); Malherbe (1983: 64) defend it. In fact, this portrait of Paul is supported by the evidence in II Cor. 11: 24, which suggests that Paul had probably continued to attend synagogues in his missionary activities. By accepting the punishment from the Jews he showed that he submitted himself under the Jewish juridiction; see Sanders (1983a: 192); Harvey (1985a). The cause of the punishment mentioned in II Cor. 11:24 was probably Paul's implementation of his missionary principle to become as one under the law to those under the law, and to become as one outside the law to those outside the law (I Cor. 9: 20f.); see Meeks (1983: 26); Harvey (1985a: 93). Against Goppelt (1962: 74), who is followed by Barrett (IIC, 1973: 24f.); Stuhlmacher (1981b: 71, 89 n.3); Martin (IIC, 1986: 376f.) in suggesting that the penalties in II Cor. 11: 24 must have taken place before the beginning of Paul's work in Antioch. This suggestion is unconvincing, for it is quite improbable that Paul would mention these incidents again in the letter which was written more than ten years later as if these were his recent experiences. Against Sanders (1983a: 186), who thinks that the best reading of I Cor. 9: 19-23 is hyperbolic; see Harvey (1985b: 115).

102. Acts 18:2 mentions only Aquila as a Jew. As his wife's name indicates that she may have belonged to the Gens Prisca, a noble Roman family, some scholars suggest that Prisca may not have been Jewish by birth; see Edmundson (1913: 11f.); Bruce (A, 1952: 342), (1985: 46f.); cf. Sanday and Headlam (R,

1902: 420). However, Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 783) argues that "unless fairly strong grounds can be shown for thinking otherwise, the probability that his wife also was Jewish must be reckoned very high"; cf. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 423); Marshall (A, 1980: 292).

103. For discussion of the expulsion of the Roman Jews in 49 C.E., see Momigliano (1932: 30f.); Smallwood (1981: 210-6); and **Chapter 3** below.
104. See reference in Bruce (1985: 46).
105. See the detailed discussion about the relationship between Paul, Prisca and Aquila in Luedemann (1980: 173ff.), who integrates the evidence from both Acts and Pauline letters.
106. Theissen (1974: 253) assumes that Acts 18:7 describes Paul's removal from the house of Aquila to that of Titus Justus. The reason suggested is the more favourable location of the latter for his preaching to the Jews. However, Malherbe (1983: 75f. n.30) suggests that Luke is describing the changes in location of Paul's preaching activity, not of his lodging.
107. Luedemann (1980: 144f.) argues strongly that the report of the move of the couple from Corinth to Ephesus is historical.
108. See Barrett (I C, 1968: 5, 372 n.1); cf. Metzger (1971: 570); Bruce (1985: 48).
109. Some scholars suggest that this passage permits the hypothesis that they "risked their necks" for Paul in connection with the dangers that Paul encountered in the vicinity of Ephesus (cf. Acts 19:23-40; I Cor. 15:32; II Cor. 1:8-9); so Wiefel (1970: 112); Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 785f.); Luedemann (1980: 174); Bruce (1985: 48f.).
110. Dodd (R, 1959: 15); Luedemann (1980: 173f.); Bruce (1985: 47); cf. Marxsen (1964: 99); Barrett (IC, 1968; 396).
111. Dodd (R, 1959: 15); cf. Bruce (1985: 47).
112. Bruce (1985: 47); cf. Dodd (R, 1959: 15).
113. See Doty (1973: 1ff.); Lohse (1974a: 210f.).
114. Cf. Bruce (1985), p.50.
115. So Barrett (R, 1957: 283); Luedemann (1980: 174); Bruce (1985: 49f.). With regard to the place from which Paul wrote to the Romans, there is no dispute among scholars; see Kuemmel (1973: 311). As far as the date of Paul's writing of Romans is concerned, the range of suggestion is between late 54 to 59 C.E.; see detailed discussion in Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 12-6). However, there is a growing consensus among scholars that it was probably written during the period of 55 - 57 C.E.; see Leenhardt (R, 1957: 9); Barrett (R, 1962: 5); Bruce (R, 1963: 12); Kuemmel (1973: 311); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 16); Jewett (1979: 165).
116. See Stuhlmacher (1986: 188).
117. See Neil (1976: 63); Bruce (1985: 49f.); for opposite opinion see Drane (1980: 211).
118. Although we can only identify Prisca and Aquila as Roman Jewish Christians in exile from the evidence given by Acts, it is in fact by no means certain that they were the only Roman Jewish Christians whom Paul met in that period.
119. Bornkamm (1963a: 28f.).
120. Donfried (1974b: 132-141).
121. Stowers (1981).
122. Stowers (1981: 75ff.), whose suggestion is accepted by Kennedy (1984: 155f.).
123. Bornkamm (1963a: 21f.) also argues that we should not look for opponents in Romans. However, his assumption seems to be

that unless we can identify some concrete opponents in Romans, it cannot be a letter addressed to the situation of Roman Christians. His view seems to be also accepted by others, e.g. Drane (1980: 212, 221f.). And, although some scholars agree in interpreting Romans as a letter addressed to the situation in Rome, they continue to read Romans as a polemical letter and try to identify Paul's opponents in the letter; so Stuhlmacher (1985:89-93), (1986:190f.); Watson (1986:126, 147). Luedemann (1983: 159f.) is probably right to suggest that Rm. 3: 8 is the only place where we can see evidence of anti-Paulinism in Romans; cf. Stuhlmacher (1985: 90).

124. See Davies (1978a:130); Haacker (1988); cf. Brown (1983:111).
125. See Stowers (1981: 155, cf. 79ff., 119ff.).
126. See Stowers (1981: 115ff.; 152ff.; 177f.); cf. Kennedy (1984: 156).
127. For the understanding of 'implied author' and 'implied reader', see **note 81** in **Introduction** above.
128. See also Stowers (1981:140). However, Stowers does not differentiate between 'implied speaker', 'interlocutor' in the diatribal passage and the 'implied author', 'implied reader' in the letter. Nevertheless, he rightly sees the effect of the author's shift back and forth between different levels of dialogue as causing the real audience to be caught up in the simulated dialogue.
129. Stowers (1981: 178f., 243 n.4) finds that outside of Romans, objections and false conclusions occur only in Gal. 2:17; 3:21; I Cor. 15:35 and possibly 6:12, 13. However, there are at least fifteen of these in Romans, such as 3:1, 3, 5, 9, 27, 31; 4:1-2; 6:1, 15; 7:7, 13; 9:14, 19; 11:1, 19; cf. Kennedy (1984: 155).
130. Stowers (1981: 179).
131. Stowers (1981: 79-174) studied the following diatribal passages in Romans, 2: 1-5, 17-24; 3: 1-9; 3: 27 - 4: 25; 6: 1-3, 15, 16; 7: 7, 13, 14; 9: 14, 15, 19-21; 11: 1-3, 11, 17-24; 14: 4, 10.
132. Stowers (1981: 178).
133. Stowers (1981: 152f.).
134. Cf. Stowers (1981: 106, 115f., 152, 180).
135. Stowers (1981: 99f., 106).
136. This is probably the answer to the question raised by Sanders (1983a: 31), where he asks "The dialogue character of Romans is generally recognized, but with whom does Paul see himself as in dialogue?"; cf. Kennedy (1984: 153).
137. E.g. Manson (1948); Bornkamm (1963b: 22-27); Sanders (1977a: 487); Drane (1980: 221ff.); see also our comment on Bornkamm's discussion of the distinctiveness of Romans in **note 23** in the **INTRODUCTION** above.
138. Donfried (1974b: 146) rightly points out that in Romans Paul is <u>both</u> sharing and repeating insights gained in prior situations <u>and</u> addressing a real situation.
139. Bornkamm (1963b: 25f.).
140. see references in **note 26** in **Chapter 8** below.
141. Among the 36 occurrences of **peritomē** in the NT, 15 are found in Romans; Galatians has 6. Among the 20 occurrences of **akrobustia** in the NT, 11 are found in Romans; Galatians has 3.
142. See **note 1** in **Chapter 11** below.
143. Bornkamm (1963b: 30); cf. Sanders (1983a: 31).
144. See Dibelius (1933: 238); Bradley (1953: 246); Karris (1973:

98); Drane (1980: 222).

145. See discussion in Barrett (R, 1962: 236); Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 617 n. 1); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 336f.).
146. See GLAJJ I: 328 and Syme (1959: 40ff.).
147. Allusions to this passage are found in I Tim. 2:2; Tit. 3:1; I Pet. 2: 13-7; cf. Rev. 13; see Bammel (1984: 366); Dunn (1986: 55 n.1).
148. Manson (1948: 15) and Bornkamm (1963b: 27), (1969: 215f.).
149. See discussion in Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 651ff.); Riekkinen (1980: 25-51); Bruce (1984).
150. So O'Neill (R, 1975: 207-209); Schmithals (1975).
151. See Wilckens (1974b); Friedrich, Poehlmann & Stuhlmacher (1976: 50-3); Bruce (1984: 81f.); Dunn (R, MS:1011).
152. See Borg (1972-73); Riekkinen (1980: 96-117); Dunn (1986).
153. Furnish (1972: 115); cf. Bornkamm (1963b: 22), Karris (1973: 99); Drane (1980: 221); Meeks (1987: 290ff.).
154. Karris (1973).
155. Karris (1973: 78, 91).
156. Karris (1973: 78f. nn. 16, 17).
157. Karris (1973: 78).
158. Minear (1971: 8).
159. Karris (1973: 91).
160. Karris (1973: 78 n.16).
161. See also Watson (1986: 95) and our discussion of the identities of the 'weak' and the 'strong' in Chapters 5 below.
162. So Manson (1948: 15); Bornkamm (1963b: 22); Furnish (1972: 115); Drane (1980: 221); Bassler (1984: 57n).
163. See Murray (R, 1965, II:173f.); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 692f.).
164. Karris (1973: 93; cf. 92, 98).
165. Against Huebner (1978: 68), who thinks "Paul is simply adopting here [Rm. 14] the terminology ['strong' and 'weak'] which he had earlier found useful in Corinth (I Cor. 8:1ff.)".
166. See Furnish (1972: 115 n.69); Karris (1973: 85); Willis (1985: 89).
167. See Willis (1985: 89).
168. Against Meeks (1987: 293), who suggests that the difference between "conscience" and "faith" is not great; see Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 728f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 379).
169. See Malherbe (1983: 79).
170. See Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 692).
171. See Theissen (1975b).
172. Cf. also Kaesemann (R, 1980: 364).

CHAPTER TWO

Rome as a Cosmopolitan City

Introduction

Following the fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C.E., great numbers of Jews were dispersed from Palestine to Babylon, Egypt, Asia Minor and other parts of the Mediterranean world.[1] Rome, as the power centre of Roman expansion, became the centre of the Mediterranean world in the second century B.C.E. and was inhabited by a large population of foreigners,[2] among whom were some Jews.

The earliest date at which the Jewish immigrants arrived in Rome is not certain. The earliest indication that we have of the presence of Jews in Rome is to be found in a puzzling statement by Valerius Maximus (c. 1st century C.E.)[3]. He observes that the Praetor Gnaeus Cornelius Hispalus[4] expelled the Chaldaeans and astrologers from Rome in 139 B.C.E, because they were taking advantage of the credulity of the Romans. He also compelled the Jews, who attempted to contaminate the morals of the Romans with the worship of Jupiter Sabazius,[5] to go back to their own land. However, many scholars suggest that this passage in Valerius refers not to a settled Jewish community but rather to a small group of temporary sojourners.[6]

More concrete evidence of the existence of a permanent Jewish community in Rome before 61 B.C.E. is derived from a speech by Cicero in 59 B.C.E., as we have mentioned in the previous Chapter, in which he suggested that the Jews had already become a formidable element in Roman politics for some time.[7] However, the most obvious evidence of the coming of Jewish immigrants to Rome is in 61 B.C.E., when a great number of Jewish captives were brought back to Rome by Pompey after his conquest of Jerusalem in 63 B.C.E..[8] It is probable that these Jewish prisoners of war were sold in Rome as slaves; but many of them were manumitted soon afterwards, perhaps because they proved troublesome to their masters on account of their strict adherence to Jewish religious observances. Some of them were probably freed through the help of the existing Jewish community which paid the ransom money required to secure their freedom as bidden by the Torah.[9] These freed slaves, who could have obtained full Roman citizenship or become merely peregrini,[10] formed the basis of an extensive Jewish community in Rome.[11]

Although there were at least two expulsions of Jews from Rome recorded in the first century C.E. (19 C.E. and 49 C.E.),[12] the Jewish community of Rome was one of the largest Jewish communities in the empire and had had a long continuous existence since the first century B.C.E..[13]

Rome, as the power centre of the Mediterranean world, influenced the life of Jews in Palestine and most of those in the Diaspora. Above all, it surely influenced the life of the Jews and Christians in the city. As far as our study

is concerned, it is important to enquire as to what kind of pressure and constraints they were under in Rome.

As we have mentioned before, and will discuss below, the Roman Christian community probably emerged from the Roman Jewish community, but the majority of Roman Christians at the time Paul wrote his letter to Rome were Gentiles. In this case the relationship between Jews and Gentiles in Rome probably provides an important framework within which we may understand better the relationships between Jewish Christians, Gentile Christians, and non-Christian Jews in Rome.

In this Chapter we will focus our attention on three contexts given by the situation in Rome which are significant for our thesis, namely: the ethnic context, the religious context, and the social context of Rome. In the following two chapters we will focus our discussion on the situation of the Roman Jewish community with special reference to the interactions between Jews and Gentiles in these contexts.

I. The Ethnic Context of Rome

As we mentioned above, during the last century of the republic and the first century of the empire, the foreign population of Rome increased rapidly. A large part of this foreign population was made up of slaves and freedmen, and of their descendants. As far as the native population of Rome was concerned, it is probable that it declined steadily in contrast to the foreign population. The causes of decline were several -- including the casualties during

the civil and overseas war, the constant retention of twenty percent of the young Romans of marriageable age from all over Italy in military service, the creation of Roman colonies in overseas provinces and a heavy decline in the birth-rate, even among the poor classes.[14] Although we have no adequate evidence to show the proportions of different ethnic groups in the population of Rome,[15] in the middle of the first century C.E., the foreign element was already prominent.[16] It had begun to make a deep inroad into the senatorial and equestrian classes. It formed a large part of the plebs urbana, contributed the whole servile class and also the large population of peregrini.[17]

Rome became cosmopolitan, with a mixture of different races and ethnic groups. These foreigners formed special groups bound together by their common origin from the same province or from the same city, or by their common traditions, and to a greater extent by their peculiar religious cults of national deities.[18] They also tried to live as communities in specific districts in Rome in order to preserve their identity.[19] Among these foreigners were the Jews.

Nevertheless, the influx of the foreigners into Rome also caused periodical reactions on the part of the native population, especially of the conservative classes. This found expression in drastic laws which resulted in the periodic expulsion from Rome of all foreigners or of certain groups. One of the most obvious cases was in 65 B.C.E, when the Lex Papia called for a general expulsion from Rome of all foreigners who were not citizens. The

reason given was that they were too numerous and were unworthy to live with the Romans.[20] The native population of Rome had frequently accused the foreigners of lowering the standards of Roman life and eventually injuring the purity and strength of their own stock.[21] In short, the Romans felt that their identity was threatened.

These expulsions, however, even when actually and severely enforced, did not eliminate the foreign elements from Rome. This is because the foreign groups consisted mainly of slaves whose work was indispensible and of freedmen possessing Roman citizenship. These groups had become an integral part of the plebs urbana and could not be expelled.[22] In fact, during the civil wars and tumults of the last part of the republican period, the foreigners in Rome became a political force in the hands of politicians.[23] The more liberal policy of Roman citizenship in the Imperial period, which was used as a political and social device to unify the diversities and particularities of different people within the empire,[24] enabled foreigners to integrate even more easily into the life of Rome. The primary requirement of the citizenship was loyalty to Rome.[25]

In Rome, the interaction between different ethnic groups became a process of conflict, adaptation, assimilation and absorption. Both natives of Rome and foreigners were under the pressure to preserve and redefine their old identities as well as to create a new identity.[26]

II. The Religious Context of Rome

One of the most important consequence of the influx of foreigners into Rome was the importation of foreign religions. As these were the religions of foreigners, they were granted freedom of religious practice among themselves by Roman authorities.[27] However, with the gradual increase in the number of foreigners and the incorporation of large numbers of them into the population of Rome, their religions began to play an important part in the social and religious life of the city. They even gained converts among the native population, began to claim recognition and public rights, invaded the sacred precints, and appeared as dangerous competitors for the traditional Roman religion.[28]

The Roman authorities and the conservative classes were sensitive to the influence of foreign religions among the native population. The influential Egyptian cult of Isis, which seems to have gained a foothold in Rome in the time of Sulla (80 B.C.E.), met persecution as soon as it became conspicuous in the city and dared to consecrate its altars on the sacred grounds of the capitol.[29] As will be discussed in detail in the next Chapter, in 19 C.E., Tiberius (14-37 C.E.) took the opportunity offered by scandals about the Isis-cult as well as Judaism and expelled both the Isis worshippers and the Jews from Rome.[30] Both scandals were related to proselytes who belonged to the upper strata of Roman society. The reason for these expulsions was probably the influence of these foreign religions among the native population.[31] In fact, in the age of Augustus, establishment of a new

identity for Romans went hand in hand with the restoration of official Roman cults. The wide spread of foreign religions among the native population meant competition with the official cult and endangered this effort to build a new identity.

However, with Claudius (41-54 C.E.), a new period emerged for foreign religions in Rome. With the rapid change of the social and political situation within the empire and oriental cults gaining a firm foothold in Rome, foreign religions received recognition from the Emperor.[32] The religious context in the city became more complicated and the city became more cosmopolitan.[33] Different religions existed side by side and Rome became a melting pot of religions. Nevertheless, as will be discussed in the next Chapter, the Roman Jews did suffer expulsion under Claudius --- probably because of their internal conflict which might damage the public order of Rome.

III. The Social Context of Rome

As far as the legal status of these foreign religions is concerned, the concept of religio licita may not have been used before 150 C.E. and it was probably not a Roman legal expression.[34] However, these foreign religious groups probably gained the effective status of collegia licita.[35]

The Roman organizations known as collegia were possibly created in ancient times for craftsmen. They were designed to reinforce the unity and homogeneity of the entire people and to suppress separatist tendencies.[36] In the peaceful days of the Republic, the collegia multiplied without

restraint or suspicion. In the last century of the Republic, the secret political clubs existed as collegia and were actively involved in the political struggle, which caused the suppressions of the collegia by the Senate in 64 and 55 B.C.E..[37]

When Julius Caesar became the real master in 49 B.C.E., more drastic laws such as the Lex Julia de collegiis of 47/46 B. C. E., were enacted to abolish all collegia except a few which were consecrated by their antiquity or religious character.[38] The synagogues of the Jews were among those exempted from abolition.[39] Augustus probably re-enacted Caesar's law against collegia in 7 C.E.;[40] the right of association was only granted to those collegia which were not likely to disturb the peace of the state and would definitely serve the public interest. According to the law, a collegium licitum could only be organized with the prior authorization of the Senate or the Emperor.[41] However, the continued exemption of the synagogues from the ban is obviously confirmed by the evidence from Philo and Josephus.[42]

The organization, juridical status, social value and economic function of the Roman collegia have been the subject of much controversy among scholars.[43] During the imperial period, some collegia were similar in character to professional and trade guilds,[44] while others were merely religious associations to carry on a special cult.[45] Many small collegia of poor people had a funerary purpose,[46] and some collegia of slaves and freedmen were formed by family ties (collegia domestica).[47] Burial of members became one

of the principal activities of almost all collegia during the first two centuries of the empire.[48]

This overlapping of characteristics and purposes in the various classes of associations makes it very difficult for the modern historian to attempt a clear classification of the collegia.[49] Furthermore, although the laws about the organization of collegia were very definite and severe penalties were threatened upon transgressors, there is no doubt that even during the first century of the empire, collegia illicita[50] were in existence in Rome and elsewhere and maintained a secret life.[51] In so far as the activities of these collegia illicita did not take a dangerous political turn or cause any public disturbance, the authorities discretely connived.[52]

The increase in collegia was on the one hand due to the social needs of people who belonged to the lower social strata and who were cut off from the social and cultural life of the senatorial and equestrian classes. They eventually gathered together to form collegia for recreation, social intercourse, religious worship and also to provide a service for the burial of the dead. These collegia of poor people also provided a sense of collective dignity and strength, as well as a sense of identity and of belonging.[53] On the other hand, the large number of foreigners in Rome formed collegia in order to practise in their new environment the religious cults of their land of origin, as well as to protect themselves from the forms of oppression, restriction, and social exclusion to which foreigners were usually subjected.[54] These collegia

provided a sense of security and preserved their identity.

This was probably the background against which we can understand the organization of synagogues and house churches by Jews and Christians in Rome

Conclusion

Thus from the late republican period to the early centuries of the empire, Rome was a cosmopolitan city in a new age of searching for a new identity and a new understanding of the relationship between different ethnic and religious groups. This situation was part of the important context in which the Jews and the Christians in Rome developed their modes of existence and defined their relationship with one another.

Notes to Chapter Two

1. See Smallwood (1981: 120).
2. The reasons for the rise of the foreign population in Rome were many. Firstly, there was the influx of Latins and of Italians from central Italy and of Greeks from the south when Rome gradually became the centre of Italy after the dissolution of the Latin league in 338 B.C.E.; see Sherwin-White (1973:119ff.) and "Socii" (OCD:997). Secondly, when Rome gradually expanded into a world-state by conquering most areas around the Mediterranean Sea after the Punic wars of 264-241, 218-201, and 149-146 B.C.E., thousands of captives of all races from the conquered land were brought to Rome by the victorious armies; see La Piana (1927:189). Thirdly, after the second destruction of Delos by pirates in 69 B.C.E., Rome gradually became the centre of the slave trade and inherited the slave-trade from the Greeks and the Phoenicians; see Gordon (1924:94f.) and La Piana (1927:189). Fourthly, the prosperity of Rome, especially after the beginning of the empire, also attracted a number of free men, such as merchants, skilled workers and professional men to Rome, see

La Piana (1927:192f) and Rostovtzeff(1957: 169f, esp. p.170, n.31). For a comprehensive description of the foreign immigrants in Rome, see La Piana (1927:200f.).

3. See GLAJJ I:357-360; Smallwood (1981: 128ff.); Schuerer (1986 III.1: 74f.).
4. This is the name appearing in the texts of Valerius; however, Leon (1960: 2f., esp. p.2 n.3) observes that the manuscripts of Valerius are wrong, and that it should be Hispanus; see also Smallwood (1981: 129).
5. The abridgement of Julius Paris adds the detail that the praetor cast the private altars of the Jews out of the public places. The reference to the worship of Jupiter Sabazius, a Phrygian and Thracian deity corresponding to the Greek Dionysus, is suggested as a confusion with the Jewish Sabaoth. For details see Leon (1960: 2f.); Smallwood (1981: 128f.) and also Schuerer (1986 III.1: 74). However, Lane (1979) suggests that the difficulty is caused only by a textual problem.
6. See Leon (1960: 3f.) and Schuerer (1986 III.1: 75).
7. Cicero, pro Flacco 28/67 in GLAJJ I, (1974: 197ff., no.68.); see discussion in Leon, (1960: 4-9); Smallwood (1981: 131) and Schuerer (1986 III.1: 75).
8. See Philo, Legatio ad Gaium 155; see discussion in Smallwood (1981: 131) and Schuerer (1973 I: 240f.), (1986 III.1: 75).
9. Lev. 25:47ff. and see Philo, Legatio 155; cf. Leon (1960: 4f.); Smallwood (1981: 131) and Schuerer (1986 III.1: 75).
10. They might receive full Roman citizenship if they were formally manumitted; but if they were only granted informal manumission (perhaps more frequent in the late republic), it would give them no citizen rights but make them merely peregrini. After the Lex Junia was passed (possibly in 25 B.C.E., but probably in 17 B.C.E. or 19 C.E., see Smallwood, 1981:132), Latinitas Juniana, rights similar to those enjoyed by Latin colonies were conferred; see discussion in Seyffert, "Civitas", "Freedmen" in DCA: 140, 240-242; Sherwin-White (1973: 322ff.), Finley, "Latini Iurriani" OCD:582; Smallwood (1981: 131f.) and Schuerer (1986 III.1: 75).
11. See Lieberman (1976) p.131; Smallwood (1981), pp.2, 27f., 131; Schurer I, p.241, III.1, p.75.
12. See Schuerer (1986 III.1: 75-77) and the discussion in **Chapter 3** below.
13. Cf. Smallwood (1981: 121f.). The expulsions had never made the Jewish community totally disappear. They might only have slowed down its momentum of growth for a short while. As far as the population of the Jewish community in Rome is concerned, Vogelstein and Rieger (1895 I:38) had estimated the Jewish population of Rome in the early empire at 40,000, stating that this was a conservative figure, but in Vogelstein's later work (1940: 17), he reduced this to 20,000 without stating the reason for his change of opinion; see also Penna (1982: 328). Most other scholars accept an estimate of 40,000 to 50,000, while Juster (1914 I:209) makes it even higher, 50,000 to 60,000 in the time of Tiberius. Leon (1964:156f.) has concurred with the figure of 50,000; see discussion in Leon (1960: 135 n.1.); Brown (1983: 94 n.193). The estimate is derived from literary sources of Philo, Legatio 155; Josephus, BJ II.80; AJ XVII.300; Tacitus, Annales II, 85.4 and the evidence of the six catacombs with their many thousand tombs; see Leon (1960: 135f.).
14. See discussion in Frank (1927: 203ff.); La Piana (1927: 189) and Brunt (1971: 110-2, 130).

15. We possess a fairly continuous census list of Roman citizens from 508 B.C.E. to 47 C.E.; see Goodfellow (1935: 26f.); Frank (1924: 329); the list suggested by Beloch (1886) and quoted by Frank (1927: 205); and Brunt (1971: 13f., cf. 121-30). However, this list does not illuminate the population problem of Rome, since the gradual extension of citizenship to the Italian populations and through the whole empire after 27 B.C.E. makes these figures applicable only in part to Rome. Nevertheless, it is generally agreed that at the beginning of the empire over one million inhabitants crowded the city; see Friedlander (n.d.), I: 17, IV: 17 n.2; La Piana (1927: 188 n.7) and Ogilvie (1981: 4).
16. See discussion in Frank (1916: 689-708), (1927: 211-3); La Piana (1927: 191f. n. 11, 197) and Ogilve (1981: 4f.).
17. La Piana (1927: 197).
18. See La Piana (1927: 203ff.; 211f.)
19. La Piana (1927: 204ff., 211, 213ff.).
20. La Piana (1927: 233).
21. La Piana (1927: 226ff., 231f.).
22. La Piana (1927: 233).
23. Mommsen, Römische Geschichte, 8th ed., IV: 599 as quoted by La Piana (1927: 201 n.30), notes that Caesar did not oppose the increased influence of foreigners in Rome, and in the celebration of popular festivals, he gave the order that plays should be given not only in Latin and Greek, but also in other languages, probably in Phoenician, Jewish and Syriac. Frank (1927: 202f.) mentions that when Cicero was canvassing for the consulship in 64 B.C.E., his brother reminded him that a candidate had to be careful of his behaviour towards his slaves and freedmen, for they had no little power in influencing the vote of the populace.
24. See Sherwin-White (1976: 225, 229).
25. Sherwin-White (1976: 222).
26. In the history of Rome, the native Roman population grew by the successive incorporation of tribes of Etruscan, Latin and Italian stock. In other words, in Rome, there was a tradition of assimilation and absorption of different peoples; see Sherwin-White (1973: 8). During the period of the first century B.C.E. and the first century C.E., the interaction between the foreigners and the native Romans in Rome probably brought in another process of mutual assimilation and absorption resulting in the gradual formation of a new environment in Rome and the creation of a new identity for Romans; see discussion in La Piana (1927: 200ff.).
27. La Piana (1927: 288).
28. La Piana (1927: 288). For discussion of the Roman religions as cults of loyalty, see Liebeschuetz (1979: 56-90).
29. See La Piana (1927), pp.291f.. The repeated destruction of the altars and shrines of Isis in Rome is well known, but it is significant to note that these measures of repression coincide with the law against all kinds of collegia, enacted after bloody tumults had been provoked by the mobs which Clodius recruited from the Roman slums and organized into collegia for the terrorizing of the government.
30. See BJ XVIII: 65-84, AJ XVIII: 65-84 (66-80 deal with the Isis-cult); Tacitus, Annales II: 85.5; Suetonius Tiberius 36.1. For detailed discussion on this issue, see **chapter 3** below.
31. Dio LVII: 18.5a, see Smallwood (1956b: 319) and (1981: 205).
32. See Garnsey & Saller (1987: 173). For discussion on the concepts of religio licita and collegia licita, see the

following section.

33. La Piana (1927: 294ff.), suggests that the change of religious policy was due to the rapid change in the social and political situation from the time of Augustus to the reign of Claudius. At the time of Claudius, the growing importance of the provinces in the economic, social, political and military life of the empire required a larger participation of the various races in the rights and responsibilities of the Roman Commonwealth. The protection of the oriental cults was a necessary gesture to show the recognition of the importance of the eastern provinces. On the other hand, the oriental cults had gained a firm foothold in Rome and were a real power in the life of the masses. To ignore them was to let them develop and spread without control; cf. Momigliano (1961: 27f.).
34. See Grant (1961: 84ff.); Applebaum (1974a: 460); Rajak (1984); against Smallwood (1970: 564) and (1981: 135).
35. See La Piana (1927: 298f.).
36. In Plutarch's Life of Numa chapter 17, it is stated that it was the second king of Rome who created collegia for the craftsmen of Rome. In Pliny's Natural History 34:1 and 35:159, he attributes the collegia of the bronze workers and brick makers to Numa. However, according to Florus 1, 6, 3, it was Servius Tullius who distributed the Roman people between collegia, in the general context of his timocratic organization of the census classes. This history of collegia is believed to be very early, but no date can be given with concrete evidence; see Gabba (1984: 81ff.). The standard treatments of the Roman collegia are Waltzing, J.P., Étude historique sur les corporations professionelles chez les Romains depuis les origines jusqu'à la chute de l'Empire d'Occident Vol.1-4 (1895-1900); Kornemann, E., "collegium" in Real Encyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft ed. Pauly-Wissowa Vol.IV, cols 380-480; see also Dill (1905:254); La Piana (1927: 235); Duff (1938: 95ff.); Guterman (1951: 130); Treggiari (1969:168-177); Yavetz (1983: 85-96) and Schuerer (1986 III.1: 111f.).
37. See Dill (1905: 254); La Piana (1927: 235f.); Treggiari (1929: 168ff.); Wilkinson (1975: 90) and Yavetz (1983: 90).
38. Suetonius, Julius 42: 3; AJ XIV: 215. See Discussion in Dill (1905: 234); La Piana (1927: 237), and Yavetz (1983: 85-96).
39. The decrees recorded by Josephus in AJ XIV. 185-216 have been called the Magna Carta of the Jews by B. Niese in Hermes II (1876: 488), and quoted with approval by Vogelstein (1895 I: 10); see Leon (1960: 9); Juster (1914 I: 214-7); Grant (1973: 59); Smallwood (1981: 135) and Rabello (1980: 692). For opposite view see Applebaum (1974a: 455-460) and Rajak (1984).
40. Suetonius, Augustus 32:1; see Smallwood (1981: 136, n.57).
41. See Dill (1905: 254); La Piana (1927: 237); Paul-Louis (1927: 259f.) and Stevenson (1970: 256).
42. Philo Legatio 311-12 and AJ XVI: 162-5.
43. See La Piana (1927: 237ff.) and the reference works in **note 36** above.
44. These collegia recruited their members from all groups of skilled and unskilled workers, merchants and shopkeepers and artisans of various kinds; see La Piana (1927: 238ff. and Rostovtzeff (1957: 158f., 178, 607 n.22). Besides these professional collegia recognized by the state, there were others whose services did not have a public character and were either tolerated or ignored by the state. The slaves and free wage-earners of the industries in which the state had no

interest could join the so-called collegia tenuiorum, which pursued no economic aims; see also La Piana (1927: 265ff.); Rostovtzeff (1957: 178).

45. Side by side with the professional collegia in Rome, there were other collegia of a more strictly religious character, those of the 'cultores' of a special deity. These have a great importance in relation to the foreign groups in Rome because they probably originated among these foreigners for the celebration of their native cults, so that it was only at a later date and on their model that associations of 'cultores' of Roman deities were formed. However in many cases, the members of such associations appear to have belonged to the same trade or profession, and the associations thus assumed the character of professional collegia, although associations of 'cultores' with no professional character are well known to have been in existence. See La Piana (1927), p.240.
46. See La Piana (1927: 241ff., 244) and Wilken (1972).
47. The collegia domestica which formed among slaves and freedmen of the same households were very numerous in the time of Augustus and even existed in the imperial household; see La Piana (1927: 270, 274, 275f.).
48. See La Piana (1927: 237f., 243).
49. La Piana (1927: 244).
50. La Piana (1927: 245.).
51. See La Piana (1927: 245).
52. Cary and Scullard (1979: 479).
53. See Dill (1905: 256); Wilken (1972: 280f.); Wilken (1984: 35ff.); Alfoldy (1985: 134); Garnsey & Saller (1987: 156ff.); and also Waltzing (1895 I: 332) quoted by Wilken (1984: 40).
54. La Piana (1927: 225ff., 234).

CHAPTER THREE

Romans' Attitude towards the Roman Jews

Introduction

With the understanding of the situation of Rome as a cosmopolitan city in mind, a more specific situation of the Roman Jewish community can be depicted. By paying attention to our primary sources, mainly from Roman authors, Philo, Josephus, and the inscriptions found in the Roman Jewish catacombs, we will discuss the Romans' attitude towards the Roman Jews in this Chapter, and the adaptation of the Roman Jews to the situation of Rome in the following one.

As far as the Romans' attitude towards the Roman Jews is concerned, we can tackle the issue according to two categories, namely, the Roman authorities and the view reflected in the Roman authors.[1] In the discussion we hope to demonstrate the forms of interaction between Jews and Gentiles from the Gentile perspective.

I. Roman Authorities and the Roman Jews

A. The Protection of Jewish Religious Rights

One of the bases of the Roman authorities' attitude towards Jews was probably the experience of their political predecessors, the Hellenistic kingdom of the East. The general attitude of Alexander the Great and his immediate successors to conquered peoples was to be

tolerant of existing rights and to make a rule to confirm them. The normal formula was the confirmation of the right of each community "to live according to its ancestral laws" and the Romans generally followed this precedent.[2] Acording to our evidence, there were four aspects which show that the Roman authorities protected Jewish religious rights in Rome:

1. ***The recognition of the synagogues as collegia licita***

As we have mentioned in the previous Chapter, it was probably in 47/46 B.C.E. that a new Lex Julia de collegiis was enacted under Julius Caesar to dissolve all collegia in Rome except those of ancient foundation. In the pertinent passage of Josephus (AJ XIV, 213-5), it is reported that a letter was sent to Parium, quoting an edict issued by Caesar to forbid religious societies to assemble in Rome, but the Jews in Rome were exempted and allowed to retain the right of assembly, to collect contributions of money and to hold common meals. Thus the synagogues in Rome were perhaps legally recognized as collegia.[3]

Augustus probably re-enacted Caesar's law against collegia in 7 C.E..[4] However, the continued exemption of the synagogues from the ban was obviously confirmed.[5] Caesar's recognition of the Jewish right of assembly in Rome despite the general ban on other collegia probably formed the basis for the Romans' inclination to protect Jewish religious rights not only in Rome but also in other parts of the Roman empire.[6] This is probably the reason why Julius Caesar was recognized as the great protector of the Jews. According to Suetonius, at his death, a throng of

Roman Jews lamented throughout several successive nights beside his funeral pyre.[7]

2. *Privilege of Sabbath Observance*

In a unique passage by Philo (Legatio 155-8), an additional privilege was granted to the Jews in Rome by Augustus. It is reported that when the free distribution of grain and other commodities or largesses of money to the poorer citizens fell on the Jewish sabbath, the portion allotted to the Jews was reserved for them so that it could be claimed on the following day.[8] This evidence shows that the Jewish right of the observance of Sabbath was respected by the authorities.

3. *Permission to Collect and Transmit Temple Tax to Jerusalem*

According to the report of Philo (Legatio 156-7, 312-5), the Roman Jews were allowed to collect money and to send it to Jerusalem. This practice is also testified by Cicero (Pro Flacco 28: 67) and Tacitus (Historiae V, 5: 1).

4. *Exemption from Military Service*

We do not have direct evidence that the Jews in Rome were exempted from military service. However, we learn that in Ephesus and Delos, Jews with Roman citizenship were exempted in order to protect them in observing the dietary laws and the sabbath.[9] It is quite plausible that the Jews in Rome were also granted this privilege. Furthermore, in 19 C.E., Tiberius not only expelled Jews from Rome but punished the Roman Jews by conscripting four thousand Jews

of military age for service against brigands in Sardinia.[10] This incident probably indicates that the privilege of exemption from military service granted to the Jews was temporarily withdrawn from the Jewish community in Rome, so that Jews with Roman citizenship became liable for legionary service.[11]

5. *Manumission of Jewish Slaves*

As we have mentioned above, most of the Jews in Rome were probably of servile origin. However, Philo (Legatio 155) reports that in the age of Augustus the majority of them had become freedmen who were manumitted by their owners.[12] The Romans who manumitted Jewish slaves by implication provided an opportunity for them to receive legal status in Rome.[13] Furthermore, Philo (Legatio 157) emphasizes that Augustus did not deprive the Roman Jews of their Roman citizenship because they were careful in preserving their Jewish identity. In other words, Jews in Rome did not find that their civic rights suffered because of their religion, in contrast to Jews in other Greek cities in the Diaspora.[14]

From the above discussion, it seems quite clear that the Roman authorities had provided the necessary conditions for Roman Jews to practise their way of life and thus to preserve their Jewish identity. In fact this was not only true of the Roman Jews, but also of the Jews in the Diaspora in general. In the AJ (books XIV, XVI, and XIX), Josephus cites some thirty decrees and letters issued by Rome and sent to different Greek cities throughout the

empire, dating from about 50 B.C.E. onwards, concerning similar Jewish rights and privileges in practising their laws and customs.[15] Although the AJ are believed to have been designed as propaganda to recommend Judaism to the Greeks and the Hellenized Jews (cf. AJ I, 1:5),[16] and there are numerous technical stumbling blocks involved in interpreting them,[17] Rajak affirms that "the formal features of the documents are correct for genre and period, to a degree which makes it very difficult to conceive of them as forgeries."[18]

However, the positive attitude of the Roman authorities towards the Roman Jews is only a partial picture, as the Roman Jews did also suffer expulsion by the authorities.

B. The Expulsions of the Jews from Rome

As we have mentioned in the previous Chapter, there were periodical reactions to the influx of foreign groups by the native population in Rome, especially the conservative classes, and drastic laws were enacted which resulted in their expulsion from Rome. In the case of the Jews, we learn about the following two expulsions which happened in the first century C.E.:

1. *The Expulsion in 19 C.E. under Tiberius*

Tiberius (14-37 C.E.) succeeded Augustus in 14 C.E. as the princeps at the age of fifty-five.[19] He followed the general policy of Augustus, including hostility to the *influence* of foreign religions in Rome.[20]

According to Josephus[21], Tacitus[22] and Suetonius,[23]

action was taken by Tiberius to remove the Jews from Rome. It is reported that four thousand Jews of military age were conscripted for service against brigands in Sardinia,[24] and the rest of the community, including converts, was expelled from Rome.[25] All three sources link this with measures to suppress the Isis-cult in Rome. A fragment of Dio[26] mentions the expulsion of the bulk of the Jewish community from Rome, but not the use of conscription or the simultaneous attack on the Isis-cult. Tacitus alone states that people could avoid expulsion "by giving up their outlandish rites by a certain date" and also gives a firm date of the expulsion, i.e. 19 C.E..[27]

Neither Tacitus nor Suetonius gives any reason for Tiberius' measures against the Isis-cult or for those against the Jews. Since the Isis-cult had been suppressed or restricted more than once in the late republic and under Augustus, further repressive action simply on grounds of precedent or principle would be no surprise.[28] However, it seems strange that this was the first attack against the Jews in Rome, after they had formed an extensive community in 61 B.C.E., by the very authorities who had continuously confirmed Jewish religious rights since the age of Julius Caesar.

On this matter, Josephus gives us an account of a fraud practised by four Palestinian Jews on a distinguished Roman lady, Fulvia, who had become a proselyte to Judaism. In reaction to this incident, Tiberius expelled all the Jews from Rome.[29] It is quite obvious that Josephus' explanation is inadequate. It is incredible that Tiberius punished the

whole of the Jewish community merely because of a crime committed by four wicked men, especially when we contrast it with the way the Isis-cult was handled by Tiberius.[30]

Merrill remarks that "probably other unrecorded scandals had contributed to his [Tiberius'] frame of mind."[31] Heidel suggests that Tiberius' action was based on moral considerations.[32] Smallwood argues forcibly against them[33] and suggests accepting the reason given by Dio for the expulsion as the fundamental one: the Jews were converting many of the native Romans to Judaism.[34] However, as will be discussed in the next paragraph, if we consider the religious and political climate of Rome in that period, all three reasons are plausible and it is quite possible that their combined effect is the explanation of why the Jews were expelled.

In the imperial period, the official cult was established in order to fulfil both the religious needs of the people in Rome after years of civil war and also the political purpose of building a new Roman identity by the authorities.[35] Foreign religions were generally persecuted by the Romans on moral grounds.[36] It would not be surprising that, if there were a series of scandals attributed to the religion of the Jews, the case of Fulvia, which occurred among those of high rank in the Roman social order, came to the direct notice of the emperor. The emperor probably felt so much threatened by the influence of the Jews, even in the upper social strata, that he ordered the expulsion of the Jews, but at the same time perhaps allowed Roman proselytes, who were victims of

Jewish religion, to escape the expulsion order if they abandoned the religion by a certain date.[37] Thus it was probably the Jewish religion in general, and proselytism in particular, that offended the Roman authorities, who had exerted much effort in building a new identity for Romans.

This episode shows that the Romans' inclination to protect Jewish rights in Rome had a clear limit, that is the right of Jews to practise their ancestral religion, but not to proselytize, especially among the Romans.[38] In Rome, a religious issue was probably also a political issue. Furthermore, this episode also implies that the Roman Jews were not living in a ghetto, but rather that there was a considerable amount of contact between Jews and their Gentile neigbours in Rome, through which the Jews influenced the Gentiles to follow their way of life.

There is no evidence to show how long the Jewish conscripts were kept in Sardinia on brigand-control, or how long the expulsion order remained in force. No formal revocation of the latter is recorded, but it may have been intended to be short-lived. In the time of Gaius, and certainly by 41 C.E., the Jews were again numerous in Rome.[39]

2. *The Expulsion in 49 C.E. under Claudius* (41-54 C.E.)

Claudius' attitude to the Jews in the Roman Empire in general was a reaction against the anti-Jewish policy of his predecessor, Gaius.[40] All anti-Jewish measures were revoked.[41] The privileges of the Jews of Alexandria were reaffirmed[42] and Agrippa I, who had helped Claudius to

establish himself on the throne, was made king of the whole of Palestine.[43] However, there is no evidence that Claudius was willing to extend to the Jews any further privileges beyond those they had enjoyed under the emperors preceding Gaius.

As a matter of fact, no sooner had Claudius confirmed the protection of Jewish religious rights throughout the empire than he was beset by difficulties in dealing with the Jews in Rome.

Cassius Dio, dealing with the year 41 C.E., tells us that the great numbers of the Jews made it impossible for Claudius to expel them from Rome and that he contented himself with forbidding them the right of assembly.[44] Suetonius, on the other hand, has the well known story of an expulsion of the Jews from Rome as the result of a riot provoked by "Chrestus".[45] This story is supported by a passage in the Acts (18:2), and by a dubious statement of Orosius, who quoted and discussed Suetonius' sentence, opening the subject with a bold declaration that Josephus mentions an expulsion under the year 49.[46] In fact, this incident cannot be found in Josephus' extant works [47] nor in Tacitus.[48] There is another source, the scholia to Juvenal, which mentions that the Jews expelled from Rome had settled in Aricia.[49]

From these sources, there are two accounts: (a) the prohibition of assemblies by an edict of 41 C.E., referred to by Cassius Dio, and (b) an expulsion order in 49 C.E. mentioned by Suetonius, Acts and Orosius. Some scholars

argue for one episode only, in 41[50] or 49 C.E..[51] Other scholars accept both dates and two episodes.[52]

Nevertheless, it is clear that under the reign of Claudius, on the one hand, the Jews were relieved of all the oppressive measures and protection of Jewish religious rights throughout the empire was confirmed; on the other hand, they probably experienced prohibition from the right of assembly and expulsion from Rome because of causing a disturbance. Under Claudius, the nature of the Romans' attitude towards the Roman Jews is further revealed in that the inclination to protect Jewish religious rights fell within the limits of Roman toleration. The internal conflicts between the Jews would lead to expulsion if their disturbances threatened the public order.

As far as our study is concerned, there are two observations on Claudius' expulsion which are most significant:

(A) *The Origin of the Christian Community in Rome*

Most scholars accept Suetonius' account as evidence to show that the Christians in Rome originated within the Roman Jewish community. In other words, the earliest Roman Christians were probably Jews and proselytes. Christians were neither seen as people of different religion nor regarded as a separate group from the Jewish community.[53]

(B) *The Relationship between non-Christian Jews and Christian Jews*

Some scholars postulate that because the Christian Jews

were to blame for the expulsion, they would have had difficulty in joining the Roman Jewish community after their return to Rome when Claudiue died in 54 C.E..[54] However, if we take the evidence of the situation of the Roman Jewish community into account, this does not seem to be a satisfactory hypothesis. We could better start our discussion from the fact that, ***although the background of the expulsion was probably the preaching of some Jewish Christians, the disturbance was probably caused by an attack on Christians initiated by some radical Jews who could not tolerate the Christian preaching.***[55]

As we have shown above, the basis for the continuing existence of the Jewish community in Rome was the toleration of the Roman authorities towards Jewish religious practices. As will be discussed below (Ch. 4), there was probably no central organization among the Roman Jews, who responded in diverse ways to the influence of their Gentile environment. According to the evidence of the names of the Roman Jews, there were possibly only a minority of them who were still fiercely loyal to the tradition of the Maccabeans which took an intolerant attitude in dealing with the differences among Jews.[56] In other words, it is quite possible that most of the Roman Jews also upheld the principle of toleration in relationships among themselves.

If this was indeed the case, those radical Jews who forsook the principle of toleration in attacking the Christian Jews and causing the disturbances would possibly be the ones blamed by other Roman Jews. Therefore, as there

were probably several synagogues existing alongside one another in Rome, to talk about the "separation of Christian Jews from the Jewish community" as if the Roman Jewish community was a single and uniform congregation[57] seems to be difficult to square with what we know of the Roman context. As will be shown below (Ch. 5), the Roman Jewish Christians were probably still very conscientious about keeping their Jewish identity. It seems more reasonable to assume that they either joined synagogues with other non-Christian Jews,[58] or organized their house 'churches' as 'synagogues' and kept their relationship with the Jewish community as a whole,[59] when they returned to Rome together with other Jews after the death of Claudius in 54 C.E..

II. The Roman Jews in the Eyes of Roman authors

The earliest information about Judaism in Latin literature and the first reactions to it are probably found in the last period of the republic, in the writings of Cicero (106-43 B.C.E.) and Varro (116-27 B.C.E.).[60] Information about the Roman Jews from Roman authors of the early period of the first century C.E. is quite scanty. However, as the situation of the Roman Jews in that period was certainly related to the situation of the Roman Jews in the preceding and the following periods, we are justified in using the evidence from those Roman authors who belong to the first century B.C.E. and first century C.E. to illuminate our understanding of the situation of the Roman Jews at the time Paul wrote his letter to Rome.

In the writings of the Roman authors of this period, there are the following descriptions of the characteristics

of Jews which are significant to our study:

A. Jews as Captives and Slaves

One of the most prominent characteristics of Jews described by Roman authors is that they were people conquered by the Romans: by Pompey[61] and by Socius and Anthony.[62] In their eyes, Jews were captives and slaves,[63] people of contempt. Because of this image, the Jews in Rome possibly felt under pressure to defend and improve their status in society. As will be discussed in the next Chapter, this suggestion is probably supported by the evidence of the names given to the synagogues and to individuals found in the Roman Jewish catacombs.

B. The Identity Markers of Jews

In their writings, apart from noticing that the Jews worshipped only one god who had no image,[63a] many Roman authors recognized that there were three very clear distinguishing marks of the Jews, namely, the observance of sabbath,[64] circumcision[65] and abstention from eating pork.[66] Although these practices were not all exclusively Jewish -- for example, not only Jews practised circumcision[67] -- it is most striking that these practices were nevertheless regarded as both characteristic and distinctive of the Jews as a peculiar race.[68] This understanding is surely consistent with the evidence from the Jewish sources.[69]

C. The Influence of Jews upon Romans

In the famous speech of Cicero, he mentions that "the

practice of their [Jewish] sacred rites was at variance with the glory of our empire, the dignity of our name, the customs of our ancestors" (Pro Flacco, 28: 69). However, the influence of the peculiar Jewish practices upon Romans had surely continually alarmed not a few Roman authors.[70] Seneca the philosopher (c. the end of the first century B.C.E. to 65 C.E.),[71] as quoted by Augustine, was so incensed as to say that "Meanwhile the customs of this accursed race [the Jews] have gained such influence that they are now received throughout all the world. The vanquished have given laws to their victors [the Romans]."[72]

In the time of Juvenal (c. 60-130 C.E.),[73] there were Romans, probably before they became proselytes,[74] who followed the practices of Jews in observing sabbath and abstaining from eating pork.[75] This evidence is consistent with Josephus' perhaps exaggerated claim that many Gentiles "have agreed to adopt our laws" (CA II: 123) and "The masses have long since shown a keen desire to adopt our religious observances; and there is not one city, Greek or Barbarian, nor a single nation, to which our custom of abstaining from work on the seventh day has not spread, and where the fasts and the lighting of lamps and many of our prohibitions in the matter of food are not observed" (CA II: 282; cf. Philo, Moses 2: 17-20). Although both Juvenal and Josephus wrote in Rome long after Paul sent his letter to Rome,[76] it is quite possible that there were Romans in the middle of the first century C.E. who had already been influenced by Jews to follow their practices. The practice

of abstention from pork would possibly be learned from having meals with Jews. As we have mentioned above, the influence of Jewish practices through proselytism was probably one of the important reasons for the expulsion of Jews from Rome by Tiberius. This evidence surely shows that the Jews in Rome had considerable social contact with the native population of Rome. This will be confirmed by studying the situation of the Roman Jewish community in the next Chapter.

D. Jews Existed as a Cohesive and Exclusive Group

In the speech of Cicero we also find evidence that the Roman Jews existed as a cohesive group (Pro Flacco 28: 66). However, it is in the writing of Tacitus (c. 56-120 C.E.)[77] that the Jews in Rome are depicted as a group not only internally cohesive but also maintaining a rigid exclusiveness from their neighbours. This evidence seems to contradict the impression we gathered above that the Jews had exerted considerable influence upon the Gentiles in Rome through their intercourse with them. Therefore some clarification on the issue of the social interactions between Jews and Gentiles in Rome is needed.

In Historiae, V, 5: 1, Tacitus accuses: "the Jews are extremely loyal toward one another, and always ready to show compassion, but toward every other people they feel only hate and enmity. They sit apart at meals and they sleep apart, and although as a race, they are prone to lust, they abstain from intercourse with foreign women; yet among themselves nothing is unlawful." It is quite obvious that although Tacitus rightly observed that the Jews were

very serious in preserving their Jewish identity, the evidence he provided for his polemic accusation could hardly avoid oversimplification and exaggeration.[78] However, his evidence does raise the issue of ***whether the first century Roman Jews would have meals with Gentiles***.

There is no doubt that as a general principle Jews would avoid having meals with Gentiles, but this does not follow that it was an absolute rule in governing the social interactions between Jews and Gentiles in the first century C.E..[79] The crucial issue to concern a Jew when eating a meal with Gentiles was probably ***how to keep the Jewish food laws in such situation***.

This understanding is probably supported by some Jewish writings. In the book of Judith, which was probably written in the Maccabean period,[80] it is reported that when Judith goes off on her mission to beguile and then slay Holofernes, she does join the feast with the Assyrians but takes the foods and wine which were prepared and served by her servant (12: 10-19).

The Letter of Aristeas, most probably to be dated between 150-100 B.C.E.,[81] tells us that the Jewish translators of the Hebrew Scriptures were invited to join a banquet which extended over seven days with Ptolemy, the Egyptian king who commissioned the translation (vv. 180-300). The Jews joyfully accept the invitation when Ptolemy assures them that in the banquet "Everything of which you partake will be served in compliance with your habits; it will be served to me as well as to you" (vv. 181, cf. 182-

6).[82]

Furthermore, Joseph and Asenath, a work dated between first century B.C.E. and second century C.E.,[83], mentions that when Joseph was entertained at the house of Asenath's parents they "set a table before him [Joseph] by itself, because Joseph never ate with the Egyptians" (7:1). However, it also reports that Joseph and Asenath were married by Pharoah and were given a wedding feast which was attended by "all the chiefs of the land of Egypt and all the kings of the nations" for seven days (21:8).[84] The discrepancy between the description in 7:1 and 21:8 can perhaps be resolved by suggesting that the issue at stake was not the *event* of "eating with the Egyptians" but whether the foods and wine prepared and served by the Egyptians were in accordance with the Jewish customs, as in the case of the Septuagint translators recorded in the Letter of Aristeas. From the above evidence, we can conclude that ***Jews in the first century C.E. could probably have a meal with Gentiles provided that the foods and wine were prepared and served according to the Jewish food laws***. As will be shown in **Chapter 5** below, this observation is most significant for our interpretation of Rm. 14:1-15:13.

Thus, the evidence provided by Tacitus shows that the Jews in Rome were very serious in preserving their Jewish identity, and they were careful in their social intercourse with the Gentiles. It surely reflects the pressure of assimilation exerted on the Roman Jews from the situation of Rome as a cosmopolitan city. Nevertheless, it does not support the assumption that the Roman Jews were quite

separated from their Gentile neighbours and would have lost their membership of the Roman Jewish community if they had eaten with Gentiles.[85] As will be shown in Chapter 4 below, although in the eyes of Roman authors the Roman Jews might exist as an exclusive group, the evidence from the Roman catacombs suggests that they had probably tried their best to identify with their Gentile context. One of the most important issues faced by the Roman Jews was probably ***how to preserve their Jewish identity on the one hand, and on the other, how to survive in Rome by keeping their relationship with their Gentile environment.***

Summary and Conclusion

From the above discussion, we can derive three attitudes shown by Romans towards the Roman Jews:[86] firstly, the political leaders were inclined to protect Jewish religious rights whenever they did not threaten political and social stability; secondly, some Roman intellectuals felt so offended by the influence of the Jewish way of life upon Romans and by Jewish exclusiveness in preserving their identity that they expressed anti-Jewish sentiments; and thirdly, some Romans, including those who belonged to the upper social strata, were attracted by Judaism and participated in the Jewish way of living.

The Jews in Rome in reality lived within a delicate and sensitive social and political situation. The basis for their survival in Rome was the toleration of the Roman authorities. They were constantly under the pressure of assimilation from their Gentile environment. They had to

struggle to preserve their Jewish identity on the one hand, and to keep social intercourse with their neighbours on the other.

The incident of the expulsion of the Roman Jews by Claudius probably gives evidence that the earliest Roman Christians were Jews and proselytes who belonged to the Roman Jewish community. It was perhaps the radical Roman Jews, who forsook the principle of toleration in dealing with differences among Jews and attacked the Jewish Christians, who are to be blamed for the expulsion, rather than the Christians.

Moreover, the evidence of Tacitus' accusation that the Jews did not eat with the Gentiles reflects the general practice of the Roman Jews but does not show that it was impossible for the Jews in the first century C.E. to preserve their Jewish identity if they had eaten with Gentiles. From the evidence of Jewish writings, we suggest that Jews could probably have a meal with Gentiles provided that the foods and wine were prepared and served according to the Jewish food laws.

Notes to Chapter Three

1. In this study the sources of the Roman authors are quoted from GLAJJ, ed. M. Stern.
2. See Applebaum (1974a: 420f.) and Rajak (1984: 108). For discussion of the religious toleration in the ancient world, see Garnsey (1984).
3. See discussion in section III of **Chapter 2.** Smallwood (1981: 133f.) suggests that the synagogues resembled collegia only superficially in holding regular meetings and in possessing communal funds, whereas they in fact differed radically in other respects.
4. See **note 40** in **Ch. 2.**
5. See **note 42** in **Ch. 2.**
6. See discussion in Leon (1960: 9ff.); Smallwood (1981: 128-138) and below.
7. Suetonius, Julius 84: 5 in GLAJJ II: 109. See discussion in Stern (1974b: 163) and Schuerer (1986 III.1: 75).
8. This shows that the Jews in Rome included many citizens; see Leon (1960: 11) and Smallwood (1981: 136).
9. AJ XIV, 228-230, 231-232, 234, 236-240; see discussion in Applebaum (1974a: 458ff.) and Small wood (1981: 127f., 137).
10. See discussion in below Section B.1.
11. So Smallwood (1981: 207).
12. See Smallwood (1981: 131); Schuerer (1986 III.1: 75); against Leon (1960: 4f.), who refuses to accept Philo's account as evidence that most of the Roman Jews were of servile origin. For detailed discussion on Romans' policy on freedmen during late Republic and early empire, see Treggiari (1969: 1-86) and Duff (1928).
13. For discussion on manumission, see Sherwin-White (1973: 322f.); Smallwood (1981: 132); and "freedman" and "peregrinus" in Seyffert (DCA: 240-242 and 469).
14. See Tcherikover (1974: 309ff.); Applebaum (1974a: 420-463); Smallwood (1981: 139ff.) and Schuerer (1986 III.1: 126-137); cf. Rajak (1984: 109).
15. See discussion in Rajak (1984).
16. See Feldman (1976: 69); Rajak (1984: 109, 112).
17. For instance, the order in which these decrees and letters are arranged is puzzling, the text is often corrupt and their dating sometimes uncertain; see Rajak (1984: 109, 111) and Bickermann (1980: 24-43).
18. Rajak (1984: 109); see also Moehring(1975: 125-58) and Bickermann (1980: 33ff.). For a recent discussion of the reliability of Josephus, see Bilde (1988: 168).
19. Benko (1972: 45).
20. La Piana (1927: 293).
21. AJ XVIII, 65-84 (66-80 deal with the Isis-cult).
22. Annales II, 85, 5.
23. Tiberius 36, 1.
24. Tacitus adds cynically that if the unhealthy climate killed them, it would not matter.
25. According to Tacitus, from Italy.
26. Dio Historia LVII, 18.5a in GLAJJ II: 365; see discussion in Smallwood (1981: 202).
27. The accounts of Josephus, Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio contain sufficient material in common for there to be no doubt that

they are all dealing with the same episode, despite differences in detail between them and a discrepancy in the date which they assign to it. See the discussion in Smallwood (1956b: 314f.).

28. See evidence in Smallwood (1981: 203).
29. See discussion in Stern (1974b: 164); Smallwood (1981: 202ff.) and Schuerer (1986 III.1: 75f.).
30. See Moehring (1959), who gives a comparative study of the two accounts, especially in pp.301f..
31. Merrill (1919: 365).
32. Heidel (1920) discusses the episode in detail and suggests that in the incident, Fulvia was in fact being invited to become a temple prostitute; therefore the Jewish rites were identified with the Isis-cult in the eyes of the Roman authorities.
33. Smallwood (1956b: 317) refutes Merrill's suggestion by the evidence of Tacitus' statement that the Jews could escape the expulsion order if they abandoned their religion by a certain date. This implies that it was primarily the Jewish religion rather than scandals which was held to be offensive. Smallwood (1956b: 317f.) further argues against Heidel's suggestion by attacking the reliability of his evidence which suggests that religious prostitution still survived in first century C.E. Jerusalem and queries his interpretation of the passage.
34. Smallwood (1956b: 319) and (1981: 205).
35. See discussion in Section II of **Ch. 2.**
36. This is true for both Jews and Christians; see Moehring (1959: 245f.) and Benko (1985: 54ff.).
37. See Smallwood (1981), pp.204f..
38. See Guterman (1951).
39. See Momigliano (1932: 30, 95 n.24); Stern (1974b: 164); Smallwood (1981: 208) and Schuerer (1986 III.1:76f.).
40. In 41 C.E., Gaius (37-41 C.E.) planned to place a statue of himself as Zeus in the Temple. This is the only case in which a Roman emperor intentionally tried to deconsecrate the Temple in this way. For detailed discussion of this incident and Gaius' attitude towards Jews, see Smallwood (1981: 174-80).
41. Momigliano (1932: 30) and Stern (1974b: 164).
42. AJ XIX, 279-91; see detailed discussion in Momigliano (1932: 30f., 96ff. n.25) and Bruce (1969: 291-5).
43. AJ XIX, 236-45, 265-6, 274-5, 362; BJ II, 206-13, 215-16; see discussion in Benko (1972: 53) and Smallwood (1981: 192).
44. Dio, Historia Romana LX, 6:6; see discussion in Momigliano (1961: 31) and Smallwood (1981: 210).
45. Suetonius, Claudius 25.4 in GLAJJ, II: 113. Whether "Chrestus" should be read for "Christus" is a controversial issue. If it is a mistake for "Christus", Suetonius' statement would be the earliest evidence for the Christian missionary activities in Rome and also an indication that the Roman authorities were not able to differentiate between Christians and Jews. Most scholars support the view that it should be read as "Christus", identifying the name with Jesus Christ; e.g. Harnack (1905 II: 16); Momigliano (1932: 32f., 99 n. 30); Leon (1960: 25f.); Bruce (1969: 297f.); Stern (1974b: 180f.) and GLAJJ II: 116-17; Smallwood (1981: 211); Brown (1983: 100f.). For the opposite view, see Koestermann (1967: 457-60); Benko (1969: 406-418) and (1985: 18f.); cf. Borg (1972-3).
46. Orosius Adversus paganos VII, 6:15-16; see discussion in Momigliano (1932: 31) and Smallwood (1981: 210f.).

47. Momigliano (1932: 31, 98 n.28) suggests that the source of Orosius may be an interpolation in Josephus. Smallwood (1981: 201f.) follows Momigliano and further suggests that Orosius may be writing from memory and attributing to Josephus something from another source, no longer extant.
48. Tacitus' Annales, lost for 41 C.E., are fully extant for 49 but contain no reference to any action against the Jews in Rome during that year; see discussion in Stern (1974b: 182) and Smallwood (1981: 212, 216).
49. Juvenal, Satirae IV, 117 in GLAJJ II: 655. Some scholars, such as Schürer (1986 III.1: 78) and Juster (1914 I: 180 n.9), suggest that this is a reference to the expulsion in 49 C.E., however, Momigliano (1932: 30, 96 n.24) suggests that of 19 C.E.. Smallwood (1981: 216 n.46) supports a later date and suggests that even Jews expelled in 49 C. E. would hardly still be in Aricia some sixty years later, there may have been some later unrecorded expulsion; see also Stern (1974b: 181).
50. So Leon (1960: 23-7); Stern (1974b: 181ff.) and GLAJJ II: 116.
51. Vogelstein (1940: 56).
52. Momigliano (1932: 31-37); Bruce (1962: 309-26) and (1969: 295ff.); Smallwood (1981: 210-215). Wiefel (1970), who argues that the expulsion was in 41 C.E. and the prohibition of the right of assembly was in 49 C.E., is not supported by evidence.
53. So Momigliano (1932: 30); Bruce (1969: 297); Smallwood (1981: 212); Watson (1986: 106); Dunn (R, MS:61f.).
54. So Watson (1986: 95).
55. It would be quite inconceivable that the Jewish Christians were those who initiated the violent attack on the non-Christian Jews.
56. The most famous incident in the radical Maccabean response to the Jews who succumbed to pressure from Antiochus Epiphanes is recorded in I Macc. 2: 23. It is reported that Matthias slew a Jew right upon the altar with great anger when he saw him following the instruction of Antiochus to offer sacrifice. Although this example is not an exact parallel with the case of Christian preaching in Roman synagogues, it suggests that a Jew attached to the Maccabean tradition might react radically to other Jews if he felt that his Jewish identity was under threat.
57. See Watson (1986: 106); Lampe (1987: 8f.).
58. Davies (1978a: 135ff.) is probably right in suggesting that before the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E., the distinction between Christian Jews and non-Christian Jews was not sharpened and hardened.
59. The basic meaning of the word, **sunagōgē**, from classical times is "assembly", whether for military, social or instructional purposes; for discussion of the use of **sunagōgē** for Greek cultic societies, see Schuerer (1979 II: 429f). Recently, Kee (1988) argues strongly that before 70 C.E. the term **sunagōgē** referred to group gathering and **proseuchē** referred to the place where the gathering was held; see also Hengel (1971) and Turner (1979: 97). For discussion of the basic meaning of **ekklēsia** as "assembly" or "congregation", see Schmidt (TDNT III: 550lff.).
60. See GLAJJ I: 193-206 (Cicero), 207-12 (Varro). Stern (1976b: 1144), cf. GLAJJ I: 193ff., has followed Reinach in listing Cicero's Pro Flacco of 59 B.C.E. as the earliest reference to Jews in Latin literature. However, Geiger (1984) argues that Naevius in Appella which is 150 years before Cicero may

probably be the earliest reference to the Jews in Latin literature.

61. Cicero, Pro Flacco, 28:67-68; Livy, Periochae CII; Lucanus, Pharsalia II, 590-594; Tacitus, Historiae V, 9:1.
62. Livy, Periochae CXXVIII; Seneca the Rhetor, Suasoriae II, 21; Tacitus, Historiae V, 9:1.
63. Cicero, Pro Flacco, 28:69; De Provinciis Consularibus, 5:10; Seneca the Philosopher, De Superstitione, apud:Augustinus, De Civitate Dei VI, 11; Petronius, Satyricon, 68:4-8; Statius, Silvae V, 2:138; Tacitus, Annales II, 85.

63a. See Varro, apud:Augustinus, De Civitate Dei IV, 31; and Tacitus, Historiae V, 5:4; Livy, Periochae CII apud: Scholia in Lucanum in GLAJJ I: 330. Lucanus, Pharsalia II, 590-594, suggests that the Jews worshipped "an unknown God". As for the view of Jews as sky-worshipper, see Petronius, Fragmenta No.37 and Juvenal, Saturae XIV, 97.

64. Horace, Sermones I, 9:68-70; Ovid, Ars Amatoria I, 75-76, 413-414; Remedia Amoris, 219-220; Seneca the Philosopher, De Superstitione, apud:Augustinus, De Civitate Dei VI, 11; Epistulae Morales XCV, 47; Persius, Saturae V, 184; Petronius, Fragmenta No,37; Frontius, Strategemata II, 1:17; Martial, Epigrammata IV, 4; Tacitus, Historiae V, 4:3; Juvenal, Saturae VI, 159, XIV, 96-106; Suetonius, Divus Augustus, 76:2; Tiberius, 32:2 and cf. Pliny the Elder, Naturalis Historia XXXI, 24. However, quite a few authors .. mistakenly relate Sabbath with fast day; see Pompeius Trogus, apud:Iustinus, XXXVI, 2:14 in GLAJJ I: 334ff.; Strabo, Geographica XVI, 2:40, in GLAJJ I: 294ff.; Petronius, Fragmanta, in GLAJJ I: 444 and Suetonius, Divus Augustus, 76:2 in GLAJJ II: 110.
65. Horace, Sermones I, 9:68-70; Persius, Saturae V, 184; Petronius, Satyricon 68:8, 102:14; Martial, Epigrammata VII, 30:5, VII, 35:3-4, 82:6. XI, 94:8; Tacitus, Historiae V, 5:2; Juvenal, Saturae XIV, 96-106; Suetonius, Domitius 12:2.
66. Seneca the Philosopher, Epistulae Morales, CVIII, 22; Tacitus, Historiae V, 4:2; Juvenal, Saturae VI, 160; XIV, 98-99.
67. See Herodotus (fifth century B.C.E.), Historiae, II, 104: 2 in GLAJJ I: 2; Josephus, CA I: 168ff., AJ VIII: 262. For further discussion on circumcision among other people, see Sasson (1966) and GLAJJ I: 3f..
68. See discussion in Dunn (1983a: 107ff..).
69. E.g. Circumcision: Gen. 17: 9-14; I Macc. 1: 48, 60f.; Sabbath: Ex. 20: 8-11; Deut. 5: 12-5; abstension from pork: II Macc. 6: 18-20; Philo, Legatio 361; see also I Macc. 1: 44-9; Philo, Migratio 89-93; see Dunn (1983a: 108-10), (1983b: 12f.).
70. See e.g. Valerius Maximus, Facta et Dicta Memorabilia I, 3:3; Seneca the Philosopher, De Superstitione apud:Augustinus, De Civitate Dei VI, 11; Tacitus, Historiae V, 5:1-2 and Juvenal, Saturae XIV, 96-106; see Horace, Sermones I, 4:143 for reference to the Jewish missionary zeal.
71. GLAJJ I: 429.
72. De Superstitione, apud: Agustine, De Civitate Dei, VI: 11, see GLAJJ I: 431.
73. GLAJJ II: 94.
74. For the identity of the one mentioned by Juvenal as metuentes with "God-fearer" rather than proselyte, See discussion in GLAJJ II: 103-6. For discussion on the existence of "God fearers" in the first century synagogues, see also Feldman (1950); Collins (1983: 163-7); Dunn (1983b: 21-3); Schuerer (1986 III.1: 165-71); Kant (1987: 686ff.); Trebilco (1987:154-

77). For the opposite view, see Kraabel (1981); but see also the criticism of this view in Collins (1983: 166); Finn (1985); Esler (1987:36); and the new evidence in Reynolds & Tannenbaum (1987:48-66).

75. Juvenal, Saturae, XIV: 96-106, in GLAJJ II:102f..
76. Josephus' CA was written at the end of first century C.E., and Juvenal's Saturae was written probably in the early second century C.E..
77. GLAJJ II: 1.
78. For discussion on racial prejudice of Roman authors, see Sherwin-White (1967: 96-8); Balsdon (1979: 67).
79. See discussion in Dunn (1983b:12-23); Wilson (1983:68ff.); cf. Cohn-Sherbok (1983: 71). Recently, Esler (1987: 73-86) argues strongly against this idea. However, he overlooks the evidence of the Jewish influence upon Romans, especially that of Juvenal, Saturae XIV: 96106. After we further examine the more important evidence from Jewish writings provided by Esler (1987: 8084) in the following paragraphs, we find that his suggestion is not convincing.
80. APOT I: 245, Eissfeldt (1964: 520-2).
81. See OTP II: 8.
82. Against Esler (1987: 82), who suggests that "The author does not specify whether food and wine were passed between the king and the Jews, but it would seem more likely that he ate his and they ate theirs."
83. See OTP II: 177.
84. Esler (1987: 83) is unjustified in emphasizing the evidence in 7: 1 but keeping silent about the evidence in 21: 8.
85. This seems to be one of the basic assumptions of Watson's study (1986) of Romans; see **note 55** in the **INTRODUCTION** above.
86. See also discussion in Radin (1915: 235); Wardy (1979: 626-7, 635) and Gager (1985: 41f.).

CHAPTER FOUR

The Adaptation of the Roman Jews within a Gentile Environment

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Introduction

One of the most important Jewish sources[1] for studying the situation of Jews in ancient Rome is provided by the inscriptions in the six Jewish catacombs which have been discovered in Rome since 1602.[2] From these catacombs, mostly from Monteverde, Via Appia and Via Nomentana, 534 Jewish inscriptions, engraved on marble plaques or, in many instances, painted or scratched on stucco-covered grave closures are found.[3] These discoveries have made it possible for us to glean information about the names of their synagogues, the names of individuals, the languages they used, and some data, though scanty, about their religious practices,[4] which help us to understand the situation of the Roman Jews.

As far as the dates of these catacombs are concerned, it is fortunate that there are in the closures of all six catacombs stamped bricks and tiles which bear the name of the manufacturer. These brick stamps can usually be dated with a considerable degree of accuracy.[5]

Frey was the first scholar to make a systematic study of the brick stamps.[6] He found that those of Monteverde, which are more numerous than elsewhere, range from the

beginning of the first to the end of the third century; those of the Via Appia Pignatelli are of the first and second centuries; those of the Nomentana are of the second century, even a few earlier, while those of the Appia are of the second or early third century. Thus, combining this data with other less tangible criteria, such as the names of synagogues[7] and individuals,[8] we may assume with a fair degree of confidence that the Monteverde catacomb was the earliest, perhaps going back to the first century B.C.E., when the Jewish community was first established in Rome, and that it continued to be used at least to the end of the third century C.E.. Moreover, the Via Appia Pignatelli catacomb was probably used in the early first to second century, the Nomentana catacomb in the late first to second century and the Appia catacomb from the first to the end of the third century C.E..[9]

Therefore, the evidence found in the catacombs can probably shed some light upon our understanding of the situation of the Roman Jews in the first century C.E.. We discuss the data according to the following four topics:

I. The Names of the Synagogues in Rome

From the 534 inscriptions, we can be reasonably certain about the names of eleven synagogues, namely, synagogues of the Agrippesians, the Augustesians, the Calcaresians, the Campesians, Elaea, the Hebrews, the Secenians, the Siburesians, the Tripolitans, the Vernaclesians, and the Volumnesians.[10] There are suggestions of the existence of other synagogues (though the evidence is doubtful), such as the synagogue of the Herodians, the synagogue of Severus,

the synagogue of Arca and the synagogue of the Calabrians.[11] While we cannot be sure that all eleven synagogues existed at any one time, since the inscriptions cover a span of more than two centuries, the likelihood is that, if not all, then nearly all of these congregations were in existence during the first century C.E..[12] As no trace has been discovered as yet of any of the synagogue buildings in Rome,[13] the catacombs are the only archaelogical evidence which enables us to study the Jewish community in Rome.

In the first century C.E., it is believed, there was at least one synagogue in every town of Palestine[14] and in some cities of the Diaspora.[15] The large number of synagogues existing in Rome was probably due to its large Jewish population,[16] their diverse geographical distribution[17] and their different characteristics.[18] In reality, the political climate in Rome would probably not have been favourable for them to form into one single organization. Therefore, it is quite probable that there was no central governing body, similar to the one in Alexandria, to organize the Roman Jewish community.[19] However, the fact that these synagogues shared the catacombs probably indicates that they were related to one another as a *community net-work*[20] through which they could share resources. As will be discussed in **Chapter 5** below, this community net-work plausibly provided an example for the Roman Christians to follow in building up the relationship between their different house churches.

In Jewish tradition, a name is both a label of

identification and an expression of the essential nature of its bearer.[21] A study of the names of these synagogues may therefore throw some light on our understanding of the nature of the congregations and how they defined themselves in Rome.

Among the eleven synagogues identified with reasonable certainty, the synagogue of the Secenians has not yet received a plausible explanation of the origin of its name.[22] The other ten synagogues can be grouped into four categories according to the characteristics of their names:

A. Named after their Patrons or Benefactors

There were three Roman synagogues which were named after their patrons or benefactors:

(1) The Augustesians: the synagogue probably dedicated to the Emperor Augustus (27 B.C.E.-14 C.E.).[23]
(2) The Agrippesians: the synagogue probably dedicated to Marcus Agrippa (64-12 B.C.E.).[24]
(3) The Volumnesians: the synagogue dedicated to Volumnius (c. early days of the empire?).[25]

B. Named according to the Characteristics of the Members

(1) The Hebrews: the synagogue probably formed by the earliest Jewish immigrants (c. 1st century B.C.E.).[26]
(2) The Vernaclesians: the synagogue probably formed by the indigenous Jews born in Rome from the Jewish immigrants (c. end of the 1st century B.C.E.).[27]
(3) The Calcaresians: the synagogue probably formed by Jewish lime kiln workers (c. 1st century C.E.).[28]

C. Named after the City from which the Founders came

(1) The Tripolitans: the synagogue founded by those Jews from Tripolis (c. 1st century C.E.).[29]

(2) Elaea: the synagogue plausibly founded by those Jews from Elaea (c. 1st to 2nd century C.E.?).[30]

D. Named according to the Location of the Synagogues

(1) Campesians: the synagogue probably located at Campus Martius (c. 1st century C.E.).[31]

(2) Siburesians: the synagogue probably located at Subura (c. 2nd century C.E.).[32]

E. Observations on These Names

From the study of these names of the synagogues, we can make the following observations:

(1) It is probable that the synagogues of the Augustesians, Agrippesians, Volumnesians, Hebrews, Vernaclesians, and Calcaresians were among the earliest synagogues founded during the period of first century B.C.E. to the early first century C.E.. The synagogues of the Tripolitans, Elaea, the Campesians and the Siburesians were probably founded in the period of late first century C.E. to second century C.E..

(2) Among these synagogues, those of the Augustesians, the Agrippesians and the Volumnesians were probably organized on similar lines to the Roman collegia domestica, while those of the Calcaresians resembled the characteristics of the Roman collegia of trades.[33]

(3) In the earliest synagogues, the members probably comprised slaves, freedmen and artisans. The names of these synagogues were either associated with people who were their patrons or originated from the characteristics of the members, while the synagogues founded later were named after their locality.

(4) It is most significant that apart from the synagogue of the Hebrews, which was probably the first synagogue in Rome, the names of other synagogues were not of Jewish origin, but rather originated from their environment.[34] Since a name was an identification of a congregation and related to the self-understanding of its members as well as to the image presented to outsiders, it is quite plausible that the following reasons lay behind the choice of names:

a. The Jewish community in Rome was under pressure and constraint in expressing their Jewish identity.
b. The Jewish community in Rome could probably only survive under the protection of the Romans in power and by assimilating to the Roman social pattern.
c. The Jewish identity in Rome aroused contempt and anti-Jewish sentiment among some Romans.
d. The Jewish community was aware of the situation in Rome and intentionally adopted these names in order to minimize conflict with Roman society.
e. In the process of interaction between Jews and Roman society, the Jewish community had adapted to and had been assimilated into Roman society. However, while

their external form of existence was indigenized, their Jewish identity was probably preserved in their private and communal life.[35]

These observations are consistent with the picture we depicted from the Roman perspective in Chapter 3 above.

II. The Names of Individuals

In ancient Israel, the giving of personal names was for the purpose of providing a distinctive label for an individual and also an occasion for expressing religious convictions associated with the birth of a child or its future.[36] However, in the later periods, names came to have less immediate religious significance but reflected significant facets of existing political and cultural situations.[37]

From the 534 inscriptions of the Jewish catacombs in Rome, we can identify a total of 551 names of individuals,[38] of which, 254 are Latin names, 175 are Greek names, 72 are Semitic names, 35 are double or triple names combining Latin and Greek, 12 are double or triple names combining Latin and Semitic, and there are 3 of unidentifiable language.[39] The following observations can be made from a study of these 551 names:

A. The Dominance of Latin Names

Among the 551 names, the purely Latin names surprisingly not only outnumber all the others, but are more than equal to the Greek and Semitic names added together. If the names made up of two language elements are

considered, more than half (54%) of all the persons whose names are known had at least one Latin name.[40]

Since most of the Jews in Rome were slaves and freedmen, this phenomenon can be readily explained, as most of them were Roman citizens and were named by their Roman masters. However, while it would not have been difficult for them to use a Semitic name on the epitaph if they had really wished, it is quite possible that they were influenced by the environment and voluntarily adopted the Latin names. Therefore, it would be quite reasonable to assume that most of the Jews in Rome had adapted to the Roman environment and adopted Latin names.[41] It is also noteworthy that a higher percentage of female Jews (67%) than males (48.9%) received a Latin name.[42]

The most common Latin names were Justus for males and Marcia for females; but in the compound names, one finds frequent combinations with Aurelius and Aurelia, Flavius and Flavia, Julius and Julia, Claudius and Claudia.[43] These were all familiar Roman Gentile names, particularly associated with the imperial families of the first three centuries of the empire.[44] It is probable that they were freedmen of these imperial families and took their names from them.

B. The Scarceness of Jewish Names

Among the Semitic names, which were borne by 15.2% of the Jews,[45] the favourites were Judas, Simon, Sabbatius, Aster (for Esther), Maria, and Sara. It is noteworthy that the patriarchal names, which have been favoured among Jews

of most periods and places, were used very little by the Roman community.[46] Not one of the 551 names was Abraham, Israel or Rachel, and there is only one example each of Isaac, Jacob and Benjamin.[47] The name Moses is also entirely absent, unless one regards Museus (no.474) as a Hellenized equivalent.[48] Furthermore, it is apparent that some names which were originally Semitic were adapted or even translated so as to conform to the familiar Roman and Greek types. Thus Aster, Mniaseas, Annia, Sabbatius and Eusabbatis are probably adaptations of Esther, Manassah, Anna (Hannah), and Shabbetai, respectively. Such Hellenized forms as Ioses for Joseph and Iudas for Judah were already common even in Palestine.[49]

Although the popularity of names such as Judas, Simon, Shabbethai and Esther may indicate the strong desire of some Roman Jews of the radical tradition to preserve their Jewish identity, as had been the case especially in the Maccabean period,[50] the great majority of Roman Jews, like most of the Jews in the Diaspora, adopted Greek and Roman names.[51] Thus, as we mentioned in the previous Chapter, it is quite reasonable to assume that there were only a minority of Roman Jews who would follow the radical Maccabean tradition in dealing with differences among themselves.

C. Presence of Names Associated with Pagan Deities

It is quite surprising to find that the Jews in Rome not only used Greek and Roman names, but also had given their children such theophorous names as Aphrodisia, Asclepiodote, Dionysias, Diophatus, Hermias, Hermogenes,

Iovinus, Isidora, and Zenodora. The most probable answer is that the popularity of these names in Rome was such that the parents gave little or no thought to their literal meanings.[52] The process of adaptation into Roman society was probably at the same time an unconscious participation in the process of Romanization.

D. Conclusion

The above study of names makes it quite apparent that in this respect the majority of the Roman Jews in the first century C.E. had become rooted in an alien environment and gone far towards integration with their pagan neighbours. The preference for good and popular Latin names, the adoption of compound names after the Roman manner, even the use of names associated with pagan gods, all indicate adaptation to the environment and the effect of Romanization.[53] However, there were still a small number of Roman Jews who intentionally gave to their children the names of the Maccabean heroes and of those in the Bible who are known for their efforts to preserve the Jewish identity.

III. The Language of the Roman Jews

It is a familiar fact that the Jews of the Diaspora were to a large extent Greek-speaking. By the beginning of the third century B.C.E., following the conquests of Alexander the Great, Hellenism had spread widely over the Mediterranean world, and Greek had become not only a sort of lingua franca, but actually the vernacular of many of the people in that part of the world. The Jews were no

exception. It is, in fact, clear from references in the contemporary literature and from the epigraphical evidence that Greek was extensively used even in parts of Palestine.[54] From the evidence of the Jewish inscriptions found in Rome, we are not surprised to discover that the Jews in Rome were mainly Greek speakers.[55]

Among the 534 inscriptions found in the Jewish catacombs in Rome, 405 are in Greek, 123 in Latin, 3 in Hebrew, one in Aramaic, one bilingual in Greek and Latin, and one bilingual in Aramaic and Greek.[56] In round figures, we may say that three-quarters of the inscriptions are written in Greek and one-quarter in Latin, while those in Hebrew and Aramaic are so few as to be almost negligible. It should be noted, however, that several inscriptions have the Hebrew word שלום or שראל or the phrase שלום על ישראל added at the end,[57] an indication that the knowledge of Hebrew was not completely absent. It is a curious fact that seventeen of the Latin inscriptions are written in Greek letters, while three are Greek inscriptions in Latin letters. Besides, several of the Latin inscriptions close with a common Greek formula, which usually is written in Greek letters, but is occasionally transliterated into Latin characters.[58]

It is also noteworthy that although three-quarters of the inscriptions are written in Greek and only one quarter in Latin, as we mentioned above, the Roman Jews had accepted Latin names to a much greater extent than Greek names. Among the 156 names appearing in the Latin inscriptions, 59.6% of them (i.e. 93) have a Latin name

only and 15.4% (i.e. 24) have a Greek name only. 7.1% (i.e. 11) of them have a Semitic name only and 17.9% (i.e. 28) either have a Latin and Greek name (12.8%, i.e. 20) or a Latin and Semitic name (5.1%, i.e. 8). While among the 392 names appearing in the Greek inscriptions, 41.1% (i.e. 161) of them are Latin only and 38.5% (i.e. 151) are Greek only. 15.6% (i.e. 61) of them have a Semitic name only and 4.8% (i.e. 19) either have a Latin and Greek name (3.8%, i.e. 15) or a Latin and Semitic name (1%, i.e. 4).[60] Thus we can conclude that the Jews in Rome preferred Latin names but spoke Greek.

As far as the texts of the inscriptions are concerned, a large proportion of them are marked by glaring errors in spelling and grammar.[61] A further look at the photographs in Frey's CIJ and Leon's (1960) appendix shows that the letters are in very many instances crudely formed, sometimes so awkwardly scrawled as to be hardly decipherable. There are, however, many epitaphs which are correct or nearly so in their language and not a few in which the letters are attractively shaped by a practised hand. Leon suggests that such evidence shows that all levels of literacy were represented among the Jewish population in ancient Rome, but that there must have been a distressingly large percentage of individuals with little or no education.[62] This evidence is probably consistent with the understanding that most of the Roman Jews belonged to the lower social strata of Rome.

IV. Religious Practices of Roman Jews

From the Roman Jewish catacombs, there are only scanty data about their religious practices. Since this is the most important available evidence about the Jews in ancient Rome, it is useful for us to gain some Jewish information to compare with evidence drawn from the Roman authors.

A. Proselytism

As we have mentioned in the previous Chapter, in the writings of Roman authors, the Jews in Rome were frequently accused of exerting the influence of Judaism upon the Romans. This influence is plausibly confirmed by the evidence found in the Roman Jewish catacombs.

Among the inscriptions, there are epitaphs of seven indubitable proselytes, two males and five females.[63] The scarcity of evidence of proselytes is probably due to the fragmentary nature of the inscriptions.[64] However, since five of these seven inscriptions are in Latin, whereas some three-quarters of all the Jewish inscriptions are in Greek, this evidence plausibly confirms that the proselytes were more frequently found among the native Romans than immigrants. Furthermore, since five of them are females, whereas 93 (54.3%) of the 162 persons whose sex are known are male,[65] it is also plausible that there were more female proselytes in the Jewish community of Rome.[66] This evidence is in line with other evidence that Roman women were more prone than men to become interested in foreign cults.[67] Moreover, the evidence of proselytes found in the catacombs also confirms our understanding that the Roman

Jews had maintained social intercourse with their neighbours.

B. The Religious Symbols

Apart from the texts of inscriptions, there are numerous examples of symbols and artistic representation found in the catacombs.[68] They are carved, painted, or scratched in connection with the inscriptions themselves, whether on marble plaques or on the stucco-covered closures of the tombs. In more elaborate form they appear as the decorations of the arcosolia and of the walls and ceilings of the burial chambers. They are seen also on marble sarcophagi and on gold glasses and lamps. In quality they range from ineptly scrawled, almost unrecognizable, attempts at rendering some familiar object to carefully executed representations of no slight artistic merit.[69]

Most of these symbols are believed to be the cult objects used in the synagogues of Rome, including candelabrum or menorah,[70] lulab and etrog (palm branch and citron),[71] flasks,[72] shofar (ram's horn),[73] and aron or ark of the Law.[74] These cultic objects were probably quite common in the Jewish communities of the Diaspora and Palestine.[75] However, it is most surprising that, besides the symbols of Jewish cult objects, there is a miscellany of figures which occur in scattered examples on inscriptions and sarcophagi, and the decorations of the private chambers and of the arcosolia in Appia and Nomentana catacombs. Although these two catacombs were probably used from the late first century C.E., the

evidence can probably shed some light on our understanding of the situation of the Roman Jews in the middle of the century.

As far as the figures on the inscriptions are concerned, there are representations of birds, peacocks, chickens, bunches of grapes, trees, rams, a bovine animal, a bull, a lion, a pair of nude and wingless cupids, a boat with sails, baskets of fruit, a knife and even one example of a swastika (no. 48).[76] There are also figures on many decorated sarcophagi, such as dogs, birds, a bunch of grapes, a pair of semi-reclining winged cupids, a basket of fruit, a swimming dolphin, lion heads, children, almost nude, winged male figures and a half-reclining and partly nude woman.[77]

In the decorated rooms and arcosolia of the Appia and Nomentana catacombs, figures of a pagan goddess, flowers, animals and human beings, including a nude youth are found.[78]

When these figures with non-Jewish motifs were discovered in the catabombs, many scholars were startled and the first reaction was to regard them as of pagan origin.[79] However, since these figures were mixed with the symbols of Jewish cult objects in the catacomb and similar figures were also found in Jewish synagogues and tombs in Palestine and the Diaspora,[80] these figures and decoration were certainly also used by the Jews in Rome.

The explanations put forward by some scholars for these figures and decorations used in the synagogues and

catacombs are as follows:

(1) The second commandment (Ex. 20: 45; Deut. 5: 8-9) and other biblical passages (e.g. Deut. 4: 15-16; 27: 15; Lev. 26: 1) forbid the making of images and idols[101] for worship but not the making of images and figures which are not worshipped. Furthermore, the prohibition is probably confined to three-dimensional representations.[81]

(2) Our impression that observing Jews did not tolerate the depiction of human and animal forms comes from Josephus, Philo and the Talmud.[82] However, Josephus and Philo depict an antipathy towards representational art far more intense than was probably the case. Josephus' distortion was due to his intention to explain the Jewish hatred of Rome on a religious basis rather than from a political standpoint. Philo's philosophical condemnation of images was based more upon his devotion to the Greek philosopher Plato than on the Bible.[83] In the Talmud, there are largely ignored passages which reflect a far more tolerant attitude towards the use of images and figures than has hitherto been supposed.[84]

(3) The pagan symbols were probably mere ornaments,[85] and they might have become secularized[86] so that the Jews using them gave little or no thought to their meaning.

Although the above explanations are plausible, we must bear in mind that the rabbinic literature, which represents one of the major strands of pre-70 Judaism, gives no hint of the widespread use of pagan symbols in synagogue art.[87]

As for others, biblical scenes were considered more appropriate to synagogue decoration, as at Beth Alpha and Jerash.[88] The appearance of the figures and pagan symbols in the Roman Jewish catacombs is probably further evidence of the influence of the Graeco-Roman culture on the Jewish community of Rome in a way similar to other Jewish communities of the Diaspora and Palestine.[89] However, we must also note that more than half of the extant inscriptions have no symbol at all.[90] This possibly implies that the use of these symbols was more popular in the late first century C.E., or that there was still considerable resistance among the Roman Jews to the effect of Romanization.[91] Nevertheless, overall, this evidence probably confirms our understanding that ***the Roman Jews in the first century C.E. were not isolated from their neighbours***. The interaction between the Roman Jews and the Roman Gentiles was not a one way traffic. As the Roman Jews surely made their imprint on Gentiles, so Gentile custom also made its mark on the Jews.[92] It was in such a dynamic situation that ***the Roman Jews struggled to preserve their Jewish identity on the one hand, and tried their best to keep contact with their Gentile environment on the other***.

Summary and Conclusion

From the 534 inscriptions and the archaeological evidence found in the 6 Roman Jewish catacombs, it is quite possible that there were more or less 11 synagogues existing in the first century C.E.. From a study of the names of these synagogues, we find that many of them were organized on similar lines to the Roman collegia and

adopted their names from their patrons, occupation and locality rather than from Jewish tradition. It is reasonable to conclude that they were under pressure and constraint to adopt a low profile for their Jewish identity and to demonstrate their identification with the society around them.

The majority of the individual members of the community adopted Latin names, some of which were even associated with pagan deities. Only a small number of them bore the Semitic names of Maccabean heroes and also of those in the Bible who are known for their efforts to preserve the Jewish identity. However, although a knowledge of Hebrew was not completely absent among them, the majority of them were Greek-speaking.

From the evidence of the catacombs, we have no reason to suppose that the religious ideas and practices of the Jewish community in Rome differed in any material degree from those of other communities in the Diaspora and Palestine. They probably used the same cult objects in their synagogues. However, it is significant to find that figures of animals, human beings or even pagan symbols were possibly used to decorate some Roman synagogues. Furthermore, in the synagogues some proselytes who belonged to the native population would probably be found.

We can conclude that the Jews in Rome were people living at the interface of Jewish and Gentile cultures. Many of them were Roman citizens who preferred Latin names, spoke Greek and observed Jewish religion in their private

and communal life. Their synagogues were organized according to the social pattern of Rome and some of them might have been decorated with some figures and pagan symbols. However, a small group of people who were more resistant to the influence of Graeco-Roman culture also lived in the community. Nevertheless, these more conservative Jews and the other Jews who were more open to the influence of the environment and new ideas had to accept one another's existence. They did not have a central governing body to organize them into a uniform group and the sensitive political climate of Rome did not allow them to cause any serious dispute on differences among themselves. They could only organize their synagogues as a community net-work through which they could share resources. They had to uphold the principle of mutual toleration and acceptance as the basic rule for assuring their peaceful existence in Rome.

Although from the evidence of the Roman authors we get the impression that Jewish customs were very influential in Roman society, from the Jewish evidence, we can see that the Jewish community was greatly influenced by Roman society. Although the Roman Jews were in principle cautious in their social contact with the Gentiles in order to preserve their identity, it is quite certain that they had a considerable amount of interaction with their Gentile neighbours. This was probably the situation of the Roman Jews, among them some Christians, at the time Paul wrote his letter to Rome.

Notes to Chapter Four

1. The other Jewish sources are Philo's Legatio, which recorded his embassy to petition Gaius in 40 C.E., and Josephus' writings, which he wrote in Rome.
2. See Leon (1960: 46-53), for an account of the discovery of the catacombs. The Monteverde catacomb is often referred to as that of the Via Portuensis, the other five are Via Appia (Vigna Randanini), Via Nomentana (Villa Torlonia), Vigna Cimarra, Via Labicana and Via Appia Pignatelli; cf. CIJ I: LVIII-LX; Vogelstein (1940: 33f.); Schuerer (1986 III.1: 79f.).
3. See Leon (1960: 67-74). According to Leon (1960: 74), the distribution of these inscriptions are as follow:

Monteverde	206
Via Appia (Vigna Randanini)	195
Via Nomentana (Villa Torlonia)	68
Vigna Cimarra	5
Via Labicana	3
Via Appia Pignatelli	2
Porto (probably from Monteverde)	13
Of uncertain or unknown provenence (most being probably from Monteverde)	33
Gold glasses	9
Total	534

4. Other than this information, there are also materials which inform us about the organization of their congregations and some scanty data about their national origins, occupations, economic status, and sundry other interesting aspects of the community; see Leon (1960: 67). Since such information is not directly related to the adaptation of Jews to life in Rome, we will not discuss them in detail here.
5. The question relating to the catacombs is whether the bricks are contemporary or whether second-hand materials, possibly dating from a much earlier period, were employed. It seems reasonable to presume that, to a large extent, new materials were used to bury ancestors and close relatives, so that where a number of stamps belonging to a certain period are found in a catacomb, a possible criterion for dating is available; see Leon (1960: 65); Penna (1982: 326). For discussion on problems involved in using Roman bricks for dating; see Helen (1975).
6. See his CIJ, just before the texts of the inscriptions of each catacomb, and also Leon (1960: 65f.).
7. See below Section I: The Names of the Synagogue.
8. It is assumed that the degree of Romanization shown in the names is related to the dating of the catacombs, the more Romanized names belong to the later date; see Leon (1960: 93-121, esp.110 and 116).
9. See Leon (1960: 66).
10. See Leon (1960: 14066), cf. Penna (1982: 327f.), who discusses all the detailed findings from the inscriptions and the suggestions of many scholars. He accepts these 11 as certain and rejects 4 (see below) which did not have sufficient evidence to support their existence.
11. La Piana (1927) pp.352-357 lists 13 synagogues which include the Herodians and the Calabrians. Wiefel (1977: 106) follows Frey in CIJ and lists 13 names of the synagogues which include

the Synagogue of the Herodians and the Synagogue of Arca. Schuerer (1986 III.1: 96-98) lists only 10 and casts doubt upon the existence of the Synagogues of Arca, the Secenians and the Herodians.

12. Among the 11 synagogues, 7 of them are certainly known from the inscriptions found in the earliest catacomb, the Monteverde. They are the Augustesians, the Agrippesians, the Volumnesians, the Tripolitans, the Hebrews, the Vernaclesians and the Calcaresians. The Synagogue of Elaea is known from the Via Appia Pignatelli catacomb and the Synagogue of Siburesians is certainly known from the Nomentana catacomb. If we take the origins of the names of these synagogues into account as well, most of them quite probably existed in the period between the end of first century B.C.E. and the end of first century C.E.; see the following discussion.
13. In 1961, an impressive synagogue building was discovered at Ostia, the ancient port of Rome at a distance of twelve miles away. The building in its last phase was dated to the fourth century C.E. from the masonry and the style of the mosaics and reliefs. However, this building stood upon an earlier one whose masonry pointed to a first century C.E. date. According to the report of excavation, the earlier building was of a similar size to the later one. The temple-like four-column entrance of the synagogue belonged to the first century building. However, the Torah shrine probably belonged to the first stage of the fourth-century building. Among the material reused for repairs to the floor of the hall at a later date, there is an almost complete inscription of the late second century or the beginning of the third. The inscription states that a certain Mindis Faustos arranged to have it built and placed a container for the sacred Law. This was done "for the well-being of the Emperor" -- these words alone (pro salute Augusti) are in Latin, while the rest of the inscription is in Greek. This is a phrase best known in the context of the ruler-cult; somewhat similar good wishes for the ruler's well being are known from an earlier synagogue in Egypt; cf. Sevenster (1975: 160); Kraabel (1981a: 84). Thus we are quite certain that the Jewish community in Ostia was large enough and sufficiently wealthy to build an impressive synagogue in the first century. This is probably because Ostia was at the peak of its prosperity at that time. See discussion in Squarciapino (1963: 194-203); Meiggs (1973: 389, 587); Kraabel (1979a: 497-500); (1981a: 79-91) and Shanks (1979: 162-169).
14. See discussion in Krauss (1922: 199-267); Schuerer (1979 II: 445 n.80).
15. Philo, Legatio 20:132, 137f., 156f., tells us that there were a number of synagogues existing in Alexandria and Rome; cf. Applebaum (1974b: 475f.) and Schuerer (1979 II: 445 n.81). See discussion in Foakes Jackson and Lake (1920 I:161); Shanks (1979); Kraabal (1979a) and Levine (1981).
16. See above **note 13** of **Chapter 2.**
17. It is quite clear from the Latin literary sources, such as Martial and Juvenal, that the Transtiberinum, which was located on the right bank of the Tiber, was the chief foreign quarter of the city. It may be regarded as reasonably certain that the earliest substantial Jewish settlement was in this region, and that the bulk of the Jewish population was concentrated in that area even in the Middle Ages. It is also the region mentioned by Philo in Legatio 155 as the Jewish quarter, and the chief Jewish catacomb, that of Monteverde,

was just outside this area. However, as the number of the Jews in Rome grew, they began to make their homes in other quarters of the city, such as the Subura, the Campus Martius and probably near the Porta Capena; see La Piana (1927: 221) and Leon (1960: 136f.); Smallwood (1981: 132); Lampe (1987: 268).

18. See the following study on the names of the synagogues which reflects their different characteristics.
19. There have been debates among scholars about whether a central organization, gerousia, existed in the Roman Jewish community, as in Alexandria, to link the separate synagogues in Rome. Schuerer (1879) was the first to present a systematic treatment of the whole matter and took it for granted that the Roman Jews were organized into their several independent congregations. Juster (1924 I: 418-424) rejected his view and was the first to propose that the separate Jewish groups were bound together by a central organization with officers and representatives from the various congregations. Juster's view was endorsed by Krauss (1922: 137-140); La Piana (1927: 361f.); Vogelstein (1940:32) and Baron (1952 II:199) but objected to by Frey in the Introduction to CIJ: CII-CXI; Leon (1960: 168ff.); Applebaum (1974b: 490, 498ff.) and Schuerer (1986 III.1: 95f.). Recently most scholars agree that there was no central governing body organizing the Roman Jewish community; e.g. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 405); Penna (1982: 327); Brown (1983: 101); Lampe (1987: 368).
20. For the meaning of community network, see **INTRODUCTION** (p.19).
21. See Abba (IDB III: 500ff.).
22. There is only one inscription (CIJ no.7), that of Aiutor (probably for Adiutor), a scribe (grammateus), which offers the name of this synagogue. It was found in the Nomentana catacomb. Leon (1960: 149) casts grave doubt on the existence of this synagogue. However, he (pp.150f.) summarizes different theories about the origin of its name. Schuerer (1986 III.1: 96-98) does not accept this synagogue in his list.
23. Six inscriptions (CIJ nos.284, 301, 338, 368, 416, 496) mentioning this congregation were found. Since four of them are known to be from the Monteverde catacomb and the other two may come from the same source, Leon (1960: 142) places this synagogue in the Transtiberinum. Most scholars agree that the congregation was named after the Emperor Augustus, who followed the favourable policy towards Jews inaugurated by Julius Caesar, and may have been the patron of this particular community; see La Piana (1927: 354 n.23); Vogelstein (1940: 27); Leon (1960: 142); Wiefel (1977: 106); Smallwood (1981: 138) and Schuerer (1986 III.1: 96). La Piana (1927: 354f.) further suggests that this congregation resembled the collegia domestica (see **note 47** in **Chapter** 2) and the members were freedmen of the Augustan family; cf. **hoi ek tōs kaisaros oikias**, Phil. 4:22. This view is followed by Wiefel (1977: 106) and Schuerer (1986 III.1: 96), but not Leon (1960: 142), who emphasizes that "among the Monteverde inscriptions none can be identified as that of a slave or freedman, nor is there anything to suggest such an origin". This congregation was possibly founded in the Augustan period.; so Vogelstein (1940: 27); Leon (1960: 142) and Smallwood (1981: 138).
24. Three inscriptions (CIJ nos. 365, 425, 503) mentioning this congregation were found. Since two of them are known to us from the Monteverde catacomb and the third very probably came from there as well, Leon (1960: 140ff.) places this synagogue in the Transtiberinum. Most scholars generally agree that the

congregation was named after Marcus Vispansius Agrippa, son-in-law of Augustus, who is known to have befriended the Jews and may have been the patron of the congregation; see La Piana (1927: 140f.); Wiefel (1977: 106); Smallwood (1981: 138) and Schuerer (1986 III.1: 96). La Piana (1927: 354f.) further suggests that this congregation resembled the collegia domestica (see **note 47** in **Ch. 2**) and the members were freedmen of the Agrippesian family; see also Mueller (1912: 108) and Schuerer (1986 III.1: 96) but against Leon (1960: 141), who persistently argues against any suggestion of the servile origin of Roman Jews. It has also been suggested by Mueller (1912: 108) and Mueller and Bees (1919: 6) that one of the Jewish kings, Agrippa I or Agrippa II, who was well known in Rome, may have been the source of this name, as Agrippa I saved the Temple from desecration in 40 C.E. and Agrippa II helped the Jews to win the petitions to Rome; see La Piana (1927: 354f. n.23); Vogelstein (1940: 27); Leon (1960: 141); Smallwood (1981: 138).

25. Four inscriptions (CIJ nos. 523, 402, 343, 417) mentioning this congregation were found. Since at least three of them are certainly found in the Monteverde catacomb, Leon (1960: 157) includes the Volumnesian congregation among those of Transtiberinum. However, it is not easy to explain whence this group derived its name. Most scholars agree that it was named after a certain Volumnius, presumably its patron, so that this congregation fell into the same category as that of Augustesians and Agrippesians; see La Piana (1927: 354f. n.23); Leon (1960: 157ff.); Wiefel (1977: 106); Smallwood (1981: 138) and Schuerer (1986 III.1: 96). La Piana (1927: 354f. n.23) further suggests that this congregation also resembled the collegia domestica and the members were freedmen of Volumnesian family. There were many attempts to identify this Volumnius with the one who was the procurator of Syria mentioned by Josephus (BJ I, 538-42; AJ XVI, 277-83; 344; 369); see Vogelstein and Rieger (1895 I: 39); Mueller (1912: 108); La Piana (1927: 354f. n.23); Wiefel (1977: 106) and the discussion in Leon (1960: 158f.). However, although he was the only Volumnius ever mentioned in a Jewish context, he did not give the Jews in Palestine nor in Rome any known cause for gratitude; cf. Smallwood (1981: 138). Hence, to link him with the congregation of the Volumnesians is entirely arbitrary since there were many Volumnii in Rome, cf. Leon (1960: 159). Nevertheless, although we are not sure which Volumnius would be the patron of this congregation, the evidence of their existence as collegia domestica and the fact that most of their inscriptions were found in the earliest catacombs indicate that it was probably also founded in the early days of the empire; cf. Smallwood (1981: 138) suggests that it was founded in the Augustan period.

26. Four inscriptions (CIJ nos. 291, 371, 510, 535) mentioning this congregation were found. Since all of them were probably discovered in the Monteverde catacomb, Leon (1960: 147) suggests that it was also located in the Transtiberinum region. However, as far as the origin of its name is concerned, there is endless discussion among many scholars; see the summary in Leon (1960: 148f.). The explanations basically can be grouped into three categories:
    (a) Linguistic: The congregation was a Hebrew-speaking or Aramaic-speaking group; cf. Mueller (1912: 111); Krauss (1922: 256); Schuerer (1986 III.1: 97).

(b) Judaean Origin: This congregation was founded by the immigrants who came directly from Judaea, in contrast with those from other lands in the Mediterranean world and those native-born; cf. Frey CIJ: LXXVI; Wiefel (1977: 106); Schuerer (1986 III.1: 97).

(c) Historical: This was the first group of Jews to form a synagogue at Rome and called themselves Hebrews to differentiate themselves from other ethnic-religious groups; cf. La Piana (1927: 136 n.1); Leon (1960: 148f.).

The evidence of the inscriptions does not favour the linguistic explanation. The explanation of Judaean origin presupposes the pre-existence of other congregations, especially the congregation formed by the native-born Roman Jews; see the following **note 27.** Since the Jews in Rome in first century B.C.E. mainly came as prisoners of war from Judaea in 61 B.C.E., it would not be of much significance for the late immigrants to emphasize their Judaean origin. Furthermore, the existence of the synagogue of the Hebrews in Corinth and in a town of Lydia in Asia Minor is attested by the ancient inscriptions (CIJ nos. 718 and 754 respectively). It seems that the designation "Hebrews" was a frequent expression among Jews living outside the Jewish state when the state was still in existence, to denote their affiliation to Judaism; cf. Vogelstein (1940: 29). Thus it is quite plausible that the synagogue of the Hebrews was the first Jewish group in Rome and was founded in the first century B.C.E.; cf. La Piana (1927: 356) and Leon (1960: 148f).

27. Four inscriptions (CIJ nos. 318, 383, 389, 494) mentioning this congregation were found. Since all of them were probably discovered in the Monteverde catacomb, Leon (1960: 1547) suggests that it was also located somewhere in the Transtiberinum. As far as the origin of its name is concerned, there are two different explanations:

(a) The congregation was formed by Jewish slaves born in Rome in the houses of their owners. This explanation is based on the understanding of the Latin word verna as meaning a home-born slave; see Mueller and Bees (1919: 98f.); Krauss (1922: 253); La Piana (1927: 352, 355 n.24); Vogelstein (1940: 16f. 28).

(b) The congregation was originally formed by the native-born Romans to distinguish themselves from the immigrants. The explanation is based on the understanding of the Latin word vernaculus as meaning "native" or "indigenous"; see Leon (1960: 155ff.); Schuerer (1986 III.1: 97).

The difference between these two explanations is a question of whether the native-born Roman Jews were of servile origin. Since Leon persistently rejected the idea that the extensive Jewish community in Rome was mainly formed by the innumerable prisoners of war, he refused to accept any explanation that the synagogues in Rome were related to servile origin; see Leon (1960: 4, 119 n.3, 141, 142, 155). However, the evidence for the servile origin of the extensive Jewish community formed in 61 B.C.E. is quite certain, see above **note 8** in **Ch. 2, notes 61,62,63** in **Ch. 3,** and it would be quite probable that the descendants of those Jewish slaves were born in the house of their masters. These home-born Jewish slaves were also native-born Roman Jews. Leon (1960: 155 n.2) admits that although the word verna itself means "native born" and etymologically has nothing to do with slaves, it came to be used of slaves born in the house of the master in contrast

with those that were purchased. Thus second or third generation Jews who were probably more Romanized and indigenized than their parents formed their own groups and used the name "Vernaclesians" to contrast with the congregation of their parents, the "Hebrews". Thus the congregation of the Vernaclesians was possibly one of the earliest synagogues formed at the end of the first century B.C.E..

28. Six inscriptions (CIJ nos. 304, 316, 384, 433, 504, 537) mentioning this congregation were found. At least four were certainly found in the Monteverde catacomb and the other two were probably also from Monteverde. Leon (1960: 142f.) suggests that it was located somewhere in the Transtiberinum. However, valiant efforts have been made to interpret the name of this congregation and to locate it topographically; e.g. Frey, CIJ I: LXXV-Vi; Leon (1960: 143); c.f. Wiefel (1977: 106). Nevertheless, from the fact that the Latin word calcarenses or calcariensis is used of limekiln workers or lime burners, it is most commonly assumed that this was the congregation of the Jewish collegia of limekiln workers; cf. Krauss (1922: 256); La Piana (1927: 352, 370); Schuerer (1986 III.1: 97). Leon (1960: 143) rejects this view, arguing that it seems hardly credible that there were enough Jews engaged in this occupation to form a separate congregation and it does not appear to have been a Jewish custom for members of the same occupation to form a separate religious group and to name their congregation after their occupation. However, he admits that there is no good evidence to reveal a locality called Calcarenses. In contrast to Leon's arguments, the building industry was well developed in the latter period of the Republic. The sub-divisions of the industry were classified fairly completely, and the limekiln worker was one of these; see Paul-Louis (1927: 188). There is evidence for the existence of the guilds of the calcarenses in Rome and some provincial towns; see CIL VI: nos. 9223, 9224, 9384; cf. Paul-Louis (1927: 265); Leon (1960: 143 n.4) and Schuerer (1986 III.1: 97 n. 32). This implies that there was a considerable number of people in Rome practising as limekiln workers and it would not be surprising that many Jews who were manual labourers could have joined this industry. It is believed that only ten men were needed to form the nucleus of a synagogue; Meg. III:3 - Tos. Meg IV:14; cf. Wiefel (1977: 105 n.40); Shanks (1979: 12). Furthermore, it was quite a common phenomenon in Rome for the members of collegia, or guilds, to observe the same cult; see La Piana (1960: 370) and Schuerer (1986 III.1: 97 n.32). Although the existence of a synagogue of the weavers in Jerusalem is in doubt, cf. Leon (1960: 143 n.3) and Jeremias (1969: 5, 21, 66), there is some evidence for the existence of the guilds of different trades in ancient Palestine; see Wischnitzer (1951: 245-250) and Jeremias (1969: 21). In the second century C.E., there were separate seats in the great synagogue-basilica of Alexandria allocated for the guilds of goldsmiths, silversmiths, coppersmiths, blacksmiths and weavers; see Wischnitzer (1951: 252f.). Juster (1914 I: 486f.) suggests that in the Roman period, Jewish artisans in Egypt also joined general trade corporations but did not participate in the pagan religious ceremonies. Therefore it is quite plausible that in the early first century C.E., the Jewish limekiln workers in Rome organized their own collegia, on the pattern of similar non-Jewish guilds and observed

Judaism. In Rm. 9:21, Paul uses the imagery of **Karameus** to illustrate his argument on the authority of God on His creatures. This might be just a possible evidence of Paul's knowledge of the Jewish limekiln workers in Rome.

29. Two inscriptions (CIJ nos. 390, 408) mentioning this congregation were found in the Monteverde catacomb. Leon (1960: 153) suggests that it was also located somewhere in the Transtiberinum. It is believed that the name was derived from the city of origin of its founding members. However, there were two prominent cities named Tripolis in antiquity, one in Phoenicia and the other in North Africa. There were Jewish communities in both of these cities and there seems to be no way of deciding which one was the source of the Tripolitan congregation in Rome; for detailed discussion, see Leon (1960: 153f.). Nevertheless, since this congregation used the city of origin to identify themselves, it is quite probable that they wished to differentiate themselves from those more indigenous congregations already existing in Rome. Thus this congregation would not be ranked among the earliest congregations, but possibly in the first century C.E..
30. Only two inscriptions (CIJ nos. 281. 509) mentioning this congregation were found. One came from the small catacomb of Vigna Cimarra off the Via Appia, the other was from an unknown source; see Leon (1960: 145). There are numerous conjectures about the origin of the name of this congregation. They include suggestions that it was named aftered the olive or olive tree, or the prophet Elijah, or a city from which its founding members emigrated; see discussion in Leon (1960: 146f.). However, no convincing explanation is available. If it was named after the city of origin of its founding members, this congregation would be probably founded not earlier than first century C.E..
31. Three inscriptions (CIJ nos. 88, 319, 523) mentioning this congregation were found. One of these came from Appia and the other two are of uncertain sources; cf. Leon (1960: 144). Most scholars generally agree that this congregation took its name from the Campus Martius, where its house of worship was presumably situated; cf. La Piana (1927: 352); Leon (1960: 145) and Schuerer (1986 III.1: 96f.). On the inscription no.523. a Mater of two synagogues (Campesian and Volumnius) was found. It is our only example of a person associated with two synagogues. Since the Campus Martius did not develop as a residential area until the imperial period, one can hardly rank this congregation among the earliest in the Jewish community in Rome; cf. Leon (1960: 145) and also see La Piana (1927: 216f.); Platner and Ashby (1929: 91-94).
32. Five inscriptions (CIJ nos. 18, 22, 67, 380, 35a) certainly mentioning this congregation were found. Four of them were discovered in the Via Nomentana catacomb which was probably used in the second century C.E. and the origin of the other is unknown. There are two other inscriptions (nos. 140, 37) that very likely referred to this congregation; cf. Leon (1960: 151), one of which (no. 140) was found in the Appia catacomb. It is believed that the congregation derived its name from the Subura, a thickly populated district occupying the valley between the Viminal, the Esquiline, and the Imperial Fora and continuing up the west slope of the Esquiline; cf. La Piana (1927: 352); Platner and Ashby (1929: 500-1); Leon (1960: 152); Schuerer (1986 III.1: 97). Since Subura was within the pomerium, no foreign sacra could be performed even in the

beginning of the imperial period; cf. La Piana (1927: 213f.) and Schuerer (1986 III.1: 97 n.28). This situation probably changed from the second century onwards. Thus the congregation of the Siburesians was probably founded in the second century C.E.; cf. Schuerer (1986 III.1: 97 n.28).

33. See **notes 44, 47** in **Ch. 2.**
34. If the synagogue of the Agrippesians was named after the Jewish kings Agrippa I or II, then there were two synagogues with Jewish names. However, this is quite doubtful; see Schuerer (1879: 15).
35. Besides those earliest congregations which were organized on similar lines to the Roman collegia domestica and collegia of trades, the congregations of the Vernaclesians, Campesians and Siburesians also showed a tendency to identify themselves with Rome. This is quite a natural development for the descendants of immigrants to survive in a foreign land. The experience of the exile in Babylon and the teaching of Jer. 29:4-7 might have helped the Jewish community in Rome to further the process of indigenization. This does not mean that they had given up their Jewish identity, but rather that they had adopted a symbiotic form of existence: existing externally in Roman form and practising Judaism within the boundary of private and communal life.
36. Huffmon (IDBS: 619).
37. See Leon (1960: 93) and further discussion in Cohen (1976).
38. Leon (1960: 94 n.1).
39. Leon (1960: 95-107) and see particularly table 1 on p.102.
40. Leon (1960: 107f.).
41. See Leon (1960: 121). Furthermore, Leon (1960: 114f.) suggests that the evidence of the name of a child being more likely to resemble the father's name than the mother's and of naming a child after a living person further indicates that the Jews in Rome adopted the Roman practice rather than the Jewish tradition.
42. See Leon (1960: 109).
43. See Leon (1960: 119).
44. These names probably stemmed from a period when the Jews who first bore them were freedmen and had taken the Gentile names of their former masters, as was the custom among the Romans; see Seyffert (DCA: 242); Leon (1960: 238); Bruce (1969: 235). Thus the name of Flavius would go back to freedmen of the imperial house of Flavius who brought a great number of the Jewish prisoners of war from Palestine after 70 C.E.; see Vogelstein and Rieger (1895 I: 59) and Juster (1914 II: 221). This is probably why the name Flavius was so frequent, although it was the family name of Vespasian and Titus, the conquerors and destroyers of the Jewish nation. Leon (1960: 119 n.3) rejects this explanation simply because he refuses to admit that the extensive Jewish community in Rome was basically founded by ex-prisoners of war.
45. Leon (1960: 107) table I.
46. See discussion in Leon (1960: 120); cf. Cohen (1976: 97).
47. See Leon (1960: 120) and (1964: 156).
48. Leon (1960: 120).
49. Leon (1960: 120), see also the discussion about the use of Greek and Latin personal names among the common people, Pharisees and rabbis in Schuerer (1979 II: 73f.); cf. Hengel (1973 I: 61-65).
50. These names were related to those people who contributed to the preservation of the Jewish identity in Jewish history; see

Swaim (IDB II:1008f.); Orlinsky (IDB IV: 358); Farmer (1958: 149); Hengel (1973 I: 64f.); Ward (IDB IV: 301); Harvey (IDB II: 149). As for further discussion on the significance of the names Judas and Simon, see Farmer (1957-58: 147-155) and Fitzmyer (1963: 1-5). For discussion on the Maccabean tradition in dealing with differences among Jews, see **note 56** in **Ch. 3** above.

51. See Targum to Amos 6:1 and Talmud Git 11b; see Rabinowitz (EJ XII, col.807).
52. See Leon (1960: 121).
53. See Leon (1960: 93, 121).
54. On the use of Greek in Palestine, see Liebermann (1942: esp. 30, 37-39); Sevenster (1968: esp. 96-175); Hengel (1973 I: 58-65) and Schuerer (1979 II: 74-80, cf. 20-28). On the use of Greek by Diaspora Jews, see Fischel (EJ VII, col.884-887); Goodenough (1955 II: 123f.); Leon (1960: 75); Sevenster (1968: 77-96).
55. See Leon (1960: 75). Noldeke (1885: 333f.) and Albright (1961: 173) suggest that one cannot always conclude from the language of the inscriptions, especially the funerary inscriptions, from a given region or period that this language was spoken there or then; however, Sevenster (1968: 180-183) argues against this suggestion forcibly in the case of the Jews in Palestine. As far as the case of the Jews in Rome is concerned, their knowledge of Greek and Latin would be presumed. It would be natural for them to use their most familiar language on the epitaphs.
56. See Leon (1960: 76).
57. These are CIJ nos. 283, 319, 349, 397, 497, and perhaps 296, the Semitic characters of which are called Nabataean by Chwolson, CIH: 147; see Leon (1960: 76 n.2).
58. See Leon (1960: 76f.).
59. See Leon (1960: 108) Table II. There are 301 names with some Latin and 210 names with some Greek.
60. See Leon (1960: 108), however, some figures in Table II are wrong. In the Greek inscriptions, 151 (38.5%) rather than 142 (38.7%) are Greek names only, and 61 (15.6%) rather than 60 (15.3%) are Semitic names only. It is noteworthy that the names with Semitic elements, which comprised only 15.3% (or 84) of the total, occurred somewhat more frequently among the Greek inscriptions (16.6%, i.e. 65) than the Latin inscriptions (12.2%, i.e. 19). Nevertheless, no Greek and Semitic combined name in either Greek or Latin inscriptions occurs.
61. See Leon (1960: 78).
62. See discussion in Leon (1964: 78); Kant (1987: 690).
63. Leon (1960: 153f.); Kant (1987: 687).
64. For instance, there are only seven individuals that can be known by their places of origin from the inscriptions; cf. Leon (1960: 239).
65. See Leon (1960: 229).
66. Cf. Leon (1960: 256).
67. See Leon (1960: 256).
68. Leon (1960: 195 n.1) provides a bibliography of those works which deal exclusively or primarily with the objects from the Jewish catacombs.
69. See Leon (1960: 195f.).
70. No fewer than 144 of the 534 inscriptions display this symbol in some form or other, see Leon (1960: 196f.). By catacombs, the 144 representations of the menorah are distributed as follows: Appia 46, Monteverde 75 (including four from the Porto

collection), Nomentana 10, others 13. For discussion on the popularity and significance of this symbol among the Jews, see Sukenik (1934: 55f.); Goodenough (1950-51: 449f.).

71. There are thirty-four examples of lulab and twenty-seven examples of etrog on the inscriptions; see Leon (1960: 196ff.) and Goodenough (1956 IV: 145-166). Leon (1960: 245f.) suggests that lulab and etrog were used at the Feast of Tabernacles in synagogues of Rome in the same way as in traditional Judaism.
72. There are 27 examples of flask appearing in the inscriptions, see Leon (1960: 196-9). For discussion on the use of flask, see Gressmann (1927: 182f.) and Goodenough (1953 I: 96); Leon (1960: 199).
73. There are 14 examples of shofar appearing in the inscriptions, see Leon (1960: 196 n.3, 199f.). It is believed that the shofar was probably a reminiscence of that ritual horn blown at the Rosh Hashanah (new year) service; see Leon (1960: 200) and also Goodenough (1956 IV: 167-194).
74. There are 6 examples of the Aron appearing in the inscriptions, and all of them are found in the Monteverde catacomb, see Leon (1960: 196 n.3, 200). For discussion of the Torah shrine in synagogues, see Goodenough (1956 IV: 99-144).
75. See Leon (1960: 245f.).
76. See Leon (1960: 196f., 201-203). A mosaic containing a large swastika was found in the Ein-Gedi synagogue, see Shanks (1979: 136f.). At the synagogue of Ma'oz Hayyim, a swastika was also found, see Tzaferis (1974: 143f.).
77. See Leon (1960: 210-218).
78. See Leon (1960: 203-209).
79. Frey (CIJ I: CXXI-CXXV) insisted that the decorated rooms of the Appia catacomb originally formed a pagan hypogeum which was later absorbed by the expanding Jewish cemetery; see discussion in Leon (1960: 203f. and 204 n.1).
80. See Leon (1960: 204), (1964: 160) and Shanks (1979: 143-161).
81. There is evidence for a number of biblical instances in which images were permitted and obviously approved by the biblical writers, e.g. Ex. 37; II Chron. 3-4; 9; cf. Shanks (1979: 145). See the interpretation of the second commandment in Gutmann (1971) and Shanks (1979: 148).
82. See discussion in Shanks (1979: 144). A favourite talmudic reference was the passage which recounted how a pious Jew even avoided gazing at the pictures engraved on Roman coins; bAbodah bZarah 50a; bPesahim 104a; P. T. Megillah 3:2.
83. See Gutmann (1961) and Shanks (1979: 145f.).
84. See discussion in Urbach (1959) and Shanks (1979: 146ff.).
85. See Avigad (1957: 258); Wischnitzer (1971: 90) and Shanks (1979: 158f.).
86. So Shanks (1979: 159).
87. See Goodenough (1961: 278); cf. Shanks (1979: 159).
88. See Shanks (1979: 159).
89. See Shanks (1979: 159).
90. See Leon's (1949: 90) Table and (1960: 198).
91. Leon (1960: 240ff.) suggests that the effect of Romanization can be measured by comparing the names of the individuals, the language of the inscriptions and the use of symbols and artistic motifs. However, it is noteworthy that even in the Appia catacombs, which according to Leon (1960: 110, 115f., 121) is the most Romanized group, 62% of the inscriptions bear no symbol at all.
92. See also Kant (1987: 682-6, 705f.).

PART II: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SITUATION OF THE ROMAN CHRISTIANS AND PAUL'S PURPOSE IN WRITING ROMANS

CHAPTER FIVE

The Situation of the Roman Christians and Paul's Purpose in Writing Romans: The Evidence in Rm. 14:1 - 15:13

Introduction

As we have argued in Section III.B.4.c of **Chapter 1**, Rm. 14: 1 - 15: 13 has numerous distinctive features which are quite different from I Cor. 8 - 10. It is better understood as a passage in which Paul applies the wisdom he gained from his previous experiences to the specific situation in Rome. As a matter of fact, the understanding of Rm. 14: 1 - 15: 13 as Paul's specific exhortation directed to the Roman Christians[1] has gained more support among many scholars.[2] The main issues remaining are twofold: (a) the identities of the 'strong' and the 'weak', and (b) the relationship between the situation of Roman Christians as revealed in the passage and Paul's purpose in writing the letter.

In this Chapter we will first give a brief discussion on the Sitz im Leben of the passage, which includes the identities of the 'strong' and the 'weak', and then proceed to apply a detailed personae analysis[3] to it. By doing this we hope to show how personae analysis can help us to

understand Paul's pattern of dialogue in this passage, which is probably exemplary for the other parts of Romans, and also to propose a preliminary hypothesis of Paul's purpose in writing the letter.

I. The Sitz im Leben of Rm. 14: 1 - 15: 13

A. The 'Strong' and the 'Weak'

In 14: 1 - 15: 13, Paul obviously deals with the controversy between the 'strong' and the 'weak'. Some scholars, such as Karris,[4] who appealed to the argument of Rauer,[5] have argued strongly that the 'weak' might be Christians with syncretistic or ascetic tendencies, but not ordinary Jews.[6] However, the evidence that the issue involves clean and unclean foods (**koinos** in 14: 14, cf. **katharos** in 14: 20) strongly supports the view that the 'weak' were Christians who observed the Mosaic law,[7] no matter whether they were ethnically Jewish or not.[8] The 'strong' were probably the Christians who did not fully follow the Mosaic law, among whom may be included some ethnic Jews. For convenience, these two groups of Christians are designated 'Jewish Christians' and 'Gentile Christians' respectively. This way of identifying the 'strong' and the 'weak' has been a point of growing consensus among most scholars.[9]

The most significant difficulty of this interpretation is the evidence that the 'weak' were vegetarians (14: 2) who not only abstained from meat but also from wine (14: 21). However, as we have mentioned briefly in **Chapter 1**, the evidence found in Dan. 1: 8-16; Esth. 14: 17 (LXX);

Jud. 12: 1-4; Josephus V 14 indicates that there were cases of Jews who abstained from both meat and wine when they were in a situation which was controlled by Gentiles.[10]

As far as the concrete Sitz im Leben of the 'strong' and the 'weak' in the context of Roman Christians is concerned, some scholars suggest that the Roman Jewish Christians were separated from the Jewish community after they had caused the disturbance in 49 C.E. which resulted in the expulsion of Jews from Rome. They had to abstain from meat and wine because they could not get the ceremonially pure meat and wine which were available only in the Jewish quarter.[11] However, this explanation is not convincing. As we have discussed in **Chapter 2** Section I.B.2(8) (pp.93-95) it is not necessary to assume that the Christians were the ones to be blamed for the expulsion and they would probably have maintained their relationship with the Jewish community. Moreover, in view of the fact that the size of the Roman Jewish community was so big[12] and the characteristics of the Roman Jews were so diverse (see **Ch. 4**), it seems unlikely that the Jewish Christians would have real difficulty in getting the ceremonially pure meat and wine if they wanted.[13] The Sitz im Leben of the controversy between the 'weak' and the 'strong' is probably more specific than many scholars have thought. Minear rightly, in our opinion, suggests that ***the controversy happened on the specific occasion when the Jewish Christians and the Gentile Christians worshipped and had communal meals together***.[14] The 'weak' (Jewish Christians) did not abstain from meat or wine in general,[15] they were vegetarian only when eating with the 'strong' (Gentile Christians).[16] As we

have discussed in Section D of Chapter 3 above, *the crucial issue to concern a Jew when eating a meal with Gentiles was probably how to keep the Jewish food laws in such a situation*. The controversy in Rm. 14: 1 -15: 13 probably reflects the same concern. We think this is a more plausible suggestion than others, and will seek to demonstrate that plausibility in subsequent discussion.

B. The Situation of Roman Christians

As we have mentioned before, it is generally agreed that the Roman Christian movement emerged from the Roman Jewish community. It is quite possible that the situation of the Roman Jewish community was a prototype of the situation of the Roman Christians.[17] In our discussion of the situation of the Roman Jewish community in Part I above, there are several findings which are specifically relevant to our understanding of the situation of the Roman Christians:

1. The Roman Jewish community was organized as a *community net-work*[18] which consisted of several synagogues without a central governing body.
2. These synagogues were quite diverse in their background and they adopted the principle of toleration and mutual acceptance in their relationship.
3. The Roman Jews had a considerable interaction with their Gentile neighbours and also made a great effort to preserve their Jewish identity.
4. Through the Jewish community net-work, different Roman synagogues could share their resources, such as using

catacombs.

If we compare this evidence with the characteristics of the Roman Christians which we found in Rm. 16 (see Chapter 1), the findings in Rm. 16 are surely consistent with this evidence. It is quite possible that the Roman Christians belonged to different house churches, according to their background, without substantial inter-relationship. Paul's use of household language, such as **proslambanō** (14:1, 3; 15:7, 7) and **oiketēs** (v.4)[19] strengthens our hypothesis that the setting of house churches is the Sitz im Leben of 14:1 - 15:13. Moreover, the controversy reflected in 14: 1 - 15: 13 probably suggests that there were different practices in following Jewish food laws among house churches. Their differences caused tension among themselves.[20] In other words, the principle of toleration and mutual acceptance was not yet adopted in dealing with differences among these Roman Christians. This situation probably occurred when the Jews returned to Rome after the death of Claudius in 54 C.E..[21] When Paul wrote his letter to Rome around 55-57 C.E.,[22] he might try to address this situation. This interpretation of the situation of Roman Christians and of Paul's purpose in writing Romans will be substantiated and further developed by discussing the evidence in the 'frame' and the doctrinal core of the letter in the following Chapters.

Minear was probably the first scholar who showed us the significance of using the information uncovered from the last three chapters of Romans to reconstruct the picture of the situation in Rome and to interpret the letter as a

whole accordingly.[23]

Minear rightly challenges the assumption held by most commentators that there was a single Christian congregation in Rome where Jewish Christians worshipped side by side with Gentile Christians.[24] He rightly suggests that there were plausibly five or six different house churches existing in Rome.[25] However, he probably goes too far when he suggests that it is possible to identify at least five distinct factions or five different positions among these various groups from the evidence of 14: 1 - 15: 13.[26] Nevertheless, he is probably right to see that, in this passage,

(1) Paul did not try to persuade the 'weak' to relax their dietary or calendrical scruples, in fact, Paul endorsed them;[27] and

(2) Paul did not expect to combine the 'weak' and the 'strong' into one group by persuading all to take the same attitude towards food and days.[28]

Minear's approach is taken up by Watson.[29] However, while Watson rightly amends Minear's five groups into two general groups, namely, Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians,[30] he overlooks the importance of Minear's observation of the existence of at least five or six different house churches in Rome.[31] Instead, he suggests that there were two congregations in Rome, which were separated by mutual hostility and suspicion over the question of the law;[32] and that Paul's purpose in 14: 1 - 15: 13 is to try to persuade the two congregations to unite into a single congregation which accepts the Pauline

principle of freedom from the law.[33] However, we find that this is not the case. Our findings will be presented in the following personae analysis of Rm. 14:1 - 15:13.

II. Personae Analysis of 14:1 - 15:13

In Rm. 14:1 - 15:13, first person and second person pronouns (singular and plural) occur twenty-five times.[34] First person singular verbs[35] and second person singular verbs[36] occur four times; second person plural verbs occur twice[37] and the first person plural verbs occur eleven times.[38] We may say that the occurrence of the first and second persons in this passage is quite frequent (see **Table** I). It is significant to pay attention to Paul's change from one person to another when he uses these pronouns and verbs in this passage.[39]

In the following analysis, we divide 14:1 - 15:13 into five sections according to the content and the characteristics of these 'persons'.

A. Paul Admonishes the Jewish and the Gentile Christians not to Pass Judgement on One Another (14:1 -13a)

In this passage, there are one first person singular verb and one first person pronoun in v. 11, both of which are part of the OT quotations; two first person plural pronouns in vv.7, 12 and remarkably nine first person plural verbs in vv. 8, 10, 13, of which seven occur in v.8. Furthermore there are five second person singular pronouns in vv.4, and 10, of which four occur in v.10; and there is only one second person plural verb, which occurs in the first verse.

Naturally, we start our analysis from v.1. Paul starts his exhortation by using the second person plural imperative[40] **proslambanesthe** which most probably refers to the 'strong' mentioned later in 15:1.[41] If this is the case, Paul starts his admonition explicitly towards the Gentile Christians in Rome requesting them to welcome a Jewish Christian[42] who participates in the fellowship of their house churches,[43] even though the Jewish Christian only eats vegetables when he participates in the communal meal with them (v.2). As we have mentioned above, this could have happened when the Jewish Christians returned to Rome after the death of Claudius and participated in the existing Gentile Christian house churches. This evidence does not imply that the Jewish Christian was a vegetarian in general. His abstaining from meat was probably because he had doubts as to whether the meat provided by the Gentile Christians was prepared according to the Jewish food laws.

Thus in 14:1f., Paul presupposed that there were cases of individual Jewish Christians who had participated in the communal meals of the Gentile Christian house churches. As they ate only vegetables and abstained from all meat provided by the Gentile Christians, they had dispute with the Gentile Christians over their doubt and were not welcomed by them.[44]

The conflict was not only on the Jewish food laws but also the observance of special days according to the OT ceremonial law (cf. 14: 5-6).[45] However, it is significant

that the issue of circumcision is not raised in this setting. This could have two explanations: (1) Paul expects that the issue of circumcision had been settled in his discussion in the earlier part of the letter (Rm. 2 - 4); (2) the issue of circumcision was not related to the conflict about the observance of food laws and special days among the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome. In view of the fact that circumcision is not a controversial issue in Romans,[46] both explanations seem to be probable. If this is the case, the Jewish Christians in Rome might have accepted the principle that it was not necessary for the Gentile Christians to be circumcised;[47] the issues still at stake are the observance of the food laws and possibly also the special days.[48] This possibly reflects the consequence of the 'Jerusalem council'.[49]

In dealing with the conflict in Rome, Paul laid down two principles for both the Jewish and the Gentile Christians:

(1) Do not despise (**exoutheneō**) or pass judgement (**krinō**) upon one another (14: 3f, 10, 13a).[50]
(2) Let each man be fully convinced in his own mind about his own practice (14:5).[51]

The grounds for supporting these two principles are based on:

(1) God has welcomed the one who is different in practising the Jewish ceremonial laws (v.3c);[52]
(2) no one has the right to pass judgement on another man's household slave (v.4a);[53]

(3) the Lord is able to make one stand without regarding whether he practised the Jewish ceremonial laws or not (v.4c);

(4) those who are different in practising the Jewish ceremonial laws can be the same in their desire to serve the Lord and to give thanks to God (v.6); and

(5) we all belong to the same Lord who is Christ (vv.7-9).[54]

Paul's argument clearly tried to persuade neither the Gentile Christians to observe the Jewish ceremonial laws nor the Jewish Christians to abandon them, but both to accept the diversified practices. What Paul demanded from them was a change of their attitude towards one another. Furthermore, Paul asked them to recognize that the only essential unity among them was to serve the one Lord and to live and die to the same Lord who is Christ.

Paul's argument is summarized in vv.10-13a, which includes an OT quotation from the later part of the LXX text of Is. 45:23 and an introductory formula **legei kurios** which is probably from Is. 49:18 (cf. Num. 14:28; Jer. 22:24; Ezek. 5:11).[55] There are two observations concerning the quotation:

(1) The original setting of Is. 45:23 is the universal worship which Yahweh foretells will be offered to him one day. The prophet had clearly expected a turning to Yahweh of all the nations upon earth.[56] The sense of worship seems to be strengthened in Rm. 14:11 when Paul uses **exhomologesetai** in place of **omeitai**.[57] Black suggests that the translation of this word as 'give

praise to' (RSV, NASB) instead of 'confess' (NIV) or 'acknowledge' (NEB) is clearly preferable.[58]

(2) There are nine OT quotations in the NT -- four of them in Pauline letters -- within which the phrase legei kurios occurs.[59] Ellis observes that the greater portion of the citations are related to the 'temple' typology in which the Christian community is viewed as God's new temple with the inclusion of the Gentiles.[60]

If we set this quotation against the context of Rm. 14:10c which is talking about the final judgement of all Christians before God (cf. II Cor. 5:10), we can see that Paul probably uses this quotation to show that both Jewish and Gentile Christians will worship together in the eschaton and that they should acknowledge God as Lord and the final judge of the world in their worship now (cf. v.12). Therefore, they should not judge one another when they worship together.

In applying his arguments to this OT quotation, Paul certainly indicates to those Jewish Christians that his exhortation is in continuity with the Jewish tradition. However, there is also a message to the Gentile Christians: the inclusion of the Gentiles in the worship of God is based on the foretelling of the Jewish Scriptures. Thus on the one hand, Paul encourages the Jewish Christians to worship God with the Gentiles; on the other hand, he reminds the Gentile Christians that their participation in the worship of God is dependent on the promise of the OT.

As far as the 'persons' in this passage are concerned,

the Gentile Christians are directly addressed in v.1. The second person singular pronoun **su** which occurs five times in the questions asked in diatribal style (v.4, 10, 10, 10, 10) is probably identified with individuals who are among the Jewish and the Gentile Christians of Paul's addressees[61] and who despise or pass judgement upon other Christians who are different in their practice of Jewish ceremonial laws.

It is significant that Paul uses **su** twice in v.10 in connection with the word **adelphos**, which he has not used since 12:1. Paul obviously intends to remind the one who despises or passes judgement that the one who is despised or judged is his brother, one who belongs to the same Lord.[62] In the same verse, Paul strengthens his appeal for unity by using the first person plural verb **parastesometha** to indicate that they will stand before the judgement seat of God together. In fact, Paul has forcefully demonstrated his appeal for unity already by using **hēmeis** once in v.7 and the first person plural verbs **zōmen** and **apothneskōmen** three times each, together with the emphatic **esmen** once in v.8 to indicate that the unity between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians and Paul himself is a unity in life and death and to the Lord.

At the end of this passage, Paul continues to use the first person plural pronoun (**hēmŏn**) and the first person plural imperative verb (**krinōmen**) to denote this unity. Thus we can see the changing pattern of the 'persons' in this passage. Paul admonishes the Gentile Christians as a group first in vv.1, 2 and then changes to address the

Jewish and the Gentile Christians as individuals in vv.3-6. The climax of this passage occurs in vv.7-9 when Paul uses the first person plural to identify himself with the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome as a whole. In fact it has an overtone that 'Christians' as a whole are in view.[63] The change from first person plural to second person singular again in v.10a is so forceful that if there is still any individual in the Roman Christian community who continues to despise or pass judgement on his brother, he will find it very difficult to retain this position. In vv. 10c-13a, Paul drives his argument home by using the first person plural again to conclude his exhortation in this section.

From this passage, we gather the following findings:

(1) Paul directs his exhortation explicitly to the Gentile Christians, while the Jewish Christians are not referred to as a group. The Jewish Christians are addressed as individuals among the Roman Christians or as part of the Roman Christian community as a whole.

(2) Paul has in mind that the Gentile Christians should welcome the Jewish Christians to participate in their communal meal. In other words, he expects that the Jewish and the Gentile Christians could worship together as well.[64]

(3) Paul admonishes the Jewish and the Gentile Christians to change their attitude towards one another. However, Paul does not try to persuade them to change their different practices in relation to Jewish ceremonial laws but asks them to accept their differences.

(4) Paul emphasizes that they are united in God in their service to the Lord, under the Lordship of Christ, and in their eschatological destiny. They are brothers one to another.

The above findings give us quite a clear picture of the situation of the Roman Christian community. ***Paul's argument obviously shows that he does not aim at bringing the Jewish and the Gentile Christians together into one congregation in which uniformity of practice in the communal meal and observance of days would be expected.*** What Paul presupposes is the existence of a number of house churches alongside each other, which belong to Jewish and Gentile Christians. This is consistent with our previous understanding of the situation of the Roman Christian community.

In 14: 1-13a, Paul probably wishes to restore a situation in which Jewish Christians can participate in the worship held at a Gentile Christian house church. They could eat vegetables in the communal meal with no need to dispute with the Gentile Christians. In this situation, the Jewish and the Gentile Christians should not pass judgement on one another.

However, if this is the way in which Jewish Christians can participate in worship held in a Gentile Christian house church, then another issue arises: ***how can Gentile Christians participate in the worship held in a Jewish Christian house church?*** It is quite obvious that this cannot happen unless either Jewish or Gentile Christians are willing to change their practice in eating meal. Paul goes on to deal with this issue in the following passages.

B. Paul admonishes the Gentile Christians not to put a stumbling-block or hindrance in the way of building up a Roman Christian community net-work (14: 13b-23)

In this passage, there are two first person singular verbs in v.14 and one first person plural verb in v.19. However, there are four second person singular pronouns in vv.15, 15, 21, 22 and three second person singular verbs in vv.15, 15, 20. Furthermore, there is one second person plural pronoun in v.16 and a second person plural verb in v.13b.

We start this section from v.13b because v.13a is better understood as the conclusion of 14: 1-13a.[66] Paul changes the 'persons' from first person plural in v.13a to second person plural in v.13b, and the fact that he uses the word **proskomma** in vv.13b and 20 (cf. v.21) suggests that v.13b belongs to 14: 14-23 rather than 14: 1-13a.

In v.13b, Paul uses the second person plural imperative **krinate** to direct his exhortation explicitly to the strong,[67] that is the Gentile Christians. Paul admonishes them not to place a stumbling-block (**proskomma**) or hindrance (**skandalon**) in the way of a brother. In the context of 14:1 - 15:13, the brother is a Jewish Christian. It is noteworthy that in the NT, **proskomma** and **skandalon** are linked together only in three cases (Rm. 9:33; here and I Peter 2:8).[68]

As far as these three cases are concerned, we have three observations:

(1) In the context of both Rm. 9:33 and 14:13, **proskomma** and **skandalon** are related to diōkō (cf. 9:30, 31 and 14:19f.).[69]

(2) In Rm. 9:33 and I Peter 2:8, they are part of the quotation from Is. 8:14.[70] In its original context "the stone of stumbling and rock of offence" are concerned with a lack of faith.[71] However, in Rm. 9:33 and I Peter 2:8, the "stone' which represents Christ, to whom Christians have faith,[72] is the crucial test between belonging to the people of God or being excluded from it.[73]

(3) In Romans 9:33 the context is the controversy between Jew and Gentile.[74]

These observations are most significant to Rm. 14:13b in the following ways:

(1) As **proskomma** and **skandalon** are not part of a quotation,[75] Paul probably uses these two words deliberately in the context of controversy betweeen Jewish and Gentile Christians.

(2) The words "stone" and "rock" are missing here.

(3) In Rm. 9:33 and I Peter 2:8 the "stumbling" and "offence" are inevitable,[76] but in Rm. 14:13b they are avoidable and should not be put in the way of a brother.[77]

The absence of the "stone" and the "rock" is certainly due to the different issues at stake. In Rm. 14:13b the issue is obviously concerned with the observance of Jewish food laws (cf. vv.14f., 17, 20f., 23) but not faith in Christ. To Paul, these two issues are not at the same level

of importance. Whether to observe the Jewish law or not is not an essential for salvation. Therefore, it is neither necessary for the Jewish Christians to ask the Gentile Christians to observe the Jewish food laws nor for the Gentile Christians to request the Jewish Christians to abandon them. The observance of Jewish food laws is optional for the Gentile Christians, although it is essential for the Jewish Christians to keep their Jewish identity. However, faith in Christ is essential to both Jew and Gentile in order that they may be justified (cf. 3:21f.).

Thus in Rm. 14:13b, the message of Paul's admonition to the Gentile Christians in the context of the controversy between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians is as follows:

(1) faith in Christ and observance of Jewish food laws are not of the same level of importance and they are not incompatible.
(2) Do not make the issue of the observance of the Jewish food laws a test of faith for the Jewish Christians.
(3) While the issue of the observance of the Jewish food laws is essential to Jewish identity, it can be a stumbling-block and hindrance to Jewish Christians. If the Gentile Christians put the issue as a test of faith for the Jewish Christians, it will force the Jewish Christians either to abandon their faith in Christ or to become apostates from the Jewish community.[78] This choice is not necessary. A Jewish Christian can simultaneously be a Jew and a Christian.

After Paul has directed the serious exhortation in v.13b to the Gentile Christians, he immediately uses two strong first person singular verbs (**oida** and **pepeismai**) to express his conviction and he also appeals to the authority of the Lord Jesus[79] to confirm the understanding of the Gentile Christians about the invalidity of the Jewish food laws. However, Paul wants to make clear that ***the heart of the matter is not about food but the relationship between people***. The principle is simple: *"Do not, for the sake of food, destroy the work of God"* (v.20a).[80] In order to make it crystal clear, Paul defines it in both negative and positive ways:

(1) Everything is indeed clean,[81] but it is <u>wrong</u> for anyone to make others fall (**proskommatos**, cf. v.13b) by what he eats (v.20).
(2) It is <u>good</u> not to eat (**phagein**) meat or to drink (**piein**) wine on ***specific occasions***[82] or to do anything by which your brother stumbles (**proskoptei**), (v.21, NASB).

In vv.22, 23,[83] Paul further explains the principle with reference to how the strong should regard his own faith[84] and the situation of the weak.[85] Nevertheless, the reasons supporting the principle are set forth in vv.15-18: (i) because of love (v.15a);[86] (ii) the fact that Christ has died for the brother whom one may ruin spiritually by reason of the food one eats (v.15b); (iii) because of not letting what is good[87] be spoken of as evil (v.16); (iv) because of the fact that the kingdom of God

does not mean food and drink but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit (v.17); (v) the fact that this is a service to Christ which is acceptable to God and approved by men (v.18).

As far as these reasons are concerned, there are two observations which are most relevant to our discussion:

(1) *The danger of spiritual ruin (v.15b)*

The verb **apollumi** is here probably used to denote the bringing about of someone's ultimate (eschatological) ruin, his loss of his share in eternal life (cf. I Cor. 8:11).[88] If this is the case, it probably also refers to the danger of apostasy[89] by the Jewish Christians on the issue of observance of the Jewish food laws, as implied in Paul's use of the words **proskomma** and **skandalon** in v.13b. In this case, it is the danger of becoming an apostate from Christian faith. Thus in v.15b Paul reinforces his exhortation of v.13b and admonishes the Gentile Christians not to put the Jewish Christians in danger of becoming apostates from Christ on account of the food they eat.

(2) *The identity of the one who 'speaks the evil' (v.16)*

The identity of the one who 'speaks the evil' (**blasphēmeisthō**) is not clear. Kaesemann suggests that usually in the NT those who do the evil speaking are non-Christians.[90] However, the use of the same word in I Cor. 10:30 seems to indicate that the occasion for evil speaking can be within the church.[91] Some scholars suggest that this is also the case here, and that it is the 'weak' who speak the evil.[92] Since we suggest that this verse is addressed to the 'strong' alone and **humōn to agathon** refers

to their freedom in the gospel,[93] it is reasonable to suggest that Paul might have in mind both the 'weak' and the non-Christian.[94] In other words, when Paul admonishes the Gentile Christians in 14:16, he possibly has in mind that the conduct of the Gentile Christians could force the Jewish Christians to take the same position as that of those non-Christian Jews, and in consequence be more united with the non-Christian Jews than with the Gentile Christians.

In 14: 13b-16, on the one hand, Paul tries to prevent the Jewish Christians becoming apostates from the Jewish or the Christian community; on the other hand, he tries to prevent their identifying with the position of the non-Christian Jews against the Gentile Christians. He hopes that the Jewish Christians will balance their position within both the Jewish and the Christian communities.

Since Paul directs his exhortation to the Gentile Christians from 14:13b, the principles and the reasons as discussed above are also given to them. Thus as far as the 'persons' in this passage are concerned, the second person singular pronouns in vv.15, 21, the second person singular verb in vv.15, 20 and the second person plural pronouns in v.16 most probably all refer to the Gentile Christians.

In this context it is more natural for the hortatory first person plural subjunctive in v.19 to refer to Paul and the Gentile Christians. Paul not only admonishes the Gentile Christians negatively that they should not put a stumbling-block or hindrance in the way of a brother

(v.13b; cf. vv.15, 16) but he also admonishes them positively to pursue what makes for peace (tēs eirēnēs) and for mutual upbuilding (tēs oikodomēs tēs eis allēlous). By using first person plural, Paul identifies himself with the Gentile Christians in this pursuit.

In fact, Paul's use of ara oun to introduce this positive exhortation in v.19 suggests that the preceding verses (vv.13b-18) have been preparing the way for it.[95] The objective of not putting a stumbling-block or hindrance in the way of a brother is to pursue (diōkō)[96] what makes for peace (eirēnē) and for mutual upbuilding (oikodomē). The words "peace" (eirēnē) and "upbuilding" (oikodomē) used here are most significant. In this context eirēnē probably denotes peace with one's fellow-Christians[97] and oikodomē denotes the building up of the Christian community in Rome.[98] *If we take the situation in Rome into account, they* (eirēnē and oikodomē) *denote Paul's wish to build up a peaceful and close relationship between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians who belong to different house churches, that is a net-work of Christian house churches in Rome probably similar to that of the net-work of Jewish synagogues* (see Ch. 4).

This goal is so important to Paul that he describes it as the "work of God" which surely should not be destroyed because of the issue of food (v.20). The case is so serious that Paul has to appeal to the teaching of love (v.15a), the death of Christ (v.15b), the need to avoid causing spiritual ruin of a brother (v.15c) and the nature of the kingdom of God (v.17). Furthermore, Paul has to demand that

the Gentile Christians should be aware of the limit of their freedom in the Gospel (v.16). As will be shown below, 15: 7-13 relates this issue of the relationship between the Jewish and Gentile Christians with the covenant faithfulness and the mercy of God as well as the content of the Gospel which are the issues discussed by Paul in Rm. 1-11. This evidence shows that the goal of building up a peaceful and close net-work among the Jewish and the Gentile house churches in Rome is very important in Paul's mind.

Thus in 14: 13b-23, Paul explicitly directs his exhortation only to the Gentile Christians. The Jewish Christians are hidden in the background. Paul brings the discussion of the observance of the Jewish food laws to a different dimension. He asks the Gentile Christians not to make this issue a test of faith for the Jewish Christians. A Jew can become a Christian and maintain his observance of the Jewish food laws. In other words, Paul admonishes the Gentile Christians not to put the Jewish Christians in danger of becoming either Jewish or Christian apostates.

Furthermore, although Paul endorses the Gentile Christians' understanding of the lacking of final validity of the Jewish food laws, he admonishes them to restrict their freedom in eating meat and drinking wine for the sake of building up a peaceful and close relationship with the Jewish Christians in Rome. Paul probably even suggests that it would be good if the Gentile Christians could change their practice of eating and drinking probably on ***specific occasions*** when they have a communal meal with the

Jewish Christians. This would mean that when the Jewish Christians participate in the communal meal held at a Gentile Christian house church, not only the Jewish Christians would eat solely vegetables, but the Gentile Christians may also do the same. Cranfield rightly describes the situation as "the strong Christian who 'has the faith to eat any food' has more room in which to manoeuvre than the weak Christian who 'eats *only* vegetables'. He has the inner freedom not only to eat flesh but also equally to refrain from eating it. So for him to refrain for his weak brother's sake is assuredly good".[99]

Therefore, if the Gentile Christians are willing to change their practice when eating in the presence of Jewish Christians in their own house church, it would open up the chance for the Gentile Christians to follow the practice of the Jewish Christians on <u>specific occasions</u> when they participate in a communal meal held at the house church of the Jewish Christians. As will be shown below, this seems to be the issue discussed in 15: 1-4.

Nevertheless, although in 14: 13b-23 only the Gentile Christians are addressed, the message is surely overheard by the Jewish Christians as well. On the one hand, they also have to understand the observance of the Jewish food laws from the perspective of Jesus Christ, the principle of love and the kingdom of God; on the other hand, they should know that Paul understands their dilemma and sympathizes with them. However, for Paul, the most important thing is not to let the issue of Jewish food laws become a stumbling block or hindrance in building up a peaceful and

close relationship between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome. This is an exhortation that Paul wishes to direct to both groups in Rome.

C. Paul admonishes the Gentile Christians to please the Jewish Christians (15: 1-4)

This section is the climax of Paul's exhortation directed to the strong which starts from 14:1.[100] The terms **dunatos** and **adunatos** occur for the first time (15:1) to identify explicitly those who should welcome "the man who is weak in faith" (14:1) and the person so far referred to as **ho asthenōn** (14: 1, 2) respectively.

The other most significant point is that Paul uses the clause **hēmeis hoi dunatoi** to identify himself most explicitly with the 'strong'. In fact, in this passage, the first person singular verb, second person singular verb and the second person plural pronouns and verbs are all missing. The only occurrence of the first person singular pronoun and the second person singular pronoun are in an OT quotation (v.3). However, the first person plural pronoun occurs twice in vv.1, 2[101] and two first person plural verbs occur in vv. 1 and 4. Thus the only 'person' that occurs in this passage is 'we' which denotes Paul and the strong.

Furthermore, Paul uses the emphatic verb **opheilō** to denote that the 'strong' have an "inescapable obligation"[102] to help to carry the burden (**bastazein**)[103] of the 'weak'. With such an explicit identification of Paul and the 'strong', Paul forcefully admonishes the Gentile

Christians not to please themselves regardless of the effects that their pleasing themselves would have on 'others' (v.1b), but asks them to take more active steps to please their 'neighbour'(v.2a). In this context, the 'others' and the 'neighbour' of the Gentile Christians are most probably the Jewish Christians in Rome who belong to other house churches.[104]

In v.3 Paul appeals to the example of Christ Himself and gives an exact quotation from LXX Ps. 68:10 to support his exhortation.[105] Kaesemann rightly points out that "this admonition is so important for Paul that he derives it christologically".[106] In justifying his appeal to the OT quotation as an indication of the lengths to which for our sake Christ was willing to go in not pleasing Himself, Paul asserts the authority of the Scriptures in instruction not only for the Jewish Christians but also the Gentile Christians (v.4).[107]

However, we have to ask the question: "In what way could the Gentile Christians carry the burden of the Jewish Christians and please them?" It may be appropriate to refer to 14:21 as an answer. Here Paul suggests that it is good for the Gentile Christians to follow the practice of the Jewish Christians on the specific occasion when the Jewish Christians participate in the communal meal held at the Gentile Christian house church. In such a situation, if they eat only vegetables together with the Jewish Christians (cf. 14:2), there is no doubt that the Jewish Christians will be pleased.

Nevertheless, in view of Paul's exhortation in 15:7a

that he expects not only the Jewish Christians to be welcomed by the Gentile Christians but also the Gentile Christians to be welcomed by the Jewish Christians in turn, the issue at stake is *how the Gentile Christians could carry the burden of the Jewish Christians and please them if they participate in the communal meal held at the Jewish Christian house church*. As a matter of fact, the only condition for the Gentile Christians to be welcomed by the Jewish Christians to participate in their communal meal would be for the Gentile Christians to agree to follow the practice of the Jews in eating the meal.[108]

Thus when Paul forcefully admonishes the Gentile Christians to carry the burden of the Jewish Christians and not to please themselves (regardless of the effects which their pleasing themselves would have on the Jewish Christians), but to please the Jewish Christians, he is probably suggesting that the Gentile Christians should follow the Jewish practice in eating meal on the *specific occasion* when they participate in the communal meal held at the Jewish Christian house church (cf. I Cor. 8: 7-13).[109] This practice is very important because it is related to the "good" of the Jewish Christians[110] and the "building up" (**oikodomē**, cf. 14:19) of the Christian community in Rome (15:2).[111]

Paul's suggestion does not contradict his position stated in Gal. 2: 11-14. In Galatians, the issue at stake is whether the Gentile Christians should live ***fully*** according to the Jewish way of life.[112] More precisely, the issue is whether a Gentile Christian should become a Jew if

he is to become a member of God's people. Paul is strongly against this position. However, in Rm. 14: 1-23, he clearly states his view on the Jewish food laws (14:14) which are essential for the Jews to preserve their Jewish identity but not essential to the Christian faith and it is optional for those who have faith in Christ. The issue at stake is that the observance of the Jewish way when eating a meal on *specific occasions* by the Gentile Christians would contribute to the unity of the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome.

In fact, this suggestion is in line with Paul's exhortation that the Gentile Christians who have the freedom of the Gospel should not only eat meat and drink wine but equally refrain from eating and drinking them (14: 15-21). Furthermore, by using the first person plural pronoun **hēmeis** to identify himself with the ***Gentile Christians*** in Rome (15:1), Paul is probably also thinking of his missionary principle which not only shapes his missionary work but probably also shapes the aspirations and the very style of his life:[113]

> "For though I am free from all men, I have made myself a slave to all, that I might win the more. To the Jews I became as a Jew, in order to win Jews; to those under the law, I became as one under the law-- though not being myself under the law -- that I might win those under the law. To those outside the law, I became as one outside the law -- not being without law toward God but under the law of Christ -- that I might win those outside the law. To the weak (**asthenēs**), I became weak that I might win the weak. I have become all things to all men, that I might by all means save some." (I Cor. 9: 19-22).

If that is the case, ***there are <u>three</u> possible conditions*** under ***which the Jewish and Gentile Christians can***

participate in worship and communal meals held at one anothers' house churches as revealed in Paul's exhortations from 14:1 - 15:4:

(1) The Jewish and the Gentile Christians should change their hostile attitude toward each other and should restore the previous situation in which the Jewish Christians would eat only vegetables when they participate in the communal meal held at a Gentile Christian house church. They should accept each other's diversified practice of the Jewish food laws and hold their unity in serving the Lord (14: 1-13a).

(2) Gentile Christians should not take the issue of observance of Jewish food laws as a test of faith. Their freedom in the Gospel should allow them to change their practice of eating and drinking to bring it in line with that of the Jewish Christians when the Jewish Christians participate in the communal meal held at a Gentile Christian house church (14: 13b-23).

(3) Gentile Christians have an inescapable obligation to carry the burden of the Jewish Christians in the same way as Paul did. They should please the Jewish Christians by following the Jewish way of eating meal on the specific occasion when they participate in the communal meal held at a Jewish Christian house church (15: 1-4).

Thus the agreements Paul expected to be made between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome are probably as follows:

(1) The Jewish Christians should agree that, although the observance of ceremonial laws is essential for Jewish identity, this observance is not essential for Gentiles to become God's people. The only essential requirement for God's people is faith in Christ.

(2) The Gentile Christians are free from observing the Jewish ceremonial laws, but they must not regard the observance of Jewish ceremonial laws as incompatible with the Christian faith. Whenever they have meals with the Jewish Christians, they could follow the Jewish way of eating meal.

(3) The lordship of Christ is the ground for the unity of Jewish and Gentile Christians.

As far as the first two concessions are concerned, it is difficult to judge whether a greater concession is demanded of the Jewish or the Gentile Christians.[114] The Jewish Christians were expected to differentiate themselves from the 'orthodox' Jews' understanding of the Jewish law in regard to the requirements for being God's people, while the Gentile Christians were expected to understand the limit of freedom in the gospel and to change their eating practices whenever they shared in a communal meal with the Jewish Christians. As will be shown in **Part III** of this thesis, we suggest that Paul tries to persuade both Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome to make these concessions in the early chapters (1-11) of Romans.

In fact, the above concessions brought the Jewish Christians no difficulty in their own practice of Judaism. Since Judaism is a religion concerning 'orthopraxy' rather

than 'orthodoxy', it is quite probable that by these concessions the Jewish Christians were able to retain their relationship with the non-Christian synagogues and also with the Gentile Christian house churches. As far as the social intercourse between the Gentile Christians and their pagan environment is concerned, the concession does not seem to cause much difficulty. Thus although these two concessions are probably against the original position of some Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome, they are probably the most feasible and practical concessions which could be made between them.

Nevertheless, one thing crystal clear is that Paul was very conscious of the danger of apostasy by the Jewish Christians and he admonishes the Gentile Christians not to put them in such a position. ***In 14:1 - 15:4, Paul expresses his wish that the Jewish Christians could retain both Jewish and Christian identities. He does not try to persuade the Jewish Christians to abandon the Jewish ceremonial laws.***

D. Paul's prayer-wish towards the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome (15: 5-6)

Cranfield suggests that 15:5f. is a prayer-wish.[115] Although in it God is not directly addressed, the content obviously indicates that it is Paul's exhortation to his audience as well as his prayer to God.[116] In Murray's opinion, this combination of exhortation to men and prayer to God is the most effective form of exhortation.[117] It urges people to try to do what one can toward the fulfilment of one's prayer.[118] This force of exhortation is

specially needed as Paul is concluding his exhortation which starts from 14:1.[119] Thus in 15:5, Paul picks up the words of "steadfastness" and "encouragement" in 15:4; "one another" (**allēlois**) in 14: 13, 19; and the reference to Jesus Christ in 14:9, 14, 15; 15:3.

As far as the 'persons' are concerned, **humin** occurs in v.5, and the second person plural subjunctive **doxazēte** and the first person plural pronoun **hēmōn** occur in v.6. As these verses are the concluding part of 14:1 - 15:6, it is obvious that Paul is addressing all the Christians in Rome, both Jewish and Gentile Christians alike.[120] The wishes of Paul for them are twofold:

(1) to agree[121] with one another according to Christ Jesus (v.5); and
(2) with one accord and one voice to glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ (v.6).

Many scholars do not discuss what kind of agreement is referred to in the first wish of Paul.[122] We suggest that it probably refers to the agreements which are mentioned in the conclusion of our above study of 15: 1-4. Nevertheless, Cranfield is certainly right to suggest that Paul's whole treatment of his subject throughout 14:1 - 15:13 surely tells strongly against the view that Paul's wish is to enable the weak to be fully convinced of the rightness of the position of the strong.[123] Leenhardt also suggests that "seeing that Paul did not condemn the position of the 'weak' although he classed himself with the 'strong', differences will continue, at least for a

time."[124] These observations are obviously againt Watson's suggestion that in Rm. 14:1 -15:13, Paul wishes "to convert the Jewish Christian congregation [the 'weak'] to Paulinism [the position of the 'strong']."[125]

Our suggestion of the agreements between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians is also supported by the text. It suggests that the agreement of the Jewish Christians and the Gentile Christians has to be "according to Christ Jesus" (NASB). Thus what Paul probably implies is that although there are differences between the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome, the unity between them should be maintained according to their common acknowledgement of the Lordship of Christ Jesus Himself.[126] This unity is in fact given (**didōmi**) by God. This interpretation is supported by the evidence in 14:9, 14, 18; 15:3 and 6.

In 15:6, Paul indicates that the expression of unity is in worshipping God together (cf. v.7)[127] and in confessing Jesus Christ as ***our*** Lord.[128] Leenhardt and many others suggest that in 15: 5-6, Paul is probably drawing upon liturgical language.[129] This observation implies that Paul wishes that the Jewish and Gentile Christians would accept members from different house churches to worship together and to confess Jesus Christ as Lord although they maintain different attitudes towards the Jewish ceremonial laws. This had in fact happened before (cf. 14: 1ff., 13) but was probably interrupted by the hostile attitudes between individual members of the Jewish and Gentile Christians.

In 14:1 - 15:6, Paul directs his exhortation explicitly

to the Gentile Christians (cf. 14:1, 13b23; 15: 14). The Jewish Christians are addressed only as individuals (14:4, 10, 10) or together with the Gentile Christians as the whole Roman Christian community (14: 7-13a; 15: 5-6). This is clearly shown by the fact that Paul uses all the second person plural pronouns and verbs in 14:1 - 15:4 to address only the Gentile Christians.

However, Paul's message to the Gentile Christians would *be overheard* by the Jewish Christians and *is relevant* to them. The Jewish Christians would understand Paul's view on the food laws, his sympathy with their dilemma and his exhortation to the Gentile Christians for the sake of their difficulties. Nevertheless, it is clear that *Paul admonishes **both** the Jewish and the Gentile Christians to change their attitude to one another, but he admonishes **only** the Gentile Christians to change their practice in eating whenever they have a communal meal with the Jewish Christians. **The Jewish Christians are not asked to change their observance of Jewish ceremonial laws.***

In our study above, it is obvious that Paul's exhortation would only be relevant if the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome are organized into different house churches. Thus ***Paul presupposes that there is not a single congregation in Rome but he does not try to persuade these different house churches to combine into one single congregation. Paul's main purpose is to persuade them to build up a net-work -- a peaceful and close relationship -- between these house churches.*** The occasional exchange of participation in the communal meal

held at both the Jewish and the Gentile Christian house churches is very important. It symbolizes the mutual acceptance and the commitment of the Jewish and the Gentile Christians to this Christian community net-work.[130] As will be shown below, the relationship between the building up of this net-work (14:1 - 15:6) and Paul's message in Rm. 1-11 is explicitly expressed in 15: 7-13.

E. Paul Affirms the Significance of the Building up of a Christian Community Net-work for the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome (15: 7-13)

The presence of the word **dio** at the beginning of 15:7 separates this verse from 15:6 and also introduces 15: 7-13 as a concluding paragraph of the section 14:1 - 15:13 and probably of the whole body of the letter.[131] The conclusion which is drawn in 15:7 is very clear: "Welcome one another as Christ has welcomed you."[132]

The occurrence of the second person plural imperative **proslambanesthe** here certainly connects 15:7 with 14:1. However, while in 14:1, the second person plural is addressed to the 'strong', it is here addressed to the Christian community in Rome as a whole which is composed of the 'strong' ***and*** the 'weak'.[133] Hence the use of **allēlous** in 15:7 is most significant. The phrase to "welcome one another" probably indicates the climax of the whole passage which has been built up from the exhortation in 14:1 15:4 and the prayer wish in 15:5 : (i) let us no more pass judgement on one another (14:13a); (ii) let us then pursue what makes for peace and for mutual (**allēlon**) upbuilding

(14:19); and (iii) may God grant you to live in such harmony with one another (15:5). In 15:7, Paul concludes his exhortation by admonishing the Gentile and the Jewish Christians to recognize and accept one another even though they have different attitudes towards the Jewish ceremonial laws and the fact that they belong to different house churches. The reason why they must accept one another is the model of Christ (cf. 15: 5).

In 14:1 - 15:6, Paul has already made it clear that Christ has accepted both the strong and the weak. In 15:8f., Paul uses the first person singular verb **legō** emphatically to declare the dual roles of Christ: (1) to become the minister of the Jews according to God's faithfulness to the covenant; and (2) to call the Gentiles for the sake of God's mercy.[134] Jesus Christ, thus, is the one who combines a ministry to both Jews and Gentiles. In other words, the building up of the net-work among the house churches in Rome would symbolize the recognition of the ministry of Christ to the Jews and to the Gentiles.

Paul's solemn declaration is further supported by four OT quotations in 15: 9b-12,[135] which come from the Law, the Prophets and the Writings.[136] Among these quotations, the one in 15:9b which follows closely the text of LXX Ps. 17:50 indicates an individual Jew praising God among the Gentiles.[137] The two quotations in 15: 10-11 which come from LXX Deut. 32:43 and Ps. 116:1 respectively express a summons to Gentiles to rejoice[138] together with God's people and to praise God. In the context of 14:1 - 15:13, these quotations certainly denote the participation of

Jewish Christians in the worship held in the Gentile Christian house churches and vice versa.

Furthermore, the last quotation of LXX Is. 11:10 in 15:12 referring to the Jewish origin of the Messiah most probably recalls Rm. 1: 3-5.[139] Paul concludes his exhortation and the body of his letter by affirming once again the content of his gospel that the Son of David, the Jewish Messiah, is the hope not only of the Jews, but also of the Gentiles. Thus the Jewish and the Gentile Christians share the same hope in Jesus Christ. Paul writes to both the Jewish and the Gentile Christians to remind them that this hope is the basis for the combination of Jews and Gentiles in one Christian community and should be expressed by worshipping God together.

The importance of this hope is affirmed by the double reference to 'hope' in Paul's "prayer wish" in 15:13. Many scholars recognize the parallel between this verse and 15:5f.. Therefore, the 'hope' in 15:13 is probably related to the 'hope' in 15:4[140] which is not explicitly picked up in 15:5f.. Thus "the God of steadfastness and encouragement" (15:5) is also "the God of hope".[141] The God who grants the agreement between the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome (15:5f.) would fill them with all joy and peace in believing,[142] so that by the power of the Holy Spirit they may abound in hope (15:13).[143] The two occurrences of **humas** in 15:13 obviously refer to the Christian community in Rome as a whole as in 15: 5, 7.

Thus in 15: 7-13, Paul addresses the Christian community in Rome as a whole. In it, he not only refers to

his exhortation to the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in 14:1 -15:6 about their mutual recognition and acceptance in the communal meal held at their different house churches, but also refers to God's covenant faithfulness to the Jews (15: 8; cf. 3: 4, 7; 9: 4ff.), God's mercy to the Gentiles (15: 9; cf. 9: 15-18, 23; 11: 30-2) and the content of the gospel (15: 12; cf. 1: 3-5; 9: 5) which he has discussed in detail in Rm. 1-11.[144] Thus we may suggest that in Paul's mind, his exhortation in Rm. 14:1 - 15:6 is related to the first eleven chapters of Romans; and that our understanding of the situation of the Roman Christians in Rm. 14:1 - 15:6 may help us to interpret Rm. 1-11.[145]

Summary and Conclusion:

In our study of Rm. 14:1 -15:13, we have developed a ***preliminary hypothesis*** that there were two main groups of Christians in Rome: a Jewish Christian group which may have included proselytes and God-fearers who observed Jewish ceremonial laws, and a Gentile Christian group which may have included Jews who did not maintain the observance of the Jewish ceremonial laws. They were organized into different house churches when the Jewish Christians returned to Rome after the death of Claudius. Since the Jewish Christians maintained their observance of Jewish ceremonial laws, they would probably have no difficulty in building up their relationship with the synagogues of the Roman Jewish community.[146] However, the bitter experience of the Jewish Christians who had participated in the communal meal held in the Gentile Christian house churches (cf. 14: 1-6, 10 see Section II.A above) had caused a tense

relationship between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians.

Paul understood the situation and wrote the letter to both Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome in order to persuade them to build up a peaceful and close relationship between their house churches. In 14:1 - 15:13, Paul admonished both groups to change their attitude towards one another, but explicitly asked the Gentile Christians to consider the dilemma faced by the Jewish Christians.

Paul admonished the Gentile Christians to change their practice in the communal meal and to follow the Jewish way of eating a meal whenever Jewish Christians were present. Paul desired that the Gentile Christians would welcome the Jewish Christians to participate in the communal meals held in their house churches, thus recognizing the significance of the ministry of Christ among the Jews. On the other hand, Paul wished the Jewish Christians to welcome the Gentile Christians to the communal meals held in their house churches, thus recognizing the legitimacy of the Gentile mission and the ministry of Christ among the Gentiles.

In his exhortation, Paul was fully aware of the danger of apostasy by the Jewish Christians. Paul explicitly asked the Gentile Christians not to put the Jewish Christians into such a position. ***Paul's intention was probably to build up a Roman Christian community net-work among the Jewish and the Gentile Christian house churches, and at the same time to let the Jewish house churches (Jewish Christian synagogues) retain their relations with the Roman***

Jewish community. In other words, Paul neither demanded the Jewish Christians to give up their connection with the non-Christian Jews, nor asked the Gentile Christians to become Jews. However, he probably wished to see the Gentile Christians linked up with the Roman Jewish community through their connection with the Jewish Christians. This could happen if:

(1) the Jewish Christians could continue to retain their Jewish identity and their position in the Roman Jewish community;
(2) the Jewish Christians recognized the legitimacy of the Gentile Christians as also God's people;
(3) the Gentile Christians recognized the importance of their relationship with the Jewish Christians;
(4) the Gentile Christians agreed to follow the Jewish way in eating a meal whenever they participated in the communal life of the Jewish Christians; and
(5) the Jewish Christians and the Gentile Christians welcomed one another to participate in the communal life of their house churches.

From the evidence of 14:1 - 15:13, we find that Paul addressed explicitly the first, the fourth and the fifth conditions and mentioned the second and the third in passing. We suggest that Paul may have addressed these two conditions specifically in the first eleven chapters of Romans (see Section II.E above).

Thus, our understanding of the main issue of 14:1 - 15:13 and therefore of the whole letter is remarkably different from that of Minear. He suggests that the main

issue was "the question of how strength of faith was to be measured and secured."[147] Morever, although we agree with Watson that the main issue concerned the question of the relationship between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians, and that between Christians and Jews, we disagree with him critically on Paul's attitude towards these relationships. We suggest that:

(1) Paul emphasized the importance of the unity between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians but did not try to persuade the Jewish Christians to separate from the Jewish community;
(2) Paul admonished the Gentile Christians not to cause the Jewish Christians to become Jewish apostates in pursuit of Christian unity, but to support the Jewish Christians in their effort to preserve their Jewish identity.

Furthermore, Watson obviously overlooks the fact that ***in Romans, Paul not only tries to persuade the Jewish Christians to accept the Gentile Christians into the fellowship, but he also persuades the Gentile Christians to accept the Jewish Christians. Therefore, the primary addressees of Romans are not Jewish Christians but both Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome.***

The real test of this hypothesis is whether or not it is relevant to our understanding of the doctrinal core of Romans (1:18 - 11:36); this will be the subject of our study in **Part III**. However, it is important to ask first whether the hypothesis is consistent with the evidence of

the two passages which Paul addressed explicitly to the Roman Christians and in which he spoke of his intention in writing to them (1: 1-17 and 15: 14-33), and also Rm. 16. If the answer is in the negative, then it is not legitimate to apply the hypothesis to 1:18 - 11:36.

Notes to Chapter Five

1. I take the liberty to use the terms 'Christians', 'Christianity', 'Judaism' anachronistically as convenient shorthand in connection with Paul's writings.
2. E.g. Barrett (R, 1962: 256); Michel (R, 1978: 419f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 364); Wilckens (R, 1982 III: 78); Jewett (1982b: 23).
3. For discussion on personae analysis, see Section D in **INTRODUCTION**.
4. Karris (1973: 79ff.).
5. Rauer (1923).
6. E.g. Barrett (R, 1962: 257f.); Raeisaenen (1983: 48); Bassler (1984: 56f.).
7. The use of the word **koinos** to denote "unclean" in the religious sense is almost exclusively Jewish; see Mk. 7:2, 5; Acts 10:14, 28; 11:8; cf. **koinoō**: Mtt. 15:11, 18, 20; Mk. 7:15, 18, 20, 23; Acts 10:15; 11:9; 21:28. In Mtt. 15:11; Mk. 7:15 and Acts 10: 10-16, the problem of observance of Jewish food laws is dealt with under this keyword; cf. Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 713); Wilckens (R, 1982 III: 90); Newton (1985: 102); Dunn (R, MS: 1086f.).
8. For detailed discussion on the possible interpretations of the identities of the'strong' and the 'weak', see Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 690-7), Wilckens (R, 1982 III: 109-115).
9. See the bibliographical reference in Karris (1973: 76 n.6). Among these scholars, we may add Black (R, 1973: 164); Campbell (1973-74: 268); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 694ff.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 366); Wilckens (R, 1982, III: 79); Patte (1983: 247f.); Watson (1986: 94ff.); and Dunn (1987b: 2880).
10. So Watson (1986: 95).
11. So Bartsch (1971); Watson (1986: 95); Marcus (forthcoming MS: 6); cf. Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 695). However, in a recent correspondence (27 April, 1988), Dr. Watson tells me that he rejects this view now and prefers a setting for Rm. 14: 1 - 15: 13 within communal meals which will be discussed below.
12. See **note 13** in **Chapter 2**.
13. So Barrett (R, 1962: 256); Kuemmel (1973: 311 n. 13).
14. See Minear (1971: 9). In early Christian times, worship and

communal meal were probably inseparable; I Cor. 11: 17-22; cf. see Cullmann (1950: 14ff.). For detailed discussion of the development of the communal (fellowship) meal in the context of Christian worship, see Moule (1961: 18-46).

15. Some scholars have wrongly thought that the 'weak' were those who abstained from meat in general. Therefore they refused to identify the weak as Jewish Christians but regarded them as some Hellenistic vegetarians; so Rauer (1923: 1-192) cited by Jewett (1971: 43f.); Barrett (R, 1962: 257f.); Schlier (R, 1977: 405f.); cf. Murray (R, 1965, II:175); see also discussion in Kaesemann (R, 1980: 368).
16. See Minear (1971: 10).
17. Barrett (R, 1962: 6) has rightly pointed out that at the early stage "it is not impossible that the first Christians in Rome .... formed a synagogue community within the general framework of the Jewish groups in the city..."; cf. Bruce (A, 1952: 317ff.); Donfried (1970: 54).
18. For discussion of the meaning of community net-work, see p. 19 in **INTRODUCTION**.
19. So Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 696f.); Dunn (1987b: 2880).
20. See discussion on Paul's use of **proslambanō** and **oiketēs** in **notes 43, 53** below.
21. See Bartsch (1968: 44f.); Wiefel (1970: 111-113), who give a possible analysis of the situation of the Roman Christian community when the Jewish Christians returned to Rome after the death of Claudius; cf. Marxsen (1964: 100); Donfried (1970: 55); Huebner (1978: 68). However, we disagree with Wiefel that the denial of assembly was a first step in moderating the eviction edict of Claudius, see **note 52** in **Ch. 3**. Furthermore, his suggestion that the letter to the Romans "was written to assist the Gentile Christian majority, who are the primary addressees of the letter, to live together with the Jewish Christians in one congregation, thereby putting an end to their quarrels about status" (p.113, our emphasis) is imprecise and contradictory to the findings of our study below.
22. See **note 115** in **Ch. 1**.
23. See Minear (1971) and the discussion on his methodology in pp.6ff.. However, his work has not gained widespread acceptance among scholars; see Campbell (1974: 268f.); Wedderburn (1978-79: 141); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 820ff.).
24. Minear (1971: 7); see also Cranfield (R, 1975, I:22); O'Neil (R, 1975: 221); Stuhlmacher (1986: 192).
25. Minear (1971: 7).
26. Minear (1971: 8-15) suggests that the five groups are: 1. the 'weak in faith' who condemned the 'strong in faith'; 2. the strong in faith who scorned and despised the weak in faith; 3. the doubters; 4. the weak in faith who did not condemn the strong; and 5. the strong in faith who did not condemn the weak. Logically speaking, it is possible that all these positions were present among the Roman Christian community. However, Minear's suggestion goes beyond the evidence of the text. The reason why Minear makes this suggestion is probably that he wants to show the dynamics between these five postions and Paul's purpose to persuade members of groups 1, 2 and 3 to shift to groups 4 or 5 (p.15). In fact, according to Minear's analysis of Romans (p. 45), only Group 1, 2 and 3 are specially addressed by Paul. Group 4 and 5 are scarcely singled out, see pp. 54f., 82. For our general evaluation of Minear's work, see p.7 of **INTRODUCTION** above.

27. Minear (1971: 13) and see our discussion below.
28. Minear (1971: 15) and also see our discussion below.
29. Watson (1986: 88f.)
30. We accept in principle Watson's (1986: 94f.) identification of the 'weak' as Christians who observe the Mosaic law while the 'strong' are Christians who do not. For our definitions of 'Jewish Christian' and 'Gentile Christian' see p. 18 in **INTRODUCTION** above.
31. See our criticism of Watson (1986) in p.10 of **INTRODUCTION**.
32. Watson (1986: 97).
33. Watson (1986: 97).
34. **Egō**, 3 times: 14:11, 11; 15:3; **su**, 12 times: 14:4, 10, 10, 10, 10, 15, 15, 21, 22; 15:3, 9, 9; **humeis**, 5 times; 14:16; 15:5, 7, 13, 13; and **hēmeis**, 5 times: 14:7, 12; 15:1, 2, 6.
35. 14:14, 14; 15:8, 9, 9.
36. 14: 1, 13; 15: 6, 7.
37. 14: 15, 20.
38. 14: 8, 8, 8, 8, 8, 8, 8, 10, 13, 19; 15:4.
39. Wilckens (R, 1982, III: 79) suggests that the frequent change of the personal pronouns in this passage indicates that Paul is not only a teacher but also a pastor who directs his care to his addressees.
40. Rm. 14:1 - 15:13 contains thirteen imperatives: 14:1, 3, 3, 5, 13, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, 22; 15:2, 7; see Karris (1973: 84), in which three are second person plural imperatives (14: 1, 13; 15:7) and three are second person singular (14:15, 20, 22). Leenhardt (R, 1957: 345) is unjustified in overlooking the importance of Paul's use of the second person plural in this passage.
41. See Murray (R, 1965, II: 174); Michel (R, 1978: 422, 447); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 366); Wilckens (R, 1982, III: 81). Cranfield's suggestion (R, 1979, II: 739) that in 14:1 **proslambanesthe** refers to the church in Rome as a whole is unconvincing; the text clearly indicates that there are two types of Christians in the community, one is "weak in faith" and the other is asked by Paul to welcome the "weak in faith". Although we agree with Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 700) that the 'weak' are probably a minority while the 'strong' are a majority, we accept that in 14:1, Paul addresses specifically the strong.
42. It is noteworthy that the singular article with a present participle occur frequently in 14: 1-7 to denote an indefinite person.
43. The word **proslambanō** is used in the papyri of 'receiving' into a household, see M & M: 549; Black (R, 1973: 165). In the NT, it occurs twelve times of which five of them are in Pauline epistles (Rm. 14:1, 3; 15:7, 7; Philm. 17). In Acts 18:26; 28:2; Rm. 14:1; 15:7a and Philm 17, it is used to denote brotherly acceptance into a household. In Rm. 14:3 and 15:7b, it refers to God's and Christ's gracious acceptance of men respectively as an example for the mutual acceptance between the 'strong' and the 'weak'; see also the reference to LXX in Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 700 n.1). Michel (R, 1978: 422) suggests that this word refers to official recognition as brother and admission to the community as well as their communal meal.
44. Watson (1986: 97) rightly suggests that Paul's argument in 14:1ff. does not presuppose a single congregation in which members disagree about the law. However, he wrongly suggests that it was extremely unlikely that the Jewish and the Gentile

Christians had shared common worship. In fact, the bitter experiences referred to in 14: 1-4 and Paul's demand for a changing attitude to both the 'weak' and the 'strong' presupposed that they had had the experience of worshipping together. The word **mēketi** in v.13a also indicates an existing situation of judging one another which is probably a result of the experience expressed in vv. 1ff.; cf. Murray (R, 1965, II: 187). Barrett (R, 1962: 262) suggests that "the tense of the verb [in v. 13a] supports the view that Paul is addressing a real, not a hypothetical situation."

45. See Barrett (R, 1962: 259); Schlier (R, 1977: 407); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 705; cf. 694f.); Wilckens (R, 1982, III: 83).
46. In Romans, **peritomē** occurs 15 times (2: 25, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29; 3: 1, 30; 4: 9, 10, 10, 11, 12, 12; 15: 8); in none of these case does Paul denounce circumcision (cf. Gal. 5:12; Phil. 3:2) or put it into antithesis with "uncircumcision". Against Marxsen (1964: 101), who suggests that in Romans, circumcision and uncircumcision always stand in contrast to each other. In fact, Paul affirms the value of circumcision in 2:25; 3:1 and describes Jesus as a servant to the circumcised in 15:8. Moreover, **akrobustia** occurs 11 times in Romans (2: 25, 26, 26, 27; 3: 30; 4: 9, 10, 10, 11, 11, 12), all of them linked with **peritomē**. As will be shown in **Ch. 9** below, in all these cases, Paul tries to relativize the difference between circumcision and uncircumcision (cf. 2: 25-29; 4: 10-12), and emphasizes the unity between the circumcised and the uncircumcised (cf. 3:30; 4:9). See Schlatter (R, 1962: 51f.), who also argues that circumcision was probably not an issue among the Christians in Rome; cf. Dunn (R, MS: 235).
47. So Schlatter (R, 1962: 51f.), who deduces this conclusion from the evidence in 2: 25-29; cf. Dunn (R, MS: 235). If this is the case, it provides indirect evidence to indicate the possibility for a Jew to have a meal with the Gentiles.
48. In Rm. 14:1 - 15:13, Paul pays more attention to the conflict on the observance of the food laws (cf. 14:2, 3, 6, 14, 15, 17, 20, 21, 23) but mentions the problem of observance of the days only in passing (cf. 14: 5f.).
49. According to Acts 15: 4-29, the issue of circumcision as a requirement for Gentiles to be God's people is settled in the 'Jerusalem council', but the Gentile Christians are asked to observe the food laws; the observance of the days is not mentioned. However, according to Paul's extant undisputed letters, Paul shows no knowledge about the content of the so called 'apostolic decree'. In Gal. 2 Paul seems to indicate that the issue of circumcision as a requirement for Gentile Christian was settled (cf. 2: 3, 7f.) between himself, Barnabas and the Jerusalem apostles, and there were no further requirements proposed (cf. 2: 6). See discussion in Conzelmann (1973: 84f., 88f.); Hengel (1979: 115 ff.); Dunn (1983b: 38). On this issue, we may trust Paul rather than Luke's account. Nevertheless, Luke's account obviously reflects the issues which were hotly disputed among the early Christians, especially in a mixed Christian community which composed of both Jewish and Gentile Christians, such as Antioch and Rome; cf. Conzelmann (1973: 86, 89); Dunn (1983b: 38).
50. Many scholars seem to assume that Paul directs deliberately the word **exoutheneō** to the attitude of the 'strong' towards the 'weak' and the word **krinō** to the attitude of the 'weak' towards the 'strong'; and thus identifies the one who 'passes

judgement' in v.4 as the 'weak'; e.g. Nygren (R, 1944: 445); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 348); Barrett (R, 1962: 258); Murray (R, 1965, II: 175ff., cf. 187); Furnish (1972: 115f.); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 701f.); Dunn (1987b: 2880). However, in view of the fact that the word **diakrinō** in 14:1 refers to the strong who pass judgement on the scruples of the weak; and **krinō** in v. 13a is used in a subjunctive hortatory mood referring to both the 'weak' and the 'strong' and bidding them not to pass judgement on one another, it is not plausible to assume that these two words are specifically connected with the attitude of either the 'strong' or the 'weak'. Minear (1971: 70; cf. 46) is certainly wrong in suggesting the word "condemned" (**krinō**) as the "technical term" which designated the 'weak'.

51. Many scholars see the importance of this principle. Murray (R, 1965, II: 178) suggests that this injunction illustrates the diversity of approved conviction, and "this insistence is germane to the whole subject of this chapter. The plea is for acceptance of one another despite diversity of attitude regarding certain things. Compelled conformity or pressure exerted to the end of securing conformity defeats the aims to which all the exhortations and reproof are directed"; see also Nygren (R, 1944: 444); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 349); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 705f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 370).

52. As far as the text is concerned, 14:3c refers probably only to the exhortation directed to the non-eater that God had received the eater; see Cranfield (R 1979, II: 702). However, as far as the content of 14:3c is concerned, it may apply to the individuals of both groups; see Kaesemann (R, 1980: 369); cf. Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 702).

53. It is significant that Paul uses the imagery of a household slave (**oiketēs**) in v.4. A household slave is the slave who stands under the head of the house alone and is thus independent of his fellow-slaves who are either under the same master or others; cf. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 369). In the text, the word **allotrios** is used to denote "another man's slave"; cf. A-G: 40; instead of the **heteros**, which means "other" or "another", cf. A-G: 315, as expected by some scholars; see Kaesemann (R, 1980: 369); Wilckens (R, 1982, III: 82). Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 703) even disregards the natural meaning of **allotrios** and suggests that "the point made by **allotrios** is not, of course, that the strong Christian belongs to a master other than the one to whom the weak Christian belongs, but that he belongs to a master other than the weak Christian -- he is not the weak Christian's slave, but another's, i.e., Christ's (or God's), and therefore not answerable to the weak Christian." However, if we take the historical situation of the Roman Christian community into account, there will be no difficulty in interpreting the text with full respect for the original word used. It is quite probable that there were Christians who were household slaves of different masters in the Roman house churches. Paul's imagery of household slave probably refers to the common experience among the Roman Christians. The point which Paul wants to make is that one has no right to pass judgement on another man's slave; his master will be fully responsible for him.

54. In 14: 3-9, Paul uses the word **kurios** 8 times (in vv.4, 8, 9), **theos** three times (in vv.3, 6), **Christos** once (v.9). In v.4, it is not easy to decide whether Paul had Christ or God in mind when he uses **kurios**, however, in v.9, it is clear that

Christ died and rose again so that he might become Lord; see Moule (1977: 44); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 708). Thus this understanding of v.9 makes it necessary to understand the repeated **toi kurioi** of v.8 to refer to Christ; cf. Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 702 n.3). Kaesemann (R, 1980: 371f.) suggests that a confessional statement is used in v.9 (cf. I Cor. 15:3; II Cor. 5:14f.).

55. See Ellis (1957: 151); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 710); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 373).
56. See Westermann (I, 1966: 176); Mckenzie (I, 1968: 84); cf. Martin (1967: 255f.).
57. Black (1971-72: 8); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 710).
58. Black (1971-72: 8); (R, 1973: 167).
59. Acts 7:49; 15:16f.; Rm. 12:19; 14:11; I Cor. 14:21; II Cor. 6:16ff.; Heb. 8: 8-12; 10:16f.; 10:30. The phrase occurs twice in II Cor. 6:16ff. and three times in Heb. 8: 8-12; see Ellis (1957: 107 n.2).
60. See Ellis (1957: 107f.). The quotations in Acts 15:16f. and I Cor. 14:21 refer explicitly to the theme of Gentiles, while Heb. 8: 8-12; 10:16f. refer to the new covenant prophecy (Jer. 31:31ff.); cf. II Cor. 6:16ff..
61. For discussion of our understanding of the diatribe, see Section III. A in **Ch. 1** above.
62. See discussion in Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 709).
63. See Kaesemann (R, 1980: 371); Cranfield (1982a: 221f.).
64. For discussion on the relationship between worship and communal meal, see **note 14** above.
65. For discussion of the limits of table-fellowship in the Judaism of the late second temple period, see Dunn (1983: 12-25); Esler (1987: 76-86) and our discussion in Section II.D of **Ch. 3** above.
66. So Barrett (R, 1962: 262); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 711); Cf. Michel (R, 1978: 430); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 374).
67. So e.g. Leenhardt (R, 1957: 351); Barrett (R, 1962: 262); Murray (R, 1965, II: 187); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 711); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 374); Wilckens (R, 1982, III: 90).
68. There are only 6 occurrences of **proskomma** in NT. Apart from I Pet. 2:8 all are used by Paul: Rm. 9: 32, 33; 14:13, 20; I Cor. 8:9. **skandalon** occurs 15 times, five times in Mtt. (13:41; 16:23; 18:7, 7, 7), once in Lk. 17:1, and none in Mk. or Jn.. It occurs 6 times in Pauline epistles, in which 4 times in Rm. (9:33; 11:9; 14:13; 16:17); once in I Cor. 1:23 and Gal. 5:11. The other 3 times occur in I Pet. 2:8; I Jn. 2:10 and Rev. 2:14.
69. See further discussion in **note 96** below.
70. In both Rm. 9:32f. and I Pet. 2: 6-8, there are combinations of two quotations from Isaiah (8:14 and 28:16) in two very similar sections and they are applied in an analogous fashion to Christ; see Staehlin (TDNT VII: 353). For discussion of the differences in the methods of the two combinations in Rm. 9:32f. and I Pet. 2: 6-8, see Staehlin (TDNT VI: 754f.).
71. See Kaiser (I, 1963: 118); cf. Lindars (1961: 176).
72. See Staehlin (TDNT VI: 754); Cranfield (R. 1979, II: 512); Guhrt (NIDNTT II: 706). However, Lindars (1961) suggests that the stone in Rm. 9:33 is first of all an article of belief, belief in Christ (p.177); I Pet. seems to be the first place where the stone is identified with the person of Christ (p.180).
73. See Lindars (1961: 177).
74. So Lindars (1961: 178; cf. 180).

75. Ellis (1957: 153) suggests that Rm. 14:13 may be an allusion of Lev. 19:14 (Deut. 27:18). However, only **skandalon** but not **proskomma** occurs in Lev. 19:14 LXX; both words do not occur in Deut. 27:18.
76. In Rm. 9:33 and I Pet. 2:8, both passages emphasize that the "stone" or the "rock" of stumbling and offence are laid by God Himself. This kind of stumbling is God's decree and is inevitable; cf. I Cor. 1:23; see Staehlin (TDNT, VI: 756); (TDNT, VII: 352ff.); Guhrt (NIDNTT, II: 709).
77. In the NT, while the offence of the gospel must not be removed, there is a human offence which must be avoided; cf. Mtt. 18:6f.; Rm. 14:13, 21; I Cor. 8:13; 10:32; II Cor. 6:3; see Staehlin (TDNT, VI: 753f.); (TDNT, VII: 355); Guhrt (NIDNTT, II: 709f.).
78. It is significant that in the LXX, **proskomma** and **skandalon** are used in connection with Israel's worship of pagan gods and so they become the apostate people, e.g. Is. 8:14; Jos. 23:13; Jud. 2:3; 8:27; cf. Ex. 23:33; 34:12; see Staehlin (TDNT, VI: 749), (TDNT, VII: 342); Guhrt (NIDNTT, II: 705). In Jud. 12:2, eating pagan food would be an offence (**skandalon**).
79. Murray (R, 1965, II: 712) prefers the suggestion that Paul refers here to union and fellowship with Christ; cf. Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 712). However, Lagrange (R, 1916: 329) suggests that the use of the personal name **Iēsous** here could be a pointer to the presence of a reference to some specific teaching of the historic Jesus; cf. Dodd (1953: 144); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 352); Stanton (1974: 97 n.2); Michel (R, 1978: 431); Huebner (1978: 84); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 712f.); Dunn (1985a: 272f.). For discussion of Paul and the Jesus tradition, see Cullmann (1953: esp. 63ff.); Dunn (1989).
80. Some scholars understand "the work of God" as referring to God's work in the weak brother; e.g. Murray (R, 1965, II: 195); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 723); and some as referring to the community; Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 392); Barrett (R, 1962: 265); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 378; Bertram (TDNT, II: 643). In view of the contrast between **oikodomē** (v.19) and **kataluein** (v.20), "the work of God" probably refers to the Christian community of the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome. For discussion of the implication of Paul's use of **oikodomē**, see **note 98 below.**
81. Cf. v.14; Mk. 7:19, I Cor. 6:12f; some scholars suggest that this clause appears as a slogan of the strong; cf. Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 723); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 378).
82. It is significant that BDF:sec.338(1) draws our attention to the fact that **phagein** is an aorist infinitive (so is **piein**). Aorist infinitives are used in this verse possibly because Paul was thinking of the specific occasions when eating or drinking might cause a brother to stumble rather than of continuous abstention; cf. Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 724 n.7). If this is the case, it is consistent with our understanding of the situation of Roman Christians that they were organized into different house churches. Occasional participation of members from other house churches in the worship of different house churches happened before Paul wrote his letter to Rome (vv.1, 2) and this kind of practice was expected by Paul to be continued. Thus in v.20, Paul was possibly thinking of the specific occasions when members from the Jewish Christian house churches participated in the communal meal held at the Gentile Christian house churches and it would be good if the Gentile Christians also abstained from meat and wine as the

Jewish Christians did on such occasion (v.2).

83. The fact that the five sentences which make up vv.20-22 have all been introduced asyndetically, the word play of **krinōn** (v.22b), **diakrinomenos** (v.23a) and **katakakritai** (v.23a), together with the presence of **de** in v.23a suggest that vv.20-23 are closely related together; see Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 727).
84. **pistis** is a catch word in Romans, which occurs 40 times (including 16:20). In ch. 14, it is used to denote the characteristics of the weak (vv.1, 23a, 23b) and the strong (v.22). However, it is quite possible that the label 'weak' originated from those (the 'strong') who disagreed with the persons so described, see Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 700); Wilckens (R, 1982 III: 81).
85. In v.23, Paul describes the situation of the weak to the strong. He indicates how the freedom of the strong could lead the weak to sin.
86. In Rm. 13: 8-10, Paul sums up his ethical exhortation in the all-embracing commandment of love. Paul probably refers **kata agapēn** to that passage; cf. Murray (R, 1962, II: 192); Furnish (1972: 104). Raeisaenen (1983: 64) rightly points out that Rm. 13: 8-10 "seems to prepare the discussion in 14:1 - 15:13 .... [and] serves as a basis on which Paul can build in the sequel when he tries to clear up the quarrels within the community".
87. In this context, the second person plural pronoun **humōn** most probably refers to the strong; see Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 391); Murray (R, 1965, II: 193); Michel (R, 1978: 433); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 716); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 376); Wilckens (R, 1982, III: 93). However, as far as the meaning of **to agathon** is concerned, some scholars refer to it as Christian freedom; Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 39); Barth (R, 1933: 519); Barrett (R, 1962: 264); Murray (R, 1965: 193); Michel (R, 1978: 433); but others refer to it as salvation or gospel; Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 717); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 376); Wilckens (R, 1982, III: 92). Nevertheless, these two suggestions are in fact not mutually exclusive. The issue at stake in the preceding paragraph (14: 13b-15) is the freedom of the Gentile Christians from observing the Jewish food laws, this freedom surely comes from the gospel of Christ. So it seems better to understand **to agathon** in this verse as the freedom of the gospel.
88. See Conzelmann (IC 1969: 149); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 715 n.2); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 376).
89. Cf. F. A. Philippi's remark cited by Murray (R, 1965, II: 192 n.20) ; see also Dunn (MS: 1089). Murray (R, 1965 II: 192) does not see the seriousness of the issue of the observance of the Jewish food laws among the Jewish and Gentile Christians and misunderstands the case discussed in this verse as "the sin of the weak"; his objection to F. A. Philippi's remark is unwarranted. See also our discussion on 14:13b.
90. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 376f.); cf. Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 717).
91. See Barrett (IC, 1968: 244).
92. So Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 391); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 354); Michel (R, 1978: 433); Wilckens (R, 1982, III: 93); for detailed discussion of different possibilities, see Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 715ff.).
93. See above **note 87.**
94. In fact, the word **blasphēmeō** occurs only four times in Pauline epistles (out of 34 times in NT). Other than I Cor. 10:30 and

here, it occurs in Rm. 2:24 and 3:8. In Rm. 2:24, it refers to Gentiles who speak evil because of the conduct of the Jews. However, in 3:8, it is used in a diatribal passage (3: 1-9) in which Paul is engaged in a dialogue with a typified Jew; see Stower (1984). It is significant that in both verses (3:8 and 14:16) the words **blasphēmeō** and **agathos** occur and the issue discussed is similar. In 3:8, the typified Jew "speaks evil" to Paul and probably also those Christians who are not so scrupulous on law, that they are antinomians; see Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 74); Barrett (R, 1962: 65); Murray (R, 1959, I: 97f.); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 186 n.4); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 84). In 14:16, it is probably the more scrupulous Jewish Christians and the non-Christian Jews who might "speak evil" to the Gentile Christians because of their freedom of the gospel.

95. For discussion on the function of **ara** as an inferential particle and its combination with **oun** to introduce a result which is inferred from the preceding verses, see A-G: 103; BDF: sec. 451(2); Cranfield (R, 1975: I: 288).
96. We prefer the reading of the hortatory subjunctive **diōkōmen**; see discussion in Leenhardt (R, 1957: 355 n.); Metzger (1971: 532); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 720f.). It is significant that the word **diōkō** occurs five times in Romans, except the occurrence in 12:14 in which it denotes persecute; see A-G: 200; all other four cases (9:30, 31; 12:13 and here) denote "pursue", "seek after", so A-G: 200. In the context of both 9:30, 31 and here, **diōkō** is related to the words **proskomma** and **skandalon** (cf. 9:33 and 14:13b).
97. See the discussion of Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 721); cf. Leenhardt (R, 1957: 355); Dodd (1959: 26).
98. **oikodomē** occurs only twice in Romans, both are in this passage (14:19; 15:2). Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 721f.) suggests that Paul's use of the word is to be seen in the light of the rich and varied use of the language of building in the OT, in extra-biblical Jewish writings, and also in the rest of the NT. Cranfield draws special attention to the fact that in Jer. 31:4, God is spoken of building his people Israel and in Jer. 12:16 as building up Gentiles in the midst of his people, that is, incorporating them into the community of his own people. This understanding is particularly significant to our study of this passage, for we suggest that Rm. 14:1 -15:13 refers to the relationship between Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians in Rome. Furthermore, Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 722) follows Barrett (R, 1962: 265), see also Furnish (1972: 112f.), in suggesting that "building up" means the building up of the Church as a corporate entity, but he emphasizes that it also denotes the building up, in faith and obedience, of each individual member. The building up of the Church and the building up of the individual members are two aspects of the same process.
99. Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 725).
100. For detailed discussion of the textual problem of the connection between Rm. 14 and 15, see Metzger (1971: 533ff.) and especially Gamble (1977: 16-35, 96-126). Moreover, many scholars recognize that it is obvious that the opening verses of ch.15 continue without any break from the previous discussion in ch.14, it is still talking specifically about the problem in ch.14; cf. Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 394); Knox (R, 1954: 631); Dodd (R, 1959: 11); Murray (R, 1965, II: 197); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 731). Kaesemann (R, 1980: 380f.)

and Black (R, 1973: 171) are unjustified in suggesting that in ch.15 the exhortation is continued in a general sense. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 381) even goes further to suggest that in 15: 1-2 "he [Paul] no longer refers concretely to the conflicts at Rome." As will be shown below, we suggest that 15: 1-4 is the last stage of Paul's exhortation which is the most forceful one. Thus 15:1ff. is not just a summary of Paul's exhortation to the strong as suggested by Kaesemann; cf. Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 729; cf. 731); it is a climax of Paul's exhortation to them. Furnish (1972; 117) is completely unjustified in suggesting that "the charge to the strong concludes in 15:1" and "a new paragraph begins in 15:2 as Paul concludes the whole discussion with exhortations equally appropriate for both groups." The first person plural pronoun in 15:1 clearly starts a new paragraph, the exhortation in 15:2, "let each of us please his neighbour for his good" obviously corresponds to the strong who are admonished not to please themselves in 15:1.

101. In v.4, there is a first person plural possessive pronominal adjective **hēmeteros**.

102. **opheilō** here clearly denotes "obligation", see A-G: 603; cf. Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 730). The word group **opheil-** is common in the NT. In Romans, **opheilō** occurs three times (13:8; here and 15:27); **opheilē** occurs once in 13:7; **opheilēma** occurs once in 4:4 and **opheiletēs** occurs three times in 1:14; 8:12; 15:27. It is significant that in 15:27, Paul uses **opheilō** to denote the indebtedness of the Gentile Christians to the Jewish Christians. Paul probably had in mind here the same meaning.

103. For detailed discussion of the meaning of **bastazein**, see Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 730 n.2), cf. Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 394); Knox (R, 1954: 632); Murray (R. 1965, II: 197); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 381).

104. It is noteworthy that Paul uses **adelphos** to denote fellow-Christians in 14: 10, 13, 15, 21 and addresses the Roman Christians emphatically as **adelphoi mou** in 15:14. However, Paul's change to use "neighbour" (**plēsion**) to denote the relation between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians is probably most significant. In the undisputed Pauline epistles, **plēsion** occurs only four times out of seventeen times in the NT (Rm. 13: 9, 10; here, Gal. 5:14; cf. Eph. 4:25). In all other three instances (Rm. 13:9, 10 and Gal. 5:14), the reference is obviously related to Lev. 19:18 which presumes that neighbours are those outside the circle of blood relation. Thus although it is difficult to differentiate exactly the use of **adelphos** and **plēsion** to refer to the fellow-Christians in the NT, the use of **plēsion** probably refers to a wider sphere than the use of **adelphos**; see Greeven (TDNT, VI: 317); Guenther (NIDNTT, I: 257). Furthermore, Kaesemann (R, 1980: 381) suggests that **plesion** in 15:2 also recalls the context of the commandment of love in Lev. 19:18 (cf. 13:9, 10); see also Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 731 n.3); although the word **areskein** is used here instead of **agapē**. However, we suggest that the shift of Paul's uses of addressing fellow-Christians as **adelphos** (14: 10, 13, 15, 21) to **plēsion** (15:2) and the shift of the use of **agapē** to **areskein** indicate that Paul had in mind a new context. It is the context of the situation of Roman Christians who belonged to the Christian community of Rome and yet not to the same house churches. Therefore, they were **adelphos** and also **plēsion**.

105. In the original OT quotation, it is the righteous sufferer who

speaks to God that the reproaches levelled against God have fallen upon him. In 15:2, Paul identifies Christ with the righteous sufferer who endures suffering on behalf of God; see Black (R, 1973: 172); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 733). In the context of 15: 1-4, the purpose of the OT quotation is certainly to emphasize the lengths to which Christ went in his not pleasing himself in order to encourage the Gentile Christians in Rome to identify themselves with the example of Christ; see Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 733); Achtemeier (R, 1985: 224).

106. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 381).

107. It is noteworthy that Paul's OT quotations are virtually confined to his four Hauptbriefe; see discussion in Ellis (1957: 30ff.). Among them Romans has the most extensive quotations; see the table in Ellis (1957: 150ff.). However, there are only two instances in Romans where Paul gives a qualification for the significance of his quotation. One is in 3:19 and the other is here. In 3:19 Paul seems to imply that his use of the OT quotations in Romans is understood by his addressees as primarily instructions to the Jews; cf. Nygren (R, 1944: 142); Dodd (R, 1959: 72); Black (R, 1973: 64); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 196). For discussion of the interpretation of "the law" in 3:19 as "Scriptures", see Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 80); Bultmann (1952, I: 259f.); Kuss (R, 1957: 108); Dodd (R, 1959: 72); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 195f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 87). However, in 15:4 Paul asserts that "For whatever was written in former days was written for our instruction." Since the primary addressees of this passage were the Gentile Christians, Paul probably felt the need to make this qualification. Thus, Paul wanted to make it clear here that the Scripture was written not only for the Jews but also for Christians in general, including the Gentile Christians.

108. See **note 65** above.

109. See Dunn (1983b: 30).

110. The meaning of **agathon** is not clear here. Barrett (R, 1962: 269) suggests that it refers to the good purpose of "building up"; Kaesemann (R, 1980: 381) suggests that it refers to "what is beneficial in the comprehensive sense, and that is interpreted by **oikodomē**". However, Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 428; 1979, II: 666, 732) follows Calvin in suggesting that it refers to "salvation". Nevertheless, we suggest that if we see the "good" as the "good" of the Jewish Christians, then it refers to the necessity of the Jewish Christians to be in fellowship with the Gentile Christians as according to the truth of the gospel. Unless the Jewish Christians are united with the Gentile Christians, their faith is not wholly compatible with the faith of Abraham (Rm. 4). See our discussion in **Ch. 9** below.

111. See **note 98** above.

112. See Dunn (1983b: 31f.).

113. So Senior & Stuhlmueller (1983: 182). Dunn (1977: 254) suggests that Paul's advice in Rm. 14:1 - 15:6 is more in line with the policy of Peter and Barnabas at Antioch than in accord with his own strongly worded principle in Gal. 2: 11-14. To some scholars, Peter and Barnabas' policy was in line with Paul's principle stated in I Cor. 9: 20-23; see Richardson (1979-80: 347f.). However, the difference of Paul's position in Gal. and Rm. seems to be that those occupying the superior position in Gal. were Jewish Christians while those

in Rm. were Gentile Christians. Thus in Gal., the issue is the danger of Judaizing which requires a Gentile Christian to become a Jew if he is to become a member of God's people, while in Rm. the issue is the danger of a Jewish Christian becoming a Jewish or a Christian apostate in the process of building up the relationship between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians.

114. Watson (1986: 96) suggests that "by far the greater concession is demanded of the Jews." However, he seems to overlook the diversified attitude among Jews towards Gentiles who would like to become members of God's people; the most famous case is recorded in Josephus AJ, XX: 34-48 in which Izates, king of Adiabene, was told by a certain Jewish merchant, Ananias, that he could "worship God even without being circumcised if indeed he had fully decided to be a devoted adherent of Judaism" (AJ, XX: 41). However, when another Jew, named Eleazar, who came from Galilee, met the king, he urged him to carry out the rite (AJ, XX: 43-46); see also Feldman's discussion of this issue at the footnote a of AJ, XX: 43;cf. Hengel (1979: 116); Dunn (1983b: 23). See also McEleney (1973-74), who adduces evidence from Jewish writings and suggests that the requirement of circumcision was not always strictly observed if special circumstance made it appear undesirable; but see also the critique by Nolland (1981). Furthermore, there was probable difference between the Jewish Christians and the 'orthodox' Jews in their understanding of what is required of Gentile Christians if they are to become God's people; see **note 48** above.

115. The other prayer-wishes in Romans are all in ch.15 (vv.13 and 33); see Wiles (1974: 299f.); Cranfield (R. 1979, II: 736). Wiles (1974: 91) classifies 16:20a as a doubtful "wish-prayer" [his term] in Romans. Cf. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 383), who calls this form a "prayerful request".

116. Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 396) straightforwardly suggest that here is Paul's prayer for the unity of the community. Murray (R, 1965, II: 200) recognizes that "these verses are not directly in the form of prayer addressed to God" and suggests that "they are in the form of a wish addressed to man that God would accomplish in them the implied exhortation, an eloquent way of doing two things at the same time, exhortation to men and prayer to God." Although Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 736) hesitates to accept Murray's interpretation, he suggests that "it is surely more closely akin to prayer than to exhortation. In fact it is really tantamount to a prayer."

117. Murray (R, 1965: 200).

118. See Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 736).

119. Most scholars suggest that 15: 1-13 is part of Paul's exhortation which starts from 14:1; see Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 383f.); Nygren (R, 1944: 441); Michel (R, 1978: 418); Cranfield (R 1979: 690); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 364); Wilckens (R, 1982, III: 79); Achtemeier (R, 1985: 214). However, Dodd (R, 1959: 217); Bruce (R, 1963: 243) and Dunn (1987b: 2881) consider that there is a division between 15:6, and v.7. Dunn suggests that 15: 7-13 is "intended to round off the body of the letter, both the theological treatise and the resulting paraenesis, and to link the argument of the letter into the more personal concern to follow." However, while 15: 1-6 and 7-13 are obviously to a certain extent parallel in thought; so Black (R, 1973: 171) and Dunn (1987b: 2881); and vv. 7-13 alludes to some vocabulary in the earlier part of the letter,

such as "God's truthfulness" (v.8a; cf. 1:18, 25; 2:8; 3:4, 7); "the promise to the fathers" (v.8b; cf. 2: 25-9; 4: 9-22; 9:4, 8-9) and "God's mercy to Gentiles (v.9, cf. 9: 15-18, 23; 11: 30-2); see Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 741 n.4; 742, 744 n.2); Dunn (1987b: 2881); we suggest that in 15: 7-13 Paul connects his exhortations to the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome (14:1 - 15:6) with his theological argument in Rm. 1-11; cf. Wuellner (1976: 171f.). Thus 15: 5-6 can be seen as a conclusive prayer-wish of 14:1 - 15:4, but the significance of Rm. 14:1 - 15:6 can only be fully understood if we also take 15: 7-13 into account. Therefore, in our present study, we consider 14:1 - 15:13 as one integrated passage.

120. See Murray (R, 1965, II: 201); Black (R, 1973: 172); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 737); Kaeseman (R, 1980: 383).

121. The expression **to auto phronein** occurs also in Rm. 12:16a; here; II Cor. 13:11; Phil. 2:2a, 4:2; cf. Gal. 5:10; Phil. 3:15. In all these places it surely means 'think the same thing', 'be in agreement', 'live in harmony', 'be of the same mind', or 'have a common mind'; see A-G: 874; Barrett (R, 1962: 241, 270); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 642, 737).

122. Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 737) suggests that it is not easy to decide what kind of agreement is referred to and Paul has not presumed to decide already in his own mind the exact content of the agreement he desires to be given.

123. Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 737)

124. Leenhardt (R, 1957: 363); cf. Brunner (R, 1956: 120).

125. See Watson (1986: 97f.). As a matter of fact, in Rm. 14:1 - 15:13, Paul does not 'denounce' the practices of the 'weak' or see the practices of the 'weak' and the 'strong' as 'antithesis'. Watson's 'sociological model' is not applicable to Rm. 14:1 - 15:13.

126. See discussion in Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 396); Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 737); Michaelis (TDNT, IV: 669); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 383); Murray (R 1965, II: 201); Brunner (R, 1956: 120) and Wilckens' (R, 1982, III: 102).

127. The word **homothumadon** occurs quite often in the LXX, but in the NT, apart from 15: 6, only in Acts (1:14; 2:46; 4:24; 5:12; 7:57; 8:6; 12:20; 15:25; 18:12; 19:29). In Acts 1:14; 2:46; 4:24; 5:12; 8:6; 15:25; it is used to denote the Christian community which is in a setting of gathering together. In Acts 4:24, although the word **stoma** does not occur, **homothumadon** is linked with the praise of God by the congregation with one voice. This is perhaps the setting which Paul has in mind in 15:6. Furthermore, the phrase **eis doxan tou theou** in v.7 probably also has a liturgical ring as well; see Michel (R, 1978: 447 n.20).

128. In v.6, many commentators pay attention to the difficulty of translating the words **ton theon kai patera tou kuriou hēmōn Iēsou Christou**; see Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 396f.); Murray (R, 1965, II: 201f.); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 738). However, as far as our study is concerned, the most significant thing to be noted is the change of the second personal plural pronouns **humin** in v.5 to the first personal plural pronouns **hēmōn** in v.6. In this context, **hēmōn** is connected with the confessional formula "Jesus Christ our Lord". In Romans, the similar usage for 'our Lord' is numerous, 1:4, 7; 4:24; 5:1, 11, 21; 6:23; 7:25; 8:39; 15:30; 16:18, 20, 24. For discussion on 'We' as Christians in general, see Cranfield (1982a: 221f.). For discussion of of "Jesus is Lord", see Dunn (1977: 50).

129. See Leenhardt (R, 1957: 363 n*); Barrett (R, 1962: 270); Michel (R, 1978: 447 n.17); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 738); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 383).
130. It is significant that some modern sociologists recognize the importance of rituals in building up a religious community. Mol (1976: 237) suggests that "rituals consolidate beliefs as well as customs". McGuire (1981: 71) says, "Ritual is one particularly important aspect of a group gathering. By ritual, the group symbolizes meanings significant to itself. Ritual gives symbolic form to group unity, and participating individuals symbolically affirm their commitment."
131. See **note 119** above.
132. In 15:7, instead of **hēmas**, most scholars and translators prefer the reading of **humas**; see e.g. Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 397); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 364); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 739); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 385); Wilckens (R, 1982: 105 n.499); cf. Metzger (1971: 536); RSV; NIV; against NASB.
133. See Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 397); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 364); Murray (R, 1965, II: 203); Michel (R, 1978: 447); Wilckens (R, 1982, III: 105). Against Kaesemann (R, 1980: 385), who fails to see that Rm. 15: 7-13 is oriented to both the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome; he suggests that 15: 9-12 is not concerned with the unity of the Church but the acceptance of the Gentiles as an eschatological miracle.
134. For discussion of the various explanations of v.9, see Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 742f.). However, as far as our study is concerned, our emphasis of the role of Christ as related to the Gentiles is not disputed; see Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 398); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 364f.); Barrett (R, 1962: 271f.); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 743); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 385f.).
135. Against Barrett (R, 1962: 272); Murray (R, 1965, II: 206), who see these quotations referring only to the Gentiles in v.9a but not also the Jews in v.8; see Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 744f.).
136. The four OT quotations in 15:9b, 10, 11, 12 come from LXX Ps. 17:50; Deut. 32:43; Ps. 116:1 and Is. 11:10. The common keyword among these quotations is **ethnē**; see Ellis (1957: 49f.); Cranfield (R, 1979: 744ff.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 386).
137. Many scholars agree that Ps. 18 is introduced as a psalm sung by David; so Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 398); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 365); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 745). However, while this passage (LXX Ps. 17:49ff.) is explained messianically in the Midrash, Lam. R. I, 16:51; see Ellis (1957: 57); some scholars suggest that Christ is meant rather than David; so Lagrange (R, 1950: 347); Cranfield (R, 1979: 745f.); cf. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 386). Kaesemann (R, 1980: 386) suggests that Paul may have seen in the psalmist's words a foreshadowing of his own mission as the Jewish apostle of the Gentiles; cf. Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 745). Nevertheless, in either one of these cases, it is obvious that the subject of the first person singular verbs **exhomologēsomai** and **psalō** is definitely a Jew but not a Gentile. In the context of 14:1 - 15:13, it is more reasonable to understand the quotation as Paul's evidence for an individual Jew worshipping God among the Gentiles in the OT.
138. Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 746) and Kaesemann (R, 1980: 386) recognize that the word **euphrainein** is used in the setting of cultic worship.
139. Barrett (R, 1962: 18, 272), also Bornkamm (1969: 249) and Wilckens (R, 1982 III: 108), unlike most scholars, acknowledge

the similar reference to the Davidic descent of Jesus in 15:12 and 1:3; however, they do not indicate the significance of this similarity. As a matter of fact, Paul does not refer to the Davidic descent of Jesus in other extant undisputed letters (except in Rm. 1:3 and 15:12 ; cf. II Tim 2:8). We suggest that Paul's emphasis on Jesus as a Jewish messiah of the Gentiles at the beginning and closing of his letter to the Romans is probably related to his purpose of writing this letter and the content of this letter as a whole; see our discussion in **Ch.9** below.

140. So Knox (R, 1954: 640); Barrett (R, 1962: 272).

141. It is more probable that the genitive **tēs elpidos** is the genitive to describe God as the source of hope rather than the object of hope; see Knox (R, 1954: 640); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 744); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 387); against Murray (R, 1965, II: 207).

142. Although the phrase **en tōi pisteuein** is omitted in a few ancient manuscripts, many scholars agree that it should be regarded as original; see Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 748 n.4); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 387).

143. It is significant that the terms "hope', "joy", "peace", "faith", "Holy Spirit" also occur in 5: 1-5. Knox (R, 1954: 640) suggests that 15:13 must be interpreted in the light of 5: 1-5, of which it is a brief summary.

144. Black (R, 1973: 173) rightly acknowledges that 15: 9-13 not only sums up the conclusion of the argument between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians, but also the main theme and purpose of Romans. However, he is not totally right to identify "the furthering of the Gentile mission of the Apostle to the Gentiles" as the main theme and purpose of Romans; his emphasis.

145. Wuellner (1976: 171f.) calls Rm. 14: 1 - 15: 13 an exemplum in which the practical results of the theological argumentation first introduced in the exordium (1: 1-15) and carried out in 1: 16 - 11: 36 are "concretized"; see also Jewett (1982b: 23f.).

146. Watson (1986: 106) rightly supposes that "the Romans Jewish Christian congregation had not yet adopted an attitude of sectarian separation from non-Christian fellow-Jews." However, he wrongly contends that "the evidence in Rm. 14 about the Jewish Christians' diet (abstention from all meat and wine) suggests that after the return to Rome which followed the expulsion by Claudius, they were forced to accept a certain degree of separation from the Romans Jewish community as a whole" (cf. p.95); se discussion in Section I.A above.

147. Minear (1971: 30; cf. 40, 54, 81, 86).

CHAPTER SIX

The Situation of the Roman Christians and Paul's Purpose in Writing Romans: The Relationship Between Rm. 14: 1 - 15: 13 and 15: 14 - 33

I. Personae Analysis

Most commentators agree that 15: 14 - 33 marks the beginning of the final section of the letter.[1] In it, the themes mentioned in the beginning of the letter (1: 8-15) are recalled.[2]

Paul starts this passage with a strong first person singular verb **pepeismai** to indicate that he has a firm and settled conviction[3] about the spiritual maturity of the Christians in Rome. He emphatically uses the phrase **autos egō peri humōn** to denote the I - You relationship between himself and the Roman Christians and addresses them as **adelphoi mou**.[4] This evidence indicates that, although Paul had not yet visited Rome when he wrote this letter, he did not feel himself a stranger to them nor they strangers to him. The climax for Paul in indicating his personal and intimate relationship with the Roman Christians probably comes at ch.16, where Paul greets a number of Roman Christians by name.[5]

In 15: 14-33, **egō** and its various cases occur nine times,[6] first person singular verbs occur sixteen times,[7] **humeis** and its various cases occur fourteen times,[8] but a

second person plural verb occurs only once (v.14). In contrast, second person singular pronouns and verbs are all missing, and a first person plural pronoun occurs only once (v.30).

As a matter of fact, this passage together with 1: 1-17 and ch.16 are the three passages in Romans in which first person singular pronouns most frequently occur to denote Paul[9] and likewise second person plural pronouns to denote Roman Christians as a whole.[10] The only occurrence of the first person plural pronoun is certainly used to denote Paul and the Roman Christians together.[11]

Thus it is quite probable that this passage provides evidence which enables us to understand: (1) *Paul's knowledge about the Roman Christians;* (2) *his expectations from them*; and (3) *the images by which Paul presented himself to them*. As far as our present study is concerned, we will discuss these three areas of concern which are significant to our hypothesis in the following sections.

II. Paul's knowledge of the Romans Christians (15:14)

Right at the beginning of this final section of the letter, Paul emphatically praises the Roman Christians as:
(1) full of goodness (**agathōsunēs**);[12]
(2) filled with all knowledge (**gnōseōs**);[13] and
(3) able to instruct one another (**allēlous nouthetein**).[14]

Barrett suggests that these descriptions are evidence of an instance of captatio benevolentiae designed to secure Paul's relationship with the Roman Christians.[15] This is probably a correct observation; however, it does not mean

that Paul is insincere or that the sentiments expressed are simply flattering phrases.[16] As a matter of fact, Paul is consistent in the letter in praising the faith of the Roman Christians. He has praised their faith right at the beginning of the letter (1:8), and also praises their obedience to Christian teaching in 6:17 and 16:19.[17] This evidence probably reveals more about Paul's knowledge of the situation of the Roman Christians,[18] and of how he makes use of this knowledge to establish a closer relationship with them.[19]

Perhaps the occurrence of these positive descriptions in 15: 14 is due to Paul feeling the need to affirm his understanding of the spiritual maturity of the Christians in Rome after his strong exhortation in 14:1 - 15:13.[20] In that passage, Paul identified the conflict and problems faced by the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome. These problems are related to the most important and complicated theological and practical issues, viz.:

(1) how could the Jewish Christians maintain fellowship with non-Christian Jews on the one hand and fellowship with Gentile Christians on the other; and
(2) how could Gentile Christians build up a fellowship with Jewish Christians without becoming Jews?

In short, the issue at stake was the continuity and discontinuity between Judaism and Christian faith. Therefore, the problems were not because of the spiritual immaturity of the Roman Christians.[21] On the contrary, Paul's exhortation in 14:1 - 15:13 assumed that the Roman

Christians, including both Jewish and Gentile Christians, had the spiritual maturity to solve the problems. Both Paul's praise of them at 15:14 and his expression at 15:15 that he writes the letter as a reminder [22] support this assumption.

Furthermore, Paul's praise of the Roman Christians as a whole may also have the effect of counterbalancing the label of "weak in faith" (14:1) or "the weak" (15:1) which was probably given to the minority Jewish Christians by the majority Gentile Christians.[23] Since Paul identified himself with the Gentile Christians at 15:1, he probably felt the need to remind the Roman Christians of the fact that he did not take the stance that the Jewish Christians' observance of the Jewish ceremonial laws was by itself wrong, or a sign of spiritual immaturity.

Paul's use of the phrase "to admonish one another" (NASB; **allēlous nouthetein**) here is very significant. It is most probable that he wanted to recall those **allēlous** phrases in 14:13a, 19; 15:5 and 7; in which the main concern is the relationship between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians with special reference to participation in worship and communal meals held at each other's house churches.

The word **nouthetеō** occurs only eight times in the NT, and all are related to Paul.[24] Besides Romans, the other three occurrences in the undisputed Pauline letters are I Thess. 5:12, 14 and I Cor. 4:14. In I Thess. 5:12. **nouthetеō** is clearly used to denote a function of the leaders in the Christian community to instruct and to

correct the behaviour of the congregation (cf. Acts 20:31)[25] and in I Thess. 5:14, it is used to denote a characteristic in the life of the church (cf. Col. 1:28; 3:16).[26] Moreover, in I Cor. 4:14, Paul sees those who received his admonition as his "beloved children" (cf. Eph. 6:4; Wis. 11:10; "as a brother" in II Thess. 3:15).[27]

Therefore, in the context of 14:1 - 15:13, Paul's use of the phrase **allēlous nouthetein** in 15:14d probably indicates that he had in mind not the life of the Roman Christian community in general but specifically the ability (**dunamenoi**) of the Jewish and the Gentile Christians to admonish one another in their house churches and also the need to build a close relationship between them.

In this case, Paul's praise of the Roman Christian community as a whole in 15:14 probably implies that he knows the situation of the Roman Christian community in suggesting that the Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians in Rome can benefit from one another's spiritual experience. In Paul's mind, they could correct and complement one another in their Christian life. This recalls Paul's affirmation about the significance of the building up of a Roman Jewish-Gentile Christian community net-work in 15: 7-13; it is also in line with his address to the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome from his perspective as a Jewish Christian and his experience as an apostle to the Gentiles in the following passages (vv. 16-21, 25-27)[28] and in Rm. 1-11.

III. Paul's Expectations from the Roman Christians (15: 15, 22-24, 28-33)

In 15: 14-33, Paul expressed his three most obvious expectations[29] from the Roman Christians:

A. Paul expects Roman Christians to 'be reminded' by his letter (15: 15)

After Paul has explicitly praised the spiritual maturity of the Roman Christians in 15:14, he provides a reason for his writing of the letter. He indicates that his letter is expected to be a reminder to the Roman Christians (**h s epanamimnē/iskōn humas**).[30] The double compound verb **epanamimnēskō** is found in the Greek Bible only here. Michel points out that in both the Jewish and the Greek world, the word has almost the technical sense of repeating a tradition.[31] It implies that what Paul has said in the preceding part of the letter is supposedly known by the Roman Christians already. This understanding is consistent with Paul's praise of the Roman Christians in v.14 and recalls the extensive OT quotations and his use of various pieces of traditional material in Romans (e.g. 1: 3-4; 3:24; 4: 24-25; 8:34f., 10:9). However, the most important question to be asked is: ***what are the "subjects" and the "function" of the reminder?*** In other words, the question is related to the ***theme(s)*** and the ***purpose(s)*** of the letter. Although v.15 does not provide any answer to this question, it probably hints that some clues will be found in the following passages.

B. Paul expects the Roman Christians to support his mission to Spain after he comes to Rome (15: 22-24, 28, 29)

In 15: 22-24, there are five second person plural pronouns. The sequence and the actions related to these five pronouns are listed as follows:

(1) I was hindered from coming to you (**enekoptomēn .... tou elthein pros humas**, v.22);
(2) I have longed to come to you (**epipothian de ech n tou elthein pros humas**, v.23);
(3) I hope to see you in passing (**elpizō gar diaporeuomenos theasasthai humas**, v.24b) as I go to Spain (v.24a);
(4) I hope to be sent forth by you with funds, supplies and escort (**huph humōn propemphthēnai**, v.24c);[32] and
(5) *if* I may "***first be satisfied with you***" for a while (**ean humōn prōton apo merous emplēsthō**, v.24d).

These three verses indicate the implementation of the apostolic parousia and form a major theme of 15: 14-33.[33] *There are clear parallel elements which also occur in 1:11ff.:*[34]

(1) an expression of a wish to come to Rome (1:10c, 13a; 15:23);
(2) an expression of a desire or eagerness to see the Roman Christians (1:11a; 15:24b); and
(3) a statement that Paul has so far been hindered or prevented from coming (1:13b; 15:22).

However, *compared with 1: 11ff., there are at least four new elements in 15: 22-24:*

(1) Paul will visit Rome only in passing;
(2) Paul's main concern here is his mission to Spain;
(3) Paul wishes the Roman Christians to support his Gentile mission to Spain; and
(4) Paul expresses his wish -- which he hopes to be fulfilled beforehand -- 'to be satisfied' with the Roman Christians in the last clause of this passage, and that clause is a ***conditional one***.

Among these four elements, the last one deserves some detailed discussion. This element occurs as the last (fifth) item in the sequence of actions related to the occurrence of the five second person plural pronouns as stated at the beginning of this Section. However, if the items in the list are arranged according to their time sequence, the last (fifth) item is the only item which is out of order as it should be listed between items three and four. In other words, Paul's 'satisfaction' with the Roman Christians when he met them at Rome should happen after Paul had seen them but before he would be sent forth by them. However, ***Paul places this item in an odd position, probably to indicate that he wanted to single it out as a crucial event which could affect the happening of others.***[35]

Moreover, as this item is expressed in a subjunctive mood, it further suggests that ***the event is a prerequisite*** before the following event in which Paul would be sent forth by the Roman Christians could happen.[36] Thus this clause implies that ***Paul is expecting something to happen***

among the Roman Christians. If that is the case, a clearer understanding of 15: 24d is necessary.

The key word in v.24d is the compound word **empimplemi** which occurs only five times in the NT.[37] It means "to satisfy" or in passive, "to be satisfied".[38] Paul uses this compound word only once in his extant letters, and it seems to be used figuratively for the stilling of a desire.[39] All other cases in the NT most probably refer to the satisfaction which comes from eating food.[40] *Thus it is difficult to be certain what Paul means by saying that he may be satisfied with the Roman Christians* (**ean humōn ..... emplēsthō**).[41]

Leenhardt,[42] Wuellner,[43] and Wilckens[44] suggest that Paul refers back to 1:11ff. and he is looking forward to enjoying spiritual exchange with the Roman Christians. However, the first person singular aorist subjunctive passive verb **emplēsthō** clearly indicates that *Paul is the one who would be satisfied* and there is no evidence here denoting "mutual benefit" as in 1:11ff..

Delling and some scholars suggest that it is the *fellowship* with the Roman Christians which would make Paul satisfied.[45] This suggestion is reasonable but the genitive **humōn** seems to suggest that the focus of **emplēsthō** would more probably be on the *situation of the Roman Christians*. Following this line of thought Kettunen points out that the phrase **hotan plērōthē/i humōn hē hupakoē** in II Cor. 10:6b is a good parallel to Rm. 15:24d and indicates that it is the *obedience* of the Roman Christians which would make Paul satisfied.[46] This suggestion seems to be quite possible but

not satisfactory, because there is obvious evidence in Romans which suggests that Paul was *already* satisfied with the quality of faith of the Roman Christians (1: 8; 6: 17; 15: 14; cf. 16: 19).

Nevertheless, ***the only specific problem*** which Paul feels obliged to deal with in the letter in a detailed way ***is the relationship between the Jewish and the Gentile house churches described in 14:1 - 15:13***. Therefore in our opinion, ***it is more reasonable to understand the conditional clause in v.24d as denoting Paul's personal concern about the relationship between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome***. He is quite certain that unless the Jewish and the Gentile Christians were willing to welcome one another and participate in worship and communal meals held at their house churches (15: 7), he would not be welcomed by ***both*** the Jewish and the Gentile Chritians in Rome. Thus in 15: 24d Paul is probably indicating that he would be satisfied if he could first have fellowship ***with a well-interrelated Roman Christian community*** for a while before he went to Spain. This understanding would be more significant if we accept the suggestion that there were possibly some Jewish communities existing in Spain at that time and that Paul would expect some Roman Jewish Christians to be his companions on the journey to Spain (cf. v. 24c).[47] ***Therefore Paul's exhortation in 14:1 - 15:13 is probably directly related to his mission to Spain***. If he could successfully persuade the Jewish and the Gentile Christians to build up a Christian community net-work in Rome, he could get support from the net-work to launch his Gentile mission to Spain.

It is most significant that Paul mentions his coming to Rome on his journey to Spain again in 15:28, 29. In other words these two apostolic parousia passages (15: 22-24 and 15:28, 29), *'bracket'* Paul's plan to bring the Gentile collection to Jerusalem (15: 25-27), the last task which he has to accomplish before he could come to Rome. This arrangement fits in with our interpretation of 15: 22-24 very well. It implies that ***Paul's expectation of receiving fellowship and support from a well-interrelated Roman Christian community is directly related to the significance of his trip to Jerusalem: the action which symbolizes the importance of the unity between the Jewish and Gentile Christians.***

Thus Paul concretely expresses his expectation of the Roman Christian community ***as a whole*** that they will support his Gentile mission to Spain; however, he also indicates that this plan would be realized *if* he could successfully ***remind*** the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome of the significance and importance of the unity between them.[48] In short, ***Paul expects the Roman Christians to build up a Christian community net-work to support his Spanish mission.***[49] This is probably one of the main purposes and themes of Paul's writing of the letter as a reminder, which we will investigate further in our following study.

C. Paul Expects Roman Christians to Pray Together for His Visit to Jerusalem and His Coming to Rome (15: 30-33)

Paul starts a new paragraph with the emphatic first person singular verb **parakaleō** to exhort[50] the Roman

Christians to struggle together with him (**sunagōnisasthai moi**) in their prayers to God on his behalf (**huper emou**). The urgency of these prayers is made very clear by Paul's appeal to the authority of Jesus Christ and the love of the Spirit.

The objectives of the prayers are explicitly expressed by Paul as[51]

(a) he may be delivered from the non-Christian Jews (**apeithountōn**)[52] in Judaea (v.31a);
(b) his service for Jerusalem may be acceptable to the Jewish Christians (v.31b); and
(c) he may come to Rome with joy and be refreshed with the Roman Christians (**sunanapausōmai humin**, v.32).

As far as the relationship between this passage and 14:1 - 15:13 is concerned, there are four most significant observations:

1. Paul uses **parakaleō** to start this new paragraph. The verb occurs four times in Romans (12:1, 8; here and 16:17); and its noun occurs only three times (12:8; 15:4, 5). In 12:8, both the verb and the noun occur. They obviously denote exhortation as a function in the church.[53] It is most probable that the same understanding is assumed in all three **parakaleō** clauses in 12:1; 15:30 and 16:17.

   Bjerkelund gives a comprehensive study of the **parakaleō** clauses which occur in the papyri, inscriptions and NT, and suggests that in letters of

antiquity and also in the Pauline letter, the writers' *original main concern* (eigentliche Anliegen) is expressed in sentences introduced by a **parakaleō** clause.[54] Based on this understanding, Jervell argues that the reason for Paul to write Romans is expressed in 15: 30-32 and that it is his concern for his journey to Jerusalem.[55] Nevertheless, Jervell's choice of 15: 30-32 and rejection of 12:1 and 16:17 for his argument is arbitrary.[56] In fact, if Bjerkelund's suggestion is to be used, Paul's original main concern in writing Romans should be expressed by the ***common concern*** of these three **parakaleō** clauses.

It is significant that in 12:1-8, Paul obviously uses cultic language (vv.1-2) to denote a context of corporate worship and thus indicates that the difference between members should not affect the building up of the relationships into one body in Christ.[57] In 16:17, the warning introduced in vv.17-20 is probably directed against those teachings which could divide the relationship between the house churches in Rome (cf. 16: 3-16).[58] In 15:30, as we have mentioned above, the main objectives of the prayers include Paul's deliverance from the non-Christian Jews and the acceptance of his service by the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem. These objectives indicate that the relationships between Paul, non-Christian Jews and Jewish Christians are at stake. As will be shown in the next Section, we argue that the phrase **sunagōnisasthai moi** in 15:30 implies that Paul has in mind not only his own situation but also the situation of the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in

Rome. In other words, *the common concern of these three expressions is the tension in the relationships among Roman Christians*. This is surely consistent with our findings in 14: 1 - 15: 13, and 15: 24 above. Thus in 15: 30 it is probable that *Paul uses a parakaleō clauses to denote his main concern in urging the Roman Christians to take action in dealing with the strains and tensions which exist among them.*

2. The two **sun**-compound verbs in this passage, **sunagōnizomai** (v.30) and **sunanapausōmai** (v.32) occur only once in the NT. In fact, this is the only occurrence of **sunagōnizomai** in the Greek Bible[59] and the only other occurrence of **sunanapausōmai** in it is LXX Is. 11:6.[60] In this context, Paul's use of these two **sun**-compound verbs[61] probably suggests that he expected not only a bond between himself and the Roman Christians, but also a close relationship among Christians in Rome. The evidence is as follows:

(a) Paul exhorted them to pray ***together*** in worship (v.30).[62] This was possible only if they agreed to follow Paul's admonition in 14:1 - 15:13. The act of praying together for some concrete objectives could certainly further strengthen the commitment of the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome to the upbuilding of the net-work.[63] Wiles rightly points out that[64] "this appeal for prayer (15:30) .... elicits the immediate co-operation of the readers, in the atmosphere of fellowship that would be symbolized by the kiss of peace" (cf. 16: 16).

(b) Paul recalled his expectation in 15:24d that he was looking forward to having a peaceful and refreshing *fellowship with them as a well-interrelated community* when he arrived in Rome (v.32).[65]

However, these two sun-compound verbs also characterize *the interim period between the receiving of Paul's letter by the Roman Christians and receiving him in person.* It is a critical period for both Paul and the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome. It is quite probable that the phrase **sunagōnizesthai moi** is not used to suggest a picture of prayer as a struggle but Paul's invitation to the Jewish and the Gentile Christians to participate in his coming struggle.[66] This does not mean that Paul is inviting them to send delegates and a collection to Jerusalem with him or to do something to support his visit of Jerusalem.[67] Rather, Paul is probably indicating that his struggle in Jerusalem is of the same nature as their struggle in Rome.[68] So, in exhorting them to struggle "together" with him in prayers, he is not only asking them to provide spiritual support in his struggle by praying on behalf of him[69] but also is urging them to join together in praying for their own struggle in Rome.[70] From the rhetorical point of view, Paul's emphatic language here is probably used to stimulate in himself the emotion he wishes from his addressees.[71]

The athletic metaphor of **agōn** perhaps also recalls Paul's exhortation in 14:19 that the Roman Christians

should pursue (diōkō)[72] the building up of a Christian community net-work in Rome. Furthermore, the notion of exhorting the Roman Christians to pray together also recalls the function of the prayer-wish in 15: 5f. which is probably urging Roman Christians to do what they can toward the fulfilment of their own prayers. Thus, if both Paul and the Roman Christians were successful ***together*** in their struggle, Paul would certainly come to Rome with joy and they would have a refreshing rest ***together*** (**sunanapausōmai humin**, v.32). The **sunanapausōmai** probably also recalls **sumparaklēthēnai** in 1:12,[73] which denotes Paul's expectation of a mutual-benefit relationship between him and the Roman Christians as a whole. Furthermore, a refreshing rest is no doubt the most appropriate reward in their struggle for peaceful relationships between Gentile Christians, Jewish Christians and non-Christian Jews. This hope is fully expressed in the final prayer-wish that "the God of ***peace*** be with ***you all***" (v.33). The word **eirēnē** certainly recalls the theme expressed in 14:17, 19 and 15:13; the phrase **pantōn humōn** recalls Paul's salutation to all his addressees in 1: 7, 8.[74]

3. Among the objectives of the prayers, the first two refer to Paul's struggle in Jerusalem and the last one refers to his success in the struggle and his subsequent coming to Rome. The struggle in Jerusalem is the possible attack upon Paul by the non-Christian Jews and also the rejection of him by the Jewish Christians. From the text we do not know much about the real situation in Jerusalem. However, it is clear that Paul is talking

about two relationships:
(a) his relationship with the non-Christian Jews, and
(b) his relationship with the Jewish Christians.

It is possible that the non-Christian Jews would attack him as a Jewish apostate and the Jewish Christians would reject his Gentile collection because his Gentile Christians were not God's people.[75] As a matter of fact, in the 50's of the first century, the boundary between non-Christian Jews and Christian Jews in Jerusalem was most probably unclear. However, it is significant that, although Paul indicates in the text his awareness of the problems he has to face in Jerusalem, he expresses them in a more rather than less positive way. He exhorts the Roman Christians to pray together with him for ***deliverance*** and the ***favourable acceptance*** (**euprosdektos**)[76] of him by the non-Christian Jews and the Jewish Christians respectively. He also exhorts them to pray for his success in the visit and his coming to Rome with ***joy***.

Many scholars are guilty of reading only the fear and anxiety expressed in Acts 20:18 - 21:14 (especially 20: 22-25, 38; 21:4f., 11ff.) into Rm. 15:30f.[77] As a matter of fact, if we take Paul's account in Rm. 15 only, Paul is full of ambition in 15:23-29 and his exhortation in 15:30ff. is expressed with a sense of hope.[78] Thus the ***main function*** of 15:30f. is not Paul's expression of fear and anxiety for the visit to Jerusalem, but probably his ***identification of the problems*** which he has to face in Jerusalem. In fact, the

two relationships which Paul identifies are the same issues which he discusses in 14:1 - 15:13, namely:

(a) the relationship between Jewish Christians and the non-Christian Jews, and

(b) the relationship between Gentile Christians and the Jewish Christians.

In 15: 30f. it is Paul who plays the role of both a Jewish Christian and a Gentile Christian. In fact, as will be shown below, these two roles coincide with the images which Paul presents of himself in 15: 16-21 and 25-29.[79]

Thus through identifying the problems which he would face in Jerusalem at the end of the letter, Paul shows not only that he is aware of the danger he has to face in Jerusalem[80] but also that he is concerned with the situation of the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome. He expresses his understanding of their situation and lets the Roman Christians know that he has to face the same problems as well. Nevertheless, Paul indicates that he is not going to quit but is prepared to try his best (cf. vv. 25 - 28) to face these problems. As we have argued above, in 15:30ff., he emphatically invites the Roman Christians to take action to struggle through the problems ***together*** with him.

It is by ***word*** and ***deed*** that Christ has wrought through Paul to win obedience from the Gentiles (15: 18); thus it is also by ***word*** (14: 1 - 15: 13) and ***deed*** (15: 30f.) that Paul expects Christ and Spirit (15: 30)

will work through him to persuade the Roman Christians to struggle through their different backgrounds, ethnicities, practices with regard to Jewish ceremonial laws to pray together, and thus to build up a Christian community net-work in Rome.

4. We have mentioned above that 15: 14 - 33 is one of three passages in Romans in which first person singular pronouns to denote Paul, and second person plural pronouns to denote the Roman Christians as a whole occur most frequently. However, it is most significant that there is ***only one*** occurrence of the ***first person plural pronoun*** in the whole passage and it is used to qualify **kurios** in v.30.

When Paul starts the last paragraph of Rm. 15, he emphatically says: **parakalō de humas** [,**adelphoi**,][81] **dia kuriou hēmōn Iēsou Christou** (v.30a). It is obvious that the 'I' (the subject of **parakal**) and 'you' join together in the confession of Jesus Christ as 'our' Lord (cf.15: 6).[82] Thus this confession is the authority through which Paul appealed in his request that they might find common ground for their struggle together and rest together. This obviously recalls Paul's exhortation in 14:1 - 15:13 that ***the lordship of Christ is the ground and the model for the unity of the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome***.

Furthermore, Paul also appeals to the "love of the Spirit" in his exhortation. The notion of 'love' probably recalls 14:15a to remind the Roman Christians that love is the foundation for building up the

relationship among themselves. As will be shown below (Chapter 9), the notion of 'Spirit' also probably recalls the hope Paul expresses in 1:11 that he wishes to impart some "spiritual gift" to strengthen the Roman Christians.

Thus our study of Paul's 'expectation' that the Roman Christians should pray together for his visit to Jerusalem and his coming to Rome has the following implications for our study:

(1) One of Paul's main concerns is to remind the Roman Christians to face the problems of the relationships between non-Christian Jews, Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians as mentioned in 14:1 - 15:13 and to indicate that he not only exhorts the Roman Christians to face the problems in words, but also practically faces the same problems by going to Jerusalem himself.

(2) Paul tries not only to enhance his relationship with the Roman Christians by expressing his need of spiritual support from them to face problems in Jerusalem, but also by persuading the Roman Christians to follow his exhortations by action: to pray together and thus build up a Christian community net-work in Rome before his arrival.

(3) Paul's account of his visit to Jerusalem does not support the opinion that Romans is merely a letter in preparation for his journey to Jerusalem; it is rather the evidence indicating that it is a letter prepared to assist his plan to visit Rome and Spain.

D. Conclusion

In our study of 15:15, 22-24, 28-33, we find that Paul explicitly expresses ***three expectations*** of the Roman Christians, namely:

(1) The Roman Christians would be reminded by his letter;

(2) The Roman Christians would support his mission to Spain; and

(3) The Roman Christians would pray and act together with him to solve the problem of tensions between the non-Christian Jews, the Jewish Christians and the Gentile Christians, in Jerusalem and in Rome.

These three expectations are in fact closely related. Paul was certain that unless the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome could be reminded about the significance and importance of the unity between themselves and the relationships between the non-Christian Jews and the Jewish Christians, he could not get the support he needed to launch the mission to Spain. In short, ***one of the main purposes of Paul's letter to Romans as disclosed in 15:14-33 is to persuade the Roman Christians to act according to his suggestions in 14:1 - 15:13 before he came to Rome from Jerusalem and then to support his planned mission to Spain.***

IV. Paul's Self-Images as Presented to the Roman Christians

A. Paul as the *Jewish* Apostle to the *Gentiles* (15: 16-21)

After Paul has praised the spiritual maturity of the Roman Christians and stated his intention of writing the letter as a reminder (vv.14f.), he indicates that the basis

of his authority to write and to remind them is the fact that he has received a special commission from God (v.15b) as a 'pioneer preacher'[83] to the Gentiles (vv.16ff.). In other words, the first image of himself which Paul chooses to present . . to the Roman Christians is his apostleship to the Gentiles. As will be shown in Chapter 8 below, this is also the case at the beginning of the letter (1: 1-5; cf. 11:13).

However, when we take a closer look at the image, we notice that it is presented in a very Jewish way:

(1) The use of the words: **leitourgos**,[84] **hierourgō**, **prosphora**, **euprosdektos**, and **hagiazō** in v.16 clearly indicate a cultic setting.[85] Paul certainly would not think of presenting offerings in any other cultic setting than in Jerusalem.[86] The Roman Jewish Christians would no doubt share the same understanding.

(2) The offering of the Gentiles to God in Jerusalem is surely an eschatological sign to the Jews.[87]

(3) Jerusalem is regarded as the starting point of Paul's preaching ministry (v.19a).[88]

(4) Paul preached the gospel of Messiah (v.19b; cf. 1: 1-4).[89]

(5) Paul's ministry is to fulfil the promise of LXX Is. 52:15b, (v.21).[90]

Furthermore, Paul's use of the emphatic **egō** to denote himself again in the beginning of this passage (15:14) probably also recalls those passages in which Paul uses **egō** to identify himself as an 'Israelite' (9:3; 11:1; cf.

3:7)[91] and to emphasize his calling as an apostle to the Gentiles (11:13). In fact, Paul's assertion of his status as an apostle to the Gentiles in 11:13 is made in the context of discussing the salvation of Israel (vv.11-15). In that verse, Paul probably refers back to 10:19 in saying that he has learned from Deut. 32:21 that his Gentile ministry is related to the salvation of Israel.[92] He hopes to provoke the jealousy of the non-Christian Jews and thus to save some of them. Thus Paul understands his apostleship to the Gentiles as closely linked to the mission to the Jews,[93] and there is a paradoxical interrelatedness between Jews and Gentiles in connection with salvation (cf. 11: 11-12, 15, 25b-31).[94] Paul's presentation of himself as a ***Jewish*** apostle to the ***Gentiles*** is probably intended to remind the Roman Christians that his mission to the Gentiles is at the same time a mission to the Jews. It is the same as the dual roles of Christ which Paul mentions in 15:8f..

If this is the case, the image of Paul as a Jewish apostle to the Gentiles is relevant to the issues which are discussed in 14:1 - 15:13. In that passage, Paul indicates that the building up of the Roman Christian community network would symbolize the recognition of the ministry of Christ to both Jews and Gentiles (cf. 15:7ff.). Although the Jewish and the Gentile Christians carried out their ministries separately in different house churches in Rome, these ministries are still united as one ministry of Christ and also one ministry of Paul.

As Paul's self-image is so Jewish and it is supported

by an OT quotation, Paul's presentation in 15:16-21 is perhaps intended to appeal more to the Jewish Christians[95] and to assure them that his Gentile mission is fully in accord with the Jewish tradition. However, *the Gentile Christians should also overhear the message* that Paul, the apostle to the Gentiles, is a Jewish apostle and the promise for their salvation is the fulfilment of the Jewish scriptures.

B. Paul as the Messenger who brings the Gentile Collection to Jerusalem (15: 25-27)

After Paul has disclosed his plan to go to Spain and his desire to visit Rome (vv.23, 24), he mentions that there remains one more task to fulfil before he can direct his course towards Rome (v.28). He still has to go to Jerusalem (cf. Acts 19:21; 23:11) with the collection[96] which the Gentile churches in the East[97] have made for the poor (**hoi ptōchoi**) among the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem.[98] Some scholars discuss the theological significance of the collection[99] and Watson tries to speculate about Paul's reason for carrying out this project.[100] However, as far as our study is concerned, attention can be focused on the significance of Paul's portrayal of the collection to the Roman Christians in 15: 25-27.

According to the text, there are two specific features of the collection:

(1) It is the result of voluntary decision (**eudokēsan**, vv.26, 27) among the Gentile Christians.[101]

(2) The Gentile Christians have a spiritual debt (**opheilō**,

opheiletēs, v.27; cf. 1: 14; 15: 1) towards the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem.[102]

These two statements indicate that the rationale for the Gentile Christians in the East to make the decision of carrying out the collection is that they realize the privileges of Israel in salvation history (cf. 1: 16; 9: 4-5; 11: 11-32) and thus their spiritual indebtedness to the Jewish Christians.[103] The superiority of the position of Jerusalem and the importance of the relationship between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians are further expressed by the fact that Paul personally takes part in bringing the collection to Jerusalem, even though he is aware of the danger to himself presented by the non-Christian Jews and is uncertain as to whether the Jewish Christians will accept the collection or not (cf. v.31).[104]

If this is the case, we can draw some corollaries from the picture portraying Paul as the messenger who brings the Gentile collection to Jerusalem:

(1) The Gentile Christians should recognize the privileges of Israel and their spiritual indebtedness to the Jewish Christians.
(2) The unity between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians is so important to Paul that he is willing to submit himself to face possible attack from the non-Christian Jews.
(3) In building up the relationship between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians, the Gentile Christians should take the initiative voluntarily even though they are

not certain whether the Jewish Christians would accept their overtures or not.

All these corollaries are related to the issues discussed in 14:1 - 15:13, and they also recall the discussion in 3:1ff. and 9-11. ***While Paul presents himself as the messenger of the Gentile churches, his presentation in 15: 25-27 is probably intended to appeal more to the Gentile Christians.*** Nevertheless, the Jewish Christians would also have received the message that Paul understands their difficult situation and recognizes the Jewish privileges and the importance of the Jewish Christians' acceptance of the legitimacy of his Gentile mission. Furthermore, they should realize the importance of unity between the Jewish and Gentile Christians and be willing to resist possible attacks from the non-Christian Jews.

Having presented himself as the messenger who brings the Gentile collection to Jerusalem, Paul immediately asserts his plan to visit Rome on his way to Spain again (v.28, cf. 24). In other words, Paul implies that Jerusalem is both the starting point and the finishing point of his mission in the East, and it will also be the starting point of his mission to the West. ***Paul will come to Rome with the image that he is <u>both</u> the Jewish apostle to the Gentiles <u>and</u> the messenger carrying the Gentile collection to Jerusalem.*** If the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome could welcome one another to participate in worship and communal meals held at their house churches, then they would welcome him, and they would have accepted the significance of the unity between Jewish and Gentile

Christians as well as the relationship between Judaism and the Christian faith. We will demonstrate in our following study (Part III) that in Rm. 1-11, Paul tried to persuade the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome to accept the significance of these relationships.

Summary and Conclusion

In our study of 15: 14-33, we find that it is one of the three passages in Romans in which the first person singular pronoun to denote Paul and second person plural pronoun to denote Roman Christians as a whole most frequently occur. Therefore, we have focused our study on three areas, namely: (1) Paul's knowledge of the Roman Christians; (2) his expectations of them; and (3) his presentation of himself to them.

Firstly, we find that Paul had a positive understanding of the spiritual maturity of the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome. It is probably because of this understanding that Paul believed they could cope with those problems about which he expressed his concern in 14:1 - 15:13 and could benefit from one another's spiritual experience in building up the Roman Christian community net-work.

Secondly, we find that Paul expressed three expectations of the Roman Christians. However, the main focus of these expectations was on the building up of the relationship between the Gentile Christians and the Jewish Christians (without causing a breach between the latter and non-Christian Jews) before Paul arrived in Rome, so that he

could obtain adequate support for his mission to Spain. Paul's exhortation to them to struggle together with him in their prayers to God on behalf of him for his journey to Jerusalem was mainly not an expression of his fear and anxiety about the journey, but an appeal to the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome to take action to pray together and to struggle through the problems of building up the Christian community net-work in Rome. This net-work will connect the Gentile Christians with the Jewish Christians and with the non-Christian Jews. Romans was not a letter prepared for Paul's journey to Jerusalem but in anticipation of his plan to visit Rome and Spain.

Thirdly, we find that in this closing section of the letter, Paul presented two images of himself to the Roman Christians: he is the Jewish apostle to the Gentiles according to the Jewish tradition and also the messenger bringing the Gentile collection to Jerusalem as a free-will offering of the Gentile Christians. He would come to Rome with these two images of himself, and if the Roman Christians would welcome him, then it meant:

(1) The Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome were reminded of the significance of the relationship between Judaism and Christian faith as well as the relationships between the non-Christian Jews, the Jewish Christians and the Gentile Christians.

(2) The Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome were willing to take action to build up the Roman Christian community net-work according to Paul's suggestion in 14:1 - 15:13.

(3) They would be prepared to give adequate support for Paul's mission to Spain.

These three items are closely inter-related and most probably provide the basic elements of Paul's purpose in writing his letter to Roman Christians. Thus the *hypothesis* derived from our study of the situation of the Jewish community in Rome and the exegesis of Rm. 14:1 - 15:13 has helped us interpret 15: 14-33. Our findings from 15: 14-33 also provide evidence for us to further develop our hypothesis of Paul's purpose in writing Romans. ***Paul probably hopes to persuade the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome to build up a Christian community net-work before his coming to Rome, so that this net-work can give concrete support to his mission to Spain and spiritual support for his journey to Jerusalem.*** Nevertheless, before we test our hypothesis by studying Rm. 1:18 - 11:36, we will test it and further develop it with regard to the other two passages in which Paul also addresses explicitly the Roman Christians, i.e. Rm. 16 and 1: 1-17.

Notes to Chapter Six

1. Of those scholars who accept ch.16 as part of the original letter, most of them regard 15:14 - 16:27 as the conclusion or epilogue of the letter; e.g. Sanday & Headlam (1902:1); Nygren (R, 1944: 452); Michel (R, 1978: 454); Cranfield (R, 1979: 749); Wilckens (R, 1982, III: 116). However, for those scholars who reject ch. 16 as part of the letter, 15: 14-33 is the conclusion of the letter; so Knox (R, 1954: 642); Kaesemann (R. 1980: 389).
2. For detailed discussion of the similarities in themes and structure between 1:8ff. and 15: 14-33, see Michel (R, 1978: 454) and Funk (1967: 251ff.; cf. 267); cf. Leenhardt (R, 1957: 366); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 749); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 390). Michel (R, 1978: 454) sees that 1: 8-17 and 15: 14-32 serve as a 'bracket' (Klammer) of the main part of the letter. Funk (1967: 251, 267) suggests that both 1:8ff. and 15: 14-33 deal with the theme of apostolic **parousia** and this double treatment of the theme in Romans is exceptional for Paul; see also Mullins (1973). For discussion of the significance of the "apostolic **parousia**" in 15:14-33, see following discussion.
3. The same perfect passive form of the word occurs also in 8:38, 14:14 to indicate a firm and settled conviction, a confident certainty; see Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 441); A-G: 645. White (1972a: 64) suggests that the perfect form of the verb **peithō**, by which Paul alleges his "confidence", is one of the four formal items used in the "confidence formula" by Paul.
4. In Romans, there are 10 occurrences when Paul directly calls his addressees **adelphos** (1:13; 7:1, 4; 8:12; 10:1; 11:25; 12:1; 15:14, 30; 16:17); other occurrences are used to denote the relationship between fellow Christians in the Roman Christian community (14: 10, 13, 15, 21) or simply fellow Christians (16: 14, 23). Among these occurrences, only two are used with **mou** (7:4 and here). Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 81) observes that "in each of these passages there seems to be an appreciable heightening of the sense of intimacy between Paul and those to whom he is writing."
5. See discussion of Rm. 16 in Section I of **Ch. 1**.
6. Vv. 14, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 30, 30, 31.
7. Vv. 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 22, 24, 24, 24, 25, 28, 29, 29, 30, 31, 32.
8. Vv. 14, 15, 15, 22, 23, 24, 24, 24, 28, 29, 30, 32, 32, 33.
9. For the occurrences of the first person singular in Romans, see **Table** I. For discussion of the identity of the first person singular in Rm. 7: 7-25, a diatribal passage, see **Chapter 10** below. In Romans, there are only five occurrences of the nominative case of **egō** used by Paul specifically to denote himself (9:3; 11:1, 13; 15:14; 16:4). However, as far as other cases of **egō** which are used to denote Paul are concerned, there are six instances occurring in Rm.1 (1:8, 9, 9, 10, 12, 15) and Rm.9 (vv.1, 1, 2, 2, 3, 3); eight in Rm.15 (vv.14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 30, 30, 31), and fifteen ... in Rm.16 (2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 7, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 21, 21, 23, 25). Nevertheless, there is no second person plural occurring in Rm.9 to denote the Roman Christian community as a whole, the only occurrence of a second person plural pronoun is in 9:26 which is an OT quotation.

10. There are only seven occurrences of the nominative case of **humeis** in Romans (1: 6; 6: 11; 7: 4; 8: 9; 9: 26; 11: 30; 16: 17), of which only three of them are probably used to denote the Roman Christian community as a whole (6:11; 8:9; 16:17). However, as far as other cases of **humeis** which are used to refer to the Roman Christian community as a whole are concerned, there are fourteen instances in ch.1 (vv.7, 8, 8, 9, 10, 11, 11, 11, 12, 12, 13, 13, 13, 15) and in ch.15 (vv.14, 15, 15, 22, 23, 24, 24, 24, 28, 29, 30, 32, 32, 33); fifteen instances in ch.16 (vv.1, 2, 6, 16, 17, 19, 19, 19, 20, 20, 21, 22, 23, 23, 25). There are eight occurrences in ch.6, among which five are probably used to denote the Gentile Christians (vv.14, 19, 19, 19, 22) and three (vv.12, 13, 13) are probably used to denote the Roman Christians as a whole; see discussion on the identities of these 'persons' in the related Chapters below. Nevertheless, there is no first person singular pronoun at all in ch.6. Thus 1: 1-17; 15: 14-33 and 16: 1-27 are the three passages in Romans in which first person singular pronouns to denote Paul specifically and second person plural pronouns to denote the Roman Christian community as a whole most frequently occur.
11. See discussion in Section III.C.4 below.
12. There are various interpretations of **agathōsunē** among scholars. It occurs only four times in the NT (here; Gal. 5:22; Eph. 5:9; II Thess. 1:11); see discussion in A-G: 3; Grundmann (TDNT, I: 18); Beyreuther (NIDNTT, II: 101); Black (R, 1973: 174); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 753 n.1); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 391).
13. It is difficult to be certain about the meaning of **gnōsis** here referred to. Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 403) suggests that it refers to "the true knowledge which consists in a deep and comprehensive grasp of the real principles of Christianity"; cf. Murray (R, 1965, II: 209); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 753 n.2). Bultmann (TDNT, I: 708) suggests that it denotes knowledge of the individual which aims at edification. However, Kaesemann (R, 1980: 391) follows Michel (R, 1978: 455) suggesting that "it is insight into salvation history." Nevertheless, some scholars agree that this knowledge is the basis of admonition reflected in the following clause; cf. Murray (R, 1965, II: 209); Michel (R, 1978: 455f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 391).
14. See the following discussion.
15. See Barrett (R, 1962: 274); cf. Kuss (R, 1957: 16f.).
16. Cf. Barrett (R, 1962: 274f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 391). Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 752) is probably right to point out that Paul is unlikely to have thought that the Roman Christians could be won over by a flattering sentence at the conclusion of the letter.
17. Throughout Romans, there is no evidence to indicate that Paul was dissatisfied with the quality of faith or the foundation of the Roman Christians. These positive assessments of the Roman Christians' faith clearly contradict Klein's suggestion (1969: 44; cf. 48) that "Paul can consider an apostolic effort in Rome because he does not regard the local Christian community there as having an apostolic foundation"; cf. Donfried (1970: 51f.); Campbell (1973-74: 265f.), (1981: 22f.).
18. So Kettunen (1979: 43-57).
19. For discussion of the function of Paul's expressions of confidence in his addressees see Olson (1985).

20. We agree with Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 752) that Paul's praise of the Roman Christians should not be understood as an apology but rather a word of explanation; however, we disagree with his suggestion that this is a consequence of Paul's exhortation of 12:1 - 15:13. In fact, what Paul had said in 12:1 - 13:14 did not seem to call in question the spiritual adulthood of the Christians in Rome. It is Paul's particular exhortation in 14:1 - 15:13 which indicates that there was conflict among the Roman Christians and Paul pointed out that the attitudes of some Jewish and Gentile Christians towards one another were wrong (14: 3-13a). Paul was probably aware that his exhortation in 14:1 - 15:13 might be misunderstood by Roman Christians as indicating that he held a negative understanding of their spiritual maturity; cf. Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 403).
21. In I Cor. 3:1ff. and Gal. 3:1ff., Paul explicitly pointed out that his addressees were spiritually immature. In I Cor. 3:1ff., the problems among the Corinthians were identified as "jealousy and strife" (v.3) which probably indicates a kind of egocentric living and unhealthy rivalries; see Barrett (IC, 1968: 81); Morris (IC, 1985: 62); Fee (IC, 1987: 126). In Gal. 3:1ff., the issue is similar to that of Rm. 14:1 - 15:13; whether a Gentile Christian should become a Jew in order to become a member of God's people; however, the situation of the Galatians was that they seemed to allow themselves to be misled; see Guthrie (G, 1969: 95); Betz (G, 1979: 131f.); Bruce (G, 1982: 148).
22. See our discussion in the following section (p.197).
23. Cranfield (R, 1979 II:700) suggests that the idea that "the use of the term 'weak' to be seen here [14:1] and in I Cor. 8 originated with those who disagreed with the persons so described is virtually certain"; cf. Wilckens (R,1982 III: 81).
24. Acts 20:31; Rm. 15:14; I Cor. 4:14; Col. 1:28; 3:16; I Thess. 5:12, 14; II Thess. 3:15. In Acts 20:31, it occurs in Luke's report of Paul's speech to the elders of Ephesus. The corresponding noun **nouthesia** occurs in I Cor. 10:11; Eph. 6:4; Tit. 3:10. The verb and the noun are more or less identical in meaning; cf. Bertram (TDNT, V: 624); Selter (NIDNTT, I: 569).
25. See Behm (TDNT, IV: 1021; cf. 1022) suggests that "a peculiarity of the NT use of the verb is that **nouthetein**, like **parakalein**, **paramutheisthai**, **stērizein**, is now a task and function of the pastor", cf. Selter (NIDNTT, I: 567f.)
26. See Behm (TDNT, IV: 1022); Selter (NIDNTT, I: 568f.).
27. See Behm (TDNT, IV: 1022); Selter (NIDNTT, I: 568); Barrett (IC, 1968: 115); Fee (IC, 1987: 184).
28. See our discussion on Paul's presentation of his own image as a Jewish apostle to the Gentiles and a messenger who brings the Gentile collection to Jerusalem in the section IV below.
29. In order to preserve the term 'purpose' for denoting Paul's 'purpose' in writing Romans, we use the word 'expectation(s)' to denote Paul's explicit statements expressed in 1: 1-17 and 15:14 - 16:23 about his various motivations in writing the letter.
30. There is no consensus among scholars as to whether the letter as a whole or only the paraenetic part (12:1 - 15:13) is referred to as a reminder. Bjerkelund (1967: 159), Zeller (1973: 66), Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 753) and Wilckens (R, 1982, III: 117) suggest that Paul had in mind only the paraenetic part. However, while the word **epanamimnē/iskein** is

not to be limited to denote the paraenetic tradition; see Schlier (1968: 247); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 392); and **apo merous** could connect with **egrapsa, tolmēroteron,** or **epanamimnēskōn;** see Leenhardt (R, 1957: 367 n.+); it probably refers here to the different parts of the whole letter, so Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 404); it is more probable that Paul expects different parts of his whole letter rather than only the paraenetic part as a reminder, so Barrett (R, 1962; 275); Bruce (R, 1963: 259f.); Schmidt (R, 1966: 243f.); Michel (R, 1978: 456); Kettunen (1979: 150); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 391).

31. Michel (R, 1978: 456 n.8); cf. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 392).
32. The word **propempō** occurs nine times in NT: Acts 15:3; 20:38; 21:5; here; I Cor. 16:6, 11; II Cor. 1:16; Tit. 3:13; III Jn. 6. All of them denote to help on one's journey with various concrete services, such as the provision of food, money, means of transport, letters of introduction, and escort for some part of the way; see M-M: 544; A-G: 716; Zeller (1973; 70f.); Michel (R, 1978: 463 n.4); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 769 n.4); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 398); Wilckens (R, 1982, III: 124); Malherbe (1983: 96 n.11); Marshall (1987: 221 n.184). Kaesemann (R, 1980: 398) suggests that Paul may have in mind that Roman Christians with a knowledge of Spain might be commissioned to accompany him thither; cf. Cranfield (R, 1989, II: 769). Dodd (R, 1959: 232f.) suggests that the word seems to have been almost a technical term with a well-understood meaning among missionaries; cf. Michel (R, 1978: 463 n.4); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 769 n.4); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 398). Barrett (R, 1962: 278) is probably unjustified to suggest that "In what way he [Paul] hoped for help from them does not appear"; also Jervell (1971: 66).
33. See Funk (1967: 251).
34. See Funk (1967: 251ff.); Dunn (1987b: 2883).
35. For a more detailed study to understand the significance of Paul's arrangement of events in his letter, see Petersen (1985: 65-78).
36. The significance of the conditional clause in 15:24d has scarcely been taken into account by commentators. Kettunen (1979: 162) rightly points out that the particle **ean** in this clause denotes a prerequisite for Paul's journey.
37. Lk. 1:53; 6:25; Jn. 6:12; Acts 14:17 and here.
38. See Delling (TDNT, VI: 130); cf. A-G: 255; Schippers (NIDNTT, I: 735).
39. See Delling (TDNT, VI: 131); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 398).
40. See Delling (TDNT, VI: 130); Schippers (NIDNTT, I: 735).
41. The genitive second person plural pronoun in this context obviously denotes the Roman Christians as a whole, including both the Jewish and the Gentile Christians.
42. Leenhardt (R, 1957: 373).
43. Wuellner (1976: 161).
44. Wilckens (R, 1982 III: 124).
45. Delling (TDNT, VI: 131); Barrett (R, 1962: 278); Michel (R, 1978: 463f.); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 769f.). Most English translations render the phrase as "enjoyed your company" (RSV; NEB; NASB; NIV; cf. Jerusalem Bible) or "filled with your company" (AV).
46. Kettunen (1979: 164 n.2).
47. Many scholars conclude based on the assumption that Paul's mission was usually directed to countries with Jews that there may have been a Jewish settlement in Spain during the early period of Roman Empire; see Stern (1974b: 169f.); cf. Baer

(1959: 16); and the scholars listed in Bowers (1975: 395 n.3). However, this suggestion is challenged by Bowers (1975). By giving a comprehensive review of the extant evidence, Bowers (1975: 402) concludes that "one cannot speak with any assurance of the existence of Jewish communities in Spain in the time of Paul the apostle." However, among the literary evidence reviewed by Bowers (1975: 398f.), Spain is mentioned by I Macc. viii: lf.; Josephus (BJ, II: 183) and Midrash Rabbah Leviticus xxix: 2. This evidence at least indicates that Spain was within the knowledge of the first century Jews in Palestine and Rome, and it was possible for Jews at that time to visit Spain or even to be temporary residents in Spain; cf. discussion in Bowers (1975: 398 n.1 and 2). Furthermore, in Natural History XVIII: 66-8, Pliny mentions that Spain was among those areas of the empire which had sent grain to Rome; see Garnsey (1983: 120). West (1929: 75) also points out that there is evidence of many Italians working in Spanish mines at the end of the Republican period and the beginning of the empire. This evidence suggests that there was close contact between Spain and Italy. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 398) is probably mistaken to be so certain about the existence of Jewish synagogues in Spain. Nevertheless, it is still possible that Paul could expect to find some Roman Jewish Christians who would know Spain and Jews living there who could be his companions in his journey to Spain.

48. Barth (R,1933: 534) is probably right in suggesting that "The contribution .... must first be delivered to the Christians in Jerusalem, for it forms a peculiar manifestation of the unity of Gentiles and Jews, of near and far, of known and unknown, which is the theme of the Epistle", although he does not see that this theme is directly related to the situation of the Roman Christians.
49. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 398) rightly points out that "the epistle is written with this [the Roman Christian community was to give active support to his work and share its burdens] as at least one of its purposes."
50. For discussion of the meaning of **parakaleō**, see A-G: 622f.; Schmitz (TDNT V: 793-799); Braumann (NIDNTT I: 570f.); Bjerkelund (1967: 24-33); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 597); Grayston (1980); Wilckens (R, 1982, III:2). Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 597 n.2, 776) expresses his doubt about whether the **parakaleō** in 15:30 has its special sense of 'exhort' or its more ordinary sense of 'ask' and 'request'. In fact, many English commentators take the latter view; so Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 30); Dodd (R, 1959: 236); Barrett (R, 1962: 279); Murray (R, 1965, II: 221); O'Neill (R, 1975: 250); AV; NEB; Jerusalem Bible. However, Kaesemann (R, 1980: 407) is probably right to point out that it is too weak to render **parakaleō** as "ask"; see Wilckens (R, 1982, III: 128); A-G: 622; Schmitz (TDNT V: 795); Braumann (NIDNTT I: 570); Michel (R, 1978: 467); Grayston (1980: 28); NASB; NIV.
51. There are two **hina** clauses in vv.31, 32 to indicate the objectives of prayers. However, the first **hina** clause in v.31 obviously consists of two items.
52. Paul uses the word **apeitheia** and **apeitheō** only in Romans. **apeitheia** occurs only twice (11: 30, 32) and **apeitheō** occurs five times (2:8; 10:21; 11:30, 31 and here), among which four times they are only used to denote Jews (10:21; 11:30, 31,; 15:31), once Gentiles (11:30) and twice they refer to mankind in general (2:8; 11:32). In all the instances which refer to

Jews, they are used to denote those Jews who do not accept faith in Christ; see Leenhardt (R, 1957: 376); Barrett (R, 1962: 279); Michel (R, 1978: 468 n.19); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 778); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 407); Wilckens (R, 1980, II: 259ff.).

53. Paul gives a specific list of **charismata** in 12: 6-8 to indicate that different gifts bestowed by God on different persons are to be used in his service and in the service of men within the one body in Christ (cf. vv. 3-5; I Cor. 12-14); see discussion in Conzelmann (TDNT IX: 402-406); Dunn (1975: 256f.); Schuermann (1977); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 618f.); Wilckens (R, 1982, III: 14f.). Nevertheless, the two other occurrences of the noun in 15: 4, 5 probably denote encouragement; see our discussion of 15: 4, 5 in the last Chapter.
54. Bjerkelund (1967: 109, 189).
55. Jervell (1971: 66ff.).
56. Jervell's rejection of 12:1 and 16:17 as significant to our understanding of the reason why Paul writes Romans is based on the following arguments:
    (1) 12:1 introduces the paranetic section of Romans and it is too general in nature (p.66).
    (2) 16:17 concerns a warning against teachers of false doctrine which is obviously not part of the letter's essential message in chs. 1-15 (p.66).

    Jervell's arguments are obviously too superficial, for if these two **parakaleō** clauses do not introduce Paul's main concern in writing Romans, why should 15:30? Furthermore, if these three clauses are so different in their function, then how could Bjerkelund's thesis stand?
57. See Michel (R, 1978: 367 ff., 373); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 595ff.; 601f., 611ff.); Wilckens (R, 1982, III: 1ff., 10ff.); Dunn (1987b: 2874ff.) and our discussion in pp. 54f. (**Ch. 1**).
58. See Minear (1971: 27ff.); Michel (R, 1978: 479); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 797f.); Dunn (1987b: 2884) and our discussion of 16: 17-20 in **Ch. 7** below.
59. See Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 776). The simple form **agōnizomai** occurs 8 times in the NT, of which the occurrence in Col. 4:12 is also used in connection with prayer.
60. See Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 779 n.1); cf. Michel (R, 1978: 468); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 408). For discussion of textual variation in 15: 32, see Metzger (1971: 538); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 779 n.1).
61. There are more than 20 **sun**-compound words appearing in Romans; see CCNTG, cols. 1731-1757; and the proper meaning of sun is "together"; see Moulton (1929, II.3: 324f.).
62. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 407) rightly follows Schumacher to suggest that the reference is obviously to prayer at worship.
63. Cf. Mol (1976: 237); McGuire (1981: 71) and the quotation in **note 130** of **Chapter 5**.
64. Wiles (1974: 264).
65. In LXX Is. 11:6, **sunanapausōmai** is used to describe the situation in which the leopard can lie peacefully with the kid; see Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 415); cf. Michel (R, 1978: 468); Cranfield (R, 1979 II:779 n.1); Kaesemann (R, 1980:408).
66. It is sometimes suggested that the motif of the **agōn** in prayer refers to the story of Jacob's wrestling with God; see Michel (R, 1978: 467 n.18); Murray (R, 1965, II: 221f.); Black (R, 1973: 177). However, no word of the **agōn** word-group occurs in LXX Gen. 32: 23-33; see Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 777); Wilckens

(R, 1982, III: 128 n.621); and there is no evidence in the Hellenistic Jewish sources to indicate that the Israelite picture of prayer is that of the **agōn**; see Pfitzner (1976: 121f.). Pfitzner (1967: 121) is probably right to suggest that the **agōn** of Paul in which the Roman Christians are to participate is not limited to an **agōn** of prayer; cf. Bruce (1981-82: 351, 357f.)

67. Against Nickle (1966: 69f.), who suggests that "it seems possible that Paul contemplated the later voluntary participation of the Roman Christians in the collection", see discussion in Kettunen (1979: 169-175); Bruce (1981-82: 351f., 357f.). Kaesemann (R, 1980: 407, cf. 415), Davies (1978a: 130), and Park (1979: 277, 317), suggest that Paul set forth his message to Rome in a detailed way in order to seek supporters or at least mediators between himself and the primitive Christian community in Jerusalem. However, they did not explain how Roman Christians could act as supporters or mediators.
68. Marxsen (1964: 100f.) rightly sees that the problem in Rome is in fact the old 'Jerusalem' problem. He suggests that "The letter is concerned with a genuinely Roman problem .... but it is the same problem with which Paul finds himself faced now."
69. Bassler (1982: 163) suggests that "whatever other factors were present, one important aspect of the occasion for writing this letter was the request for intercessory help in the matter of the collection"; cf. Wilckens (1974a: 128, 138f.).
70. Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 415), unlike most scholars, see that in 15: 30-32 (especially v.32) "the prayer that the Roman Christians offer for St. Paul will also be a prayer for themselves." However, they emphasize only the important relationship between Paul's successful visit to Jerusalem and his subsequent coming to Rome but overlook the significance of Paul's struggle in Jerusalem and their own struggle in Rome.
71. See the discussion of the rhetorical functions of peroration (conclusion) in Wuellner (1976: 162ff., esp. 163f.).
72. See **note 96** in **Ch. 5**. Furthermore, Paul uses the word **diōkō** twice in Phil. 3: 12-14 which is undoubtedly a passage full of athletic metaphors. Although Pfitzner (1967: 139f.) insists that a concrete reference to the athletic image is only contained in v.14 (with **diōkō** related to **brabeion** which is taken directly from the language of the games), he admits that the word **diōkō** belongs closely to the athletic image. It is noteworthy that in I Tim. 6:11-12, **diōkō** is used together with **agōn** as part of the athletic metaphor; see Pfitzner (1967: 179 n.1).
73. See Schlatter (1935: 393).
74. So Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 68).
75. It is difficult to be certain about how Paul envisaged his visit to Jerusalem at the time he wrote Romans. Haenchen (A, 1965: 613) suggests that the difficulty for the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem to accept Paul's Gentile collection is because if they accepted the collection, then in the eyes of the Jews they would proclaim their solidarity with Paul who was accused of his teaching about the law; see also Schmithals (1963: 82f.). However, according to the evidence of Acts, Jervell (1971: 68) suggests that both the non-Christian Jews and the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem accused Paul's attitude towards Israel, the law and circumcision (cf. Acts 21: 21, 28; 28: 17); cf. Suggs (1967: 296); Huebner (1978: 64). In other words, Paul is charged with apostasy; see Suggs (1967: 290);

Jervell (1968: 168); cf. Manson (1948: 1f.); Bornkamm (1963: 18). Nevertheless, Bornkamm (1963: 19f.) suggests that ".... this collection was closely associated with the question contested already at the Apostolic Council in Jerusalem, that is, whether the Gospel free from the Law can be legitimate and whether the Gentile Christians can be recognized as members of equal rank in the church as a whole." In fact, if we take Gal. 2: 11ff. into account, the issue at stake between Paul and the Jewish Christians from Jerusalem is whether the Gentile Christians should become Jews if they are God's people; cf. Dunn (1983b: 31f.).

76. See A-G: 324; Kettunen (1979: 174) rightly points out that Paul does not only hope that the collection would be acceptable (**prosdektos**), but received with pleasure (**euprosdektos**).
77. So Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 414); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 376); Dodd (R, 1959: 236); Bornkamm (1963: 18f.); Park (1979: 1f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 406f.); Wilckens (R, 1982, III: 129). Barrett (1972c: 115) rightly suggests that "we must not take Acts as the clue to the meaning of Paul, but Paul as the clue to the meaning of Acts."
78. So Georgi (1965: 90); Watson (1986: 105).
79. In 15: 16-21 and 25-29, Paul presents himself as the Jewish apostle to the Gentiles and the messenger to bring the Gentile Christian collection to Jerusalem respectively; see our following discussion.
80. Against Suggs (1967: 294); Jervell (1971: 74; cf. 62).
81. For textual variance here see Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 775 n.6).
82. See **note 128 in Chapter 5.**
83. See Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 762ff.); cf. Nygren (R, 1944: 454).
84. Most scholars follow Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 405) and suggest that Paul uses **leitourgos** to refer to himself as exercising a priestly ministry; so Leenhardt (1957: 367); Schweizer (1959: 172); Barrett (R, 1962: 275); Michel (R, 1978: 457); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 392). However, Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 755f.) follows Barth to understand Paul's use of the word as thinking of himself as fulfilling the function not of a priest but of a Levite; see also Wilckens (R, 1983, III: 118 n.571).
85. See Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 405); Murray (R, 1965, II: 210); Schlier (1968: 249ff.); Haas (1971: 30-34); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 755); Michel (R, 1978: 457); Wilckens (R, 1983, III: 118); Newton (1985: 59ff.). Kaesemann (R, 1980: 393) may be right to say that "Paul in styling himself the priest of the Messiah is not stressing the cultic dimension as such"; cf. Hahn (1963: 108 n.3). However, the cultic expressions in this passage clearly indicate that Paul deliberately applies them to his missionary activities and thus sets his ministry against a cultic context for his audience to perceive. Against Hahn (1970: 37 n.12), who suggests that the various terms from sacrificial and cultic language are removed from their original sphere of meaning and applied to missionary service.
86. See Bruce (1969: 353f.). Against Robinson (1974: 231), who suggests that "this image is probably drawn from cultic religion in general."
87. Sanders (1983: 198) suggests that Rm. 15:16 indicates that "Paul was engaged in a thoroughly Jewish task, bringing the Gentiles into the eschatological people of God", see also

pp.171; 199f., n.3.; cf. Bruce (1969: 353); Michel (R, 1978: 457); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 393).

88. In Paul's letter, there is no evidence that Paul started his preaching from Jerusalem. In fact, in Gal. he tells us quite emphatically that he did not do any preaching in Jerusalem at all; cf. Geyser (1959-60); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 760). According to Acts, Paul actually began his work as a Christian preacher in Damascus (9:19-22), cf. Gal. 1:17, and as a missionary from Antioch (13: 1-4); cf. Barrett (R, 1962: 276); Bruce (R, 1963: 260). Thus most scholars understand Paul's statement in v.19 as not a precise one but representative or symbolic; see Munck (1954: 48); Knox (1964: esp. 8-11); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 761); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 394f.); Sanders (1983: 186). This statement most probably indicates that Paul was conscious of the position of Jerusalem -- the heart of Judaism and the base of the Jewish Christian community, and referred to it as the starting point of his mission as well; see Gerhardsson (1961: 274f.); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 760f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 395); Senior & Stuhlmueller (1983: 183). In Paul's letters, he shows an ambivalent attitude towards Jerusalem. On the one hand, he was greatly concerned to preserve the independence of his churches from Jerusalem (cf. Gal. and Corinthians); on the other hand, he acknowledged the superior position of Jerusalem (here and Rm. 15: 25-27). For discussion of the relationship between Paul and Jerusalem, see Munck (1954: 282-308); Gerhardsson (1961: 274-280); Holmberg (1978: 15-56); Bruce (1981-82: 352); Beagley (1987: 171ff.)

89. The word **euaggelion** occurs nine times in Romans (excluding the textual variant in 15:29; see Metzger (1971: 537)). For discussion of Paul's use of this word, see Friedrich (TDNT, II: 729-34); Stuhlmacher (1968); and Kaesemann (R, 1980: 6ff.). In three instances, it occurs without any qualification (1:16; 10:16; 11:28). In the other six instances, it is qualified with the genitives **tou theou** (1:1; 15:16) and **mou** (2:16; 16:25) twice each, and **tou christou** (15:19) and **tou huiou** (1:9) once each. It is significant that Paul uses **to euaggelion tou christou** here, the only occurrence in Romans (other eight times in I Cor. 9:12; II Cor. 2:12; 9:13; 10:14; Gal. 1:7; Phil. 1:27; I Thess. 3:2; II Thess 1:8; cf. II Cor. 4:4), to denote the Gospel which he preached (cf. v.20). Kramer (1963: 50f.) suggests that although "there are virtually no examples of "the gospel of Christ outside the Pauline corpus .... It is more than likely that Paul took over 'the gospel of Christ' as one technical term among others", and it thus belongs to pre-Pauline material. Most scholars generally agree that the genitive 'of Christ' is an objective genitive and is used to define the content of the gospel; see Kramer (1963: 52); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 762); Kaesemann (1980: 394). Since the phrases 'the gospel of God' (15:16) and 'the gospel of Christ' (15:19) occur together in this passage, it is most possible that they refer back to the beginning of the letter, see discussion in **Ch. 8** below. Furthermore, Dunn (1977: 41, cf. 44, 54) rightly points out that 'Jesus is Messiah' "seems to have been a key expression of faith within the early Jewish mission and the affirmation that Jesus was Messiah probably formed the decisive step of faith for Jewish converts", his emphasis. If this is the case, Paul's use of the phrase **"to euaggelion tou christou"** in this passage to

denote the gospel he preached is most likely not accidental nor simply taken for granted. In such a 'Jewish' passage, Paul probably used this phrase deliberately to indicate that he shared the same gospel with the Jewish Christians and thus appealed to the Jewish Christians in Rome.

90. The quotation follows the LXX version almost exactly but differs from the MT. Ellis (1957: 143) suggests that Paul's use of LXX rather than the MT indicates that he might probably have an exegetical purpose in view; see also Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 765 n.1). The difference between the MT and LXX is that MT emphasizes the matter which the persons have not yet been told about and have not yet heard, but LXX emphasizes the persons who have not yet been told about the servant of Yahweh and not yet heard; see Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 408); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 765 n.1). Kaesemann (R, 1980: 395) suggests that the LXX, unlike the MT, related Is. 52:15 to the Gentiles.
91. It is significant that Paul uses the title **Israēlitēs** in 9:4 and 11:1; cf. **Israēl** in 9: 6, 6, 27, 27, 31; 10: 19, 21; 11:2, 7, 25, 26; instead of the previous references to Jews as **Ioudaios** in 1:16; 2:9, 10, 17, 28f.; 3:1 etc., see Ellison (1968: 31). By saying that he and his fellow Jews are 'Israelites', Paul is asserting that they are the chosen people of God, see von Rad, Kuhn and Gutbrod (TDNT, III: 386f.); Cranfield (R,1979,II: 460f.) and discussion in Section I.A.1.(A) of **Chapter 11** below.
92. See Dinkler (1956: 123); Munck (1954: 45); (1956: 119, 125); Barrett (R, 1962: 213) and Hanson (1974: 104f.)
93. In Rm. 9: 1-5; 10:1; 11: 1-2, 11-14, Paul emphatically expresses his double commitment: on the one hand, his personal call as an apostle to the Gentiles, and on the other hand, his deep concern for the salvation of the Jews; see further discussion in Section I.A of **Chapter 11** below.
94. See discussion in Munck (1954: 44), (1956: 117f.); Nygren (R, 1952: 395f.); Leenhardt (R, 1961: 281ff.); Barrett (R, 1962: 214f.); Kaesemann (R. 1980: 305f.); Sanders (1983: 193ff.).
95. Against Kettunen (1979: 27), who suggests that Paul's references to himself as an apostle to the Gentiles in 15: 16, 18 (cf. 1: 13-15; 11:13) are the evidence to indicate that the readers of Romans were Gentiles. He obviously overlooked the Jewish overtones in this passage.
96. For discussions on the collection, see Schmithals (1963: 79-84); Bartsch (1965b); Georgi (1965); Nickle (1966); Berger (1976-77).
97. It is perhaps surprising that Paul mentions only Macedonia and Achaia (v.26), and not also churches of Asia Minor. For various interpretations on this issue, see Knox (R, 1954: 651); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 399); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 772); Nevertheless, it is probably best to understand that here Paul did not intend to give an accurate account of the areas of those churches involved in the collection but simply wanted to indicate that the churches in the East were involved.
98. Since the publication of Karl Holl's 1921 article, in which he argues that the phrase "remembering the poor" in Gal. 2:10 refers not to the destitute among Christians but to the Jerusalem church as a whole, **hoi ptōchoi** in Rm. 15:26 is a technical term for the church and is appropriated from Judaism's traditional regard for the poor who felt themselves especially close to God; see Bammel (TDNT, VI: 888-915); there is continuous debate on the correct understanding of "the

Poor" in the NT; see Keck (1965), (1966). Nevertheless, even some scholars who are not sure if "the Poor" is a self-designation of the Jewish pious would agree that Paul is likely to have thought of these poor saints as being representative of the whole Jerusalem church; see e.g. Munck (1954: 287ff.); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 773 n.2; cf. 772). For those supporting the idea of Holl (1921), "the Poor" is equivalent to "the Saints" and is equivalent to the Jewish Christian church as a whole; see Bornkamm (1969a: 40f.); Georgi (1965: 26ff.; cf. 23); Hengel (1979: 118); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 401).

99. Nickle (1966: 10; cf. 100-42) suggests that "Just as the project extended directly or indirectly over the whole temporal duration of Paul's missionary activity, so did it objectively incorporate the entirety of Paul's ministry in all of its theological depth." See also Munck (1954: 303f.); Knox (1950: 52-57); Georgi (1965: 72, 84); Bornkamm (1969: 40ff.; 92, 99f.); Holmberg (1978: 35-43); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 398-402).
100. See Watson (1986: 174f.).
101. The word **eudokēsan** occurs twice in vv.26, 27. It means a solemn but free decision; see Schrenk (TDNT, II: 741). It expresses the voluntariness of the offering and indicates that it is the result of a decision by the Christians concerned; cf. Knox (R, 1954: 649); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 771); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 399).
102. **opheilō** and **opheiletēs** occur together in v.27. They clearly indicate that the Gentile Christians were debtors of the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem. However, the Gentile Christians were spiritual debtors but not juridical; see Bruce (R, 1963: 265); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 400). For discussion of the use of these words in Romans, see **note 102** of **Ch. 5**. For discussion of Paul's use of **pneumatikos**, see discussion on Rm. 1: 14 in **Ch. 8** below.
103. See Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 773 n.3); cf. Murray (R, 1965, II: 219).
104. See discussion on the difficulties for the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem to accept Paul's Gentile collection in **note 75** above. Among scholars, there are divided opinions on the estimation of whether the Jerusalem Christians accepted the collection or not. Some suggest that they did; Nickle (1966: 70ff.); Bruce (1981-82: 356 n.2); and some suggest that they did not, Dunn (1977: 257); Luedemann (1983: 94ff.).

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Situation of the Roman Christians and Paul's Purpose in Writing Romans: The Evidence in Rm. 16

Introduction

In **Chapter 1** of this thesis, we have argued that Rm. 16 is part of Paul's letter sent to Rome and that it provides evidence which enables us to know some characteristics of the Roman Christians.[1] If our understanding is correct, 16: 1 - 25 is one of three passages in the letter in which is found most frequently the first person singular pronoun to denote Paul and the second person plural pronoun to denote the Roman Christian community as a whole.[2]

While we have indicated in Chapters 2 - 4 that the findings in Rm. 16 are consistent with our understanding of the situation of the Roman Jewish community, in this Chapter, we will show (1) how these characteristics of Roman Christians found in **Rm.** 16 are consistent with and can support the ***hypothesis*** of Paul's purpose in writing Romans developed from our study of 14:1 - 15:33, and (2) the relationship between Paul's warning in 16: 17-20 and our hypothesis.

I. The Evidence of 16: 3 - 16

A. The Role of Prisca and Aquila Among Roman Christians

As we have mentioned before, Prisca and Aquila were probably Christians by the time Paul met them in Corinth.[3] If this is the case, they were among the earliest Jewish Christians in Rome[4] and would probably have had close contact with the Roman Jewish Christians after they returned to Rome.

In Rm. 16: 3f., they were not only mentioned as the first two names in the list of greetings, but described affectionately by Paul as "***my*** fellow workers in Christ Jesus, who risked their necks for ***my*** life, to whom not only *I*, but all the churches of the Gentiles give thanks."[5] Two observations can be made from this description:

1. *Prisca and Aquila as the representatives of Paul in Rome*

In 16: 3-16, Paul uses **egō** and its various cases eleven times to denote himself.[6] However, three of them occur in this description (vv.3, 4). The first one is used by Paul to denote Prisca and Aquila as "my fellow workers" (**tous sunergous mou**). As a matter of fact, **sunergos** occurs only three times in Romans, all in ch.16. In 16: 3-16, there are two occurrences. It is here (v.3) that **sunergos** is qualified by **mou** rather than **hēmōn** as in v.9.[7] The other occurrence of **sunergos** is in 16:21, which is also qualified by **mou** and used to denote Timothy who was certainly one of

Paul's closest fellow workers and frequently represented Paul in his congregations (cf. I Cor. 4:17; 16:10f.; Phil. 1:1; 2: 19-24; I Thess. 1: 1; 3: 2, 6).[8] In this context, Paul probably uses the emphatic description **tous sunergous mou** to suggest Prisca and Aquila as his representatives in Rome.

The role of Prisca and Aquila as Paul's representatives is further reinforced by the statements of their having risked their lives[9] for Paul and Paul's emphatic thankfulness to them (**hois .... egō .... eucharistō**, v.4). In other words, this indicates that Paul probably presented the ***Jewish*** couple as his representatives to the Roman Christians.[10]

2. *All the churches of the Gentiles give thanks to Prisca and Aquila*

The text probably suggests that the gratitude of all the churches of the Gentiles to Prisca and Aquila was due to their having risked their lives on behalf of Paul -- the apostle to the Gentiles (cf. 1: 5; 11: 13; 15: 15f.).[11] Thus, Paul's statement in 16:4 probably serves as a recommendation of the credentials of Prisca and Aquila to the Gentile Christians.

If that is the case, we can see that Paul tries to present the Jewish couple who had connections with the ***Jewish Christians*** in Rome not only as his representatives, but also as the ones to whom the ***Gentile Christians*** should be thankful. This recalls Paul's images of himself, as the Jewish apostle to the Gentiles (15: 16-21) and as the

messenger who brings the Gentile collection to Jerusalem (15: 25-27) in order to show the indebtedness of the Gentile Christians to Jerusalem. Thus Paul probably wishes Prisca and Aquila to act on his behalf to become mediators between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome, so that they can help the Roman Christians to build up the Roman Christian community net-work as suggested in 14:1 - 15:13 before he arrives in Rome.

B. The Relationships between different House Churches in Rome

As mentioned in **Chapter 1**, in 16:5, 10, 11, 14, 15, at least five house churches can probably be identified.[12] In the long list of salutations, Paul does not greet individuals or members of the house churches directly. The sixteen occurrences of the verb **aspazomai** in 16: 3-16a are all in the second person plural aorist imperative. In other words, Paul probably asks them to greet one another when they meet.[13] This request would be significant only if these Christians belong to different house churches,[14] and if they follow Paul's exhortation in 14:1 - 15:13 to meet on some occasions. There is no evidence in the text that Paul tries to persuade these different house churches to combine into one single congregation.[15]

Furthermore, at the end of the list, Paul asks them to greet ***one another*** (**aspasasthe allēlous**) with a holy kiss. This last request is significant to our study in two ways:

1. Paul's use of **allēlous** probably recalls those **allēlous** phrases in 14:13a, 19; 15:5, 7 and 14. As we have argued in **Chapters 5 and 6**, all these passages refer to the context of the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome

participating in worship and communal meals at one another's house churches.

2. I Cor. 16:20 indicates that the kiss is probably exchanged in preparation for the celebration of the Holy supper.[16] Moreover, Justin (c.100 - c.165 C. E.)[17] witnesses to the fact that the kiss was a regular part of Christian worship in Rome (cf. Apology I, 65:2).[18]

These observations imply that Paul's list of salutations in 16:3 - 16a is probably in effect a request to the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in different house churches to introduce themselves to one another and welcome one another to participate in the worship and communal meal held at their house churches. In other words, Paul uses the salutations in his letter to commend these different house churches to build up the Roman Christian community net-work as suggested in 14:1 - 15:13.

II. The Evidence of 16: 17-20

Paul's warning against false teachers here[19] starts with a **parakaleō** clause such as has occurred already in 12:1 and 15:30. Paul calls the Roman Christians **adelphoi** and admonishes them to keep themselves away from those false teachers. As far as the identity of these false teachers is concerned, it is quite impossible for us to gain a clear picture from the text.[20] However, three things seem to be quite obvious:

1. The false teachers, who came from outside the Roman Christian community, had not yet arrived.[21]
2. The possible consequences of these false teachers'

activities were two fold:

(a) damaging the unity (**dichostasia kai skandalia**); and

(b) undermining the doctrine (**didachē**) which the Roman Christians had been taught.

3. Paul was confident of the spiritual maturity of the Roman Christians and anticipated that they would overcome the dangers (v.19).

If this is the case, these observations are most significant in supporting our hypothesis:[22]

1. As the real danger of division and false teaching was not an internal affair, at least at the time Paul wrote his letter to the Romans, these false teachers were probably not among the names listed in 16: 3-15. This evidence probably implies that:

   (a) this was the reason why Paul believed that the Roman Christians were able to exhort one another (15:14); and

   (b) the tensions and strains made the relationship between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians as reflected in 14:1 - 15:13 vulnerable, but it had not reached breaking point.[23]

2. The two consequences which might be occasioned by the false teachers reflected Paul's main concern for the Roman Christians, namely: (i) the unity of Roman Christians, and (ii) the Christian doctrine which they had been taught already.

If this is the case, although it is uncertain whether the dangers of division addressed here are similar to those of 14:1 - 15:13,[24] Paul's concern is

the same: to build up a Roman Christian community network and avoid any divisive force. Furthermore, the unity of the Roman Christians was related to the doctrine (didachē) which they had been taught.

As a matter of fact, there are only four occurrences of the word didachē in the undisputed letters of Paul, two of which are in Romans.[25] Kettunen is probably right to identify "the doctrine you have been taught" with "the form of teaching (didachēs) to which you were entrusted (paradothēte)" (6:17, NIV).[26] If this is the case, it probably recalls Paul's expectation in writing the letter as a "*reminder*" to the Roman Christians (15:15).[27] Thus the main concern of Paul's warning expressed in 16: 17-20 is to avoid any attempt by false teachers to damage the unity between the Roman Christians which might have achieved through Paul's reminding them (probably in Rm. 1-11) of the doctrine which they had been taught and of his exhortation especially in 14:1 - 15:13. This is consistent with the hypothesis developed from the previous part of our study.

Furthermore, Paul's reference to God as the God of peace (theos tēs eir8nēs) obviously recalls his prayer-wish in 15:33[28] and the notions of peace in 14: 17, 19 and 15:13.

3. When we discuss Paul's knowledge about the spiritual maturity of the Roman Christians in 15:14 in **Section I.B** of the last Chapter, we can provide evidence for Paul's assumption

of their ability to cope with the problems mentioned in 14:1 - 15:13 and his recognition of their ability to exhort in one another's house churches. In Rm. 16, we learn that there were mature Christians, such as Prisca, Aquila, Andronicus, Junia(s), Epaenetus, Urbanus, Apelles and the mother of Rufus[29] in Rome. Thus Paul's confidence in the spiritual maturity of the Roman Christians is not without some foundation.

Summary and Conclusion

In our study of Rm. 16, we found that Paul informs the Roman Christians that the Jewish couple, Prisca and Aquila, who have connections with the Jewish Christians in Rome, are not only his representatives, but also the ones to whom the Gentile Christians should be thankful. This recalls Paul's images of himself as the Jewish apostle to the Gentiles (15: 16-21) and as the messenger who brings Gentile collection to Jerusalem (15: 25-27) in order to show the indebtedness of the Gentile Christians to Jerusalem. Thus we suggest that Paul probably hopes Prisca and Aquila will become mediators between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome and help to build up the Roman Christian community net-work, which he called for in 14:1 - 15:13, before he arrives in Rome.

Moreover, Paul's use of **aspazomai** in the second person plural aorist imperative form, probably implies that he would like to use his letter to commend the Jewish and Gentile Christians in different house churches to introduce themselves to one another and welcome one another to participate in the worship and communal meal held at their

house churches. These findings are consistent with our hypothesis developed from our study of Rm. 14 - 15 and provide evidence to support our suggestion that the Sitz im Leben of 14: 1 - 15: 13 is the communal meals held at house churches in Rome. Furthermore, the main concern of Paul's warning in 16: 17-20 is to prevent any false teachers from damaging the unity of Roman Christians achieved through Paul's reminding them of the doctrine they had been taught. This is also consistent with our understanding of Paul's expectations in writing his letter to Rome. Thus, our findings in Rm. 16 are consistent with our hypothesis. This can also be considered as a piece of evidence to support our understanding that Rm. 16 is an integral part of the letter to Rome.

Notes to Chapter Seven

1. See Section I.B in **Chapter 1** above, especially the summary in pp. 38f.
2. See **Table 1** and **notes 9** and **10** in **Chapter 6**.
3. See Sections II.B.2 in **Ch. 1** above.
4. So Harnack, quoted by Bruce (1985: 46); Wiefel (1970: 113).
5. Many scholars suggest that this passage permits the hypothesis that they "risked their necks" for Paul occurred in connection with the dangers that Paul encountered in the vicinity of Ephesus (cf. Acts 19:23-40; I Cor. 15:32; II Cor. 1:8-9); see Wiefel (1970: 112); Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 785f.); Luedemann (1980: 174); Bruce (1985: 48f.).
6. **egō** once in v.4, **emou** twice in vv. 7, 13; and **mou** eight times in vv. 3, 4, 5, 7, 7, 8, 9, 11.
7. Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 790f.) suggests that the reason for the use of **hēmōn** rather than **mou** in v.9 is perhaps that Urbanus had not been a colleague of Paul personally but was a worker for Christ in general.

8. See Michel (R, 1978: 483); Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 805); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 420); Ollrog (1979: 20-23); Bruce (1985: 29f.)
9. Deissmann (1923: 117f.) suggests that "risked their necks" is the same as "to risk one's own life".
10. Cf. Michel (R, 1978: 474), who suggests that the return of Prisca and Aquila to Rome had been decided upon in connection with Paul's own plans.
11. See Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 786); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 413).
12. See discussion in Section I.B.6 of Ch. 1.
13. See Kim (1972: 140f.); Watson (1986: 101f.).
14. Kim (1972: 141) rightly suggests that "If the letter were addressed to a church where all those named in the letter belonged to one congregation, Paul would not have needed to give credentials for each member to be greeted, for they must have been as well acquainted with one another as Paul himself was with them, and Paul could not have been ignorant of this fact. Moreover, if a single congregation were involved, the phrase found at the end of the list (Rm. 16:16), ... would have been enough by way of request to the congregation to salute one another, as for example, in I Cor. 16:20; II Cor. 13:12; and I Thess. 5:26."
15. Against Watson (1986: 97, cf. 101), who argues that Paul wishes to bring the Roman Christians who were separated as two congregations into one congregation.
16. In the NT, **philēmati hagiōi** occurs only four times, all in the undisputed Pauline letters: here, I Cor. 16:20; II Cor. 13;12; I Thess. 5:26. However, **philēmati agapēs** occurs once in 1 Pet. 5:14. Cullmann (1950: 19f.) suggests that Paul purposely uses fragments of the oldest eucharistic liturgy in the closing verses of I Cor.. The 'Holy Kiss' in I Cor. 16:20 stems from the eucharistic liturgy of the early community and signifies that before the meal a complete brotherhood should be established; see also Staehlin (TDNT IX: 136, 139f.); ODCC: 784f.; Lietzmann (1926: 186); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 383); Bornkamm (1966b: 169); Michel (R, 1978: 478); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 795f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 416); Wilckens (R, 1982, III: 137). For opposite view, see Gamble (1977: 143f.); Fee (IC, 1987: 834f.).
17. See Farmer (ODS: 228); ODCC: 770.
18. See discussion in Windisch (TDNT I: 501); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 796); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 416).
19. The abruptness of the introduction of this warning has been discussed by many scholars; see Kettunen (1979: 62ff.); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 797f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 416f.).
20. Various suggestions of the identity of the false teachers have been proposed: Judaizers; see Bauer (1876, I: 364f.); Murray (R, 1965, II: 235); antinomians; cf. Gal. 5:13ff.; Phil. 3:18f.; I Cor. 5: 1-13; 6: 12-20; See Dodd (R, 1959: 244f.); the selfish among the 'strong' of 14:1 - 15:13; see Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 801); Gnostic; see Schmithals (1965); Michel (R, 1978: 481); seductive word spinners; cf. I Cor. 1:18 - 2:5; see Wilckens (R, 1982, III: 142). For detailed discussion, see Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 801f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 417f.); Wilckens (R, 1982, III: 141f.); cf. the list in Gunther (1973:2).
21. Most scholars agree that the danger mentioned here had not yet happened; see Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 429); Goguel (1955: 343); Kuemmel (1973: 319); and that these false teachers would come from outside of Rome; see Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902:

429); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 385); cf. Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 797f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 417); Spencer (1984: 77); Dunn (1987b: 2884). Against Minear (1971: 28) and Watson (1986: 102); Minear suggests that the false teachers were those Roman Christians who belonged to Group One and Two of his classification; while Watson suggests that these false teachers were those Jewish Christians in Rome (probably among the list of salutations; see p.101) who were not convinced by Paul's letter to the Romans and would create or perpetuate divisions among the Roman Christian community.

22. Against Kaesemann (R, 1980: 419), who suggests that in 16:17ff., the interest of 15: 14-32 is lost from view; see the following discussion on **didachē** (v. 17).
23. We do not attempt to identify here the problems reflected in 14:1 - 15:13 with 16: 17ff.; see discussion at the following **note** (24). The point we try to make is that Paul's anxiety about the dangers of division from outside indicates that the relationship between the Roman Christians was not so bad and the possibility of building up a Christian community net-work in Rome was high.
24. There are divided opinions on this issue. Donfried (1970: 59) argues that 16: 17-20 is related to the longer discussion in Rm. 14; cf. Barrett (R, 1962: 285); Minear (1971: 28f.). However, many scholars suggest that this warning results from Paul's realization that his concentration upon the situation of the Roman Christians had almost by-passed other dangers which were experienced by other churches, so the dangers addressed here are not those of 14:1 - 15:13; see Cranfield (r, 1979, II: 797f.); Dunn (1987b: 2884); cf. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 417).
25. Rm. 6:17; here; I Cor. 14:6, 26; the verb **didaskō** occurs five times. Rm. 2: 21; 12:7; I Cor. 4:17; 11:14; Gal. 1:12.
26. Kettunen (1979: 67); cf. Donfried (1970: 59).
27. So Watson (1986: 211 n.63).
28. Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 431) rightly suggest that "It is the 'God of peace' who will thus overthrow Satan, because the effect of these divisions is to break up the peace of the Church"; see also Bruce (R, 1963: 278); Black (R, 1973: 184). However, Leenhardt (R, 1957: 386) suggests that here is an allusion to Gen. 3:15 and Paul is making use of an apocalyptic tradition; see also Michel (R, 1978: 482f.); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 779); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 418f.).
29. See our discussion of these names in the Sections I.B.3,4,5 of **Ch. 1.**

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Situation of the Roman Christians and Paul's Purpose in Writing Romans: The Evidence in Rm. 1: 1 - 17

I. Personae Analysis

Paul starts his letter in a very personal manner. In 1: 1-17, although the nominative case of egō does not appear, its various cases occur six times to denote Paul himself;[1] and first person singular verbs occur thirteen times.[2] The nominative case of **humeis** occurs once in this passage, its other cases occur fourteen times;[3] however, second person plural verbs do not occur at all. Furthermore, first person plural pronouns occur twice (vv.4, 7) and the verb occurs only once (v.5); second person singular pronouns and verbs are all missing (see **Table I**).

As far as the distribution of these personae in this passage are concerned, it is significant to note that although Paul does not mention any other names alongside his own as co-senders of the letter,[4] the first person plural pronouns and verbs occur only in the first paragraph of the letter (vv. 1-7) and the first person singular pronouns and verbs occur solely in vv. 8-16. However, while the second person plural pronouns occur in both vv. 1-7 and 8-15, the **humeis** in v.6, the first occurrence of the second person plural pronoun in Romans, as will be shown below (Section III.A), seems to denote only the Gentile

Christians in Rome rather than Roman Christians as a whole, as in all other occurrences in this passage.

Therefore, in the following analysis, we have to pay attention to Paul's change from one person to another when he uses these pronouns. Moreover, in this passage, as in 15:14-33, Paul also speaks explicitly about his intention to visit Rome. According to the evidence provided by the text, we will focus our study on the following topics: (1) Paul's self-description and his gospel; (2) Paul's knowledge about Roman Christians; and (3) Paul's expectations of visiting Rome and his purpose in writing the letter.

II. Paul's Self-description and His Gospel (1: 1-5, 9, 14, 16-17)

A. Paul as the Jewish Apostle Who Preaches a Jewish Gospel to the Gentiles (vv. 1-5)

Paul elaborates the standard greetings in Greek letters to include self-description at the opening of his letter.[5] In v.1, he introduces himself as "Paul, a servant (**doulos**) of Jesus Christ, called (**klētos**) to be an apostle, set apart (**aphōrismenos**) for the gospel of God". The Jewish overtone of this self-description is implied not only in his use of the word **doulos**[6] and **klētos**[7], but especially by his use of **aphorizō**.

As a matter of fact, **aphorizō** is connected with Paul's self-description at the opening of his letters only here, and the word occurs only four times in Pauline letters

(here; II Cor. 6:17; Gal. 1:15; 2:12).[8] In II Cor. 6:17, it occurs in an OT quotation[9] and denotes separation from the uncleanness of the Gentiles.[10] It expresses the same meaning in Gal. 2:12. However, in Gal. 1:15, it is used to denote Paul's self-understanding as an apostle to the Gentiles probably with Jer. 1: 5 and Is. 49: 1 in mind.[11] It is most significant to note that in the context of Gal. 1:15f., the words **kaleō** (v.15) and **euaggelizō** (v.16) are connected with **aphorizō**.[12] The parallel between Gal. 1:15 and Rm. 1:1 is obvious.[13] Thus, Paul's introduction of himself to the Roman Christians probably implies that he stands in the line of servants and prophets of OT and that he is a Jewish apostle. This Jewish image would probably be well recognized by those Roman Christians with a Jewish background.

The Jewishness of Paul's vocation is further confirmed by his description of the gospel. In 1:2, Paul defines his gospel by means of a relative clause as God's promises (**proepēggeilato**) through His prophets in the holy scriptures. The content of the gospel is concerned with Jesus Christ as the seed of David designated as Son of God (vv. 3-4).

There are two important observations in Paul's description of the gospel:

1. ***The fulfilment of God's promise(s)*** (**proepēggeilato**) ***in the holy scriptures***

The two-preposition compound **proepaggellesthai** occurs in the NT only here and in II Cor. 9: 5.[14] In both cases

the force of the **pro-** is certainly to emphasize the thought of priority already present in **epaggellesthai**[15] and the middle voice (in an active sense) of the word here may be to emphasize the subject of the promise, i.e. "which *God* promised".[16]

In the NT, the one-preposition compound **epaggellesthai** occurs fifteen times, of which only two are found in the undisputed Pauline letters (Rm. 4:21 and Gal. 3:19).[17] It is most significant that the contexts of these two occurrences are related to Paul's discussion of God's promise to Abraham.[18] Furthermore, the noun **epaggelia** occurs much more frequently (52 times) in the NT, of which twenty are found in the undisputed Pauline letters: 8 in Romans (4:13, 14, 16, 20; 9:4, 8, 9; 15:8), 10 in Galatians (3:14, 16, 17, 18, 18, 21, 22, 29; 4: 23, 28), and two in II Cor. (1:20; 7:1).[19] In both Romans and Galatians all occurrences are found in the context of Paul's discussion of God's promise(s) to Israel.[20] As far as the occurrences in II Cor. are concerned, **epaggelia** in 7:1 also refers to those promises God made to Israel (cf. 6:16ff.),[21] while in 1:20, it refers to God's faithfulness (v.18) and the fulfilment of God's promise in Christ. Barrett is probably right to suggest that "Paul's meaning [in 1:20] is that it is in Jesus Christ that the purposes of God, previously announced in the OT, are fulfilled .... that is, whatever God has promised finds its fulfilment in Christ".[22]

If the above understanding of **epaggelesthai** and **epaggelia** is correct, Paul's description of the gospel as "[God] promised beforehand through his prophets in the holy

scriptures" is most probably to indicate that the gospel is the fulfilment of God's promise(s) to the fathers in the OT. In other words, the gospel is the fulfilment of God's *covenantal* promise(s) to Israel. Thus Paul's description of the gospel probably prepares for his further discussion of God's promise(s) in Rm. 4, 9 and finally in 15:7ff., which is the conclusion of his exhortation (14:1 - 15:6) and also of the body of the letter.[23] Furthermore, Paul's description also hints that he is going to interpret the gospel by reference to the OT in the letter.[24]

2. *The Gospel concerning the Son of God who was Seed of David*

Paul defines the source of his gospel as from God (v.1)[25] and the content of his gospel as concerning Jesus Christ who is the seed of David and designated as Son of God (vv. 3, 4). In vv. 3-4, Paul quite probably makes use of an already existing confessional formula[26] which originated from the Jewish Christian circle.[27] However, it is impossible to be certain of the original form, content and context of this formula.[28] Most scholars believe that Paul had added the introductory expression **peri tou huiou autou** and also the concluding predicate **Iēsou christou tou kuriou hēmōn**.[29] Schweizer suggests that the phrase **en dunamei** was probably also a Pauline addition.[30]

Nevertheless, what we are sure of is the fact that Paul uses this formula in the *present context*[31] within which he describes himself as the Jewish apostle to the Gentiles. This implies that the gospel which he describes here is the gospel which is relevant to the Gentiles.

However, as far as the significance of the two Christological titles is concerned, "the seed of David" is clearly a narrow Jewish nationalistic title[32] which denotes that Jesus was the anointed Son of David, the royal Messiah, the fulfilment of prophetic hopes long cherished in the OT (II Sam. 7:14-16; Ps. 89:3f., 19ff.; Is. 11; Jer. 23:56; 33:14-18; Ezek. 34: 23-31; 37: 24-8).[33] In Paul's undisputed letters, here is the only instance where he refers this title explicitly to Jesus (cf. II Tim. 2:8; Rm. 15:12).

With regard to the title "son of God" (**huios theou**), it occurs only 15 times in Paul's undisputed letters.[34] However its significance is shown by the fact that it appears in Paul's account of his conversion (Gal. 1:15f.) and also right at the beginning (Rm. 1: 3, 4, 9; I Cor. 1:9) and at crucial points (Rm. 8:3, 29, 32; I Cor. 15:28) of his letters.[35] Although the origin of this title and its significance for our understanding of the pre-existence of Christ is hotly debated,[36] there are four points of agreement about it among many scholars:

(a) The phrase "son of God" was widely used in the ancient world, including Hellenistic (Gentile) culture and Palestinian and Diaspora Judaism.[37]

(b) In the NT, the title "son of God" primarily denotes the relationship between Jesus Christ and God the father.[38]

(c) In early Christian circles, the explicit application of this title to Jesus probably stemmed from belief in his

resurrection;[39] and

(d) In Rm. 1:3f. there is a two-stage christology.[40] The title "seed of David" denotes the first stage, while the title "Son of God" which is applied to the exalted Lord denotes the second stage and is superior to the title "seed of David".[41] However, these two titles are not incompatible but rather they can be applied to the same person.[42]

Thus the title "Son of God" has a much wider constituency than the title "the Seed of David" and emphasizes the relationship between Jesus and God rather than Jesus and the Jews. Paul's message that the Seed of David according to the flesh was designated Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness indicates that Jesus Christ is not merely a Jewish Messiah to the Jews but Son of God to both Jews and Gentiles. This interpretation is confirmed by the concluding confession **Iēsou Christou tou kuriou hēmōn** which is probably added by Paul to the existing formula.[43] The Christological title "Lord" certainly has both Jewish and Gentile backgrounds and it denotes Jesus' lordship over the whole world and the Christian community.[44]

The above observations have the following corollaries which are related to our hypothesis:

(a) The gospel of God which is preached to the Gentiles is God's promise(s) to Israel in the OT. In other words, Gentiles ***share*** the blessing of the Jews. There is no evidence in this passage to indicate that Gentiles replace Jews as the "sole legitimate possessor" of

God's promise(s) to Israel.[45]

(b) Jesus Christ, the subject matter of the gospel, is not merely a nationalistic Jewish Messiah, but the Son of God and the Lord of both Jews and Gentiles. Although Paul does not explicitly mention the significance of Jesus Christ to the Jews here, Paul's use of the first hēmōn of the letter in his confession of Jesus Christ as our Lord (v.4c) implicitly indicates that Jesus Christ is the Lord of both the Jewish and the Gentile Christians. This confession which is significant to Christians in general, recurs again and again in the letter.[46]

(c) The antithesis between "the seed of David" and "the son of God" is in form but not in substance.[47] Paul's use of **horisthentos** to denote that "the seed of David" is "appointed"[48] as "the son of God" probably implies that in Paul's mind, Jesus did not cease to be the "seed of David" when he was designated as the "son of God". This understanding is confirmed by Paul's continuous use of 'Christ' as the title of Jesus in vv. 4, 6, 7, 8, etc. Therefore the Jewish origin of Jesus is not denied but recognized. Bartsch is probably right in suggesting that this confessional formula is quoted by Paul with the intention of reminding the Gentile Christians that in believing they have adopted a Jewish apocalyptic hope.[49]

(d) The two themes in 1: 1-5, (i) the fulfilment of God's promise(s) to Israel, and (ii) the relevance of the Jewish Messiah to Jews and Gentiles, are clearly recalled in 15:7ff., 12. Thus Paul's exhortation to

the Jewish and the Gentile Christians to welcome one another, to participate in worship and the communal meals held at their house churches is most probably based on his understanding of the gospel stated at the beginning of the letter. In other words, Paul's theological understanding of the gospel prepared for his exhortation on the practical problems encountered by the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome. ***In Paul's mind, theological issues and practical issues were evidently closely related.***

(e) Paul's description of the gospel at the beginning of Romans is unique among his other extant letters. The uniqueness is not only in the form but also in the substance. It is well known that the death of Jesus on the cross which plays so great a role in Paul's thinking (cf. I Cor. 1:13, 17f., 23; 2:2, 8; II Cor. 13:4; Gal. 3:1; 5:11, 24; 6:12ff.; Phil. 2:8; 3:18)[50] is absent here.[51] On the contrary, Paul mentions Jesus explicitly as a Davidic descendant only here in his undisputed letters. This indicates that ***Rm. 1: 3-4 probably does not represent Paul's own summary of his gospel. In fact, the uniqueness of Paul's description of the gospel in 1: 3-4 fits with our understanding of the situation of Roman Christians as revealed in 14:1 - 15:13.***[52] This situation clearly indicates: (i) the need of the Gentile Christians to recognize their indebtedness to the Jewish traditions, (ii) the Jewish Christians' need to accept that the Gentiles are included as God's people based on faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and (iii) both groups should recognize that faith in Jesus

Christ is the common base for them to worship together.

(f) Some scholars suggest that a letter-writer's purpose is usually expressed at the beginning of a letter.[53] If this is the case, ***the purpose of Paul in Romans must be connected with the need to interpret*** (i) ***the gospel as God's promise(s) to Israel and*** (ii) ***Jesus, the Jewish Messiah, as Son of God and Lord of both Jews and Gentiles.*** This probably indicates that Paul's purpose in Romans is related to the situation of Roman Christians as revealed in Rm. 14: 1 - 15: 13.

(g) The notions of Jesus Christ as "Seed of David" and "Son of God" probably prepared for the discussion of Christians as the descendants of Abraham (4: 1-8, 13, 16, 18; 9:7; 11:1)[54] and sons of God (8:14ff.).[55]

(h) Since "God" is the most important theme in Romans,[56] Paul's definition of his gospel as the gospel of God and as God's promise through the prophets in the OT, and as concerning Jesus Christ the "son of God" is not accidental. These descriptions probably prepared the way for Paul to put forward the notions of "the power of God for salvation" (1:16); "the righteousness of God" (1:17); "the wrath of God" (1:18); "the glory of God" (1:13; 3:7, 23; 4:20; 5:2; 6:4; 9:23; 11:36; 15:6, 7);[57] "the truth of God" (1:25; 15:8); "God is one; and he will justify the circumcised .... and the uncircumcised" (3:29f.); "God of steadfastness and encouragement" (15:5) and "God of peace" (15:33; 16:20) etc..

In Rm. 1: 1 - 5, Paul presents himself as a Jewish

apostle who preaches to the Gentiles a gospel which God had promised to Israel concerning Jesus, the son of God who was the Jewish Messiah. *From the above study, we find that this passage is probably the foundation of the outworking of Paul's theocentric and Christological arguments in Romans for --*

(i) the inclusion of Gentiles into the boundary of God's covenantal promise(s) to Israel; and
(ii) the relationship between Judaism and Christian faith.

If his arguments are convincing, then the theological ground for Paul's exhortation of the practical problems in Rm. 14: 1 - 15: 13 is laid. And if the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome accept his suggestions in 14:1 - 15:13, Paul will be welcomed to Rome and will also receive adequate support for his mission to Spain.

B. Paul as a Debtor to All Mankind (v.14)

After Paul presents himself as the Jewish apostle to the Gentiles at the beginning of the letter, he identifies himself in v.14 as a debtor (**opheiletēs eimi**) both to Greeks and to Barbarians, both to the wise and to the foolish. The interpretation of the two contrasting pairs, **Hellēnes/Barbaroi** and **sophoi/anoētoi**, is not as free of difficulties as many commentators seem to have taken for granted. The basic problem is whether these pairs denote the whole of humankind or the whole of Gentile humanity.[58]

In view of the fact that Paul has referred to his ministry among the Gentiles in vv.5 and 13, most commentators suggest that these contrasting pairs refer to

the sum of *Gentile mankind*.[59] Nevertheless, there are several observations which count *against* this interpretation:

1. In 1:1-5, Paul does not present himself only as an apostle to the Gentiles, but as the *Jewish* apostle to the Gentiles, who preaches the gospel concerning the Jewish messiah designated as the Son of God and the Lord of *Jew and Gentile*. Paul's apostleship to the Gentiles does not necessarily imply that he understands himself as a debtor only to Gentiles.
2. In 9:1-5, Paul regards himself to a certain extent as a debtor to his own countrymen.[60] In 11:13f., Paul indicates that his mission to the Gentiles is at the same time a mission to the Jews.[61] Furthermore, in I Cor. 9:16-23, when Paul talks about being under compulsion (**anagkē**) to preach the gospel (vv.16-17), he says that he has made himself a slave to all -- both Jews and Gentiles (vv.19-22).[62] Hahn,[63] Kaesemann,[64] and Wilckens[65] are probably right to see a connection between Rm. 1:14 and I Cor. 9:16.
3. It is noteworthy that **opheiletēs** occurs only three times in Romans (here; 8:12; 15:27). In 8: 12 Paul emphatically tells the Roman Christians that "we are debtors, not to the flesh". Paul's use of the word is not relevant to our discussion here. However, it is significant that in 15: 25-27 Paul presents himself as the messenger of the Gentile Christians who are ***debtors to*** the Christian ***Jews*** in Jerusalem. Furthermore, Paul identifies himself with the 'strong' (the Gentile

Christians) in 15:1 and suggests that they have an "inescapable obligation" (opheilō) to help to carry the burden of the 'weak' (the Jewish Christians).[66] Therefore, if Paul regards himself as a debtor not only to the Gentiles but also to the Jews in 1: 14, he is consistent with his self-description presented in 15: 1, 14-33.

4. The asyndeton of v.14 probably indicates that the subject of discussion has been changed[67] from Paul's plan of visiting Rome (vv.8-13) to Paul's assertion of his self-understanding and his understanding of the gospel (vv.14-17). It would be more probable that the two contrasting pairs in v.14 refer to **humin tois en** Rōmē/ (v.15) which could be understood as "you, Christians in Rome" or "you, inhabitants of Rome".[68] As far as the composition of the Roman Christians is concerned, although it is probable that Gentile Christians were the majority, it is quite obvious that there were ***significant*** numbers of Jewish Christians among Paul's addressees (cf. 2:17; 4:1; 7:1).[69] Cranfield is probably right to argue that both Jewish and Gentile Christians were numerous in the Roman Christian community.[70] With regard to the composition of the inhabitants of Rome, while Rome was a melting pot of different races in the first century (see **Ch. 2**), the use of these two contrasting pairs to describe its inhabitants is most appropriate. If the above understandings are acceptable, the two contrasting pairs would probably refer to all human races which includes both Jews and Gentiles in Rome. This interpretation is

further supported by v.16, in which Paul asserts that the gospel is the power of God for salvation of every one who has faith, to the *Jew* first *and* also to the *Greek* (cf. Gal. 3:28; Col. 3:11). Balsdon is probably right to point out that the phrases "Greeks and Barbarians" and "Jews and Greeks" are just two different ways of dividing the same humanity, the former is Greek and the latter is Jewish.[71]

5. The two contrasting pairs, **Hellēnes/Barbaroi** and **sophoi/anoētoi**, were probably popular stereotypes to denote humankind as a whole in the first century within the Graeco-Roman world.[72] This usage would be familiar to both the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome, even though the Christian Jews would prefer to use the phrase "Jew and Greek" to denote the same thing.[73] Paul's use of "Greeks and Barbarians", "wise and foolish" and "Jew and Greek" in the same context (vv.14-16) probably indicates that he uses Gentile as well as Jewish terminologies in dialogue with both Christian groups in Rome. By using Gentile terminology, he probably appeals to his Gentile audience indicating that he is not only a debtor to the Gentiles but also the Jews. By using Jewish terminology, he appeals to the Jews indicating that the gospel is not only relevant to Jews but also Gentiles.
6. In the following passages, 1:18 - 2:29, Paul obviously has all mankind in sight and uses stereotyped language to denote Gentiles (1: 18-32) and Jews (2: 17-20).[74]

In view of the above observations, it seems to be more probable that Paul presents himself to his addressees not

only as the apostle to the Gentiles, but also as a debtor to all mankind,[75] including both Jews and Gentiles, in the introduction of the letter. Paul's self-descriptions in 1: 1-5 and 14 are consistent with the two images of himself presented in 15: 16-21, 25-27 -- 'the Jewish apostle to the Gentiles' and 'the messenger who brings the Gentile collection to Jerusalem'. These images are well suited to his dialogue with both the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome in the following passages of the letter.

C. Paul's Gospel (vv.1-4, 9, 16-17)

In 1: 1-17, the noun **euaggelion** occurs three times (vv. 1, 9, 16) and the verb **euaggelizō** occurs once (v.15).[76] In the discussion above on 1: 1-5, we suggested that the Jewishness of Paul's self-understanding of his apostleship to the Gentiles is further qualified by the fact that he defines his gospel (i) as God's covenantal promise(s) to Israel, and (ii) as concerning His son (cf. 1:9),[77] the Jewish messiah designated as Son of God who is the Lord of both Jews and Gentiles. From the above study, we concluded that 1: 1-5 is probably the foundation of Paul's theocentric and christological argument in Romans for (i) the inclusion of Gentiles into the boundary of God's promise(s) to Israel; and (ii) the relationship between the Jewish faith and the Christian faith. These arguments are the theological ground for Paul's exhortation in 14:1 - 15:13.

However, in 1: 16-17, when Paul talks about the gospel which he is eager to preach to his addressees in Rome

(v.15), the language he uses to describe the gospel is in soteriological terms rather than christological, as in 1: 3-4.[78] Since 1: 16-17 is generally regarded as "the theme of the epistle",[79] its relationship with our *hypothesis* which has so far developed from our study of Rm. 14-16 is most important. But in fact, Paul's description of his gospel in 1: 16-17 also provides evidence to support our hypothesis as follows:

1. ***The gospel for salvation to both Jews and Greeks*** (v.16)

If the relevance of Paul's gospel to both Jews and Gentiles is only implicitly expressed in 1: 1-5, it is explicitly expressed in 1:16.

Paul makes it clear that "It [the gospel] is the power of God for salvation to every one who has faith (**panti tōi pisteuonti**), to the Jew first and also to the Greek". In this description there are two observations which are significant for our hypothesis:

(A) *To every one who has faith*

The salvation of God is not only for the Jew but also for the Greek (cf. 3:29). The only essential requirement for salvation which is common to "every one", both the Jew and the Greek, is "faith".[80] Thus "faith" governs "every one's" relationship with God.[81]

Paul's emphasis on "every one" (**pas**) and "faith" (**pisteuō**) is confirmed by v.17[82] and is further expounded in 3:22,[83] in which Paul speaks of "the righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ for all who believe

(**pantas tous pisteuontas**). For there is no distinction". Paul's emphasis on faith as the only requirement[84] for salvation of every one also prepares for his discussion of Abraham's faith as the prototype of the faith of Christians, circumcised or uncircumcised, in Rm. 4 (see **Chapter 9**).

Furthermore, according to Paul, "faith" or "faith in Jesus Christ" is the only crucial test for every one, Jew or Greek, to determine whether one belongs to the people of God or is excluded from it (cf. 3: 27ff. and 9:30ff.).[85] This is in fact the cornerstone of Paul's argument in 14: 13b-23, in which he argues that observance or non-observance of the Jewish ceremonial laws is not essential to salvation for either Jews or Gentiles. Salvation is only through faith in Christ (cf. 14: 22f., see **Chapter 5**).

(B) *To the Jew first*

Paul's statement "to the Jew first (**prōton**)[86] and also to the Greek" has caused some difficulties in interpretation.[87] The problems are related to the meaning of **prōton**. There are at least three possible suggestions:

(1) **prōton** refers to the historical fact that the gospel was preached to the Jews before it was preached to the Gentiles (cf. Mtt. 10:5f.).[88]
(2) Nygren suggests that **prōton** refers to Israel's special history. However, with the coming of Christ the priority of the Jew is now abolished.[89]
(3) The word **prōton** indicates that within the framework of the fundamental equality of Jew and Gentile in the

gospel of salvation, there is a certain undeniable priority of the Jew.[90]

Watson follows suggestion (1), but he tries to make a more specific interpretation that **prōton** refers to "Paul's acknowledgment of the priority and the pre-eminence of the Roman Jewish Christian congregation."[91] In view of the fact that the primary context of the phrase "to the Jew first" (v.16b) is Paul's description of the gospel for salvation (v.16a) rather than the Roman Christian community (v.15), Watson's interpretation is quite unlikely. Against Nygren's suggestion [suggestion (2)], it should be noted that the theme of the priority of Jews in salvation history recurs in 2:9f.; 3:1f.; 9:4f.; 11:29; 15:27 and is not denied by Paul. Nygren's interpretation is not supported by the evidence in Romans. Thus Paul's phrase seems more probably to refer to salvation history [suggestion (3)] and also to the historical fact [suggestion (1)] that God's promise was given and the gospel for salvation was preached to the Jews first.

However, it is significant that the word **prōton** is put in the context of **te -- kai** (cf. I Cor. 1:24) and **panti tō/i pisteuonti**.[92] This implies that the priority of Jew does not exceed the boundary marked by 'faith' which is the common condition for the salvation of both the Jew and the Gentile. In other words, Paul tries to emphasize that on the one hand, both the Jew and the Gentile are fundamentally equal in God's salvation through faith (cf. 3:22; 10:12), and on the other hand, the Jew is

historically in a position of priority in God's salvation plan.[93] Thus Paul indicates that the Jewish Christians should recognize the legitimacy of the Gentile Christians to be God's people and the Gentile Christians should recognize the priority of the Christian Jews and their spiritual indebtedness to them. This understanding is probably a basic assumption behind the whole letter and is the foundation for Paul's exhortation in 14:1 - 15:13 and his interpretation of the significance of the Gentile collection in 15:27 (see **Chapters 5 and 6**).

2. *The righteousness of God is revealed through faith for faith* (v.17)

Rm. 1:17 is one of the most controversial verses in the letter and has been interpreted variously by different scholars. The difficulties in interpretation lie mainly in three issues:

(A) *Paul's understanding of* **dikaiosunē theou** *in 1: 17*

Although there is common understanding that **dikaiosunē theou** is the fundamental concept or the dominating theme of Romans, there is as yet no consensus about Paul's understanding of that phrase.[94] While most scholars now agree that in the OT and in Paul, "righteousness" designates conduct or activity appropriate to a ***relationship***[95] rather than the Greco-Roman tradition which denotes the quality of being, a static attribute or an idealized absolute ethical norm against which particular claims and duties could be measured,[96] they offer four different views:[97] "righteousness of God" means (a) that

righteousness which is granted by God or "counts" in God's eyes (**theou** being understood as a genitive of origin, or 'objective' genitive);[98] (b) God's own righteousness, not as a static attribute, but as an expression of God's saving power or activity (**theou** taken as a subjective genitive);[99] (c) God's gift of righteousness which becomes man's righteous status resulting from God's action of justifying man (**theou** understood as a genitive of origin);[100] and (d) God's activity-in-relationship[101] or more precisely, God's activity in drawing into and sustaining within covenant relationship (**theou** being understood both as subjective genitive and a genitive of origin).[102]

(B) *Paul's understanding of* ***ek pisteōs eis pistin***

In the phrase **ek pisteōs eis pistin**, there is the question as to whether the two occurrences of **pistis** have the same meaning, referring to man's faith,[103] or different meanings,[104] with **ek pisteōs** referring to God's covenant-faithfulness and **eis pistin** to man's response of faith.[105]

(C) *Paul's quotation of Hab. 2:4 (cf. Gal. 3:11)*

Paul's quotation from Hab. 2:4 has caused two main areas of disagreement among many scholars (a) whether the quotation is the text of the whole letter on which much that follows is the commentary,[106] or whether it is the first proof text of the letter to support the theme of the letter;[107] and (b) Paul's omission of the personal pronouns, which occur (differently) in MT, LXX and Heb. 10: 38,[108] causes ambiguity as to whether **ek pisteōs** should be understood as modifying the adjective

"righteous"[109] or the verb "shall live",[110] or both.[111]

While the scope of our study does not allow us to engage in detailed discussion on these issues, we will draw attention to those points which are significant to our hypothesis about Paul's purpose in writing Romans:

(1) It is most significant that the majority of scholars agree that Paul's use of "righteousness" is to be interpreted against the background of the OT and therefore understand it in terms of ***relationship***. Since the supreme important relationship in the OT was the ***covenant*** between God and His people, Paul's phrase "righteousness of God" should be interpreted in this context.[112] While the particle **gar** indicates that v.17 explains v.16b., it implies that the clause "the righteousness of God is revealed through faith for faith" explains the clause "it [the gospel] is the power of God for salvation to everyone who has faith, to the Jew first and also to the Greek."[113]

If this is the case, "the righteousness of God" which is related to the covenant between God and His people is significant not only to the Jew but also to the Gentile. Thus Paul's thematic statement in vv. 16, 17 indicates that although there is a priority of the Jew in the covenant, the Gentile is also included.[114] This understanding is consistent with our above interpretation of the significance of Paul's gospel stated in 1: 1-4, which implies that Gentiles are included in God's covenant promise(s) to Israel, and the Jewish messiah is the Son of God and the Lord of

both Jew and Gentile. In other words, the inclusion of the Gentiles in the covenant between God and His people is probably one of the most important elements in Paul's gospel and it is probably also part of the theme of Romans.

(2) The notion of man's faith occurs in vv.16 and 17. It indicates that 'faith' is the only requirement of man for salvation or inclusion in God's covenant. This requirement is made to both the Jew and the Gentile. In fact, the goal of Paul's preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles is "to bring about the obedience of faith for the sake of his name among all the nations" (v.5). In linking the thought of "obedience" to "the nations", Paul most likely has in mind the importance of "obedience" as Israel's proper response to God's covenant grace (cf. Deut. 26:17; 30:2).[115] If this is the case, Paul probably hopes that his addressees would understand the faith response of the Gentiles to the gospel as the fulfilment of God's covenant purpose through Israel.[116]

Thus v.17 confirms vv.5 and 16 that "faith" is the only essential element which governs the relationship between God and both the Jew and the Gentile. This also implies that the relationship between the Jew and the Gentile should be governed by the fact that they are both saved through faith and nothing else. This understanding is certainly the basis for Paul's exhortation in 14:1 - 15:13.

(3) Paul's quotation of Hab. 2:4 in this thematic statement

recalls his expression of "the gospel of God which he promised beforehand through his prophets in the holy scriptures" (v.2). It also prepares his addressees to expect his arguments in the letter to be grounded in the OT. Thus the Jewish Christians should recognize that Paul's thinking is in continuity with the OT and the Gentile Christians should be aware that their salvation is based on the promise made in Jewish scriptures.[117] This double function of Paul's quotation of the OT in Romans recurs frequently in the letter.

Thus in 1: 16, 17, the theme-text of Romans, Paul's soteriological definition of his gospel is consistent with his christological definition of the gospel in 1: 1-4. In fact, both passages are theocentric. Therefore, ***1:16, 17 is probably the programmatic statement of the outworking of Paul's theocentric and soteriological arguments in Romans for*** --

(1) the inclusion of Gentiles into the boundary of God's covenant with His people;
(2) the demolition of the distinction between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians;
(3) "faith" as the only element governing the relationships between God, the Jew and the Gentile; and
(4) the understanding of the relationship between the Jew and the Gentile in God's purpose of salvation.

If Paul could win these arguments in the letter, then his exhortations in 14:1 - 15:13 would be based on solid theological ground.

D. Summary and Conclusion:

In the introduction to Romans, we find two passages in which Paul introduces his own self-description and the gospel to his addressees. In 1: 1-5, Paul identifies himself as the Jewish apostle to the Gentiles, who preaches the gospel concerning His son, the Jewish messiah designated as Son of God, who is Lord of the Jews and the Gentiles, while in 1: 14-17, Paul identifies himself as a debtor to all mankind, who wishes to preach the gospel to the people in Rome concerning the significance of God's covenantal righteousness for salvation to every one who has faith, to the Jew first and also to the Greek.

In both passages, the gospel is defined as consistent with God's covenantal promise to Israel and as significant to both Jews and Gentiles. While faith is the only response required from both Jews and Gentiles to be saved, the Jewishness of Jesus and the priority of the Jews in God's salvation plan are clearly indicated. Paul's definition of the gospel in Romans is unique among his extant letters. Its uniqueness fits in with our understanding of the situation of Roman Christians as revealed in Rm. 14: 1 - 15: 13.

Thus it seems that Paul's images and his gospel presented in 1: 1-5 and 1: 14-17 are consistent with our hypothesis developed from Rm. 14-16. Paul probably intends to let the Roman Christians perceive him as both the Jewish apostle to the Gentiles and a debtor not only to Gentile but also to Jew. Moreover, there is general consensus among scholars that 1: 16-17 is the theme of Romans. If this is

the case, it probably implies that from the beginning and throughout the letter, Paul recognizes that the situation of Roman Christians requires him to focus on the aspects of his gospel which emphasize the Jewish priority as well as the inclusion of the Gentiles in God's salvation plan. The old distinction between Jew and Gentile has been changed through faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.

If Paul could convince the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome about these aspects of the gospel, he would be able to lay a solid foundation for his exhortation in 14:1 - 15:13. If the Roman Christians should accept his exhortation and build up a Christian community net-work in Rome, Paul would get the support he needs to launch his mission to Spain. Furthermore, the two passages (1: 1-5 and 1: 14-17) in which Paul presents his self-description and the gospel ***bracket*** the passage (1: 6-13) in which Paul indicates his knowledge of the Roman Christians and his plan to visit Rome. As will be shown below, the evidence further suggests that Paul's images and the gospel which he presents to his addressees are closely related to his understanding of the situation in Rome and his plan to visit the Roman Christians.

III. Paul's Knowledge of the Roman Christians (1:6f., 13)

A. Paul's Addressees in Rome (1:6f.)

After Paul's assertion of his apostleship to all the Gentiles in v.5,[118] he adds **en hois este kai humeis klētoi Iēsou Christou** in v.6 to indicate that there are Christians in Rome who are also within the boundary of his apostleship

to the Gentiles.[119] Many scholars take the personal pronoun **humeis** as referring to Gentile Christians in Rome and suggest that this phrase is among the clearest evidence that the Roman Christians were largely Gentile (cf. 11:13, 17-21; 14:1).[120] However, if this is the case, then it is quite certain that this **humeis** does ***not*** refer to ***all the addressees*** of the letter. The reasons are: (i) As we have mentioned above (and will be shown in detail below) Paul explicitly addresses his Jewish audience in some passages of Romans (2: 17-27; 3: 1; 4:1; 7:1ff.). This implies that there are ***significant numbers of Jews among his addressees***. Therefore if this **humeis** refers to Gentile Christians, then it is more reasonable to take it as referring only to those ***Gentile Christians among his addressees***, but ***not to all his addressees***. (ii) According to the convention of Greek letter writing during the first century, the naming of the addressees (as a whole) is connected with salutation (the second part of the address).[121] In the case of Romans, this occurs not in v. 6 but in v.7.[122] In other words, **humeis** in v.6 does not seem to refer to Paul's addressees as a whole, but only the Gentile Christians among them.

If the above observation is correct, it makes more sense to understand Paul's statement in v. 7, which is the second part of the address in a Hellenistic letter, as referring to the addressees as a whole. His use of the inclusive statement **pasin tois ousin en Rōmē/i agapētois theou, klētois hagiois** to denote ***all*** his addressees probably implies that Paul is aware that his addressees are not only Gentiles (of whom he is the apostle) but also

Jews. Moreover, there are two further observations which provide evidence to support our understanding of Paul's addressees in Rome:

(1) The pasin is probably used to *contrast* with his statement in vv.5f. in order to emphasize[123] that although he is an apostle to the Gentiles (v. 5), he is now addressing not only Gentile Christians (v.6) but *all* Christians in Rome, both Jew and Gentile.[124] In fact, there are five occurrences of pas in Romans which are used in conjunction with the phrase "Jew(s) and Greek/ Gentile(s)" (1:16; 2:9, 10; 3:9; 10:12; cf. 4: 11-12, 16).[125]

(2) Paul uses the **klētoi Iēsou Christou** in v. 6 to denote the Gentile Christians, but **agapētois theou** and **klētois hagiois** in v. 7 to denote *all* his addressees. Paul probably intends to use the phrase **klētois Iēsou Christou** to mark the Gentile Christians off from other cults, groups dependent on a named patron, and probably even the non-Christian Jews.[126] However, the phrases **agapētois theou** and **klētois hagiois** denoting all the addressees are very Jewish[127] and they would probably make more sense to those Christians with a Jewish background. These descriptions are probably used by Paul to appeal to the Jewish Christians among his addressees and at the same time to indicate that those Gentile Christians who belong to Jesus Christ (**klētoi Iēsou Christou**)[128] are also included in these Jewish self-descriptions.

Furthermore, besides these two observations, if we take

the broader context of the letter into account, Paul obviously indicates that his apostleship to the Gentiles does not imply that his gospel is relevant only to the Gentiles (cf. 1:1-4, 16-17). He is very conscious of his own Jewishness (1:1; 9:1ff.; 11:1; cf. II Cor. 11:22; Phil. 3: 4-6) and the mission to Jews (10:1, 19; 11:11f., 14f., 25ff.; cf. I Cor. 9: 19-23).

Thus it is more reasonable to assume that ***Paul is well aware of the fact that there are considerable numbers of Jewish and Gentile Christians among his addressees***. He enters into dialogue with both of them in the letter concerning the relationship between them. This understanding is consistent with our hypothesis and can better explain the question posed by Zeller,[129] Schmithals[130] and Kettunen[131] as to why a letter supposedly written to Gentile readers should be concerned with Jewish problems.

Therefore, after using the **humeis** in v.6 to denote the Gentile Christians in Rome, Paul uses the other 14 occurrences of the different cases of the second person plural pronouns in vv.7-15 to denote *all* Christians in Rome as his addressees.

However, the only case which casts some doubt upon our interpretation is in v.13c, in which Paul says "I may reap some harvest among you (**en humin**) as well as among the rest of the Gentiles (**kathōs kai en tois loipois ethnesin**)". While v.13c seems to be a parallel statement to vv.5f., the occurrence of **ta ethnē** seems to indicate that **humin** refers to Gentile Christians.[132] However, if we take a closer look

at this evidence, it is not as strong as it first appears.

The parallelism between vv.5f. and v.13c is in fact quite limited. The similarity is in Paul's consciousness of his ministry among the Gentiles but not in the syntactical relation between **ta ethnē** and **humeis**. In vv.5f., Paul indicates that **ta ethnē** "also includes you" (**kai humeis**). It is different from v.13c where it is "among you" (**en humin**) "as also among other Gentiles" (**kathōs kai en tois loipois ethnesin**). In other words, in vv.5f., Paul is more likely talking about the Christians in Rome *who are included in the Gentile category;*[133] while in v.13c, Paul is talking about "God's beloved in Rome" (v.7) *who live in the midst of Gentiles,*[134] as do other Christians in other cities who live among the rest of the Gentiles.[135] In short, the **humeis** in v. 6 denotes "you, Gentile Christians", while in v. 13c **humeis** denotes "you, inhabitants of Rome" or "you, Christians in Rome".[136]

This interpretation is further supported by the following evidence: (i) there is no reason why Paul should change from addressing all his addressees in vv.7-12 and probably v.13a, b to just the Gentile Christians in v.13c; (ii) with reference to the phrase **kai humin tois en Rōmēi** in v.15, it is more natural to render all three second person pronouns in v.13 as "you, Christians in Rome" or "you, inhabitants of Rome"[137] rather than "you, Gentile Christians"; (iii) as will be shown below,[138] Paul's statement in v. 13c ("I may reap some harvest among you as well as among the rest of the Gentiles") does not denote his intention of making Rome to be his (Gentile) mission

field, but rather denotes his expectation of having some result from Roman Christians (as a whole) which is in line with his general practice among other Christians who also live in the midst of Gentiles.

Thus we conclude that Paul is probably aware of the large number of Gentile Christians in Rome. However, he indicates at the beginning of his letter that he (the Jewish apostle to the Gentiles who preaches the gospel which is relevant to both Jew and Gentile) is addressing *all* Roman Christians, both *Jew and Gentile*, in the letter. Furthermore, he justifies his intention by presenting himself in the following verses (vv. 14-17) as debtor to *all* mankind and his gospel as the power of God to save *everyone* who has faith, to the *Jew* first and also to the *Gentile*.

The absence of the word **ekklēsia** to denote the Roman Christian community as a whole is surprising here as in the rest of Romans.[139] Although we may not lend too much weight to this evidence for establishing our hypothesis,[140] it is significant that it is consistent with our hypothesis that there were several house churches instead of one single congregation in Rome at the time Paul wrote his letter.

B. Paul's Awareness of the Situation of the Roman Christians (1:8)

Most scholars agree that Paul follows the contemporary convention of Greek letter writing of introducing a thanksgiving passage[141] in vv.8-15.[142] In this passage, the personal element is prominent. In fact, the first person

singular, both of the pronoun and of the verb, occur for the first time in v.8 and only in vv.8-16 in the first chapter of Romans (see Table I). Furthermore, besides the two second person plural pronouns occurring in vv.6, 7, all other thirteen occurrences are in vv.8-15 (see Table I). Thus it would not be an exaggeration to say that in the thanksgiving, Paul is fully involved in an I - You relationship with the Roman Christians. However, it is in the opening verse (v.8) of the thanksgiving passage that Paul expresses his awareness of the situation of the Roman Christians. The following verses (vv.9-15) are related to Paul's plan to visit them.

Although Paul uses only one verse here to indicate his knowledge of the situation of Roman Christians, it is by no means "less profound and significant", as Dodd suggested.[143] This verse probably expresses a succinct and significant summary of his understanding of the situation in Rome which is relevant to our hypothesis:

(1) The phrase **pantōn humōn** once again (cf. **pasin** in v.7) emphasizes that Paul had *all* Roman Christians in mind, instead of any sector of them.[144] This emphasis is not accidental. Paul uses **pas** in v.7 to denote all his addressees in the salutation and in 15:33 to address all his readers in the final prayer-wish of the letter (see **Chapter 6**). This probably indicates that Paul is aware not only of the situation of the Gentile Christians in Rome but also of that of the Jewish Christians. He is not addressing either one group or the other in the letter as a whole, but both groups. As

we have mentioned above (see Chapter 5), even in those parts of the letter (14: 13b - 15: 4), which he addresses specifically to one group of his addressees, Paul expects his message would *be overheard* and *is relevant* to the other group (see also Chapters 9 to 11 below). He probably wants to make this crystal clear at the beginning and the end of his letter.

(2) The significance of Paul's giving thanks to God for their *faith* (**hē pistis humōn**) and not for anything else, is possibly as follows:

(a) In none of Paul's undisputed letters does he give thanks *only* for the faith of his addressees.[145] However, while 'faith' is one of the most important key terms in Romans,[146] Paul's thanksgiving about 'their faith' would not be accidental. In fact, "obedience of faith"[147] occurs in 1:5 as the object which his apostleship to the Gentiles is to bring about. In 1:17, Paul emphasizes that 'faith' is the only essential element governing the relationship between God and both Jew and Gentile.[148] It is possible that Paul intends to focus his addressees' attention on the issue of 'faith' in this thanksgiving statement.[149]

(b) It is not certain what specific character of their faith is being proclaimed abroad far and wide. Barth,[150] Nygren,[151] and Cranfield[152] suggest that Paul gives thanks simply for the fact that there are Christians in Rome. However, while Paul praises the spiritual maturity of Roman Christians in the latter part of the letter (6:17; 15:14 and 16:19), it is quite

reasonable to suggest that he gives thanks to God for the quality of their faith.[153] The quality of their faith probably provides the reason why Paul can assume their ability to solve the tensions among themselves (14:1 - 15:13), to exhort one another (15:14) and to avoid the influence of the false teachers (16: 17-19).

(c) The phrase **hē pistis humōn** indicates that Paul assumes they share a ***common faith***.[154] This interpretation is further illuminated by the clumsy statement **tēs en allēlois pisteōs humōn te kai emou** in v.12. The word **allēlous** occurs fourteen times in Romans,[155] among which ten occurrences are in the paraenetic section (Rm. 12-15) and once in Rm. 16 (v.16). According to our study above (**Chapters 5 and 6**), **allēlous** in Rm. 14-16 denotes the relationship between the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome. In fact, the **allēlous** in Rm. 12-13 probably denotes the same relationship.[156] If this is the case, the phrase **tēs en allēlous pisteōs humōn** possibly denotes ***the faith shared by both the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome***[157] ***and that is also the faith shared by Paul*** (**te kai emou**).[158] In other words, Paul's clumsy statement implies that he, and the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome share a common faith (cf. 1: 2-4). This is possibly one of the reasons why Paul can expect his letter to be received as a ***reminder*** to the Roman Christians (15:15).

Thus at the beginning of the letter, Paul indicates that he writes his letter with an awareness of the situation of Roman Christians. He knows that because he shares a common faith with them, as they share the same

faith among themselves, he can address all of them and remind them to solve the tensions among themselves on the basis of this common faith. By solving these tensions, they could build up a Christian net-work in Rome to support his planned mission to Spain.

If the suggestion that the thanksgiving passage of a letter also functions as a sort of indicator of the occasion and contents is acceptable,[159] the significance of our interpretation of v.8 would be most obvious. Nevertheless, the relevance of Paul's thanksgiving passage in Romans to our hypothesis and to our interpretation of the doctrinal core of the letter can be further elaborated in our following interpretation of vv.9-15.

IV. Paul's Expectations of Visiting Rome and His Purpose in Writing the Letter (1: 9-15)

A. Paul's Expectations of Visiting Rome

After Paul has given thanks to God for the faith of the Roman Christians in v.8, he solemnly expresses his earnest desire to visit Rome (vv. 9, 10).[160] As we have mentioned in **Chapter 6**, there are striking parallel elements in 1: 9-15 and 15: 22-24 as follows:

(1) an expression of a wish to come to Rome (1:10c, 13a// 15:23);

(2) an expression of a desire or eagerness to see the Roman Christians (1:11a//15:24b); and

(3) a statement that Paul has so far been hindered or prevented from coming (1:13b//15:22).

However, compared to 15: 22-24, there are at least three expectations which are strongly expressed in 1: 9-15 in relation to his visit to Rome but not emphasized or not repeated again in 15: 22-24:

(1) Paul's expectation of imparting some spiritual gifts to strengthen the Roman Christians (v.11b);

(2) Paul's expectation of reaping some harvest among the Roman Christians (v.13c); and

(3) Paul's expectation of preaching the gospel to the Christians in Rome (v.15).

If we take a closer look at these three expectations, we can find that there is a give-take-give pattern, which denotes the relationship between Paul and the Roman Christians:

1. *Give-and-take relationship between Paul and the Roman Christians (vv.11-13)*

First of all, we will focus on the pattern of the give-and-take relationship expressed in vv.11b and 13c. We suggest that an examination of this pattern will shed light on v.15, in which Paul expresses his specific expectation of preaching the gospel in Rome, and also on Paul's purpose in Romans.

As a matter of fact, a close relationship between vv.11b and 13c is confirmed by their grammatical structures (**hina ti metadō .... humin** in v.11b and **hina tina schō .... humin** in v.13c)[161] and Paul's statement in v.12, which is ***bracketed*** by vv.11 and 13, indicating that Paul expects a mutually beneficial relationship (**sumparaklēthēnai**)[162]

between him and the Roman Christians. This sun compound verb is probably echoed by sunanapausōmai in 15:32, which denotes the expected refreshing rest together after Paul and the Roman Christians have solved the problems which demand that they struggle together.[163]

Many scholars regard v.12 as Paul's embarrassed correction to his inappropriate statement in v.11 in which he indicates his expectation of imparting "some spiritual gift" to a church not founded by him.[164] However, this interpretation is not necessary.[165] As a matter of fact, in the following verse (v.13) Paul explicitly expresses his wish to visit the Roman Christians and his expectation of reaping some harvest (karpos) among them in accordance with his usual practice in other places. Therefore it seems to be more reasonable to see v.12 as a transitional statement which holds vv.11 and 13 together[166] and which indicates Paul's expectation of a give-and-take relationship between him and the Roman Christians. Leenhardt is probably right to suggest that "at the heart of the Body of Christ no one gives without receiving ..... He [Paul] will not only give, he will initiate an exchange, a dialogue as a result of which the members of the Body will gain mutual enrichment .....".[167]

In fact, according to a recent study by Peter Marshall, the pattern of give-and-take is the basic pattern of the conventions of friendship in the Graeco-Roman world.[168] Marshall follows Mauss[169] in suggesting that "The fulfilment of the obligations by all parties - to give, to accept, to return - fulfils the conditions of friendship.

To refuse is the equivalent of 'a declaration of war; it is a refusal of friendship and intercourse'. There is no middle ground: there must be 'either complete trust or mistrust'".[170] In other words, Paul's statements in vv. 11 - 13 indicate that he wants to assure the Roman Christians that he is preparing to enter into a relationship of complete trust with them, he is ready to give and also to receive. This assurance is necessary not only because many Roman Christians would not know Paul personally, but also because Paul probably knows that the news about his refusal to receive the offer of aid from the Corinthians[171] may have arrived in Rome.

If this is the case, ***the issue at stake will be what Paul expects to <u>give</u> and <u>take</u> in his relationship with the Roman Christians***. We will examine this as follows:

(A) *To impart some spiritual gift* (**charisma pneumatikon**)

Paul's use of **pneumatikon** to qualify **charisma** is quite remarkable. Within early Christian literature, both words are distinctively Pauline.[172] In fact, the two words are closely linked in Paul's usage.[173] In I Cor. 12:1 and 14:1, he seems to equate **pneumatika** with **charismata** to denote the activity of the Spirit in Christian ministry.[174]

In Romans, **pneumatikos** occurs only three times. It is used to qualify **ho nomos**, which is the privilege of Israel (cf. 9:4), in 7:14. In 15:27, it refers to the spiritual benefit which had been mediated to the Gentiles through the Jewish Christians. It probably includes the privileges of Israel indicated in 1:16; 9: 4-5 and 11: 11-

32. It is most significant to note that in the context of 15:26f., **ta pneumatika** is understood as something exchangeable with **ta sarkika** in the fellowship of the Jewish and the Gentile Christians.[175]

As far as **charisma** is concerned, it is used by Paul, especially in Romans, in at least three different ways:[176] (i) to denote both the gracious act and gift of God in Jesus Christ (5:15, 16; 6:23); (ii) in the plural to denote the particular gracious gift granted by God to Israel in times past (11:29); (iii) to denote a special gift given to the believers in the context of building up of the community of faith (12: 6-8; cf. I Cor. 7:7; 12-14; II Cor. 1:11).

In view of the above survey, the striking double emphasis of **charisma pneumatikon** in v.11 probably indicates that:

(i) Paul is conscious of his dependence on the activity of the Spirit and God's grace for those benefits he could bring to the Christians in Rome;

(ii) those benefits would probably include some spiritual gift for building up the Christian community in Rome and the gracious gift granted by God to Israel which is also available to Gentiles through Christ.

If we take Paul's definition of the gospel in 1: 2-4 and 16-17 into account, 'God's gracious gift to Israel' probably means God's covenant promise(s) to Israel which is now available also to Gentiles through Christ. This is probably included in those spiritual gifts that Paul intends to impart to the Roman Christians.

Nevertheless, the point at stake here is what Paul would expect to get after he imparts some spiritual gift to the Roman Christians.

(B) *To reap some harvest* (karpos)

In the NT, as in the LXX and in secular Greek, **karpos** is used in both a literal sense to denote fruit of the earth and metaphorically to denote fruit of action, result, or gain.[177] In the undisputed Pauline letters, **karpos** occurs nine times,[178] all of them used figuratively or in a metaphorical context (I Cor. 9: 7). In Rm. 6:21, 22 and Phil. 1:22, it probably denotes "appropriate result or return" of one's action(s).[179] The other occurrences, besides Rm. 1: 13, are in more specific contexts. We can discuss them according to two categories:

(a) In Gal. 5:22 and Phil. 1:11,[180] **karpos** is qualified by **tou pneumatos** and **dikaiosunēs** respectively. **karpos tou pneumatos** in Gal. 5: 22 is used to denote a catalogue of virtues. The singular **karpos** indicates that the nine items are in fact a unity.[181] However, it is significant to note that with the exception of "love" which is listed in the first position, all other items are common virtues in Hellenistic philosophy.[182] Schlier suggests that the other items in the catalogue are an outworking of love.[183] Moreover, it is quite clear that Paul's discussion of the fruit of the Spirit in Gal. 5:22 is against a wider context in which Paul discusses the relationships between members of the Christian community and between them and their

neighbours (cf. Gal. 5:13ff., 25f.).[184] In other words, karpos denotes the quality of Christian living, especially love, as the result of the work of Spirit which is manifested in the Christian community.

In Phil. 1:11, karpos is qualified by dikaiosunēs. It is a familiar biblical phrase for conduct pleasing to God (LXX: Prov. 11:30; 13:2; Amos 6:12; cf. James 3:12). The context of the phrase (vv.8-11) seems to indicate that "fruit of righteousness" refers collectively to those qualities, including love (v.9) as the first item, among Philippians, that result in all kinds of noble acts and righteous deeds done toward one another and their neighbours.[185] Paul indicates that these qualities are produced through Jesus Christ and will glorify God (v. 11b). For the relationship between Jesus Christ and the Spirit in Paul's ethical thinking, Mohrlang points out that "Paul is convinced that the **karpos dikaiosunēs** comes only through Jesus Christ (Phil. 1: 11; cf. Rm.7: 4, 24f.; I Cor. 1: 30). In the ethical realm, it is the Spirit of God in particular that makes moral living possible; for human beings, according to the apostle, simply do not have the capacity for it in themselves (Rm. 3: 7). True goodness, therefore, cannot be attained merely by a determined effort to be good or to obey the law, but only by living in Christ 'according to the Spirit'".[186]

Therefore we may conclude that, according to the evidence of Gal. 5: 22 and Phil. 1: 11, Paul can use

karpos *to denote specifically the quality of Christian living, especially love, as the result of the work of Spirit and Christ which is expressed by the Christian community.*

(b) In I Cor. 9: 7 and Phil. 4: 17, karpos is used in discussing fruit as material supply or profit which was offered by Christians to Paul in return for his labour.[187] Paul's usage in Rm.15: 28 identifies karpos with the Gentile collection[188] which is the material return of the Gentile Christians' spiritual indebtedness to the Jewish Christians. In fact, a similar idea of balance, with the spiritual benefits of the gospel in exchange for material gifts, lies behind I Cor. 9:11,[189] (cf. 9:14) and Phil. 4:17.[190]

This understanding of **karpos** is related to the issue of ***how Paul supports himself in his missionary activities.*** This issue has aroused the attention of many scholars.[191] Hock suggests that the Hellenistic philosophers of Paul's time had four options for their means of support: charging fees, entering the household of the rich and powerful (i.e. patronage), begging, and working.[192] He argues strongly that Paul faces the same options and prefers working with his own hands and rejects patronage.[193] However Hock cannot deny the fact that Paul did receive support from Macedonian Christians (II Cor. 11: 8f.; Phil. 2: 25-30; 4: 14-20; cf. Acts 18: 5)[194] and he expects to receive hospitality of Christian hosts in Colossae (Philm. 22), Rome (Rm. 15: 24) and even

Corinth (I Cor. 16: 6).[195] Although it may be true that Paul refuses to accept the patronage of those rich Corinthians,[196] he argues that it is his apostolic right to receive material support from Christians in general (I Cor. 9: 3-14; cf. Gal. 6: 6)). In fact, Paul mentions explicitly at the end of I Cor. 16 that he looks forward to receiving support with funds and supplies (**propempsēte**)[197] from Corinthian Christians for his mission elsewhere after his next visit to Corinth (v.6), and he expects their support (**propempsate**) for Timothy's journey to see him (v. 11). In II Cor. 1: 16 Paul expresses his wish that the Corinthians would support (**propemphthēnai**) his journey to Judaea. It is most significant that Paul uses the same word (**propempō**) in Rm. 15: 24 to denote the support he expects to receive from Roman Christians for his mission to Spain (see **Chapter 6**). The above discussion indicates that the concept of exchanging spiritual blessing and material support is probably the common understanding and usual practice between Paul and his Christian groups in the East.[198] This is probably the meaning of Paul's statement that "I might have harvest among you, just as I have had among the other Gentiles" (v.13, NIV).[199]

Barrett's suggestion that "'Fruit' is the result of apostolic labour -- the winning of new converts"[200] represents a long tradition of interpretation among many scholars.[201] Although this suggestion may find some support from the thought in the gospels (cf. Mtt.

9:37f.; Lk. 10: 2; Jn. 4:36; 15:16),[202] there is no hard evidence from Paul.[203] Therefore when Paul indicates in Rm. 1: 13 that **tina karpon schō kai en humin**, he does not intend to make some new converts in Rome. This mistaken interpretation of **karpos**, as we have mentioned in Section B.1.b of the INTRODUCTION, has raised the questions whether (i) Paul's plan to make new converts in Rome contradicts his missionary principle revealed in 15: 20 (cf. II Cor. 10: 15f.) and (ii) Paul is inconsistent in that on the one hand in 1: 10-15 he wants to make Rome his mission field, but on the other hand in 15: 22-29 he wants to make Rome his stepping stone for his mission to Spain. If our interpretation of Paul's use of **karpos** is correct, the foundation of these two questions will be very much weakened. The only other evidence which could give some weight to these two questions is Paul's expectation of preaching the gospel (**euaggelesasthai**, v.15) in Rome. We will discuss the implication of that expectation in the **next section**.

Thus, according to our above study, ***the 'fruits' Paul expects in return for his imparting of spiritual gifts to the Roman Christians would probably include:***

(i) the resulting good quality of Christian living, especially love, among the Roman Christians; and

(ii) some material support given by the Roman Christians to him.

Our findings with regard to what Paul expects to give and take in his relationship with the Roman Christians are

most significant for our hypothesis. In view of the evidence we found in Rm. 14-16 and 1: 1-5, 14-17, Paul probably tries to indicate in the introduction of the letter that he expects to give a message to the Roman Christians about the significance of God's covenant promise(s) to Israel which is also available to Gentiles through Christ (cf. 1: 2-4, 16-17). This message will benefit the building up of the Roman Christian community net-work (14: 1 - 15: 13), for he expects Christ and Spirit to work through him to produce love among the Roman Christians (cf. 12: 9f.; 13: 8ff.; 14: 15). If he can successfully achieve these goals, he expects to get support from the Roman Christians for his mission to Spain (15: 24). Thus we suggest that this is what Paul has in mind, in large part at least, when he expresses his wish to visit Rome in Rm. 1:11-13.

2. *Paul expects to preach the gospel to Roman Christians*

After indicating the give-and-take relationship between himself and the Roman Christians in vv.11-13, Paul identifies himself as debtor to all mankind and makes the second statement about his expecting to "give" to the Roman Christians, by which he means "to preach the gospel to you also who are in Rome" (vv.14-15).[204] This statement probably indicates that the message following 1:15 is the "some spiritual gift" (cf. v.11) Paul wishes to impart to the Roman Christians. In other words, the gospel and its explication (1: 16 onwards) is described as "some spiritual gift".[205] Paul's expected "result" of his "give" is probably indicated in his exhortations to the Roman

Christians to love one another (12: 9f.; 14: 15) and their neighbours (13: 8ff.), and his wish to get some material support (**propempō**, 15: 24) from the Roman Christians for his mission to Spain in the second apostolic parousia passage located at the conclusion of his letter (See Ch.6).

Nevertheless, it seems to be quite strange that Paul uses **euaggelisasthai** to denote preaching to those who are already Christians.[206] Klein suggests that this evidence indicates that in Paul's eyes the Roman Christians still lacked the fundamental kerygma.[207] Others take this verse as the evidence to suggest that Paul wants to make Rome his mission field.[208] One of the important reasons for these suggestions is probably that there is too distinct a demarcation between the concepts of ***kerygma*** and ***didache*** among many scholars.[209] In view of the fact that Paul does explicitly recall his gospel in I Cor. 1:23; 2: 2-6; 15: 1-11 to teach the Corinthians and his use of **euaggelizesthai** in I Thess. 3:6 (cf. **kataggelletai** in Rm. 1:8) to denote the good news about the quality of faith of Christians,[210] Paul probably does not confine his gospel to 'first time' preaching of the gospel to non-believers and his use of the word is not narrowly fixed.[211] Dunn rightly points out that "if any one verb sums up his [Paul's] life-long obligation it is this one -- 'to preach the gospel' -- so that its use can embrace the whole range of his ministry, including his explication of the gospel".[212] Therefore, Paul's statement of his expectation of preaching the gospel to the Christians in Rome is probably the introductory statement for the message (about the gospel of God's righteousness to everyone who has faith, to the Jew first and also to the

Gentile) which he is going to deliver to the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome in the letter.

The issue at stake here is how to relate Paul's expression of his expectation of visiting Rome and his purpose in writing the letter. We suggest that the clues should be found in Paul's understanding of the value of letter writing and the difference between the two apostolic parousia passages in the introduction and the conclusion of the letter.

B. The Relationship Between Paul's Letter and His Personal Visit

As for Paul, the value of letter writing is highly recognized.[213] His letters acted as an apostolic parousia.[214] They may not bear the apostolic power to the same degree as Paul's personal presence[215] but they were clearly considered as valid as his oral word.[216] In Corinth, even Paul's opponents bore witness to the power of his letters and made the accusation against Paul that "his letters are weighty and strong, but his bodily presence is weak, and his speech of no account" (II Cor. 10:10). However, Paul took the accusation seriously and defended the charge by affirming that "what we say by letter when absent, we do when present" (II Cor. 10:11). Furthermore, Paul attributes a unique significance to his letter as the 'fore-runner' of his personal presence, he says "I write this while I am away from you, in order that when I come I may not have to be severe in my use of the authority which the Lord has given me for building up and not for

tearing down" (II Cor. 13:10; cf. 13:2).

Therefore, Paul's letter to the Romans probably also acts as the '*fore-runner*' of his personal visit to Rome. When Paul indicates his expectations of visiting Rome in his letter, he probably also indicates that he has in mind the same expectations in sending the letter. The letter prepares his way to visit Rome, and the purpose of the letter is directly related to Paul's expectations of his visit.

C. Paul's Purpose in Writing Romans

In Romans, the 'theme' of apostolic parousia[217] is most distinctive. Funk describes Rm. 15:14-33 as "the most elaborate and formally structured" passage among the thirteen passages having to do with apostolic parousia[218] and "the double treatment of the apostolic parousia in Romans [i.e. Rm. 1:8ff and 15:14-33] is exceptional for Paul."[219]

In our opinion, apostolic parousia was one of the most delicate and important issues in Romans. This is because when Paul wrote his letter to Rome, he had not visited there; his letter therefore would be his earliest 'presence' in Rome. Thus the parallelism between Rm. 1:8-12 and 15:14-32[220] suggests a progressive indication of Paul's apostolic parousia to the Roman Christians[221] and the two passages serve to 'bracket' the message[222] which Paul would address to them as if he were 'present' in Rome.[223]

Therefore, the similarities and differences between these two apostolic **parousia** passages would probably reveal

Paul's purpose in writing the letter which acts as the forerunner of his personal presence.

1. *To remove the obstacle in Rome*

The primary reason which Paul gives to the Roman Christians for not visiting them is that he has been hindered by some obstacles. This is the most significant element expressed by Paul in both apostolic parousia passages (1: 9-15 and 15: 22-28). According to the suggestion of Brandt, one of the two major necessities of a rhetorical argument's introduction is that the writer must define his problem.[224] Wuellner suggests that Paul defines his problem as "his pending visit as God's will in the face of past and present obstacles".[225] Paul does not tell his addressees about those obstacles in the past.[226] However, he explicitly suggests in 15: 22-28 that the present and last obstacle is his journey to bring the Gentile collection to Jerusalem. According to our study on 15: 22-33 (**Chapter 6**) Paul's account of his journey to Jerusalem indicates that he wants to send the following messages to the Roman Christians:

(1) The unity between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians is so important to him that he is even ready to risk his life in order to achieve it.

(2) He exhorts the Roman Christians to take action together with him to solve the problems concerning the relationships between the non-Christian Jews, the Christian Jews and the Gentile Christians.

(3) If his journey to Jerusalem and their effort in Rome are successful, he would come to Rome and they could

have a refreshing rest together.

In short, his journey to Jerusalem symbolizes the obstacle which both he and the Roman Christians have to face: the relationships between the non-Christian Jews, the Christian Jews and the Gentile Christians. Paul writes his letter before his visit in order to solve the problems in Rome and to initiate the upbuilding of the Roman Christian community net-work before he arrives there.

2. *To elicit support for his mission to Spain*

The other most important hidden element which Paul expresses in 15: 22-28 but not in 1: 9-15 is his mission plan to Spain. The reason for Paul's silence in the introduction of the letter seems to be quite obvious: he is sure that if he could not successfully explain the significance of the gospel concerning God's gracious gift granted to Israel and now also available to Gentiles through Christ, he could not help the Jewish and the Gentile Christians in Rome to solve their problem and build up a Christian community net-work. Then he could not get appropriate support to launch his mission to Spain. In other words, Paul realizes that the prerequisite for his mission to Spain is the successful upbuilding of a Jewish and Gentile Christian community net-work in Rome (cf. 15:24, see **Chapter 6**). Nevertheless, Paul does indicate his expectation "to reap some fruit" among them in the introduction of his letter to ensure that his addressees are not too surprised about his request for support at the end.

In short, *one of Paul's main purposes in writing Romans is to solve the problems of the Roman Christians and to elicit their support for his mission to Spain by reminding them about the gospel. He knows that the problems faced by the Roman Christians and the plan for which he needs their support are related to the understanding of the gospel. Therefore, he decided to present himself in the letter as the Jewish apostle to the Gentiles and a debtor to all mankind, and to preach the gospel which emphasizes the relationship between Jew and Gentile, to the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome.*

SUMMARY and CONCLUSION

In our study of 1: 1-17, we have focused on three areas, namely: (1) Paul's self-descriptions and his gospel; (2) Paul's knowledge of the Roman Christians; and (3) Paul's expectations of visiting Rome and his purpose in writing Romans. We found that there is strong evidence which indicates that there is a very close relationship between the beginning of the letter and the last part of the letter. In other words, the 'frame' of the letter is coherent in itself. The evidence is as follows:

Firstly, we found that there are two passages in which Paul introduces his self-description. In 1: 1-5, Paul identifies himself as the Jewish apostle to the Gentiles, who preaches the gospel concerning his son, the Jewish messiah designated as Son of God, who is Lord of the Jews and the Gentiles; while in 1: 14-17, Paul identifies himself as a debtor not only to the Gentiles but to all mankind, and he

wishes to preach the gospel which is significant to every one who has faith, Jews and Gentiles, in Rome. These two images are consistent with Paul's own images and the images of Prisca and Aquila which are presented in Rm. 15 and 16 (see Chapter 6 and 7). Thus it is quite probable that Paul wants to present these two images consistently in the letter in order to appeal to both the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome.

Secondly, we found that Paul defines his gospel in theocentric, christological and soteriological terms to indicate that the themes of the letter which he is going to argue are:

(1) though there is a certain undeniable priority of Jews in God's salvation plan, Gentiles are also included in God's promise to Israel on equal conditions;
(2) the old distinction between Jews and Gentiles has been changed;
(3) "faith" is the only element to govern the relationships between God, Jews and Gentiles.

Paul's definition of his gospel is most significant for our hypothesis. It reflects the needs of the situation of Roman Christians. If the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome accept Paul's interpretation of his gospel, Paul's suggestions in 14: 1 - 15: 13 that they should welcome one another to participate in the worship and communal meals held at their house churches will probably have a good chance of being accepted (see **Chapter** 5). Then Paul will get their support to launch his mission to Spain. In other words, Paul's explication of the gospel which is defined in

1: 2-4 and 1: 16-17 would prepare the theological foundation for his solutions proposed in 14: 1 - 15: 13 to solve the practical problems in Rome and for his request for their support in the mission to Spain.

Thirdly, we find that at the beginning of the letter, Paul is aware of the situation of the Roman Christians. He is aware that although the Gentile Christians are probably in the majority, there are significant numbers of Jewish Christians among his addressees. He makes it clear in his salutation in 1: 7, just as in the final prayer-wish in 15: 33, that he addresses his letter not to any single sector of the Roman Christians but to the whole community, both Jews and Gentiles. Furthermore he indicates that he shares a common faith with them as they share the same faith among themselves. This common faith is probably the basis for Paul to address his letter to those Christians who do not know him personally and to remind them (cf. 15: 15) to solve the tensions among themselves.

Fourthly, we find that the first apostolic parousia passage in 1: 9-15 reveals the fact that Paul wishes to establish a relationship of complete trust with the Roman Christians. This relationship is characterized by the pattern of give-and-take which is in line with the conventions of friendship in the Graeco-Roman world. Paul does not indicate that he wishes to make Rome his mission field but he indicates that he expects to impart some spiritual gift to the Roman Christians and to get some return, which will include a good quality of Christian living, especially love, among the Roman Christians, and some material support

from them. This finding indicates that Paul does not contradict the missionary principle of which he informs Roman Christians in 15: 20 but prepares his audience for his expectations of their love to one another and to their neighbours (12: 9f.; 14: 15 and 13: 8ff.), and his request for their support for the mission to Spain (15: 22-24, 28f.). In fact we find that the similarities and differences in the two apostolic parousia passages suggest a progressive way of pointing to Paul's visit to the Roman Christians. In 1: 9-15, Paul indicates that he has been prevented from comimg to Rome; in 15: 25-27 he discloses the last obstacle -- his journey to Jerusalem -- which hindered his visit. In 1: 13 he indicates that he expects to receive some return from the Roman Christians; in 15: 22-24 he explicitly expresses his wish to get support for his mission to Spain. According to our study on 15: 30-33 (see **Chapter 6**) we suggest that Paul's account of his journey to Jerusalem in Romans mainly serves the purpose of informing the Roman Christians that the obstacle for his visit are the relationships between the non-Christian Jews, Christian Jews, and Gentile Christians in Jerusalem and Rome. Therefore the main reason for Paul to disclose explicitly his journey to Jerusalem and his mission to Spain in the second apostolic parousia passage is that he expects to encourage the Roman Christians to remove the obstacle and to support his mission ***by the body of his letter***.

Thus, by integrating our findings from studying Rm. 14 - 16 (**Chapters 5-7**), we further propose that ***Paul's main purpose in writing Romans was to persuade the Jewish and***

Gentile Christians in Rome to build up a Christian community net-work by arguing accordance with his understanding of the gospel, so that he could promote the upbuilding of this community net-work by means of his letter before he arrived in Rome to launch his mission to Spain. He expected that this community net-work would give concrete support to his mission to Spain and also spiritual support for his journey to Jerusalem.

In the following three Chapters (**Part III**), we will apply our understanding of the situation of the Roman Christians and Paul's purpose in writing Romans to interpret the doctrinal core of Romans 1:18 - 11:36. Through this, we expect to find evidence to strengthen our hypothesis and at the same time to shed light on our interpretation of Romans. Furthermore, as will be shown in the **Excursus I** below, our understanding of the situation of Rome can also shed light on the interpretation of Acts 28: 13b-31, which is the only passage in the NT which gives an account of Paul's experience in Rome. Moreover, in our study, we will demonstrate that there is not only a close relationship between the 'frame' and the 'body' of the letter, but also a coherence between the situation of Roman Christians, Paul's purpose of writing the letter and the main argument of the letter. Nevertheless, the limitation of the space of our study will only allow us to give a brief survey of the doctrinal core of Romans with special attention to the main line of arguments and those passages which either give strong support to our hypothesis or seem to tell against it.

Notes to Chapter Eight

1. 1:8, 9, 9, 10, 12, 15. See discussion of the occurrences of the first person singular pronouns in Romans at **note 9** of **Ch. 6.**
2. 1: 8, 9, 9, 10, 11, 11, 13, 13, 13, 13, 14, 15, 16.
3. **humeis** in 1:6; other cases in 1:7, 8, 8, 9, 10, 11, 11, 11, 12, 12, 13, 13, 13, 15. See discussion of the occurrences of the second person plural pronouns in Romans at **note 10** of **Ch. 6.**
4. In Cor. 1:1; II Cor. 1:1; Phil. 1:1; I Thess. 1:1; Philm. 1; Paul mentions his associates by name as the co-senders of the letter. In Gal. 1: 1-2, we have "Paul .... and all the brethren who are with me, to the churches of Galatia." However, in Rm. 1: 1, this kind of characteristic is missing.
5. See Doty (1973: 29). For discussion of Lohmeyer's (1927) argument of Paul's indebtedness to ancient western Asiatic epistolary style rather than Greek convention, see Roller (1933: 213-38); Kramer (1963: 151); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 45f.). It is also noteworthy that Romans' opening is longer than that of any other Pauline epistle.
6. The use of **doulos** in greeting is also found in Phil., Tit., Jas., Jude, II Pet.. Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 3) list those OT quotations and suggest that **doulos theou** or **kuriou** is an OT phrase, applied to the prophets in a body from Amos onwards; see also Black (R, 1973:33); Michel (R, 1978: 66); Dunn (R, MS: 96). Many scholars recognize that it was quite impossible for a Greek to identify himself as a slave, even to his ruler or gods; see Rengstorf (TDNT, II: 261f.); Barrett (R, 1962: 16); Cranfield (R, 1975, I:50); Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 61). However, Paul's use of **doulos** in his self-description does not necessarily imply that Paul placed himself in the succession of those great prophets; see Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 3); cf. Rengstorf (TDNT II: 273f.); Black (R, 1973: 33f.); Dunn (R, MS: 97); it is quite obvious that in the present context he is using Jewish language to refer to his office; see Tuente (NIDNTT: 596); Black (R, 1973: 34); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 51); Dunn (R, MS: 97).
7. The verbal adjective **klētos** occurs in Romans also in 1: 6, 7 and 8:28 to denote Christians as "the called", those whose lives had been determined by God's summons; cf. I Cor.1:2, 24; see Schmidt (TDNT III: 488-9, 494). The verb **kalein**; cf. 4:17; 8:30 (twice); 9:7, 12, 24, 25, 26; which corresponds to the Hebrew kara (e.g. Is. 42:6; 48:15; 49:1; 51:2), is used to denote God's gracious call to life and salvation, which is always at the same time a call to faith, obedience, and service; see Black (R, 1973: 34); Cranfield (R, 1975, I:51); Michel (R, 1978: 67 n.12); Dunn (R, MS: 98).
8. The other six occurrences in NT are Mtt. 13:49; 25:32, 32; Lk. 6:22; Acts 13:2; 19:9.
9. The closest OT quotation is Is. 52:11; however, it is at variance with the LXX and the MT where they agree; see Ellis (1957: 150, 152). Barrett (IIC, 1973: 200) follows Bonsirven to suggest that several OT texts seem to have been combined here; cf. Jer. 51: 45; so Schmidt (TDNT V: 454).
10. See Schmidt (TDNT V: 454); Barrett (IIC, 1973: 201).

11. See Bruce (G, 1982: 92).
12. In Gal. 1:15, unlike Rm. 1:1, **aphorizō** occurs before **kaleō**. However, it is doubtful whether Paul has any special intention in this different arrangement; cf. Jer. 1:5; Is. 49:1. Against Kim (1981: 27 n.3), who seems to suggest this different arrangement as evidence to support Murray's (R, 1959, I:3) interpretation that **aphorizō** in Rm. 1:1 refers "to the effectual dedication that occurred in the actual call to apostleship and indicates what is entailed in the call" rather than to God's setting Paul apart before his birth; cf. Michel (R, 1978: 68).
13. So Schmidt (TDNT, V: 454); Barrett (R, 1962: 17); Black (R, 1973: 34); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 51); Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 63); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 6); Dunn (R, MS: 99).
14. The only known pre-Pauline occurrence of this word is in an inscription of 84 B. C. E.; see Inschriften von Priene, ed. F. Hiller von Gaertringen (1906: 113.71), cited by M & M: 539; A-G: 712; Schneiwind/Friedrich (TDNT, II: 586); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 55 n.3).
15. See Schniewind/Friedrich (TDNT, II: 586); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 55 n.3).
16. See Moule (1959: 24).
17. Other thirteen occurrences: Mk. 14:11; Acts 7:5; I Tim. 2:10; 6:21; Tit. 1:2; Heb. 6:13; 10:23; 11:11; 12:26; Jas. 1:12; 2:5; II Pet. 2:19; I Jn. 2:25.
18. Cf. Acts 7:5; Heb. 6:13; 11:11; Schniewind/Friedrich (TDNT II: 581).
19. There are six other occurrences in the disputed Pauline letters: Eph. 1:13; 2:12; 3:6; 6:2; I Tit. 4:8; II Tit. 1:1.
20. In these passages, Paul argues for the fulfilment of God's promise(s) to Israel among those in Christ; see Schniewind/Friedrich (TDNT, II: 582-584); Hoffmann (NIDNTT III: 71-73); cf. Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 6). However, the promise(s) concerned is/are basically God's promise(s) to Israel, cf. Black (R, 1973: 35).
21. See Barrett (IIC, 1973: 200, 202); cf. Hering (IIC, 1967: 52); Hughes (IIC, 1962: 258).
22. Barrett (IIC, 1973: 77).
23. For discussion of 15: 7-13 as the conclusion of both 14:1 - 15:6 and the body of the letter see **note 109 of Chapter 5.**
24. **en graphais hagiais** occurs only here in the NT. It most probably refers to an established body of writings, already recognized and sacred, that is more or less the books contained in the OT (cf. CA 1: 37-42; 4 Ezra 14: 37-48), see Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 56 n.5); Dunn (R, MS: 101).
25. The genitive **theou** which qualifies **euaggelion** is most probably a subjective genitive to denote God as the source or origin of the gospel; cf. Barrett (R, 1962: 17f.); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 55); Dunn (R, MS: 100).
26. Rm. 1: 3-4 has been widely accepted as an early Christian confession. However, different opinions have been focused on: (1) the original context of the confession; (2) the original form of the confession and the extent of Paul's redaction; (3) its significance for our understanding of early Christian Christology. For detailed discussion, see Schweizer (1955); Cullmann (1957: 291f., 295f., 313); Kraemer (1963: 108ff., 184f., 188); Hahn (1963: 246-251, 287f.); Linnemann (1971); Dunn (1973), (1980: 33-35, 138f.); Longenecker (1970: 96-98); Schlier (1972); Hengel (1975: 59ff., 62, 65); Poythress (1975-76); Beasley-Murray (1980); Jewett (1985).

27. There is consensus among scholars that this confessional formula originated from the Jewish Christian circle. Fuller (1965: 165ff.) argued for a Palestinian origin; see also Kraemer (1963: 111); Betz (1965: 95); Allen (1970-71: 104f.); Jewett (1971: 137); Schlier (1972: 212f.); Hengel (1975: 60); Michel (R, 1978: 72f.). However, Hahn (1963: 246) suggests that "the view of Jesus as the son of David received its most characteristic expression in the sphere of Hellenistic Judaic Christianity"; see also Dunn (1973: 60, 62); Pokorny(1985: 73).
28. See above **note 26**.
29. See Schweizer (1955), (TDNT VI: 416f.); Hahn (1963: 246f.); Stuhlmacher (1967); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 13); Dunn (1973: 60), (1980: 34); Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 56).
30. Schweizer (1955: 563f.), followed by Kramer (1963: 110) and Burger (1970: 25f.); cf. Fuller (1965: 165); Pokorny (1985: 73). However, this suggestion is doubted by Hahn (1963: 247) and Dunn (1973: 60f.), (1980: 34).
31. Dunn (1973: 43) rightly emphasizes that "the first task of the exegete and student of Christian origins is the uncovering of the meaning of the saying in the form and context in which it has come down to us".
32. See Fuller (1965: 162f.); Dunn (1973: 51); Jewett (1985: 114).
33. Cf. Ps. Sol. 17: 21-51; 4 QFlor. 1: 10-13; see Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 58); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 11); Dunn (R, MS: 102). For detailed discussion of the Messianic idea in OT, apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, see Klausner (1950).
34. Paul uses "Son of God" 3 times (Rm. 1:4; II Cor. 1: 19; Gal. 2:20), "the Son" or "his Son" 12 times (Rm. 1:3, 9; 5:10; 8:3, 29, 32; I Cor. 1:9; 15:28; Gal. 1:16; 4:4, 6; I Thess. 1:10).
35. Paul uses the two titles "Lord" and "Son of God", which describe Jesus as an exalted, heavenly figure, quite disproportionately. He uses "Lord" (**kurios**) 184 times and "Son of God" only 15 times. Kramer (1963: 185-189, 191f.) suggests that Paul's use of the title "Son of God" depends primarily on external factors and plays a relatively insignificant part in Paul's writings. However, many scholars recognize the importance of Paul's use of the title in his letters, see Hengel (1975: 7ff.) and Byrne (1979: 207ff.). For discussion of the dominance of the God-theme in Romans, see Morris (1970); Moxnes (1980).
36. For detailed discussions, see Wetter (1916); Bousset (1921: 52-57); Grundmann (1938: 1-50); Bultmann (1952, I: 128-33); Cullmann (1957: 270-305); Bieneck (1951: 9-34); Hahn (1963: 279-333); Fuller (1965: 31-33, 55-56, 65, 68-72, 82-83); Marshall (1967); Longenecker (1970: 93-99); Vermes (1973: 192-222); Hengel (1975: 21-56, 66-84); Moule (1977: 22-31); Dunn (1980: 12-64); Cranfield (1987).
37. See Maritz, Fohrer, Schweizer & Lohse (TDNT VIII: 335-62); Cullmann (1957: 270-275); Vermes (1973: 194-200; 206-213); Hengel (1975: 21-56); Young (1977); Dunn (1980: 14-16).
38. See Cullmann (1957: 275f.); Kramer (1963: 184f., 188f., 191); Marshall (1967: 87. 103); Hengel (1975: 10, 14, 63); Dunn (1980: 32).
39. Acts 13:33; Rm. 1:3f.; cf. Acts 2:36. See Cullmann (1957: 290, 295); Kramer (1963: 42 n.85, 110f.); Marshall (1967: 101ff.); Betz (1965: 97); Conzelmann (1968: 77); Hengel (1975: 62); Dunn (1980: 35f., 46). Marshall (1967: 103) emphasizes that "the Resurrection was the vindication of the status ["Son of

God"] which Jesus had already claimed for himself." For discussion of Jesus' divine sonship in the post-Pauline writings of the NT, see Dunn (1980: 46-60).

40. Most scholars agree that there is a two-stage Christology in Rm. 1:3f.; so Schweizer (1955: 563ff.); Hahn (1963: 246, 250f.); Schlier (1972: 212ff.); Dunn (1973: 57); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 11). See opposite views in Betz (1965: 98 n.18).
41. See Schweizer (1955: 564); Hahn (1963: 251); Kramer (1963: 109); Dunn (1980:32f.); Jewett (1985: 116).
42. Paul's introduction of the preface **peri tou huiou autou** at 1:3a most probably suggests that Jesus is Son of God even when he lived on earth as the "seed of David"; see Dunn (1973: 57); cf. Betz (1965: 98); Burger (1970: 32).
43. See above **note 29.**
44. See Kramer (1963: 156ff., 222); Dunn (1977: 50 - 53). For discussion on Jewish background of **kurios**, see Moule (1977: 35 - 41); Dunn (1977: 392 n.35).
45. One of Watson's (1986: 20, 40, 69, 106) reasons for judging that the Pauline Christian movement is a sectarian movement rather than a reform-movement within Judaism is that Paul's reinterpretation of the traditions of Jewish community is in the light of the belief that the Pauline Christians are the sole legitimate heirs of those traditions rather than the sharers of them. However, Watson did not discuss the evidence in 1: 1-4, in which the evidence does not seem to support his suggestion.
46. 4:24; 5:1, 11, 21; 6:23; 7:25; 8:39; 15: 6, 30; cf. 16:18, 20. However, it is noteworthy that this expression does not occur in Rm. 2-3, 9-14.
47. See Schweizer (1955: 563f.); Burger (1970: 25); Hahn (1963: 270 n.72); Dunn (1980: 35).
48. See the discussion of Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 61);1 cf. Barrett (R, 1962: 19f.); Murray (R, 1959, I:9); Michel (R, 1978: 74); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 11); Dunn (R, MS: 104).
49. Bartsch (1967: 339).
50. Morris (1965: 216f.) says "It comes as something of a surprise, for example, to find that, apart from the crucifixion narrative and one verse in Hebrews, Paul is the only New Testament writer to speak about 'the cross'. We find it difficult to talk for long about Jesus without mentioning 'the cross', and this is the measure of the way Paul has influenced all subsequent Christian vocabulary. We would imagine that there are many New Testament references to the death of Christ. But, outside of Paul, there are not".
51. See Pokorny (1985: 72f.).
52. Jewett (1985: 121f.) also tries to relate 1: 3-4 to 14:1 - 15:7. However, it is doubtful whether his suggestion of a largely Pauline redacted "composite creed" in 1: 3-4 would strengthen his argument. It seems to be more reasonable that at the beginning of his letter, Paul would cite more or less exactly an existing confessional formula which would be known and recognized in Rome in order not to cause suspicion from either Jewish or Gentile Christians in Rome; see also Dodd (R, 1959: 4f.); Dunn (1973: 60f.). What Paul had done is most probably to put the confessional formula in the new context which emphasizes that (i) he is a Jewish apostle (v.1); (ii) the gospel is the fulfilment of God's promise(s) to Israel through prophets in the holy scriptures (v.2); and (iii) the Jewish Messiah is also relevant to the Gentiles (v.5). In this way, Paul laid his ground to argue for the indebtedness of the

Gentile Christians to the Jewish traditions and also the base for the Gentiles to be included in God's people in the following chapters of the letter.

53. See Jewett (1985: 99, 121).
54. For discussions on the relationship between Abraham and David, see Clements (1967: 47-60). Blight (1963: 154) suggests that "it is of great importance to him [Paul] that according to the flesh Christ was a son of David (and therefore of Abraham)".
55. For detailed discussion, see Byrne (1979); cf. Kramer (1963: 188); Dunn (1980: 28, 37f.).
56. See Morris (1970) and Moxnes (1980: 15ff.).
57. Jewett (1969: 26) notes that the motif of "glorifying God" plays a major role in the theological argument of Romans.
58. Cranfield (R, 1975: 83) lists five possibilities to be considered: (i) each pair of contrasted terms denotes the whole of mankind, and the two groupings are identical; (ii) each pair denotes the whole of mankind, but the two pairs represent different groupings; (iii) the first pair denotes the whole of Gentile humanity, but the second the whole of mankind; (iv) both pairs denote the whole of Gentile humanity, and both groupings are identical; (v) both pairs denote the whole of Gentile humanity, but they represent different groupings of the same totality.
59. So Nygren (R, 1944: 63); Knox (R, 1954: 389); Kuss (R, 1957: 19); Murray (R, 1959: 24); Cranfield (R, 1975: 83); Michel (R, 1978: 84 n. 25); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 20).
60. So Cranfield (R, 1975, I:83).
61. See Section I.A of **Chapter 11** below.
62. It is not necessary to follow Fee's (IC, 1987: 423f.) suggestion that there are four groups (Jews, those under/without the law, the weak) in vv.20-22. It is quite obvious that those under the law are Jews and those without the law are Gentiles; so Barrett (IC, 1968: 212); Raeisaenen (1983: 19); Morris (IC, 1985: 136); cf. Fee (IC, 1987: 427).
63. Hahn (1963: 98f.).
64. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 20). However, Kaesemann overlooks the implication of I Cor. 9: 16 in which Paul regards himself as under the compulsion to preach his gospel to both Jews and Gentiles. He follows many other scholars' suggestion that **oppheiletēs eimi** denotes Paul's special apostolic obligation which embraces "the whole Gentile World".
65. Wilckens (R, 1978: 81).
66. See discussion on 15:1, 25-27 in **Chapters 5 & 6.**
67. See BDF: Sec. 463.
68. So Watson (1986: 103); cf. Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 20, 86, 68). See our discussion on 1:13c in Section III.A below.
69. Most scholars hold that Romans is addressed to a predominantly Gentile readership; so Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: xxxiii); Barrett (R, 1962: 22); Wiefel (1970: 111); Kuemmel (1973: 309f.); Schlier (R, 1977: 5); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 15). However, Bauer (1876, I: 331); Manson (1951: 172ff.); Fahy (1959-60) argue for a Jewish Christian readership. See detailed discussion in Cranfield (R, 1975: 17-21). Nevertheless, it seems safer to suggest that both the Jewish and the Gentile Christians were included among the readers and it is by no means clear which group was predominant.
70. Cranfield (R, 1975: 21); see also Black (R, 1973: 23); Sanders (1983: 183f.).
71. Balsdon (1979: 67); see also Hengel (1976: 55); Windisch (TDNT I: 552); Hahn (1963: 98f.).

72. See Windisch (TDNT I: 547f.); Hengel (1973, I: 65); Michel (R, 1978: 84f.); Dunn (R, MS: 127). Among the Latin authors, Jews were commonly described as "superstitious" and "slaves"; see the references in the index of GLAJJ III: 149. These characteristics are those of the "Barbarians"; see Hengel (1976: 55). In Rabbinic literature, the equivalent of "Barbarians" occurred as a loan word to denote Jews as spoken of by nations which subjugate them, like Babylonians, Medes and Romans; see S - B III: 27ff.; Windisch (TDNT I: 550).
73. See Dunn (R, MS: 136).
74. For further discussion, see **Chapter 9** below.
75. So S-B III:29; cf.Haas (1971: 57); Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 81).
76. In Romans, **euaggelion** occurs nine times (1:1, 9, 16; 2:16; 10:16; 11:28; 15:16, 19; 16:25); excluding the textual variant in 15:29, see Metzger (1971: 537), **euaggelizō** occurs three times (1:15; 10:15; 15:20); excluding the textual variant in 10:15, see Metzger (1971: 525). For discussion on Paul's use of **euaggelion**, see **note 89** in **Chapter 6** above.
77. In 1: 9, Paul summarizes his gospel as "the gospel of his [God's] son", which obviously refers to 1: 3-4; see Murray (R, 1959, I: 20); Kramer (1966: 52 n.123); Hengel (1975: 8); Michel (R, 1978: 81); Dunn (R, MS: 123).
78. See Bornkamm (1969: 117); Goppelt (1976, II: 113).
79. So Barth (R, 1933: 35); Nygren (R, 1944: 65); Knox (R, 1954: 390); Dodd (R, 1959: 37); Murray (R, 1959, I: xxiii, 26); Lüz (1969: 166); Kuemmel (1973: 306); Black (R, 1973: 43); Schmithals (1975: 11); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 87); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 21); Dunn (R, MS: 132). Robinson (1979: 15), Barrett (R, 1962: 27), Bruce (R, 1963: 77) and Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 82) prefer to regard this passage as "the gospel" or "the theme of the gospel".
80. So Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 85); Dunn (R, MS: 136).
81. Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 88) suggests that "In Paul's letters **sōizein** and **sōtēria** are used only in connexion with man's relationship with God, **ruesthai** being employed where deliverance from ordinary temporal dangers is concerned."
82. See discussion on v.17 in the **following section.**
83. For discussion on the connection between 1:16 and 3:22, see Wilckens (R, 1975, I: 85); Dunn (R, MS: 136, 292); cf. Robinson (1979: 15).
84. By using the word 'requirement' here, we do not mean that 'faith' is a means for salvation; see discussion in Nygren (R, 1944: 79).
85. See Lindars (1961: 177) and our discussion in **Chapters 9 & 10.**
86. The omission of **prōton** in B G it^{g} cop^{sa} Tertullian Ephraem may be due to Marcion, to whom the priority of the Jews would have been unacceptable, see Metzger (1971: 506); so Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 24); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 90); Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 86 n.107); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 23).
87. See Zeller (1973: 141); Michel (R, 1978: 88); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 91).
88. Dodd (R, 1959: 37); cf. Murray (R, 1959, I: 28); Barrett (R, 1962: 29); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 91); cf. Munck (1954: 202 n.2); Richardson (1969: 136); Dunn (R, MS: 137).
89. Nygren 9R, 1955: 73).
90. So Murray (R, 1959, I: 28); Zeller (1973: 141-145); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 91); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 23); Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 86); Dunn (R, MS: 136f.).
91. Watson (1986: 104).
92. Cf. Nygren (R, 1944: 74); Cranfield (R, 1975, I; 91); Wilckens

(R, 1978, I: 86); Dunn (R, MS: 136f.).

93. Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 91) suggests that this paradoxical insistence belongs to the substance of the epistle; while Dunn (R, MS: 137) suggests that "the need to explain and defend this double emphasis is the driving force behind the whole epistle."
94. There is an immense quantity of literature devoted to discussion of this phrase, and many scholars are aware that a full account of the debate is very difficult; so Ziesler (1972: 1); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 92); Brauch (1977: 524); Huebner (1978: 124); Williams (1980: 241 n.3). For the survey of the discussion from the second century to the reformation, and from 17th century to early 1960's, see Stuhlmacher (1965: 11-73), though he is not adequate for other than German protestant literature. For a survey of German discussion after the publication of Kaesemann's (1961) essay, see Brauch (1977) and the discussion in Stuhlmacher (1981b: 91 n.16). For a more recent survey of literature on this issue since 1945, see Huebner (1987: 2694-2709). For bibliography on the subject, see also Kueng (1957: 316-321); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 92f.); Wilckens (R, 1978: 202f.).
95. See Cremer (1900: 33-38); Bultmann (1952, I: 270ff.). Kaesemann (1961: 172); Whiteley (1964: 156-160); Achtemeier (IDB, IV: 92ff.); Ridderbos (1966: 159f.); Furnish (1968: 146); Hill (1967: 83); Ziesler (1972: 9); Ladd (1974: 439f.); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 94); Williams (1980: 241); Kim (1981: 285); Dunn (R, MS: 137).
96. See von Rad (1957, I: 370-1); Stuhlmacher (1965: 102-105); Conzelmann (1968: 216); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 93f.); Dunn (R, MS: 137); cf. Williams (1980: 241).
97. See discussions in Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 24f.); Conzelmann (1968: 214-220); Ziesler (1972: 9-14); Cranfield (R, 1975, O: 96-99); Williams (1980: 241-244).
98. This is the traditional Protestant view which was presented by Luther; cf. Stuhlmacher (1965: 19-40); Conzelmann (1968: 215); Ziesler (1972: 10); Brauch (1977: 525). Those modern scholars who follow this line, including Ridderbos (1966: 163); O'Neill (R, 1975: 38, 70-72, 168); cf. Williams (1980: 242; 261ff.).
99. E.g. Taylor (1939: 132); Bollier (1954); Kaesemann (1961); Barrett (R, 1962: 29); Achtemeier (IDB, IV: 80-85); Beare (IDB, IV: 116); Schrenk (TDNT, II: 203ff.); Stuhlmacher (1965: 78-84); Furnish (1968: 143-145); Kuemmel (1972: 198); cf. Ziesler (1972: 11); Williams (1980: 242).
100. E.g. Lagrange (R, 1950: 19); Bultmann (1952, I: 280-5), (1964); Juengel (1964: 39-48); Kertelge (1967: 8 n.17); Conzelmann (1968: 218-20); Lohse (1974b: 86); Cranfield (R. 1975, I: 97f.).
101. So Ziesler (1972: 186).
102. So Dunn (R, MS: 138).
103. So Barrett (R, 1962: 30f.); cf. Nygren (R, 1944: 78ff.); Dodd (R, 1959: 44); Stuhlmacher (1965: 83); Kertelge (1967: 89); Black (R, 1973: 46); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 100); Michel (R, 1978: 89f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 31).
104. See the list of different meanings in Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 99); Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 88).
105. So Barth (R, 1933: 41); Bollier (1954: 412); Hebert (1955: 375); Torrance (1956-57: 113); Manson (R, 1962: 942); Gaston (1987: 170). See discussion in Dunn (R, MS: 141).
106. So Nygren (1944: 28, 84); Bruce (R, 1963: 78); Fung (1975: 330). However, Kaesemann (R, 1980:32) argues that "To make the

quotation govern the structure of chs.1-4 and 5-8 is artificial and does not take the second half of the epistle into account."

107. So Dunn (R, MS: 144); cf. Black (R, 1973: 45); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 100).
108. See the analysis of the four texts in Dunn (R, MS: 142f.).
109. So RSV, NEB, Nygren (R, 1944: 85f.); Lagrange (R, 1950: 20); Kuss (R, 1957: 24); Feuillet (1959-60: 52ff.); Barrett (R, 1962: 31); Hill (1967: 157); Bruce (R, 1963: 80f.); Black (R, 1973: 47); Fung (1975: 330); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 32); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 101f.); Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 89f.).
110. So NIV, Lightfoot (1895: 250f.); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 57f.); Murray (R, 1959, I: 32f.); Stuhlmacher (1965: 83); Smith (1967: 18-20); Michel (R, 1978: 91); Cavallin (1978); Wright (1980: 126).
111. So Manson (R, 1962: 942); Moody (1980-81); Dunn (R, MS: 143).
112. See Kaesemann (1961: 180f.); Stuhlmacher (1965: 115, 141, 166, 175); Kertelge (1967: 15-24); Kuemmel (1972: 196); Ziesler (1972: 38ff.); Black (R, 1973: 44); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 94); Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 204); Dunn (R, MS: 137f.).
113. Cf. Hill (1967: 156); Dunn (R, MS: 138, 145).
114. Cf. Ziesler (1972: 187); Dunn (R, MS: 145).
115. See Dunn (R, MS: 109); cf. Nygren (R, 1944: 55).
116. See fuller discussion in Garlington (1987: 329-53); cf. Dunn (R, MS: 109).
117. Cf. Dunn (R, MS: 146f.).
118. Kuss (R, 1957, I: 9), Leenhardt (R, 1957: 38f.); Murray (R, 1959, I: 12), Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 65), (1982: 225), Michel (R, 1978: 75), Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 66), and Kaesemann (R, 1980: 14) suggest that Paul uses the first person plural verb **elabomen** to refer only to himself; see also the translation of Moffatt in Dodd (R, 1959: 32). However, Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 10); Roller (1933: 172), Schlatter (1935:22), Dunn (R, MS: 107) suggest that Paul links other apostles with himself. Nevertheless, one thing clear is that in v.5, Paul defines the aim of his apostleship, which he has mentioned already in v.1, as "to bring about the obedience of faith for the sake of his name among all the nations." In other words, Paul defines his apostleship as particularly to the Gentiles; so Nygren (R, 1944: 54f.); Bruce (R, 1963: 74); Black (R, 1973: 38). Thus it is possible that Paul intends to use a less individualistic tone to refer to his specific apostleship in order to avoid the possible misunderstanding arising among his addressees at the beginning of the letter; cf. Lofthouse (1946-47: 180).
119. So Nygren (R, 1944: 56); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 67f.); Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 68); Kettunen (1979: 41).
120. So Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 12); Nygren (R, 1944: 56); Kuss (R, 1957: 10); Barrett (R, 1962: 22); Bruce (R, 1963: 74); Schlier (R, 1977: 30); Kettunen (1979: 27); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 15); Dunn (R, MS: 110). However, Schlatter (1935: 23), followed by Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 20, 68), Michel (R, 1978: 77), Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 67), oppose this interpretation and they suggest that the phrase **en hois este kai humeis** can be understood as stating the fact that the Roman Christians live in the midst of Gentiles ("Unter den Voelkern" or "Inmitten der Heidenvoelker"). Watson (1986: 103) follows this line of thought and argues that **humeis** refers to Jewish Christians in Rome; however, his argument is not convincing.
121. See Doty (1973: 29); White (1982: 93), (1984: 1734).
122. So Leenhardt (R, 1957: 40); Kuss (R, 1957, I: 11); Doty (1973:

43); Cranfield (R, 1975: 68); Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 68); Dunn (R, MS: 110). Kaesemann's suggestion that "In v.6 the recipients of the epistle are addressed" is unwarranted; so Barrett (R, 1962: 22). O'Neill (R, 1975: 33) is probably wrong to suggest that v.6 is a gloss; however, he rightly notices that "Paul could hardly have addressed the recipients of the letter in the second person before the formal naming of them in the third person which has yet to come [v.7]."

123. The word **pasin** is emphatic; so Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 68).
124. So Murray (R, 1959, I: 15); Dunn (R, MS: 110); cf. Michel (R, 1978: 78); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 15). Watson's (1986: 103) suggestion that the primary addressees of Romans were Jewish Christians is unlikely. It is quite obvious that Paul explicitly addresses the Jewish (cf. 2:17ff.; 4:1; 7:1ff.) and the Gentile (cf. 11: 13ff.; 14:1) Christians in the letter.
125. See Williams (1980: 247).
126. So Dunn (R, MS: 110).
127. To Paul, the adjective **agapētos** is characteristically Jewish (cf. 9:25; 11:28; Col. 3:12; I Thess. 1:4; II Thess. 2:13). The term **hagios** has a significant position in the OT (cf. Ex. 19:6; Lev. 19:2; 20:7, 26; Num. 15:40; Deut. 7:6; 14:2; 26:19; Ps. 16:3; 34:9; 74:3; 83:3; Is. 4:3; Dan. 7:18, 21, 22, 25, 27; 8:24); see discussion in Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 12ff.); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 41 n.*); Kuss (R, 1957: 11); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 69f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 15f.). Dunn (R, MS: 111) rightly points out that "it ['the saints'] expressed Israel's very powerful sense of their having been specially chosen and set apart to God".
128. Most scholars agree that **Iēsou Christou** is a possessive genitive; so Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 12); Murray (R, 1959, I: 14); Barrett (R, 1962: 22); Black (R, 1973: 38); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 68); Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 68).
129. See Zeller (1973: 38f.).
130. See Schmithals (1975: 24).
131. See Kettunen (1979: 22).
132. So Kettunen (1979: 27, 40f., 43).
133. See those references in above **note 120.**
134. So Schlatter (R, 1935: 29f.); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 20, 86); Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 80).
135. Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 79) suggests that by 'the rest of the Gentiles' Paul would have in mind those congregations in Asia, Macedonia and Greece; also Dunn (R, MS: 126).
136. See discussion in Section II.B.4 above.
137. So Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 80) and Watson (1986: 103).
138. See discussion in Section IV.A.1.(B) below.
139. The word occurs five times in Romans, all in Rm. 16 (vv. 1, 4, 5, 16, 23). In 4 instances (except v.5), it refers to the churches at other localities, and the only time (v.5) it refers to the church at Rome it is used to denote the church in the house of Prisca and Aquila. The word is also absent in Phil. 1:1 and Col. 1:2. However, Paul usually uses **ekklēsia** to denote the church in the city (e.g. I Cor. 1:2; II Cor. 1:2; I Thess. 1:1; II Thess. 1:1) or the churches in a district (e.g. I Cor. 16:1, 19; II Cor. 8:1; Gal. 1:2, 22; I Thess. 2:14). There are 4 instances where Paul uses the word to denote a church in a house (I Cor. 16:19; Col. 4:15; Philm. 2 and Rm. 16:5). It seems strange that Paul does not use the word to denote the widely known Christian community at Rome (cf. 1:8). Furthermore, it is noteworthy that Luke-Acts also does not apply the word to the Roman Christian community (Acts 28: 13b-

31); see discussion in Excursus I.

140. Judge & Thomas (1966: 81f.), Bartsch (1968: 42ff.), Klein (1969: 47f.) and Minear (1971: 7) indicate that the absence of this word in Romans gives considerable weight to their hypotheses. See discussion in Wilckens (1974a: 115f.); he suggests that the absence of the word in Rm. 1:7 and Phil 1:1 is not of so much importance; also Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 70f.; cf. 22 n.2); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 15); Brown (1983: 115f. n.239).

141. The terms "thanksgiving section", "thanksgiving passage", "thanksgiving period" and "introductory thanksgiving" are used by different scholars to denote the paragraph usually commencing with the **eucharisteō** - formula; see Schubert (1939: 4, 40ff.); Doty (1973: 31-33); O'Brien (1977: 1 n.1); Kuss (R, 1957: 16).

142. So Dodd (R, 1959: 34); Barrett (R, 1962: 23f.); Black (R, 1973: 39f.); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 73); O'Brien (1977: 201f.); Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 76f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 17). However, Schubert (1939: 31ff.) suggests that the passage should be ended at v.17 and Sanders (1962: 360) suggests that it may be at v.12. For detailed discussion of the difficulties involved in determining the limit of the passage, see O'Brien (1977: 200-2); cf. Schubert (1939: 5f., 31ff.).

143. Dodd (R, 1959: 34).

144. See Huby, cited by O'Brien (1977: 206 n.37), also our above discussion on v.7.

145. Cf. Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 68).
Of Paul's seven undisputed letters, there is no thanksgiving passage in Galatians. In II Cor., Paul writes a Berakah instead of a thanksgiving; see O'Brien (1977: 233f.). With regard to the other four: in I Cor. 1:4f., Paul gives thanks for God's grace given to them, which includes all speech and all knowledge; in Phil. 1:3ff., Paul gives thanks for their partnership in the gospel; in I Thess. 1:2ff., [cf. 2:13; 3:9; see Schubert (1939: 21ff.)] Paul gives thanks for their work of faith, labour of love and steadfastness of hope; in Philm. 4f., Paul gives thanks for his love and faith. As far as other Pauline letters are concerned: in Col. 1:3ff., Paul gives thanks for their faith and their love; in II Thess., there are two thanksgiving passages: in 1:3ff., Paul gives thanks for their growing faith and increasing love, while in 2:13f., Paul gives thanks for God's choosing of them. In Eph. 1:3ff., there is a Berakah instead of a thanksgiving similar to II Cor. 1:3f.; see discussion in Dahl (1951: 250); O'Brien (1977: 233).

146. Of the 224 references of **pistis** in the New Testament, 108 are found in Paul; see Goppelt (1976: 124ff.). In Romans, there are 40 occurrences (including 16:26). For the significance of **pistis** in Romans, see Bartsch (1968); O'Rourke (1973); Dunn (R, MS: 134); cf. Nygren (R, 1944: 86f.); Bultmann (TDNT VI: 217f.), (1952: 314-324); Ljungman (1964); Michel (R, 1978: 92f.).

147. Bultmann (1952: 314ff.) suggests that "Paul understands faith primarily as obedience" and Ridderbos (1966: 237) says "Faith and obedience belong together and can be employed as interchangeable ideas (cf. 1:8 and 16:19; I Thess. 1:8 and Rm. 15:18)"; so Furnish (1968: 184f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 14); Dunn (R, MS: 108).

148. See our discussion on 1:17 at Section II.C.2.(pp. 264f).

149. So Black (R, 1973: 40); cf. Knox (R, 1954: 386).

150. Barth (1933: 32).
151. Nygren (R, 1944: 60); cf. Leenhardt (R, 1957: 42).
152. Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 75).
153. Cf. I Thess. 1:2f.; Philm. 4f.; II Thess. 1:3f.. See Kuss (R, 1957, I: 16f.); Schlatter (R, 1962: 10); Bruce (R, 1963: 75); Michel (R, 1978: 80 n.8); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 17). Barrett's (R, 1962: 24) description of the faith of the Roman Christians is too much exaggerated.
154. Cf. Wuellner (1976: 161).
155. Here, 1:27; 2:15; 12:5, 10, 10, 16; 13:8; 14:13, 19; 15:5, 7, 14; 16:16.
156. In 12:5, Paul uses **allēlous** to indicate the relationship between members in the "one body in Christ" (vv.4f.). Paul's use of the body terminology in Rm. 12: 4-5 is possibly to appeal to Roman Christians to avoid separation but to build up a good relationship among themselves, see discussion in pp. 54f. above. Paul's use of **allēlous** in 12:10, 10, 16 and 13:8 should probably be understood in the light of 12:4f.. Kaesemann's (R, 1980: 345) comment on **eis allēlous** in 12:10 as redundant indicates that he overlooked the importance of Paul's use of **allēlous** in Romans, especially in Rm. 12-16.
157. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 19) suggests that "the pronoun **humōn te kai emou,** is rather superfluous along side **en allēlois.**" His suggestion is based on the wrong assumption that **en allēlois** denotes Paul and the Roman Christians rather than the different groups in Rome.
158. See Black (R, 1973: 41); Dunn (R, MS: 125).
159. See Schubert (1939: 26f.); Doty (1973: 32 n.24); cf. Jewett (1970: 53).
160. Paul's solemness is specially expressed in his use of the language of oath in v.9 to indicate his sincere concern for the Roman Christians; for discussion of oaths in Paul's letter, see Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 75f.).
161. In both verses, **ti** and **tina** serve as a qualifier; see Kaesemann (R, 1980: 20), **metadō** and **schō** are first person singular second aorist subjunctive verbs; cf. O'Brien (1977: 202 n.17).
162. This **sun** compound word occurs only here in the NT. It is difficult to be certain about Paul's meaning. However, the stress falls on the mutuality of what will take place when Paul visits Rome and most scholars suggest that it means "to be comforted and encouraged together"; see Barrett (R, 1962: 25); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 80f.); Michel (R, 1978: 83 n.21); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 19); Dunn (R, MS: 125).
163. See Schlatter (R, 1935: 393) and our discussion on 15:30 in pp. 202-7, especially 205-7 above.
164. So Kuss (R, 1957, I: 18); Barrett (R, 1962: 25); Bruce (R, 1963: 76); Black (R, 1973: 41); Zeller (1976: 53); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 19).
165. See Leenhardt (R, 1957: 44); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 80); Dunn (R, MS: 125). Leenhardt (R, 1957: 44 n.*) is probably right to suggest that "**touto de estin,** which is found only here in the NT, has not the meaning of **tout estin** (that is to say) (cf. 7:18). It introduces not an explanation but a complement".
166. Paul's introduction of his favourite expression **ou thelō humas agnoein, adelphoi** at v.13a does not necessarily denote a new beginning; against Sanders (1962: 349f., 359f.), followed by White (1971: 91ff.); Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 79). As a matter of fact, Paul uses the same expression in 11:25; I Cor. 10:1; 12:1; II Cor. 1:8; I Thess 4:13; but only in I Cor. 12:1 and I

Thess. 4:13 does the expression introduce the beginning of a new issue. While in 11:25; I Cor. 10:1 and II Cor. 1:8, Paul continues to discuss the preceding issue and introduces the expression only to add weight to the words which follow; cf. Black (R, 1973: 42); Dunn (R, MS: 125). It seems to be the same case in Rm. 1:13; so O'Brien (1977: 202 n.17). Mullins (1964-65: 49) is quite right to reject Sanders' (1962) suggestion as a "hard and fast rule", instead, he suggests that "these forms [the Petition or the Disclosure] can be incorporated as complete units within other forms" (my emphasis). It is quite surprising that while White (1971) does not discuss Mullins' (1964-65) suggestion at all, O'Brien (1977: 201 n.17) misread Mullins' suggestion and identified him as at the same position as Sanders. However, Mullins (1972) does refer to White's (1971) article and rejects his proposal of characterizing those epistolographic forms as "introductory formulae".

167. Leenhardt (R, 1957: 44); so Nygren (R, 1944: 61).
168. Marshall (1987: 1-129, esp. 1-34).
169. Mauss (1950: 10f., 37-41, 79).
170. Marshall (1987: 2; cf. 1-34).
171. For an analysis of the significance of Paul's refusal to receive the offer of aid from Corinthians according to the Graeco-Roman conventions of friendship, see Marshall (1987: 173-258).
172. See Dunn (1975: 205ff.).
173. See Dunn (1975: 253ff.).
174. See Conzelmann (IC, 1960: 204); Dunn (1975: 208); Fee (IC, 1987: 576); cf. Bultmann (1952, I: 156). For a different view, see Ellis (1973: 68f.); (1973-74: 24ff.).
175. In 15: 26, Paul uses the abstract noun **koinōnia** to denote the concrete contribution which the Gentile Christians gave to Jerusalem, and in v.27 he uses the verb **koinōneō** to denote the way the Gentile Christians were in debt. As far as the "debt" is concerned, it is **ta pneumatika**. In Rm. 15: 26f. as in I Cor. 9:11, **ta pneumatika** occurs in correspondence to **ta sarkika** without being in opposition as an antithesis (cf. 7:14; I Cor. 2:14f.; 3:1). As a matter of fact, the context indicates that **ta pneumatika** and **ta sarkika** are exchanged and shared in the fellowship of the Jewish and the Gentile Christians; see also Fee (IC, 1987: 409).
176. See Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 78f.); Dunn (1975: 206f.).
177. See A-G: 405f.; Hauck (TDNT, III: 614ff.); Hensel (NIDNTT, I: 721ff.).
178. Rm. 1:13; 6:21, 22; 15:28; I Cor. 9:7; Gal. 5:22; Phil. 1:11, 22; 4:17. The verb **karpophoreō** occurs eight times in the NT, of which two are in the undisputed Pauline letters in Rm. 7: 4, 5. For discussion of the usage of **karpophoreō** in the NT, see below **note 203.**
179. For references to Rm. 6:21, 22, see A-G: 406; Leenhardt (R, 1957: 174); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 185); Dunn (R, MS: 511f.). For references to Phil. 1:22, see Scott (P, 1955: 37); Beare (P, 1969: 63); Collange (P, 1973: 64); Hawthorne (1983: 47).
180. The connection between Gal. 5:22 and Phil. 1:11 is recognized by Beare (P, 1969: 55); Martin (P, 1976: 70); Hawthorne (P, 1983: 29).
181. See Vine (1940: 133); Guthrie (G, 1969: 148); Mussner (G, 1974: 385); cf. Betz (G, 1979: 286); Bruce (G, 1982: 251).
182. See Betz (G, 1979: 281f.).
183. Schlier (G, 1971: 256f.), followed by Dunn (1975: 295, 439

n.195); cf. Huebner (1978: 41); Lull (1980: 127); Bruce (G, 1982: 251f.).

184. See Dunn (1975: 295); Lull (1980: 127).

185. See Michael (P, 1928: 25); Hawthorne (P, 1983: 29); cf. Scott (P, 1955: 27).

186. Mohrlang (1984: 115).

187. For references to I Cor. 9:7, see Barrett (IC, 1968: 206); Conzelmann (IC, 1969; 154); Orr & Walther (IC, 1976: 241); Morris (IC, 1985: 132); Fee (IC, 1987: 405). For references to Phil. 4:15ff., see Michael (P, 1928: 224); Dodd (1933: 7); Scott (P, 1955: 126); Beare (P, 1969: 155); Martin (P, 1976: 166f.); Hawthorne (P, 1983: 205f.).

188. See Deissmann (1903: 238f.); so Murray (R, 1965: 219); Cranfield (R, 1979, II: 774); Kaesemann (R, 1980:401); Dunn (R,MS: 1161); cf. Wilckens (R, 1982, III: 128); Hauck (TDNT III: 615). Nickle's (1966: 69f.) conjecture that 1:13 refers to Paul's contemplation of the later voluntary participation of the Roman Christians in the collection is quite improbable. However, he is probably right to think that the meaning of **karpos** in 15:28 should be related to the use of the same word in 1:13. In our view the connection is that in both passages **karpos** denotes material return of spiritual blessing.

189. So Orr & Walther (IC, 1976: 241). The connection between I Cor. 9:11 and Rm. 15:27f. is recognized by Conzelmann (IC, 1969: 155 n. 44) and Fee (IC, 1987: 409).

190. Paul's use of commercial terms in Phil. 4:17 has long been observed by many scholars; see Kennedy (1900-1: 43f.); Michael (P, 1928: 224); Dodd (1933: 70); Scott (P, 1955: 127); Beare (P, 1969: 155); Collange (P, 1973: 153); Martin (P, 1976: 167); Hawthorne (P, 1983: 204ff.). Martin (P, 1976: 165f.) is probably right to see in 1:15ff. that a two-way transaction is involved between Paul and the Philippians. He suggests that "The Philippians gave and they also received, presumably spiritual good, from Paul (as in I Cor. 9:11; cf. Rm. 15:27). ..... What stamped the relationship of Paul and the Philippians was that they both gave and received." (p.166); cf. Beare (P, 1969: 155); Koenig (1985: 71f.). Hawthorne's suggestion (P, 1983: 204) that "these words [**dosis kai lēmpsis** in v.15] refer to the financial gift of the Philippians, on the one hand, and the receipt they received back from the apostle acknowledging its safe arrival on the other hand" is less convincing. Paul obviously discusses his early missionary ministry in v.15 and he uses the word **koinōneō** to denote the giving-and-receiving relationship between him and the church; see Koenig (1985: 71).

191. On this issue, there is no consensus among different scholars; see discussions in Dungan (1971: 28-33); Judge (1972); Theissen (1975); Hock (1980: 26f., 50-65); Sampley (1980: 84-87); Meeks (1983: 202 n.63); Malherbe (1983: 24-27, 49, 74); Koenig (1985: 71ff.); Georgi (1986: 238-242); Marshall (1987: 165-172).

192. Hock (1980: 52-59)

193. Hock (1980: 59-65). However, see also the query raised by Meeks (1983: 202 n.63). Meeks thinks that the situation is probably more complicated than Hock has suggested and "Paul also accepted certain forms of support when they did not compromise his **autarkeia**".

194. Hock (1980: 77 n.3). Koenig (1985: 71) also points out that "Paul could not always earn enough to support himself, especially during periods of imprisonment".

195. See Hock (1980: 79 n.28); cf. Marshall (1987: 139, 221). Hock also notes that according to Acts Paul received hospitality from Judas (9: 11, 17), the Jerusalem Church (15: 3-4, 21: 17), Philippian jailor (16: 33-34), several churches as he was en route to Jerusalem (21: 4, 7, 8, 16), strangers on Malta (28: 7-10), and later the church in Puteoli (28: 14). Marshall (1987: 138f.) suggests that " the hospitality extended to Paul on his missionary travels, especially in the major cities of the provinces of Macedonia and Achaia, appears to have been, as often as not, Greek in character. Further, the New Testament, which provides us with one of our most coherent sets of documents for the first century for both Greeks and Jews, show that in the places covered by Paul and Luke, hospitality was widely practiced by both Greeks and Romans".
196. So Hock (1980: 59-65); Marshall (1987: 143-147, 173-258).
197. See **note 32** in **Chapter 6** above.
198. The frequency of Paul's discussion of this practice in various passages of Corinthians (I Cor. 9: 3-15; II Cor. 11: 7-11; 12: 13-18), I Thess. (2: 8f.), and in Philippians (2: 25-30; 4: 10-20) probably indicates that this was a general practice which would only be changed in special circumstances; cf. Dungan (1971: 28ff.); Sampley (1980: 84ff.); Meeks (1983: 202 n.63); Georgi (1986: 238).
199. Black (R, 1973: 42) rightly recognizes that "his [Paul] words could mean that he planned to come to receive some benefit from the Roman Church, as he had also elsewhere in the Gentile world".
200. Barrett (R, 1962: 26).
201. See Vine (1940, II: 134); Moule (Col,1957: 51); Dodd (R, 1959: 35); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 45); Knox (R, 1954: 389); Kuss (R, 1957,I: 19); Batdorf (IDB, II: 327); Haas (1971: 29); O'Neil (R, 1975: 37); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 82); Michel (R, 1978: 84); Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 79); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 20). However, it is noteworthy that A-G: 405f., Hauck (TDNT, III: 614ff.) and Hensel (NIDNTT, I: 721ff.) do not provide this interpretation.
202. Barrett (R, 1962: 26) does not provide any evidence for his suggestion. Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 82) agrees with this interpretation and provides these references. However, in the gospels, **karpos** usually refers to the literal sense of 'fruits of the earth' or the figurative sense of 'consequence', 'result', 'profit'; see Hauck (TDNT III: 615); Hensel (NIDNTT I: 722). In the gospel of John, **karpos** occurs 8 times in 15: 1-16, and twice only (4:36; 12:24) in all the rest of the gospel. The emphasis of Jesus' discourse in Jn. 15: 1-17 is on the fellowship between him and his followers, and 'fruit' in this passage refers to the result of the power which comes from this close fellowship; so Hauck (TDNT III: 615); Hensel (NIDNTT I: 722f.). However, a more specific meaning of "fruit" is not stated and it probably serves as the sign to show whether the branch has life or not, see Brown (J, 1971, II: 675f.). It could, nevertheless, mean broadly, as Bultmann (J, 1966: 532f.) suggests, "every demonstration of vitality of faith, to which according to vv.9-17, reciprocal love above all belongs"; or "qualities of Christian character" as suggested by Morris (J, 1971: 670). In view of the missionary language (**exelexasthe, ethēka, hupagēte**) used in v.16, some scholars suggest that "bearing fruit" (**karpou pherēte**) may have connotations of a mission to others; see Lagrange (J, 1948: 408); Brown (J, 1971, II: 676, 683); Morris (J, 1971:

676); Barrett (J, 1978: 478); Beasley-Murray (J, 1987: 273, 275). Since **karpos** is also used in a mission context in 4:36, it possibly has the same meaning; Schnackenburg (J, 1965, I: 450); Morris (J, 1971: 280); Beasley-Murray (J, 1987: 63). Nevertheless, although **karpos** may have the meaning of "new convert" in the gospel of John, **karpos** does not occur with this kind of connotation in the synoptics. It is only because of the similarity between Mtt. 9:37, Lk. 10:2 and Jn. 4:36, that some scholars seem to suggest that **therismos** identifies with **karpos**; cf. Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 79 n.85); Beasley-Murray (J, 1987: 63). But it is too far-fetched to transfer the possible meaning of **karpos** in the gospel of John to Paul.

203. Zeller (1973: 55 n.70), also Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 79 n.85), refers to Phil. 1:22 and Col. 1:6 as evidence to suggest that **karpos** is missionary language; cf. Batdorf (IDB, II: 327): Kuss (R, 1957, I:19); Klein (1969: 38); Michel (R, 1978: 84); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 20). As we have just indicated, the most explicit meaning of **karpos** in Phil. 1:22 is to denote an appropriate result or return on one's action in life; see above **note 179.** The evidence therefore does not provide enough support for Zeller's interpretation. In Col. 1:6, the verbal compound **karpophoreō** appears instead of the noun. In fact, there are only 8 occurrences of the word in the whole NT (Mtt. 13:23; Mk. 4:20, 28; Lk. 8:15; Rm. 7:4, 5; Col. 1:6, 10). In Mk. 4:28, it is used to denote the literal meaning of fruit bearing. In Mk. 4:20 and its parallels (Mtt. 13:23; Lk. 8:15), it is used figuratively in the parable of the sower to denote the response of the hearers. In this context, **karpophoreō** denotes the conduct of Christians; see Schweizer (Mk, 1967: 97); cf. Kingsbury (1969: 62); Trilling (Mt, 1969: 253); Gundry (Mt, 1982: 260); Gnilka (Mt, 1986: 487); Marshall (L, 1978: 327); Lohse (Col, 1968: 29 n.46). In Rm. 7:4, 5, **karpophoreō** obviously corresponds to the same general meaning of the **karpos** in 6:21f. which denotes the result of one's action; see Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 337f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 188); Dunn (R, MS: 530); cf. Lohse (Col, 1968: 29 n.47). In Col. 1:10, **karpophoreō** is certainly not used in a missionary context, it denotes the result of good works from Christians; see A-G: 406; Hauck (TDNT III: 616); Beare (Col, 1955: 157); Moule (Col, 1957: 54); Lohse (Col, 1968: 29); Martin (Col, 1974: 52); Gnilka (Col, 1980: 42); O'Brien (Col, 1982: 23). It is only in Col. 1:6 that **karpophoreō** is used in a missionary context. However the meaning of 'fruit-bearing' is by no means clear; see Schweizer (Col, 1976: 42 n.11). Many modern commentators follow Chrysostom's suggestion that 'fruit-bearing' means a crop of deeds (cf. Phil. 1: 11), and 'the growth (**auxanomenon**) of the gospel' refers to the growing number of converts; see Moule (Col, 1957: 51); O'Brien (Col, 1982: 13). Schweizer (Col, 1976: 36f.) suggests that "The sequence of words 'bearing fruit and growing' (cf. v. 10) is not altogether logical; but in the figurative sense of the phrase, it is the idea of bearing fruit which is the decisive notion,..... just as a tree without fruit and growth would no longer be a tree, so a gospel which bore no fruit would cease to be a gospel"; cf. Beare (Col, 1955: 153); Lohse (Col, 1968: 19f.). This ambiguous evidence which occurs in a disputed letter of Paul could hardly establish the suggestion that **karpos** is Pauline missionary terminology. Furthermore, Murray (R, 1959, I: 24) rightly points out that in Rm. 1: 13 the idea Paul expressed is that of "gathering" fruit, not that of

"bearing" it.

204. Schubert (1939: 32) rightly sees a parallel between vv.11-13 and vv.14-15.

205. Dunn (R, MS: 124) rightly rejects Barth's (R, 1956: 18) suggestion and points out that the "gift" is not necessarily equivalent to "the gospel". However while "the gift" can denote the gracious act and gift of God in Jesus Christ (Rm. 5:15, 16; 6:23); see Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 79); Dunn (1975: 206); "the gospel" can obviously be described as "some spiritual gift" which Paul expects to share with the Roman Christians.

206. Cf. O'Neill (R, 1975: 37); Klein (1969: 36).

207. Klein (1969: 48).

208. See Knox (R, 1954: 389); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 45); Kuemmel (1977: 27); Michel (R, 1978: 85).

209. This kind of clear demarcation can be found in the writings of Bultmann (1952, I: 86) and Dodd (1936: 7f.). However, for the objections to seeing kerygma and didache as distinctively separate entities, see Wood (1959); McDonald (1980: 1ff.); cf. Evans (1956). Wood (1959: 312) even suggests that "Didache and Kerygma together make up Evangelion".

210. See Friedrich (TDNT, II: 720).

211. Dunn (R, MS: 128); Against Zeller (1973: 55-8).

212. Dunn (R, MS: 128). Munck (1954: 298) suggests that "the gospel preaching of which Paul speaks in ch. 1 is no missionary preaching, but preaching for the strengthening of a church already there"; cf. Friedrich (TDNT, II: 719f.).

213. See Stirewalt (1969), who suggests that Paul's attitude towards the value of letter writing stands in marked contrast to that generally prevalent in the ancient Greek-speaking world, in which, there was widespread dissatisfaction and a lack of confidence in letter writing.

214. See Funk (1967: 263f.); Martin (1978: 246f.). For discussion on the function of letter as making 'absent' become 'present', see **note 70** of the **INTRODUCTION.**

215. See Funk (1967: esp. 258f.). He suggests that letter, dispatch of emissary and Paul's own presence represent the implementation of the apostolic parousia and that they are in ascending order of significance. However, Doty (1973: 27) suggests that "every letter represents what Paul thought ought to be addressed to the specific situation, and we often have a sense that Paul is preaching as if he were there in person."

216. Cf. I Cor. 14:37; 15:1ff.; II Cor. 13:2; I Thess. 4:2ff., 11ff.; II Thess. 2:5, 15; 3:14; see Stirewalt (1969: 190-196) and Doty (1973: 27, n.13); White(1984: 1743); Campbell (1981: 31, n.43).

217. Funk (1967: esp. 249) suggests that the passages indicating Paul's apostolic parousia could be understood as a formal structural element in the Pauline letter. However, Mullins (1973: 350ff.) counters his suggestion by showing that there is only one item among those five suggested by Funk which appears persistently in the thirteen "parousia" passages. He suggests that (1973: 351f.) "parousia" should be dealt with as a theme but not as a form. Funk (1967: 249) also accepts that the "apostolic parousia" is basically a theme. What he proposes is to advance the analysis of the theme to a further step as a form.

218. See Funk (1967: 250-254), other passages are: Rm. 1:8ff.; Philm 21f.; I Cor. 4:14-21; 16:1-11; 16:12; II Cor. 8:16-23; 9:1-5; 12:14-13:13; Gal. 4:12-20; Phil. 2:19-24; 2:25-30; I

Thess. 2:17-3:13.

219. Funk (1967: 267). However, Funk (1967: 267f.) further suggests that this exceptional case is evidence that Paul conceived Rm. 1:1-15:13 as a general letter, "to be particularized and dispatched, as the occasion demanded, to other well-known churches which he had not founded or visited." But one wonders which churches he has in mind; see also Kaesemann (R, 1980: 390). In our opinion, if the problems of the integrity of Romans are clarified (see **Chapter 1**), the double treatment of the apostolic parousia in Romans is further evidence indicating that Paul is more careful and adopts a progressive approach to indicate his apostolic parousia to the Roman Christian community which has not been founded by him.
220. Cf. Michel (R, 1978: 454); Funk (1967: 267); see Kaesemann (R, 1980: 390) who agrees that Rm. 15:14ff. is a return to the concern of the proem in 1:8-15, but he suggests that it is not a simple parallel.
221. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 390) rightly suggests that "so long as the theology had not been sketched and focused, the proem could offer only relatively vague indications, but now these are replaced by precise statements and conceptions. Usually the high diplomacy which has gone into the construction of our epistle is not perceived."
222. See Michel (R, 1978: 454), cf. Funk (1967: 267). However, Kaesemann (R, 1980: 390) thinks that it is too formal to speak in terms of a literary "parenthesis".
223. See Black (R, 1973: 43).
224. Brandt (1970: 51); cf. Wuellner (1976: 159).
225. Wuellner (1976: 159), his emphasis.
226. As far as those past obstacles are concerned, many scholars suggest the following possibilities:
    (1) The repeated hindrances were of demonic/Satanic origin (as in I Thess. 2:18); so Leenhardt (R, 1957: 44); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 82); Dunn (R, MS: 125).
    (2) Paul's own activity of evangelization in the East; so Leenhardt (R, 1957: 44f.); Barrett (R, 1962: 26); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 82; R, 1979, II: 766).
    (3) The expulsion of Jews from Rome by Claudius in 49; Dunn (R, MS: 125).

EXCURSUS I

A Study of Acts 28: 13b - 31

Introduction

According to Acts 27:1 - 28:16, Paul travelled to Rome from Judaea as a prisoner. It is believed that he arrived at Rome in the period between 60-62 C.E.[1] Although there are no indisputable references in Paul's own letters to verify these last events,[2] the martyrdom of Paul in Rome is nevertheless seen as being absolutely confirmed by the witness of I Clement 5:4-7 from the end of the first century C.E..[3] In Romans 1:10ff., 15: 22-24, 28f., 32 (cf. Acts 19: 21; 23: 11) Paul also expressed his desire to visit Rome (see **Chapters 6 & 8**).

The picture of Paul in Acts is a controversial area in New Testament studies.[4] This problem is related to whether the author of Acts, Luke,[5] was really a companion of Paul and therefore raises the problem of the source[6] and historical reliability of Acts.[7] Nevertheless, there is a growing consensus that Luke was writing not only as a theologian but also as a historian.[8] By comparing Acts with ancient historiography, its quality as a work of history has become more appreciated.[9] Furthermore, the value of Acts as a source for the study of Paul is better recognized in recent times and it is believed that the historical Paul can be perceived much more clearly by using both Pauline epistles and Acts as sources.[10]

In this excursus, we are not going to enter into a detailed discussion of those most perplexing questions of Luke-Acts studies.[11] We will only focus our concern on whether our understanding of the situation of Rome is consistent with the evidence in Acts 28: 13b-31, the only passage in the New Testament which gives an account of Paul's experience in Rome, and whether our understanding can shed light on the interpretation of this passage.

In line with the structure of Acts 28:13b-31 and the concern of our thesis, we will study the passage according to the following two sections:

I. Paul's meeting with Christians of Puteoli and Rome (vv.13b-15);

II. Paul's meeting with the Jewish leaders in Rome (vv.16-25a, 29).

I. Paul's meeting with Christians of Puteoli and Rome (vv.13b-15)

These verses are part of the last section of the "we passages",[12] in which we learn that Paul and his companions arrived at Puteoli, which was located on the gulf of Naples, a distance of 140 miles from Rome. In the first century, it was the regular port of entry for Rome before Ostia supplanted it in importance at a later date.[13]

In Puteoli, there was one of the oldest Jewish communities in Italy after that of Rome which came into existence not later than 4 B.C.E..[14] It would be quite plausible that in such an important seaport, Christians

were to be found as well. Its origin was probably related to the Christians of Rome. According to Acts 2:10-41, there were Roman visitors (hoi epidēmountes Rōmaioi) among those who heard the preaching of apostles in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost.[15]

A. Meeting with the Christians of Puteoli (v.14)

Luke did not explain how the arrival of Paul and his companions was made known to the Christians in Puteoli but simply states that hou heurontes adelphous.[16] It also seems to be strange that Paul, as a prisoner, had the freedom to accept their invitation to stay with them for seven days.[17]

From the text, we do not know any other information about the Christians of Puteoli or the content of the meeting. Nevertheless, it indicates that Paul and his companion were well received by the Christians of Puteoli and there was enough time for the Christians of Puteoli to inform the Christians of Rome about the arrival of Paul.[18]

B. Meeting with the Christians of Rome (v.15)

After Luke has stated 'And so we came to Rome',[19] he reports that the Christians (**adelphoi**) of Rome heard the news of Paul and his companions, they came to meet them as two delegations at the Forum of Appius and Three Taverns.[20] Paul thanked God and took courage on seeing them.

In view of the fact that the Forum of Appius and Three Taverns were 10 Roman miles apart, one must presume that there were at least two delegations of Christians who went out to meet Paul and his companions.[21] Although we do not

have any evidence in Acts to inform us about the characteristics of these Christian groups, Haenchen's interpretation of these two groups of Christians simply as a group of younger and particularly zealous Christians going 43 miles to meet Paul while the others went 33 miles is not convincing.[22] It is more reasonable to assume that there were at least two different groups of Christians in Rome. They both received the news of Paul's arrival but were not organized as one delegation to come to meet Paul. This interpretation is also consistent with the fact that Luke, like Paul, did not use **ekklēsia** to describe the Christians in Rome;[23] It is quite plausible that the Christians in Rome were not organized into a single congregation but had their communication channels through which the news of Paul's arrival to Rome was transmitted. This interpretation is surely consistent with our understanding of the situation of the Roman Christians.

II. Paul's meeting with the Jewish Leaders in Rome (vv.16-25a,29)

It is uncertain how Paul settled in Rome. According to the text, he was kept under "house-arrest".[24] This indicates that he could freely meet any persons and continue to carry out his ministry (cf. vv.30-31). With this freedom, Paul met the Jewish leaders in Rome twice.

A. The First Meeting (vv.17-22)

After only three days of house-arrest, Paul called together the local leaders of the Jews and explained to them the reasons why he was in Rome.

Luke does not relate how the meeting was arranged, but he contrasts the meetings of Paul with the Christians and that of the Jews. The Christians of Rome came to meet Paul by their own initiative (**ēlthan eis apantēsin**, v.15) but the Jews he "called together" (**sugkalesasthai**, v.17). This plausibly suggests that the Jewish leaders were persuaded by some Roman Christians to come.[25] In other words, the meeting between Paul and the Roman Jewish leaders was plausibly arranged by the Jewish Christians in Rome. If this was the case, it implies that there were contacts between Jewish Christians and the Jewish community in Rome.

Moreover, in v.22, the Jewish leaders told Paul about their understanding of Christianity as 'the sect' that was spoken against everywhere (v.22). In other words, the Roman Jews indicated that they knew of 'the sect' only at second hand. As we have mentioned in **Chapter 3** above, according to the account of Suetonius, the Roman Jews were expelled from Rome because of the disturbance of "Chrestus".[26] This account is generally accepted as evidence of the conflict between non-Christian Jews and Christian Jews in Rome. Based on this understanding, many scholars are surprised by the comment on the Christian 'sect' made by these Roman Jewish leaders[27] However, if our interpretation of the expulsion is accepted (see pp. 93-5 above), it is quite plausible that the conflict between the Jews and Christians in Rome was limited to the radical Jews and Christian Jews but not Roman Jews in general. Therefore, the Roman Jews who agreed to meet Paul did not have personal

experience of the conflicts with Christians. Nevertheless, the actual reason behind the comment of these Jewish leaders cannot be certain, it is also plausible that the reply was a polite diplomatic one in order to ask Paul to present "his" understanding of 'the sect';[28] Neil suggests that it was the complicated religio-political situation of Rome that caused the Roman Jews to appear as ignorant of Christianity.[29] However,, the comment made by these Jewish leaders has two implications:

1. Christianity was still considered as a Jewish sect (**hairesis**) within the boundary of Judaism;[30]
2. the Roman Jewish leaders knew that there were conflicts and tensions between 'the sect' and Judaism at the time when Paul arrived Rome.

Moreover, in the meeting, Paul claimed that he was a faithful Jew living in accord with the customs of their fathers (v.17) and his imprisonment was because of the 'hope of Israel' (v. 20).

B. The Second Meeting (vv.23-25a, 29)

At the end of the first meeting, Roman Jewish leaders detached themselves from the position of the Jerusalem Jewish leaders in relation to Paul, and expressed their willingness to know Paul's understanding of Christianity. Luke describes that ***more*** Jews came to Paul's home on the appointed day. Paul explained to them from morning till evening about his understanding of the 'hope of Israel' based on the law of Moses and the prophets.[31] At the end of the meeting, some were convinced by what he said,[32] while others disbelieved.[33] As they disagreed among themselves,

they departed.

To contrast the second meeting with the first, beside the difference of purpose and content of the meeting, the most remarkable difference was that there were ***more*** Jews and they disagreed among themselves at the end of the meeting.

We would wonder why the Jewish leaders invited ***more*** Jews to hear Paul talk about his understanding of 'the sect' which was spoken against everywhere. ***Who were those Jews?*** It is inconceivable that they should have asked more common Roman Jews to come.

In fact, if we put the description of the first meeting (vv.17-22) side by side with the second meeting (vv.23-25a), then v.23 has to be understood as a parallel scene to v.17, and **pleiones** has to be understood as denoting the Roman Jewish leaders but not the common Jews.

According to our understanding of the Jewish community in Rome (see **Chapter 4** above), there were numerous synagogues without a central organized authority to govern them. Moreover, the inscriptional data indicates that there were many different titles for the Jewish leaders in the synagogues,[34] Among these synagogues, there was plausibly a net-work for communication and co-operation. In this context, the passage probably suggests that ***more Jewish leaders came from different synagogues*** to meet Paul in order to make their own judgement on 'the sect' which was opposed by many Jews.

While the Jews could not come to a consensus on the understanding of the relationship between Judaism and Christian faith in this second meeting, it probably reflects a Roman Jewish community which was composed of Jews with diverse characteristics. As we have mentioned above (see pp. 94, 126), their relationship was plausibly upheld by adopting the principle of toleration and mutual acceptance in dealing with their differences.

Summary and Conclusion

According to our above study on Acts 28: 13b-31, when Paul arrived at Rome, we can see that the situation of Rome which he had to face was as follows:

1. There were at least two different groups of Christians existing in Rome. They kept contact with each other but were not organized into a 'church' like that of Jerusalem or Antioch. Among them were Jewish Christians who probably maintained connections with the Roman Jewish community.
2. Christians were still considered as a Jewish 'sect' inside Judaism but with conflicts and tensions in the Jewish community.
3. The Jewish community in Rome was plausibly divided into different synagogues with different leaders. They did not have a single central authority to govern them, but they did have a communication net-work to link up them. Among these Roman Jews, some were more ready to accept the continuity between Judaism and the new 'sect', but some were not. However, they plausibly adopted the principle of toleration and mutual acceptance in dealing with differences among themselves.

This picture of the situation in Rome fits in quite well with our understanding of the situation of Rome which is derived from the evidence in the Roman writings, Jewish writings, Roman Jewish catacombs and Romans. Moreover, as we have shown in above, our understanding of the situation can also shed light on the interpretation of Acts 28: 13b-31.

Notes to Excursus I

1. Acts is our only source for Paul's arrival in Rome. Scholars' suggestions for the date vary between 56 and 62 C.E.; see discussion in Wikenhauser (1956; 361); Marxsen (1964: 22); Luedemann (1980: 3) and Jewett (1979: 44). To fix this event chronologically as a definite statement is impossible. Most scholars nevertheless suggest that it happened in the period between 60 to 62 C.E., See Metzger (1955: 71); Bruce (1969: 361); Wikenhauser (1956: 361); Filson (1971: 399); Jewett (1979: 44); Ogg (1968: 176).
2. It is, however, possible that Philippians was composed during the imprisonment in Rome, cf. Luedemann (1980: 3. See detailed discussion on place and time of the writing of Phil. in Kuemmel (1973: 324-332).
3. The Roman imprisonment of Paul is witnessed even earlier by Hebrews; see Wrede (1906: 62-63) and Luedemann (1980: 3).
4. This is an old question which has been discussed by scholars since the Tuebingen school of F. C. Baur in 19th century. For a historical review since then, see Mueller (1981: 157-201). Brief reviews of recent studies are given in Stolle (1973: 13-31); Burchard (1975: 881-895); Roloff (1979: 510-531); Loning (1981: 202-234). For discussion of the issue, see Dibelius (1956: 207-214); Vielhauer (1950-51); Wilckens (1966); Enslin (1938), (1970); Barrett (1972b: 87ff.); Bruce (1975-76); Jervell (1979); Keck and Martyn (1980: 5); Maddox (1982: 66-90) and Yamada (1986).
5. The authorship of Acts is also a controversial issue among scholars. See discussion in Haenchen (A, 1965: 1-50); and Kuemmel (1973: 147-150, 174-185); Gasque (1975).
6. See the discussion in Cadbury (1927); Bruce (A, 1952: 21-26); Dupont (1964); Haenchen (A, 1965: 81-91); Kuemmel (1973: 174-185); cf. Maddox (1982: 82f. n.1).
7. See the discussion in Ramsay (1915); Dibelius (1956: 102-108); Williams (1965); Wilson (1973: 255-267); Gasque (1975: 136-163); Hengel (1979) pp.35-39 and Marshall (A, 1980: 34-44).

8. Many Scholars of past generations regarded Luke as above all a historian, see Haenchen (A, 1965: 12-34). However, more recently Vielhauer (1950-51) and especially Conzelmann (1960) and O'Neill (1961) emphasize that Luke is primarily a theologian. Nevertheless, the understanding that Luke is a historian as well has also been revitalized by recent studies of many scholars, cf. Ehrhardt (1958); Barrett (1962); Marshall (1971); Neil (A, 1973: 14-22); Gasque (1975: 136-163), (1978); Hemer (1977-78); Hengel (1979) pp.35-39, 59-68; Jervell (1979), (1984a) and Bruce (1985).
9. See van Unnik (1979) and Hengel (1979: 35-39).
10. See discussion in Mattill, Jr. (1978); Hengel (1979) and Jervell (1979: esp. 300), (1984b).
11. Such as the questions of authorship, sources, historical reliability and Luke's picture of Paul mentioned above.
12. There are four "we passages" in Acts 16:10-17; 20:5-15; 21:1-18; 27:1 - 28:16; see Dupont (1964: 75-93) and Dibelius (1947: 104). Many scholars believe that the first-person style points to the use of eyewitness material, e.g. Dibelius (1957: 148); Barrett (1961: 22); Haenchen (1966: 272); Jewett (1979: 13ff.); Hengel (1979: 66f.); Marshall (A, 1980: 39).
13. See Finegan, IDB 3: 971f.; OCD: 901; Beginnings IV: 344; Casson (1974: 129, 139, 254); Bruce (A, 1952: 474); Neil (A, 1973: 255f.); Marshall (A, 1980: 418f.); and Grant (1986: 29f.).
14. Cf. V 16; BJ II.104; AJ XVII 328-331; see Bruce (A, 1952: 474) and Grant (1986: 29).
15. The origin of Roman Christianity is uncertain. The earliest evidence for the existence of Roman Christianity from Roman sources are in Tacitus Annals 15:44 and Suetonius Claudius 25:4; see discussion in Judge & Thomas (1968); Cranfield (R, 1975 I:16ff.); Wilckens (R, 1978 I:35f.); Brown (1983:92-104).
16. In Acts, **adelphos** is used 57 times, (there are 343 instances in N.T., see CCNTG pp.35-43) of which about 33 are used to denote "fellow-Christians" or "Christian brothers"; see Dunn (1970: 74). The usage is plainly derived from Judaism, **adelphos** means a co-religionist, who historically is identical with a compatriot; see discussion in von Soden in TDNT I: 144-146 and Gunther in NIDNTT I: 254-258.
17. Commentators give various explanations to this incident; see Haenchen (A, 1965: 719); Hanson (A, 1967: 253); Marshall (A, 1980: 419); Neil (A, 1973: 255). For discussion of the textual variance in this verse, see Beginnings IV: 344; Metzger (1971: 501).
18. The distance between Puteoli and Rome was 140 miles (see above); Zahn, quoted by Haenchen (A, 1965: 718), suggests that it required a vigorous walk for five days on the Appian Way, i.e. 28-35 miles per day.
19. In view of v.16, it seems that Paul arrived in Rome twice. Ramsay's (1903: 346f.) suggestion, to relate 'Rome' in v.14 to the ager Romanus, so to speak the 'administrative district of Rome', is rejected by many scholars; see Beginnings IV: 345; Bruce (A, 1952: 475); Haenchen (A, 1965: 718f.). Most scholars suggest that Luke first states the fact of their arrival in Rome with a general statement, and then gives the details of what happened on the last stage of the journey; see Beginnings IV: 345; Bruce (A, 1952: 475).
20. Forum of Appius and Three Taverns were 43 and 33 miles away from Rome respectively. Horace, Satirae I.5.3-6, mentions that travellers spent only one day for the journey between Forum of Appius and Rome, but he himself "lazily" preferred to take two

days. In fact, the average speed for a vigorous traveller was 28-35 miles a day on the Appian Way (see above **note 18**). It would be more probable to spend more than one day to travel from Rome to Three Taverns. Against Wendt, quoted by Haenchen (A, 1971: 718 n.4), who suggests 40 miles as a day's march for the Roman Christians,

21. So Newman and Nida (1972: 507).
22. Haenchen (A, 1965: 719).
23. It appears 114 times in N.T., in which 23 are used in Acts. Most of them denote an organized church especially the churches in Jerusalem (5:11; 8:1, 3; 11:22; 15:4, 22; 18:22), Antioch (11:26; 13:1; 14:27; 15:3) and Ephesus (20:17, 28).
24. The Western text was expanded to suggest that Paul was granted special permission to live by himself with a soldier guarding him after he was delivered to the **stratopedarchēs**, see discussion in Plooij (1912-13); Beginnings IV: 345; Bruce (A, 1952: 476); Sherwin-White (1963: 108ff.) and Haenchen (A, 1965: 718). For discussion on Luke's positive view of the Roman soldiers, see Walaskay (1983) pp.31f..
25. Haenchen (A, 1965: 726f.) rightly points out that it would be difficult to comprehend if the Roman Jews treated Paul who was a highly suspect prisoner implicated by Jews in a trial of life and death as a respectable person whose invitation was immediately accepted. However, the Roman Jews were interested to know about the Jewish prisoners brought to Rome. It would also be impossible for them to be ignorant about Paul's trouble with the Jews in the East (cf. v.22). So it would be quite plausible that they were persuaded by the Roman Christians to accept the invitation to meet Paul in order to hear what he had to say for himself.
26. See **note 45** of **Chapter 3**.
27. See Bruce (A, 1952: 478); Haenchen (A, 1965: 727f.); Neil (A, 1973: 258); Marshall (A, 1980: 42).
28. So Haenchen (A, 1965: 723).
29. Neil (A, 1973: 258).
30. **hairesis** occurs only 9 times in N.T., 6 of which are in Acts - 5:17; 15:5; 24:5, 14; 26:5; 28:22. (Others: I Cor. 11:19; Gal. 5:20; II Pet. 2:1) It follows the usage in Hellenism and Judaism to denote 'school' or 'party'. In Acts, Christians are described like the Pharisees and Sadducees as belonging to a **hairesis** of Judaism (24:5, 14; 28:22; cf. 5:17; 15:5; 26:5; and see also Josephus V 12, 191, 197; AJ XIII:171, 293; BJ II:118). See discussion in Dinkler, IDB II: 583; Schlier, TDNT I: 180ff.; Nordholt, NIDNTT I: 535 and Kuemmel (1973: 127f.).
31. Luke's understanding of Paul's preaching, 'the hope of Israel' and its relationship with 'the kingdom of God' and Jesus are not our concern in this thesis. For detailed discussion on these issues, see Conzelmann(1960: 113-119, 162-167, 218-225); Marshall (1970: 160f.); Jeremias (1971: 34); Wilson (1973: 65f., 78f., 89); Ladd (1974: 333); Stanton (1974: 17f.); Dunn (1977:16ff..
32. The majority of commentators agree that in **epeithonto** there is no thought of a real conversion; see Beginnings IV: 347; Bruce (A, 1952: 479); Haenchen (A, 1965: 723) and Marshall (A, 1980: 424); against Jervell (1965: 77) and Wilson (1973: 226).
33. This kind of mixed response to Paul's message is typical in Acts; cf. 14:4; 17:4f., 32ff; 23:7ff.; see Newman and Nida (1972: 511) and Marshall (A, 1980: 424).
34. Leon (1960: 167-194) and Haenchen (A, 1965: 722).

Part III: The Relationships Between the Situation of Roman Christians, the Purpose, and the Doctrinal Core of Romans

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Introduction

Bornkamm claims that "[Romans] summarizes and develops the most important themes and thoughts of the Pauline message and theology and ..... elevates his theology above the moment of definite situations and conflicts into the sphere of the eternally and universally valid".[1] This view has received support from many scholars, including Kuemmel and Stendahl.[2]

However, as we have argued in the previous chapters, Paul had a considerable amount of knowledge about the situation of Roman Christians (1:8; 12:4; 13:1-7; 14:1-15:13; 15:14; 16:3-19) and his message is primarily addressed to the situation of Christians in Rome. We suggested that the main purpose of Romans is to persuade the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome to welcome one another to participate in worship and communal meals held at their house churches (14:1 - 15:13), so that this Christian community net-work can provide adequate support to Paul's mission to Spain (15: 23-33). In the upbuilding of this social net-work, the Jewish Christians can maintain their relationship with non-Christian Jews on the one hand and fellowship with the Gentile Christians on the other; and the Gentile Christians can build up a fellowship with the Jewish Christians without becoming Jews. In short, Paul

is concerned in 14:1 - 15:33 to establish a balanced social relationship between Gentile Christians, Jewish Christians and non-Christian Jews. From the evidence in 1: 1-5, 16-17, Paul seems to indicate that he is going to provide a theological foundation in the letter for the upbuilding of this social net-work. In other words, ***Rm. 1-11 is probably the theological argument to persuade the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome to build up the Roman Christian community net-work called for in Rm. 14:1 - 15:13.***[3]

Thus we appreciate the theological value of Rm. 1-11 from the perspective of the historical situation of Roman Christians, but we do not agree that this passage belongs to the realm of pure theological theory.[4]

However, the above understanding of the purpose of Romans and the situational nature of the letter must be regarded as a mere hypothesis until it can be shown that it makes sense of the doctrinal core of the letter. Therefore, we proceed to conduct a brief survey of Rm. 1-11 in the following chapters for this task. And we suggest that the contents of Rm. 1-11 are mainly concerned with the following issues which are related to the purpose of the letter and are specifically significant to the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome:

(1) the emergence of a basis for a new understanding of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles (Rm. 1:18-4:25);
(2) the new life situation of the Jewish and Gentile Christians (Rm. 5-8); and
(3) the new relationship of the Jewish and Gentile Christians with non-Christian Jews (Rm. 9-11).

CHAPTER NINE

The Emergence of a Basis for a New Understanding of the Relationship between Jews and Gentiles: Rm. 1:18-4:25

I. Personae Analysis

According to our analysis of 14:1 - 15:13,[5] Paul uses the second person plural to denote either the 'strong' (the Gentile Christians; 14:1, 13b, 16) or his addressees as a whole (15:5, 6, 7, 7, 13, 13). He also uses the first person plural to identify himself with the addressees as a whole (14: 7, 8, 8, 8, 8, 8, 8, 8, 10, 12, 13a; 15:6) and with the 'strong' (the Gentile Christians; 14:19; 15:1, 2, 4, 4). It is most significant to find that ***Paul refers to the 'weak' (the Jewish Christians) only in the second person singular*** (14: 4, 10, 10) ***in the context in which both Jewish and Gentile Christians are addressed*** (14: 3-10). In other words, Paul does not single out the Jewish Christians as a specific group for his exhortation in 14:1 - 15:13. We suggested that Paul's message is not only significant to both the Jewish and Gentile Christians in the passages which he obviously addresses to his audience as a whole (14: 3-13a; 15: 5-13), but also in those passages (14:1f., 13b-23; 15: 1-4) where he explicitly directs his exhortations to the Gentile Christians. In these passages, he expects that his message will be ***overheard*** by and be ***relevant*** to the Jewish Christians. By this means, Paul uses the whole passage (14:1 - 15:13) to exhort all his

addressees in Rome.

We think that this pattern of address can probably be found in other parts of Romans, especially in those passages in which Paul addresses explicitly either the Jewish Christians (2:17ff.; 4:1; 7:1ff.) or the Gentile Christians (6:14ff., 19; 11:13ff.). As we have suggested in our study of 1: 1-17,[6] Paul was aware of the fact that the Gentile Christians were probably the majority among his addressees, but the ***Jewish Christians*** were at least a ***significant minority***. Thus in some parts of Romans it is quite probable that Paul's dialogue with his addressees oscillates between the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome with the expectation that, no matter with which group he is explicitly engaged in dialogue, his message will be heard by and be relevant to both groups. We will show this pattern of dialogue in the course of our study.

First of all, we will start our analysis from Rm. 1:18 - 4:25. In this passage, as far as our <u>personae</u> analysis which pays special attention to first and second person is concerned, the most frequently occurring persons are second person singular and first person plural. Second person singular pronouns occur 14 times,[7] including 4 reflexive pronouns (2: 1, 5, 19, 21). There are also 22 second person singular verbs.[8] First person plural pronouns occur 9 times[9] and the verbs occur 12 times.[10] While both first person singular pronouns and verbs occur 3 times,[11] there is only one second person plural pronoun, which occurs in an OT quotation in 2:24.[12]

With regard to the distribution of the second person pronouns and verbs, their occurrences are concentrated in two passages only. Twelve of them occur in 2: 1-5 and eighteen occur in 2: 17-29.[13] The other six all occur in the OT quotations (3:4, 4, 4, 4; 4:17, 18) which are not so significant for our personae analysis. The distribution of the first person plural pronouns and verbs is also quite concentrated. Besides the occurrence of the first person plural verb **oidamen** in 2:2 and 3:19, there are seven first person plural pronouns and verbs occurring in 3: 5-9 and twelve others in 3:27 - 4:25.[14]

A. The Second Person

1. 2: 17-29

As far as the identities of 'second person' in 1:18 - 4:25 are concerned, we will start our discussion from 2: 17-29. In this passage, the **su** in 2:17, 25, 27 certainly denotes "a Jew", and the only first person plural pronoun **humas** (2:24), which occurs in an OT quotation, refers most probably to Jews.[15] Therefore, all the second person singular pronouns and verbs in 2: 17-24, a diatribal passage,[16] and in vv.25-27 probably refer to a 'typified' Jew.[17]

In other words, the rhetorical devices in 2: 17-29 would make the Jews among Paul's audience alert. While we will discuss the function of this passage in the next section, it is sufficient to suggest here that Paul's speech in 2: 17-29 has most probably the Roman Jewish Christians in mind.[18]

2. 2: 1-5

The identity of the second person singulars in 2: 1-5, a diatribal passage,[19] is not so obvious as in 2: 17-29. However, it is also quite probable that they refer to a typified person with Jewish background.[20] The evidence is:[21]

(1) 1: 18-32 belongs to a Jewish stereotyped perspective on Gentiles.[22] Paul's use of this Jewish vantage point to start the letter body indicates that he probably appeals to the Jewish audience at this part of his letter.[23] As Bassler has recently shown that there is a close connection between 1:32 and 2:1,[24a] the interlocutor in 2: 1ff. is probably also a Jew.

(2) The phrase ō **anthrōpe pas ho krinōn** in 2:1 does not denote mankind in general but rather indicates that Jews are part of mankind. The phrase can be rendered as "anyone even the Jews who judge the Gentiles in 1: 18-32".[24b]

(3) The emphatic language in v.4 echoes Jewish tradition, especially Wisd. 15:1ff..[25]

(4) The assertion in v.6 probably refers to the fundamental Jewish principle of the evenhandedness of divine retribution expressed in the OT (Ps. 62:12; Prov. 24:12; cf. Job 34:11; Jer. 17:10; Hos. 12:2)[26] and in Jewish literature (Sir. 16: 12-14; I Enoch 100:7; Jos. As. 28:3; Ps. Philo 3:10).[27]

3. 1:18 - 4:25

Because, as we have mentioned above, Paul uses a Jewish vantage point to start his dialogue in 1: 18 - 32 and he uses the second person in 2:1 - 5, 17 - 29 to typify a Jew, this evidence probably indicates that in 1: 18 - 2: 29 Paul primarily directs his address to the Jewish Christians in Rome. However, all the second person pronouns and verbs which occur in 3:1 - 4:25 are parts of OT quotations and do not provide any indication of how to understand the addressees of the letter. Nevertheless, with the support of the following evidence,[28] it is quite probable that in 3:1 - 4:25, Paul also primarily has the Jewish Christians in mind:[29]

(1) The interlocutor who asks the question about the Jewish privilege in 3:1 is probably a Jew.[30a]

(2) The phrase **pas anthrōpos** in 3:4 is taken from Ps. 116:11 (LXX 115.2). It is used in this context to emphasize God's unchangeable faithfulness in the covenant.[30b] The point is that in contrast to the truthfulness of God, the Jews as human beings are unreliable.[30c] There is no evidence that the phrase is used for the purpose of widening the horizon of the covenant to include all created beings.[30d]

(3) Paul says that the reason why he uses the OT quotations in 3: 10-18 to confirm his conviction (3:9) is that he is speaking to "those who are under the law" (3:19). In other words he speaks to the [Christian] Jews.

(4) In 3:27; 4:2, Paul refers back to the issue of "boasting" in 2:17.[31] The issue at stake is the

significance of Jewish self-understanding.[32]

(5) In 4:1, the interlocutor leads Paul into the discussion on Abraham in ch. 4 by asking the question: "What then shall we say that Abraham, our forefather according to the flesh, has found?" (NASB)[33] If the phrase "according to the flesh" qualifies "our forefather (**propatora hēmōn**)",[34] then the interlocutor obviously represents the ethnic Jews.[35] Even if the phrase is to be connected with **heurēkenai**,[36] the question itself indicates that the interlocutor is concerned about the significance of the 'fleshy' aspect of Abraham. In other words, he is concerned about the significance of the 'Jewishness' of Abraham. Thus the Jewish background of the interlocutor is quite probable.[37] In fact, it is natural enough for a Jew to appeal to Abraham in the discussion of Jewish self-understanding.[38]

However, by affirming that Paul directs his speech in 1:18 - 4:25 primarily to the Roman Jewish Christians, we do not exclude the significance of this passage to the Gentile Christians. Paul's message is double-edged. Even though the message is primarily delivered to the Jewish Christians in Rome, it is expected to be overheard by the Gentile Christians and relevant to them as well. As will be shown below, Paul expands the explicit constituency of his addressees from Jewish Christians to both Jewish and Gentile Christians in 4:12. We will discuss the significance of the message in 1:18 - 4:25 to both Jewish and Gentile Christians in the following sections in this Chapter.

B. The First Person

1. 2:16; 3: 5-9

With regard to the identities of 'first person' in 1:18 - 4:25, the **mou** in 2:16 which qualifies **to euaggelion** most probably denotes Paul (cf. 16:25).[39] Then, besides the first person singular verb **tetheika** in 4:17 which is part of an OT quotation, all other first person singular pronouns (3:7, 7) and verbs (3:5c, 7) occur in 3: 5-7.

In fact, 3: 5-9 is a diatribal passage with frequent occurrence of first person plural pronouns and verbs (vv.5, 8, 8, 9, 9).[40] In this passage, Paul probably continues his dialogue with a Jewish interlocutor (cf. 3:1) on the significance of God's covenant with Jews.[41] Therefore, in v.5, the subject of the verb **legō** is probably Paul himself (as a Jew)[42] and the first person pronoun **hēmōn** which qualifies **adikia** probably indicates ~~includes~~ that Paul identifies himself with the Jews.[43]

If this should be the case, the oscillation between the 'we' (vv. 5a, 5b, 8, 8, 8, 9, 9,) and the 'I' (vv. 5c, 7, 7, 7) in 3: 5-9 would probably be a rhetorical device to typify Paul as a Jew who is in dialogue with Jews in an inner Jewish discussion.[44] Paul's expectation is probably that the audience with a Jewish background will identify themselves with the 'we' and 'I' in the passage and thus be involved in the dialogue.[45] This oscillation between the 'we' and 'I' thus indicates the relationship between Jews as a corporate solidarity and as individuals. It probably shows that Paul's expression is in line with the OT concept

of corporate solidarity of Israel.[46a] Since the concept of the corporate solidarity is also reflected in Jewish writings in Paul's time, it is quite possible that this thinking pattern prevailed among the Jews of the first century.[46b] This observation is probably very significant for our study of Romans. As will be shown below, Paul seems to presuppose some notion of corporate solidarity in his argument to demolish the Jewish view on the distinction between Jews and Gentiles (1:18 - 2:29), in the Adam-Christ typology (5: 12-19); and in his interpretation of Jewish Christians as the remnants of God's people (9:27 - 29; cf. 11: 1 - 5).

Furthermore, there are also two other observations in 3: 5-9 which are significant for our discussion:

(1) Paul's use of the first person in this passage indicates that he not only confirms his Jewish identity, but also shows that he is willing to identify himself even with the unrighteousness of the Jews.[47] In other words, he is in full solidarity with the Jews. It is most significant that the only other occasion when Paul uses a similar phrase **kata anthrōpon legō** in Romans is in 6:19 (**anthrōpinon legō**)[48] where the phrase is followed by a description of the sinful condition of the Gentile Christians before their conversion.[49] However, in that context, Paul uses the second person plural pronoun **humōn** to qualify their "fleshly weakness" instead of **hēmōn**.

(2) In v.8, the pronoun **hēmas** represents the 'we' who are slanderously charged (**blasphēmoumetha**) with saying: "Let us do evil that good may come" (NASV). Many

scholars suggest that the unusually clumsy and tangled construction of v.8 indicates that Paul tries to repudiate the allegation of some people who falsely alleged that he is an antinomian.[50] This allegation probably arises because the Gentile Christians in Rome do not follow the Jewish ceremonial laws (cf. 14: 1-23, esp. v.16).[51] Cranfield suggests that **blasphēmoumetha** and **hēmas** refer most naturally to Paul himself as "author's plural".[52] In view of this, it is most significant to note the function of the 'we' in this context. If Paul really has the false allegation in mind, his use of the first person plural passive verb **blasphēmoumetha** probably indicates that he intends to link himself with those who are also charged with the same accusation.[53a] It is quite probable that the charge was levelled by the non-Christian Jews or even some more scrupulous Jewish Christians against those less scrupulous Jewish Christians who have a more positive attitude towards their relationship with the Gentile Christians in Rome. If this should be the case, Paul not only tries to defend his own position here but also tries to identify himself with the Jewish Christians who are willing to make contact with the Gentile Christians but are unwilling to give up their relationship with non-Christian Jews. This kind of accusation can damage Paul's credibility among the Jewish Christians in Rome. It can also force these Jewish Christians to take a more scrupulous position on law, as do those non-Christian Jews, and as a consequence to distance themselves further from the

Gentile Christians. This is probably the reason for Paul to take the issue seriously and condemn those who level such an accusation against him and the Roman Jewish Christians.[54] Similarly, in the following verse (v.9), Paul probably uses the first person plural verb proē/itiasametha[55a] to identify himself with those who have followed his argument in the preceding paragraphs which indicate that there is a solidarity (**pantas**) of Jew and Gentile under the power of sin. Dunn is probably right to point out that Paul's purpose here was "to show that the Jewish particular should be merged with the human universal as 'all alike under sin'"[55b].

2. 2:2; 3:19

As far as the other occurrences of the first person plural pronouns and verbs are concerned, the verb **oidamen** in 2:2 is the first word which denotes first person plural in 1:18 - 4:25. In fact there is no first person plural until 3:5. In Romans **oidamen** occurs in 3:19; 7:14; 8:22, 28. In each case **oidamen** probably introduces a statement in which Paul wants to emphasize the common understanding between himself and the addressees.[56] In the context of 2:1ff. **oidamen** probably denotes the common understanding of Paul and the Jewish Christians in Rome.

However, Paul's use of the sole first person plural among the predominant second person singulars (2: 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 3, 3, 3, 4, 4, 5, 5) is probably intended also to contrast the 'you (singular)' with the 'we'. This interpretation is confirmed by Paul's use of **de**[57] with

oidamen at the beginning of v.2. The unique characteristic of 'you (singular)' in this context, which is mentioned in vv.1 and 3, is that he is doing the very same thing as is done by the one he judges, while the characteristic of 'we' is that "we *know* that the judgement of God rightly falls upon those who *do* such things" (v.2). Thus the contrast between 'we' and 'you (singular)' is 'knowing' (oida, v.2) and 'practising' (prassō, poieō, vv.1, 3).

In view of the fact that both the 'you (singular)' and the 'we' are Jewish, Paul's use of this sole first person plural in the context of 1:18 - 2:29, in contrast to the intensively occurring 'you (singular)' (2: 1-5, 17-25), probably has in mind the following contrasts of which the Jewish Christians in Rome would be aware:

(1) the Jewish stereotyped perspective on Gentiles (1: 18-32) and the Jewish stereotyped self-understanding (2: 17-20);

(2) the actual practice of some Gentiles (2: 14-15, 26, 27) and the actual practice of some Jews (2: 21-23, 25, 27);

(3) the Jewish stereotyped perspective on Gentiles (1: 18-32) and the actual practice of some Gentiles (2: 14-15);[58] and

(4) the stereotyped self-understanding of Jews (2: 17-20) and the actual practice of some Jews (2:1, 3, 21, 23).[59]

We will discuss the significance of these four contrasts in Paul's argument in **Section II** of this Chapter.

With regard to the other occurrence of **oidamen** in 3:19, it indicates that the reason for Paul's use of the OT in 3: 10-18 is that he is in dialogue with the Jewish Christians in Rome. Paul's statement that "we know (**oidamen**) that whatever the law says it speaks to those who are under the law"[60] surely refers to the common understanding between Paul and the Jewish addressees.[61]

3. 3:27 - 4:25

In the diatribal passage, 3:27 - 4:2,[62] Paul uses one first person plural pronoun (**hēmōn**, 4:1) and four first person plural verbs (**logizometha**, 3:28; **katargoumen**, 3:31; **histanomen**, 3:31; **eroumen**, 4: 1). In this passage, Paul obviously refers back to the main issue of the letter (Jew and/or Gentile?) disclosed in 1:16f. (cf. 2:9f., 25-27; 3:9, 22) and the issue of Jewish 'boasting' in 2:17, 23.[63] This passage probably serves as the conclusion of Paul's argument in the preceding paragraphs.[64a]

However, while the dialogical question-and-answer style of 3: 27-31 continues in 4:1,[64b] and the question raised in 4: 1f. refers to Abraham, the passage probably also serves as an introductory passage for the discussion of Abraham in Rm.4.[65] Nevertheless, although the Jewishness of the 'we' is confirmed by Paul's discussion on Jewish issues (Law and God) and the using of **hēmōn** to denote the Jewish interlocutors in 4:1,[66] it is quite possible that Paul expects that his use of 'we' in a less confrontational style (cf. 2: 2; 3: 5 - 9, 19) [67] in the context of affirming his convictions of justification by faith (v.28)

and the God of Jews and Gentiles (v.29), will also catch the attention of the Gentile Christians, who are so far in the background, to overhear his message. This understanding is supported by the evidence, which will be provided in the following discussion, that Paul shifts from direct dialogue with the Jewish Christians to dialogue with both the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rm. 4.

In 4:1, the Jewish interlocutors who call Abraham "our forefather according to the flesh" lead Paul into the discussion of whether Abraham was justified by works or by faith. However, it is most significant to note that the following three first person plurals (vv.9, 12, 16) are all used in contexts which discuss the relationship between Abraham, Jews and Gentiles.

In these contexts we find that there is an expansion of the boundary of 'we' from including Paul and the Jewish Christians to including Paul, the Jewish and Gentile Christians. The evidence is as follows:

(1) In v.9 the first person plural verb introduces a statement which is an allusion to Gen. 15:6 to answer the question of whether the blessing (Ps. 32:1f.) is pronounced only upon the circumcised, or also upon the uncircumcised.[68] While it is more natural for Jews to appeal to the OT (cf. 3:19), the answer itself leads to a conclusion which is favourable to Gentiles (v.11b).[69] Thus, the 'we' in 4:9 probably still denotes Paul and Jewish Christians. Paul's intention is probably to involve the Jewish Christians among his addressees in discussion and subsequently to invite them to adopt the

conclusion which he is going to make.

(2) In v.12, the pronoun **hēmōn** is used to qualify **patros**. Although it seems more natural for Jews to identify Abraham as "our father", the phrase **kata sarka** which occurs in 4:1 is missing here.[70] In fact, Paul has argued in the preceding verse (v.11) that Abraham was made "the father of all (**patera pantōn**) who believe without being circumcised ....". Following this statement, in v. 12, Paul emphasizes that Abraham is also "the father of the circumcised who are not merely circumcised but also follow the example of the faith which ***our father*** Abraham had ***before he was circumcised***". In this context, Abraham becomes the father of ***all*** who believe, circumcised and uncircumcised.[71] Therefore, Paul's use of **hēmōn** is most probably intended to involve the Jewish and Gentile Christians so that they are incorporated into the solidarity of the common fatherhood of Abraham. This understanding is confirmed by Paul's statement in v.16: "he [Abraham] is the father of ***us all*** (**pant n hēmōn**)".[72]

(3) Furthermore, Paul probably concludes his interpretation of Abraham as the model of the righteousness of faith by citing a traditional confessional formula in vv. 24, 25.[73] The first person plural pronoun (**hēmas**) in v.24a obviously refers to Paul and all his addressees, while the other three **hēmōn** in vv. 24b, 25, which are used to qualify **ton kurion**, **ta paraptōmata** and **t8n dikaiōsin**, probably denote Christians in general including all Christians in Rome. Thus we can see the shift of the

boundary of the 'we' from including Paul and the Jewish Christians (v.9) to including Paul, the Jewish and Gentile Christians (vv. 12, 16, 24, 25). They all share the common descent from Abraham, under the one lordship of Jesus Christ, and in the solidarity of trespasses and justification (cf. 3: 9, 21 - 31).

C. Summary and Conclusion

In 1:18 - 4:25, Paul uses a Jewish stereotyped polemic against Gentiles (1: 18-32) to start his dialogue with his addressees. However, in this passage, neither first person nor second person occurs. The second person singular pronouns and verbs start to occur in an intensive manner in two diatribal passages, 2: 1-5 and 17-29, in which the 'you (singular)' probably denotes a typified Jew. The first occurrence of the first person plural verb **oidamen** (**de**) in 2:2 is most significant. In fact, it is the only first person plural word in 1:18 - 2:29. It seems to denote Paul's intention to contrast the view of the typified Jew and the understanding which is assumed to be generally accepted by him and his Jewish addressees. Basically, it is a contrast of 'knowledge' and 'practice', which probably includes the Jewish stereotyped knowledge of Gentiles and their own self-understanding, as well as the actual practice of some Jews and Gentiles.

In 1:18 - 4:25, Paul's primary dialogical partners seem to be the Jewish Christians in Rome. This suggestion is further supported by the reason given by Paul (3: 19) for his use of the OT quotations in 3: 10-18 and the Jewishness

of the interlocutors in 4:1. In the course of the dialogue, Paul indicates that he is aware of the charge of antinomism levelled against him and the Jewish Christians probably by the unbelieving Jews and even some more scrupulous Jewish Christians (3:8). He denounces the position of antinomism and condemns those who falsely levelled the charge. By doing so, he probably intends to defend his position and also win credibility among those Jewish Christians who are not opposed to the building up of a closer relationship with Gentile Christians. In 3: 5-8, Paul indicates that he is not only conscious of his own Jewish identity, but also willing to identify himself with the unrighteousness of Jews. However, his emphasis on the corporate solidarity of Jews is followed by his assertion that there is also a corporate solidarity of Jews and Gentiles under the power of sin (3:9). In this way, Paul seems to indicate that there is surely a close relationship among the Jews (Christian and non-Christian) but there is also a close relationship between Jews and Gentiles.

In 3: 27-31, Paul's use of first person plural in a less confrontational style to conclude his argument in the preceding paragraphs has probably the effect of drawing the special attention of the Gentile Christians, who so far stand in the background, to overhear his message. In ch.4, Paul explicitly expands the boundary of his use of 'we' from including only himself and the Jewish Christians (2:2; 3:8b, 8c, 9, 19, 28, 31, 31; 4:9) to including himself, the Jewish and the Gentile Christians (4:12, 16, 24, 24, 25, 25).

Thus with this pattern of dialogue in mind, we will study the significance of the content of 1:18 - 4:25 in relation to the situation of the Roman Christians and Paul's purpose in writing Romans.

II. Demolition of the Old Distinction between Jews and Gentiles: Rm. 1:18 - 2:29

According to our analysis of 14:1 - 15:13, the climax of Paul's exhortation is in 15:7.[74] In it, Paul requests the Jewish and Gentile Christians to welcome one another to participate in worship and the communal meals held in their house churches. If this is to happen, two conditions must be fulfilled:

(1) the demolition of the old distinction between Jew and Gentile; and
(2) the establishment of a basis for a new understanding of the relationship between them.

While the issue of the distinction between Jew and Gentile (Greek) is basically a Jewish issue[75] and Paul is fully aware that this is also the concern of Roman Jewish Christians, as expressed in 14: 1-23, it is logical for Paul to start his dialogue on this issue with the Jewish Christians in Rome in the *first* part of the letter. Paul's use of the phrase **Ioudaiō/i prōton** in 1:16 may also give the same indication. The findings of our personae analysis of 1:18 - 4:25 also fit into this understanding neatly. Therefore, we suggest that in 1:18 - 2:29, Paul tries to undercut the basic assumption of the Jewish view on the distinction between Jew and Gentile. In 3:1 - 4:25, Paul

aims to establish a basis for a new understanding of the relationship between them. In the course of his argument, as in 14:1 - 15:13, Paul is fully aware of the danger of the Jewish Christians becoming apostates from either Judaism or Christian faith. As will be shown below, Paul's main purpose is to persuade the Jewish Christians to build up a close relationship with the Gentile Christians but without asking them to give up their Jewish identity or to break their relationship with the non-Christian Jews.

A. To Identify the Issue: Jewish Stereotyped Perspective on the Gentiles (1: 18-32)

As we have mentioned above, many scholars contend that Paul condemns the Gentiles in 1: 18-32.[76] Some others, who recognize the parallel of this passage with the early chapters of Genesis (1-3), suggest that Paul has Adam in view[77] and intends to show that all men have sinned.[78]

The difficulties for the first interpretation are that on the one hand, the **dio** in 2:1 does not make much sense[79]; on the other hand, Paul seems to contradict himself in 2: 14-15 by saying that there are obedient Gentiles.[80] As for the second interpretation, if Paul's purpose in 1: 18-32 is to show that all men have sinned, why should he condemn the Jews for sinful acts explicitly in 2: 21-24 but not accuse the Gentiles explicitly at all? Why should Paul draw the conclusion concerning the sinfulness of all men explicitly in 3:9, 23 but not immediately following this passage?[81] As will be shown below, we suggest that the function of 2: 21-24 is to contradict the Jewish stereotyped self-understanding stated in 2: 17-20; and that

3: 9, 23 should be understood primarily in the context of 3: 1-31 with 1: 18 - 2: 29 only as background.

Recently, more and more scholars recognize that Rm. 1: 18-32 is a Jewish anti-Gentile polemic which shows the Jewish stereotyped view on Gentiles.[82] In other words, it shows the distinction between Jew and Gentile from a Jewish perspective. Therefore, ***the issue at stake is the function of this passage in Paul's argument in Romans.*** We suggest that it serves as the starting point for Paul's argumentation with Jewish Christians on the issue of the distinction between Jew and Gentile.[83]

It is quite probable that the Jewish Christians in Rome were not freed from the influence of this Jewish view on Gentiles. If Paul wants to persuade them to build up a Jewish and Christian community net-work in Rome, the first thing that he has to do is surely to change this view. By using the materials from Jewish tradition to identify the issue, the Jewish Christians in Rome would surely agree with Paul that this is the right starting point for the discussion on the distinction between Jew and Gentile.

Nevertheless, although one of the primary purposes of 1: 18-32 is probably to identify the issue for Paul's discussion with the Jewish Christians in Rome, it also contains messages significant to the Gentile Christians. In this passage, the Gentile Christians have to recognize the reasons why the Jewish Christians have difficulties in establishing a close relationship with them. In view of the fact that in other parts of Romans Paul affirms the

sinfulness of the Gentiles (3: 9, 23; 6: 17) and describes their pre-Christian situation as unclean and lawless (6:19),[84] Paul probably also intends to use this passage to remind the Gentile Christians about the sinful situation of the Gentiles,[85] even though he does not agree that this is the valid distinction between Jew and Gentile. This interpretation is probably supported by Paul's statement in 15:15 that one of his expectations in writing the letter is to let his readers "be reminded on some points".

B. To Set up the Basic Framework and Premises for Discussion (2: 1-13)

1. *The Framework*

In Paul's account of the Jewish stereotyped view on Gentiles, there are two basic assumptions which more or less ***bracket*** the passage:

(1) the Gentiles are able to know (**ginōskō**) God (1:18b - 21a, 28, 32a);[86a] and

(2) they deliberately practise (**prassō**, **poieō**) evil (1: 28, 32; cf. vv. 21-23).

In short, ***the assumption of the Jewish stereotyped view on Gentiles is that the Gentiles do not practise in accordance with their knowledge of God.***[86b]

However, it is most significant that the contrast between knowing (**oida**, **ginōskō**)[87] and practising (**prassō**, **poieō**)[88] occurs again in 2: 1-3 and probably also in 2:13.[89] As we have suggested in our <u>personae</u> analysis, this contrast probably indicates that Paul has the following

contrasts in mind:

(1) the Jewish stereotyped perspective on Gentiles (1: 18-32) and the Jewish stereotyped self-understanding (2: 17-20);
(2) the actual practice of some Gentiles (2: 14-15, 26, 27) and the actual practice of some Jews (2: 21-23, 25, 27);
(3) the Jewish stereotyped perspective on Gentiles (1: 18-32) and the actual practice of some Gentiles (2: 14-15); and
(4) the stereotyped self-understanding of Jews (2: 17-20) and the actual practice of some Jews (2:1, 3, 21, 23).

The first contrast surely represents the Jewish view on the distinction between Jews and Gentiles; the second contrast probably represents the experiences of the Jewish Christians in Rome. In the following discussion we suggest that these four contrasts are the basic framework of Paul's argument in 1:18 - 2: 29.

2. *The Premises*

Recently, Bassler has strongly argued that the impartiality of God announced in Rm. 2:11 is the pivotal point in the argument of 1:16 - 2:29, and probably structures the argument.[90] She suggests that the affirmation of God's impartiality receives its biblical formulation in II Chron. 19:7; Deut. 10: 17; Job 34:19 and Ps. 82: 1-4,[91] and it becomes an independent theological axiom during the intertestamental period.[92] If this should be the case, it is quite probable that Paul takes up this

Jewish theologumenon as the basis for his argument with the Jewish Christians in Rome.

Nevertheless, according to Bassler's study, although the theme of God's impartiality did concern the relationship between Jews and Gentiles in the OT and some Jewish writings (including some rabbinic literature),[93] the emphasis is mostly one of justifying God's preference for Jews.[94] In Rm. 2:11, Paul obviously uses this Jewish theologumenon in the context of a discussion on the relationship between Jew and Gentile (2: 9-10, 12). However, he applies it in a most interesting and creative way. On the one hand, he agrees to the privilege (**prwton** in vv.9, 10) of Jews over Gentiles; on the other hand, the privilege is ***balanced*** by his emphasis on the Jewish 'priority' in both ***blessing*** and ***punishment***.[95] In this context, Paul asserts a principle that "All who have sinned without the law will also perish without the law, and all who have sinned under the law will be judged by the law" (v.12). As has been shown by Bassler, Paul's intention here is to dissolve the distinction between Jew and Gentiles under the principle of 'divine impartiality'.[96]

Furthermore, in 2:2, 6-10, 13, Paul asserts that the principle of God's judgement is based on 'practice'. As this principle is probably derived from the Jewish tradition (cf. Ps. 62:12; Prov. 24: 12),[97] the Jewish Christians should have no objection to it.

Thus, the main function of 2: 1-13 becomes quite clear. Primarily, it is used not to accuse the Jews, but rather to establish the common premises between Paul and the Jewish

Christians for their discussion on the Jewish stereotyped views on Jew and Gentile in 1:18 - 2:29. In other words, 2; 1-13 is an overlapping section binding 1: 18-32 and 2:14-29 together. The premises developed in this passage are as follows:

(1) God is impartial towards both Jew and Gentile in blessing and punishment.
(2) God will look at both Jew and Gentile according to the connection between their 'knowing' and 'practising'.
(3) God's judgement will be based on 'practice'.

While these three premises are based on the Jewish tradition and probably the common understanding between Paul and the Jewish Christians in Rome (cf. 2:2),[98] the Roman Jewish Christians should accept these premises as fair and reasonable. Moreover, while the elements contained in these premises are consistent with Paul's teaching expressed elsewhere,[99] he probably hopes that the Gentile Christians who are overhearing in the background will accept these premises as relevant teaching to them.

C. To Undercut the Basic Assumption of the Jewish Stereotyped Perspective on Gentiles: Some Gentiles do Practise the Law (2: 14-16)

As we have mentioned above, the issue in 1:18 - 2:29 is the distinction between Jew and Gentile rather than the universality of sin. Paul starts his argument with the Jewish Christians in Rome by using the Jewish stereotyped perspective on Gentiles to identify the issue (1: 18-29). Then he uses the elements from the Jewish tradition to set

up the framework and premises for the discussion (2: 1-13). Therefore, it is most natural to see that Paul's intention in the following passage, 2: 14-29, is to present his evidence according to this structure.

The first task for Paul is probably to show the inadequacy of the Jewish view on Gentiles. Although there are numerous charges against Gentiles in 1: 18-32, the basic underlying assumption, as mentioned above, is that they do not practise according to their knowledge of God. This sweeping statement probably represents the basis of the Jewish stereotyped view on Gentiles. Although Paul would not argue that the Gentiles are not sinful, what he tries to do is to undercut the basic assumption of this kind of stereotyped language by appealing to contradictory evidence.[100] This is probably the primary purpose of 2: 14-15. In other words, Paul intends to contradict the Jewish stereotyped polemic view on Gentiles by the fact that there are Gentiles[101] who practise in accordance with the Jewish law (**ta tou nomou**). In view of the fact that the stereotyped language indicates an underlying concept of corporate solidarity,[102] some contradictory evidence will suffice to show the inadequacy of the stereotyped view. The basic assumption underlying Paul's argument is probably similar to the one underlying the petition of Abraham for Sodom and Gomorah (Gen. 18: 16-32; cf. Rm. 9:29) and God's compassion on Nineveh (Jonah 4:11).[103]

The relation between 2: 14f. and 1: 18-32 is confirmed by the following evidence:

(1) Paul uses the same concept of nature (**phusis**, **phusikos**, 1: 26, 27) to refer to the basis of Gentiles' action;[104] and

(2) in both passages the ability of Gentiles to know the will of God is assumed (1: 19-21a, 28, 32; 2: 15).[105]

However, one of the difficulties of interpreting 2: 14, 15 lies in identifying these obedient Gentiles. There are three main possibilities:[106]

(1) to understand them in a hypothetical sense;[107]

(2) to take **ethnē** to refer to the Gentile Christians;[108] or

(3) to understand them as some Gentiles who do in fact, on the basis of a natural moral law, fulfil God's moral requirement in the Jewish law.[109]

Of these three interpretations, the first one is to be rejected not only on the ground that there is nothing here to suggest that Paul is speaking hypothetically,[110] but also owing to the fact that it will not give the force Paul needs in his argument. The second one is plausible, but it is not necessary for the phrase to be interpreted in such restricted manner. In fact, Paul's description of these Gentiles as those "who have not the law but do by nature what the law requires" seems to indicate that they are probably not Christians. For it is difficult for Paul to identify the Gentile Christians simply as those "who have not the law" (cf. Rm. 3:31; 13:8ff.; 15:4; I Cor. 9:21; Gal. 5:14)[111] or those who do what the law requires ***by nature***.[112] In this case, the third interpretation seems to be most likely. The "Gentiles" [113] in 2:14f. are those "godly pagans" who from time to time at least live as the

law lays down.[114]

In fact, Paul's reference to the reality of "godly pagans" can be paralleled within Judaism by Sifra Ahare pereq 13.13[115] and 4 Ezra 3:36.[116] In Romans, Paul possibly appeals to the life experience of the Jewish Christians in Rome. Although we do not have evidence of any Gentile's conduct being appreciated by the Roman Jews, there is evidence that the Roman authorities gave privileges to the Roman Jews in practising their Jewish laws[117] and some Romans were influenced by the moral standards laid down in the Jewish scriptures.[118] Furthermore, from the evidence of the high moral requirement recorded in the moral exhortations of those Graeco-Roman moralists,[119] and the fact that Philo and Josephus describe Abraham and Moses in terms of those virtues that a contemporary pagan philosopher found in Plato or Chrysippus,[120] it is quite possible[121] that there are Gentiles in Rome who for some of the time at least live a life compatible with the moral requirement stated in the Jewish law.

Thus in 2: 14-15, Paul probably indicates that the Jewish stereotyped 'knowledge' of Gentiles is contradicted by the actual 'practice' of some Gentiles,[122] which is possibly known to the Roman Jewish Christians. Therefore, if God is impartial to Jew and Gentile, there must be something wrong with the basic assumption of the Jewish view on Gentiles and their understanding of the difference between those who have the written law and those who have not. Furthermore, while Paul's emphasis is on the possibility and the importance of the Gentiles observing

the moral requirements in the Jewish law, the Gentile Christians in Rome should get the message that Paul still upholds the significance of at least the moral aspects of the Jewish law. This probably also prepares the basis for Paul's renunciation of the false accusation that he is an antinomian in 3:8.

D. To Undercut the Basic Assumption of Jewish Stereotyped Self-understanding: Not all Jews Practise the Law (2: 17-24)

After Paul undercuts the basic assumption of the Jewish stereotyped view on Gentiles, his second task is to undercut the basic assumption of the Jewish stereotyped self-understanding.

The function of 2: 17-20 is probably just like the function of 1: 18-32, in which Paul identifies the issue by using the Jewish point of view.[123] As a matter of fact, the stereotyped Jewish self-understanding is the counterpart of the Jewish stereotyped view on Gentiles. The distinction between Jew and Gentile is basically upheld by these two stereotyped Jewish views.[124]

However, the function of 2: 17-20 as expressing Jewish self-understanding has been obscured by Bultmann's emphasis (followed by many scholars) on 'boasting' as self-confidence, which is understood as the "essence of Jewish sin"[125] and the "real sin of man".[126] Following this line of thought, some scholars take 2: 17-24 as evidence of Pauline anti-Judaism.[127]

In fact, even in the LXX, there is a double use of the 'boasting' word-group (**kauchaomai**, **kauchēma**, **kauchēsis**). It is used in both bad and good senses (e.g. Deut. 33:29; I Chr. 16:28f.; 29:11; Prov. 27:1 and Ps. 5:12; Jer. 9:22f.).[128] This is also the case in Paul's letters.[129] Paul twice (I Cor. 1:31 and II Cor. 10:17) quotes Jer. 9:22f. to indicate the distinction between bad and good 'boasting'. The distinction is that boasting of one's own possessions (e.g. wisdom, strength, riches; cf. I Cor. 1:26) which are according to the flesh (cf. II Cor. 11:18; Phil. 3:3) is bad, but boasting in God (Rm. 5:11), in Christ (Phil. 3:3) and in the cross of Christ (Gal. 6:14) is good.[130]

If so, it is difficult to see that the typified Jew in 2: 17-24 is wrong to boast in God (**kauchasai en theō/i**, v.17) and in Law (**en nomō/i kauchasai**, v.23; cf. **epanapauē/i nomō/i**, v.17). In the text, the charges levelled against him are his inconsistencies in the teaching (the knowledge and truth [in the law], v.20) and practising of law and his actions which dishonoured and blasphemed God (vv. 21-24). His self-images of "a guide to the blind, a light to those who are in darkness, a corrector of the foolish, a teacher of children" are contradicted by his actual immoral conduct. However, his boast in God and in law in and of itself is not criticised.[131] In fact, Paul's use of **kauchaomai** here is probably similar to that in II Cor. 11:12 - 12:12, in which he uses 11 **kauchaomai**[132] and 2 **kauchēsis** (11: 10, 17) to describe his own self-understanding as a "true apostle" (II Cor. 12:12) in contrast to those "false apostles" (II Cor. 11:12ff.; 12:11).[133]

Therefore, it is more reasonable to understand the 'boasting' of the typified Jew in 2: 17-24 as an expression of Jewish national pride which denotes his Jewish self-understanding.[134] This interpretation is confirmed by the phrase su Ioudaios eponomazê/i (v.17), in which eponomazesthai could be understood as "be surnamed" or "be named".[135] In other words, this phrase indicates that the issue here is what being a "Jew" involves. If this should be the case, 'God' and 'Law' are the specific characteristics related to the name of a "Jew", i.e. the Jew's self-understanding. This is consistent with the Jewish tradition that the covenantal relationship with God and the Torah are the two identity markers which set Jews apart from Gentiles (e.g. Ex. 34: 11-15, 27f.; Deut. 6:4, 13-15, 17-25; 7: 9-12; Is. 44:6).[136]

Thus, the function of 2: 17-24 seems to be quite clear. It does not serve the purpose of accusing Jews or attacking Judaism.[137] Rather, 2: 17-20 identify the issue of the assumed distinctiveness of Jew [from Gentile]; and 2: 21-24 serves to provide evidence to contradict this assumption.[138] While the concept of corporate solidarity[139] probably underlies the stereotyped language of the Jewish self-understanding in 2: 17-20, some contradictory evidence in 2: 21-24 is sufficient to demonstrate the fault in the stereotyped view.[140] The underlying assumption in Paul's argument is probably similar to the one underlying God's judgement on Korah's rebellion (Num. 16: 1-22) and on Achan's unfaithfulness (Josh. 7: 1-12).[141] Therefore, if God is impartial to Jew and Gentile, it means that there

must be something wrong with the Jewish self-understanding and their perception of the distinction between Jew and Gentile. Paul employs the same approach of argument in undercutting the basic assumptions of Jewish stereotyped views on Gentiles (1: 18-32; 2: 14-15) and on Jews (2: 17-24).

Recently, Watson argues that the 'Jew' in 2: 17 - 23 represents the leaders of the Roman Jewish community.[142] This conjecture is quite plausible but unlikely.[143] However, his suggestion that one of the functions of Rm. 2: 17-24 is to denounce the Roman Jewish leaders in order to facilitate the separation of the Roman Christian Jews from the rest of the Jewish community is probably wrong. The main reasons are as follow:

(1) If we agree that Suetonius' account (Claudius 24:4) of the expulsion of the Roman Jews in 49 C.E. is basically acceptable,[144] the reason given for the expulsion is the disturbance of public order and not the immorality of the Roman Jews. This is a very probable reason for the expulsion at that time. As we have shown in **Chapter three**, the assumption that Christians were to be blamed for the expulsion is speculative.[145] It seems more plausible that those radical Jews who broke the principle of tolerance and attacked Christians were to be blamed; for the principle of tolerance adopted by different Jewish groups in Rome was probably the foundation which made the survival of the Roman Jewish community possible.[146] Therefore, if Paul tried to explain the expulsion as the outcome of the immoral

conduct of some Jewish leaders, it was not only redundant but he also missed the target.

(2) Even though Paul's evidence for the sinful acts of the typified Jew may plausibly also refer to the misconduct of some Jewish leaders,[147] it is quite inconceivable how Paul's denunciation of the sinful acts of these Jewish leaders could facilitate the separation of the Jewish Christians from the Roman Jewish community. In view of the fact that there was probably a big Jewish population (around 50,000 Jews) and at least six synagogues in Rome in the early first century,[148] the immoral conduct of some leaders would not give strong impetus for the Jewish Christians to separate themselves from the rest of the Jewish community in Rome. The most important binding force between the Jew and the Jewish community would have been their common identity as God's people rather than the power of their leaders.

Thus the issue at stake in 2: 17 - 24 is the distinction between Jew and Gentile according to the Jewish self-understanding rather than Paul's attack upon the moral conduct of Jewish leaders or Jews in general. It is quite possible that Paul's description of the sinful acts of the typified Jews in 2: 21-24 refers to some sinful activities by some Roman Jews. It probably includes the incidents which happened in Rome as recorded in Josephus AJ XVIII: 81-4 (cf. IV: 207; Acts 19:37). These sinful activities were surely known to the Jewish Christians in Rome. Therefore, the function of Paul's account of these actual

sinful practices of some Jews (2: 21-24) is to contrast it with the Jewish stereotyped self-understanding (2: 17-20) and consequently call this Jewish view into question.

Nevertheless, while the Jewish Christians are challenged by Paul about their sterotyped view of themselves, the Gentile Christians must have been aware of the fact that Paul does not criticize the Jewish boasting of their relationship with God and the law. The Gentile Christians, on the one hand, learn that Paul knows and indicts the immoral conduct of some Jews in Rome; on the other hand, they recognize that the anti-Jewish accusations by some Gentiles may result in blasphemy against God (2:24; cf. 14: 3 - 13a). Therefore, Paul's message in 2: 17-24 is significant to both Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome.

E. Conclusion: The New Perspective on Jews and Gentiles and the True Nature of God's People (2: 25-29)

After Paul has undercut the basic assumptions of the Jewish stereotyped views on Gentiles and Jews, the Jewish Christians probably find that their assumed distinction between Jews and Gentiles has become blurred. However, Paul has not yet mentioned the most explicit boundary marker between Jews and Gentiles, i.e. circumcision.[149] Therefore, the task of the demolition of the distinction between Jew and Gentile would not be completed if Paul cannot explain the significance of circumcision accordingly. This is probably the reason for Paul to continue his dialogue with a typified Jew[150] on the issue of circumcision in 2: 25-29.

The connection between 2: 25-29 and what precedes is indicated by the gar in v.25. However, it is obvious that Paul is drawing the findings of 1:18 -2:24 into his discussion on circumcision rather than continuing his discussion on the fault of the Jews (2: 21-24).[151] It is most significant that, as in 2: 17-24 Paul has not criticized Jewish boasting about their covenant relationship with God and the law, he does not say a word againt circumcision per se in this passage.[152] Paul's main purpose in 2: 25-29 is probably to conclude his argument on the Jewish view of the distinction between Jew and Gentile on the one hand, and to point out the true character of circumcision, which is understood by Jews as the identity marker of God's people, on the other. The function of 2: 25-29 is probably to serve as the conclusion of 1:18 - 2:24 and the introduction of the following passage.

1. *The New Perspective on Jew and Gentile (2: 25-27)*

Paul's logic of argument on circumcision in vv. 25-27 can in fact be shown in terms of equations.

Given:

(1) physical circumcision + practising the law
= 'circumcision' (v.25a)

(2) physical circumcision + breaking the law
[or, - practising the law]
= 'uncircumcision' (v.25b)

Therefore,

(3) physical uncircumcision + practising the law
= 'circumcision' (v.26)

Then,

(4) physical uncircumcision + practising the law

› (better than) physical circumcision + breaking the law (v.27)
[or, - practising the law]

In these equations the basic assumption given in v.25 is that the physical circumcision is supplemented but not superseded. In fact physical uncircumcision is not equal to physical circumcision. The hidden assumption is still ***the Jewish assumption: circumcision › uncircumcision.*** On this base, the conclusion in v.27 is drawn. However, the real difference between 'practising the law' and 'breaking the law' is far more important than the difference between physical circumcision and uncircumcision. As Paul has argued in 2: 14-15 and 2: 21-24 that there are obedient Gentiles and disobedient Jews, it is logical to suggest that the really significant difference is not circumcision or uncircumcision but obedience or disobedience to God. By means of this argument, Paul tries to relativize the importance of physical circumcision and to indicate that it is possible for Gentiles to be considered as 'circumcised'. In other words, they can be included as God's people (cf. 2:13). Dunn[153] rightly points out that Paul's line of argument would not have been accepted by the rabbis,[154] but Paul could expect his Roman audience to be more sympathetic to the point. Moreover, since Paul drops the discussion of the significance of 'practising the law' in the following verses, he obviously avoids using the concept of 'practising the law' as the identity marker for God's people. As will be shown in 3: 21-31 and ch.4, he has something else in mind, that is faith.

2. *The True Nature of God's People (2: 28 - 29)*

In 2: 28-29, although Paul continues his discussion on circumcision, he seems to shift his focus from the role of circumcision as a boundary marker between Jew and Gentile to the true character of the Jew and circumcision. Paul replaces the antithesis of 'breaking the law' and 'practising the law' with other pairs of words, namely 'flesh' and 'heart', 'outward' (**phanerō/i**) and 'inward' (**kruptō/i**); ('literal' and 'spiritual', or 'from men' and 'from God'; v.29).[155a] Paul's expressions can also be shown by equations:

(5) outwardly Jew ≠ 'Jew' (v.28a)

(6) circumcision in flesh ≠ 'circumcision' (v.28b)

(7) inwardly Jew = 'Jew' (v.29a)

(8) circumcision of heart = 'circumcision' (v.29b)

In these equations, although Paul indicates that 'outwardly Jew' is not identical with 'Jew' and 'circumcision in flesh' is not identical with 'circumcision', he does not put 'outwardly Jew' and 'circumcision in flesh' into sharp antithesis with 'inwardly Jew' and 'circumcision of heart'[155b] in the way he did in v.27, where "those Gentiles who keep the law" ***condemned*** "Jews who break the law". His main emphasis is to differentiate 'outwardly Jew' from 'inwardly Jew' and 'circumcision in flesh' from 'circumcision of heart'. In other words, Paul probably indicates that there can be two different definitions of 'Jew' and 'circumcision'. The

distinction lies in the difference of character, whether 'inward' or 'outward', 'of heart' or 'in flesh'. However, they are not mutually exclusive pairs, although it is the hidden rather than the visible character that makes the real difference.[156] Paul seems to indicate that it is possible for the 'outwardly Jew' to become a 'Jew' if he also has 'circumcision of heart'. This understanding is parallel with Paul's assumption in 2:25a, and probably also points to the discussion of Abraham as "the father of the circumcised who are not merely circumcised but also follow the example of the faith" (4:12a).[157]

3. *Conclusion*

Thus in the discussion of 2: 25-29, Paul firstly shows that if the distinction between physical circumcision and uncircumcision is blurred, it is possible for the Gentiles to be included within the boundary of God's people (2: 25-27). Secondly, he indicates that the true nature of the identity marker of God's people is hidden rather than simply visible (2: 28-29). This is probably the intended conclusion of Paul's argument in 1:18 - 2:24 and also the introduction for Paul's discussion in 3:1 - 4:25 about a new understanding of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles and the identity marker of God's people.

In 1:18 -2:29, Paul probably hopes that if Jewish Christians in Rome follow his arguments, they will admit that their stereotyped views on Gentiles and themselves have been broken down by their own life experience in Rome. Circumcision or uncircumcision is not the decisive factor

for one's obedience to God. Their attitude towards the Gentile Christians must not be based on these faulty Jewish stereotyped views but on a new understanding of the relationships between God, Jews and Gentiles. The true nature of God's people must be based on inward rather than outward matters. As for the Gentiles, who are so far overhearing Paul's message in the background, they should be reminded not to commit those sinful acts which are found among the non-Christian Gentiles, but to attend to the teaching of God's impartiality and the judgement based on moral practices. Furthermore, they should notice that although Paul points out the mistakes made by the Jews, he does not criticize their concern for their relationship with God, the law and circumcision. In 1:18 - 2:29, Paul's message is double-edged, although he addresses directly the Jewish Christians in Rome. Paul's argument is not a purely theological argument, but involves an implicit call for the removing of the obstacles which prevented the Jewish and Gentile Christians from welcoming one another to participate in worship and communal meals held at their different house churches.

III. The Basis of God's Covenant with His People and the Relationship between Jews and Gentiles: Everyone who Believes, Jews and Gentiles (3:1 -4:25)

A. The Basis of God's Covenant with His People: God's Faithfulness (3: 1-8)[158a]

In the conclusion of Paul's argument against the Jewish stereotyped view of the distinction between Jews and Gentiles (2: 25-29), Paul suggests that those obedient

Gentiles are better than those disobedient Jews (v.27) and there is a differentiation of 'inwardly Jew' and 'circumcision of heart' from 'outwardly Jew' and 'circumcision in flesh'. While the distinction between Jew and Gentile and the significance of circumcision as the identity marker of God's people were the essential parts of the Jewish theology of the covenant in Paul's time,[158b] this new perspective on Jew, Gentile and circumcision will no doubt have caused confusion among the Roman Jewish Christians about their understanding of the covenant between God and Israel.

Paul recognizes that, in the previous passage, he uses the social experiences of the Roman Jewish Christians to contradict their stereotyped views on Jew and Gentile; now, in the following passages he has to use theological language to deal with the theological foundation of the Jewish view on the distinction between Jew and Gentile. Therefore, Paul identifies two questions for his discussion in 3: 1, 3. In the light of the previous discussion of 1:18 - 2:29, we may expand the questions as follows:

(1) If the distinction between Jew and Gentile is demolished, what is the advantage of the physically circumcised Jews in their covenant relation with God (3:1)?

(2) If one of the main reasons for the demolition of the distinction is the disobedience of some (**tines**) Jews,[159] does it mean that God has abolished the covenant because of these disobedient Jews? If so, does it mean that their unfaithfulness nullifies the

faithfulness of God (3:3)?

Paul's answer to the first question is positive and to the second one is negative. His answers are basically in line with the Jewish tradition. They should bring some relief to the Jewish Christians who were in doubt as to whether or not Paul was going to ask them to renounce their Jewish identity.[160] However, Paul gives some qualifications to both answers.

To the first one, although Paul indicates that there are many advantages, he mentions only one: "the Jews were entrusted with the oracles of God (**ta logia tou theou**)." The meaning of **ta logia tou theou**[161] has aroused much discussion among scholars. Basically it can simply mean the Jewish scriptures, the OT as a whole.[162] However, it seems more probable that the phrase denotes the promises of God in the OT (cf. 1:2).[163] While the theological usage of the "word of God" is probably bound up closely in its very origin with the covenant,[164] **ta logia tou theou** may denote the promises of God in the covenant which are recorded in the OT.[165] This interpretation is probably supported by the context in which Paul discusses the significance of God's covenant with the Jews.[166] Cranfield is probably right to point out the significance of Paul's use of **episteuthēsan** here which is probably used to denote that the Jews have been "entrusted with" rather than "given" the "word of God".[167] In other words, the advantage of the Jews is probably as 'keepers' and 'stewards' of the "word of God" rather than the 'possessors' of the "word of God".[168] Thus Paul's answer to the first question probably implies that

the Jews are the first recipients of God's covenant promise, but the promise is granted not only to them but also to all mankind, including Gentiles.

As far as the second question is concerned, Paul rejects it firmly by **mē genoito** and uses the imperative to declare God's truthfulness to His promises in the covenant and the falsehood of men (3:4a). As we have mentioned above,[169] in the context of Paul's discussion of the significance of God's covenant with Jews, the words "every man" (**pas anthrōpos**) which are taken from Ps. 116:11 (LXX 115:2) are more likely to be used for the purpose of pointing out that in contrast to the truthfulness of God, the Jews as human beings were unreliable. Following this assertion, Paul uses an almost exact quotation of the LXX Ps. 50:6b (51:4b) to indicate that God's covenant righteousness is recognized in His judgement of man's disobedience. In other words, God's judgement on those disobedient Jews is not His abolition of the covenant but rather a way to maintain His covenant faithfulness to the Jews.

In 3: 5-8, a diatribal passage, Paul uses the oscillation between 'I' and 'we' to involve the Jewish Christians in Rome in a dialogue on this Jewish discussion.[170] In the discussion he further expounds his argument on the issue of God's righteousness and His judgement. Paul emphasizes that God is the judge of the world. In this context, **kosmos** includes not only Gentiles but also Jews. This understanding obviously recapitulates the premises that God is impartial in judgement on both Jew

and Gentile which Paul has established in 2: 1-13. Thus in 3: 4-8, Paul obviously asserts that God's covenant with the Jews includes judgement in which the Jews will be judged like the Gentiles. In v.8, Paul takes the chance to refute the accusation of antinomism levelled against him and possibly also against those Jewish Christians who held a more positive attitude towards their relationship with the Gentile Christians in Rome.[171]

In conclusion, Paul's answers to the two questions in 3: 1-8 indicate that, on the one hand, Paul affirms the advantage of Jews in God's covenant-promise (cf. 2:10), and, on the other hand, he denies the advantage of Jews in God's covenant-judgement (cf. 2:9). In other words, the Jews are in the same position as the Gentiles according to the covenant-judgement. It is true that the advantage of being a circumcised Jew is the covenant between God and Israel. However, the basis of this covenant is God's covenant faithfulness and not man's. That is why man's unfaithfulness does not nullify God's faithfulness. God is the one who is always faithful, righteous and true to the covenant in both promises and judgement. If the covenant with God is basic to the self-identity of God's people, then God's covenant faithfulness is the basis of this self-identity. The fact of one's being a Jew does not guarantee one's faithfulness to the covenant and thus does not guarantee that a circumcised Jew can safely feel himself to be a member of God's people. The priority of Jews in receiving God's covenant-promise does not guarantee that Jews will maintain the covenant status.

Moreover, Paul's affirmation of the advantage of Jews and his argument based on God's faithfulness and righteousness probably recall his statement in 1: 16-17. Both Jewish and Gentile Christians should be reminded about the message in the theme-text. Nevertheless, Paul's emphasis on God as the judge of the world and his rejection of the accusation of antinomism should also remind the Gentile Christians about his message in 2: 1-13 that the moral aspect of the Jewish law is still significant and that God's judgment is based on men's practices.

B. The Basis of the Relationship between Jews and Gentiles: Solidarity in Sin and in Faith (3: 9-31)

1. *Solidarity in Sin* (3: 9-20)

The result of Paul's discussion on God's covenant faithfulness in judgement in 3: 3-8 is probably taken up in 3:9.[172] This interpretation is supported by the occurrence of the introductory exclamation **ti oun** which usually raises the question of the deductions to be made from the point just established, rather than marking a completely new train of thought.[173] However, the phrase **kathōs gegraptai** in v.10 obviously indicates that the following catena of OT quotations is used to confirm what Paul has said in 3:9.[174] Therefore, it is quite probable that 3:9 is the conclusion of 3: 3-8 and the introduction to 3: 10-20.[175]

With regard to the question introduced by **ti oun**, it is difficult to be certain of its exact meaning.[176] Traditionally, it is translated as : Are we [Jews] better than they [Gentiles]? (AV; cf. RSV, NEB, NASB, NIV)

However, philologically speaking, **proechometha** can be understood as a passive, therefore some scholars translate it as: Are we in a worse case than they ? (RV; cf. notes in RSV, NEB, NASB, NIV).[177] Recently, Dahl[178] argued strongly and quite convincingly that it should be understood as: Do we put up as a defence?[179a]

Nevertheless, whatever the meaning of that question is, Paul's answer to the question is clear: "Not at all;[179b] for we have already charged (**proē/itiasametha**) that both Jews and Greeks are all under sin (**pantas huph hamartian**)" (NASB).

It is possible that by saying **proē/itiasametha**, Paul has 1:18 - 2:29 in mind. At least, the evidence in 1: 18-32 and 2: 21-24 points out that neither Gentiles nor Jews are free from the power of sin. However, as we have mentioned above, it is doubtful that the primary function of 1:18 - 2:29 is to accuse Jews and Gentiles. The connections of v.9 with both 3: 3-8 and 3: 10-20 seem to indicate that 3:9 should be understood primarily in the context of 3: 3-20.[180] In fact, Raeisaenen,[181] Sanders[182] and Bassler[183] have aptly pointed out that Rm. 1-2 do not actually demonstrate universal sinfulness. Furthermore, the coherence of 3: 3-20 as a complete unit of thought is probably supported by the following evidence:

(1) There is an intensive occurrence of **pas** in 3: 3-20 (vv. [4], 9, [12], 19, 19, 20)[184], four of them are most probably used to denote all mankind, Jews and Gentiles. In 1:18 - 2:29, the similar use of **pas** occur only in

2:9, 10 and possibly in 1: 18 and 2:1.[185]

(2) There is a parallel between 3:9b and 3:19b, in which Paul affirms that "all (**pantas**) are under sin" (3:9b); "every mouth (**pan stoma**) may be stopped"; "the whole world (**pas ho kosmos**) may be held accountable to God" (3: 19b).[186]

(3) In 3: 3-20, the statement "Let God be true and every man be false" (v.4a), the quotation from LXX Ps. 50:6 (v.4b) and the terminologies, such as **krinō** (vv.4b, 6, 7); **krima** (v.8); **stoma phragē/i**, **hupodikos** (v.19), like **proē/itiasametha** (v.9), all point to a picture in court.[187]

Therefore, it seems to be more reasonable that the assertion of Paul's statement in 3: 9b that "we have already charged that both Jews and Greeks are all under sin" is derived from his argument in 3: 3-8 that not only Gentiles but also Jews are under the judgement of God. Judgement is surely inseparable from accusation. Paul is probably aware that his statement in 3:9b is not clear enough. He thus substantiates his statement by a catena of OT quotations in 3: 10-18. This is probably also the reason why Paul re-asserts his conviction in vv.19f. with a special appeal to the common understanding of the Jews (**oidamen**): the authority of the Scripture (**ho nomos**). In other words, God's faithfulness in covenant-judgement (3: 3-8) and the Scripture (3: 12-18) has shown that Jews are in the same position as Gentiles: all of them are under the power of sin. In v.20, Paul concludes that the function of the law is to know sin and therefore even the law and the works of the law (**ergōn nomou**)[188] could not help any one,

not even Jews, to be acquitted before God. While the law is understood by Jews as the identity marker of themselves as God's people and the boundary marker between Jews and Gentiles (cf. 2: 17, 23), Paul's conclusion obviously indicates that the fact of being a Jew does not make one free from the power of sin and thus different from the Gentiles. All of them are under the same power of sin. Paul surely argues that membership of the Jewish community does not guarantee the salvation of the Jews. However, he does not suggest that the membership of the Jewish community is a hindrance to salvation. There is no evidence in 3: 9-20 that Paul persuades the Jewish Christians to separate from the Jewish community.[189]

The message in 3: 9-20 is, therefore, to confirm that there is no distinction between Jews and Gentiles under God's judgement and in fact there is a solidarity of Jews and Gentiles in sin. This forceful message will no doubt have caused the Jews among Paul's audience to hold their breath (cf. v.19b), but it will also make the Gentile addressees aware of their solidarity with the Jews.

2. *Solidarity in Faith (3: 21-31)*[190]

(A) *Faith in Christ as the Basis of the Relationship between Jews and Gentiles* (3:21-23)

Nevertheless, the solidarity of Jews and Gentiles in sin is not the end of the message. Paul emphatically uses **nuni de** to show that a new age has come (v.21).[191] This new age which is witnessed by the law and the prophets (the Jewish Scripture) is that "the righteousness of God has

been manifested apart from law (**chōris nomou**) ..... through faith in Jesus Christ for all who believe" (vv. 21, 22). As the phrase **chōris nomou** (v.21) probably means "outside the boundary of law", it denotes a manifestation to those Gentiles who do not belong to the Jewish community.[192] Therefore, the characteristic of this new age is that God's righteousness is manifested not only within the boundary of the circumcised Jews, but also among Gentiles. In vv. 21-23, Paul probably draws his findings in 1:18 - 3:20 into a new stage of his discussion:

(1) The old distinction between Jew and Gentile has been demolished (1:18 - 2:29; 3:22b).

(2) There is a solidarity of Jew and Gentile in sin and under God's judgement (3: 3-20; 23).

(3) God's covenant-promise is now manifested not only within the boundary of the Jewish community, but also among the Gentiles (2: 25-29; 3: 1-2, 21).

(4) God's covenant righteousness works through faith in Jesus Christ to all who believe (3:22a).

The only new element explicitly expressed in this passage is that the new boundary marker for God's righteousness is faith in Jesus Christ. Through faith in Jesus Christ, a new solidarity is established among Jews and Gentiles. Here, Paul obviously recalls the theme of the letter expressed in 1: 16, 17 and clearly defines **pisteōs** as "faith in Jesus Christ" (**pisteōs [Iēsou] Christou**, 3:22; cf. 3:26).[193] However, there are two observations which are important to our concern:

(1) In v.21, Paul's statement suggests that the manifestation of God's righteousness outside the boundary of the law is not in contradiction with the law. In fact, it is witnessed by the law and prophets (cf. 1:2). In other words, in Paul's opinion the inclusion of the Gentiles within the boundary of God's righteousness is in continuity with the Jewish tradition. This thought is in fact found again and again in Romans (e.g. 1:1-5, 16-17; ch. 4; 9:25-33; 10: 6-13, 16-21; 15:8-12).[194] Therefore, the setting up of the new boundary of God's righteousness does not require a denunciation of the old boundary. The new boundary is an enlargement or a revision of the old. In theological terms, the new boundary of faith is an expansion or a transformation of the boundary made by the law. Sociologically speaking, there is no need for those within the old boundary to leave the old group to join the new one.[195] Jewish community and Christian commuity are not two rival communities. The Christian community is an extension of the Jewish community. Jewish Christians can have relationships with both Jews (Christians and non-Christians) and Gentile Christians. Paul's argument does not seek to persuade the Jewish Christians to separate themselves from the Jewish community, but rather to persuade them to welcome the Gentile Christians as God's people.

(2) As it is God who acts outside the boundary of law, this implies that it is not necesary for the Gentiles to become Jews in order to join in this new community. Therefore, Paul obviously indicates that Jewish

Christians should not ask Gentile Christians to become Jews as a prerequisite for their upbuilding of a relationship with them. However, although faith in Jesus Christ is the only condition for the Gentiles to join this new community, becoming members of this new community implies a relationship with those members of the old community. This implication has not been spelled out clearly in this passage (cf. 11: 13-18; 15: 7 - 13), but it evidently underlies the argument.

These two observations indicate that in 3: 21-23 Paul is dealing with the theological issues which are the special concern of Jewish Christians in his exhortations in 14:1 - 15:13. With his discussion being mainly from a Jewish perspective, Paul's main purpose in this passage is to persuade the Jewish Christians to change their attitude towards Gentile Christians and to welcome them to participate in worship and communal meals held in their house churches. In this passage Paul also makes it clear that the Jewish Christians could maintain their relationship with non-Christian Jews on the one hand, and their fellowship with Gentile Christians on the other. It is not necessary for the Gentile Christians to become Jews in their fellowship with the Jewish Christians.

(B) *The Relationship between Faith in Christ and the Jewish Self-understanding* (3: 24-31)

The suggestion that Paul is in discussion with the Jewish Christians in 3: 21-31 is possibly also supported by Paul's use of Jewish Christian tradition in 3: 24-26.[196] In

this passage, Paul further indicates that through the sacrificial death of Jesus,[197] those who believe in Christ are transferred from the solidarity in sin into the solidarity in faith. In this new solidarity, God's righteousness justifies all those who have faith in Christ. In other words, faith in Christ is confirmed as the new identity marker of God's people. If this should be the case, what is the relationship between the old and the new markers? This is obviously the issue Paul tries to deal with in the following passage.

In v.27, the question: "What becomes of our boasting?" obviously refers back to the Jewish boasting in 2: 17-20 (v.23).[198] In it, according to the Jewish self-understanding, the unique relationship with God and the law are the identity markers of Jews. Paul answers the question categorically: "It is excluded (**exekleisthē**)". The force of Paul's answer probably does not focus on the privilege of Jews in receiving the covenant status (cf. 1:16; 2:10; 3:1f.),[199] but rather on the fact that these identity markers do not belong exclusively to the circumcised Jews. They belong to all those who have faith in Christ. This interpretation is supported by v.28, in which Paul probably recalls the statement which he has made in vv.21f., that a Gentile (the one who is outside the boundary of the law) is justified by faith, but not by joining the existing Jewish community.[200]

If the above understanding is correct, in light of our interpretation of 3: 21-23, the relationship between "law of works" (**nomou tōn ergōn**) and "law of faith" (**nomou**

pisteōs) in v.27b,[201] "works of law" (**ergōn nomou**)[202] and "faith" (**pistei**) in v. 28 is not a clear cut antithesis.[203a] Paul only states that it is not "this" but "that". They are not necessarily exclusive (cf.9: 31-2). In Paul's opinion, it is "faith" not "works of law" that decides one's relation to God and the significance of the law. As long as one does not claim that "works of law" is the decisive identity marker of God's people, Paul would not argue against him. This is probably one of the most important features of Paul's discussion on "works of law" in Galatians (3: 10, cf. 2: 16; 3: 2, 5) and Romans (3: 20, 28).[203b] As we have mentioned above, Paul has made it clear in 2: 25 - 29, that circumcision is not superseded but supplemented (cf. 4: 11f.).

Our interpretation of 3: 27-28 is supported by the following verses (vv. 29-31), in which Paul gives his interpretation of the significance of the two identity markers mentioned in 2: 17-20, namely the relation with God and the law:

(1) God is the God not only of Jews but also of Gentiles (v. 29); and He will justify the circumcised by faith (**ek pisteōs**, v. 30) and also the uncircumcised through faith (**dia tēs pisteōs**, v. 30).[203c]

(2) The law is not overthrown but established by faith (3:31).[203d]

Paul's purpose in 3: 27-31 is quite clear. He follows his argument in 3: 21-26 to expand the boundary of God's people to include Gentiles. The unique relationship between God and His people and the law does not belong exclusively

to the circumcised Jews, but to all who believe, both Jews and Gentiles. The relationship between Jews and Gentiles is to be redefined in terms of solidarity in faith. The new identity marker of God's people is faith in Christ. By faith, both Jews and Gentiles can be justified by the one God and can establish the law. In other words, the Jews are not removed outside the boundary of God's people, but the Gentiles are included within it. In the course of the argument, there is no evidence of Paul persuading the Jewish Christians to separate themselves from the Jewish community. Paul's main purpose is to persuade the Jewish Christians to accept Gentile Christians as God's people. However, Paul's argument does bring up a new issue, that is the relationship between Jews and faith. This is the issue of Rm. 4.

In conclusion, Paul's argument in Rm. 3 is not purely theoretical, but involves an implicit call for an awareness of the common ground in God's salvation plan shared by both Jews and Gentiles. Based on this shared foundation, the Jewish and Gentiles Christians in Rome should build up a close relationship among themselves.

C. The Relationships between Covenant Status, Jews, Gentiles and Faith: the Model of Abraham (4: 1-25)

In 3: 27f., Paul argues that according to the law of faith, the Jewish stereotyped self-understanding cannot stand. The unique relationship between God and his people and the Law does not belong exclusively to the circumcised Jews. Paul asserts that God justifies both circumcised and

uncircumcised on the same basis, that is faith (3:30).

Paul is fully aware that his assertion brings in the question of the relationship between Jews and faith. The Jewish Christians would probably ask: if the covenant-promise of God was originally entrusted to Jews (3:1f.), why should a Jew receive justification by faith as a Gentile? Jews and Gentiles have no distinction under God's covenant-judgement, but what about the distinction in receiving God's covenant-promise?

In this context the case of Abraham in Rm.4 is surely not chosen as a random example.[204] Watson rightly points out the twofold significance of Abraham in Judaism.[205] On the one hand, he was seen as the original recipient of the covenant-promise for himself and his descendants.[206] On the other hand, he was seen as an example of obedience to God. Abraham was certainly the basis of the Jewish national pride, and thus an essential element in their self-understanding.

However, Watson is probably wrong to suggest that Paul attacks in Rm.4 the Jewish twofold view of Abraham in order to justify the separation of the Jewish Christians from the Jewish community in Rome.[207] In our opinion, Paul's main purpose in his reinterpretation of Abraham is twofold: (1) To point out that Abraham was surely the first one to receive covenant status, but that he received it by faith not by circumcision; however, there is a close relationship between faith and circumcision. (2) To show that Abraham's model of obedience is a model of faith, which is set up

before circumcision. This probably implies that one of Paul's main purposes in Rm. 4 is to complete his effort to establish a basis for a new understanding of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles, so that the Jewish Christians will be encouraged to build up a close relationship with Gentile Christians on that basis. Nevertheless, there is no explicit evidence to indicate that Paul tries to tear away Abraham from the Jews and claim him for the Christians or persuade Jewish Christians to separate from non-Christian Jews.[208]

1. ***Relationship between Faith and Circumcision*** **(4: 1-12)**

While the Jewish Christians probably also accepted the Jewish view of Abraham that he was the original recipient of the covenant-promise for himself and for them, they must have had difficulty in accepting Paul's assertion that they were in the same position as the Gentiles in having to receive the covenant-promise by faith.

Paul probably uses the questions in 4:1f. to identify this kind of response. The meaning of the question can be rendered as follows: What about the achievement of our forefather, Abraham, in receiving the covenant-promise? If he was granted the covenant status by works (not by faith, cf. 3:20),[209] then we are different from the Gentiles and there is a basis for our national pride (unique self-understanding).

In vv. 3-12, the key word **logizomai** occurs eight times (out of 11 times in 4: 3-25).[210] The emphasis is that Abraham's faith is 'reckoned' as righteousness (vv. 3, 5,

9) before he is circumcised (vv.10ff.). Paul uses Gn. 15:6 (v.3) as his text for the interpretation[211] and appeals to Ps. 32:1f. (vv. 6-8) which is ascribed to David to support his view.[212] In this context, 'works' (ergōn. vv.2, 6) is obviously related to 'circumcision' (cf. vv.9ff.).[213] However, 'faith' and 'circumcision' (works) are not in an antithetical relationship. In fact, 'circumcision' is closely related to 'faith' as "a sign or seal of the righteousness which he had by faith while he was still uncircumcised" (v.11).[214]

Paul's argument flows like this: Abraham was no doubt the first one who received the covenant-promise, but he received it ***by faith***. Circumcision is certainly related to covenant status, but it is a sign (or seal)[215] of the covenant status which Abraham received ***before*** he was circumcised. In other words, circumcision is not the identity marker of the covenant but the identity marker of 'faith' by which Abraham received the covenant-promise. The really decisive element is 'faith', not circumcision.[216] Paul's argument surely raises the issue of why Abraham should be circumcised. Paul's answer is that Abraham can be the father of both the 'uncircumcision with faith' (v.11b) and the 'circumcision with faith' (v.12).

Paul's interpretation was surely different from many of his contemporary Jews.[217] We can by no means be sure how convincing (or unconvincing) Paul's argument was to most of the Jews of his time. However, we can understand Paul's opinion of the relationship between covenant status, faith, circumcision and uncircumcision through his interpretation.

There are three observations which are most significant to our thesis:

(1) In his interpretation or reinterpretation of Abraham, Paul does not denounce the relationship between circumcision and the covenant promise, but he relativizes the importance of circumcision. Circumcision is the identity marker of 'the identity marker of the covenant', that is 'faith'. In other words, the significance of circumcision is bound to be related to faith. There is a built-in relationship between the two. Paul's argument probably implies that Jews who are circumcised are indeed very close to the covenant relationship with God. They have Abraham as their forefather according to the flesh (4:1), David's witness (4: 6-8), the law and the prophets (1:1; 2:17, 23; 3:1f., 19ff., 31; 4:3; cf. 9:4f.); what they need is only to recognize the significance of the circumcision (which they have had already) and that means to follow the example of Abraham's faith (4: 11a, 12). They are surely in a more privileged position than the Gentiles who have no circumcision (cf. 1:16; 2:10; 3:1f.; 9:4f.). Nevertheless, it is by faith that every one receives covenant status (cf. 1:16f.; 3:22, 30). Paul's interpretation here is fully in line with his argument in other parts of the letter.

(2) The logic of Paul's argument here can also be shown by equations:

(a) *circumcision* + *faith* = *covenant status*
(vv.11a, 12)

(b) *uncircumcision + faith = covenant status* (vv.9-10, 11b)

These two equations are probably parallel to four of the eight equations implied in 2: 25-29:[218]

(1) *physical circumcision + practising the law = 'circumcision'* (2: 25a)

(3) *physical uncircumcision + practising the law = 'circumcision'* (2: 26)

(7) *inwardly Jew = 'Jew'* (v.29a)

(8) *circumcision of heart = circumcision* (v.29b)

The connection between "practising the law" (**nomou prassē/is**, 2: 25; **nomou phulassē/i**, 2:26; **nomou telousa**, 2:27) and "faith" is probably established through 3:31, in which Paul affirms that "we uphold the law [by faith]." 'Inwardly Jew' and 'circumcision of heart' are probably related to 'circumcision + faith' (Cf. 10:9b).[219] However, ***the difference between 2: 25-29 and 4: 9-12 is that Paul does not give any statement here parallel with the other four equations (nos. 2, 4, 5, 6) in 2: 25-29***, which can be formulated by the following equations:

(a) *circumcision - faith [non-Christian Jew] ≠ covenant status* (cf. 2: 25b, 28)

(b) *uncircumcision + faith [Gentile Christian] › circumcision - faith [non-Christian Jew]* (cf. 2:27)

The ***absence of these parallels*** here is most significant. This evidence probably can shed some light

on our understanding of 2: 25 - 29 and 4: 1 - 12 as follows:

(i) As we have mentioned above, Paul's main purpose in 2: 25-29 is to conclude his argument on the demolition of the Jewish stereotyped view on the distinction between Jews and Gentiles on the one hand, and to introduce the discussion on the true character of God's people on the other. Therefore his arguments that physical circumcision + breaking the law [or, - practising the law] = 'uncircumcision'(v.25b), physical uncircumcision + practising the law › physical circumcision + breaking the law [or, - practising the law] (2: 27), outwardly Jew ≠ Jews; circumcision in flesh ≠ Jew, serves the purposes of relativizing the difference between circumcision and uncircumcision on the one hand, and indicates that the true character of God's people is the hidden character rather than the visible one on the other; but Paul does not aim at attacking the Jews. As we have mentioned above, the 'outward Jew' and 'circumcision in flesh' are in fact not put into sharp antithesis with 'inward Jew' and 'circumcision of heart'. It is quite clear that Paul has no intention of denouncing the non-Christian Jews as not-God's-people in 2: 25-29. This interpretation is supported by the evidence in 4: 1-12.

(ii) In 4: 1-12, Paul's purpose is to show the relationships between covenant status, faith, Jew and Gentile. He has a good opportunity to denounce the relationship between circumcision and God's covenant-

promise. However, he obviously avoids making such a denunciation. His main concern in this passage is to show that there is a close relationship between faith and circumcision on the one hand, and the solidarity of Jewish and Gentile Christians under the common fatherhood of Abraham on the other. In this passage Paul does not touch upon the issue of 'circumcision without faith' at all. He leaves this issue until Rm. 9-11. He avoids making any statement to indicate that Abraham is no longer the father of Jews but only the father of Christians, or trying to prove that non-Christian Jews are not God's people. Moreover, Paul does not give any evidence to indicate that Gentile Christians are better than non-Christian Jews in God's covenant relationship with His people. The Gentile Christians are not provided with any basis to despise the Jews, whether Christian or non-Christian (cf. 11: 18; 14: 1-10).

(3) In Paul's description of Abraham in 4: 3-12, we find that Abraham experienced a three-stage development of his status:

(a) uncircumcised (4: 5f., 10);
(b) [uncircumcised] + righteousness by faith (4:9ff.); and
(c) righteousness by faith [+ circumcision] (4:11a).

With regard to these three stages, Paul explains the significance of the change from the second to the third stage in 4:11f. The purpose of this change is to make Abraham the father of both the 'circumcised with

faith' and the 'uncircumcised with faith'. Although Paul's argument is obviously anachronistic[220] and could easily be used by Judaizers as a weapon to request the Gentile Christians to be circumcised,[221] Paul's use of this argument in Romans, but not in Galatians,[222] probably shows that he knows there were no active Judaizers in Rome and that the issue for the Roman Christians was not the circumcision of the Gentile Christians.[223] However, his point is clear, that faith is the most decisive identity marker of God's people, and Abraham has played a dual role: a person of 'uncircumcised + righteousness by faith', and a person of 'righteousness by faith + circumcision'. Nevertheless, Paul does not describe Abraham's change from the first stage to the second and the significance of this change in 4: 3-12. This is probably one of the issues to be discussed in the following passage, vv. 13-24 (especially vv. 17b - 22).

2. ***The Model of Faith*** **(4: 13-24a):**

(A) *The Faith of a 'Gentile'* (4: 13-17a)

As we have mentioned in the **Personae** analysis of Rm. 4, Paul expands his use of **hēmn** in v.12 to include both Jewish and Gentile Christians. The solidarity of Jewish and Gentile Christians is established under the common fatherhood of Abraham. From 4:12 onward, Paul probably addresses both Jewish and Gentile Christians.

After Paul has indicated in 4: 9-12 that Abraham was reckoned as righteous by faith before he was

circumcised, he proceeds to explain the characteristic of this model of faith in 4: 13-22. In fact, Paul's indication suggests that Abraham was justified by faith when he was a 'Gentile'.[224] In other words, the model of Abraham's faith is a model of 'Gentile faith' (en akrobustia/i pisteōs, v.12c).

The significance of this faith is explained in 4: 13-17a. In this passage, Paul emphasizes that the covenant-promise made to the descendants of Abraham was through faith [of Abraham], not through law (v.13). The covenant-promise is not limited to those within the boundary of law, but given to those within the boundary of faith (vv. 14-16). The function of faith is related to covenant-promise (vv.14, 16a), while the function of law is connected to covenant-judgement (v.15).

However, Paul's emphasis on the superiority of faith does not imply an antithetical relationship between 'faith' and 'law'. They are not two mutually exclusive categories. Paul's argument is that the 'boundary of faith' is much wider than the 'boundary of law' and includes: "*not only* .... the adherents of the law *but also* .... those who share the faith of Abraham [before circumcision]" (v.16c). In other words, Paul has two groups of people in mind, one is Jews and the other is those who have faith (Jews and Gentiles).[225] These two groups of people are not in antithetical relationship, Abraham is the father of both groups. The parallelism between v.16c and v.12b probably recalls Paul's emphasis on the almost inseparable relationship

between circumcision and faith (cf. vv.11f.). The boundary of faith is bound to include Jews, who should have faith [of a 'Gentile'], and those Gentiles who have faith. In this manner, Abraham is the father of all who have faith, Jews and Gentiles (vv.16d, 17a; cf. vv. 11, 12). Therefore, in 4: 13-17a, Paul probably tries his best to indicate that 'faith' is surely the boundary marker of the descendants of Abraham, including the Gentiles who have the faith of Abraham and also Jews who should have the faith signified by their circumcision. To Paul, it seems to be a contradiction in terms for there to be circumcision but without faith (cf. 2: 25-29; 4:11f.). However, the normative faith is the faith of a Gentile [Abraham]. It is the faith which changed Abraham from the status of 'uncircumcised without covenant-promise' to the status of 'uncircumcised within covenant-promise' (4:5f., 9f.). Surely, Jews and Gentiles, who are God's people, should have this same faith.

Thus, in 4: 13-17a, Paul probably indicates that:

(1) Faith is the boundary marker of God's people which is wider than the boundary of law.

(2) A circumcised Jew should have the faith of [Gentile] Abraham which is signified by circumcision.

(3) The relation between Jew and 'Gentile with faith' is beneficial to Jews. This relationship can assure Jews that they have not only circumcision but also the Gentile faith.

In other words, in this passage, Paul does not give any explicit justification for the Jewish Christians to denounce their Jewish identity or to separate from other circumcised Jews; but he explicitly persuades the Jewish Christians [as Jews] to build up a close relationship with Gentiles who have faith (Gentile Christians). The relationship with Gentiles who have faith is probably an indicator for Jews to know that they have the faith of Abraham. Paul's message to Gentile Christians is also clear, that it is only by the faith exhibited by Abraham, the forefather of the Jews, that they received the covenant status together with the Jews. This is the basis for their relationship with the Jews.

(B) *The Characteristics of Faith* (4: 17b-24a)

In 4: 17b-22, Paul gives at least four characteristics of the faith of Abraham as follows:

(1) It is a faith in God who gives life to the dead[226] and calls into existence the things that do not exist (v. 17b; cf. v.19).[227]

(2) It is a faith in hope even in the face of contradiction of all human expectation (vv. 18f.).[228]

(3) It is a faith in God's power to fulfil the promise that Abraham should become the father of many nations (vv. 18b, 20f.).

(4) It is a faith which will grow stronger as one gives glory to God (v.20b).

While in vv.23-24a, Paul emphasizes that the model of Abraham's faith is also applicable to his addressees,[229] it is important to see the relevance of this faith to the Christians in Rome. In the context of Paul's argument in Romans and with reference to our understanding of the situation of Roman Christians, we find that these four characteristics may have the following implications:

(i) The first characteristic is probably not only pointing to God as the object of faith (cf. 4:24), but also to two attributes of God: God's resurrecting power and creating power. These two attributes surely indicate the divine sovereignty exhibited in the story of Abraham (v. 19).[230] However, they may possibly also suggest three other things:[231]

(a) The relationship between the faith of Abraham and Christian faith is probably achieved by the Christian confession that Jesus was raised from the dead by God (cf. 1:4; 7:4; 8:11; 10:9).[232] In view of the fact that Paul does mention that God raised Jesus from the dead in the immediate context (v.24), this interpretation is quite probable.[233] However, it is also significant that Paul does not explicitly identify Abraham's faith with faith in Christ. The common ground for the faith of Abraham and Christian faith is the "faith in God who gives life to the dead". This is probably evidence to suggest that in this passage Paul tries to

emphasize the continuity between Jewish faith and Christian faith without indicating the discontinuity (cf. 11: 25-32). In other words, Paul shows that Jewish Christians can maintain their relationship with non-Christian Jews on the one hand, and their fellowship with Gentile Christians on the other.

(b) The reference to God's creatio ex nihilo possibly indicates that the change of status of Abraham from uncircumcised to 'uncircumcised with righteousness by faith' is God's creative action. This is the kind of faith that the Gentiles need to become God's people. It surely represents a much more difficult and significant change than the recognition of the meaning of circumcision needed by Jews. Therefore, the faith of Abraham is the faith of Gentiles (cf. 4; 3-10), which is the creation by God out of nothing.

(c) The reference to God's creatio ex nihilo may just possibly imply that God can create a close relationship between Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome even though it was not in existence when Paul wrote his letter. The concern for the solidarity of Jewish and Gentile Christians based on faith has been shown as one of the main themes of Romans (1: 1-5, 8, 12, 16-17; 3:21-23, 29-31; 14:1 - 15:13). As will be shown below, this interpretation is probably also supported by the following passages (4: 24f.; 5: 1-11).

(2) The second characteristic surely refers to the desperate situation of Abraham. However, it may also refer to the situation of the Roman Christians (cf. 15: 4). If Paul hopes that the Jewish Christians can maintain their relationship with the non-Christian Jews on the one hand, and their fellowship with the Gentile Christias on the other; and the Gentile Christians can build up a fellowship with the Jewish Christians without becoming Jews, this hope is surely contradictory to all human expectation. It not only contradicts the expectation of non-Christian Jews, but also the experience of the Roman Christians as disclosed in 14: 1-23.

(3) The third characteristic which refers to faith in God's power (**dunatos**, v.21) in fulfilling His promise probably recalls 1:4, 16 (**dunamis**) and also leads to Paul's assertion of God's power (**dunatos**) in saving Jews and Gentiles (9:22ff.), and in re-grafting the 'unbelievers' into the olive tree (11:23).[234] Furthermore, God's promise of Abraham as the father of many nations is the underlying basis for Paul's argument in the whole of ch.4 (vv. 11f.; 13, 16, 17a, 18);[235] this is surely one of the bases for the unity of Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome. Therefore, Paul possibly encourages the Roman Jewish and Gentile Christians to build up a close relationship by appealing to faith in God's power in fulfilling this promise

(cf. v.17b). This interpretation is surely in line with our understanding of the theme of the letter (1:16f.) and Paul's purpose in writing Romans.

(4) The phrase dous doxan tō/i theō/i in v.20b probably refers to the characteristic of a true piety as against the impiety of man (cf. 1:21; 3:7, 23),[236] but it may also have a liturgical ring (cf. 15:6, 7)[237] and it possibly indicates a worship setting. This interpretation is probably supported by Paul's citation of a traditional (liturgical) formula in the following passage (vv.24f.).[238] Therefore, Paul may use the fourth characteristic to assure the Jewish and Gentile Christians that their faith, which is described by the first three characteristics, will grow even stronger in worshipping God. This reference to worship is possibly a foundation prepared for Paul's exhortation on their participation in worshipping and eating communal meal in one another's house churches in 14:1 - 15:13. Through worshipping together, they may teach one another (15:14) and pray together for Paul and for their building up of the relationship among themselves (15:30ff.). In this way, their faith will surely grow stronger.

From the above observations, Paul seems to use the characteristics of the faith of Abraham to indicate that this is the faith which is needed by the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome to build up the Christian community net-work. His main purpose is to

persuade the Jewish Christians to appreciate the faith of the Gentile Christians on the one hand, and the Gentile Christians to understand the fact that the origin of their faith starts from Abraham, the forefather of Jews, on the other. As the Jewish Christians have to face the danger of apostasy from the Jewish community, Paul shows the continuity between circumcision and faith on the one hand, and the benefit of the relationship of Jewish Christians with Gentile Christians on the other. There is no evidence that Paul is giving any explicit justification for the separation of Jewish Christians from the Jewish community in Rome.

3. Conclusion

While Abraham, on the one hand, is seen by Jews as the original recipient of God's covenant-promise for himself and for them, Paul does not dispute this understanding but points out that Abraham was justified by faith before he was circumcised (4: 3-12). On the other hand, whereas Abraham is seen by Jews as an example of obedience to God, Paul demonstrates in 4: 17b-22 that Abraham is a model of faith in God. However, for Paul, 'obedience to God' and 'faith in God' are not in antithesis. In fact, Paul interprets faith as 'obedience of faith' (1:5; cf. 16:26). In other words, Paul probably reinterprets Abraham as an example of obedience of faith. Nevertheless, although in Rm.4, Paul's reinterpretation of Abraham may not fully agree with his Jewish contemporaries, his hermeneutic does not contradict the Jewish tradition.[239] What he emphasizes is that circumcision is bound to relate to faith; and he

does not denounce the relationship between Jews (Christian or non-Christian) and Abraham. The Jews, who have circumcision already, need to recognize its relationship to faith; while the Gentiles need to have faith, of which they have no related physical sign. Therefore, Paul indicates that he wants to persuade the Jewish Christians not only to accept Gentile Christians as God's people but also to build up a close contact with the Gentile Christians. Moreover, he does not provide any explicit evidence for us to conclude that he tries to persuade the Jewish Christians to separate from the other Jews. Faith is a basis for the understanding of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles, but it is not seen as a boundary between non-Christian Jews and Christian Jews in Rm.4.

The relationship between Christian Jews, non-Christian Jews and Gentile Christians is discussed in Rm. 9-11, while the relationship between Gentile Christians and non-Christian Gentiles is discussed in 6: 15-23. However, in 4: 24b-25, Paul succinctly concludes his discussion in 3:1 - 4:24a probably with a traditional liturgical formula, which indicates that the Jewish and Gentile Christians are in solidarity under the Lordship of Jesus who transfers them from their solidarity in trespasses (cf. 3: 9, 23) to the solidarity in justification (cf. 3:22, 24ff., 30).

Summary and Conclusion

1:18 - 4:25, Paul directs his address primarily to the Jewish Christians in Rome. It is only from 4: 12 onwards, that both Jewish and Gentile Christians are explicitly addressed. However, Paul is fully aware that the Gentile Christians are overhearing in the background all the time. His message is double-edged and is relevant to both Jewish and Gentile Christians.

In light of our findings from Rm. 14 - 15 and 1: 1 - 17 we have a new perspective from which to read the doctrinal core of the letter. We found that Paul probably knows that unless he can demolish the Jewish distinction between Jew and Gentile, he cannot change the Jewish Christians' attitude towards the Gentile Christians. If he cannot provide an adequate base for a new understanding of the relationship between Jew and Gentile, he cannot convince the Jewish Christians to participate in the worship and communal meals held at the Gentile Christian house churches or to welcome the Gentile Christians to join their meetings. Paul's main purpose in 1:18 - 4:25 is neither to condemn the Gentiles nor to accuse the Jews of their sins.

In 1:18 - 2:29, Paul tries to use the social experiences of the Roman Jewish Christians to contradict the Jewish stereotyped view on the distinction between Jew and Gentile. The main result is to demolish this distinction on the one hand and to reevaluate the Jewish self-understanding on the other. This leads to the discussion in Rm. 3 on the theological foundation of the Jewish understanding of themselves as God's people.

In Rm. 3, on the one hand, Paul affirms the Jewish privilege in receiving the covenant-promise for themselves and for all mankind; on the other hand, he denies any Jewish advantage in God's covenant-judgement. The basic relationship of Jews and Gentiles lies in the fact that they are all under the power of sin and in the same position under God's judgement. The basis of God's covenant with his people is God's faithfulness but not man's. Paul indicates that the new age has come and God acts freely and faithfully within and without the boundary of the law. Faith in Christ is the identity marker of God's people, including Jews and Gentiles. God's action is consistent with His promise in the Jewish scripture and the basis of a new understanding between Jew and Gentile is faith. The covenant relationship between God and His people and the law does not belong exclusively to Jews but to all who have faith.

Paul's argument in ch.3 is not purely theoretical, but involves an implicit call for the building up of the social relationship between the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome. In the course of his argument, Paul denounces the accusation of antinomism, which was probably levelled against him and also possibly against those Roman Jewish Christians who had a more positive attitude in establishing relationships with the Gentile Christians, by the non-Christian Jews and even some more scrupulous Jewish Christians. Paul implies that it is possible for the Jewish Christians to maintain their relationship with the non-Christian Jews on the one hand, and to build up their

fellowship with the Gentile Christians on the other. There is no need for the Gentile Christians to become Jews in order to be included within the boundary of God's people. The boundary of God's people in the new age has expanded and transformed the old boundary which was marked out by the law.

In Rm.4, Paul clarifies his position by the model of Abraham. While Paul fully agrees with the Jewish view that Abraham is the first one to receive the covenant status, he indicates that Abraham received the status by faith while he remained a Gentile. Paul points out that circumcision is surely related to the covenant status, but it is the identity marker of faith, by which the covenant status is granted. Therefore, faith is the basis for the relationship between Jews and Gentiles, and Abraham is the father of both Jews and Gentiles who have faith.

Since the relationship between circumcision and faith is so subtle, Paul does not indicate that faith is the boundary marker for Christian Jews and non-Christian Jews. However, in view of the fact that there is an almost inseparable relationship between circumcision and the faith of Gentile Abraham, Paul's argument probably shows that it is beneficial for the Jews to be related to those Gentiles who have faith. This relationship will probably assure the Jews that their circumcision is related to faith. Paul's characterization of the faith of Abraham is most significant to the situation of the Roman Christians. Paul's main purpose is possibly to lay the basis for the persuasion of the Jewish and Gentile Christians to build up

the community net-work with the same faith.

In 1:18 - 4:25, Paul does not provide any explicit justification for the Jewish Christians to forego their relationship with the non-Christian Jews or any ground for the Gentile Christians to despise the Jews, whether Christians or non-Christians. Paul's main purpose in 1:18 - 4:25 is to promote the upbuilding of the social relationship between the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome by removing obstacles on the one hand and providing a basis for the new understanding of the relationship on the other.

Notes to Part III and Chapter 9

1. Bornkamm (1963:1); cf. Barth (R, 1933: 1).
2. Kuemmel (1973: 312f.); Stendahl (1977b: 127); cf. Sanders (1977: 487f.), (1983:31, 58 n.70).
3. Against Drane (1980: 223), who represents many others in suggesting that "the body of Romans does not appear to be specifically directed to problems at Rome".
4. Besides Bornkamm (1963: 31), Manson (1948: 15) suggests that Romans is Paul's "manifesto setting forth his deepest convictions on central issues". Although Kuemmel (1973: 314) admits that Romans has "a concrete message for the Roman church", he takes the position of Bornkamm and emphasizes that Romans is Paul's "testament" and "the theological confession of Paul" (pp.312f., 314). While Drane (1980: indicates that the Sitz im Leben of Romans was not the church at Rome but what lay "behind" Paul, he suggests that Romans represents Paul's "conscious effort to convince himself as well as his opponents that it is possible to articulate a theology which is at once antilegalistic without also being intrinsically antinomian." Furthermore, Conzelmann (1968: 221) suggests that the Pauline conception of justification and the law as expressed in Romans cannot be derived from the historical situation. He says "the doctrine of the law must be understood in specifically theological terms, as a contribution to the explanation of the gospel, which is not only a doctrine, but an event for man, a transformation of his situation."
5. See our analysis in **Chapter 5**.
6. See **Chapter 8**.
7. 2:1, 3, 4, 5, 5, 17, 19, 21, 25, 27; 3:4, 4; 4:17, 18.
8. 2:1, 1, 1, 1, 3, 3, 4, 17, 17, 17, 18, 18, 21, 21, 22, 22, 23, 25, 25, 25; 3:4, 4.
9. 3:5, 8; 4: 1, 12, 16, 24, 24, 25, 25.
10. 2:2; 3:5, 8, 8, 9, 9, 19, 28, 31, 31; 4:1, 9.
11. Nouns occur in 2:16; 3:7, 7 (**kagō** = **kai egō**); verbs occur in 3:5, 7; 4:17.
12. The quotation is an adaptation of the LXX version of the last part of Is. 52:5; see Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 170f.).
13. See above **notes 7 & 8**, and **Table I**.
14. See above **notes 9 & 10**, and **Table I**.
15. In LXX Is. 52:5, **di humas** and **en tois ethnesin** are added to the original text. These variations make the way easier for Paul's application of the words to the blasphemy of God's name by the Gentiles on account of the Jews' behaviour. For detailed discussion, see Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 171) and Kaesemann (R, 1980: 71).
16. Most scholars agree that 2: 17-24 is a diatribal passage, see Bultmann (1910: 70); Stowers (1981: 96-98); cf. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 69, 71); Dunn (R, MS: 219).
17. In this thesis, 'typified' person refers to the imaginary interlocutor in the diatribe, who does not refer to any particular individual or groups, but represents various types of people among the real audience; see discussion in Stowers (1981: 99f., 106, 152). Thus we suggest that the second person singulars in the diatribal passages directed to Jews are

'typified Jew'; see also Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 137); Dunn (R, MS: 219). However, the obvious allusion to the activity of the Spirit in 2:29 is understood by some scholars as a description of Christians in the new age; e.g. Schlier (R, 1977: 88-90); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 75-77); cf. Dunn (R, MS: 239). Nevertheless, in view of the fact that the circumcision of the heart has to be accomplished by God himself is already seen in Deut. 10:16; 30:6; Lev. 26:41; Jer. 9:24 (cf. Jub. 1:23); cf. Meyer (TDNT VI: 77); Huebner (1978: 56); for more references in OT and Jewish literatures, see Snodgrass (1986: 92 n.71); it is quite unlikely that 2:29 refers to the giving of the Spirit to Christians; cf. Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 175f.); Snodgrass (1986: 81). As will be shown below (Section II.C) the obedient Gentile in 2: 14-15 is probably not Christian; it is probably the same case in 2: 26f..

18. Nygren (R, 1955: 113); Barrett (R, 1962: 55); Cranfield (R, 1975: 137) suggest that in this passage, Paul has Jews in mind. However, while Paul addresses his letter to Christians in Rome, it would be more precise to say that Paul primarily has the Roman Jewish Christians in mind; cf. Dahl (1982: 184f.).
19. So Dodd (R, 1959: 56); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 75); Barrett (R, 1962: 43); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 142); Schlier (R, 1977: 68); Michel (R, 1978: 112); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 54); Dunn (1987b: 2850). For discussion of the characteristics of diatribe in 2: 1-5, see Stowers (1981: 93-96).
20. So Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 54); Nygren (R, 1944: 113); Lagrange (R, 1950: 42); Dahl (1956: 79), (1982: 197f.); Kuss (R, 1957, I: 57); Schelkle (R, 1963: 49); Bornkamm (1966c: 59); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 137ff.); Michel (R, 1978: 112). For opposite view, see Leenhardt (R, 1957: 74) and Stowers (1981: 112).
21. For more evidence, see Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 138f.); Dunn (R, MS: 187-9).
22. See Jervell (1961: 317); Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 93); Beker (1980: 79); Sanders (1983: 95, 115 n.5, 123, 128); Raeisaenen (1983: 110, 124); Scroggs (1983: 109f.); Furnish (1985: 74) Watson (1986: 108); Dunn (1987b: 2849); cf. Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 49-52); Bornkamm (1966c: 50-53); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 49f.).
23. Rm. 1: 18-32 is usually named "failure of the Gentile", Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 39); "Schuld und Elend der Heiden" (Sin and Misery of Gentiles), Kuss (R, 1957: 30); "The case against the Gentile", Black (R, 1973: 49); "Der Heide unter dem Zorn Gottes" (The Gentile under the wrath of God), Michel (R, 1978: 95); cf. Nygren (R, 1944: 98); Dodd (R, 1959: 46); Barrett (R, 1962: 31); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 36); or "Man under the judgement of the gospel", Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 104, cf. 141f.). Thus in this passage, it is suggested that Paul has primarily Gentiles (or all men) in mind; see also Schelkle (R, 1963: 45); Robinson (1979: 24). While most of these scholars agree that in 2:1ff. Paul turns to address the Jews; see **above note 20**; the significance of **dio** in 2:1 becomes unclear. This assumed discontinuity between 1; 18-32 and 2:1ff. has made **dio** to be understood either as a loose connective particle, so Michel (R, 1978: 113); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 54); or 2:1 is understood as some type of interpolation; so Bultmann (1947: 200); see more references in Stowers (1981: 214 n.21, 22, 23). In our opinion, Rm. 1: 18-32 and 2: 1-23 are not used by Paul to direct accusations against Gentiles and Jews, cf. Beker

(1980: 79). The function of Paul's use of the material of Jewish stereotyped polemic against Gentiles is to attract the attention of those Jews among his addressees on the one hand; cf. Beker (1980: 79); Bassler (1982: 135), and to set the starting point for his discussion of the distinction between Jew and Gentile on the other hand; see further discussion in **next section**. In fact, the interlocutor in 2:1 is envisaged not as objecting to what Paul had said in 1: 18-32 but as agreeing with it very strongly; so Dunn (R, MS: 184). Therefore, 1: 18-32 and 2:1ff. are integrally connected. They are addressed to the same addressees, the Jewish Christians in Rome, and on the same subjects.

24a. Bassler (1982: 121-137) and (1984); cf. Beker (1980: 79).

24b. See Dahl (1956: 79); (1982: 197f.).

25. See Wilckens (R, 1978: 124f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 55); Dunn (R, MS: 187ff.).

26. See Schlier (R, 1977: 72); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 57); Bassler (1982: 129); Snodgrass (1986: 78); Dunn (R, MS: 191). For further discussion on the belief in judgement according to works as one of the most basic assumptions of Judaism, see Snodgrass (1986: 77ff.).

27. See Berger (1970-71); Dunn (R, MS: 191); cf. Bassler (1982: 254 n.35).

28. For further discussion of evidence on this issue, see Beker (1980: 78-83) and also our discussion on 'The First Person' in the following sub-section.

29. Raeisaenen (1983: 97) agrees that 1:18 - 3:20 as a whole should be understood as addressed to Jews. Against Dinkler (1956: 111), who overconfidently claims that "It is obvious that Paul presents a dialogue [in 3: 1-20] with Jews - not with Jewish Christians".

30a. E.g. Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 69); Dodd (R, 1959: 68); Kuss (R, 1957, I: 99); Michel (R, 1978: 136).

30b. See Leenhardt (R, 1957: 91f.); Barrett (R, 1962: 63); Cranfield (R, 1975: 181f.); Stowers (1984: 716f.).

30c. Cf. Hall (1983: 186); Watson (1986: 125).

30d. This tendency is quite obvious among some scholars; so Lagrange (R, 1950: 64); Stuhlmacher (1965: 85); Kertelge (1967: 65); Cranfield (R, 1975: 182, 184); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 81f.).

31. The connection between 3: 27 and 2: 17, 23 has been seen by many scholars; e.g. Wilckens (1974a: 151); Sanders (1977: 550), (1983: 33); Raeisaenen (1983: 170); Dunn (1983a: 118); (R, MS: 314); Thompson (1986: 522f.).

32. See our discussion on 2: 17-24 in **next section**. The theological discussion of Paul's use of 'boasting' has been dominated by Bultmann's article in TDNT III: 645-54; cf. Barrett (1986: 366f.). However, Bultmann's overemphasis on boasting as 'self-confidence' (TDNT III: 648-9),(1952: 243), and subsequently as the essence of Jewish sin (1952: 281); also Beker (1980: 81f.); overlooks the significance of 'boasting' as an expression of Jewish national pride which denotes their self-understanding; see Dodd (1933: 8f.); Stowers (1981: 167); Dunn (R, MS: 222). For a recent discussion of 'boasting' in the Pauline epistles, see Barrett (1986).

33. For discussion on textual variants in 4:1, see Metzger (1971: 509f.); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 226f.); Schlier (R, 1977: 122); Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 260f.). The readings **propatora** and **eurēkenai** placed after **eroumen** are preferred; so Black (R,

1973: 74).

34. **propatora** occurs nowhere else in the NT and in the LXX only in 3 Macc. 2:21; see Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 226). In BJ 5: 380, Josephus also speaks of Abraham as **propatōr**. Although Barrett (1962: 31), Bruce (R, 1963: 111 n.1), Davies (1974: 177), Schuerer (1986 III: 176), find evidence from rabbinic material and suggest that "proselytes, who were not permitted to refer to Abraham as 'our father' (even after circumcision), in the synagogue liturgy were obliged to substitute 'your father' for the 'our father' said by born Jews", the evidence in I Cor. 10:1 clearly contradicts this understanding. In I Cor. 10:1, Paul refers to Israel as "our fathers" to those Gentile Christians in Corinth; see Morris (IC, 1985: 138); Fee (IC, 1987: 444); Dunn (R, MS: 332); cf. Barrett (IC, 1968: 220). Furthermore, it is noteworthy that Philo's treatment of Abraham suggests that for him Abraham is himself a proselyte (I am grateful to Dr. Francis Watson for drawing this to my attention). Among the Rabbis, there were some who claimed on the basis of Gen. 17:5 (cf. Rm. 4:17a) that Abraham can be said to be father of proselytes and even the father of all men; see S-B III: 211; cf. Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 243). Therefore, it is quite possible for the proselytes to call Abraham 'our father'; see S-B III: 203; cf. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 116).
35. So Schlier (R, 1977: 122); Wilckens (R, 1978, I: 261); Beker (1980: 75, 78). Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 227) suggest that **kata sarka** is to be connected not with **propatora** but with **hēmōn**, so the 'we' denotes the Jews.
36. E.g. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 106).
37. So Barrett (R, 1962: 86); Kuemmel (1973: 310); Cranfield (R, 1975: 227); Stowers (1981: 165).
38. Sanday & Headlam 9R, 1902: 98) suggest that "The case of Abraham was the centre and stronghold of the whole Jewish position"; see also Barrett (R, 1962: 86); Watson (1986: 136ff.).
39. The authenticity of Rm. 16: 25 is doubted by most scholars; see Metzger (1971: 540). Nevertheless, the idea of 'Paul's' gospel echoes also in Gal., especially in 1;11; 2:2. For various interpretations offered by different scholars on "my gospel", see the list in Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 163); cf. Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 62); Fridrichsen (1947: 8, 19); Friedrich (TDNT II: 733); Barrett (R, 1962: 54); Black (R, 1973: 59); Dunn (1977: 26).
40. For discussion on difficulties in interpreting 3: 1-9, see Stowers (1984); cf. Bornkamm (1971), Hall (1983); Raeisaenen (1985).
41. The occurrences of **episteuthēsan - ēpistēsan** in vv.2, 3; **apistia - pistin** in v.3; **alēthēs - pseustēs** in v.4; **adikia - dikaiosunēn** in v.5; and **alētheia - pseusmati** in v.7 are striking. It is important to recognize that we have here more than just a play on words; see Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 178ff.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 79); cf. Michel (R, 1978: 137f.); Williams (1980: 268); Dunn (R, MS: 252). It is obvious that these words indicate the relations within the covenant. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 79) rightly sees that "Paul identifies **pistis** and **dikaiosunē tou theou** by making them parallel, as is possible from the OT understanding of God's righteousness as his prevailing covenant faithfulness. Along the same line **adikia** is not primarily moral defection but rejection of God's law as this is established with the covenant", see also (1961: 169

n.1); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 92 n+); Kertelge (1967: 67); Brauch (1977: 534).

42. Many scholars think that 3: 5-8 is a further digression from Paul's argument in vv.1-4; so Black (R, 1973: 62f.); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 140, 183). Barrett (R, 1962: 63) and Michel (R, 1978: 139) think that the interlocutor speaks in v.5. However, Stowers (1984) has convincingly shown a more plausible approach to analysis of this diatribal passage and suggests (1984: 715) that it is Paul who introduced the questions in v.5. Cf. also Kaesemann (R, 1980: 84), who realizes the possibility that Paul is raising objections himself after the style of the diatribe.
43. So Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 184); Williams (1980: 270); Stowers (1984: 717); Dunn (R, MS: 260). However, there is a tendency among scholars to expand **hēmon** to denote mankind as a whole, see Bornkamm (1971: 144); Dahl (1982: 184f.). Cranfield (R, 1975,I: 184) lists two alternatives for the understanding of **adikia hēmon**, one refers to the Jew's unbelief which Paul is associating himself with and the other one refers to the sinfulness of men quite generally. In the context of 3: 1-9, it is more natural to understand **hēmōn** refers to Paul and the Jewish interlocutor in dialogue.
44. See Stowers (1984: 117f.).
45. The special characteristics of the diatribe are the easy turning from the 'real reader' to the 'implied reader' and the 'interlocutor', and vice versa; see our discussion in p. 49 above.

46a. Robinson (1926: 8), (1936), has rightly emphasized the importance of studying the OT with special attention to the relationship between the individual and the group. However, his phrase "corporate personality" has mistakenly assumed that the member of a group was not regarded as an individual and his suggestion that there was a psychical unity between members of the social group is doubtful; see the criticism of Rogerson (1970). Nevertheless, few will doubt that in the OT, there is a constant oscillation between the individual and the group -- family, tribe, or nation -- to which he belongs, so that the king or some other representative figure may be said to embody the group, or the group may be said to sum up the host of individuals, see Manson (1953: 74); Shedd (1958: 5-12); Reumann (1964: 15). In the OT, there are cases where the nation of Israel as a whole is judged on the basis of the sins of the individual or group; e.g. Korah (Num. 16:21f.); Achan (Josh. 7: 1-12); and there is also the principle of corporate blessing, secured through the righteousness or innocence of some; e.g. Gen. 18: 23-32; Jonah 4:11; see discussion in Shedd (1958: 12-17, 35f.). In fact, the concept of covenant implies the concept of corporate blessing and judgement; see Eichrodt (1957 I: 36, 39, 232f., 239ff.); Shedd (1958: 19-26). Thus we use the term "corporate solidarity" as shorthand to denote the incorporation of individuals into a group in which an individual can be conceived as the embodiment of the group and the group as represented by an individual. For detailed discussion on Paul's application of the OT and early Jewish conceptions of human solidarity, see Shedd (1958); cf. Moule (1967: 21-42); (1977: 49-53); Whiteley (1974: 45f.; 292).

46b. See Shedd (1958: 42-89).
47. See above **note 43.**
48. Similar phrases also occur in Gal. 3:15; I Cor. 9:8. However, Cranfield emphasizes that the precise sense in each case

varies; see also S-B III: 136, where the further point is made that this variation shows that we do not have a stereotyped expression, but see Daube (1956: 394-6).

49. 6:19 is addressed to "you [who] once yielded your members to impurity (**akatharsiai**) and to greater and greater iniquity (**anomiai**)". While **akatharsia** recalls the Jewish critique of Gentile idolatry and sexual standards used by Paul in 1: 18-32 (1:24 is the only other time **akatharsia** occurs in Romans); see Kaesemann (R, 1980: 184); Dunn (R, MS: 509); **anomia** obviously characterizes the conduct of Gentiles who were by definition **anomos**; Rm. 2:12; I Cor. 9:2; cf. LXX 36:28; 72:3; I Macc. 3: 5-6; 7:5; 9:23, 58, 69; 11:25; 14:14; Ps. Sol. 17:17; see Dunn (R, MS: 87). Gutbrod (TDNT, IV: 1087) points out that "In Judaism, **ho anomos** or **hoi anomoi** is a common term for the Gentiles". It is most significant to note that **anomia** occurs only three times in the undisputed Pauline letters: here, Rm. 4:7; II Cor. 6:14. In 4:7, it stands in an OT quotation and is obviously used to denote the situation of "the uncircumcision" (**akrobustian**, v.9). While in II Cor. 6:14, Paul is addressing a Gentile Christian community to keep their distance from those non-Christian Gentiles (**apistois**). In this context, **anomiai** is used to describe the conduct of these non-Christian Gentiles. Therefore, it is most probable that in Rm. 6:19, Paul is addressing the Gentile Christians; so Fraikin (1986: 96). See further discussion of 6: 14-23 in **Chapter 10** below.

50. E.g. Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 74); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 186); Michel (R, 1978: 140); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 84); Stuhlmacher (1985: 89f.); Dunn (R, MS: 255).

51. **blasphēmeō** occurs only four times in Pauline epistles (out of 34 times in NT): here, Rm. 2;24; 14:16 and I Cor. 10:39. See discussion in **note 94** of **Chapter 5**.

52. Cranfield (1982: 225).

53a. Although BDF: Sec. 280 may be wrong to indicate that literary (authorial) plural is not found in Romans, they rightly suggest that by using "**hēmeis** instead of **egō** and the 1st person plural of the verb instead of the 1st singular [the literary plural] ..... the writer (or speaker) thereby brings the reader (or hearer) into association with his own action"; see also Lofthouse (1947: 180); Moule (1959: 118). Dahl (1982: 185) and Stowers (1984: 720 n.52) suggest that the two 'we' in 3:8a refer primarily to Paul but may include his dialogical partners.

54. Stuhlmacher (1985: 90) suggests that 3:8 is the only time in Romans that Paul erupted with anger to the objection raised against him. In all other cases (2: 12-16; 3:1ff.; 6:1f., 15; 7:7ff.; 8:3f., 12f,; 9:1ff.; 10:1ff.; 11:13ff.; 13:8ff.; 15:7ff.; 16:17ff.), Paul responded with patience. See also Watson's conjecture (1986: 107f.) of the objections which will be made to Paul by the Roman Jewish Christians. However, Luedemann (1983: 159f.) suggests that Rm. 3:8 is the only place where we can definitely see evidence of anti-Paulinism in Romans. The danger of this kind of mirror-reading method to reconstruct the objections is well discussed by Barclay's study (1987) on Galatians.

55a. Cranfield (1982: 225) suggests that **proē/itrasametha** is also an authorial (literary) plural.

55b. Dunn (R, MS: 275).

56. See Grayston (1964b: 575-577); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 143); Stowers (1981: 94); Dunn (R, MS: 186).

57. **de** is more strongly supported by manuscripts and agrees better with the sense of the passage than the variant **gar**; see Metzger (1971: 507).
58. Sanders (1983: 123f.), Raeisaenen (1983: 102), Watson (1986: 110) see that the purpose of 2: 14-15 is to lend force to the condemnation of the Jews (2: 17-24) by showing that even "Gentiles are better than you Jews!" (Sanders 1983: 124). However, by overlooking the main function of 2: 14-15 as an intentional contrast to the Jewish stereotyped polemic against Gentiles (1: 18-32), Raeisaenen (1983: 103) mistakenly suggests that the good Gentiles in "2: 14-15, 26-27 stand in flat contradiction to the main thesis of the section [1:18 - 3:20]", "namely that all are under sin and that there is no one doing what is good" (pp.101f.).
59. E.g. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 69).
60. In this statement, the meaning of the two instances of **nomos** is not identical. The first **nomos** naturally refers to the OT quotations in the immediately preceding verses (vv.10-18). Since these come from the writings of the Prophets, and not from the Pentateuch, **nomos** is most probably used here, as it is also in I Cor. 14:21; Jn. 10:34; 12:34; 15:25, and as torah is quite often used by the Rabbis, e.g. S-B II: 542; III: 159, to denote the OT as a whole; see Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 80); Bultmann (1952 II: 259f.); Kuss (R, 1957: 108); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 96); Dodd (R, 1959: 72); Barrett (R, 1962: 70); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 87). As far as the meaning of the second **nomos** is concerned, while it is part of the phrase **tois en tō nomōi**, it probably refers to Jews as the ones who possess the torah; or the OT scriptures; e.g. Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 195f.).
61. Although Raeisaenen (1983: 18-21) argues strongly that in Gal. 3: 13-14, 23ff.; 4:5f. Paul can talk about the Gentiles also being under the law, there is no clear evidence in Romans for this kind of understanding. Rm. 7: 4-6 is not a parallel case as suggested by Howard (1979: 59f.) and Raeisaenen (1983: 21 n.35); see our discussion on 7: 1-6 in **Chapter 10**. For the Jewish Christians in Rome, it would be natural to understand Paul's statement in 3:19 as addressing them.
62. Most commentators divide 3:31 and 4:1 into two different sections, so Sanday and Headlam (R, 1902: xlviii); Dodd (R, 1959: 84, 87); Barrett (R, 1962: 85f.); Bruce (R, 1963: 67); Black (R, 1973: 73); Cranfield (R, 1975: 224); Michel (R, 1978: 160); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 105); Wilckens (R, 1978: 257f.); Dunn (1987) and many others. Dodd (R, 1959: 87) suggests that 4:1-25 is a long digression or excursus of the preceding passage. Some scholars argue that 3:31 is the conclusion of 3:21-30, and thus is more related to what precedes than to what follows in ch.4; so Murray (R, 1967: I, 124ff.); Cranfield (R, 1975: 223). However, others have argued otherwise and suggest that 3:31 is the introduction or transition to 4:1ff., so Sanday and Headlam (R, 1902: 96, 98); Lagrange (R, 1950: 80); Jeremias (1953: 147), (1970: 51, n.2); Barrett (R, 1962: 86); Michel (R, 1978:147, 160); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 105); Wilckens (R, 1978: 258); Huebner (1978: 117, n.88); Dunn (1987b, 2854). For detailed discussion on different understandings among scholars about the relationship between 3:31 and 4:1, see Rhyne (1981: 26-32). Nevertheless, after detailed study of Paul's use of rhetorical questions and the development of thought from 3:21ff. to 4:1ff., Rhyne (1981: 32-61) and Stowers (1981: 155-174) both conclude that 3:31 and

4:1 are the integral parts of the passage 3:21-4:25(Rhyne) or 3:27-4:25(Stowers).

63. See Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 218); Wilckens (R, 1978 I: 244); Dunn (R, MS: 313); see other references in above **note 31.**

64a. See above **note 62.**

64b. The phrase **ti oun eroumen** in 4: 1 usually raises the question of the deductions to be made from the point just established, rather than marks a completely new train of thought; see Stowers (1981: 133); Cranfield (1982: 223); Watson (1986: 124); see also below **note 173.**

65. See above **note 62.**

66. See above p. 332.

67. See Dunn (1987b: 2853).

68. Paul appeals to LXX Ps. 31:1f. in vv.7f. to help his interpretation of Gen. 15:6 in v.9. Jeremias (1953: 149ff.) suggests that Paul's interpretation is in fact proceeding according to the second of Hillel's seven criteria of exposition; see also Barrett (R, 1962: 89); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 113). In rabbinic Judaism, the very same passage, Ps. 32:1f. (LXX Ps. 31:1f.), was frequently cited in connection with the Day of Atonement; see S-B III: 202-3; Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 234 n.4); Dunn (R, MS: 341). In Paul's day, it is also quite probable that the blessing pronounced in Ps. 32:1f. applied exclusively to the Jew, the covenant member only; see Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 234); Cf., Dunn (R, MS: 341).

69. In vv.10f., Paul argues that Abraham was reckoned as righteous before he was circumcised and so that Abraham is first of all the father of all those who as uncircumcised believe; see Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 236f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 116).

70. See our discussion on 4:1 in p. 332 and **note 34** above.

71. See discussion in Wilckens (1961: 45f.); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 276f.).

72. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 121) suggests that "strictly the formulation [in v.16c] fits only Jewish-Christians, who alone can show the characteristics of deriving both from the law and from the faith of Abraham. But since Gentile-Christians are included in what follows, the antithesis characterizes in loose fashion Christians from both Jews and Gentiles"; see also Barrett (R, 1962: 96); Wilckens (1961: 46f.).

73. Thus Leenhardt (R, 1957: 129); Bruce (R, 1963: 118f.); Reumann (1966: 433f.); Fannon (1968: 301); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 128f.); Wilckens (R, 1978 I: 279f.). However, Kuss (R, 1957: 193f.); Barrett (R, 1962: 99); Kramer (1963: 30ff.), express their doubt on it. Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 251f.) suggests that v.25 was formulated under the influence of Is. 52:13 - 53:12; see also Bultmann (1952 I: 46f.); Dunn (R, MS: 362).

74. See p. 170 (**Chapter 5**).

75. See e.g. Acts 10:28; Gal. 2:14b-15; Eph. 2:11ff.; cf. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 33).

76. See above **note 23.**

77. See Hooker (1959-60: 300ff.); Whiteley (1974: 51f., 58). However, Allen (1964: 15, 28f.) offers the criticism that Hooker had underestimated the influence of Ps. 106 upon the passage. Furthermore, Wedderburn (1980: 414-19) argues strongly that Gn. 3 does not dominate Rm. 1:18ff., it only plays a part along with other OT passages describing Israel's fall into idolatry and later experience of idolatry.

78. E.g., Hooker (1959-60: 306); Schlatter (R, 1962: 19f.); Allen (1964: 35 n.102); cf. Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 105). Many

scholars also recognize that Rm. 1:23 contains allusions to Jer. 2:11 and Ps. 106:20 (LXX 105: 20), which speak of Israel's apostasy; see Hyldahl (1955-56); Hooker (1959-60); (1966-67); Jervell (1961: 312-331); therefore some suggest this as further evidence that Paul has in 1: 18-32 all men in mind; so Hooker (1959-60: 306); Cranfield (R, 1975: 105); Bassler (1982: 122, 195, 249 n.3), (1984: 45 n.3).

79. See discussion in above **note 23.**
80. See discussion in Raeisaenen (1983: 103-6); Sanders (1983: 123f.); Bassler (1984: 53f.).
81. If 3:23 is a conclusion of 1: 18-32 or even 1:18 - 2:29, it is a **too much** 'delayed' conclusion; against Dahl (1958: 79), who is followed by Bassler (1984: 54).
82. See above **note 22.**
83. Beker (1980: 79) rightly points out that in 1: 18-32, Paul invites Jewish agreement with his description of the Gentile world and its vices, however, he probably overstates that "because he [Paul] intends to set a trap for the Jewish auditor."
84. See above **note 49.**
85. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 34) rightly recognizes that the accusations made by Paul in Romans including 1: 18-32, are not directed against Roman Christians, and are not meant to stir them to repentance.

86a. The phrase **to gnōston tou theou** in v.19 raises the fierce debate of a natural theology in Paul; see discussion in Nygren (R, 1944: 102-108); Robinson (1979: 22f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 39f.); Dunn (R, MS: 156f.). However, many scholars agree that in vv. 19ff., Paul speaks primarily of an actual knowledge of God; Kuss (R, 1957: 45); Rosin (1961); Robinson (1979: 22); Dunn (R, MS: 156, 171). Whether it is a saving knowledge is another question which Paul does not mention here (cf. Gal. 4:8; I Thess. 4:5); cf. Nygren (R, 1944: 105f.); Dunn (R, MS: 157). The compound **epignōsis** in v.28 does not have any strict distinction from **gnōsis**, neither does **epiginōskō** from **ginōskō**; see Bultmann (TDNT I: 703, 707).

86b. Cf. Keck (1977: 146).

87. For evidence of **oida** as a synonym of **ginōskō**, see Seesemann (TDNT V: 116ff.); Schuetz & Schmitz (NIDNTT II: 391f., 398). For detailed discussion on Paul's use of **oida** and **ginōskō**, see Burdick (1974) and Silva (1980).
88. Maurer (TDNT VI: 635) suggests that in the NT whereas **poieō** is used for the work of God or Christ (Mk. 5:19; Mtt. 19:4), there is no instance at all of any **prassō** of God. **prassō** is used only with reference to man's action, and a predominantly negative judgement is implied. However, in Romans, there is evidence that these two words are used synonymously (2: 3; 13:4); see Maurer (TDNT VI: 636). Although Maurer (TDNT VI: 636) may be right to point out that in Rm. 1:32 - 2:3, Paul seems to have an intentional choice of words; **prassō** (practise) is used in a more general way while **poieō** (do) is used more specifically (cf. Rm. 7: 15, 19). However, the distinction is not so explicit and both words in the context denote actions which are against one's knowledge of God.
89. For various interpretations of 2: 6-13, see discussion in Snodgrass (1986: 73-5). The difficulty is because Paul's principle that God's judgement is based on 'practice' seems to be in contradiction to Paul's famous doctrine of 'justification only by faith' as reflected in 3:20ff.; see Dahl (1958: 80); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 58f.); Wilckens (R, 1978

I: 127-131, 142-146). However, it is quite obvious that Paul himself did not see this as a problem and paid no attention to it; cf. Dahl (1958: 80); Stuhlmacher (1985). Therefore, the problem probably lies in the understanding of Paul's doctrine of justification by many scholars rather than Paul himself; see discussion in Donfried (1976); Watson (1986: 118f.); Snodgrass (1986).

90. Bassler (1984: 44f.) suggests that 2:11 summarizes 1:16 - 2:10 and introduces 2: 12-29.
91. Bassler (1982: 7-17).
92. For discussion of evidence in Sir., Wisd. Sol, the Testament of Job, I Esdras, Jubilees, Pss. Sol., 2 Baruch, Ps. Philo and I Enoch, see Bassler (1982: 17-44).
93. For discussion of evidence in some rabbinic sources and Philo, see Bassler (1982: 45-119).
94. Bassler (1982: 43f., 65, 119). However, Bassler (1982: 66-76) points out that in the midrash Tanna debe Eliahu, which cannot be dated before 300 C.E., a strong emphasis of the idea of Jew-Gentile equality as an aspect of divine impartiality did emerge.
95. See also Dinkler (1956: 110); cf. Barrett (R, 1962: 48).
96. Bassler (1982: 186); cf. Barrett (R, 1962: 48); Duelman (1968: 74); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 59); Watson (1986: 115).
97. Also cf. Job 34:11; Jer. 17:10; Hos. 12:2; Sir. 16: 12-14; I Enoch 100:7; Ps. Philo 3:10. See above **note 26.**
98. See the references in above **note 56.**
99. For 'divine impartiality': Gal. 2:6; cf. Eph. 6:9; Col. 3:25; I Cor. 1: 26-29; 3:13-15; 4:5; see Bassler (1982: 171-176); cf. Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 150); Schlier (R, 1977: 75); Wilckens (R, 1978 I: 127 n.292); Dunn (R, MS: 196). For relationship between 'knowing' and 'practising': Rm. 7:7, 14, 15ff.; cf. Jn. 13:17; James 1: 22-25; Mtt. 7: 24-27; Lk. 6: 46-49; 11:28; the scarcity of Paul's teaching on this item is seen by Sanders (1983: 125). For 'judgement on practice': see Rm. 14: 10-12; I Cor. 3: 13-15; II Cor. 5:10; 11:15; Gal. 6: 7-9; cf. Col. 3:25; Eph. 6:8; I Tim. 5: 24-25; and II Tim. 4:14; see Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 146); Schlier (R, 1977: 72); Snodgrass (1986: 74).
100. Sanders (1983: 123f.) rightly sees that "the Gentiles are condemned universally and in sweeping terms in 1: 18-32, while in 2: 12-15, 26, Paul entertains the possibility that some will be saved by works". However, he overlooks that the significance of this contrast is to undermine the basic assumption of the Jewish view on Gentiles. See also **note 58.**
101. Discussion on the identities of these obedient Gentiles will be followed below.
102. See above **note 46a.**
103. Cf. Shedd (1958: 12-17, 35f.).
104. So Dodd (R, 1959: 61); Whiteley (1974: 58f.); Robinson (1979: 27); Dunn (R, MS: 208); cf. Bruner (R, 1956: 21). Wilckens (R, 1978 I: 133f.). Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 156f.), followed by Achtemeier (R, 1985: 45) connects **phusei** with what precedes and translates 2:14a as "Gentiles who do not possess the law by nature, i.e. by virtue of their birth"; this interpretation does not seem to fit in the syntax and balance of the sentence; see Leenhardt's (R, 1957: 81 n.*) objection to the similar translation by Bengel; cf. Dunn (R, MS: 208).
105. See Michel (R, 1978: 120); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 64); Wilckens (R, 1978 I: 135); Dunn (R, MS: 208). Some scholars think that

the phrase **to ergon tou nomou grapton en tais kardiais autōn** in 2:15 is probably an allusion to the new covenant promise of God's law written on the heart recorded in Jer. 31:33 (LXX 38:33; cf. Is. 51:7); e.g. Nygren (R, 1954: 124); Kuss (R, 1957: 69); Bornkamm (19 : 107); Riedl (1965: 202f.); Wilckens (R, 1978 O: 134); Dunn (R, MS: 210). Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 158f.) even suggests that the phrase indicates Paul's intentional reference to Jer. 31:33. For the opposite view, see Kuhr (1964); Michel (R, 1978: 120f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 64); Bassler (1982: 143).

106. See more detailed discussion in Kuhr (1964); Bornkamm (1963b: 107-11); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 155f.); Sanders (1983: 125f.); Raeisaenen (1983; 103-5).
107. So Knox (R, 1954: 409); Bornkamm (1963b: 110); Kuss (R, 1957 I: 68f.); Duelmen (1968: 76f.; 253 n.69); Hoheisel (1978: 200, cf. 187).
108. The interpretation has been found already in Ambrosiaster and Augustine; see references in Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 156 nn. 1 & 2). The argument to support it is outlined in Kuhr (1964: 243ff.) and Bassler (1982: 141f.). This interpretation is followed by Barth (R, 1956: 36); Minear (1971: 47); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 156); Koenig (1976); Watson (1986: 117, 121).
109. So Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 59); Nygren (1944; 123); Leenhardt (1957: 80f.); Kuhr (1964: 255ff.); Eichholz (1977: 94-96); Bassler (1982: 142); Raeisaenen (1983: 105); Dunn (R, MS: 208).
110. So Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 156); Snodgrass (1986: 74).
111. Cf. Bultmann (1952 I: 261).
112. Cf. Dunn (R, MS: 208); Bassler (1982: 143, 259 n.76).
113. Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 59) draw attention to the fact that Paul uses **ethnē** here rather than **ta ethnē**, therefore, the number is quite indefinite; so Kuss (R, 1957 I: 69).
114. So Nygren (R, 1944: 123f.); Hahn (1976: 32); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 63); Bassler (1982; 146); Dunn (R, MS: 208).
115. See Sanders (1977: 207).
116. See Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 59); Dunn (R, MS 209).
117. See our discussion in pp. 85-88 (**Chapter 3**) above.
118. Cf. Philo Life of Moses II: 17-20; Josephus CA II: 46-47, 123, 209-10, 280-82; Plutarch Life of Cicero 7:6; see discussion in Dunn (1983b: 22f.). See discussion in pp. 96-8 (**ch.3**) above.
119. See those source materials collected in Malherbe (1986), who even suggests that (p.11) there are similarities between the moral teachings of early Christians and the pagan moralists and, it is quite probable that the Graeco-Roman moral tradition had influence upon Judaism and Christianity.
120. E.g. Philo Life of Moses II: 12-20; Abraham 52ff.; Josephus AJ I: 256; see Barrett (R, 1962: 86); Meeks (1986: 25-28, 64).
121. Malherbe (1986: 15) rightly warns that "we should be careful not to assume that the moral instructions of the pagan texts represented the actual moral state or practices of Roman or Greek society any more than that the Christian moral instructions described actual conditions in the church". However, no matter how big the gap is betwen teaching and practising, these teachings at least reflect that some Gentiles accepted these teachings and probably tried their best to follow.
122. For example, homosexuality and sexual licence are typical Gentile sinful acts seen by Jews (cf. Rm. 1: 26f.); however, Musonius of first century C.E., condemns homosexuality, bisexuality and adultery, and teaches that sexual intercourse

is to be confined to marriage; see Musonius Rufus, Fragment 12 collected in Malherbe (1986: 152-4). Although, as we mentioned at above **note 121**, we should not assume instruction equivalent to actual practice, it is quite possible that it represents practices of some Gentiles.

123. Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 164) rightly observes that "Throughout vv. 17-20 Paul appears to be deliberately taking up claims which were actually being made by his fellow Jews, echoing the very language in which they were being expressed"; see S-B III: 96-105; cf. Bassler (1982: 150).
124. See Dunn (R, MS: 86f.).
125. Bultmann (1952: 281, cf. 242); (TDNT III: 648f.); so Murray (R, 1959 I: 122); Duelmen (1968: 86); Beker (1980: 81f.).
126. See Bultmann (1929: 228); (TDNT III: 648f.) followed by Barrett (R, 1962: 82); Reumann (1966: 450); Hahn (NIDNTT I: 228); Pathrapankal (1971: 177).
127. So Kaesemann (R, 1980: 68).
128. See Hahn (NIDNTT I: 227); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 164f.); Barrett (1986: 366); Dunn (R, MS: 222).
129. See Hahn (NIDNTT I: 228f.).
130. In fact, Bultmann (TDNT III: 650) cannot deny that Paul also boasts of afflictions, suffering (Rm. 5:3; II Cor. 11: 23-29; cf. II Cor. 4: 7-11); his mission (Rm. 15:17); and his congregations (II Cor. 7: 4, 14; 8: 24; 9:2f.). Bultmann's explanation (pp.65lf.) that Paul's boasting in these matters differs from self-glorying is unconvincing and misleading. According to Paul, affliction, suffering, his mission, his congregations are in fact the signs of his apostleship (cf. I Cor. 9:2; II Cor. 1:14; 3:2; 4: 7-11; 10: 7-8, 13-17; 11: 8-10, 23-30; 12: 9-12); cf. e.g. Bruce (IIC, 1971: 250); Jervell (1980: 94); Martin (IIC, 1986: 427f.; 430f.; 434f.); see also below **note 133**. In other words, Paul's boasting is related to his self-understanding of the apostolic vocation; so Barrett (1986: 368).
131. Even those scholars who are extremely critical of boasting in commenting 3:27, agree that the boasting spoken of here is not necessarily considered as negative; so Murray (R, 1959 I: 82, cf. 122); Barrett (R, 1962: 55, cf. 82); Schlier (R, 1977: 83); Michel (R, 1978: 128); Wilckens (R, 1978 I: 148); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 69f., 102); Thompson (1986: 523, 525); Watson (1986: 111; 213 n.23); cf. Nygren (R, 1944: 131). Lambrecht (1985: 366) suggests that "the terminology in 2: 17, 23; 3: 27 and 4: 2 is rather neutral; by itself it does not point to a morally perverse 'Selbstruhm'."
132. II Cor. 11:12, 16, 18, 18, 30, 30; 12:1, 5, 5, 6, 9.
133. Paul's description of himself in II Cor. 11:22 - 12:10 is bracketed by his polemic statement against those false apostles (11: 12ff.) and his assertion of himself as the one who has the signs of a true apostle (12:12). Although Furnish (IIC, 1984: 555) may be right to point out that Paul's reference to apostolic signs in 12:12 seems to be quite vague, he probably overlooks the significance of the contrast between the detail of Paul's hardships (11: 23b-29), weaknesses (11:32 - 12:10) and Paul's emphasis in 12:12 on his performance of signs, wonders and mighty works (**dunamesin**) in all patience among the Corinthians. Jervell (1980: 94) is probably right to point out that "[Paul's] problem lies in convincing the Corinthians of the fact that it is also and precisely his weakness which belongs to the true life and mark of an apostle. Concretely, this means that the divine miraculous

power is expressed in the weakness of the ailing apostle (II Cor. 12:8)" (my emphasis); see also above **note 130.**

134. So Schlier (R, 1977: 83); Keck (1977: 151); Michel (R, 1978: 128); Bassler (1982: 150); Thompson (1986: 522, 524); Dunn (R, MS: 222).
135. See Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 163f.); Schlier (R, 1977: 82); Dunn (R, MS: 221).
136. Cf. Michel (R, 1978: 128); Thompson (1986: 524).
137. Against Kaesemann (R, 1980: 68); Watson (1986: 112f.).
138. Although Kaesemann (R, 1980: 68) is probably wrong to attribute the function of 2: 17-24 as an attack on Jews, his description of the rhetorical effect of this passage is still valid. He says (p.69) "The advantages of the Jew are impressively accumulated, and then when they reach their crest they break to pieces like a wave .... stylistically the discrepancy between claim and performance could hardly be more impressively emphasized." Raeisaenen (1980a: 309) and Sanders (1983: 125) overlook the concept of corporate solidarity underlying Paul's passage and raise the question of whether Paul is justified to accuse all Jews as thieves, adulterers, and temple-robbers; cf. Cosgrove (1987: 91).
139. See above **note 46a.**
140. Kaesemann is not too far from our understanding, when he suggests (R, 1980: 69) that "an apocalyptic approach is again presenting what may be empirically an exception as representative of the community." However, we do not think that Paul has these Jewish misconducts as 'exception' in mind; rather these are empirical realities which contradict the Jewish assumption.
141. See Shedd (1958: 13-16, 35f.).
142. Watson (1986: 114f. cf. 111).
143. The main problems with Watson's suggestion are as follows:
(1) There is no hard evidence in the text to indicate that the second person singulars in 2: 1-5, 17-23 (two diatribal passages) are used to typify the Jewish leaders. In fact, the function of second person singulars in the style of diatribe is probably to address any person characterized with certain types of behaviour and thought; see Stowers (1981: 84, 105f., 110, 116).
(2) According to Stowers' study on diatribe, he suggests that the purpose of using diatribe is pedagogical but not polemical; see Stowers (1981: 75-78, 105, 175, 180f.).
(3) As we have mentioned above, Paul's use of the phrase **su Ioudaios eponomazē/i** in 2:17 indicates that the issue at stake is the meaning of being a Jew. The function of the indictment in 2: 21-24 is more reasonably to be understood as evidence to contradict the Jewish stereotyped self-understanding rather than Paul's attack on Jews.
(4) Although it is possible that two of those images **paideutēn, didaskalon**) of the typified Jew listed in 2:20 may refer to the proselytizing activities of Jewish teachers; so Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 166f.); the images (2:19) of "a guide to the blind" (cf. Is. 42:7; I Enoch 105:1; CA II: 291-5; Philo, Abraham 98) and "a light to those who are in darkness" (cf. Is. 42:6f.; 49:6; Wisd. Sol. 18:4; Test. Levi 18:9; IQSb 4:27f.) are probably the Jewish self-understanding over against the Gentiles; so Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 166f.); Wilckens (R, 1978 I: 148-9 n.382); Dunn (R, MS: 224). Thus in the context of 2: 17-20, it is more likely that the images of "corrector" and "teacher" in v.20 are parallels to the images

of "guide" and "light" in v.19 which refer to the Jewish privileged status over against the Gentiles.

(5) The most concrete evidence provided by Watson is his reference to the incident of the expulsion of Jews from Rome in 19 C.E. recorded by Josephus (AJ XVIII: 81-4); see Watson (1986: 114). However, this evidence does not give strong support to Watson's conjecture; not only because the incident happened in 19 C.E., but the reasons given for expulsion are so different from the one happened in 49 C.E. which was recorded by Suetonius (Claudius 25:4); see our discussion of these incidents in pp.88-95 (**Chapter 3**). The more important point is that according to Josephus' account, the ringleader of the incident was a Jew from Palestine and "just at this time he was resident in Rome" (AJ XVIII: 81). In other words, he was not a Roman Jewish leader. In fact, Josephus' explanation of this incident as a whole is quite inadequate, see Merrill (1919); Heidel (1920); Moehring (1959); Smallwood (1956b); and it does not support Watson's opinion. Furthermore, as is also noticed by Watson (1986: 214 n.36), it is more likely that the question: "do you rob temples?" (Rm. 2:22) refers to the Jewish complicity in theft from pagan temples than the robbery of the Jerusalem temple; see Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 66); Schlier (R, 1977: 85f.); Wilckens (R, 1978 I: 150); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 71); cf. Bruce (R, 1963: 93). Surely, Acts 19:37 and Josephus (AJ IV: 207) support this interpretation much better. Therefore, based on these observations, it is more reasonable to suggest that Paul's evidence of the sinful acts of the typified Jew in 2: 21-23 does not specifically refer to Roman Jewish leaders but to some Roman Jews, among whom he may include some leaders.

144. See our discussion at pp. 91-5 (**Chapter 3**) above.
145. This speculation is quite widely spread among many scholars, who usually accept it without giving justification, e.g. Watson (1986: 95, 106, 114).
146. See **Chapter 4** above.
147. See discussion in above **note 143 (5)**. Furthermore, Watson's suggestion (1986: 114) that Paul's questions in 2:21ff. imply that many Jewish teachers of the law were immoral is far-fetched. His mistake is mainly because he does not pay attention to the function of diatribe in Romans; cf. Raeisaenen (1980: 309), Sanders (1983: 125) and Cosgrove (1987: 91).
148. See **note 13** in **Chapter 2** and discussion in p. 112 (**Chapter 4**) above.
149. For discussion on the importance of circumcision for the Jews of Paul's time, see Dunn (R, MS: 233ff.).
150. See **note 17** above.
151. Kuhr (1964: 251); Wilckens (R, 1978 I: 154). Bassler (1982: 151f.); Snodgrass (1986: 80) and Dunn (R, MS: 233) recognize that 2: 25-29 does not only continue the dialogue with the typified Jew in 2: 17-24, but also parallels 2: 12-16.
152. Cf. Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 172); Huebner (1978: 55); Dunn (R, MS: 235, 240).
153. Dunn (R, MS: 236f.
154. Cf. S-B III: 3: 119-21; see Michel (R, 1978: 135f.)
155a. For discussion of the OT references of the activity of the Spirit and the circumcision of heart, see above **note 17.**
155b. So Dunn (R, MS: 238).
156. Dunn (R, MS: 239f.) is probably right to see that the contrast between outward and inward should not be read merely as a plea

for inwardness in religion; nor as an attack on ritual(ism); nor as a championing of morality against legality. Paul's main concern is probably the fact that the Judaism of his day had become so exclusive and so nationalistic that it had been misunderstood by being too much emphasized in terms of the physical characteristics and visible rituals which marked it out as Jewish.

157. See our discussion at **Section III.C** below.

158a. The divergence of interpretations among scholars on the passage is amazing. The most obvious reason for that is the difficulty of making sense of the dialogical nature of the text and of identifying the persons who speak the dialogue. For example, most scholars recognize that the style of this passage is diatribe and agree that v.1 is a "Jewish objection"; so Jeremias (1953: 146-154); Kuss (R, 1957: 99); Dodd (R. 1959: 68); Barrett (R, 1962: 61f.). However, Sanday and Headlam (R, 1902: 70) are followed by Dodd (R, 1959: 68) and Barrett (R, 1962: 61) in suggesting that the 'Jewish objector' is in Paul's own mind. Jeremias (1953) thinks that it is a sermon to the Jews which is interrupted by objections and protests. As far as the identity of the one who asks the question in v.9 is concerned, Barrett (R, 1962: 66) suggests that it is Paul, Bruce (R, 1963: 97) believes that it is the interlocutor, and Kaesemann (R, 1980: 85) thinks that Jews are the subject of the question in v.9. For the problems of the prevailing explanations of this passage among scholars, see Stowers (1984: 701-710).

158b. See Watson (1986: 126f.); Dunn (R, MS: 233-5).

159. The word **tines** is used in a similar way in Rm. 11:17 to refer to those branches which were broken off the olive tree because of unbelief. The word does not necessarily imply a small number (cf. I Cor. 10:7, 8), but just "not all", see Williams (1980: 266); Hall (1983: 185f.).

160. Dunn (R, MS: 246) rightly sees that in 3:3 "he[Paul] reasserts God's faithfulness as strongly as any covenant conscious Jew".

161. See the survey of the usage of **logion/logia** in the LXX and other Greek versions of the OT in Manson (1946:73).

162. So Dodd (R, 1959: 68); Murray (R, 1959 I: 92f.); Barrett (R, 1962: 62); O'Neill (R, 1975: 58); Dunn (R, MS: 248). Doeve (1953: 120f.) emphasizes that it refers to God's revelation in the Holy Scriptures. Kittel (TDNT IV: 138), Barth (R, 1956: 39) and Cranfield's (R, 1975 I: 179) suggestion that it refers to God's self-revelation in the whole salvation history both of the OT and of the NT seems to be too far-fetched, see the criticism of Kittel by Doeve (1953).

163. Many scholars agree that **ta logia** refers to the promises of God, but some of them put the emphasis on different aspects; e.g. promise relating to the Messiah; so Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 70); Black (R, 1973: 62); promise of the law; so Kuss (R, 1957 I:100); Raeisanen (1983: 70); promise of God rather than the law; so Leenhardt (R, 1957: 91); Bornkamm (1971: 142); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 78f.); Huebner (1978: 55f.). See more references in Williams (1980: 267 n.78).

164. So Mendenhall (IDB, I: 716).

165. So Dodd (R, 1959: 68).

166. In 3: 1-8, the passage is 'crowded' with words which are related to covenant; see **note 41** above.

167. See Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 179 n.3).

168. See Calvin's comment on this verse cited by Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 179 n.3); cf. Williams (1980: 267f.).

169. See pp. 330f. above.
170. See discussion at pp. 333f. above.
171. See discussion at pp.334ff. above.
172. Most commentators divide 3:1-8 into one section and suggest that v.9 begins a new one; so Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 68, 75); Kuss (R, 1957: 98, 105); Dodd (R, 1959: 67, 71); Barrett (R, 1962: 61, 66); O'Neill (R, 1975: 57, 66); Schlier (R, 1977: 91, 97); Michel (R, 1978: 136, 140); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 77, 85). However, Bruce (R, 1963: 97) acknowledges that the interlocutor in 3:1-8 proceeds to ask a question in v.9 although he divides 3:1-8 into one section; cf. Dunn (1987: 1.562-3). Nevertheless, Bornkamm (1971) and Black (R, 1973: 61) are exceptional. They are fully aware that 3:1-9 is a diatribe and divide it into a section with its own theme, although they also allow that 3:9-20 set out the general conclusion to the long indictment starting from 1:18. In fact, some scholars suggest that v.9 begins a section because they mistakenly believe that 3:1-8 is a digression and v.9 is a return to the question of 3:1; so Sanday and Headlam (R, 1902: 75); Dodd (R, 1959: 71); see the discussion in Stowers (1984: 707f.). Thus if we take seriously [illegible] the literary form as an important factor to divide the text into sections, 3:1-9 is obviously a distinctive diatribal passage and therefore, v. 9 should be seen as related to 3: 1 - 8 as well.
173. See Stowers (1981: 133); Cranfield (1982: 223); Watson (1986: 124). It is noteworthy that this expression does not occur elsewhere in the NT; see Sanday and Headlam (R, 1902: 73). Besides Rm. 3:5, the expression appears as **ti oun eroumen** in all other instances. For an outline of the major features of objections and false conclusions in Rm. 3:1-9; 6:1-3; 7:7; 9:14-15 and 3:27 - 4:2, see Stowers (1981: 119ff. and 164ff.). However, Stowers is probably wrong to say that this phrase is not found in the sources of the diatribe. In fact, a similar phrase **ti eroumen** (cf. Rm. 3: 5) is found in Epictetus Discourse III.7.3; see Kaye (1979: 19).
174. So Ellis (1957: 22-5); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 191); Keck (1977: 146); Dunn (R, MS: 14).
175. Kuss (R, 1957: 105) regards 3:9 as the core sentence of 1:18 - 3:20. However, Keck (1977: 146) suggests that the catena of OT quotations in 3: 10-18 does not parallel Paul's argument in 1:18 - 2:29, but rather is closely linked with the immediate context: 3:9 and 3: 19, 20.
176. For discussion of various possible interpretations, see A-G: 712; Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 76); Synge (1969-70); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 188-190); Dahl (1982: 192-199); Stowers (1984: 719f.).
177. E.g. Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 76); Stowers (1984: 719f.).
178. Dahl (1982).
179a. This interpretation has been argued by O'Neill (R, 1975: 68) and is now followed by Gaston (1987: 121); Dunn (R, MS: 266f.).
179b. Dahl (1982) argues that **ou pantōs** is not part of the original text.
180. See Keck (1977: 146).
181. Raesaenen (1983: 98-99).
182. Sanders (1983: 125)
183. Bassler (1984: 54).
184. The occurrences of **pas** in vv.4, 12 are part of the OT quotations, however, they possibly denote all mankind, Gentiles and Jews.
185. As we have mentioned in the personae analysis of 2: 1-5 above,

the phrase ō **anthrōpe pas ho** in 2:1 can be rendered as "every one, even Jews"; however, the phrase **pasan asebeian kai adikian anthrōpōn** in 1: 18 is more likely to denote the sinful condition of Gentiles; e.g. Nygren (R, 1944: 101); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 38); Wilckens (R, 1978 I: 104).

186. Keck (1977: 146) rightly sees that 3:9, 19f. is probably the framework of the catena (3: 10-18).
187. So Watson (1986: 125); Dunn (R, MS: 251, 290); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 196f.).
188. For various interpretations of "the works of the law" among scholars, see the survey of Moo (1983: 90-99) and the discussion in Dunn (1983a: 107, 110-118).
189. Against Watson (1986; 130).
190. 3:21-31 is understood as containing the locus classicus for Paul's 'great thesis' of 'justification by faith' in Romans (3: 21-26); so Black (R, 1973: 65); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 199). However, it is also one of the most obscure and difficult passages in the whole epistle; so Kueng (1957; 222); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 92). For various interpretations on 3: 21-31 in the past century, see Koch (1971).
191. Many commentators put the emphasis on the opening words of v.21, **nuni de**, as one of the great turning points of the epistle, so Leenhardt (R, 1957: 98), Barrett (R, 1962: 72). The importance of **nun** in Romans are noted as in 3:26; 5:9, 11; 6:21; 7:6; 8:1, 18; 11:5, 30, 31; 13:11; 16:26, see Stœhlin (TDNT, V: 109); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 98). The words could refer to a temporal, historical contrast or a logical theological contrast. Many commentators would stress that they refer to both, e.g. Nygren (R, 1944: 144); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 98); Barrett (R, 1962: 72); Cranfield (R, 1975: 201).
192. So Dunn (1987b: 2853), (R, MS: 289); cf. Watson (1986: 131f.). Against the traditional interpretation of the phrase as "something which has not been earned by men's fulfilment of the law", e.g. Nygren (R, 1944: 148); Leenhardt (1957: 99); Dodd (R, 1959: 74); Barrett (R, 1962: 73); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 201); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 93f.); Wilckens (R, 1978 I: 185f.); see Sanders (1977: 491); Raeisaenen (1983: 25, 69).
193. The ambiguity of the phrase **pisteōs Iēsou Christou** is well known; see Hultgren (1980); Johnson (1982); Williams (1987); Dunn (R, MS: 290-2). It seems more probable that the genitive **Christou** expresses the object of faith; see Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 203); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 94); Wilckens (R, 1978 I: 188); Dunn (R, MS: 291).
194. Cf. Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 202); Dunn (R, MS: 290).
195. Against Watson (1986: 132).
196. So Bultmann (1952, I: 46); Kaesemann (1950-51); Reumann (1966: 432ff.); Eichholz (1977: 190f.); Meyer (1983); cf. Dunn (R, MS: 288). For a survey of the various opinions since Bultmann, see Williams (1975: 5 - 56). For the opposite view, see Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 200 n.1). For discussion on the relation of v.24 to its context, see Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 85); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 205).
197. For discussion of the concept of the sacrificial death of Jesus in this passage, see the standard commentaries on Romans, e.g. Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 204-218); Michel (R, 1978: 149-154); Wilckens (R, 1978 I: 188-202, 233-243) and also Morris (1955); Barth (1961); Dunn (1974); Marshall (1974); Williams (1975); Kertelge (1976); Hooker (1971); (1978); (1981); Hofius (1983).
198. See references **in note 31** above.

199. Against Sanders (1983: 33), who is probably wrong to see that Paul's argument here is in favour of equal status and against privilege. He obviously overlooks the weight of Paul's assertion in the theme text, 1:16f., in which, on the one hand, Paul agrees that there is privilege for Jews in God's salvation plan; on the other hand, he limits the privilege within the boundary of faith.

200. See also Dunn (R, MS: 316f.).

201. The difficulties in understanding Paul's use of **nomos** have been long observed. It is because his use of the term seems not to be uniform. For detailed discussion of this issue in recent scholarship, see Gutbrod (TDNT IV: 1069-78); Cranfield (1964); Huebner (1978: 1ff.); Gaston (1979); Raeisaenen (1979-80); (1980a); (1983: 16-28); Davies (1982); Wilckens (1982); Sanders (1983: 3-10); and those works cited by Badenas (1985: 152 n.6). Nevertheless, the interpretation of the two instances of **nomos** in v.27 is very much divided; many scholars think that **nomos** here should not be taken as the Jewish law, but in the more general sense of "law' or "principle"; e.g. RSV; NEB; NIV; NJB; Gutbrod (TDNT IV: 1071); Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 95); Bultmann (1952 I: 259); Kuss (R, 1957: 176); Barrett (R, 1962: 83); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 103); Sanders (1983: 33); Raeisaenen (1983: 50-2); Watson (1986: 131); see also the brief summary in Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 219f.). However, the phrase **chōris ergōn nomou** in the following verse (v.28) and the **nomos** in v.31 can hardly be understood otherwise than as Jewish law, it seems to be more reasonable that **nomos** in v.27 refers to the Torah as well; so Friedrich (1954); Furnish (1968; 160f.); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 220); Hahn (1976: 38); Wilckens (R, 1978 I: 245ff.); Huebner (1978: 115f., 158 nn.83, 85); Rhyne (1981: 68f.); Dunn (R, MS: 314f.). Friedrich (1954) is probably right to argue that "the law of works" and "the law of faith" do not refer to two contrasting laws, but to the one law of God according as it is considered as that which prescribes works or that which teaches righteousness through faith. Therefore we agree that **nomou pisteōs** probably denotes the Mosaic law as truly understood from the standpoint of faith; so Furnish (1968: 160f.); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 200); Huebner (1978: 115f., 158 n.85) etc.; and **nomou tōn ergōn** as the law understood in terms of works, which is seen as distinctively Jewish; so Dunn (R, MS: 316).

202. For references to various interpretations of "works of law", see **note 188** above.

203a. Against Sanders (1977: 491), Watson (1986: 124, 130, 134), who suggest that there is a clear cut antithesis between 'law' and 'faith'; see also the criticism of Dunn (R, MS: 316).

203b. Cf. Huebner (1978: 24, cf. 26, 38, 69, 78ff.); Dunn (1983a: 111ff.;118), (1985b: 527ff.).

203c. Although some scholars have seen a distinction between the two prepositional phrases, e.g. emphasizing faith in the Jew's case as the source and the Gentile's case as the means of justification, so Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 96); cf. Kasemann (R, 1980: 104); yet the fact that **ek pisteōs** is elsewhere used of Gentiles (Gal. 3:8; Rm. 9:30; cf. Rm. 5:1) and the contention of the passage that Jew and Gentile are alike in both sin and salvation (cf. vv. 22-24) seems decidedly to favour the view that the change of preposition is only a rhetorical or stylistic variation, so Leenhardt (R, 1957: 112, first n.); Barrett (R, 1962: 84); Kuss (R, 1957, I: 178); Michel (R, 1978: 156); Cranfield (R, 1975, I: 222).

203d. Rm. 3: 31 is a much discussed verse, for recent discussion, see Lohse (1977); Rhyne (1981); Thompson (1985).
204. Against Conzelmann (1968: 169, 190); for references to various interpretations of the function of Rm.4 in the letter, see Campbell (1981a: 35); Watson (1986: 135).
205. Watson (1986: 136-8); cf. Dunn (R, MS: 328f.).
206. Cf. Kaesemann (1969: 98); Wilckens (R, 1978 I: 261-85, esp. 283); Campbell (1981a: 35); (1981c: 39).
207. Watson (1986: 135f., 138, 141f.).
208. Against Watson (1986: 136).
209. Dunn (R, MS: 332) rightly points out that the opening clause of 4:2 picks up what was explicitly denied in the summary conclusion to the first section of the argument (3:20).
210. **logizomai** occurs in vv.3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 22, 23, 24.
211. Dunn (R, MS: 329) suggests that Paul's decision to focus on Gn. 15:6 was also determined by the way the verse was currently understood within Judaism; cf. I Macc. 2:52; James 2: 22-3; see also Hahn (1971: 94-7); Longenecker (1977: 204f.); Heidland (TDNT IV: 289); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 107).
212. See above **note 68.**
213. In Rm. 4, the issue of whether "Abraham was justified by works" (v.2) is dealt by Paul as if the issue were whether Abraham was justified before or after circumcision (vv. 9-11a). In other words, Paul's use of 'works' (**ergōn**) does not refer to "good works" done by Abraham, but to something like circumcision which is understood by the Jews as their faithful obedience to what God requires in the law; cf. Dunn (R, MS: 332).
214. Paul's statement surely indicates that he has in mind LXX Gn. 17: 11-13 where circumcision is described as the "sign of the covenant" (**en sēmeiō/i diathēkēs**), that is, the mark which distinguishes those who bear it as members of the covenant. It is quite probable that the custom of referring to circumcision as a seal was already well established in Judaism by Paul's time; cf. Jub. 15: 11, 26-8; see Hoenig (1962-63: 330); Michel (R, 1978: 166f.); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 236); Dunn (R, MS: 343f.).
215. Leenhardt's (R, 1957: 118 n.3) contention that there is a distinction between "sign" and "seal" is unfounded; see the criticism in Dunn (R, MS: 344).
216. Cf. Berger (1966: 67f.); Hahn (1971: 103).
217. See Hoenig (1962-63), who argues that in early Judaism, circumcision was understood as the rite marking the covenant but it was not defined as the covenant itself; cf. Jub. 15:11. However, in the rabbinic period, due to the reaction to Christian attacks (especially Pauline) on circumcision, circumcision was designated as 'covenant'.
218. The connection between 2: 25-29 and 4:11f. is recognized by many scholars; e.g. Cerfaux (1954-62, II: 335); Berger (1966: 63f., 67f.); Schlier (R, 1977: 127); Wilckens (R, 1978 I: 264); Dunn (R, MS: 346).
219. The ideas of circumcision of the heart in 2: 29 and the confession of belief in 10:9f. are probably connected with Deut. 30: 6-14; cf. Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 175 n.3; 1979 II: 527).
220. The circumcision of Jews is in fact following the example of the circumcision of Abraham; if Abraham was not circumcised, the Jews would not practise circumcision. Therefore, it is anachronistic to argue that Abraham was circumcised in order that he can be father of the circumcised [after him].

221. The Judaizers may say: If circumcision is a sign or seal of the covenant status received by faith, why do you (the Gentile Christians who have faith already) not have this sign as well?
222. In Galatians, Paul argues strongly against the circumcision of Gentile Christians (Gal. 5:2, 12). However, in Romans, Paul does not denounce circumcision but rather ascribes a positive role to it (Rm. 2:25ff.; 4:11f.); cf. Huebner (1978: 56); Dunn (R, MS: 344).
223. So Schlatter (R, 1962: 51f.); cf. Dunn (R, MS: 235). For discussion of Paul's use of 'circumcision' in Romans, see above note 46 of **Chapter 5.**
224. So Davies (1978a: 134). Michel's (R, 1978: 167) suggestion that "Abraham is first of all the father of the Gentile Christians and only then father of the Jewish Christians" is not entirely accurate. The important point Paul made in 4: 9-12 is that Abraham was first of all justified by faith when he remained a 'non-Jew' and then he was circumcised to become the father of both the 'uncircumcised with faith' and the 'circumcised with faith'.
225. Most scholars agree that in v.12, Paul has only one group of people in mind, that is those "who are not merely circumcised (**tois ouk ek peritomēs monon**) but also (**alla kai tois...**) follow the example of the faith which our father Abraham had before he was circumcised"; e.g. Kuss (R, 1957 I: 186); Klein (1963: 156); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 237); Schlier (R, 1977: 128); Rhyne (1981: 83); Dunn (R, MS: 345); against AV. However, the similar yet different sentence structure (**...ou...monon alla kai ...**) of v.12c and v.16c has caused difficulty in interpreting v.16c. The fact is that in v.16c, it is **ou tō/i .... monon alla kai tō/i ....** instead of **tois ouk .... monon alla kai tois ....** as in v.12c. Grammatically speaking, it has to be translated as "not only to [those] .... but also to those ...."; so AV, RSV, NEB, JB, NASB, NIV; in other words, in v.16c, Paul has two groups of people in mind; So Kuss (R, 1957 I: 189); Dodd (R, 1959: 92); Klein (1963: 160f.); Schlier (R, 1977: 131); Michel (R, 1978: 170); Moxnes (1980: 250f.); Dunn (R, MS: 352). Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 242f.) and Kaesemann (R, 1980: 121) are not justified to give priority to the interpretation of v.16c as if it is the same as v.12c; so Davies (1974: 177).
226. Cf. Deut. 32: 39; Ps. 71:20; Tob.13:2; Wisd. Sol. 16:13; see Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 244); Moxnes (1980: 233-9) Dunn (R, MS: 353f.)
227. Cf. Is. 41:4; 48:13; Wisd. Sol.11:25; II Macc. 7:28; II Enoch 24:2; Philo, Life of Moses II: 100, 267; Spec. Leg. IV: 187; for more references, see Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 245); Wilckens (R, 1978 I: 274f.); Moxnes (1980: 241-252); Dunn (R, MS: 354). Dunn is probably right to see that Paul is here drawing on language which was well established in Jewish theological reflection. For discussion on various interpretations of this statement, see Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 244); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 244).
228. Cf. Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 245f.)
229. So Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 250).
230. So Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 244ff.); Dunn (R, MS: 354, 357).
231. Michel (R, 1978: 161) is probably right to see that the development from v.18 is that of Paul's exposition, not of Abraham's faith.
232. See also Acts 3:15; 4:10; 13:30; I Cor.15:12, 20; Gal.1:1; Eph. 1:20; Gol. 2:12; I Thess. 1:10; I Pet. 1:21; for

discussions of this confession among the first Christians, see Kramer (1973: 20-6).

233. So Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 244); Michel (R, 1978: 174); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 121); Dunn (R, MS: 354).
234. In Romans, **dunatos** occurs five times (4:21; 9:22; 11:23; 12:18; 15:1), **dunamis** appears eight times (1:4, 16, 20; 8:38; 9:17; 15:13, 19, 19). In 12:18; 15:1, **dunatos** refers to the 'power' of man; while in 4:21; 9:22; 11:23, it refers to the power of God. With regard to the usage of **dunamis**, besides the occurrence in 8:38, which may refer to angelic power; see A-G:207; Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 442f.); **dunamis** in 1:4, 15:13, 19 refers to the power of Spirit; in 1:16, 20, it refers to the power of God. In fact, in 1: 4, 16, 15:19, its usage is related to the gospel.
235. So Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 246f.).
236. So Nygren (R, 1944: 182); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 125f.); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 249).
237. In 15:6f., the phrases **doxazēte ton theon** and **eis doxan tou theou** probably have a liturgical ring; so Leenhardt (R, 1957: 363); Michel (R, 1978: 447 nn.17, 20); Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 738); Dunn (R, MS: 1121).
238. For references to scholars who agree that vv.24f. relates to a traditional (liturgical) formula, see above **note 73.**
239. For discussion on the relationship between Paul's hermeneutics in Rm.4 and the Jewish midrash, see Ellis (1957: 46), (1975: 217f.); Longenecker (1975: 114-8); Michel (R, 1978: 160); van der Minde (1976: 78-83); Dunn (R, MS: 329, 359).

CHAPTER TEN

The New Life Situation of Jewish and Gentile Christians: Rm. 5 - 8

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter we have argued that, according to our understanding of the situation of Roman Christians and Paul's purpose in writing Romans, one of Paul's main purposes in 1:18 - 4:25 is probably to demolish the Jewish stereotyped view on the distinction between Jews and Gentile (1:18 - 2:29), and to provide a basis for a new understanding of the relationship between Jew and Gentile (3:1 - 4:25). For Paul, faith, not the works of law, is the identity marker of God's people, and it is also the basis for Jew and Gentile to build up their relationship (3: 20-31; 4: 9-17a). Paul's argument in 1: 18 - 4: 25 is probably not purely theoretical, but involves an implicit call for the upbuilding of a Christian community net-work in Rome.

In this chapter, we attempt to show that our understanding of the situation of Roman Christians and Paul's purpose in writing Romans can also shed light on the interpretation of Rm. 5-8.

I. Personae Analysis

As we have mentioned in the last chapter, by using a

first person plural pronoun hēmōn in 4:12 to claim Abraham as father of both Jews and Gentiles who have faith, Paul shifts his explicit dialogical partner from Jewish Christians to both Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome.[1] This pattern of address, which indicates that Paul addresses explicitly one particular section among his audience in some passages and then the audience as a whole in other passages,[2] continues in Rm. 5-8.

As far as our personae analysis which pays special attention to first and second person is concerned, the occurrence of these two persons in Rm. 5-8 is very interesting (see **Table I**). The second person singular, which is the person most frequently found in 1:18 - 4:25, occurs only twice in this part of the letter. Both occurrences are pronouns, one in a text with different readings (8: 2)[4] and the other (8: 36) in an OT quotation (LXX Ps. 43:23). However, the first person singular and plural and the second person plural all occur quite frequently in Rm. 5-8. The first person singular pronouns occur 27 times,[5] including one reflexive pronoun in 7:25; the verbs occur 24 times.[6] The first person plural pronouns occur 34 times,[7] including three reflexive pronouns in 8:23; the verbs occur 47 times.[8] The second person plural pronouns occur 20 times,[9] including three reflexive pronouns in 6:11, 13, 16; the verbs occur 27 times.[10]

With regard to the distribution of the first person singular pronouns and verbs, their occurrences are concentrated in 7: 7-25, the famous **ego** passage. In this passage, 26 first person singular pronouns (including the

reflexive pronoun) and 20 first person singular verbs are found.[11] The only other occurrence of the first person singular pronoun is in 7:4 and the other four first person singular verbs are in 6:19, 7:1; 8:18, 38. The occurrences of the first person plural pronouns and verbs are more evenly distributed. It is only in 5: 12-20;[12] 6: 16-22; 7: 8-13, 15-24 and 8: 5-11, that the first person plural is absent. However, the first person plural pronouns and verbs do bracket these passages.[13] As far as the distribution of the second person plural pronouns and verbs are concerned, their occurrences are concentrated in two passages; twelve of the pronouns (including reflexive pronouns) and 19 of the verbs occur in 6: 11-23,[14] and there are 6 of the pronouns and of the verbs in 8: 9-15. The other two second person plural pronouns occur in 7:4 and two of the verbs occur in 6:3; 7:1.

As a matter of fact the pattern of the occurrences of the first and second persons in Rm. 5-8 is quite clear cut. In Rm. 5 only the first person plural (9 pronouns and 9 verbs) is found.[15] The first occurrence of the second person plural [verbs] appears in 6:3, in a passage (6: 1-8) which is dominated by the first person plural (3 pronouns and 13 verbs).[16] However, in 6: 9-14, only the second person plural pronouns (7)[17] and verbs (4)[18] are found. The first occurrence of the first person singular in Rm. 5-8 appears in 6:19, in a passage (6: 15-23) which is dominated by the second person plural (5 pronouns and 15 verbs)[19] and is bracketed by two first personal plural verbs (6:15) and one first person plural pronoun (6: 23).

In Rm. 7, all first person singulars and plurals and second person plurals occur in 7: 1-6.[20] However, in 7: 7-25, besides the intensive occurrences of the first person singular pronouns (26 times)[21] and verbs (20 times),[22] one first person plural pronoun (7:25) and two first person plural verbs (7: 7, 14) occur at the beginning (7:7), the turning point (7:14)[23] and the end (7:25) of this ego passage.

In Rm. 8, the first occurrence of the second person singular pronoun appears in 8:2 and a first person plural pronoun occurs in 8:4. They are followed by 6 second person plural pronouns in 8: 9-11.[24] In vv. 12-17, there is a change of persons between first person plural (1 pronoun, v.16; 5 verbs, vv.12, 15, 16, 17, 17) and second person plural (no pronoun but 6 verbs, vv.13, 13, 13, 13, 15, 15). In 8: 18-39, two first person singular verbs occur at the beginning and the end of this passage which is heavily dominated by the first person plural (16 pronouns, including 3 reflexives; and 12 verbs, including 2 in the OT quotations).[25]

In light of the above analysis, we can make the following observations which are relevant to our understanding of the pattern of Paul's dialogue in Rm. 5-8:

A. The 'We' in Rm. 5

The linguistic affinity between Rm. 5 and 1-4 is well recognized by Feuillet and other scholars.[26] Although Rm. 5 is now regularly taken as the beginning of a new division of the letter,[27] it is probably right to think that 5: 1-11

is a link between the first and the second main division of the body of the letter (1:18 - 4:25 and 5:1 - 8:39).[28] If this is the case, the first person plural in 5: 1-11 probably refers to both the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome as in 4: 12-25. It is most significant that the similar phrase **Iēsoun ton kurion hēmōn** occurs not only in 4:24, but also in 5: 1, 11 and 21 (cf. 1:4; 6:23; 7:25; 8:39; 15:6, 30; 16:18, 20, 24).[29] Although the 'we' in this confessional formula probably refers to Christians in general,[30] in the context of Romans as a letter addressed to the Roman Christians, its occurrence probably implies the solidarity of the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome under the lordship of Jesus Christ. Paul's intensive use (8 times) of the various cases of **hēmeis** in 5: 1-11,[31] together with nine first person plural verbs,[32] probably also imply that Paul hopes to consolidate his argument in the preceding chapters (1:18 - 4:25) for the close relationship between the Jewish and Gentile Christians in this passage. As will be shown below, this interpretation is probably supported by Paul's teaching of peace and hope in 5: 1-11 and his Adam - Christ typology in 5: 12-20.

B. The Change of 'We' and 'You (plural)' in ch. 6

1. 6: 1-14

In 6:1, **ti oun eroumen** is used to introduce a false conclusion in the form of a rhetorical question.[33] The question is: "Are we to continue in sin that grace may abound?" The connection between this question and 5:20 is clearly shown by vocabulary[34] and content.[35] However,

Minear and many other scholars suggest that 6:1 is also related to 3:8,[36] in which Paul renounces the position of antinomism and condemns those who levelled the accusation of antinomism against him and possibly also against those Jewish Christians in Rome who are more positive in attitude towards the upbuilding of their relation to Gentile Christians.[37]

Nevertheless, the difference between 6:1 and 3:8 is obvious. In 6:1f., Paul does not condemn the 'we' who raise the question. This difference is probably due to the different context in which the issue of antinomism is raised. As we mentioned in the last chapter, in 3:8, the context is probably an inner Jewish discussion. In that context, Paul condemns those (probably non-Christian Jews or even some more scrupulous Jewish Christians) who levelled the accusation of antinomism, probably with the intention that he might defend those less scrupulous Jewish Christians and also avoid damaging his credibility among the Jewish Christians.

In 6:1f., the context is probably an inner Christian discussion.[38] Paul's main purpose is to solve the problems concerning his audience rather than to defend himself against an accusation.[39] This interpretation is supported by the fact that the 'we' in 6:1 follows the 'we' in 5:21 which refers to Christians in general, Roman Christians in particular, who confess Jesus Christ as "our Lord". Paul's use of the theological interpretation of baptism to answer the question (" Are we to continue in sin that grace may abound?" in 6:1) also confirms this understanding. However,

the question being asked probably refers to the concern of the Jewish Christians. As will be shown below, the issue at stake is probably the relation between antinomism and the solidarity of Jewish and Gentile Christians. In this context, Paul probably uses the diatribal question[40] to typify the concern of those Jewish Christians[41] who he hopes will maintain solidarity with the Gentile Christians among his audience.

Paul's use of different persons in answering this question is most significant. In 6:2, he first rejects the question about antinomism forcefully by **mē genoito** and then uses the first person plural (**apethanomen**, **zēsomen**) to identify himself with the 'we' who raise the question. However, in 6:3, Paul changes to using a second person plural verb **agnoeite** to address those who ask the question. The phrase ē **agnoeite** probably implies that Paul expects that the questioners and also the other Christians in the background would have known already the teaching which he is going to give.[42] In the answer provided in 6:3b - 10, Paul changes back to first person plural. This change probably indicates that he tries to identify himself with the questioners and all his addressees. However, in v.11, Paul changes again to use second person plural pronouns (**humeis**, **heautous**) and verb (**logizesthe**)[43] to address his audience as a whole emphatically. He concludes his answer by saying that "so you also must consider yourselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus (**en Christō/i Iēsou**)."[44] This exhortation evidently recalls the notion of the solidarity of Jews and Gentiles in sin and in justification (3:9, 21-31; 4:24f.), in Adam and in Christ

(5: 12-20).[45] It also refers back to Paul's initial answer to the question in 6:2.[46]

The change of persons in 6: 1 - 14 probably has the following functions:

(1) Paul's abrupt change of person from first person plural to second person in 6:3 probably indicates that Paul wants to address directly those Jewish Christians who have in mind the question of the connection between antinomism and their relation to Gentile Christians.

(2) By using ē **agnoeite** to indicate that they should have a common knowledge about baptism with other Christians and by returning to the use of the first person plural in his theological interpretation of baptism, Paul probably intends to create a dynamic of assimilation between the Jewish and Gentile Christians among his addressees. The four occurrences of the **sun**-compound verbs (**sunetaphēmen**, v.4; **sumphutoi**, v.5; **sunestaurothē**, v.6; **suzēsomen**, v.8) which are all related to Christ[47] and the phrase **sun Christō/i** in v.8[48] strengthen our understanding. Many scholars recognize that the occurrences of these **sun**-compound verbs and the phrase **sun Christō/i** probably indicate that Paul has in mind the idea of "corporate entities".[49]

(3) Paul's change to second person in his concluding remark in v.11, where the phrase **en Christō/i Iēsou** occurs, probably suggests that he hopes to affirm to his addressees as a whole that they share a solidarity in

Christ.

Thus, Paul's change of persons in 6: 1-14 is not accidental. The first change probably has the effect of identifying a particular section of his audience as his direct addressees; the second and third changes can probably create a sense of solidarity among the different groups of his audience.

2. 6: 15 - 23

Based on the conclusion he draws in 6:11, Paul continues to use the second person plural pronouns and verbs to exhort his addressees as a whole in vv.12-14.[50] However, in v. 15 the phrase **ti oun** introduces a rhetorical question (asked in first person plural) which is also derived from a false conclusion.[51] Although it is quite obvious that 6:15 is parallel with 6:1,[52] there is a significant difference between these two verses. In v.1, the false inference is derived from 5:20 and the issue is whether one should continue in sin so as to make grace abound still more; whereas in v.15, the false inference is primarily derived from v.14b (cf. 5:21), and the issue is whether one should continue in sin because one is not under law but under grace. In other words, while the issue in 6:1 is the relation between sin and one's condition under grace, the issue in 6:15 is the relation between sin and one's status of "not under the law".

Paul's change of the person from second person plural (6: 11-14) to first person plural in the rhetorical question (v.15) is most significant. While the issue at

stake is obviously related to antinomism, it probably implies that the question concerns the same questioners as in 6:1. Therefore, Paul probably uses the diatribal question again to typify the doubt of those Jewish Christians among his audience.[53] However, although the issue is probably of concern to the Jewish Christians, the issue is related to those who are "not under the law" (**ouk .... hupo nomon**). It seems to be quite reasonable to understand that Gentiles are those who are by definition "not under the law" (cf. 6: 19 - 21).[54] In other words, the rhetorical question reflects that Paul was probably aware of (i) the confusion between his concept of Christians as those "not under the law" and the Jewish concept of Gentiles as those "not under the law", and (ii) the hesitation of the Jewish Christians in building up a close relationship with the Gentile Christians (who are by both definitions "not under the law") in the actual life situation.

The Jewish Christians were probably concerned whether the Gentile Christians who did not observe the Jewish law (cf. Rm. 14) would continue to commit sinful acts in their daily life as the non-Christian Gentiles (who are also "not under the law") in general (cf. 1: 18 - 32). Although in 2:14, 15, Paul has shown that not all Gentiles practise a way of life contrary to the law, the Jewish Christians would probably like to be sure of the difference between the Gentile Christians and the non-Christian Gentiles in their relation to sin. In 6:15c, Paul emphatically uses **mē genoito** to denounce the false conclusion that those who are

(by both his and Jewish definitions) "not under the law" should continue in sin. Then from 6:16 onwards, Paul returns to use the second person plural to direct his exhortation. As we mentioned in the last chapter, Paul's description of the pre-Christian condition of his addressees as **doula tē/i akatharsia/i kai t8/i anomia eis tēn anomian** in v.19 probably indicates that Paul's addressees are Gentile Christians.[55] The fact that Paul uses the phrase **anthrōpinon legō** (cf. **anthrōpon legō**, 3:5) in the first person singular in 6:19 to introduce his description of the pre-Christian sinful condition of the addressees but changes to use second person plural (**humōn**) to qualify their sinfulness, rather than using the first person plural (**hēmōn**) to identify himself with them as he did in 3: 5-9, gives further support to our interpretation.[56]

Furthermore, Paul explicitly indicates in 7:1 that he is now speaking to those "who know the law".[57a] His statement probably implies that in the preceding paragraph he is addressing those who do not know the law.[57b] Therefore, it is quite probable that Paul's change of person in 6:16 indicates that in answering the question raised by the Jewish Christians (v.15), he directs his exhortation specifically to the Gentile Christians among his addressees. Paul's answer is very clear : the Gentile Christians should denounce those sinful acts committed within the Gentile Community (6: 17 - 22).

In v.23, Paul changes from the second person plural back to the first person plural by using a confessional

statement that "the free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord" (cf. 5:21). In this confessional statement, Paul surely has the unity of both Jewish and Gentile Christians in mind.

Thus, the change of persons in 6: 12-23 is also not accidental. The changes in 6:15, 16 imply that two different groups among Paul's addressees are singled out. In this manner, Paul can on the one hand, answer the question concerning the Jewish Christians, and on the other hand, exhort the Gentile Christians among his addressees. Although Sanders notices the oscillation between 'you' and 'we' in Rm. 6, he overlooks the rhetorical significance of this oscillation and wrongly suggests that in Rm. 6:1 - 7:6, Paul has in mind the ***universal*** human condition prior to Christ.[58]

C. The 'I', 'You (plural)', and 'We' in ch. 7

1. 7: 1-6 ('I', 'You' and 'We')

In v.1, Paul uses the second person plural phrase ē **agnoeite** again (cf. 6:3) to his addressees. However, here, he emphatically calls his addressees **adelphoi** (cf. 1:13) and explicitly says "I am speaking (**lalō**) to those who know the law". The interpretation of **nomos** in this passage (vv. 1, 1, 2, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6) is under dispute. There are basically three positions:

(1) Jewish and/or Roman law;[59]

(2) the general conception of law;[60] or

(3) the Jewish law.[61]

However, as far as the Roman law of marriage is concerned, it does not fit in the discussion in 7: 2, 3. According to the Roman law, a woman was *not* freed from "the law concerning the husband" (cf. v. 2) by his death and was to remain unmarried for ten to twelve months; otherwise she would forfeit everything which had come to her from her first husband.[62]

Kaesemann argues that since the Roman Christian community consisted mainly of Gentile Christians, and the example given by Paul in 7:2, 3 is a legal and not specially religious argument, then **nomos** here is simply the legal order and not Jewish law.[63] This argument is unconvincing. Kaesemann surely overlooks the pattern of Paul's address in Romans, that Paul can explicitly address a specific group among his addressees in some passages (2: 17ff.; 3:1ff.; 4:1f.; 11:13ff.; 14:1f.; 15:1). As we have argued above, although it is quite probable that the Gentile Christians are the majority in the Roman Christian community, the Jewish Christians are a ***significant minority***.[64] Paul's main purpose in writing Romans is to persuade both Jewish and Gentile Christians to accept one another. Therefore, it is quite probable that **nomos** here denotes not simply the general concept of law but the Jewish law. As will be shown below, Paul's argument in Rm. 7 is not a legal argument. The imageries of marriage and adultery in 7: 2, 3 are more likely refer to the OT imageries of the covenant relation between God and Israel, and the issue at stake is probably the priority of loyalty to Christ rather than to the law.[65]

Thus it is quite probable that Paul explicitly states that from 7:1 onward, he is engaged in dialogue specifically with the Jewish Christians, including those proselyte Christians, among his addressees. Their understanding of the Jewish law is the common ground for the dialogue.[66]

In this short passage, Paul uses **adelphoi** twice (vv.1, 4) to denote his addressees. The implication is probably that the subject about to be introduced is a sensitive one in which mutual trust will be all the more important.[67] This interpretation is further supported by the fact that in v.4, Paul indicates his close relation to his addressees by using **mou** to qualify **adelphoi**[68] and there is a shift of persons in v.4, from 'I', 'You' (v.4a, b, c) to 'We' (vv.4d, 5, 6). In other words, Paul implies that the 'I' and 'You' are incorporated into 'We'. Thus Paul and his Jewish addressees share solidarity in the flesh (v.5a), in the liberation from the law (v.6a; cf. v.4b), in the new life of the Spirit (v.6b; cf. v.4c) and in bearing fruit for God (v.4d; cf. v.5b). In short, in 7: 1-6, Paul directs his address specifically to the Jewish Christians in Rome and shows that he is in full solidarity with them (cf. 3: 5 - 9).

2. 7: 7-25 ('We' and 'I')

(A) *The 'We'* (7: 7, 14, 25)

In 7:7, the first person plural phrase **ti oun eroumen** occurs again (cf. 3:5; 4:1; 6:1, 15). In 3:5; 6:1, 15, it introduces a false conclusion in the form of a

rhetorical question. As before, the question is emphatically repudiated by mē genoito. The subject raised by the rhetorical question is the relationship between sin and the law.

It is quite clear that there is a close connection between 7:7; 3:8; 6:1, 15.[69] All of them echo the concern of antinomism.[70] As a matter of fact, the similarity between 6:1, 15; 7:7 is not only in form but also on the issues raised:[71]

(1) 6:1 -- sin and grace (cf. 5:20)

(2) 6:15 -- sin and those who are not under the law (cf. 5:21; 6:14)

(3) 7:7 -- sin and the law (cf. 5:20f.; 6:14; 7:1-6)

Therefore, in view of the fact that Paul states explicitly that he is addressing the Jewish Christians in 7:1, it is quite probable that Paul uses the similar diatribal question in 7:7 to identify the concern of the Jewish Christians as in 6:1, 15.[72] In this case, the issue is the relationship between sin and the identity marker of Jews, i.e. the law.

In answering the question (in the first person plural) raised in 7:7a, Paul changes to use of the first person singular in the following section (7: 7b-13). However, in v.14, the turning point of this passage,[73] Paul inserts a first-person-plural statement: "We know (**oidamen**)[74] that the law is spiritual." This statement is again followed by a long section which is saturated with the first person singular. As we have mentioned in our discussion of Paul's use of **oidamen** in 2:2; 3:19, the word probably indicates

that Paul appeals to the common understanding between himself and his addressees.[75] In 7:14, the common knowledge is that the law is **pneumatikos**. It means that the law is both divine in origin and spiritual in nature.[76] This understanding is probably a fundamental dogma of Judaism.[77] This assertion probably also echoes the positive description of the law in 7:12, 16, 22, 25b as **hagios, kalos, tou theou**, and the commandment as **hagia kai dikaia kai agathē**.[78] In this case, the first person plural in 7:14 probably indicates that Paul identifies himself with the Jewish Christians among his audience.

At the end of Rm.7 (v.25), Paul concludes his **egō** saturated passage with a first-person-plural confessional statement "Thanks be to God through Jesus Christ our Lord" (cf. 5:21; 6:23; 8:39). In this statement, the first person plural pronoun **hēmōn** certainly refers to Christians in general and all Christian addressees of the letter in particular. In other words, it probably implies that Paul concludes his discussion in Rm.7 with the unity of the Jewish and Gentile Christians through the Lordship of Jesus Christ in mind.

Thus the 'We' in 7:7, 14 probably denotes the solidarity of Paul and the Roman Jewish Christians, and the 'We' in 7:25 denotes the solidarity of Paul, Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome. This shift of the boundary of 'We' from including only Paul and Jewish Christians to including Paul, Jewish and Gentile Christians probably implies that the solidarity of Jewish Christians is merged into the solidarity of Jewish and Gentile Christians.

(B) *The 'I'*

Paul's use of the first person singular in 7:7-25 has been continually debated among New Testament scholars.[79] The issues at stake are:

(a) Is the passage autobiographical,[80] partly autobiographical,[81] or not at all autobiographical[82]?

(b) Does 7: 14-25 refer to the experience of a non-Christian (or pre-Christian) life[83] or a Christian life[84]?

The scope of our study will not allow us to engage in a detailed discussion of these issues. However, there are three observations which are relevant to our <u>personae</u> analysis:

(1) Barrett and many other scholars recognize that Rm. 7: 7-25 is a passage with the features of diatribe.[85] If we agree that Paul's use of the second person singular in the two diatribal passages of 2: 1-5, 17-25 is to typify certain experiences among his audience,[86a] it is quite probable that Paul's use of the first person singular in 7: 7-25 is also a device of typification. However, this understanding neither excludes the possibility of some autobiographical elements involved in the passage, nor makes it necessary to refer every occurrence of the 'I' to Paul's personal experience.[86b] In view of the probability that from 7:1 onwards Paul directs his address to the Jewish Christians,[87] it is quite probable that Paul uses the

first person singular to typify the experiences of the Jewish Christians among his audience.

This interpretation is further supported by the evidence that in Romans, Paul uses two out of five instances of egō (in the nominative case), which occur neither in OT quotations nor diatribal passages,[88a] in the context which he explicitly refers to his own Jewish identity (9:3; 11:1). Furthermore, Paul's use of the first person singular instead of the second person singular as he did in 2: 1-5, 17-25 to typify his Jewish Christian audience probably implies that he distances himself from the Jewish stereotyped view on the distinction between Jew and Gentile in Rm.2, but he tries to identify himself with the experiences of the Roman Jewish Christians in Rm.7. This understanding is consistent with our interpretation that the 'we' in 7:7 and 7:14 refers to Paul and his Jewish addressees. The oscillation between 'we' and 'I' in 7: 7-24 probably indicates an underlying concept of corporate solidarity (cf. 3: 5 - 8)[88b] and a sense of corporateness between Paul and the Jewish Christians in Rome.[89]

(2) One of the difficulties in interpreting 7: 7-25 is caused by the statement of v.9: "I lived once without law, but when the commandment came, sin revived." The questions raised are as follows:[90]

(a) What does **egō** refer to?

(b) When was it that the 'I' once lived "without law" (**chōris nomou**) before the commandment came?

There are four general approaches to these two questions:

(i) According to the non-autobiographical approach, the 'I' refers to man in general or to the Jewish people in general, the narrative style in 7: 7-12 being treated as an idealized picture of human experience. So the critical moment of changing from without law to the coming of commandment does not refer to any real historical point but rather "the general condition in human life situation."[91]

(ii) According to the autobiographical approach, the 'I' refers to Paul, and the period of his living without law refers to his childhood before bar mitzvah.[92]

(iii) According to one of the typological approaches, the 'I' refers to Adam, or to mankind in Adam. Then the period refers to the time before God commands Adam not to eat from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Gn. 2: 16-27).[93]

(iv) According to another typological approach, the 'I' refers to Israel. Then the period refers to the time before Israel's encounter with the law at Sinai.[94]

The basic weakness of the non-autobiographical approach has been rightly pointed out by Kaesemann who states that "to change this 'chronologically' fixable date [in v.9] into a constant present (staendige

Gegenwart) is to depart from the text and to involve oneself in insuperable difficulties."[95] With regard to the problem of the autobiographical approach, it lies not only in that it is anachronistic to apply the rabbinic teaching of bar mitzvah to Paul,[96] but also in that we have statements from the time of Paul (Philo, Legatio 210; Josephus CA II: 178),[97] which emphasize the effort made by Jewish parents to provide their children with a thorough grounding in the law from the earliest years.[98] It is most unlikely that a Jewish male of Paul's day could ever think of a period of his life when the law was absent.[99]

As far as the typological approaches are concerned, it is becoming increasingly popular among scholars to admit some allusion to Adam in 7: 7-11.[100] However, the three basic objections to this interpretation remain unresolved:[101] (a) Paul cites the Decalogue in v.7b and is unlikely to presuppose the later law of Sinai with regard to Adam. (b) The commandment in paradise is not to eat of the tree of knowledge; the term 'covet' (**epithumia**), which is so important for Rm. 7:7ff., is lacking in Gn.2 and 3. (c) There is no explicit evidence in Rm. 7:7ff. to refer to the snake, Eve (cf. II Cor. 11:3), or the trees in paradise.

Recently, some scholars advocate strongly the view that the 'I' refers to Israel. However, according to the evidence in Gn. 6: 1-6 and Rm. 5: 12-14, it is difficult to believe that in Paul's understanding, sin

was inactive within Israel before the Sinaic event.[102] Furthermore, the two typological approaches mentioned above are quite 'mythical'.[103a] Even Theissen, an exponent of the Adam approach, realizes that it might be quite difficult for the audience of Paul's letter to understand the 'myth'.[103b]

While there is no convincing explanation so far to answer the two basic questions raised from 7:9,[104] it is legitimate to propose an alternative interpretation according to our reading of the text from the perspectives of the situation of Roman Christians and Paul's purpose in writing Romans.

First of all we start our interpretation by paying attention to the structure of the text. It is significant that vv. 8b - 10 is bracketed by the repeating statements of "sin, finding opportunity in the commandment...." (**aphormēn ...labousa ... hamartia ... entolēs...**) in vv. 8a and 11. In other words, ***vv. 8b - 10 is possibly a parenthetic passage which serves as an example to support Paul's argument***. If this is the case, the question to ask is whose example can lend support to Paul's argument? In vv. 8b - 10, the experience of the 'I' is described in terms of two most vivid contrasts: (i) the experience of 'once lived without law' is contrasted with the experience of 'when the commandment came', (ii) the promise of life is contrasted with the experience of death. If the 'I' is not a Jewish child who experiences these contrasts in his life history, i.e. before and after bar mitzvah,

the issue at stake is who would probably have this kind of experience in his life. The most possible candidate would be a proselyte. If this is the case, it seems possible that Paul uses the experience of a proselyte to support his argument.

This interpretation is probably consistent with the growing consensus that there were probably considerable numbers of proselytes in the earliest Roman Christian community.[105] They probably belonged to the Jewish Christian group which observed the Jewish law. Although one of the main attractions for them to become proselytes (before they became Christians) was the high moral standard of the Jews,[106] it was quite possible that their commitment to the Jewish law brought them a new experience of sin (cf. Mtt. 23:15).[107] When they were outside the boundary of the law (cf. **chōris nomou**, vv.8b, 9a), sin could not find opportunity in the commandment to make them commit sin. In this way, sin was inactive (**nekra**)[108] outside the boundary of the law (7: 8b). However, once the commandment came to them, they were included within the boundary of the law, and sin became more active (**anezēsen**, v.9).[109] They possibly had expected that the law would promise them 'life', but their actual experience proved that it was 'death' (7:10). Their experience of the law was probably not unique among the Jews (cf. 2: 21ff.; 3;19f.; 4:15; 7:5), but the contrasts between 'expectation of life' and 'actual experience of death', 'before' and 'after' the receiving of the law were

possibly very typical to the proselytes.

Thus we suggest that it is possible that the 'I' who *once* lived 'outside the boundary of the law' (**chōris nomou**, v.9) is a typical proselyte; and the critical moment for the coming of the law to him is the time of his conversion from a Gentile to become a 'Jew'. One of the main purposes for Paul in using the 'I' in 7: 7b-13 to typify Jewish Christians with special reference to the proselyte Christians is possibly to use the experiences of the proselyte as a more vivid example to demonstrate the relation between law and sin on the one hand, and to show his sympathy with the frustration of the proselytes on the other.

The interpretation proposed here does not solve all problems encountered in interpreting 7: 7-13, however, it does avoid the difficulties of the four general approaches outlined above. It also gives a consistent interpretation to Paul's phrase **chōris nomou** (3:21, cf. 3:28; 4:6). Furthermore, it is consistent with the evidence from the text and fits in with our understanding of the situation of the Roman Christians and Paul's purpose in writing Romans.

(3) The difference between vv.7-13 and vv.14-25 is not only between past tense (vv. 7-13) and present tense (vv. 14-25), but also that there is clearly a contrast between a powerless 'I' (vv. 7-13) and a divided 'I' who is struggling through a dilemma (vv. 14-25).[110] The divided 'I' is not only struggling between 'wish' (**thelō** vv. 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21) and 'practise'

(**katergazomai**, **prassō**, **poieō**, vv. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21), 'good' (**agathos**, **kalos**, vv. 16, 18, 19, 21) and 'evil' (**kakos**, vv.19, 21), but also with the divided 'law' (**nomos**, vv.21-23, 25).[111] If we agree that the main issue of 7: 7-25 concerns the Jewish law,[112] it is more reasonable to interpret the **nomos** in vv. 21-23, 25 as referring to the same law.[113] In other words, the 'divided law' is the division of understanding of the Jewish law from the perspective of 'flesh' (**sarx**, v.25; cf. **melos**, vv.23; **sōmatos tou thanatou**, v.24) and 'mind' (**nous**, vv.23, 25; cf. **esō anthrōpon**, v.22). From the perspective of 'flesh', the law is 'the law of sin' (vv.23, 25, cf. v.21); but from the perspective of 'mind', the law is 'the law of God' (vv.22, 25, cf. v.21).[114] The root of the conflict of the divided 'I' is that the 'fleshly I' lives with the 'spiritual law' (v.14). The solution of the conflict is not to denounce the 'fleshly I' or to give up the 'spiritual law', but to let the divided 'I' serve ***both*** 'law of God' ***and*** 'law of sin' (v.25b). However, it is only through Jesus Christ ***our*** Lord that the 'divided I' serving 'divided law' is made possible (v.25a).

Many scholars complain that Paul's argument in Rm. 7 is confusing and difficult to comprehend.[115] However, if the above interpretation that Paul uses 'I' to typify the Jewish Christians among his audience is correct, then the divided 'I' probably refers not to 'a Jew' ***or*** 'a Christian', but to a ***double identity***, i.e. to be a Jew ***and*** a Christian at the same time. Paul's

narration in 7: 14 - 25 is probably not a theoretical presentation but possibly a description of the real life situation of the Jewish Christians in Rome. As will be shown in more detail at below, the tension of the 'divided I' continues because they want to maintain both the Jewish and the Christian identities (cf. 14: 1 - 15: 13). This implies that they have to follow the Jewish way of observing the law on the one hand, and to understand the law from a Christian perspective (cf. 3:31; 9:30ff.; 10:4; 13:8-10; 14:14; I Cor. 7:19) on the other. Nevertheless, it is the loyalty to Jesus Christ not the observance of the law which determines their relation to God (cf. 3:27f.; 7:4ff.; 8:1ff.). Paul can describe this life experience so vividly because he himself is trying to do the same thing (cf. 9: 3; 11: 1; I Cor. 9: 20-22; II Cor. 11: 22-24).[116]

The above interpretation cannot explain away all the traditional difficulties involved in understanding 7: 14 - 25,[117] but it seems to be a possible interpretation which is consistent with the evidence from the text and our understanding of the situation of the Roman Christians and Paul's purpose in writing Romans. As will be shown below, the main function of 7: 14 - 25 is possibly to show that the life situation of a Jewish Christian is inevitably a life in tension, so that the Jewish Christians can understand their own situation better on the one hand, and the Gentile Christians can sympathize with the situation of the Jewish Christians on the other.

To summarize, in Rm. 7, Paul probably directs his address specifically to Jewish Christians, including proselyte Christians, among his audience (v.1). The issue at stake is the relation between their loyalty to the law and to Christ (vv. 1-6). Paul's shift of persons from 'I' to 'you (plural)', and to 'we' in 7:4ff. probably indicates that he identifies himself with the Jewish Christians among his audience in a corporate sense. The occurrences of 'we' in vv. 7, 14, which probably refer to Jewish Christians, reinforce this understanding. Thus it is quite reasonable to see that Paul uses **egō** to typify the Jewish Christians among his audience.

In vv.7-13, the experiences of **egō** with sin and law possibly refer to the experiences of the Jewish Christian, the proselyte Christian in particular, as a Jew. In vv. 14 - 25, the experiences of **egō** with the law of God and the law of sin possibly refer to the experiences of the Jewish Christian as a Jew and as a Christian at one and the same time.

D. The 'We' and 'You (plural)' in ch.8

As we mentioned above, Paul's use of **hēmōn** in 7:25a to qualify **kuriou** probably indicates that he has in mind the unity of Jewish and Gentile Christians under the lordship of Jesus Christ at the end of his discussion in Rm.7.

This interpretation is supported by the opening verse of Rm.8, in which Paul declares that "There is therefore now no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus."[118] The phrase "those who are in Christ Jesus" surely denotes

all Jewish and Gentile Christians among Paul's audience. However, in the context of Rm.7, it may have an underlying implication that the phrase refers to the divided 'I' in 7: 21-25, i.e. those Jewish Christians who try to maintain both the Jewish and the Christian identities. Paul's statement possibly implies that although Jewish Christians continue to observe the law like other non-Christian Jews, they are freed from condemnation because of the fact that they are also in Christ like any other Christians. This implies that their observance of the Jewish law would not be condemned by God and should of course not be condemned by other Christians (cf. 8:3; 14:3f., 10, 13, 23).[119] In fact, through Jesus Christ they can not only maintain the Jewish identity and the Christian identity, but also be liberated from the control of sin in their observing of the Jewish law (7:24f.; cf. 8:2).[120] The connection between 7: 24f. and 8: 1f. is probably further supported by the following evidence:

(1) The **ara nun** in 8:1 is parallel to the **ara oun** in 7:25b.[121]

(2) The function of the second person singular **se** in 8:2,[122] which is the only second person singular word in Rm. 5-8, probably corresponds to the use of the first person singular **egō** in 7: 7 - 25.[123] Both of these singular personal pronouns are probably used to typify the audience of Paul's letter.[124]

(3) The occurrence of **se** in 8: 2 is related to the contrast between "the law of the Spirit of life" (**nomos tou pneumatos tēs zōēs**) and "the law of sin and death" (**nomou tēs hamartias kai tou thanatou**). These two

descriptions of the law probably correspond to the contrast between "the law of God" and "the law of sin" in 7:25b.[125]

(4) The liberating power of Jesus Christ is indicated in both 7:24f (**hrusetai ek**) and 8:2 (**ēleutherōsen**).[126]

In other words, the above evidence indicates that the relation between 7: 7-25 and Rm.8 is closer than some scholars would allow.[127] However, there is also a shift of areas of concern between Rm.7 and 8. The opening verses of Rm.8 (vv. 1-4) probably function as a transition of the discussion from sin, death and law to flesh and Spirit.[128] In this context, the change of **egō** in Rm.7 to **se** in 8:2 probably also implies that on the one hand, Paul continues to typify the Jewish Christian by means of a singular person as in Rm. 7: 7-25, and on the other hand is on the way to change from identifying himself with the Jewish Christians in Rm.7 to both Jewish and Gentile Christians among his audience in the following passage.

This interpretation is supported by the occurrence of a second person plural pronoun (**hēmin**, v.4) in a passage (vv. 3-8) which discusses the relationship between law (vv. 3, 4, 7), flesh (**sarx** occurs 9 times in vv. 3-8), the salvation of God through His son (v.3) and the works of the Holy Spirit (vv. 4, 5, 6). At first sight, it seems quite obvious that the discussion of the fulfilment (**plērōthē/i**, v.4) of the just requirement of law (**to dikaiōma tou nomou**) refers to the concern of Jewish Christians. However, the two other most closely parallel references of **dikaiōma** in Romans (1:32; 2:26) are used in relation to Gentiles,[129] and the

only other occurrences of the word in the Pauline Corpus (Rm. 5:16, 18) refer to both Jews and Gentiles. Therefore, Paul's statement that "the just requirement of the law might be fulfilled in us" (8:4) probably refers to both Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome (cf. 13:8).[130] Furthermore, Paul's reference to the weakness of flesh (**hēsthenei dia tēs sarkos**, v.3) probably implies the situation of the Jewish Christians (cf. 7:5, 18, 25; cf. 7:14) and also the Gentile Christians (**tēn astheneian tēs sarkos**, 6:19). Salvation through the son of God (1: 3ff.; cf. 3: 22-30; 4: 24f.; 5: 1-21; 6: 1-11, 23) and the works of the Holy Spirit (cf. 5:5; 15:13, 30) are surely the bases for the solidarity of Jewish and Gentile Christians. Thus the occurrence of the **hēmin** in v.4, which probably refers to both Jewish and Gentile Christians,[131] implies that Paul shifts the direction of his address from only Jewish Christians in Rm.7 to all Roman Christians in Rm.8.

In 8: 9-11, Paul uses 6 second person plural pronouns to address directly his audience as a whole.[132] However, in 8: 11-15, he uses 'you (plural)' (vv. 11, 13, 15a) and 'we' (vv. 12, 15b) alternately. Besides the difference that 'we' can refer to Paul and his addressees and 'you (plural)' can refer only to his audience, there is no evidence in the context that there is any distinctive character which can distinguish the use of these two persons. Therefore, it is quite probable that Paul's use of 'you (plural)' and 'we' in 8: 11 - 15 is interchangeable. The oscillation between 'You (plural)' and 'We' does not suggest a contrast between

Paul and his addressees but rather indicates that he probably intends to create a dynamic of incorporation between himself and the Jewish and Gentile Christians among his audience[133] in the final part of Rm. 5-8.

After Paul's use of the first person plural verb **krazomen** in 8:15b to introduce the emphatic expression in addressing God as "Abba, Father", the second person plural pronoun does not occur again until 11: 13 and the second person plural verb occurs again only in 11: 2.[134] In 8: 15b-39, besides the occurrences of two first person singular verbs in v.18b (**logizomai**) and v.38 (**pepeismai**) to denote Paul's personal convictions,[135] the passage is saturated with first person plural pronouns (17 times, including 3 reflexive pronouns) and verbs (14 times, excluding 2 occurrences in OT quotation). All these first person plural pronouns and verbs are probably used to denote the solidarity of Jewish and Gentile Christians among Paul's audience and himself. This interpretation is further supported by the intensive occurrences of 9 **sun**-compound verbs in vv. 16, 17, 17, 17, 22, 22, 26, 28, 29[136] and Paul's triumphal declaration in 8: 31-39 that nothing in the world can be against 'us' (v.31), charge 'us' (v.33), condemn 'us' (v.34), or separate 'us' from the bond of Christ's love (vv. 35-39).

Dahl rightly points out that all the major themes in Rm. 5: 1 - 11 reappear in Rm. 8.[137] While Paul's argument in 5: 1 - 11 is closely linked to the preceding passage and is supported by the typology of Adam - Christ in 5: 12 - 21,[138] one of the main purposes of Rm. 8 is probably to

reaffirm the solidarity of the Jewish and Gentile Christians which has been spoken of in 4: 12 - 5: 21.

E. Summary and Conclusion

1. In our personae analysis of Rm. 5-8, we found that there are four stages of development of Paul's dialogue with his addressees:

(a) In Rm.5, Paul clearly uses only the first person plural pronouns and verbs to denote the solidarity of himself and the Jewish and Gentile Christians among his audience. His address is directed explicitly to all his audience in Rome.

(b) In Rm.6, oscillations between 'we' and 'you (plural)' occur in vv.2ff., 11, 14ff., 22f.. In 6: 1, 15, Paul probably identifies a concern of Jewish Christians in the connection between antinomism and their relation to the Gentile Christians. By changing the person, Paul can probably on the one hand single out the Jewish Christians (vv.2f.) and Gentile Christians (vv.15f.) as his primary addressees in the passages immediately following (i.e. vv. 3-10 and 16-22), and on the other hand maintain his dialogue with the Jewish and Gentile Christians among his addressees as a whole (vv. 11-14, 23).

(c) In Rm.7, Paul probably directs his address explicitly to Jewish Christians, including proselyte Christians, among his addressees. Paul's shift of the person from 'I', to 'You (plural)', and to 'we' in 7:4ff. probably indicates that he identifies himself with the Jewish Christians in a corporate sense. The oscillation

between 'we' and 'I' in 7: 7-24 possibly indicates that Paul applies the concept of corporate solidarity to his interpretation of the experience of a Jewish Christian (with the experience of a proselyte Christian as a vivid example) who is a Jew under the law (7: 7-13) and also a Jew and a Christian at the same time (7: 14-25). Paul's use of the first person plural pronoun in the confessional statement in v.25 probably implies that he has in mind that the solidarity of Jewish Christians is merged with the solidarity of Jewish and Gentile Christians. The implication is possibly that a Jewish Christian can be a Jew and a Christian at the same time and can maintain the relationships with non-Christian Jews and with Gentile Christians.

(d) In Rm.8, Paul concludes his address in Rm. 5-7 by addressing both Jewish and Gentile Christians. He has answered the queries of the Jewish Christians about the connection between antinomian ism and their relation to Gentile Christians, exhorted the Gentile Christians not to commit those sins of Gentiles, showed sympathy to the difficult life situation of the Jewish Christians, and reminded the Gentile Christians not to condemn the Jewish Christians who try to maintain both Jewish and Christian identities, Paul asserts the solidarity between Jewish Christians, Gentile Christians and himself. The bases for their solidarity are the fulfilment of the just requirement of the law, the salvation of God through His son, the works of the Holy Spirit and the bond of Christ's love. One of the main

purposes of Rm.8 is probably to reaffirm the solidarity of the Jewish and Gentile Christians which has been spoken of in 4:12 - 5:21.

2. Many scholars agree that in Rm. 5 - 8 the main theme is the reality of the new life in Christ.[139] In our opinion, it would be more precise to describe it as the reality of the new life situation of the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome. According to the issues identified in the above personae analysis, we suggest that Paul's main concern in Rm. 5 - 8 can be studied according to the topics as follows:

(1) The new life situation of the Jewish and Gentile Christians: Solidarity in peace and in hope (Rm. 5).

(2) The new life situation of the Jewish and Gentile Christians: Antinomism? (Rm. 6, 7).

(3) The new life situation of the Jewish and Gentile Christians: Solidarity in Spirit and in the love of Christ (Rm. 8).

In the following sections, we will discuss the relationship between these topics and our understanding of the situation of Roman Christians and Paul's purpose in writing Romans.

II. The New Life Situation of Jewish and Gentile Christians: Solidarity in Peace and in Hope (Rm.5)

After Paul has affirmed in 4: 11-25 that the solidarity of Jewish and Gentile Christians is in the common fatherhood of Abraham (vv. 11-24a), under the Lordship of Jesus Christ (v.24b), in sin and in justification (v.25),

he introduces two new elements in the discussion of the life situation of the Roman Christians in 5: 1-11. These two elements are "peace" (eirēnē, v.1) or "reconciliation" (katallassō, vv.10, 11)[140] and "hope" (elpis, vv.2, 4, 5).[141] They are most significant for our understanding of the relationship between the situation of Roman Christians, Paul's purpose in writing Romans and the content of Romans in the following ways:

(1) "Peace" and "Reconciliation" are relational terms[142] which are used in 5: 1, 10f. to indicate that there is an inseparable relationship between one's justification by faith and one's relation to God (5:1, 10f.).[143] In other words, Paul points out that both Jewish and Gentile Christians are justified by the same faith and also have the same relation to God.[144] Paul's intensive use of the first person plural in this context probably indicates that they are at peace with God ***together*** rather than separately. The notion of peace to God probably leads to Paul's exhortation that they should also "pursue what makes for peace and for mutual upbuilding [among themselves] in 14:19 (cf. 14:17);[145] and Paul's emphasis that God is the God of peace (15:33; 16:20; cf. 15:13).[146] "Life in peace" is surely an appropriate description of the life situation of Roman Christians, if they can build up a close relationship among themselves.

(2) The notion of hope even in suffering (vv. 2-5a) obviously recalls Paul's description of the faith of Abraham as "in hope he believed against hope" (4:18f.)";[147] and also probably leads to Paul's

exhortation in 15:4 that "through perseverance (**hupomonēs**, cf. 5:3) and the encouragement of the Scriptures we might have hope" (NASB).[148] Recently, Watson rightly points out the significance of Paul's teaching on hope in Romans (5:2, 4, 5; 8:20, 24; 12:12; 15:4, 13) and the situation of the Roman Christians.[149] He suggests that hope is very important for the coherence of a community when in reality salvation is unseen (cf. Rm. 8: 24f.) and is explicitly or implicitly denied by society at large.[150] The maintenance of hope depends on social support provided by the meetings of the community.[151] Therefore, in the case of the Roman Christian community, if Jewish and Gentile Christians can worship together, they will probably receive increasing social support and they will abound in hope (cf. 15: 4, 7 - 13).[152]

Watson's interpretation of Paul's teaching of hope is significant to our understanding of the situation of Roman Christians and Paul's purpose in writing Romans as well. In Rm. 1:18 - 4:25, Paul tries to demolish the Jewish stereotyped view on the distinction between Jews and Gentiles on the one hand, and to establish a basis for a new understanding between covenant status, Jews and Gentiles on the other. Paul's effort has involved a tacit appeal to Jewish Christians to recognize the legitimacy of their Gentile counterparts in receiving God's covenant-promise, and to establish a social relationship with them.[153] Moreover, Paul also implicitly appeals to Gentile Christians to recognize

their indebtedness to the Jews for being God's people, and to build up a relationship with them (cf. 2: 10, 17 - 20; 3: 1f.; 4: 1ff., 6 - 25). Rm. 5: 1-11 describes the greatly increased 'hope' which will be the result of that close relationship between Jewish and Gentile Christians. By presenting hope in this manner, Paul is probably attempting to promote the upbuilding of the Jewish and Gentile Christian community net-work in Rome.

Paul's teaching of peace and hope is supported by the Adam - Christ typology in 5: 12-21.[155] By means of the typology (**tupos**, v.14), Paul indicates that Jews and Gentiles share solidarity in sin, death and condemnation (cf. 3:9, 19, 23; 4:25), and in grace, life and righteousness (cf. 3:21f., 24; 5:25). Therefore, one of the main purposes of Paul's use of the Adam - Christ typology is probably to confirm his argument that Jews and Gentiles are in solidarity of sin and also in solidarity of faith. There is no distinction between Jews and Gentiles under the power of sin and in receiving the promise of God.

Paul's use of the concept of corporate solidarity in the passage probably also suggests that he hopes to replace the Jewish stereotyped view of the distinction between Jew and Gentile (cf. 1: 18 - 32; 2: 17 - 20) by means of a new stereotyped language of Adam and Christ which indicates the solidarity of Jew and Gentile. Paul's use of this typological language to conclude his argument probably shows that he tries to theologize

those complicated issues which arise from daily life situation by means of a symbolic language. If this is the case, it probably demonstrates Paul's ability in doing theology with materials from a concrete social context.

III. The New Life Situation of Jewish and Gentile Christians: Antinomian? (6: 1 - 7: 25)

As we mentioned above, in 6:1, 15; 7:7, Paul probably identifies the concern of Jewish Christians among his audience about the problem of the relation between antinomism and their solidarity with the Gentile Christians.[156] Their concern can be reformulated into three questions:

(1) What is the relationship between antinomian and the solidarity (with Gentile Christians) under grace? (6:1)

(2) What is the relationship between antinomian and their solidarity with Gentile Christians who are by definition "not under law"? (6:15)

(3) What is the relationship between antinomian and the Jewish Christians' attitude towards law? (7:7)

Paul answers categorically that there is no relationship in any of these cases by saying **mē genoito** (6:2, 15c; 7:7c), and he gives explanations to these questions which are most significant for our study.

A. Antinomian and the Solidarity under Grace (6: 1-14)

At the conclusion of Rm.5, Paul raises the question of the relation between law, sin and grace (5:20). It seems to

imply that there is a direct relation between these three elements. The question raised in 6:1 is surely directed to clarifying the relation between sin and grace. Since the concept of "in grace" (5:2, 15; cf. 3:24; 4:16) or "reign by grace" (5:17, 21; cf. 6:14f.) probably includes the solidarity of Jewish and Gentile Christians, therefore the question of the relationship between sin and this solidarity is probably in view. Although law is not mentioned in the question, according to Judaism sin is defined as any action against the law.[157] Therefore, the question in 6:1 probably implies the query of whether there is a relationship between antinomism and the solidarity of Jewish and Gentile Christians.

Paul repudiates the question straight away and uses the metaphor of baptism to explain the relation between sin and grace. Paul's explanation probably implies that the solidarity of Jewish and Gentile Christians under grace is a solidarity in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, which means that they are not in sin but have died to sin (6: 2, 10) and are freed from sin (6: 6f.). This solidarity has nothing to do with antinomism. In other words, Paul's argument in 6: 1-14 can give a theological meaning of the solidarity of Jewish and Gentile Christians and can provide an implication that this solidarity does not require Jewish Christians to adopt an antinomian attitude towards the law.

B. Antinomism and the Gentile Christians (6: 15-23)

While Paul's answer in 6: 1-14 emphasizes that Christians are under grace but not under sin and death, in v.14 he recalls the relation between sin, law and grace

which he has mentioned in 5:20. Paul is surely aware that his interpretation can lead to a confusion of his concept of Christians as those who are "not under the law" with the Jewish concept of Gentiles as those who are "not under the law".[158]

The question in 6:15 probably also implies Paul's awareness of the worry of the Jewish Christians among his audience about whether the Gentile Christians are antinomians. In other words, they are worried that their close relationship with Gentile Christians will become a relationship with antinomians. This will put them in danger of apostasy from their Jewish faith. This interpretation is consistent with our understanding of the concern of Jewish Christians as reflected in 14:1 - 15:13, in which Paul exhorts the Gentile not to put obstacles in the way for them to pursue peace and the upbuilding of a Christian network in Rome (14: 13b-23).

Paul once again rejects the misunderstanding that his concept of "not under law but under grace" (vv.14f.) implies the freedom of the Gentile Christians who are "not under law" to sin like those non-Christian Gentiles (cf. 1: 18 - 32).[159] Paul's answer to the question in the form of an exhortation probably indicates that he wants to give assurance to the Jewish Christians that the Gentile Christians are not antinomians by means of giving a direct exhortation to the Gentile Christians in the presence of them.

C. Antinomism and the Jewish Christians (Rm.7)

The crux of the question of antinomian ism comes in Rm.7, in which Paul explicitly indicates that he is addressing the Jewish Christians among his audience (7: 1). The issues at stake are the relations between "under law" and "in Christ" (cf. 7: 1-6), "law" and "sin" (cf. 7: 7ff.). In other words, one of the main purposes of Paul in Rm.7 is, quite likely, to clarify his understanding of the relationship between "law" and Jewish Christians.[161] This would probably include three areas of concern:

1. Does the application of Paul's concept of "not under law" to Jewish Christians mean apostasy? (7: 1-6)
2. Does Paul's understanding of the law mean that law is sin? (7: 7-13)
3. What is the life situation of a Jewish Christian who wants to observe law as a Jew and a Christian at one and the same time? (7: 14-25)

The significance of these three questions to our study is probably as follows:

1. ***Jewish Christians and apostasy (7: 1-6)***

Our suggestion that Paul directs his address explicitly to the Jewish Christians in 7: 1-6 is probably supported by his use of marriage and adultery (vv.2, 3) as an example for his argument. Many scholars have devoted most of their attention to discussing how to apply this example as an analogy point by point to Paul's understanding of the relation between law, Christ and the believer in v.4.[162] However, the example of marriage and adultery is more likely to recall the OT imageries of the covenant relation

between God and Israel (Is. 57: 3; Jer. 2: 1f.; 3: 1-10; 5: 7; 13: 22, 26f.; Ezek. 16: 23; Hos. 1-3; 4:12ff.; 9: 1).[163] In fact, the same word **moichalis** occurs in Rm. 7: 3 (twice) as well as in LXX Hos. 3: 1; Ezek. 16: 38; 23: 45. The imagery of "adulteress" as apostate should be familiar among those "who know the law".

In the time of Paul, the Jewish covenant loyalty was probably identical with their loyalty to the law.[164] One who does not pay his loyalty to the law would surely be considered as an apostate (I Macc. 2: 15-26; II Macc. 5: 8). If this is the case, the main theme of Paul's example is quite clear. His point is that if one has died to the law, one is freed from the law (vv. 4a, 6a; cf. v. 1b). Even though he pays his covenant loyalty to Christ (v.4b), he is not an apostate. In fact, the result of his loyalty to Christ is to bear fruit for God (v.4c). In other words, the loyalty to Christ is beneficial in one's relation to God.

Paul substantiates his argument by indicating that there is a function of the law which arouses sinful passions and results in bearing fruit for death (v.5). As a consequence, if one is freed from this kind of captivity *to* the law, one can serve in "newness of the Spirit and not in oldness of the letter"(v.6, NASB).

Therefore, one of the main purposes of Paul's argument in 7: 1-6 is probably to indicate that if one is freed from the law and 'married' to Christ (v. 4), one is not an apostate of God's covenant. It rather means freedom from a

kind of sinful control of the law and a new belonging to Christ which is beneficial to the covenant relation to God.

However, in the course of his argument, Paul's statements about dying to the law (vv.4, 6a), the close relations between flesh, sin, death and law (v.5), and the antithesis between "oldness of the letter" (**palaiotēti grammatos**, v.6c) and "newness of the Spirit" (v.6b, NASB) seems to indicate that (i) under law is equivalent to under sin; (ii) under law is incompatible with being in the Spirit. It is quite possible that Paul tackles these two issues in 7: 7-25. In other words, 7: 1-6 probably serves as an introduction to the issues to be discussed in 7: 7-25.[165]

2. *Sin and Law* (7: 7-13)

The rhetorical question whether "the law is sin?" probably recalls all statements on the relation between law and sin which have been made in 5:20; 6:14; 7:5.[166] As we mentioned above, according to Judaism, sin is defined as action against the law. However, in Paul's argument, there seems to be a positive relation between sin and the law. While for Judaism, the law has functioned as a boundary marker which marks Jews from the (Gentile) 'sinners' (cf. Gal. 2: 15f.), Paul's statement seems to imply that the law serves the purpose of marking those "under law" as sinners (cf. 6: 14). If life "under grace" does not imply life in sin (6:1, 14), does life "under law" imply life in sin (cf. 6:14; 7:5f.)? In other words, if solidarity with Gentile Christians is not equivalent to life in sin, does solidarity with Jewish people mean life in sin?

Paul rejects this false conclusion emphatically (mē genoito, v.7b) and uses the first person singular to explain his understanding of the relation between sin and law. As we mentioned above, it is possible that Paul appeals to the life experiences of Jewish Christians, proselyte Christians in particular (vv. 8b - 10), to illustrate that it is sin which finds opportunity in the commandment to bring death (vv.8a, 11).[167] Therefore, it is sin, not the law, which causes death (v.13). In fact law and commandment are holy, just and good (v.12, cf. v.16b).

Thus Paul clarifies the misunderstanding by indicating that there is a close relation between sin and law, but it is sin not law which brings death. Law is good, but sin is bad. In other words, Paul's answer implies that law is good but cannot free one from sin. This probably recalls his argument in 1:18 - 3:20 that law is not a boundary marker between Jews and Gentiles; both Jew and Gentiles are not free from sin but under the power of sin. Therefore, Paul's answer possibly implies that neither solidarity with Gentile Christians (6: 1-14) nor solidarity with Jewish people means life in sin (7: 7-13). To be a Jewish Christian does not necessarily involve seeing the law as equated with sin. However, although Paul's answer clarifies that law is not equal to sin, it does indicate that law can be an instrument of sin. If this is the case, the question naturally arises whether it is possible for a Jewish Christian to observe the law. This is possibly the issue of vv. 14 - 25.

3. *Jewish Christians and the law* (7: 14-25)

Paul's statement (v.14) that the law is spiritual (**pneumatikos**) and 'I' am fleshly (**sarkinos**), sold under sin (**hamartian**) is probably a reference to vv.5f. and 12f. and also a background for his assertion in 8:2ff..

In 7:5f., 'flesh', 'sin', 'law' and 'death' are directly related; serve (**douleuein**) in "newness of the spirit" is in contrast with serve in "oldness of the letter". If we agree that the explanation in 7: 7-13 is to clarify Paul's statement in 7: 5f., then we probably have to interpret the relationship between 'flesh', 'sin', 'law' and 'death' as follows:

(1) the 'fleshly I' is a powerless victim (cf. 7: 7-13);
(2) 'sin' is the active power which brings 'death' (cf. 7:11, 13); and
(3) 'law' is holy, just and good but it can be used by 'sin' as an instrument to bring 'death' (cf. 7: 7c-8a, 11-13).

If this is the case, the antithesis of serving (**douleuō**) between the "oldness of the letter" (**palaiotēti grammatos**) and the "newness of the Spirit" (**kainotēti pneumatos**) is probably not a clear-cut contrast between law and Spirit.[168] In Romans, **douleuō** occurs 7 times;[169] apart from the one in 7: 6, all other occurrences have objects.[170] In 7: 25, the objects of the service are "the law of God" and "the law of sin". If we agree that the main theme of Rm. 7 is a discussion on law,[171] it is quite

probable that the assumed object of douleuō in 7:6 is not God but the law.[172] Paul probably defines the law served in the "oldness of the letter" as the law which makes us captive (kateichometha) and brings death (7: 5, 10f., 23), and the law served in "newness of the Spirit" as the law which is spiritual (7: 14) and the "law of God" (7: 25b). The contrast is between the service of the law according to the newness of the Spirit or according to the oldness of the letter, but not between Spirit and the law (cf. II Cor. 3: 6).[173]

This interpretation is consistent not only with our interpretation of 7:25b and 8:2ff.,[174] but also with our understanding of the antitheses between 'letter' and 'spirit', 'outward' and 'inward' in 2:29. As we have discussed in the previous chapter, the antithesis between 'letter' and 'spirit' refers to different definitions of circumcision and Jew.[175] Although it is the 'circumcision of heart' rather than 'circumcision in flesh' which is regarded as the identity marker of God's people, these pairs are probably in co-existence (cf. 7: 25b).[176] If one has not only 'circumcision in flesh' but also 'circumcision of heart', one belongs to God's people (cf. 2: 25; 4: 12, 16).

This is probably the concept underlying Paul's discussion of the relation between law and Jewish Christians in 7: 6 and 25. Paul's argument in Rm. 7 possibly runs as follows: While the Jewish Christians are asked to pay loyalty to Christ rather than to the law, it does not imply that they are required to become apostates

from Jewish faith (7: 1-3). Their loyalty to Christ can in fact benefit their covenant relation to God (v.4). The Jewish way of loyalty to the law gives opportunities to the power of sin which brings death (vv.5, 7b-13, 15-20, 23), therefore if one serves the law according to the newness of Spirit (v.6) one will not be made captive under the power of sin and death (vv. 24f., cf. 8: 2-4). Therefore, it is possible for a Jewish Christian to serve the law, although it means a life in tension (7: 15-23). However, through the liberating power of Jesus Christ who is the Lord of both Jew and Gentile, a Jewish Christian can serve the law as the law of God [according to the newness of the Spirit with one's mind] and the law as the law of sin [according to the Jewish way which emphasizes the importance of the oldness of the letter] at one and the same time (v.25).

If the above interpretation is acceptable, Paul's message in Rm. 7 would possibly include the following functions:

(a) to assure the Jewish Christians in Rome that faith in Christ together with the Gentile Christians does not require them to become antinomians or apostates from Jewish faith;

(b) to help them understand that their life as a Jew and a Christian at the same time is a life in tension, and it is Jesus Christ who can enable them to live in this tension and liberate them from the power of sin and death.

Our interpretation of Paul's message and functions in Rm. 7 is also relevant to the Gentile Christians who stand

in the background when Paul probably starts to address directly the Jewish Christians (7: 1). They should know that Paul does not seem to require the Jewish Christians to give up their observance of the Jewish law and they are expected to understand the difficulty of the life situation of the Jewish Christians. Furthermore, it is significant to contrast Paul's exhortation to Gentile Christians in 6: 15-22 and his description of the life situation of Jewish Christians in Rm. 7. In 6: 15-22, Paul exhorts the Gentile Christians to denounce their pre-Christian sinful acts and to understand their status as changed from being the slaves of sin to being the slaves of God. However, in Rm. 7, Paul possibly depicts the life of Jewish Christians as a life in tension of serving the law of God and the law of sin. In other words, Paul seems to be unambiguously exhorting the Gentile Christians to cut their relationship with their pre-Christian life but he does not seem to require the Jewish Christians to have a clear cut separation from observing the law as Jews.

The above interpretation is consistent with the evidence from the text and our understanding of the situation of Roman Christians and Paul's purpose in writing Romans.

IV. The New Life Situation of Jewish and Gentile Christians: Solidarity in Spirit and in the Love of Christ (Rm.8)

As we have mentioned above, one of the main purposes of Rm. 6-7 may be to clarify the misunderstanding of the relation between antinomism and the solidarity of Jewish

and Gentile Christians. If Paul is successful in achieving this goal, it would be natural for him in Rm.8 to reaffirm the solidarity of the Jewish and Gentile Christians, which has been spoken of in 4:12 - 5:21. In Rm.8, the solidarity is particularly emphasized in terms of solidarity in Spirit (8: 1-30) and solidarity in the love of Christ (8: 31-39).

A. Solidarity in Spirit (8: 1-30)

In 8: 1-30, **pneuma** occurs 19 times.[177] In many cases it represents the force which liberates Christians from sin, death and flesh (cf. vv.2, 4ff., 11, 13), and in some other cases it helps to give an identity of belonging (cf. vv.9, 14, 16) to Jewish and Gentile Christians. It is most significant that in vv. 14-30 Paul uses a cluster of Jewish terms (which are used to describe the identity of Israel), such as "sons of God" (**huioi theou**, vv.14f., 19, 23; cf. 9: 26; Deut. 14: 1; Hos. 1: 10),[178] or "children of God" (**tekna theou**, vv.16f., 21),[179] "heirs of God" (**klēronomoi theou**, v.17; cf. 4: 13; Deut. 32: 9; I Kings 8: 51, 53; II Kings 21: 14; Is. 63: 17; Jer. 10: 16),[180] "saints" (**hagion**, v.27; cf. 1: 7), "the called" (**klētois**, vv.28, 30; cf. 1: 7), to identify the solidarity of Jewish and Gentile Christians in Spirit.[181]

One of the main purposes for Paul in applying these Jewish terms for God's covenant people to both Jews and Gentiles is probably to remind the Jewish Christians that Gentile Christians are also included within the boundary of God's covenant with Jews (cf. 1: 1-5, 16f., 3: 21f., 28ff.; 4: 11f., 16f.). Furthermore, Paul may also be saying to the Gentile Christians among his audience that in the Spirit

they share blessings which were granted first to the Jews (cf. 1: 2ff., 16; 2: 10; 3: 1f.; 9: 4f.). In other words, Paul's argument in 8: 1-30 implies a call for the consolidation of the relationship between Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome.

B. Solidarity in the Love of Christ (8: 31-39)

The phrase **ti oun eroumen** in 8: 31a obviously acts as an introductory formula for making a conclusion to the preceding passage. However, in contrast to those previous cases (cf. 3: 5; 4: 1; 6: 1; 7: 7),[182] it does not introduce a false conclusion. In view of the high and confident assurance expressed in 8: 26-30, the rhetorical question in v.31a seems to show that the dialogue of Paul and his addressees has reached such a point that no more concrete false conclusions or objections can be drawn or raised. The time for considering all the arguments in the previous part of the letter and to make a sound judgement for the discussion has probably come.

By means of a series of statements-and-questions (vv. 31b-32), questions-and-statements (vv.33-37)[183] and finally an emphatic assertion of his convictions (vv.38, 39),[184] Paul recalls the conclusions reached in **the previous chapters.**[185] The point is simple and clear: in a setting of a law-court, God and Christ are on the side of Jewish and Gentile Christians (vv.31b-34).[186] There will be nothing in their life situation (v.35)[187] or in the world (vv.38f.), which can be against (**v**.31), or charge (**egkaleō**, v.33), or condemn them (**katakrinō**, v.34), or separate (**chōrizō**,

vv.35, 39) their solidarity from the bond of Christ's love (vv.35 - 39).

In short, one of the main purposes of 8: 31-39, or possibly even Rm. 1-8,[188] is probably to conclude Paul's argument for removing any possible obstacle in the way of building up the close relationship between Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome.

Conclusion:

In most parts of Rm. 5-8, Paul probably addresses the Roman Christians as a whole. It is probably in 6: 1ff. and 6: 15 that Paul identifies the questions particularly of the Jewish Christians among his audience about the connection between antinomian ism and their solidarity with Gentile Christians. However, in 6: 4-14, Paul answers the first query (6: 1ff.) by identifying himself with the Christian community as a whole (vv. 4-10) and directing his address to them as a community in solidarity (vv. 11-14). In 6: 15-22, Paul probably answers the query of the Jewish Christians by means of giving an exhortation to the Gentile Christians. In 6: 23, he concludes his answer-in-exhortation by means of a confessional statement which probably affirms the solidarity of all Christians, that is, including Jewish and Gentile Christians in Christ Jesus our Lord. It is in Rm. 7 that Paul probably singles out the Jewish Christians among his audience explicitly and addresses their concern about the relationship between antinomism and their Christian identity specifically.

In Rm. 5 and 8, Paul probably wants to consolidate the

solidarity of Jewish and Gentile Christians which he hopes to have achieved by his argument in the preceding passages, i.e. 1:18 - 4:25 and 6:1 - 7:25, or even 1:18 - 7:25. In Rm. 5, one of the main purposes of Paul's message is probably to encourage the Jewish and Gentile Christians to face the difficulties and possible sufferings in building up a peaceful relationship among them. Paul's teaching on hope probably leads to his exhortation that hope can be maintained and rekindled by welcoming one another to attend worship held in their house churches (15: 4, 7-13). Paul probably introduces the Adam - Christ typology to support his argument for their solidarity as well as to imply that the stereotyped language on the distinction between Jew and Gentile should be replaced by these new types.

In Rm. 6 and 7, which is bracketed by Paul's message of affirmation on the solidarity of Roman Christians in Rm. 5 and 8, Paul probably tries to remove one of the most important obstacles for the solidarity of Jewish and Gentile Christians, namely, the doubt about the relation between antinomism and the solidarity. Paul answers the query firstly by asserting that the solidarity is one in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, which is to be dead to sin and alive to God. Secondly, Paul indicates that the Gentile Christians are not under the law but also not slaves of sin. They have to separate from their pre-Christian life. Thirdly, Paul emphasizes that the Jewish Christians are not under the law but also not apostates from Jewish faith. They can probably serve the law according to the newness of the Spirit but not according to

the oldness of the letter. A Jewish Christian can possibly live as a Jew and a Christian at one and the same time, but this means a life in tension. Nevertheless, through the liberating power of Jesus Christ, they can serve the law of God as Christians and the law of sin as Jews but without being made captive by sin and death or condemned.

Paul's discussion of the law in Rm. 7 is probably the most explicit evidence in Rm. 5 - 8 which indicates that there is a different attitude towards law between Christian Jews and non-Christian Jews. Although Paul's argument may imply a distance existed between Christian and non-Christian Jews, his affirmation of the positive nature of the law also implies that this distance is not so great as to cause a separation of the Christian Jews from the Jewish community. The issue on the relationship between Christian and non-Christian Jews is probably an important question yet to be answered in the following part of Romans (Chs. 9 - 11).

In Rm. 8, Paul concludes his argument for the solidarity of Jewish and Gentile Christians by affirming that they are a solidarity in Spirit and in the love of Christ. The Jewish terms which are used to describe Israel can be applied not only to Jewish Christians but also Gentile Christians. The solidarity of Jewish and Gentile Christians can face any difficulty in the real life situation and there is nothing in the world which can dissolve this solidarity in the love of Christ.

In short, ***one of the main purposes of Rm. 5-8 is***

probably to cast away the doubt about the relation between antinomism and the solidarity of Jewish and Gentile Christians on the one hand and to consolidate Paul's implicit call for the building up of a community net-work among the Roman Christians on the other. Although a distance between Christian and non-Christian Jews is indicated in Rm. 7, there is no explicit evidence in this part of Romans that the Jewish Christians are persuaded to denounce their Jewish identity or to separate themselves from the non-Christian Jews.

Notes to Chapter Ten

1. See discussion in pp. 339f. (Chapter 9).
2. See discussion of this pattern of address in pp. 327f. (Chapter 9).
4. See discussion in **note 122 below.**
5. 7: 4, 8, 9, 10, 10, 11, 13, 13, 14, 17, 17, 18, 18, 18, 20, 20, 20, 21, 21, 23, 23, 23, 23, 24, 24, 25, 25.
6. 6: 19; 7: 1, 7, 7, 15, 15, 15, 15, 15, 15, 16, 16, 16, 18, 19, 19, 19, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23; 8: 18, 38.
7. 5: 1, 5, 5, 6, 8, 8, 8, 11, 21; 6: 4, 6, 6, 23; 7: 5, 6, 25; 8: 4, 16, 18, 23, 23, 23, 23, 23, 26, 31, 31, 32, 32, 34, 35, 37, 39, 39.
8. 5:1, 2, 2, 2, 3, 9, 10, 10, 11; 6:1, 1, 2, 2, 3, 3, 4, 4, 5, 5, 8, 8, 8, 15, 15; 7:4, 5, 6, 6, 7, 14; 8: 12, 15, 16, 17, 17, 22, 24, 25, 25, 25, 26, 26, 28, 31, 36, 36, 37; in which the two occurrences in 8: 36 are part of an OT quotation (LXX Ps. 43: 23).
9. 6: 11, 11, 12, 13, 13, 13, 14, 16, 19, 19, 19, 22; 7: 4, 4; 8: 9, 9, 10, 11, 11, 11.
10. 6: 3, 11, 13, 13, 14, 16, 16, 16, 16, 17, 17, 17, 18, 19, 19, 20, 20, 21, 21, 22; 7:1; 8: 13, 13, 13, 13, 15, 15.
11. See **note 5 and 6** above.
12. In this passage, neither first person nor second person occur.
13. The first person plural pronouns occur in 5:11, 21; 6:23; 7:25; 8:4; and the verbs occur in 5:11; 6:15; 7:7, 14; 8:12.
14. See **note 9 & 10** above.
15. See **note 7 & 8** above.
16. See **note 7 & 8** above.
17. See **note 9** above.
18. See **note 10** above.
19. See **note 9 & 10** above.
20. See **notes 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10** above.
21. See **note 5** above.
22. See **note 6** above.
23. Paul uses past tense in 7:7-13 whereas in vv.14-25, the present tense is used. Therefore, v.14 is considered as the beginning of a new paragraph. This paragraph has been described by Nygren (R, 1944: 284) as "perhaps the most discussed and fought over part of Romans", which "presents us with one of the greatest problems of the NT". See also Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 341f.).
24. See **note 9** above.
25. See **note 7 & 8** above.
26. See Feuillet (1950: 356 n.1); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 131 n.*); Black (R, 1973: 24); Cranfield (R, 1975: 253); Martin (1981: 136f.); Dunn (R, MS: 383).
27. See Bultmann (1952: I, 279); Nygren (R, 1944: 31f., 187ff.); Dahl (1951); Dodd (R, 1959: 93); Kummel (1973: 306, n.1); Cranfield (R, 1975: 22?ff.); Schlier (R, 1977: 137); Michel; (R, 1978: 176f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 91, 131); Dunn (1987); see detailed discussion in Beker (1980: 64-69). Scroggs (1976) suggests that chs. 5-8 and chs. 1-4, 9-11 were originally two separate homilies. Beker (1980: 83) suggests that 5:1 - 8:39 has a 'confessional character'.
28. Dahl (1969: 17, n.15) suggests that "the section 5: 1-11 and

5: 12-21 function both as conclusions of what precedes and as introductions to what follows"; cf. Sanders (1977: 487). Dunn (1987) also thinks that "ch. 5 as a whole must be regarded as a conclusion to the argument so far. 5:1-11 certainly functions in this way", see also Wolter (1978); Wilckens (R, 1978: 181f.); Kaye (1979: 12f.).

29. It is noteworthy that the same or similar formulae of **tou kuriou hēmōn Iēsou Christou** are used to mark off chs. 5, 6, 7, and 8. Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 258f.) suggests that this is scarcely accidental; Kramer (1963: 25) thinks that "he [Paul] habitually uses fuller Christological titles in closing passages".
30. Cf. Cranfield (1982: 222). For discussion of the use of the phrase 'Jesus is the Lord' in early Christian confession, see Kramer (1963: 65-71); Dunn (1977: 50-54).
31. See **note 7** above.
32. See **note 8** above.
33. Cf. Kaye (1979: 14f.); Stowers (1981: 133); Cranfield (1982: 223). Cranfield (R, 1975: 297) suggests that the question introduced is different from those in 3:5 and 9:14, which are stamped from the start as expressing false inferences by their **mē** form. However, while it is repudiated immediately by the same **mē genoito** as in 3:5, 9:14, the question introduced here by **ti oun eroumen** is certainly also a false conclusion.
34. **pleonasē/i, hamartia** and **hē charis** appear in both 5:20 and 6:1b, see also most of the commentators. Gaumann's suggestion (1967: 106f.) that 6:1 is connected with 3:21-31 and 5:12-21 is too far-fetched, see the discussion in Kaye (1979: 20ff.).
35. The subject matter in both verses deals with the relationship between sin and grace; see Nygren (R, 1944: 231); Dunn (1987b: 2860). The issue of law in 5:20 is not mentioned in 6:1 but is picked up in 6:14f..
36. See Minear (1971: 61f.); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 186 n.4: 297); Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 8); Theissen (1983: 179); Watson (1986: 147); Dunn (R, MS: 462).
37. See our discussion in pp. 334-6 (**Chapter 10**).
38. Cf. Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 186 n.4, 297 n.1).
39. Minear (1971: 62) rightly sees that in 3: 8 Paul is defending himself against an accusation, while in 6: 1 his purpose is to correct the perspectives of some Roman Christians. Against Watson (1986: 147), he suggests that Paul defends himself in Rm. 6 but not so much in 3: 8.
40. Cf. Stuhlmacher (1986: 190f.); Dunn (R, MS: 461).
41. Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 8) and Stuhlmacher (1986: 190) rightly see that Paul is engaged in dialogue with a Jewish partner in 6:1; however, Stuhlmacher is probably wrong to see that Paul has a (Jewish-) Christian opponent in view.
42. Cranfield (R, 1975: 300) suggests that " ē **agnoeite** (compare 7:1; also 6:16; 11:2; I Cor. 3:16; 5:6; 6:2, 3, 9, 15, 16, 19; 9:13, 24; Jas. 4:4; also Jn. 19:10) implies that the author thinks that the Christians in Rome are likely to know at least the truth stated in the rest of the verse -- perhaps also some of the doctrine which he set out in the following verses as flowing from it". Based on the fact that the Roman Christian community was not founded by Paul and had not yet been visited by him, Cranfield further suggests that "the belief that baptism into Christ involved baptism into His death must therefore have belonged to the common primitive Christian teaching (as opposed to being a Pauline contribution), while not absolutely certain, is highly probable", also Bornkamm

(1939: 74); Beasley-Murray (1962: 126); Tannehill (1966: 12f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 164f.); cf. Bultmann (1952: 293, cf. 140f.).

43. **logizesthe** here is certainly imperative, a strong word to express a firm conviction; so Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 315); Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 19); Dunn (R, MS: 482).
44. In 6:11, there is the first occurrence in Romans of **en Christō̃/i Iēsou** (cf. 8:1; 12:5; 16:3, 7, 9, 10; I Cor. 1:2, 30; 4:10; 15:18; II Cor. 5:17; 12:2; Gal. 1:22; 2:4; 3:26, 28; etc.). In this context, the **en Christō̃/i** denotes not mere location, but something more dynamic in terms of relationship; see Goppelt (1976 II: 105); Wedderburn (1985: esp. 90f.); Dunn (R, MS: 483).
45. Cf. Dunn (R, MS: 483).
46. So Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 315f.); Kaye (1979: 64); Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 19).
47. See discussion in Grundmann (TDNT VII: 786f.).
48. This phrase occurs in Romans only here (cf. 8:32; Col. 2:20; 3:3); for discussion on Paul's use of this phrase in his letters, see Best (1955: 44-64); Wedderburn (1985).
49. Many scholars acknowledge that the baptismal language in 6:3ff. is related to the idea of 'corporate personality', see Dodd (R, 1959: 106f.); Best (1955: 56ff.; 66f.; 73); Beasley-Murray (1962: 135ff.); Grundmann (TDNT, VII:789); cf. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 163f.). However, this idea is criticized by Tannehill (1966: 5, 28-29) as problematic, he indicates that what we can find is the idea of "corporate entities".
50. Many scholars prefer to connect vv. 12-14 with 6: 1-11 as a sub-division of Rm.6; so Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 153); Nygren (R, 1944: 231); Cranfield (1975 I: 296); Schlier (R, 1977: 190); Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 6). However, some scholars suggest that vv. 12-14 is a transition passage which develops the theme of v.11; so Kaesemann (R, 1980: 176); Dunn (R, MS: 496).
51. For discussion of the function of the phrase **ti oun** or **ti oun eroumen** in Romans, see Stowers (1981: 133); Cranfield (1982: 223); Watson (1986: 124) and **note 173 in the last chapter.**
52. So Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 167); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 321); Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 34); Dunn (R, MS: 503).
53. So Maillot (R, 1985:); cf. Black (R, 1973: 97); Dunn (R, MS: 503).
54. The phrase **hupo nomon** occurs twice in Romans (6:14, 15), three times in I Cor. (9:20) and five times in Galatians (3:23; 4:4, 5, 21; 5:18). There are different interpretations of this phrase among scholars. Cranfield (1964: 158) thinks it denotes that Christians "have been freed from its [the law's] condemnation and curse (cf. Rm. 8:1) and from the vain quest for righteousness by works of the law". Raeisaenen (1983: 47) argues that the assumption of the phrase "must be that the Christians are free from the ordinances of the law". However, we suggest that the phrase **ou .... hupo nomon** in Rm. 6:14b probably has an emphasis on the fact that Christians (Jewish and Gentile) are freed from the dominion of law. Nevertheless, in the context of Rm. 6: 15 - 22, the phrase ' in the rhetorical question of 6:15 is more reasonably to be understood as a Jewish response to Paul's exhortation in 6: 11-14 in enquiring about the relationship between sin and the [Christian] Gentiles who are by definition "not under the law"; see discussion on **hupo nomon** in Dunn (R, MS: 501f.); cf. I Cor. 9:20; see Conzelmann (IC, 1969: 160); Fee (IC, 1987:

427f.); cf. Gal. 3:23; 4:4f.; see Betz (G, 1979: 176, 207).
55. See note 49 of **Chapter 9** (p.404).
56. See discussion in pp.334-6 of **Chapter 9.**
57a. For discussion on the identity of those "who know the law" as Jewish Christians among the addressees, see **next Section** on 7: 1 - 6.
57b. Cf. Minear (1971: 62).
58. Sanders (1983: 72), his emphasis.
59. E.g. Dodd (R, 1959: 119); Bruce (R, 1963: 145); Michel (R, 1978: 219f.).
60. E.g. Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 172); Bultmann (1952 I: 259f.); Knox (R, 1954: 488); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 187); NEB.
61. E.g. Leenhardt (R, 1957: 177); Barrett (R, 1962: 135f.); Murray (R, 1959 I: 240); Black (R, 1973: 99); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 332f.); Schlier (R, 1977: 215); Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 63f.); Sanders (1983: 183f.); Badenas (1985: 113; 246 n.220); Dunn (R, MS: 525).
62. See Corbett (1930: 249); cf. Dunn (R, MS: 526).
63. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 187).
64. See our discussion in **chs. 1 and 8.**
65. See Section III.C.1 below.
66. So Blaeser (1941: 29f.); Minear (1971: 64); Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 63); Sanders (1983: 183); Watson (1986: 224 n.25). Against Barrett (R, 1962: 135); Stuhlmacher (1985: 98 n.17), they suggest that 7:1 does not indicate that Paul addresses the Jewish audience. However, Cranfield (R, 1980 II: 63) rightly points out that "by **ginōskein** : something more than mere acquaintance is probably meant". In our opinion, it is more likely that **ginōskein** primarily refers to Jews, or at least proselytes, who really 'know' the law, rather than 'God-fearers'.
67. So Schlier (R, 1977: 214); Dunn (R, MS: 525); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 81).
68. There are 10 occurrences where Paul calls his addressees **adelphoi** in Romans (1:13; 7:1, 4; 8:12; 10:1; 11:25; 12:1; 15:14, 30; 16:17), and among them only 2 (here and 15:14) are used with **mou.**
69. So Theissen (1983: 179).
70. Cf. Theissen (1983: 181).
71. Cf. Theissen (1983: 179).
72. Cf. Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 75).
73. See **note 23** above.
74. Jerome's suggestion that **oidamen** in 7:14 should be divided so as to read **oida men** is followed by Barth (R, 1933: 259) and Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 85); see more references in Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 85 n.348). However, it is rejected by most scholars, e.g. Kuss (R, 1959 II: 452); Metzger (1971: 514); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 355); Michel (R, 1978: 229 n.28); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 199).
75. So Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 355); Schlier (R, 1977: 229). See more references in **note 56 of last chapter.**
76. See Barrett (R, 1962: 146); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 355f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 199).
77. So Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 355).
78. So Black (R, 1973: 104); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 199). For discussion of Paul's positive understanding of the law, see Cranfield (1964: esp. 152ff., 157ff.); Gaston (1979).
79. For surveys of the debate, see Kuss (R, 1959: 462-85); Kertelge (1971); Cranfield (R, 1975: 342-47); Dunn (1975: 257f.); Michel (R, 1978: 240-5); Theissen (1983: 177f.); for

more references to numerous studies in this area, see notes in Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 72f.); Moo (1986: 130f.); and Ziesler (1980: 52f.).

80. So Nygren (R, 1944: 284-303); Murray (R, 1959: 257ff.); Bruce (R, 1963: 147f., 150ff.); Dunn (1975); Gundry (1980); for more references see Dunn (1975: 258 n.8); and Moo (1986: 130 n.5). Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 342) rejects 7: 7-13 but accepts 7: 14-25 (pp.344-7) as autobiographical; cf. Dunn (R, MS: 552, 560).

81. So Dodd (R, 1959: 123); Dahl (1956: 93); Kertelge (1971: 107f.); Beker (1980: 240-3); Theissen (1983: 190-208); Moo (1986: 128f.); Segal (1986: 361f.); Ziesler (1988: 51); Dunn (R, MS: 553); for more references, see Moo (1986: 135 n.59).

82. So Kuemmel (1929); Bultmann (1932); Bornkamm (1950); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 192); Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 76f.). Theissen (1983: 177 n.1) notes that the complete success of Kuemmel's influential article (1929) can be observed only in German-speaking areas.

83. Most exegetes seem to favour this view; so Sanders (1977: 443); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 192, 199); Gundry (1980); Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 86 n.353); Theissen (1983: 182f.).

84. So Nygren (R, 1944: 284-303); Barrett (R, 1962: 151-3); Bruce (R, 1963: 150ff.); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 344-7); Dunn (1975); (R, MS: 560); Fung (1978). For more references, see Dunn (1975: 258 n.8) and Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 85 n.344). Ziesler (1972: 203) and Campbell (1980) see 7: 7-25 as a description of Christian experience; however, Ziesler retreats from this position in his recent article (1988: 41, 51).

85. So Barrett (R, 1962: 140); Michel (R, 1978: 223); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 193); Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 76); Stowers (1981: 178f., 243 n.4); Rhyne (1981: 46f.). Dunn (R, MS: 548, 553) suggests that the 'I' form in 7: 7-25 is influenced by Jewish psalm tradition (cf. Pss. 69, 77; Pss. Sol. 5, 8; 1QH 3:19ff.; 4:29ff.; and 11:3ff.) rather than by diatribe style; however, Segal (1986) argues that these psalms come from confessional poetry appropriated into liturgy, which is quite a different Sitz im Leben from Paul's letter; cf. Michel (R, 1978: 223ff.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 193).

86a. See pp. 329f. (**Chapter 9**).

86b. See the detailed discussion in Theissen (1983: 190-201), he rightly suggests that the 'I' in Rm. 7 combines personal and typical traits (p.201).

87. See discussion in **above pp.431-3** and **below pp. 459-61**.

88a. There are 20 instances of the nominative case of egō appearing in Romans; 4 of them are used in OT quotations (10:19; 11:3; 12: 19; 14: 11), once (16: 22) refers to Tertius, the amanuensis, 10 occurrences are used in diatribal passages of which 8 are in 7: 7-25 (3:7; 7:9, 10, 14, 17, 20, 20, 24, 25; 11:19). The 5 occurrences which explicitly refer to Paul are in 9:3; 11:1, 13; 15:14; 16:4.

88b. See discussion on the concept of "corporate solidarity" in **note 46a of last chapter.**

89. Moo (1986: 129) rightly sees that in Rm.7 egō has been used because Paul identifies himself in a 'corporate' sense, with the experiences of his own people; cf. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 197). However, in the context of Rm.7, it would be more accurate to say that the oscillation between the 'we' and 'I' in 7: 7-24 and the inclusion of 'I' and 'You' into 'We' in 7: 1-6 implies that Paul identifies with the experiences of the Jewish Christians among his audience.

90. So Kuemmel (1929: 51ff.); Bornkamm (1950: 92); Conzelmann

(1968: 233); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 195); Moo (1986: 122); Segal (1986: 362f.).

91. E.g. Kuemmel (1929: 132f.; cf. 51-3) finds no fixed experience depicted and takes **pote** (v.9) "ganz allgemein den Lebenszustand"; cf. Bultmann (1930: 134); Bornkamm (1950: 93f.).
92. So Davies (1980: 24ff.); Bruce (R, 1963: 147); Gundry (1980: 232).
93. So Kuss (R, 1959 II: 446); Lyonnet (1962); Longenecker (1964: 88-95); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 195f.); Huebner (1978: 75f.); Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 81f.); Wedderburn (1980: 419ff.); Theissen (1983: 202-211); Watson (1986: 151-3); Dunn (R, MS: 548-5); cf. Conzelmann (1968: 233).
94. So Stauffer (TDNT II: 358-62); Duelmen (1968: 101f., 109f.); Lambrecht (1974); Michel (R, 1978: 242); Moo (1986). For more references, see Moo (1986: 130 n.4).
95. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 195); cf. Moo (1986: 126).
96. Although the term occurs in the Talmud for one who is subject to the law, its usage to denote the occasion of assuming religious and legal obligations does not appear before the 15th century. The earliest evidence referring to the status of obligation for boys of 13 is found in Rabbinic material (e.g. Pirke Aboth 5:24, Judah ben Tema of c.150 C.E.); see Z. Kaplan "Bar Mitzvar, Bat Mitzvah" EJ IV: 243-4; Davies (1980: 24f.); Gundry (1980: 233).
97. Cf. S-B II: 144-7.
98. Theissen (1983: 251 n.52) notes an inscription from a Jewish gravestone in Rome which describes a child (**nēpios**) as "a lover of the law" (**philonomos**); see Leon (1960: 280 no.111); NDIEC I: 117; cf. Dunn (R, MS: 553).
99. So Kuemmel (1929: 81f.); Bornkamm (1950: 93); Dunn (R, MS: 553). Bornkamm (1950: 102 n.15) rightly notes that "'Apart from the law' concerns the absence of the law, not only the condition of ignorance".
100. See **note 93** above.
101. See the criticism on this view in Bornkamm (1950: 93); Conzelmann (1968: 233); Gundry (1980: 229-32); Moo (1986: 124f.). For a recent attempt to solve these problems, see Theissen (1983: 202-11).
102. See Luz (1968: 165); Dunn (R, MS: 554); cf. Furnish (1968: 141); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 196).

103a. See Bornkamm (1950: 94); Conzelmann (1968: 233); Huebner (1978: 73); Wedderburn (1980: 422); Dunn (R, MS: 553).

103b. Although Theissen (1983: 202-11) argues that Adam is the model of the 'I' in 7: 7-13, he (p.251) admits that "who in the Roman community would have understood that [Adam is speaking]?"

104. See p. 437 above.
105. See Marxsen (1964: 97f.); Neil (1976: 63); Wilckens (R, 1978 I: 37); Dunn (R, MS: 63). Stuhlmacher (1986: 188) follows Schmithals (1975: 83ff.) in suggesting that the Roman Christian community was comprised predominantly of "God-fearers"; however, they do not indicate whether there are significant numbers of proselytes or not.
106. Cf. Philo Life of Moses II: 17-20; Josephus CA II: 46-7, 123, 209-10, 280-2; Plutarch Life of Cicero 7:6; Juvenal, Satirae VI: 545; Schuerer (1986 III: 155) and the discussion in **ch.3** above.
107. There is no parallel of Mtt. 23:15 in the other three gospels. Nevertheless, this is a reference to the situation of the

first century proselytes which possibly indicates that they are even in a worse position than the Jews under the judgement of God.

108. Cf. James 2: 17, 26; I Cor. 15:56; so Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 351); Michel (R, 1978: 227 n.21); cf. Nygren (R, 1944: 280); Dunn (R, MS: 551); Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 81).

109. The word **anazaô** cannot be found in LXX or in Hellenistic Jewish literature; see Bultmann (TDNT II: 872). It occurs only twice in the NT. In Lk. 15:24, it is used figuratively to denote "alive again". However, in Rm. 7:9, most scholars maintain that it does not have an emphasis on **ana** - (again), but simply means "come to life"; so NEB; NIV; Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 352); cf. Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 82); Bultmann (TDNT II: 872f.). It is quite obvious that **anezêsen** (v.9) is in contrast with **nekra** (v.8); if the rendition for **nekra** as "inactive" is acceptable, then **anezêsen** probably means "active" or "alive"; cf. Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 180); Nygren (R, 1944: 280); Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 82); Dunn (R, MS: 554).

110. See analysis in Theissen (1987: 184-90); cf. Dunn (1975: 261f.).

111. Cf. Dunn (1987b: 2862); Theissen (1987: 188f.).

112. See 7: 7, 14; so Kuemmel (1929: 8ff.); Bultmann (1932: 180f.); Bornkamm (1950: 89); Stendahl (1963: 92); Robinson (1979: 91); Beker (1980: 105, 238f.); Byrne (1981: 565); Sanders (1983a: 71); Raesaenen (1983: 67); Dunn (1987b: 2862). Against Kaesemann (R, 1980: 192, cf. 199); he suggests that after 7:14 "the Torah recedes completely into the background and everything focuses on anthropology"; so Watson (1986: 153).

113. See detailed discussion in Wilckens (R, 1980: 88f.); Theissen (1983: 255f. n.57); Dunn (1987b: 2862f.), (R, MS: 565f.). Against A-G: 544; Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 182f.); Duelmen (1968: 115-8); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 362; 364); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 205); Schlier (R, 1977: 234); Raeisaenen (1979-80); Sanders (1983: 15 n.26).

114. Dunn (1987b: 2862f.) points out that the implication here is that "this abuse of the law by sin and death is the same as or equivalent in effect to the abuse of the law indicated in ch.2 and countered in 3:27 - 4:25, while 'the law of God, the law of the mind' is the law understood in terms of faith, with the obedience of faith, from the heart (1:5; 2:29; 3:31; 6:17)"; cf. Theissen (1987: 256), he suggests that "the new orientation on the norm becomes a conflict of two normative systems".

115. Ziesler (1988: 41, cf. 51) claims that "It must be suspected that the confusions concerning the correct interpretation of Rm.7 must be blamed, at least in part, on Paul himself, unless we are to hold that almost all his interpreters have been miraculously and incurably obtuse".

116. Theisen (1987: 252f.) rightly sees that there is a connection between Rm. 7:7ff. and I Cor. 9: 19-23. However, he suggests that Paul interprets his life in the light of the role of Adam in Rm. 7:7ff. and in the light of the role of Christ in I Cor. 9: 19-23.

117. For recent discussion of the problems involved in interpreting this passage, see B. L. Martin (1981).

118. Many scholars suggest that 8:1 is connected with 7:6 rather than 7: 24, 25; so Leenhardt (R, 1957: 200); Barrett (R, 1962: 154); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 372, 373 n.3); Schlier (R, 1977: 237); Michel (R, 1978: 248). 7: 7-25 is therefore commonly

regarded as an excursus; so Barrett (R, 1962: 154); Schlier (R, 1977: 237); Beker (1980: 83 n.*). However, this contention is rejected by Kaesemann (R, 1980: 210 cf. 192) and Dunn (R, MS: 547). Bornkamm (1950: 99f.); Black (R, 1973: 108); Osten-Sacken (1975: 57-60); Keck (1980: 42f.); Byrne (1981: 567) also agree that there is a strong continuity between 7:24f. and 8:1f. For discussion of the connection between 7:24f. and 8:1f., see below.

119. **katakrima** occurs only 3 times in the NT, all in Romans (5: 16, 18; 8:1). The conviction that God does not condemn those in Christ Jesus is possibly one of the bases for Paul to exhort the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rm. 14:1 - 15:13 that they should not pass judgement on one another (**allēlous krinōmen**, 14:13a) but "welcome one another, ... as Christ has welcomed you" (15:7). For discussion on Paul's use of **krinō** in Rm.14, see **note 50** of **ch.5** above.

120. We follow Fuchs (1949: 85); Lohse (1973); Hahn (1976: 38, 41, 47-49); Stuhlmacher (1978: 127); Byrne (1979: 92 n.47); Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 122); Dunn (R, MS: 595ff.) in seeing that **nomos** in 8:2 refers to the Jewish law; for more references, see Raeisaenen (1979-80), (1983: 51 n.37). For the opposite view see Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 374-6), he changes his position from (1964: 166f.); Raeisaenen (1979-80), (1983: 52); Sanders (1983: 15 n.26). For references on understanding **nomos** in 7:25b as torah, see **above note 113.**

121. Although Kaesemann (R, 1980: 215) wrongly follows Bultmann (1947: 199f.); Fuchs (1949: 83) in suggesting 8:1 is probably a gloss; so Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 119); he (p.214) rightly sees that there is a parallel between 7:25b and 8:1.

122. Although **me** is read by a number of witnesses and used to be frequently preferred; so Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 191); **se** is now widely accepted as the best-attested reading; see discussion in Metzger (1971: 516); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 376f.).

123. For discussion of the significance of the change from first person singular in 7:24f. to second person singular in 8:2, see below.

124. By overlooking the fact that Paul uses the second person singular to typify his addressees (cf. 2: 1-5, 17-27), many scholars do not recognize the significance of this unexpected **se** in this context. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 215) simply relates **se** to **humeis** in v.9 without giving any justification. While Cranfield (1982: 218) thinks that Paul's use of the second person singular in Rm.2 is to apostrophize "the typical individual member of a group which is neither the community to which the letter as a whole is addressed nor yet a section of that community, so that the use of the second person singular is a somewhat artificial rhetorical device", he (1982: 219; cf. R, 1975: 377) suggests that the **se** in 8:2 refers to the individual in the church in Rome.

125. For detailed discussion, see Dunn (R, MS: 595f.), he rightly points out that "The twofold law of v.2 simply restates the two-sidedness of the law expounded in 7: 7-25 in terms which would already be familiar to his readers"; cf. Byrne (1981: 567).

126. **hrusetai** is in the future tense and it probably denotes eschatological deliverance (cf. Mtt. 6:13; Rm. 11:26; I Thess. 1:10); so Schneider & Brown (NIDNTT III: 204); Dunn (R, MS: 570); while **ēleutherōsen** is an aorist which probably denotes the freedom of which Christians have enjoyed. If this is the

case, the tension between 7:24f. probably denotes the tension of already/not yet which underlies the whole of Paul's soteriology; see Dunn (1975a: 264f.); (1975b: 308-18).

127. See references in above **note 118**.

128. **harmartia** occurs 15 times in Rm. 7, 4 times in 8: 1-3, but only once (8:10) after 8:3 (it occurs only twice in Rm. 9-16, i.e. 11:27; 14:23); **thanatos** occurs 5 times in Rm.7, once in 8:2 and twice in 8:6, 38 (it does not occur at all in Rm. 9-16); **nomos** occurs 23 times in Rm.7, 4 times in 8: 1-4, but only once (8:7) after 8:4 (it occurs 6 times in Rm. 9-16, i.e. 9:31, 31; 10:4, 5; 13: 8, 10). However, **sarx** occurs only 3 times in Rm.7, but 4 times in 8: 1-4, and 9 times in 8: 5-13 (it occurs 5 times before Rm.7 and 5 times after Rm.8); **pneuma** occurs only once (7:6) in Rm.7, twice in 8: 1-4, but 19 times in 8: 5-27 (it occurs 4 times before Rm.7 and 8 times after Rm.8).

129. So Dunn (R, MS: 603).

130. Although Kaesemann (R, 1980: 217f.) mistakenly interprets **dikaiōma tou nomou** as "the legal claim" (cf. 1:32) and **plēroun** as "the keeping of a norm"; so Delling (TDNT, VI: 293); Raeisaenen (1983: 65 n.113); however, he rightly sees a connection between 8:3 and 13:8f..

131. Cf. Metzger (1971: 516).

132. So Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 387); cf. Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 130); Dunn (R, MS: 609).

133. Cf. Cranfield (1982: 221).

134. Cranfield (1982: 217f.) rightly sees that the second person plural occurs quite frequently in 1: 1-15; 15:14 - 16:27, but in the rest of the letter, its occurrences are confined to 2:24; 6:3, 11-14, 16-22; 7:1, 4; 8: 9-11, 13-15; 11:13, 25, 28, 30f.; 12: 1-3, 9-19; 13: 6-8, 11, 14; 14:1, 16; 15: 5-7, 13. However, Cranfield probably overlooks the occurrence of the second person plural verb **oidate** in 11:2.

135. So Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 408, 441), (1982: 226); cf. Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 151); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 239); Dunn (R, MS: 657, 704).

136. There are more than 20 **sun**-compound words occurring in Romans, see CCNTG cols 1731-1757; 9 of them appear in 8: 16-29.

137. Dahl (1956: 88f.).

138. See Dahl (1956: 88-91).

139. See Nygren (R, 1944: 187f.); Kuemmel (1973: 306); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 252f.); Scroggs (1976: 281f.); Michel (R, 1978: 176); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 131); Byrne (1981: 559); cf. Black (R, 1973: 24f.).

140. Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 256) and Martin (1981: 135-139) suggest that 'peace' and 'reconciliation' are synonyms and they form the dominant concept in 5: 1-11. However, Watson (1986: 144) points out that 'peace' does not seem to be prominent enough in 5: 1-11 to be seen as the theme of the whole passage; cf. Eichholz (1977: 174); Wolter (1978: 217-22); Dunn (R, MS: 388).

141. Eichholz (1977: 174); Wolter (1978: 217-22); Watson (1986: 144) and Dunn (R, MS: 388) suggest that "hope" is the theme of 5: 1-11.

142. See Kaesemann (R, 1980: 132); Martin (1981: 139).

143. Barrett (R, 1962: 101, 108) suggests that reconciliation is a consequence of justification and they are different metaphors describing the same fact. However, this opinion is opposed by Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 258) and Martin (1981: 137f.). Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 258) emphasizes that "We have been justified means

that we have also been reconciled and have peace with God."

144. Dunn (R, MS: 389) is probably right to point out that in Jewish thought God-given peace was bound up with the covenant (e.g. Num. 6: 22-7; Ps. 55: 18-19; Is. 48: 17-22; Jer. 14; 19-21; Sir. 47:13; II Macc. 1: 2-4). In other words, 'peace' and 'righteousness' are probably overlapping or complementary concepts (cf. Ps. 35:27; 72:3; 85:10; Isa. 9:7; 32:17; 48:18; 60:17).
145. Many scholars recognize that 'peace' is not just a subjective feeling of equanimity of mind, but an objective status or an actual relation to God which works out visibly in life; e.g. Barrett (R, 1962: 102); Cranfield (R, 1975 I:258); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 132); Dunn (R, MS: 389). Martin (1981: 139) and Dunn (R, MS: 389) see the connection between the notion of peace expressed in 5: 1-11 and 14:19.
146. See our discussion of the function of Paul's emphasis on God as the God of peace in 15:33; 16:20 in **chapters 6 and 7** above.
147. See our discussion in **last chapter.**
148. See the discussion of the connection between 5: 1-11 and 15:4 in Watson (1986: 144).
149. Watson (1986: 144ff.).
150. Watson (1986: 145); cf. Meeks (1983: 161f.).
151. Watson (1986: 145).
152. Watson (1986: 145f.).
153. Watson (1986: 146).
155. So Dahl (1956: 90).
156. For references suggesting that the questions in 6:1, 15; 7:7 echo the concern of antinomism, see **notes 36, 52, 70 above.**
157. See Staehlin/Grundmann (TDNT I: 289); Guenther (NIDNTT III: 579). Dunn (1981-82: 260) also rightly sees that "[according to loyal Jews] the law is the means provided by God for dealing with sins committed within the covenant."
158. See **note 54** above.
159. For discussion of 6: 15 - 22 as a passage primarily directed to Gentile Christians, see pp.428f. above.
160. See pp.431ff. above.
161. Cf. Nygren (R, 1944: 269), he suggests that in Rm. 7, Paul takes up the question of the Christian's relation to the law.
162. See discussion in Nygren (R, 1944: 271f.); Barth (R, 1956: 77f.); Murray (R, 1959 I: 240f.); Bruce (R, 1963: 145); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 334f.); Raeisaenen (1983: 61f.); Little (1984).
163. For discussion of marriage and adultery as the OT imageries related to covenant relation between God and Israel, see Hauck (TDNT IV: 731); Guenther (NIDNTT II: 576f.); Reisser (NIDNTT II: 583).
164. In the LXX, **diathēkē** can be used as a synonym of **nomos**, e.g. Num. 25: 12f.; Jos. 24: 25; and for the declaration of the divine will at Sinai; e.g. Ex. 34: 27f.; Deut. 4: 13; 5: 2ff.; see Behm (TDNT II: 126). In Sir. 42: 2; I Macc. 2: 27, 50; Jub. 21: 4; 30: 21, **diathēkē** is used as a parallel to **nomos**; in Sir 24: 23; I Macc. 1: 57, **diathēkē** is used for the whole law; see Behm (TDNT II: 127).
165. The connection between 7: 7 and its preceding paragraph is indicated by the phrase **ti oun eroumen** and the false conclusion derived probably from 7: 5f.; see discussion on the function of **ti oun eroumen** in **notes 64b and 173 in the last chapter.** For references of the scholars who see 7: 6 as more related to 8: 1f. and 7: 7-25 as an excursus or digression, see **note 118 above.** The connection between 7: 1-6 and 7: 7-25

is probably similar to the connections between 6: 1-11 and 8: 1-9 with 6: 12-23 and 8: 10-30; cf. Dunn (1986: 2859f.). Kaesemann (R, 1980: 189) rightly sees that 7: 1-6 is the foundation of the following section.

166. So Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 340f.); cf. Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 75).
167. See pp. 437-41 above.
168. So Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 339); for references of other opinions, see **note 173** below.
169. 6: 6; 7: 6, 25; 9: 12; 12: 11; 14: 18; 16: 18.
170. In 6: 6, the object is sin; in 7: 25 it is the law of God and the law of sin. 9: 12 is part of an OT quotation (LXX Gen. 15: 14), the object is "the younger". In 12: 11, the object is Lord; in 14: 18 it is Christ; and in 16: 18, it is the belly (but not our Lord Christ).
171. See references in **note 112** above.
172. Against those scholars who think the object of **douleuō** in 7: 6 is God; e.g. Nygren (R, 1944: 274); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 339). It is significant to note that the only other occurrence of the letter/spirit contrast in other Pauline letters is in II Cor. 3: 6, in which the antithesis is in relation to Paul and his associates as servants of a new covenant (**diakonous kainēs diathēkēs**).
173. In the Reformed tradition, Paul's antithesis between the letter and the Spirit essentially involved a contrast between the law and the gospel, law and Spirit, the old covenant and the new, or the old and the new dispensations, so Murray (R, 1959 I: 245f.); Dunn (1970b: 310); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 190); for more references, see Schneider (1953: 186). However, many scholars would agree that even in II Cor. 3: 6b, the contrast between letter and spirit is a contrast between two approaches to the same law; see Provence (1982: 65ff.); Hafemann (1986: 215); for the opposite view, see Furnish (IIC, 1984: 199ff.). For a recent discussion of different opinions in interpreting "letter and spirit", see Provence (1982: 62-68).
174. See pp.442f., 446f. above.
175. See pp.361ff. (**Chapter 9**).
176. In 2: 28f., the contrast is between "circumcision in flesh" (**sarki**) and "circumcision of heart" (**kardias**); while in 7: 25b, the contrast is between "serve the law of God with my mind" (**noi**) and "serve the law of sin with my flesh" (**sarki**). For discussion of scholars' opinion on the close relationship betwen the Hebraic concept of **kardia** and the Hellenistic concept of **nous** in Paul's letter, see Jewett (1971: 305-13).
177. 8: 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 9, 9, 10, 11, 11, 13, 14, 15, 15, 16, 23, 26, 26, 27.
178. See discussion in Byrne (1979: 103-27); cf. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 227); Dunn (R, MS: 636f.).
179. Paul uses **teknon** (22 times) less frequently than **uios** (34 times) in his Undisputed letters and never for Jesus, whereas **uios** refers to Jesus frequently (Rm. 1: 3, 4: 9; 5: 10; 8: 3, 29, 32; etc.). However, it is evident that Paul makes no clear distinction between the words (cf. 8: 14ff., 17, 19, 21) in reference to Christians in this context; see Kaesemann (R, 1980: 229); Dunn (R, MS: 641).
180. See discussion in Dunn (R, MS: 641f.).
181. Cf. Dunn (1987b: 2865). The other Jewish term **eklektōn theou** (cf. I Chron. 16: 13; Pss 89: 3; 105: 6; Is. 42: 1 LXX; 43: 20; 45: 4) occurs in v.33 (cf. 9: 11; 11: 5, 7, 28); for

discussion of the use of this term, see Schrenk (TDNT IV: 179f.); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 237, n.2); Black (R, 1973: 127); Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 438); Dunn (R, MS: 699).

182. See discussion of **notes 173** in **Chapter 9.**

183. For discussion on the punctuation in vv. 33-34, see Barrett (R, 1962: 172f.); Black (R, 1973: 126); Cranfield (R, 1975: 437f.).

184. Leenhardt (R, 1957L 236, first n.) suggests that the passage can be divided into four strophes: 31b-32; 33-34; 35-37; 38-39; so Cranfield (R, 1975: 434); Michel (R, 1978: 279); Dunn (1987b 11: 1237f.) Some scholars also see that the first two and the last two strophes can be grouped into two units, see Leenhardt (R, 1957: 236, first n.); Kaesemann (R, 1975: 246).

185. Dahl (1977: 88-91) shows that there is a close parallelism between 5: 1-11 and 8: 1-39 in themes and argumentation. Dunn (1987b: 11. 1257-1265) suggests "it is not simply that there are a number of echoes and verbal allusions to the earlier chapters (**paredōken** - v.32; 1: 24, 26, 28; **dikaioō** - v.33; 2: 13 etc.; **katakrinō** - v.34; 2: 1; **thlipsis** and **stenochōria** - v.35; 2: 9; **ktisis** - v.39; 1: 25), but vv.31-4 in effect brings us back to the point reached at the beginning of ch.3: there the heavenly trial scene with God's faithfulness to Israel having to be defended; here the same trial scene with God's faithfulness to his own being celebrated -- a fitting climax to the exposition of God's faithfulness to faith (1: 17)".

186. Many scholars see that in 8: 31b - 34, a setting of a law-court is presented, so Dodd (R, 1959: 157); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 236); Michel (R, 1978: 279); Black (R, 1973: 125); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 246). However, Cranfield (R, 1975: 435, n.4) suggests that the forensic imagery is introduced in v.33 and not v.31b.

187. Leenhardt (R, 1957: 238) suggests that v.35 recalls the sequence of incidents in the drama of the Book of Job, in which, after Satan has made his accusations against Job, the latter's trial begins. With regard to the trials enumerated in v.35, many scholars suggest that except the last one, **machaira**, Paul had experienced them all, cf. I Cor. 4:11f., 15:30-32; II Cor. 4:8-11, 6:4-5, 11:22-28, 12:10; Gal. 5:11; Leenhardt (R, 1957: 238); Cranfield (R, 1975: 440); Dunn (R, MS: 702); see the lists of parallels in Pauline letters in Dunn (R, MS: 693f.). Kaesemann (R, 1980: 249) adds that "the apostle's own experiences are typical of those of all Christians, and they make clear the difference between secular life and apocalyptic life". However, as the last trial, **machaira**, is not yet experienced by Paul, it probably refers to concrete execution experienced by some Christian martyrs, cf. Michaelis (TDNT, IV: 256). The citation from Ps. 43:23 (LXX) was also commonly used by the rabbis with reference to the martyrdom of the pious, cf. Cranfield (R, 1975: 440); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 249). It is possible that in using this word Paul has the persecution of Christians in the Roman empire in general and in Rome particularly in mind, cf. Barrett (R, 1962: 173).

188. Many scholars agree that 8: 31 - 39 is not only the conclusion of Rm. 8 but also the conclusion of Rm. 5 - 8, e.g. Nygren (R, 1944: 346); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 246). However, some scholars see that it is possibly also the conclusion of Rm.1 - 8; so Cranfield (R, 1975 I: 434); Dunn (R, MS: 694f.); cf. Wilckens (R, 1978 I: 19 n.13). For discussion of the relation

of 5: 1-11 to Rm. 1-4 and its connection with 8: 31-39, see Dahl (1957: 88ff.); Dunn (1987b: 2855ff., 2865f.).

Chapter ELEVEN

The Relationship of the Jewish and Gentile Christians with Non-Christian Jews: Rm. 9-11

Introduction

In Rm. 1-8 we suggested that one of the main purposes of Paul's argument is probably to remove obstacles in the way of building up a close relationship between Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome. Paul's discussion of various issues in that part of Romans is not a purely theoretical argument, but is directed to the actual situation of the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome.

In Rm. 1-4, Paul tries to demolish the Jewish stereotyped view of the distinction between Jews and Gentiles on the one hand (1:18 - 2:29), and to establish a basis for the building up of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles on the other (3:1 - 4:25). In Rm. 5-8, on the one hand, Paul tries to clarify the misunderstanding of the relationship between antinomianism and the solidarity of Jewish and Gentile Christians (6:1 - 7:25), and on the other hand, he tries to consolidate his implicit call for the building up of a close relationship among the Roman Christians (5: 1-21; 8: 1-39). One of Paul's main concerns which underlies Rm. 1-8 is the unity of Jewish and Gentile Christians in Christ. The Jewish Christians are encouraged to accept the Gentile Christians as part of God's people

(cf. 3: 21-30; 4: 11-25), and the Gentile Christians are taught to recognize the priority of Jews in God's salvation plan (cf. 1:16; 2:10; 3:1f.; 4:1).

However, in the course of his argument, Paul, on the one hand, mentions that there is an almost inseparable relationship between circumcision and faith (4:12) and also a continuity between Judaism and the Christian faith as a faith in God who gives life to the dead (4:17; cf. 1:4; 4:24). But on the other hand, he suggests that the implication of one's being under grace is of not being under the law (6:14) and therefore freed from serving under the oldness of the letter (7:6). In other words, Paul's argument for building up the solidarity of Jewish and Gentile Christians implies that there is both continuity and discontinuity between Judaism and Christian faith. Nevertheless, in Rm. 1-8, he has not dealt with this issue in any detailed way. As far as the nature of the issue is concerned, it is probably not a theoretical problem, but rather a real issue faced by Roman Christians in their life situation.

As we mentioned above, in Paul's time among the big population of Roman Jews,[1a] the majority were non-Christians; but among the Roman Christians the majority were probably Gentiles. The relationships between non-Christian Jews, Christian Jews, and Gentile Christians were probably burning issues among Roman Christians in their daily life.[1b] According to the evidence we found in 14:1 - 15:13, the Jewish Christians in Rome seem to have been afraid of the danger of apostasy from Judaism, if they

built up their relationship with the Gentile Christians; and the Gentile Christians did not feel it necessary to follow the Jewish way of life in order to have fellowship with the Jewish Christians. Therefore, unless Paul can give meaningful explanation to the relationships between Jewish Christians, non-Christian Jews and Gentile Christians in such a situation, it is probably quite difficult for him to persuade the Jewish and Gentile Christians to build up a close connection.

Thus we suggest that while one of Paul's main purposes in Rm. 1 - 8 is to provide a basis for the building up of the solidarity of Jewish and Gentile Christians, in Rm. 9-11, one of his main purposes is to explain the significance of the relationship between this solidarity and the non-Christian Jews. So the Jewish and Gentile Christians can be persuaded to welcome one another to participate in worship and communal meals held at their house churches without asking the Gentile Christians to become Jews or pressing the Jewish Christians to separate from the Jewish community.

In short, ***Rm. 9-11 is not an excursus to Rm. 1-8,[2] but an integral part of Paul's theological argument in Romans to persuade the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome to build up the Roman Christian community net-work called for in Rm. 14:1 - 15:13***. Our understanding of the situation of Roman Christians and Paul's purpose in writing Romans can help us to interpret Rm. 9-11.

I. Personae Analysis

In Rm. 9-11, Paul's pattern of dialogue seems to have undergone a drastic change. The first and second person plurals which occur frequently in Rm. 5-8[3] appear only nine[4] and thirteen times[5] respectively in Rm. 9-11. In fact, four of the first person plurals and three of the second person plurals occur as part of OT quotations;[6] while all other second person plurals occur only in Rm.11, the first person plural does not occur in Rm. 11 at all.

Although the second person singular occurs only twice in Rm. 5-8,[7] it occurs 27 times in Rm. 9-11.[8] Among these 9 occur as part of OT quotations.[9]

In Rm. 9-11, the most frequently occurring person is first person singular. It occurs 55 times,[10] among which 29 appear in OT quotations.[11] In 10: 1, there is a first person singular possessive adjective (emēs).

Furthermore, although our following personae analysis focusses only on first and second persons, it is significant to note that third person plural occurs frequently in Rm. 9-11 to denote those non-Christian Jews (10: 1, 2, 3; 11: 11, 12, 14, 15, 23, 24, 31).[12]

A. First Person

1. The 'I'

The first person singular is the most frequently occurring person in Rm. 9-11. According to the contexts of the occurrences (not in OT quotations),the characteristics

of the 'I' can be categorized as follows:

(A) *Paul as an 'Israelite' (9: 1-3; 11:1, 14)*

Among the 15 occurrences of the first person singular pronouns (including reflexive pronoun), 8 appear in 9: 1-3.[13] Among the 11 occurrences of the first person singular verbs, 3 are also found in 9: 1-3.[14] There is no doubt that all these first person singulars refer to Paul himself as a member of the Israelites (cf. 9: 4). This interpretation is surely supported by 11:1, in which Paul emphatically declares (**legō**) that "I am an Israelite (**egō Israēlitēs eimi**)" (cf. II Cor. 11: 22).[15] It is significant that Paul uses the title **Israēlitēs** (9: 4) instead of **Ioudaios** (1: 16; 2:9, 10, 17, 28f.; 3:1, 9, 29) in this context in which he identifies himself with his kinsmen according to the flesh (**tōn suggenōn mou kata sarka**, 9: 3b; cf. 11: 14).[16] It indicates that for Paul it is clear that Jews (he is one of them) *are* Israelites (cf. 9: 4-5).[17] In 9: 1-3 Paul expresses his sorrow at his fellow-Jews' unbelief and the strength of his desire for their conversion with striking emphasis and solemnity.[18] It implies that, at the beginning of the section (Rm 9-11) in which he discusses the relationship between non-Christian Jews and Christians (Jews and Gentiles), Paul wants his addressees to be in no doubt of the depth of his identity with and concern for his own people. Although it is possible that the charge of Paul's indifference to his own people is one of the reasons for Paul's emphatic language in 9: 1-3,[19] the accumulated strength of 9: 1-3; 10:1 and 11: 1, 14 is evidence that Paul is not only responding to a charge but

also asserting that he has never renounced his Jewishness.[20] Paul's emphasis on his Jewish identity clearly recalls his image of a Jewish apostle (cf. 15: 16-21) who preaches a gospel concerning a Jewish messiah (cf. 9: 5b) in 1: 1ff. and his solidarity even with the unrighteousness of the Jews (3: 5).

(B) *Paul as a Witness to the Jews (10: 2,18,19; 11: 1, 11)*

In 10:2, Paul solemnly declares that "I bear them witness (**marturō**) that they have a zeal for God (**zēlon theou**)." The word **zēlos** in itself is neither good nor bad, and in the NT usage is almost equally divided between the two.[21] In this context, "the zeal for God" probably refers to the characteristic of Jewish piety which focuses on God.[22]

It is quite probable that one of the reasons for Paul's desiring and praying for the salvation of his fellow Jews (v.1) is their "zeal for God".[23] In other words, Paul is giving a favourable witness to the Jews. However, this favourable witness is qualified by an unfavourable statement that their zeal is "not in accordance with knowledge" (NASB). As a matter of fact, Paul's *pro* and *con* statements about the Jews appear also in passages in 10:1 - 11:12 which start with **legō**.[24]

It is most significant to note that apart from **martureō** (10: 2), **legō** is the only other first person singular verb (not in OT quotations) occurring in 10:1 - 11:12. It occurs four times (10: 18, 19; 11: 1, 11) and introduces a question with **mē** in all cases.[25]

In 10: 18, 19, **alla legō**, **mē** introduces two parallel questions which expect negative answers. The issue at stake is whether Israel did not hear the gospel (cf. 10: 9-17). The answer is that Israel did hear and did know,[26] but they maintained their disobedience (cf. 10: 18b, 21). This is surely an unfavourable witness to the Jew.

However, in 11:1, 11, **legō oun**, **mē** introduces another two similar questions which also expect negative answers. The point is whether God had rejected his people (11: 1) or whether the Jews were destined to be rejected from God's people permanently (11: 11).[27] The answers are categorically "no" (**mē genoito**). These replies are certainly favourable to the Jews.

Therefore in 10:1 - 11:12, Paul's witness to the Jews runs as follows:

(1) They have a zeal for God (10:2a, a favourable witness).
(2) Their zeal is not in accordance with knowledge (10: 2b, an unfavourable witness).
(3) The Jews maintained their disobedience, even though they heard and knew the gospel (10: 18-21, an unfavourable witness).
(4) The Jews are not rejected by God (11: 1, 11, a favourable witness).

In the course of Paul's witness to the Jews (10: 1 - 11: 12), there are four observations which are significant to our discussion:

(1) Paul begins and concludes his witness to the Jews by

favourable statements (10: 1f.; 11:1, 11). This clearly implies that Paul continues to assume the favourable position of the Jews in God's salvation plan.

(2) In Paul's argument, he attributes a positive role to the disobedience of Jews. He suggests that the disobedience of the Jews would result in the inclusion of Gentiles into God's people (11: 11f; cf. 11: 15).

(3) Paul indicates that the fact of a "remnant" among the Jews (11: 1b-5; cf. 9: 27-29) is the evidence for his witness that God had not rejected the Jews as his people.

(4) Paul hints that the inclusion of Gentiles into God's people is in fact a way of provoking jealousy among those disobedient Jews which would bring them into salvation (10: 19; 11: 11b-12; cf. 11: 14).

As will be shown below, the significance of the roles of the disobedient Jews, the remnant and the Gentiles who are included in God's people are the paradigm to demonstrate the relationships between non-Christian Jews, Christian Jews and Gentile Christians.

(C) *Paul as an Apostle to the Gentiles (11: 13-32)*

In 11:13, Paul explicitly addresses the Gentile Christians and he uses **egō** to assert his status as an apostle to the Gentiles in the context of discussing the salvation of Jews (vv.11-15). Furthermore, the genitive case of **egō** appears twice, once to denote Paul's Gentile ministry (v.13), and the other instance related to his fellow-Jews (v.14). In this passage, Paul shows that he has learned from Deut. 32:21 (cf. Rm. 10:19) and believes that

his Gentile ministry is related to the salvation of Jews.[28] He hopes to provoke the jealousy of the unbelieving Jews and thus save some of them. Therefore, we find that Paul is emphatically declaring his double commitment:[29] on the one hand his personal call as an apostle to the Gentiles and on the other hand his deep concern for the salvation of the Jews.[30] To Paul, the relationship between his two commitments is closely linked with his understanding of the paradoxical interrelatedness between Jews and Gentiles for salvation (cf. 11:11-12, 15, 25b-31).[31] Both Jews and Gentiles are close to Paul's heart; his mission to the Gentiles is at the same time a mission to the Jews.[32] These two commitments of Paul are probably learned from the example of Jesus Christ (cf. 15: 7-9).[33]

Furthermore, Paul's emphasis on both his own Jewishness and his status as an apostle to the Gentiles in Rm. 9-11 is obviously consistent with the images that he is a Jewish apostle to the Gentiles (1: 1-5; 15: 16-21), a debtor to mankind, including Jews and Gentiles (1: 14), and a messenger who brings the Gentile collection to Jerusalem (15: 25-27).

(D) *The 'I' as a dialogical partner (9: 19, 20; 11: 19)*

According to our analysis of Rm. 1-8, Paul's use of first person singular can either explicitly refer to himself (cf. 1: 8-16; 2:16; 3: 5; 6: 19; 7:1, 4; 8: 18, 39), or be a rhetorical device to identify himself with the behaviour or experiences known to his audiences (cf. 3: 7; 7: 7-25).

In Rm. 9-11, there are three occurrences of the first person singular pronoun (9: 19, 20; 11: 19) which appear in diatribal passages (9: 19-21; 11: 17-24).[34] They can be understood as rhetorical devices to refer to the ones involved in dialogue.

In 9: 19, the **moi** can be understood as referring to Paul as a dialogical partner; the **me** in 9: 20 and the **egō** in 11: 19, both occurring in quotation, refer to the dialogical partner(s) of Paul. As will be shown in our analysis of the 'we' below, Paul probably has both Jewish and Gentile Christians in mind in Rm. 9. Therefore, the 'I' in 9: 20 is probably used to refer to Roman Christians.[35] While in 11: 17-24, Paul explicitly addresses Gentile Christians, the **egō** in 11: 19 is obviously used to refer to the Gentile Christians among his audience.[36]

2. The 'We'

Apart from those occurrences in OT quotations, the first person plural pronoun occurs in 9: 10, 24 and the verbs appear in 9: 14, 30; 10: 8.

In 9: 10, **hēmōn** is used to qualify **Isaak tou patros**. It is quite obvious that the Jews among Paul's audience would identify themselves with **hēmōn**. However, since Abraham is the father of both the Jewish and Gentile Christians (4: 16),[37] Paul could, no doubt, have regarded Isaac as the father of Gentile Christians as well.[38] In other words, **hēmōn** in 9: 10 can refer to both Jewish and Gentile Christians. This opinion is supported by 9: 24, in which Paul explicitly describes **hēmas** as those called by God "not

from the Jews only but also from the Gentiles".[38a]

The diatribal phrase **ti oun eroumen** occurs in 9: 14, 30.[39] It is quite probable that Paul uses this phrase to typify the concern of his audience as a whole. This suggestion has to be substantiated by the following discussion of the main argument of Paul in 9: 14 - 30.

As we have mentioned above, one of the burning issues faced by both Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome was the phenomenon that the majority of Jews in Rome were non-Christians and the majority of Christians were Gentiles.[40] This phenomenon perhaps raises two questions:

(1) Does this phenomenon suggest that God is unjust in dealing with the Jews?[41]
(2) What are the differences between Jews and Gentiles which cause this phenomenon to appear?[42]

In answering the first question, Paul draws the attention of his audience to the fact that the basis of one's being included in God's people is God's election (9: 6-13) which operated according to His sovereignty and mercifulness (9: 12, 15-23). The principle of election is the same for both Jews and Gentiles (9: 24-29; cf. 9: 7-13, 15-18). Therefore, there is no question of injustice in God's election (9: 14).

In 9: 30, Paul answers the second question by using the phrase **ti oun eroumen** to introduce an explanation of the differences between Jews and Gentiles in attaining righteousness. The differences are as follows:

(a) Gentiles[43] who did not pursue righteousness did attain a righteousness of *faith* (9: 30b; cf. 1: 17; 4: 11);

(b) Jews who pursued a law of righteousness[44] not from *faith* (ek pisteōs) but from *works* (ex ergōn)[44] stumbled over the stumbling-stone (9: 31f.).[45]

Therefore, the issue at stake is the distinction between 'faith' and 'works'. The antithesis between 'faith' and 'works' surely recalls 3: 27. However, in the context of 3: 27, the emphasis is on the function of 'faith' as the basis for both Jews and Gentiles to be justified (3: 28-30; cf. 4: 11-12);[46] while in 9: 30-33, the emphasis is on the stumbling (no faith) of some Jews over the stumbling-stone (Christ).[47]

In other words, 'faith' is the basis for the unity of the Jewish and Gentile Christians in 3: 21 - 4: 25, but is the marker for the distinction between Christians (Jews and Gentiles) and non-Christian Jews in 9: 31-33. The subject matter of the distinction between Christians (Jews and Gentiles) and non-Christian Jews is the issue which Paul has not discussed in Rm. 1-8 and it is now discussed in Rm. 9-11. This issue obviously concerns those Jewish Christians, for they are probably not ready to see the clear distinction between themselves and the non-Christian Jews (cf. 14: 1-6). Nevertheless, this issue probably also concerns Gentile Christians, for Paul has persuaded them to recognize the priority of Jews in God's salvation plan (cf. 1: 16; 2: 10; 3:1f.; 9: 4f.) and their sharing of the covenant promise with Jews (cf. 1: 3-5; 4: 1-25).

Following this critical point of discussion, Paul does not go on to reinforce the distinction between Christians and non-Christian Jews, or to persuade the Jewish Christians to separate from the non-Christian Jews. He rather asserts immediately that his deep desire and wish is the salvation of the non-Christian Jews (10: 1; cf. 11: 11). As we have shown above, in 10:1 - 11:12, although Paul gives both favourable and unfavourable witness to the Jews, his conclusion is that God has not rejected the non-Christian Jews and they have not stumbled so as to fall (11: 1, 11).[48] In fact, there is a positive role for the non-Christian Jews to play in the salvation of Gentile Christians (11: 11f.; cf. 11: 15). In other words, the stumbling of the non-Christian Jews is only a temporary phenomenon; it is not evidence for their permanent exclusion from God's people, but rather a part of God's salvation plan.

Nevertheless, Paul does insist that faith in Christ, not the law, is the common basis for everyone to be righteous (10: 4; cf. 3: 21-22).[49] This point is further expounded in 10: 5-17.[50] In 10: 8, the first person plural verb **kērussomen** (cf. I Cor. 1: 23; 15: 11; II Cor. 1: 19; 4: 5; 11: 14; I Thess. 2: 19) probably suggests an expression of the gospel held in common[51] between himself and the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome. In other words, Paul asserts that the confession that Jesus is Lord and the belief that God raised him from the dead (10: 9 cf. 1: 3-4; 4: 24) unite the Jewish and Gentile Christians (cf. 10: 12), in Rome as elsewhere. However, although 'faith in Christ' is the marker which marked the distinction between

Christians (Jews and Gentiles) and non-Christian Jews, the Christian belief that God raised Jesus from the dead probably recalls the Jewish faith that God is the one who gives life to the dead (4: 17b) on the one hand, and leads to Paul's vision of seeing the conversion of the non-Christian Jews as "life from the dead" (11: 15) on the other.

In summary, all occurrences of the 'we' in Rm. 9-10 probably refer to both the Jewish and Gentile Christians who are in solidarity with Paul. They were puzzled by the phenomenon that the majority of Jews in Rome were non-Christians and the majority of Christians were Gentiles (cf. 9: 14, 30). On the one hand it is affirmed that they shared solidarity in their common fatherhood of Isaac (9: 10), the same calling from God (9: 24), and their common faith in Christ (10: 8ff.). On the other hand, they were told that although the non-Christian Jews had stumbled (no faith) over the 'stone' (Christ; 9: 32-33; 10: 4-17), they were not destined to be rejected by God (11: 1, 11), but rather to be won over into the boundary of faith (10: 1; cf. 4: 11-16; 11: 14f., 23, 26). In other words, the solidarity of Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome did not imply a sharp antithetical relationship between Christians (Jews and Gentiles) and non-Christian Jews, but rather a new relationship would be established among them. This new relationship will be discussed in the following **sections II, III and IV.**

B. Second Person

1. The 'You' (singular)

According to our analysis of 1:18 - 8:39, the function of Paul's use of the second person singular is probably to refer to the behaviour or experiences which are known to his addressees (cf. 2: 1-5, 17-27; 8: 2).

In Rm. 9-11, there are 11 second person singular pronouns and 7 verbs which are not part of OT quotations.[52] They are distributed in three passages, namely 9: 19-21; 10; 9-10 and 11: 17-24. As we have mentioned in our analysis of the 'I' above, 9: 19-21 and 11: 17-24 are two diatribal passages.[53] In 9: 19-21, Paul probably uses the second person singular verbs **ereis** (9: 19) and the pronoun **su** (9:20) to refer to those among his addressees who were concerned with the relationship between election and God's justice (9: 14). The verb **epoiēsas** in 9: 20 refers to God, the creator. In 11: 17-24, all the second person singulars (8 pronouns and 3 verbs) obviously refer to those Gentile Christians (11: 13ff.) among Paul's audience as the dialogical partner(s) of Paul.[54]

In 10: 9 - 10, Paul probably refers to a confessional formula.[55] If this is the case, the second person singular (2 pronouns and 2 verbs, all in v.9) is used to typify any individual Christian.

2. The 'You' (plural)

In Rm. 9-11, the second person plural (not in OT quotations) occurs only in Rm.11. In 11:2, the phrase **ē ouk**

oidate (cf. 6: 16; I Cor. 3: 16; 5: 6; 6: 2, 3) probably implies that Paul thinks that his addressees are likely to know what he is going to say.[56] Since there is no evidence that Paul shifts his dialogue partner from his addressees as a whole (cf. the 'we' in 9: 10, 14, 24, 30; 10: 8) to any particular sector among them before 11: 13, the second person plural in 11: 2 probably refers to all of Paul's addressees in Rome.

In 11: 13, the pronoun **humin** obviously refers to the Gentiles (**ethnesin**) among Paul's audience. In other words, there is a shift of Paul's address from Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome to only the Gentile Christians in 11: 13.[57] This address most probably continues in the following verses until 11: 31. In 11: 25-31, Paul emphatically addresses the Gentile Christians as **adelphoi** (v. 25) and reminds them not to be ignorant about the mystery of the hardening of part of Israel and the eschatological salvation of all Israel (**pas Israēl**).[58] Therefore, all those second person plurals (5 pronouns, including reflexive and possessive, and 3 verbs) in vv. 25-31 refer to Gentile Christians in Rome.[59] It is possible that in 11: 32, when Paul asserts that "For God has consigned *all* men (**tous pantas**) to disobedience (cf. 3: 9, 23; 4: 25), that he may have mercy upon *all* (**tous pantas**)" (cf. 9: 16; 15: 9), he implies a shift in his address from only the Gentile Christians to all his audience in Rome.[60] His conclusion of Rm. 11 with a hymn (vv.33-36)[61] is possibly intended to involve both Jewish and Gentile Christians (cf. **ta panta**, v. 36) in Rome in worshipping God together with him.[62]

C. Summary and Conclusion

In Rm. 9: 1 - 11: 13, Paul probably continues his dialogue (from Rm. 8) with his addressees as a whole. However, in Rm. 11: 13 - 31, Paul directly and explicitly addresses Gentile Christians among his audience. It is possible in 11: 32 that Paul shifts his address back to all his audience in Rome and invites them to worship God together with him.

The frequent occurrences of the first person singular in Rm. 9-11 are most significant. They indicate that on the one hand Paul emphasizes his own Jewishness, and on the other hand, he asserts his status as an apostle to the Gentiles. The integration of these two images is consistent with our understanding of his images presented in Rm. 1: 1-17 and 15: 16-33. As we have suggested in **Ch. 6** and **Ch. 8**, these images probably embodied Paul's message in Romans. If Roman Christians accept him as a person represented by these images, they will also accept his message (or *vice versa*). Then, they will probably accept his plea for the upbuilding of a close relationship between Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome, with the condition that the Jewish Christians could maintain their relationship with the non-Christian Jews and the Gentile Christians are not required to become Jews; they will probably also be willing to support Paul's mission plan to Spain together.

In Rm. 9-11, one of the underlying settings was probably the phenomenon that in Rome the majority of Jews were non-Christians and the majority of Christians were

Gentiles.[63] One of Paul's main tasks in Rm. 9-11 is probably to give an interpretation of the phenomenon which is consistent with his purpose in writing Romans. As we have mentioned above, and will discuss in detail below, Paul probably suggests that there are significant roles to be played by non-Christian Jews, Christian Jews, and Gentile Christians in God's salvation plan, and he has the conviction that all Israel will be saved (11: 26).

II. The Position of the Non-Christian Jews in God's Salvation Plan

It is only in Rm. 9-11 that the distinction between Christians (Jews and Gentiles) and non-Christian Jews is made. Paul explicitly uses the third person plural to refer to non-Christian Jews (10: 1, 2, 3; 11: 11, 12, 14, 15, 23,24, 30, 31).[64] The touchstone of the distinction is 'faith in Christ' (9: 32,33; 10: 4, 9f.).

According to the evidence in those passages in which Paul singles out non-Christian Jews as a separate group, their characteristics can be categorized as follows:

(1) As a group of people whose salvation is of deep concern to Paul (10: 1ff.; 11: 14).
(2) As a group of people whose trespass brings salvation to Gentiles (11: 11-12, 15, 30).
(3) As a group of people who will be made jealous by the salvation of Gentiles (11: 11-12; cf. 11: 30f.).
(4) As a group of people who are by nature (**phusis**) related to 'the olive tree', i.e. the people of God (11: 23f.; cf. 11: 21).

(5) As a group of people whose salvation depends on the mercy which has been shown to Gentile Christians (11: 31).

With regard to these characteristics, there are three observations which are relevant to our study:

(1) Paul's discussion of their characteristics is related to salvation or membership of God's people, either their own (10: 1ff.; 11: 14,21,23F., 31) or the Gentiles' (11: 11-12, 15,30). In none of these instances does Paul hold a hostile attitude towards them. On the contrary, Paul always indicates a hopeful attitude to their salvation. This understanding is surely in line with Paul's assertion that God has not rejected his people (11: 1).[65]

(2) It is most significant that, according to Paul, the non-Christian Jews are by nature (**kata phusin**) related to God's people.[66] This understanding is surely consistent with Paul's persistent identification of Jews, even the non-Christians, with 'Israelites' (9: 4) and 'Israel' (9: 6, 27, 31; 10: 19, 21; 11: 2, 7, 25, 26; cf. I Cor. 10: 18; II Cor. 3: 7, 13; 11: 22; Phil. 3: 5). This subtle relationship between Jews and God's people probably recalls Paul's suggestion of the almost inseparable relationship between circumcision and faith (4: 11, see **Ch. 9** above). In Rm. 4, Paul argues that since circumcision is a sign or seal of the righteousness which Abraham had by faith before he was circumcised, therefore Gentiles could receive righteousness based on faith rather than circumcision.

In that context faith is emphasized as the basis for both Jews and Gentiles to be God's people. The fate of those who had circumcision but no faith is not discussed. In Rm. 9-11 Paul describes those Jews who had no faith in Christ as those who had stumbled over the stumbling-stone (9: 32f.), or those who had broken off from the olive tree (11: 19f.). However, Paul also indicates that they had not stumbled so as to fall (11:11) and they could easily be grafted back on to the olive tree (11: 23f.). In other words, the basic underlying assumption in Rm. 4 and 9-11 is that Jews and God's people are *almost* identical.[67] Since Abraham is regarded as the prototype of a Jew, therefore to be a Jew is equivalent to having faith (4: 11, 12). If a Jew does not have faith (9: 32f.), he is not without hope of salvation (10: 1; cf. 11: 1, 11). If he does not persist in unbelief (11: 23), he will have no difficulty in restoring his original covenant status (11: 24; cf. 9: 4). Thus in Rm. 4, Paul probably tries to persuade Jewish Christians to accept Gentile Christians as God's people on the basis of faith. In Rm. 9-11, Paul perhaps tries to persuade Gentile Christians not to overlook their relationship even with the non-Christian Jews on the basis that the non-Christian Jews are not far from God's people.

(3) In Paul's discussion of the characteristics of the non-Christian Jews, he suggests that there is a close relationship between the salvation of Jews and Gentiles. On the one hand, the unbelief of the non-

Christian Jews brings salvation to Gentiles (11: 11-13, 15,30). On the other hand, the salvation of Gentiles had shown that salvation depends on mercy which would be also valid for the non-Christian Jews (11: 31). In fact, Paul expects the salvation of Gentiles will make the non-Christian Jews jealous and so lead to their salvation (11: 11, 14; cf. 10: 19).[68] In other words, the salvation of Gentile Christians and non-Christian Jews is interrelated.

III. The Position of the Gentile Christians in God's Salvation Plan

In 11: 13-31, Paul singles out Gentile Christians to address. In this passage, Paul uses the imagery of the olive tree (vv. 17-24) to illustrate the relationship between Gentile Christians and 'Israel', and he also indicates that there is a mystery in the salvation of 'Israel' which is connected with the relationship between Gentile Christians and non-Christian Jews (v. 25-31).

A. The Imagery of the Olive Tree (11: 17-24)

Paul's choice of the olive tree as the imagery in this passage is not accidental. On the one hand, there is a long established imagery of Israel as God's planting (Ps. 92: 13; Jer. 11: 17; Pss. Sol. 14: 3-4; I Enoch 84: 6),[69] and on the other hand, the imagery of the olive tree had been applied to Israel in OT (Jer. 11: 16; Hos. 14: 6).[70] Furthermore, the olive tree was probably one of the most widely cultivated fruit trees in the Mediterranean area,[71] and the procedures in olive culture, including that of

grafting wild shoots on to cultivated trees, were perhaps well known in ancient times.[72] The suggestion that the imagery of the olive tree may refer to the synagogue of Elaias in Rome is quite implausible.[73]

However, whether Paul's use of the metaphor is in complete correspondence with the actual arboriculture practice is not important.[74] The points which he wants to draw are quite clear. As far as our study is concerned, we would like to draw attention to the characteristics of the Gentile Christians as typified in this passage by Paul's use of second person singulars. Their characteristics can be categorized as follows:

(1) As a wild olive shoot grafted onto the olive tree to share in the nourishing sap from the olive root (v. 17, NIV).
(2) As an engrafted shoot supported by the root (v. 18).
(3) As a shoot grafted on through faith (v. 20).
(4) As an engrafted shoot which can continually be part of the olive tree, if it continues in God's kindness (v. 22).
(5) As a shoot cut from a wild olive tree in contrast with a shoot cut from a cultivated olive tree (v. 24).

With regard to these characteristics, there are two observations which are relevant to our discussion of the position of Gentile Christians in God's salvation plan:

(1) In the imagery the salvation of Gentile Christians depends on their grafting into 'the olive tree' through faith. In other words, their salvation is connected

with their relationship with 'Israel' which is based on faith. This possibly implies that the relation of Gentile Christians with the Jews who have faith (Jewish Christians) is not an optional one, but rather an essential indicator of their salvation. While the 'root' is perhaps identified with patriarchs (e.g. Abraham in I Enoch 93: 5, 8; Philo, Heres 279; Isaac in Jub. 21: 24),[75] Paul possibly implies that it is through their relationship with Jewish Christians that Gentile Christians share the promises made to the patriarchs. It is quite possible, therefore, in Rm. 4 (see **ch. 9 above**), ^that Paul sees that the relationship between Jewish and Gentile Christians is an indicator for the Jewish Christians to be sure that they have the faith of Abraham. In Rm. 11: 17ff., Paul implies that this relationship is an indicator for the Gentile Christians to be sure that they share the blessings of the patriarchs. In this way, Paul may try to persuade Jewish and Gentile Christians to build up a close relationship among themselves.

(2) In the imagery the position of the Gentile Christians is ^one of inferiority.[76] They are described as a shoot cut from a wild olive (**agrielaios**, v.17), grafted into a cultivated olive tree (**elaia**) contrary to nature (v. 24). However, although the non-Christian Jews are described as branches which were broken off, they are said to be natural branches which will be easily grafted back into their own olive tree (**idia/i elaia/i**, v. 24). This image of inferiority is obviously projected in order to counter the tendency of the

Gentile Christians to boast over the "natural branches", i.e. Jews, Christian and non-Christian (v.18).[77] However, as a matter of fact, this image is consistent with Paul's teaching of the priority of Jews in God's salvation plan (1: 16; 2: 10; 3:1; 9: 4). Nevertheless, in this context, Paul also indicates that both Jews and Gentiles are part of the olive tree on the basis of faith (11: 20, 23; cf. 1: 16; 3: 22; 10: 12). Therefore the double emphasis of the priority of Jews in God's salvation plan on the one hand, and both Jews and Gentiles being fundamentally equal in God's salvation through faith on the other, appears also in this imagery. This implies that the Jewish Christians should recognize the legitimacy of the Gentile Christians being God's people and the Gentile Christians should recognize their indebtedness to the Jews. This understanding is quite possibly a basic assumption behind the whole letter (1: 16f.)[78] and is certainly the foundation for Paul's exhortation in 14: 1 - 15: 13 and his interpretation of the significance of the Gentile collection in 15: 27.

B. The Mystery (vv. 25 - 31)

While the role of Gentile Christians is quite passive in the imagery of the olive tree, Paul gives an active role to them in his 'mystery',[79a] which is probably the 'mystery' of how Israel would be saved.[79b]

Paul indicates that the salvation of non-Christian Jews would follow the "full number of the Gentiles"[80] being

included into God's people (vv. 25f.). He further explains that by the mercy shown to Gentile Christians, non-Christian Jews may also receive mercy (v. 31).

Many scholars recognize that in vv. 30f., there is a consonance with Paul's argument in 11: 11ff.. The train of thought is that the mercy shown to the disobedient Gentiles is to make the non-Christian Jews jealous and so lead to them receiving that mercy.[81a]

Paul's argument here is probably not merely theoretical; he perhaps hoped that the impact of the conversion of the Gentile Christians would be felt by the non-Christian Jews in Rome,[81b] so that they would eventually accept the gospel as well (cf. 10: 12-21). However, while it is unlikely that there was any close contact between non-Christian Jews and Gentile Christians in Rome at the time Paul wrote his letter, and Paul does not seem to expect a Gentile Christian missionary movement to the Jews, the issue at stake is how the non-Christian Jews could feel the impact and become jealous. As will be shown below, Paul seems to expect the Jewish-Christians to be the missing link which forms a connection between the non-Christian Jews and the Gentile Christians.

IV. The Position of the Jewish Christians in God's Salvation Plan

In Rm. 9-11, Paul does not explicitly address the Jewish Christians. However, they were surely part of his audience in those passages which are directed to Roman Christians as a whole (9: 1 - 11: 12; 11: 32 - 36), and

they could overhear Paul's message when he addresses directly the Gentile Christians. Paul's intensive use of OT quotations in this part of his letter[82] perhaps suggests that he has the Jewish Christians very much in mind. In fact, Paul attributes at least two important roles to the Jewish Christians in Rm. 9-11:

A. A Remnant (9: 27ff.; 11: 1-5)[83]

In the NT, the OT remnant concept is taken up only in Rm. 9-11. As a matter of fact, the words **hupoleimma** and **leimma** occur only once in NT, i.e. in Rm. 9: 27 and 11: 5 respectively.

In the OT, the concept of the remnant conveys both the ideas of God's judgment (e.g. Is. 30: 15ff.; Ezek. 5:10; 12: 15f.; Amos 5: 3) and God's salvation (e.g. Is. 46: 3f.; Mic. 2: 12; 4: 7; 5: 7, 8; 7: 18; Zeph. 2: 7, 9; Zech. 8: 12; Sir. 44: 17; 47: 22; I Macc. 3: 35).[84] Paul's use of this concept in 9: 27, which implies the judgment of God, and in 11: 5, which suggests the hope of God's salvation, is surely consistent with the OT. However, it is most significant that in the context of 9: 27, Paul does not only talk about God's judgment of Jews. In 9: 29, Paul quotes Is. 1: 9 to suggest that the remnant[85a] also symbolizes God's preservation, and it has a comforting character (cf. Ezek. 14: 21f.).[85b] In other words, although Paul's use of the concept of remnant has both emphasis on God's judgment and salvation, the notion of hope for salvation is more prominent.[86] Herntrich points out that this is also the underlying idea in the development of the OT concept of remnant.[87] In this manner, Paul's use of the

concept of remnant is different from that of the Qumran community. For them, they are a remnant witnessing God's judgment of Israel (1QS 4: 14; 5: 11ff.; CD 1: 4,5; 2: 6; 1QM 1: 6; 4: 2; 13: 8; 14: 5, 8,9; 1QH 6: 7f., 32; 7: 22).[88] The notion of hope for the salvation of Israel as a whole is basically absent from their literature.[89]

Therefore, if this was the case, Paul's use of the remnant motif in 9: 27ff. is not an indictment against his fellow Jews,[90] but rather is meant to show that the existence of Christian Jews as 'a remnant' is an evidence of God's covenant faithfulness in judgment and in mercy to his people (cf. 9: 6, 14).[91] Thus it is surely an indication that God has not rejected Jews as a whole (11: 1-12) and is the basis of the hope that "all Israel will be saved" (11: 26).

Nevertheless, Paul's use of the concept of remnant in Rm. 9-11 is probably not merely for theoretical argument, for the concept of remnant is only valid if the 'remnant' is still regarded as part of the people concerned. Then 'a remnant' can be a witness of God's judgment and a sign of future salvation of the people. In other words, 'a remnant' is in continuity with the fate of the people in the past and in the future. If this is the case, Paul's use of 'a remnant' in Romans to symbolize the position of the Jewish Christians in salvation is most significant. It perhaps suggests Paul's knowledge of the situation of Roman Christians that the Jewish Christians were still related to the Roman Jewish commmunity. This also may imply that Paul does not see the need for the Jewish Christians to be

separated from the non-Christian Jews. But, rather, he hopes that the Jewish Christians may be like those seven thousand Israelites (11: 4) who would bring hope for the salvation of Israelites as a whole (11: 26).

Thus Paul's identification of Jewish Christians as 'a remnant' implies that he gives a very important role to the Jewish Christians to play in relation to the salvation of the non-Christian Jews. One of Paul's purposes in doing this is possibly to give approval to the Jewish Christians to keep a close relationship with the non-Christian Jews in Rome, even though it may imply a life in tension as described in 7: 14 - 25.

B. The 'Remaining Branches' (11: 16b - 24)

The imagery of root and branches in 11: 16b probably introduces Paul's discussion of the imagery of the olive tree in vv. 17 - 24.[92] As we have mentioned above, it is quite obvious that the branches which were broken off (vv. 17a, 19, 20) represent non-Christian Jews and the shoot cut from a wild olive (vv. 17b, 24) represents Gentile Christians.[93] While the root perhaps represents the patriarchs,[94] we still have to ask what the original branches which remain on the tree represent. It is true that the existence of the 'remaining branches' is not explicitly mentioned. However, it seems that they are assumed in the text. The evidence is as follows:

(1) In v. 16b, Paul states that "if the root is holy, so are the branches". Following on in v. 17, he says "But if ***some*** (**tines**) of the branches were broken off...". In

other words, Paul assumes that there are some branches which are holy and not broken off.[95]

(2) In v. 17b, Paul continues to say "and you, though a wild olive shoot, have been grafted in ***among the others*** (**en autois**) and now share in (**sugkoinōnos**) the nourishing sap from the olive root" (NIV). While **en autois** means "among the others" not "in their place" (RSV),[96] the identity of "the others" with whom "the wild olive shoot" ***shares*** the riches from the olive root refers quite naturally to the branches which remain part of the olive tree.[97]

If this is the case, who are represented by these 'remaining branches' which are assumed in the imagery? We suggest that they are the Jewish Christians,[98] particularly those in Rome who stand in the background to hear Paul's dialogue with the Gentile Christians in 11: 13 - 31. Their existence in the Roman Christian community would be certainly assumed by Paul (cf. **apo merous** in 11: 25)[99] and the Gentile Christians in Rome.

In fact, the metaphor of 'remaining branches' suits them very well. The reasons are as follows:

(1) They are surely the natural branches of the cultivated olive tree (cf. v. 24).

(2) They are those who have faith, so they are not broken from the tree (cf. v. 20).

(3) They are those with whom the Gentile Christians share the promises of the patriarchs (cf. 11: 17b; 4: 11, 12, 16).

(4) Their identity as the 'remaining branches' fits in neatly with their identity as 'a remnant' (9: 27; 11: 5).[100]

Nevertheless, what are the reasons which prevented Paul from spelling out this metaphor explicitly? The most likely one is that it creates a sharp contrast with the "branches which were broken off". This would shift the focus of the imagery to the inferior position of the non-Christian Jews and would obviously defeat one of Paul's main purposes in this passage, namely, to exhort the Gentile Christians not to boast over the Jews (v. 18; cf. 14: 1-13a).[101] Furthermore, the other possible reason is that Paul wants to avoid emphasis on the discontinuity between the Christian Jews and the non-Christian Jews, for he is not seeking to persuade the Jewish Christians to separate from the non-Christian Jews.

However, the implicit identification of the Jewish Christians with the 'remaining branches' may be quite obvious to both Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome. The implication of this identification is probably to show the importance of the role of the Jewish Christians in the process of the 'grafting in' and the 'grafting back' of the Gentile Christians and the non-Christian Jews respectively to the people of God. While the Gentile Christians are included, 'contrary to nature' (v.24), into God's people, the Jewish Christian may have to be patient and tolerant in their upbuilding of the relationship with them, rather than condemn their behaviour (cf. 14: 3 - 13a). While the impact of the inclusion of the Gentile

Christians into God's people can possibly be felt by the non-Christian Jews through their 'natural' connection with them, the Jewish Christians should be approved in maintaining their relationship with the non-Christian Jews. In other words, in keeping their relationships with both Gentile Christians and non-Christian Jews, Jewish Christians would play a crucial role in the salvation of both groups.

Furthermore, it is significant to note that the Jewish Christians are certainly the ones who receive the privileges and blessings of Israel, and they are 'Israel' and 'church' at the same time. In God's salvation plan both Gentile Christians and non-Christian Jews have to join in fellowship with them. Therefore, the notion of the transference of the title 'Israel' to 'Church' is totally foreign to Paul's imagery of the olive tree.[102] Moreover, it is quite possible that the important role of Jewish Christians in God's salvation plan, and so among Roman Christians, makes Paul feel it necessary to spend the greater proportion of his letter to addressing their concern (1: 18 - 4: 11; 6: 1 - 7: 25), although they were probably a minority in the Roman Christian community.

Thus, Paul's imagery of the olive tree is perhaps not merely an illustration for a theoretical argument, but rather a forceful image to exhort the Gentile Christians not to despise Jews (Christian or non-Christian) but rather to recognize the significance of their relationship with them on the one hand, and to show his support for the Jewish Christians in keeping and building up relationships

with non-Christian Jews and Gentile Christians respectively on the other (cf. 14: 1- 15: 13).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In Rm. 9 - 11, Paul probably continues his dialogue (from Rm. 8) with the Roman Christians as a whole. However, in 11: 13 - 31, he directs his address to Gentile Christians explicitly. It is possible that in 11: 32 Paul shifts his address back to all his audience and invites them to worship God together with him (11: 33 - 36).

In the course of his dialogue, Paul's frequent use of first person singular to depict his self-image is very significant. He once again emphasizes both his Jewishness (9: 1-3; 10: 1f.; 11: 1, 14) and his apostleship to the Gentiles (11: 13). These integrated images are consistent with our understanding of his self-description in 1: 1-17 and 15: 16-33. It is quite possible that these images embodied Paul's message in Romans.

It seems probable that the majority of Jews in Rome were non-Christians and the majority of Christians were Gentiles, and that this was one of the main features of situation behind Rm. 9-11. This situation required Paul to give a significant explanation which had to be consistent with his purpose in writing Romans and his arguments in the previous part of his letter (Rm. 1-8).

We suggested that Paul starts his explanation by affirming God's faithfulness (cf. 3: 3f.) in his election which operated among both Jews and Gentiles according to his sovereignty and mercy (9: 6 - 29). He agrees that

'faith in Christ' marked the distinction between Christians (Jews and Gentiles) and non-Christian Jews on the one hand (9: 32f.), and was the basis of the unity between Jewish and Gentile Christians on the other (10: 8 - 13; cf. 3: 21 - 31; 4: 24,25; 5: 1 etc.). However, the Christian belief in "God [who] raised him [Jesus] from the dead" (10: 9) probably recalls the continuity between Jewish and Christian faith that God is the one who gives life to the dead (4: 17b) on the one hand, and leads to Paul's vision of the conversion of non-Christian Jews as "life from the dead" (11: 15) on the other. Nevertheless, Paul explains the significance of the distinction between Christians (Jews and Gentiles) and non-Christian Jews in terms of the interrelatedness of the positions of non-Christian Jews, Gentile Christians and Jewish Christians in God's salvation plan as follows:

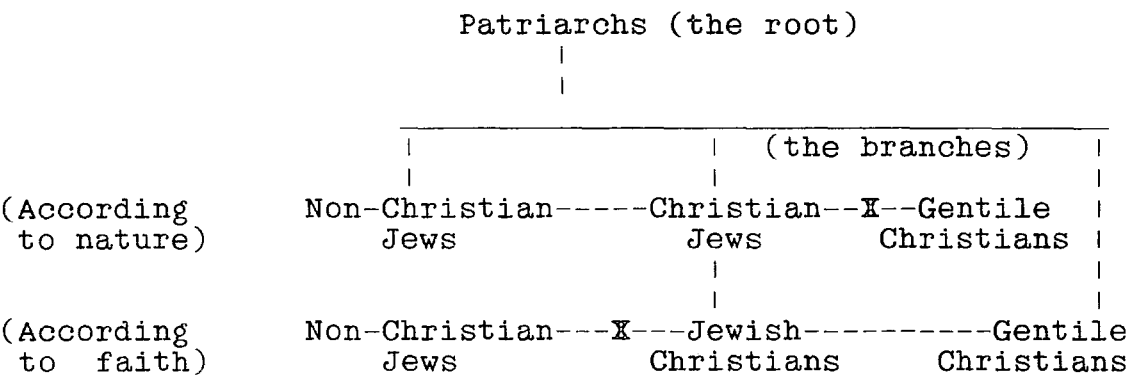
Non-Christian Jews: Paul asserts that the non-Christian Jews are not rejected by God and would not 'stumble' on the 'stone' permanently (11: 1, 11). The unbelief of the non-Christian Jews in fact brings salvation to Gentiles (11: 11 - 12, 30).

Gentile Christians: Paul indicates that the inclusion of the Gentile Christians into God's people is not only for their own sake. Their inclusion will provoke the jealousy of the non-Christian Jews so as to lead them to salvation (10: 19; 11: 11, 14, 25f., 31).

Jewish Christians: Paul identifies the Jewish Christians as 'a remnant', who not only witness God's judgment on Jews

(9: 27) but also symbolize God's preservation (9: 29) and the hope of God's salvation (11: 3-5).

In his direct address to the Gentile Christians (11: 13 - 31), Paul uses a forceful image of the olive tree to conclude his discussion on the relationships between non-Christian Jews, Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians. The relationships in the imagery can be shown as follws:



[Note: Christian Jews = Jewish Christians]

In this imagery, the non-Christian Jews and Christian Jews are connected according to nature with one another and with the patriarchs. However, according to faith, the non-Christian Jews are disconnected from the patriarchs and Jewish Christians. With regard to Gentile Christians, they are connected with Jewish Christians and patriarchs according to faith but not according to nature. In other words, there is both continuity and discontinuity in the relationships between non-Christian Jews, and Gentile Christians, with patriarchs and Jewish Christians. However, as far as the relationship between patriarchs and Jewish Christians is concerned, there is only continuity but no discontinuity.

Therefore, the role of Jewish Christians in this imagery is most important. According to nature, there is no distinction between Christian Jews and non-Christian Jews, but there is a distinction between Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians. According to faith, there is no distinction between Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians, but there is a distinction between Christian Jews and non-Christian Jews. The Jewish Christians are the people on the boundary between non-Christian Jews and Gentile Christians. If they can maintain their natural connection with the non-Christian Jews, the impact of the 'engrafting' of the Gentile Christians onto the olive tree will be transmitted to the non-Christian Jews, which will make them jealous and so lead to their salvation. If the relationship between Gentile Christians and Jewish Christians is established (according to faith), the Gentile Christians could share the blessings of the Jewish patriarchs. This sharing can be concretized only if a social relationship between Jewish and Gentile Christians can be built up (cf. 15: 7, 14). This social relationship is surely a concrete indicator for their relationship according to faith. In 4: 11 - 16 (see **ch. 9** above), this relationship is understood as an indicator to show that Jewish Christians have the faith of Abraham.

Thus the imagery of the olive tree serves as a climax for Paul's argument in Romans. It depicts forcefully the dynamics of the relationships between non-Christian Jews, Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians. It explains the phenomenon that the majority of Jews were non-

Christians and the majority of Christians were Gentiles in a most positive and hopeful way. That the majority of Jews were non-Christian is in fact part of God's salvation plan to bring salvation to Gentiles. The inclusion of a multitude of Gentiles into God's people is also part of God's plan to lead the non-Christian Jews into eschatological salvation.

In this salvation plan the Jewish Christians occupy the pivotal position. They have to keep their natural relationship with the non-Christian Jews and to concretize their relationship with the Gentile Christians according to faith into a relationship in which the sharing of blessings and faith can be realized.

According to the situation of Roman Christians as reflected in 14: 1 - 15: 13 (see **Ch. 5** above), one of Paul's main purposes in writing Romans is probably to persuade the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome to establish a Christian community net-work without pressing Jewish Christians to separate from the Jewish community. In **Part III** of this thesis, we found that our hypothesis of the situation of Roman Christians and Paul's purpose in writing Romans (see **Part II** above) does make sense of the doctrinal core of Romans (Rm. 1: 18 - 11: 36) and throw new light on our understanding of Romans. It seems to be quite possible that if Paul could persuade the Jewish Christians:

(1) not to distinguish themselves from the Gentile Christians according to the Jewish stereotyped view of Gentiles and Jews (1: 18 - 2:29);

(2) to realize their solidarity with the Gentile Christians both in sin and in faith (3: 1 - 4: 25);

(3) not to worry that their solidarity with the Gentile Christians will appear to make them become antinomians (6: 1 - 7: 13);

(4) to understand that their life as Jew and Christian at the same time means a life in tension (7: 14 - 25);

(5) to see the significance of their solidarity with the Gentile Christians (Rm. 5, 8); and

(6) to recognize their important role in God's salvation plan with regard to the salvation of Gentile Christians and non-Christian Jews (Rm. 9 - 11);

the Jewish Christians would probably understand that Paul does not request them to separate from the Jewish community and it is important for them to build up their relationship with the Gentile Christians (14: 1- 13a; 15: 7-13).

If Paul could persuade the Gentile Christians:

(1) to acknowledge the priority of Jews and their indebtedness to them in God's salvation plan (1: 16; 2: 10; 3: 1f.; 4; 9: 4f.; 11: 13 - 24, 30);

(2) to have a radical break with the Gentile sinful acts (6: 15 - 23; cf. 1: 18 -32);

(3) to understand that it is not necessary for Jewish Christians to become antinomians in building up a relationship with them (3: 8; 6: 1 - 7: 13);

(4) to appreciate the difficulties faced by the Jewish Christian in being a Jew and a Christian at the same time (7: 14 - 25);

(5) to see the significance of their solidarity with the Jewish Christians (Rm. 5, 8); and

(6) to recognize the roles of non-Christian Jews, Jewish Christian Jews and themselves in God's salvation plan (Rm. 9-11);

the Gentile Christians would probably understand why Paul exhorts them to welcome Jewish Christians to attend their communal meal and worship without pressing them to separate from the Jewish community (14: 1 - 23; 15: 7 - 13); and to please the Jewish Christians whenever they participate in the worship and communal meal held in the house churches of Jewish Christians (15: 1-6).

Paul's message in Romans is always double-edged, even in those passages which he addresses explicitly to one sector of his audience. However, because the Jewish Christians play such an important role in God's salvation plan, and so among Roman Christians, although they were probably a minority in the Roman Christian community, Paul spends a greater proportion of his letter in addressing their concern. Nevertheless, while the Gentile Christians were probably the majority in the Roman Christian community and their compromise in the practices of communal meal and worship is most important in the practical upbuilding of the Christian communiy net-work in Rome, Paul directs his exhortation more explicitly to them (14: 1 - 15: 6). Paul probably knew that unless he could persuade both Jewish and Gentile Christians to accept his theological arguments in the letter (Rm. 1 -11), they would not cease to despise and condemn one another (14: 3-13), and would not welcome one another to participate in the communal meal and worship held at their house churches (15: 7ff.).

Paul put such a great effort in Romans into persuading the Roman Christians to build up a community net-work in Rome, because he probably knew that the success of his mission plan to Spain would very much depend on the concrete support of a closely related Jewish and Gentile Christian community in Rome (15: 14 - 33). His persuasiveness in interpreting the relationships between non-Christian Jews, Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians according to the gospel (1: 1 - 17) would promote the upbuilding of the Roman Christian community net-work, and might also ensure the success of his visit to Jerusalem (15: 30-32) which was also an obstacle to his mission plan to Spain. In short, ***Paul's purpose in writing Romans is probably well summarized in 1: 11-13 that he expects to "impart some spiritual gift" to the Roman Christians in order to "obtain some fruit" among them*** (NASB).

Notes to Chapter 11

1a. See **note 13** in **Ch. 2** above.

1b. Bruce (R, 1963: 182f.) rightly sees that this is the situation of the Roman Christians which requires Paul to write Rm.9-11.

2. Dodd (R, 1959: 161) wrongly suggests that Rm. 9-11 "can be read quite satisfactorily without reference to the rest of the epistle"; cf. Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 225). However, Baur (1836: 157f.), followed by Stendahl (1963: 85), (1976a: 28) and Beker (1980: 87), suggests that Rm. 9-11 is a climactic point in the letter; cf. Goppelt (1964: 153); Noack (1965). For discussion of the connection between Rm. 1-8 and 9-11, see Davies (1978a: 345ff. n.32); Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 445-7).

3. For reference to the occurrences of 81 first person plural pronouns and verbs, 47 second person plural pronouns and verbs in Rm. 5-8, see **notes 7** and **8, 9** and **10** respectively in the **Chapter 10.**

4. 4 first person plural pronouns occur in 9: 10, 24, 29; 10: 16; and 5 verbs appears in 9: 14, 29, 29, 30; 10: 8.

5. 9 second person plural pronouns occur in 9: 26; 10: 19, 19; 11: 13, 25, 25, 28, 30, 31, including a reflexive pronoun in 11: 25 and a possessive pronoun in 11:31; 4 verbs occur in 11: 2, 25, 30, 30.

6. Two first person plural pronouns -- 9: 29; 10: 16; and two verbs -- 9: 29. 29. Three second person plural pronouns -- 9: 26; 10: 19, 19.

7. 8: 2, 36, in which 8: 36 is part of an OT quotation. For discussion of the textual variant in 8: 2, see **note 122** in the **previous chapter.**

8. 20 second person singular pronouns -- 9: 7, 17, 17, 20; 10: 6, 8, 8, 8, 9, 9; 11: 3, 3, 17, 18, 18, 20, 21, 22, 22, 24; and 7 verbs -- 9: 19, 20; 10: 9, 9; 11: 18, 19, 22.

9. All 9 are pronouns -- 9: 7, 17, 17; 10: 6, 8, 8, 8; 11: 3, 3.

10. 28 pronouns -- 9: 1, 1, 2, 2, 3, 3, 3, 3, 17, 17, 19, 20, 25, 25, 26; 10: 19, 20, 20, 21; 11: 1, 3, 3, 4, 13, 13, 14, 19, 27, including **kagō** in 11: 3 and 2 reflexive pronouns in 9: 3 and 11: 4. 27 verbs -- 9: 1, 1, 3, 9 , 13, 13, 15, 15, 15, 15, 17, 17, 33; 10: 2, 18, 19 , 19, 20 , 20, 21; 11: 1, 4, 11, 13, 13, 25, 27, including **eimi** in 11: 13.

11. 13 pronouns -- 9: 17, 17, 25, 25, 26; 10: 19, 20, 20, 21; 11: 3, 3, 4, 27; and 16 verbs -- 9: 9, 13, 13, 15, 15, 15, 15, 17, 17, 33; 10: 19, 20, 20, 21; 11: 4, 27.

12. Third person plural pronouns occur 62 times in Romans in which **autoi** 4 times; **auta** 4 times; **autōn** 33 times; **autois** 15 times; **autous** 6 times; **autais** and **autas** do not occur; see VKGNT I: 100-46. Among them 24 occur in Rm. 9-11, including **autoi** in 11: 31; **auta** in 10: 5; **autōn** (13 times) in 10: 1, 18, 18; 11: 9, 10 , 10, 11, 12, 12, 12, 14, 15, 27; **autois** (7 times) in 9: 26; 10: 2, 5; 11: 8, 9, 17, 27; **autous** in 11: 11, 23. Among these 24 occurrences, 12 are not part of OT quotations. Except **autois** in 11: 17, which probably refers to Jewish Christians (see discussion in Section IV.B below), all others probably refer to the non-Christian Jews. Even among those 12 occurrences which appear in OT quotations, 7 refer to the disbelief of Israel (11: 8, 9, 9, 10, 10, 27, 27).

Furthermore, there are 9 third person plural verbs in 10: 2, 3; 11: 11, 11, 23, 23, 24, 31, 31, referring to the non-Christian Jews.

13. 9: 1, 1, 2, 2, 3, 3, 3, 3 (reflexive).
14. 9: 1, 1, 3.
15. **Israēlitēs** occurs only three times in Paul's writings: II Cor. 11: 22; Rm. 9: 4; 11: 1.
16. For discussion on 'Jews' as an ethnic term and 'Israelite' as a title for God's people, see Ellison (1976: 31f.); Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 460f.); von Rad, Kuhn and Gutbrod (TDNT III: 359-65).
17. So Vischer (1950: 86); Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 461); Mussner (1979: 24); Osten-Sacken (1986: 20); Dunn (R, MS: 724). Although in 9: 6, Paul seems to indicate that there are two different understandings of **Israēl**, the evidence could not be interpreted in a way against Paul's assertion in 9: 4, 5, the preface of Rm. 9-11, or over against all of Rm. 9-11; see Richardson (1969: 136); Dunn (R, MS: 724).
18. Paul uses three forceful first person singular verbs **legō, ou pseudomai, ēuchomēn**, to express his personal feeling with his fellow-Jews (**adelphōn mou, suggenōn mou**); see Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 451, 456).
19. See Jeremias (1953: 148); Barrett (R, 1962: 175f.); Kaesemann (R. 1980: 257); Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 189); and Watson (1986: 161).
20. So Dodd (R, 1959: 164); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 257).
21. See A-G: 338. For Paul, positive usage: II Cor. 7:7; 11; 9: 2; 11: 2 (cf. I Cor. 12: 31; 14: 1, 39; Tit 2: 14), negative usage: Rm 13:13; I Cor. 3: 3; II Cor. 12: 20); Gal. 5: 20 (cf. I Cor. 13: 4); see Dunn (R, MS: 799).
22. See discussion in Stumpff (TDNT II: 878); Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 514); Dunn (1987a: 221).
23. So Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 513).
24. The connection between 'witness' and **legō** is probably seen in 9: 1.
25. This is probably evidence suggesting a close relationship between Rm. 10 and 11. As will be shown below, the integrity of Paul's argument in Rm. 9-11 is probably linked by his discussion of the position of non-Christian Jews, Gentile Christians and Jewish Christians in God's salvation plan. For discussion of Rm. 9-11 as a unity in Paul's argument, see Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 447f.); Wright (1980: 197-209); Dinter (1980:9-62). Against Bultmann (1955 II: 132), followed by Watson (1986: 168-70), who suggests that Rm. 11 is inconsistent with Rm. 9-10.
26. The **ginōskō** in v. 19 should be interpreted as a near synonym of **akouō** in v. 18, and bears a sense like "understand, comprehend'; so Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 230); Dunn (R, MS: 846).
27. 11: 11, 12 obviously pick up the talk of Israel stumbling in 9: 32, 33; Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 242); Dunn (R, MS: 881). In 9: 32, 33, the metaphor of "stumbling over the stone" (**lithos**) probably refers to 'faith in Christ' as the test between belonging to God's people or being rejected from it; cf. Lindars (1961: 177); Kuss (R,1978 III: 745ff.). The interpretation of **ptaiō** as related to the exclusion from God's people is also supported by II Peter 1: 10 (one of the other three NT passages **ptaiō** occurs; others are Jas. 2: 10; 3: 2), in which **ptaiō** is used in contrast with **klēsis** (cf. Rm. 11: 29) and **eklogē** (cf. Rm. 9: 11; 11: 5, 7, 28) which

are the words related to the identity of God's people; see Coenen (NIDNTT I: 275f.); (NIDNTT I: 540f.); Schrenk (TDNT IV: 179f.). For further discussion on **ptaiō**, see Schmidt (TDNT VI: 883f.). However, the consequence of the stumbling is not mentioned in 9: 32, 33. In 11: 11 (cf. 11: 1), Paul explicitly indicates that the non-Christian Jews who "stumbled over" are not destined to be excluded from God's people permanently; for interpretation of **piptō**, see Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 554f.). According to Paul, their "stumbling over" has a positive role in God's plan for the inclusion of Gentiles into the people of God (11: 11f.), and it is only a temporary phenomenon (cf. 11: 23-26).

28. See Dinkler (1956: 123); Munck (1954: 45); (1956: 119, 125); Barrett (R, 1962: 213) and Hanson (1974: 104f.)
29. Paul's use of **legō** in vv.11, 13 and **humin** in v.13 are emphatic, see Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 558).
30. Paul's double commitment is consistent with the Lucan picture of Paul's mission. According to Acts, Paul preaches to Jews as well as to Gentiles; cf. 20:21 and Wilson (1973: 169). Although Sanders (1983: 181) opposes scholars who regard Acts as reliable for helping to establish Paul's missionary practice, he (p.197) agrees that "the anguish of Rm. 9-11 is caused .... by a dilemma. The dilemma .... arises from Paul's twin sets of convictions, those native to him and those revealed."
31. Munck (1956: 117f.) observes that "Paul is able to show that the salvation of the Gentiles and the salvation of Israel are not two distinct and mutually exclusive quantities. On the contrary, when Israel stumbled the salvation of the Gentiles became God's first intention, and as soon as this intention had been achieved it was in its turn to affect Israel, as a means of influencing the hardened Jewish people so that salvation could also be brought to them." See also Nygren (R, 1952: 395f.); Munck (1954: 44); Leenhardt (R, 1961: 281ff.); Barrett (R, 1962: 214f.); Kaesemann (R. 1980: 305f.); Sanders (1983a: 193ff.).
32. In this passage, it is possible that Paul writes to contrast what the Gentile Christians will probably be inclined to think. They may suppose that Paul as an apostle to the Gentiles, is turning his back upon the unbelieving Jews; see Munck (1954: 44f.); Cranfield (R, 1979: 559). However, what Paul affirms is that his mission to the Gentiles is at the same time a mission to the Jews; see Munck (1954: 43); (1956: 121f.); Bruce (1973: 87). This assertion will be relevant to both Gentile and Jewish Christians for their understanding of the relation between Gentile and Jewish missions as well as their relationship with those non-Christian Jews. As will be shown below, although Paul is explicitly addressing the Gentile Christians in this passage, the message is also relevant to the Jewish Christians who overhear in the background. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 304) suggests that "behind v.11b stands unspoken the apocalyptic idea that the first shall be last and the last first." Thus the sequence for the events in the salvation history has been changed from first the Jews and then the Gentiles to first the Gentiles and then the Jews. Nevertheless, in spite of this, Paul is convinced that Israel is still the chief goal of God's will of salvation; see Munck (1956: 122f.); Barrett (R, 1962: 215); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 305f.)
33. For discussion of the evidence of Paul's appeal to the

example of Jesus in Romans, see Dunn (1989 MS: 3-9)

34. For discussion of the diatribal characters in these two passages, see Stowers (1981: 98-100, 113-5). For further discussion of the diatribal style in 11: 17-24, see Schmeller (1987: 313-5).
35. Against Michel (R, 1978: 311), who suggests that Paul addresses der juedische Gegner in 9: 19f..
36. So Stowers (1981: 99).
37. See discussion in Section I.B in **Ch. 9** above.
38. Isaac is rarely mentioned on his own in Jewish and Christian tradition, reinforcing the impression of the Genesis narratives that he was thought of as a colourless figure. He is remembered as one of the patriarchs in a standard and often repeated formula (".... the fathers. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob", e.g. Ex. 3: 6, 16; 4: 5; Mtt. 22: 32; Acts 7: 32 etc.), but principally as being Abraham's promised offspring, father of Jacob, and particularly as Abraham's intended sacrifice; see Charlesworth (OTP, 1985 II, index "Isaac"); Dunn (R, MS: 744). For discussion of Paul's allusion to Isaac in Romans, see Barrett (1962: 26-30); Dahl (1969); Segal (1984).

38a. Cranfield (1982: 222) suggests that "the 'us' [in 9: 24], which is inserted rather awkwardly as far as the grammar is concerned, seems to have the effect of giving to the statement something of the character of a confession of faith".

39. For discussion of the occurrences of **ti oun eroumen** in Romans, see Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 481f.).
40. Cf. Campbell (1981c: 33f.). Many scholars agree that the main issue in 9-11 is the unbelief of Jews; e.g. Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902:225f.); Nygren (R,1944: 353); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 242); Barrett (R, 1962: 175); cf. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 261); Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 186). However, in view of the evidence that the faith of Gentiles and the inclusion of Gentiles into God's people are also one of the dominant themes in 9-11 (9: 24-26,30; 10: 12; 11: 11-31), it seems more accurate to say that the main issue is the contrast between the unbelief of the majority of Jews and the belief of many Gentiles; cf. Munck (1956: 8); Bruce (R, 1963: 182f.); Richardson (1969: 126); Dunn (R, MS:716). For objection to understanding Rm. 9 as a passage dealing with the unbelief of Jews, see Gaston (1981-82: 411-8).
41. Many scholars think that this is the question of Rm. 9-11; e.g. Goppelt (1964: 152f.); Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 482); Piper (1983: 4f.).
42. Cf. Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 504); Dunn (R, MS: 787).
43. The significance of there being no definite article with **ethnē** is now frequently recognized. It indicates not "the Gentiles" but "some Gentiles"; e.g. Barrett (R, 1962: 192); Schlier (R, 1977: 306); Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 506); cf. RSV; NEB.
44. The distinctive phrase **nomon dikaiosunēs** probably means a law which 'demands righteousness' or which 'promises righteousness'; see Schrenk (TDNT, II: 202); Schlier (R, 1977: 307); Cranfield (R, 1979, II:508, n.1); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 277); Rhyne (1981: 99). It is not necessary to read a negative sense into the phrase as denoting a false way to seek righteousness by means of the law; so as Barrett (R, 1962: 193); Hofius (1983: 277). The antithesis here is not 'faith' and 'law' but 'faith' and 'works', cf. 3:27; Gal.

2:16. Cranfield (R, 1979, II:509f.) contends that "there is not the slightest suggestion here that to pursue the law was wrong or useless .... but for the way in which it had pursued the law. The implication is that Paul thought that, had Israel pursued the law **ek pisteōs**, it would indeed truly have come to grips with it, and that his desire for Israel was not that it should henceforward not pursue the law, but that it should cease to pursue it **ex ergōn** and henceforward pursue it **ek pisteōs**"; cf. Duelmen (1968: 175); Rhyne (1981: 99f.); Huebner (1984: 61ff.). Moreover, with regard to the various interpretations of "the works (of the law)" among scholars, see the survey in Moo (1983: 90-99) and the discussion in Dunn (1983a: 107, 110-8).

45. For discussion of Paul's use of OT in 9: 33, see Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 511f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 278f.); Dunn (R, MS: 795-8).
46. See discussion in Section III.B and C in **Ch. 9** above.
47. For discussion of "stone" symbolizing 'Christ' and 'stumbling' representing 'no faith' in Christ; see p.152 and notes 68,72,75 (pp.182f.) in Chapter 5 above, and note 27 in this chapter (p.526).
48. For discussion of the relation between 9: 32f. and 11: 11, see above **note 27.**
49. The ongoing dispute on the interpretation of **telos** is well known; see the survey of opinions in Badenas (1985: 1-37). As far as our discussion is concerned, whether **telos** denotes 'termination' or 'goal', it is quite obvious that for Paul it is 'faith in Christ' not 'the law' which brings righteousness.
50. For discussion of Paul's use of OT quotations (Lev. 18: 5 and Deut. 30: 11-14) in 10: 5-8, see Suggs (1967: 299-311); Dunn (1987a).
51. So Dunn (R, MS:824). This interpretation is supported by the evidence that in 10: 9f. it probably consists of a confessional formula used among early Christians; see Bultmann (1952 I: 125); Barrett (R, 1962: 200); Neufeld (1963: 20, 24, 140-4); Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 227).
52. Pronouns - 9: 20; 10: 9,9; 11: 17, 18, 18, 20, 21, 22, 22, 24; verbs - 9: 19, 20; 10: 9,9; 11: 18, 19, 22.
53. see **note 34** above.
54. Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 553), (1982: 218) suggests that Paul's use of second person singular in 11: 17 -- 24 is not a rhetorical device but addresses each individual Gentile Christian in his audience. However, we do not see that it is an 'either or' interpretation.
55. See **note 51** above.
56. Cf. **mē agnoeite** in 6: 3; 7: 1; see Cranfield (R, 1979 II:545; cf. 1975 I: 300); Dunn (R, MS: 860, cf. 503).
57. So Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 244 n.1094).
58. For discussion of various interpretations of **pas Israēl**, see Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 576f.). It is quite probable that this phrase refers to 'Israel' as a whole , as a people, whose corporate identity and wholeness would not be lost even if there were some individual exceptions; see Goppelt (1964: 160f.); Luz (1968: 292, n. 114); Kuemmel (q972: 243f.); Mayer (1974: 287-9); Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 577); Trocme (1985: 154f.); Hofius (1986: 316-8); Dunn (R, MS: 916).
59. So Cranfield (1982a: 215f.).
60. Although many scholars think that Paul addresses himself to the Gentile Christians explicitly as far as v.32, they agree that v.32 probably concludes the argument of Rm. 9-11 and the

twofold **tous pantas** refers to all different groups which have been mentioned in the preceeding verses; e.g. Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 559, 586ff.);

61. The origin of this hymn is uncertain, but there is no reason against the view that Paul composed it himself; see discussion in Bornkamm (1951); Zeller (1973: 267-9); Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 589ff.); Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 268ff.); Dunn (1987b: 2873f.).
62. Bornkamm (1951: 105) is probably right to point out that "the hymn is more than simply a favourite rhetorical device, or an expression of poetic rapture, or the language of an individualistic mood. Rather, its original context is that of worship, and it is an expression of homage and worshipful submission to the manifest and present majesty and power of God".
63. Cf. Bruce (R, 1963: 182f.). This suggestion does not necessarily exclude the opinion that Paul's missionary situation is also one of the underlying settings, but we think that it is Paul's application of the wisdom which he gained in his previous missionary experience to the situation in Rome. However, against Watson (1986: 169; cf. 31f.), who suggests that the primary setting of Rm. 11 is Paul's early missionary experience, when he and others first preached to the Gentiles as the result of encountering rejection among the Jews.
64. See above **note** 12.
65. Many scholars recognize in 11: 1 the reminiscence of OT passages which declare categorically that God will not cast off his people, e.g. I Sam. 12: 22; Ps. 94: 14; Lam. 3: 31; see Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 543); Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 236); Dunn (R, MS: 858).
66. Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 571) rightly points out that **kata phusin** refers to the relationship between the branch and the tree, rather than to the tree being "by nature" the kind of tree (RSV), or grown "naturally" (Koester, TDNT IX: 271), or "natural process" (Barrett, R, 1962: 219).
67. The subtle relationship between Jews and 'God's people' has been an issue of ongoing debate among many scholars. Some simply identify them without qualification, e.g. Stendahl (1976b: 4); Torrance (1982: 87). However, since the time of Irenaeus (quoted by Gaston, 1981-82: 412, 422 n. 62), many argue that there is a transference of the title from the synagogue to the 'Church', e.g. Wright (1980: 192ff.; 200); Watson (1986: 171f.). Nevertheless, the truth is probably found somewhere between these two extreme positions; cf. Richardson (1969: 146f.).
68. Against Watson (1986: 168f.), who overlooks the reference in 10: 19 in suggesting that "in Rm. 9-10, the rejection of the Jews and the salvation of Gentiles are simply set alongside one another as independent facts".
69. Cf. Dunn (R, MS: 889).
70. Many Scholars see that the vine is far more customarily used as a symbol for Israel (Ps. 80: 8-18; Jer. 2: 21; Ezek. 17; IV Ezra 5: 23); see Hanson (1974: 121); Davies (1978b: 155); Dunn (R, MS: 889). However, Davies (1978b: 155) thinks that Paul's use of the symbol of the olive rather than the vine is probably because "the wild vine does produce wild grapes; the wild olive produces nothing useful".
71. See Heichelheim (OCD: 749f.); Baxter & Ziesler (1985: 26). Davies (1978b: 160) suggests that olive is a well known plant

in the Greco-Roman world in which the olive may serve as a symbol of Athens and Greek culture.

72. See Heichelheim (OCD: 749f.); S-B III: 291; Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 565f.); Baxter & Ziesler (1985: 26f.).
73. See Knox (1925: 254, 258 n. 17); Davies (1978b: 158f.); Black (R, 1973: 145); and the discussion of the possible interpretations with regard to the origin of the name of this synagogue in Leon (1960: 145-7).
74. See discussion in Munck (1956: 128ff.); Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 565f.); Baxter & Ziesler (1985).
75. See Maurer (TDNT VI: 989); Luz (1968: 275f.); Davies (1978b: 154); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 308); Dunn (R, MS: 889).
76. So Davies (1978b: 155).
77. So Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 328); Schlatter (R, 1962: 197); Michel (R, 1978: 350); Dunn (R, MS: 892).
78. See discussion in Section II.B.3(A)(b) in **Ch. 8** above.

79a. For discussion of Paul's meaning of **mustêrion** in 11: 25, see Bornkamm (TDNT IV: 822f.); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 312); Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 253f.); Dunn (R, MS: 912f.).

79b. Dahl (1972a: 152) is probably right to point out that "the mystery which Paul reveals is not Israel's ultimate salvation, but rather the way in which Israel will achieve that ultimate salvation"; cf. Luz (1968: 294); Betz (1978); Campbell (1981c: 36).

80. For references to recent discussion of the phrase, see Aus (1979: 233f. n.6). Furthermore, many scholars agree that "full number" (**plêrôma**) does not refer to any specific number or all Gentiles without exception, but rather the multitude of Gentiles which represent the Gentile world as a whole; e.g. Munck (1956: 134f.); Leenhardt (R, 1957: 293); Goppelt (1964: 160).

81a. So Davies (1978b: 153); Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 584); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 316); Wilckens (R, 1980 II: 260f.).

81b. On how the non-Christian Jews would feel the impact, see some possible suggestions in Davies (1978a: 132).

82. It is significant to note that among 58 OT quotations in Romans, 31 are found in Rm. 9-11; see references in Ellis (1957: 150f.; cf. 156-73).
83. Many scholars recognize that Paul identifies Jewish Christians with 'a remnant'; e.g. Schrenk (TDNT IV: 211f.); Richardson (1969: 147); cf. Kaesemann (R, 1980: 275f.); cf. Watson (1986: 168, 172, 173). Against Lindars (1961: 241), he claims that "the remnant [in Romans] is the Gentiles".
84. So Herntrich (TDNT IV: 197f.); Guenther & Krienke (NIDNTT III: 248ff.); Hasel (1974: 388f.); Johnson (1984: 93).

85a. Although **leimma** does not occur in Is. 1: 9, the phrase **egkatelipen....sperma** surely denotes the concept of remnant; see Clements (1980: 107, 111, 114); cf. Shrenk (TDNT IV: 210).

85b. Cf. Schrenk (TDNT IV: 210); Guenther & Krienke (NIDNTT III: 251); Richardson (1969: 133).

86. Cf. Schrenk (TDNT IV: 212f.); Bruce (R, 1963: 192).
87. Herntrich (TDNT IV: 198); see also Hasel (1974: 389); Clements (1980: 118); Anderson (1982: 20).
88. See Sanders (1977: 250f.); Dunn (R, MS: 782).
89. See Sanders (1977: 241ff.; 268ff.). Watson (1986: 38-42, 45-8) overlooks this difference between Paul and the Qumran community in suggesting that they belong to the same type of sectarian movement which adopted an attitude of sectarian separation from the Jewish community.

90. Against Johnson (1984: 94f.), who overlooks the positive implication of Paul's quotation of Is. 1: 9 in 9: 29 in suggesting a sharp contrast of Paul's use of the concept of remnant in Rm. 9 and 11.
91. Cf. Schrenk (TDNT IV: 210).
92. So Sanday & Headlam (R, 1902: 326); Davies (1978b: 153f.); Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 563); Kaesemann(1980: 307); Dunn (R, MS: 889).
93. See also Barrett (R, 1962: 217); Wilckens (r, 1980 II: 246f.).
94. See above **note 75**.
95. So Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 567).
96. E.g. Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 567); Kaesemann (R, 1980: 308); Dunn (R, MS: 891); cf. NEB; NASB. Against Watson (1986: 169), who follows RSV without giving any explanation.
97. So Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 567); Dunn (R, MS: 891). Against Davies (1978b: 356 n. 6), who overconfidently states that "**en autois** (among them) must refer to the branches lopped off".
98. So Maurer (TDNT VI: 989); Cranfield (R, 1979 II: 567); cf. Dunn (R, MS:891). Although Barrett (R, 1962: 216) perhaps wrongly suggest that the root symbolizes Jewish Christians, he rightly sees the need of identifying the position of the Jewish Christians in the imagery with the part of the olive which was not 'broken off'.
99. Cf. Davies (1978b: 347 n. 34).
100. It is significant to note that in II King 19: 30; Is. 37: 31; cf. Sir. 47: 22; I Esd. 8: 78, **leimma** is used in connection with the 'root' (**riza**) and the bearing of fruits; see Dunn (R, MS: 889).
101. See **note 77** above.
102. Against Wright (1980: 193f.), who makes reference to the imagery in supporting his contention that Paul could have transferred the title 'Israel' to the Church.

CONCLUSION

Since we have summarized and concluded our findings at the end of each Chapter, especially in Chapters 4, 8 and 11, we will discuss here mainly some implications of our study as mentioned in the **INTRODUCTION**.

1. *Paul's Purpose in Writing Romans*

Our approach of studying Paul's purpose in writing Romans with the assumption that Romans was a letter addressed to the situation in Rome is contrary to the view of many scholars, especially Bornkamm and Jervell.[1] However, we have found that this approach is not only feasible but also provides a new perspective for the interpretation of Romans. The evidence derived from Roman authors, Jewish authors (especially Philo and Josephus) and the inscriptional data of the Jewish catacombs in Rome can help us to reconstruct a plausible situation of the Roman Jews in the first century C.E., which in consequence enables us to understand the situation of Roman Christians as reflected in Romans and to interpret the letter accordingly.

As we have argued in the thesis, one of Paul's main purposes in writing Romans was probably to persuade both Jewish and Gentile Christians in Rome to build up a Christian community net-work. This he argues in accordance with his understanding of the gospel, with the assumption

that Gentile Christians were not required to become Jews and Jewish Christians were not expected to relinquish their connection with the non-Christian Jews. Thus Paul could promote the upbuilding of this community net-work by means of his letter before he arrived in Rome to launch his mission to Spain. He expected that this community net-work would give concrete support to his mission to Spain and spiritual support for his journey to Jerusalem.

In other words, Paul's purpose in writing the letter is oriented to pastoral, apologetic and missionary concerns.[2] It is pastorally oriented, because Paul was concerned about the problems of the Roman Christians and tried to solve them. It is apologetic, because he defended the right of the Gentile Christians to be God's people without becoming Jews and the right of the Jewish Christians to maintain both Jewish and Christian identities. He also defended the Christian and non-Christian Jews against being despised by the Gentile Christians. It is also oriented to missionary concern, because Paul had his Spanish mission in mind and tried to canvass the Roman-Christians to be involved in his mission plan by the letter. Moreover, his argument in Romans was based on his understanding of the gospel which he preached in his missionary activities.

It is true that when Paul wrote Romans he was concerned about his journeys to Jerusalem, Rome and Spain.[3] However, as far as the *purpose* of the letter is concerned, his plan to visit Rome and Spain played the most important role. As we have argued in **Chapter 6**, Paul's request for spiritual support for his journey to Jerusalem (Rm. 15: 30f.) was

probably not only for his own sake but also an exhortation to encourage the Roman Christians to pray together with the expectation that they could build up a close relationship among themselves. Although the persuasiveness of Paul's treatment of the relationships between non-Christian Jews, Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians might ensure the success of his visit to Jerusalem, his message was basically directed to the situation in Rome.

We believe that our suggestion of Paul's purpose in writing Romans has the following characteristics:

(1) It is consistent with the evidence found in both the 'frame' and the 'body' of the letter, and so demonstrates their interrelatedness more fully than has usually been the case.
(2) It explains the relationship between the letter and Paul's plan to visit Jerusalem, Rome and Spain.
(3) It correlates with the situation of Roman Christians and the main argument of the letter.
(4) It is consistent with the evidence related to the situation of Roman Christians reflected in both Romans and the relevant external materials.

2. *Paul as a Practical Theologian*

If our interpretation of Paul's purpose in writing Romans is correct, it implies that Paul raised those issues (see **INTRODUCTION**) in Romans because he believed that they were relevant to the Roman Christians. Paul's message in Romans surely related to his theological reflection on his past experiences but it is probably formulated with the

concern of applying his wisdom gained from the past to the concrete situation of Roman Christians. Paul's argument is certainly theological but it is directed to the concrete situation of his addressees. His theological discussion was not just for the sake of intellectual debate, but also for the sake of changing the attitudes and thus the concrete situation of his addressees. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith in Romans is certainly a great doctrine; however, its significance should not be interpreted without reference to the concrete situation of the Roman Christians. In other words, the social function of Paul's doctrine of justification by faith should not be overlooked.[4] Paul was not a theologian who wrote his work in an ivory tower, but rather 'doing theology'[5] in his pastoral and missionary praxis. If Paul is of any value in providing an example to contemporary theologians, he probably reminds us that these professional theologians should consider the relevance of their theological theories to concrete situations in Church and society, and that pastors and missionaries while being concerned with practical problems in their daily ministries should not give up their duty to 'do theology' in their praxis.

3. *Paul and Judaism*

Paul is often accused of being an apostate from Judaism and the one who caused the separation of Christianity from Judaism.[6] This impression is mainly based on the evidence derived from those passages in which Paul either argues against Judaisers or repudiates the understanding which equates the identity markers of an ethnic Jew with

the requirements of being God's people.[7] However, in our study of Romans we have found that Paul not only defends the right of Gentile Christians to be God's people without becoming Jews but also defends the right of Jewish Christians to retain both Jewish and Christian identities. As we have argued in the thesis, he does not persuade the Jewish Christians to separate from the Jewish community and he asserts his own Jewish identity in most emphatic terms (9: 1-3 and 11: 1).[8]

In 14: 1 - 15: 7 Paul exhorts the Gentile Christians to consider the difficulties of the Jewish Christians in preserving their Jewish identity and asks them to bear the burden of the Jewish Christians. In 9-11, when Paul deals with the relationship of the Jewish and Gentile Christians to the non-Christian Jews, although he makes it clear that Christ is the stone those non-Christian Jews have stumbled over, he uses the concept of remnant (9: 27-29; 11: 1-5) and the imagery of the olive tree to insist that God has not rejected the non-Christian Jews as his people and that in the eschaton all Israel will be saved.

A proper interpretation of Paul's attitude towards Judaism in Romans would probably provide a better base for understanding the relationship between Christianity and Judaism and thus a better base for the Jewish-Christian dialogue.[9] The basic issues at stake in the Jewish-Christian dialogue are probably the recognition by the Christians of the right of non-Christian Jews as God's people and the recognition by the non-Christian Jews of the right of the Jewish Christians to retain both their

Jewish and Christian identities.

4. *'Historical Paul', 'Lutheran Paul' and Hermeneutical Implications*

As we have mentioned in the INTRODUCTION, there is a 'paradigm shift' in recent Pauline study. The interpretation of Paul which has been deeply influenced by the experience of Martin Luther is accused of being unhistorical. The issue is that we have to differentiate the 'historical Paul' from the 'Lutheran Paul'.[10] In this study we have accepted the insights of this development in Pauline study. However, this does not mean that we follow those scholars who seem to disregard the significance of the Lutheran interpretation of Paul.[11]

As a matter of fact, the quest of the 'historical Paul' must be a continuous effort by students in Pauline study. Everyone has to realize that any understanding of the 'historical Paul' is not absolute and is very much limited by one's sources and situation. If we agree that Paul contextualized his understanding of the gospel with reference to the situation in Rome, Luther was fully justified in understanding Paul according to his own context. As history testifies, the fact that the 'Lutheran Paul' is so influential in the West is probably because the 'historical Paul' is contextualized in the western culture.[12] We must beware, however, of identifying the 'Lutheran Paul' with the 'historical Paul' as if it is the only norm to judge any other ways of interpreting Paul. In other words, we must not make the 'historical Paul' the

captive of any one interpretation of Paul. If Paul is to be continually influential in the world, he must be reinterpreted continually in different ages and in different cultures.

The significance of the 'Lutheran Paul' is that it provides an example of a 'contextualized Paul'. There is no doubt that we have to examine a 'contextualized Paul' along with the findings from the quests of a 'historical Paul'. It is also true that we should keep pursuing the relevance of the 'historical Paul' to different contexts. The tension between a 'historical Paul' and a 'contextualized Paul'[13] probably provides the dynamic in communicating the power of Paul's message in different ages and cultures. One of the most important hermeneutical tasks for every student of Pauline study is to keep this tension alive.

5. *Gospel and Culture*

In the missionary history of Christianity, one of the most important issues is the relationship between gospel and culture. In his important book, Christ and Culture,[14] Richard Niebuhr proposes five models for interpreting the relationship: Christ against culture, Christ of culture, Christ above culture, Christ and culture in paradox, Christ the transformer of culture. However, while these models do not allow for the vast differences that exist under each model,[15] Webber re-categorizes Niebuhr's suggestion into three general models: separational models, identificational models, and transformational models. He defines these models as follows:[16]

a. Separational models: These include all attempts to

withdraw from the world, either by refusing to participate in the structure of society or by actively creating a counter culture.

b. Identificational models: These advocate participation in the structure of life either by compromising with culture or by recognizing the tension with culture.

c. Transformational models: According to these, the structure of life can be changed either now, through the application of the gospel, or in the future, as the ultimate goal of history.

As indicated by Niebuhr, his models are not only applicable to the relationship between Christianity and pagan culture, but also to that between Jesus and Judaism,[17] Paul and Jews,[18] and John and Judaism.[19] We can perhaps make use of these models to interpret Paul's understanding of the relationship between gospel and culture although we recognize that these generalized models are not completely satisfactory.

In Romans, although Paul does not agree with the Jewish stereotyped perspective of Gentiles (1: 18-32) as providing sound criteria to distinguish Jews from Gentiles (see **Chapter** 9), he surely exhorts the Gentile Christians to separate themselves from those sins generally committed among Gentiles (6: 17-21). In other words, Paul adopts a separational model in dealing with the relationship between gospel and the Gentile culture. However, as we discussed in Section 3 above, as far as the relationship between gospel and Judaism is concerned, Paul probably adopts the identificational and transformational models. This is

possibly also supported by the evidence in Rm. 7, in which Paul suggests that the Jewish Christians could observe the law in a Jewish way and also as Christians (see Ch. 10). In other words, Paul probably expects that through the identification of the Jewish Christians with the Jewish community, the gospel of Christ would transform Judaism in the future (cf. 11: 25-36). In other words, if the Christian movement began as a 'reform movement' within Judaism and subsequently developed into a 'sectarian movement' which intended to separate from Judaism,[20] we suggest that Paul was a champion of the 'reform movement' rather than the 'sectarian movement'.[21]

However, if Paul had expected that the gospel of Christ would transform Judaism, history tells us that his expectation has failed. Paradoxically, it is the pagan culture of the Greco-Roman world, from which Paul exhorts the Gentile Christians to separate, which has been to a certain extent transformed by the gospel. If our observation is correct, the question to be asked is whether the force to transform cultures comes from the identificational model or separational model, or from a dialectical form which consists of both. This is still an open question to us, and answering it probably needs further investigations into the early history of Christianity and Christian missionary histories.

6. *Personae Analysis: A Framework for Studying Letters*

In this study, we named our method of studying Romans personae analysis. We suggested that the interaction between the first person singular (the 'implied author')

and the second person plural (the 'implied readers') form the basic framework for us to understand the characteristics of the sender and the recipients of the letter and their relationship. While we understand Paul's letter as argumentation, we see that the 'implied author' and the 'implied readers' are involved in a process of persuasion.

We found that this approach is fruitful. It not only helps us to pay more attention to the identities and characteristics of Paul's addressees and the self-images presented by Paul to his addressees within the letter, but also enables us to comprehend his pattern of dialogue and the direction of his argument in the letter. Generally speaking, we endorse Cranfield's observation that Paul's use of the different persons and his sometimes remarkably rapid transitions from one to another are significant for our understanding of Paul's argument in the letter.[22] However, as far as the passages in Romans which we have studied (Rm. 1-11, 14-16) are concerned, we have some further observations which are as follows:

(1) There are some passages in which only 'I' and 'you (plural)', 'we' and 'you (plural)', 'I' and 'we', 'you (plural)', or 'we' occur (see **Table I**); such as:

a. 'I' and 'you (plural)': 1: 8-17; 6: 19-22; 11: 1-10, 25-32; 15: 14-29.

b. 'we' and 'you (plural)': 1: 1-7; 6: 1-11, 15-18; 8: 12-17.

c. 'I' and 'we': 3: 1-9; 7: 7-25; 8: 18-39.

d. 'You (plural)': 6: 12-14.

e. 'we': 3: 19 - 5: 21.

(2) There are probably some cases of changing identities in these passages which are significant for our interpretation of Romans:

a. In 3: 19 - 5: 21, as we indicated above, only the first person plural occurred (31 times). It seems quite possible that in 3: 19 - 4: 11 'we' denotes Paul and Jewish Christians (see **Ch. 9**). However, from 4: 12 onwards 'we' probably denotes Paul, Jewish and Gentile Christians. In other words, the identity of 'we' undergoes an expansion in 4: 12. This happens because Abraham has become not only the father of the circumcised but also the uncircumcised. As we have argued above, the widening of the boundary of 'we' probably indicates Paul's argument for the inclusion of Gentile Christians in God's people. The frequent occurrence of 'we' in 4: 12 - 5: 21 probably indicates that Paul hopes to consolidate his argument for the solidarity of Jewish and Gentile Christians.

b. The changes of persons in Rm. 6 is most interesting. In 6: 1-18, the 'we' and 'you (plural)' passages (6: 1-11, 15-18) are separated by a 'you (plural)' passage (6: 12-15). As we have suggested in **Chapter 10**, it is quite possible that in 6: 3 Paul uses 'you (plural)' to direct his address to the Jewish Christians who were supposed to raise the question in 6: 1; but from 6: 11 onwards, the 'you (plural)' probably denotes Paul's addressees as a whole, including Jewish and Gentile Christians. The sudden

change to 'we' in 6: 15 possibly refers again to concern about the Jewish Christians (cf. 6: 1). The rapid change to 'you (plural)' in 6: 16 (the 'person' who dominates 6: 16-22 by occurring 20 times) possibly indicates that Paul directs his message to the Gentile Christians among his addressees.

(3) There are at least two cases in Romans which reflect how Paul uses the dynamic of changing persons to persuade his addressees to share solidarity with him and thus to identify with his position. In both 7: 4 and 15: 30, three persons -- 'I', 'You (plural)' and 'we' -- occur in a sequence. The shift of persons from 'I' and 'you (plural)' to 'we' probably implies that the 'I' and 'you' are incorporated into 'we'.

(4) In Rm. 1 - 11, there are only two 'I' and 'we' passages, i.e. 3: 1-9 and 7: 7-25. As we have argued above, in both passages Paul probably conducts his dialogue with the Jewish Christians among his addressees. The oscillation between 'I' and 'we' in both passages probably reflects the concept of 'corporate solidarity' by which Paul tries to show his solidarity with the Jewish Christians as both a Jew and a Christian. This understanding can possibly throw some light on our interpretation of these two difficult passages.

(5) In 2: 1-11, a single occurrence of 'we' (2: 2) is found in a passage dominated by the occurrence of 'you (singular)' (12 times). As we have argued above, the contrast between the 'we' and 'you' in this passage

probably reflects the contrast between the 'knowledge' of the 'we' and the 'practice' of the 'you' in Paul's argument which concerns the contrast between Jews and Gentiles.

(6) In 3: 5 and 6: 19 Paul uses a similar phrase (**kata anthrōpon legō**, 3: 5; **anthrōpinon legō**, 6: 19) to refer to his discussion of the sinful situation of his addressees. However, in 3: 5 he uses **hēmōn** to refer to the unrighteousness of the addressees, while in 6: 19 he uses **humōn** to refer to the sinful condition of the addressees. As we have argued in **Chs. 9** and **10**, the difference between 3: 5 and 6: 19 is probably because Paul hopes to show his solidarity with his Jewish addressees even in their condition of unrighteousness in 3: 5, but to distance himself from the sinful condition of the Gentiles in 6: 19.

As argued in the thesis, these observations are significant for our understanding of Paul's main argument in Romans. If this is the case, the personae analysis employed in this study is a useful approach to study NT letters which represent interactions between senders and recipients. Nevertheless, this suggestion has yet to be proved in future study.

In our study of Paul's purpose in writing Romans, we have emphasized the ***particularity*** of Paul's message in Romans. However, we do not suggest that the relevance of Paul's message is only restricted to the specific situation

in Rome. On the contrary, we suggest that the relevance of Paul's message can only be fully understood in our time and context if it is firstly interpreted in its historical context. *We should not confuse the issue of the "particularity" of Paul's message with the issue of the application of his particular message to our situations.*[23] Tillich is probably right to point out that "Theology moves back and forth between two poles, the *eternal truth* of its foundation and the *temporal situation* in which the eternal truth must be received".[24] If Paul has done his theological job in his context, we have to do ours in our context. In this case, Paul surely can be a vital example of this theological pursuit and a major source of inspiration for contemporary theological discussion.[25]

Notes to CONCLUSION

1. Bornkamm (1974a: 22) suggests that "we are on a wrong track [to study Romans] with the questions about the actual conditions of the church in Rome". Jervell (1971: 61) claims that an interpretation of Romans based upon knowledge of the circumstances of the apostle as well as knowledge about the Roman Christians at the time the letter was written "cannot be carried out and perhaps it would be best if it were not".
2. Cf. Dunn (1987b: 2843f.).
3. So Kaesemann (R, 1980: 405); Bruce (1981-82: 336f.).
4. So e.g. Dahl (1964).
5. For discussion of the concept of 'doing theology', see articles edited in Song (1976)
6. See discussion in Lapide & Stuhlmacher (1981).
7. See discussion in those articles related to the issue in Richardson (1986).
8. Against Watson (1986), who argues that Paul's purpose in writing Romans was "to persuade them [Jewish Christians] to make a final break with the Jewish community (106, cf. 102, 178).
9. See e.g. Osten-Sacken (1982: 17f.).
10. See Dunn (1983a: 100).
11. E.g. Sanders (1977); Watson (1986).
12. Cf. Stendahl (1963).
13. Our model of 'historical Paul' and 'contextualized Paul' probably reflects a similar hermeneutical concern to Beker's model of 'coherency' and 'contingency' of Paul's gospel (1981: 23-36), (1988).
14. Niebuhr (1951).
15. See criticism in Webber (1979: 204 n. 2).
16. See Webber (1979: 20, 75-165).
17. Niebuhr (1951:2ff.).
18. Niebuhr (1951: 160, 163).
19. Niebuhr (1951: 202f.)
20. For discussion on the beginning of the Christian movement as a 'reform movement' or 'sectarian movement' of Judaism, see e.g. Scroggs (1975); Theissen (1977); Watson (1986: 19, 38ff.); Esler (1987: 46-70).
21. Against Watson (1986: 19, 45ff., 106, 178), who suggests that Paul intentionally advocates the separation of Christian movement from Judaism.
22. Cranfield (1982a).
23. For discussion of the task of Biblical theology, see Stendahl (IDB I: 418-32); cf. Donfried (1977a: xvii).
24. See Tillich (1951: 3, our emphasis) and his development of this understanding of theology into his "method of correlation" (pp. 3-90). For detailed discussion of Tillich's "method of correlation", see Clayton (1980).
25. Watson's (1986: 181) query about the value of Paul's theology is not convincing; see also the criticism of Watson by Rowland (1987: 102f.).

The Occurrences of the First Person and Second Person (singular and plural, pronouns and verbs) in Romans 1-11, 14-16

Persons / Passages	First Person		Second Person	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1: 1 - 7	0	3	0	2
8 - 17	19	0	0	13
18 - 32	0	0	0	0
2: 1 - 11	0	1	10+2*	0
12 - 16	1	0	0	0
17 - 29	0	0	16+2*	1(OT)
3: 1 - 9	4	7	4(OT)	0
10 - 20	0	1	0	0
21 - 31	0	3	0	0
4: 1 - 25	1(OT)	9	2(OT)	0
5: 1 - 11	0	17	0	0
12 - 21	0	1	0	0
6: 1 - 11	0	16	0	3+1*
12 - 14	0	0	0	7+1*
15 - 23	1	3	0	19+1*
7: 1 - 6	2	6	0	3
7 - 13	9	1	0	0
14 - 25	36+1*	2	0	0
8: 1 - 11	0	1	1	6
12 - 17	0	6	0	6
18 - 30	1	12+3*	0	0
31 - 39	1	11+2(OT)	1(OT)	0
9: 1 - 5	10+1*	0	0	0
6 - 29	2+14(OT)	3+3(OT)	3+3(OT)	0+1(OT)
30 - 33	0+1(OT)	1	0	0
10: 1 - 21	3+8(OT)	1+1(OT)	4+4(OT)	0+2(OT)
11: 1 - 10	2+4(OT)	0	0+2(OT)	1
11 - 24	7	0	11	1
25 - 32	1+2(OT)	0	0	6+2*
33 - 36	0	0	0	0
14: 1 - 13a	0+2(OT)	11	5	1
13b- 23	2	1	7	2
15: 1 - 4	0+1(OT)	4+2*	0+1*	0
5 - 6	0	1	0	2
7 - 13	1+2(OT)	0	0+2*	4
14 - 21	11	0	0	4
22 - 29	8	0	0	7
30 - 33	6	1	0	4
16: 1 - 23	18	4	0	35

Note: * figures denote reflexive and possessive pronouns

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