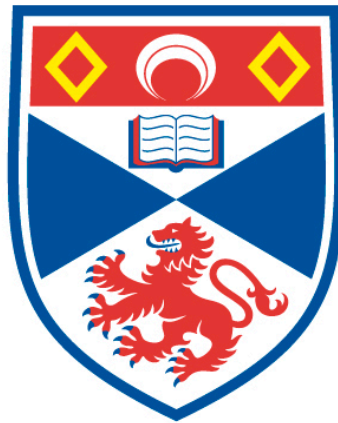


RE-EXAMINING THE GOAL OF SALVATION: A LITERARY AND
THEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE PHRASE ‘συμμόρφους
τῆς εἰκόνας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ’ IN ROMANS 8:29B

Haley Goranson

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
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**Re-examining the Goal of Salvation:
A literary and theological investigation of the phrase
‘συμμόρφους τῆς εἰκόνας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ’ in Romans 8:29b**

Haley LaRae Goranson



University of
St Andrews

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the
University of St Andrews

17 March 2016

DECLARATIONS

Candidate's declarations:

I, Haley Goranson, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 100,000 words in length (per the examiners' allowances), has been written by me, and that it is the record of work carried out by me, or principally by myself in collaboration with others as acknowledged, and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in September 2011 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in May 2012; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2011 and 2016.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the meaning of the phrase ‘conformed to the image of his Son’ in Romans 8:29b from within the literary and theological context of Romans 1—8. To date, scholarship has offered no focused, full-length exegetical treatment of the phrase. After examining the semantic function of δόξα and δοξάζω in their occurrences throughout the LXX, the thesis addresses the function of the terms as they occur in Romans. It then discusses the Pauline motifs of union and participation with Christ and how these motifs are expressed in terms of believers’ vocational participation in the resurrection life and glory of the Son. An examination is made of those texts in Philippians, 1 & 2 Corinthians, and Colossians where there exists semantic and thematic overlap with Romans 8:29b. In turning to Romans 8:29b itself, the phrase ‘image of his Son’ is addressed, with particular attention paid to the identity of the Son within the context of Romans. Specific attention is also paid to the motif of believers’ vocational participation with the Son in his inheritance and glory in Romans 8:17 and Paul’s reference to believers’ glorification in Romans 8:30. On the basis of these contextual and theological connections, this thesis concludes that ‘conformed to the image of his Son’ refers to believers’ vocational participation with the Son in his rule over creation, as God’s adopted children and renewed humanity. This rule is the fulfilment of Adam’s created function to have dominion over creation as God’s vicegerent, as is narrated in Genesis 1:26-28 and picked up in Psalm 8:5-8. Moreover, it is argued that this participation occurs in the form of glorification—reception of an honourable or exalted status associated with power, rule, or authority—both in the present and the future.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 *The Problem*

‘The inner sanctuary within the cathedral of Christian faith; the tree of life in the midst of the Garden of Eden; the highest peak in a range of mountains—such are some of the metaphors used by interpreters who extol [Romans] chap. 8 as the greatest passage within what so many consider to be the greatest book in Scripture’.¹ As the highest peak, Romans 8 is laden with gold nuggets of encouragement and assurance: ‘There is therefore now no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus’ (8:1);² ‘We know that in everything God works for good with those who love him’ (8:28); ‘He who did not spare his own Son but gave him up for us all, will he not also give us all things with him?’ (8:32); ‘[nothing] will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord’ (8:39). Among those verses most cherished is Romans 8:29: ‘For those whom he foreknew he also predestined to be conformed to the image of his Son, in order that he might be the firstborn within a large family’. Like much of Romans 8, Romans 8:29 and particularly 8:29b—‘conformed to the image of his Son’—has encouraged, assured, and strengthened Christians throughout the centuries. To some it expresses the goal of salvation.³

And yet, despite the significance of Romans 8:29b, a problem exists. Within both popular Christianity and academic New Testament studies, there is little agreement as to what Paul *means* by the arcane or, at a minimum, ambiguous phrase. Interpretations that are offered for the phrase are largely unsubstantiated, as will be seen below. This lack of agreement is due, in part, to the fact that Romans 8:29b is often obscured by the clouds created by Paul’s use of ‘foreknew’ and ‘predestined’ in 8:29a. More importantly, a lack of agreement exists because, to date, Romans 8:29b has received no focused, full-length exegetical treatment.

1.2 *The Original Contribution(s) of the Thesis*

The primary original contribution of this thesis to the field of New Testament and Pauline studies is two-fold. First, this thesis is the only comprehensive literary and theological, full-length treatment of Romans 8:29b ever offered. To date, the meaning of the phrase *συμμόρφους τῆς εικόνας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ* has received exegetical treatment in four articles⁴ and no monographs, though the phrase is used

¹ Moo 1996: 468. For a note on the frequent use of Romans 8 throughout Christendom, see Wright 2002: 573-4.

² Unless otherwise indicated, translations are taken from the NRSV or are my own, and all Greek texts are taken from the LXX (Ralfs) and Nestle-Aland 27.

³ E.g. Hendriksen (1980: 283): ‘[The] goal is not just “to enter heaven at last” but “to be conformed to the image of God’s Son”’.

⁴ Fahy 1956; Kürzinger 1958-9; Leaney 1964; Hasitschka 2010.

often as textual support in discussions on Pauline motifs. Second, this thesis offers a new and substantiated reading of Romans 8:29b. Despite the lack of any sustained treatments of the phrase, various interpretations are nonetheless assumed by commentators and authors alike, none of which are upheld by solid literary or theological evidence. I offer a new interpretation of the meaning of Romans 8:29b—one defensible on the basis of the text and theology of Romans and Paul’s theology elsewhere.

This thesis also makes a handful of secondary original contributions to the field of biblical studies: (1) a systematic treatment of the use of $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ and $\delta\omicron\xi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ in the LXX and in Romans; (2) new distinctions between union and participation motifs in Paul’s letters, particularly Romans; (3) a new reading of Philippians 3:21; (5) and a new translation and significantly revised interpretation of Romans 8:28.

1.3 Method

This thesis approaches the meaning of Romans 8:29b from a variety of angles.

(1) Due to the extreme breadth of Romans scholarship, I have selected a series of eight primary interlocutors. They include: Joseph Fitzmyer and Brendan Byrne (Roman Catholic); C. E. B. Cranfield (traditional reformed); Thomas Schreiner and Douglas Moo (reformed, evangelical, and anti-New Perspective⁵); James D. G. Dunn and N. T. Wright (pro-New Perspective); Ernst Käsemann (apocalyptic); and Robert Jewett (socio-political). With the exception of Cranfield and Käsemann, these selected commentators have one significant feature in common: all are influenced, to some degree, by the ‘Sanders Revolution’ of the late 1970’s and the New Perspective on Paul which resulted from it. The New Perspective on Paul has shaped the course of Pauline studies over the last three decades to the degree that consulting a wealth of Romans scholarship prior to Ed Sanders’ 1977 work, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, would do little to carry forward the discussion of Romans 8:29b. Other scholars will of course be consulted as their work becomes relevant.⁶

(2) This thesis is primarily a construction of the meaning of Romans 8:29b. Because so little is currently written on the *meaning* of 8:29b, other than in commentaries and a small selection of articles, little argumentation exists to deconstruct. When Romans 8:29b is mentioned outside these few articles, the *meaning* of ‘conformed to the image of [God’s] Son’ is usually more assumed than it

⁵ The term ‘New Perspective’ is, admittedly, too general to do justice to the multifarious perspectives within perspectives. In using it here I wish only to acknowledge with broad strokes the two currently major approaches to investigating Pauline literature commonly called the ‘Old’ and ‘New’ Perspectives of Paul. For various approaches and issues within the New Perspective(s), see: e.g. Dunn 2005; Wright 2015: 64-134.

⁶ Those of most significance will include Carey Newman (1992); Stanley Stowers (1994); Philip Esler (2003); Caroline Johnson Hodge (2007); and George van Kooten (2008).

is demonstrated. More often than not, paraphrases of Romans 8:29b supplant any attempt at explication.

(3) This thesis investigates the meaning of Romans 8:29b as it stands within the literary and theological context of Romans in general and Romans 8 in particular. Romans 8:29b is most often addressed in discussions pertaining to Paul's trans-morphic language and use of εἰκόv in other Pauline texts. These texts will arise naturally at numerous points throughout the discussion but are not the primary means of discovering the meaning of 'conformed to the image of his Son' in Romans 8:29. The meaning behind this obscure phrase, rather, will be discovered on the basis of its position as the climax of the semantic and theological structure of Romans 5—8 and its relationship to the underlying narrative of glory threaded through the fabric of Romans 1—8.

(4) This thesis will rely to a considerable extent on the detection and interpretation of biblical allusions within Paul's argument. The criteria appropriated for the detection of allusions at differing points is that of both Richard Hays and William Tooman. In Hays' 1989 work, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, he offers seven tests for determining the presence of intertextual echoes in Paul's letters:⁷

- Availability: Paul's familiarity with the source text;
- Volume: the 'degree of explicit repetition of words and syntactical patterns' but also how 'distinctive' it is in the 'precursor text' and the degree of rhetorical emphasis it receives in Paul's text;
- Recurrence: the reuse the same source text elsewhere;
- Thematic coherence: the degree of correspondence between the thematic elements of the two texts;
- Historical plausibility: the degree to which the reuse of the source text would be plausible, given the personal and cultural circumstances of Paul and his audience;
- History of interpretation: concerns whether biblical scholarship since the 2nd century has identified the reuse;
- Satisfaction: the degree to which the possible reuse illuminates or makes sense of the surrounding context.

A number of scholars have critiqued Hays' suggestions, though, interestingly, few have offered criticisms of the seven tests, instead taking up his larger, more fundamental presuppositions. In *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*,⁸ Craig Evans, James Sanders, William Scott Green, and J. C. Beker offer their praises and critiques

⁷ Hays 1989: 29-32.

⁸ The published version (1993) of the reviews of panel participants at the 1990 Society of Biblical Literature programme unit Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity in which Hays' work was initially discussed.

of Hays' work. Of the four, Beker alone suggests that Hays' seven tests are insufficient; even his criticism, though, is primarily expressed not by engagement with Hays' arguments but rather by praise of the work of others, most notably that of Michael Fishbane.⁹ Stanley Porter also critiques Hays' seven criteria, and concludes that only the first three merit weight and that those, too, are problematic.¹⁰ Porter, however, offers no alternative criteria for determining the presence of an echo, despite his criticisms of Hays'.¹¹

Like Hays, though approaching the topic of reuse of Scripture within the Hebrew bible, William Tooman has also offered a set of, what he calls, 'preliminary' criteria for determining reuse.¹² In his 2011 work, *Gog and Magog: Reuse of Scripture and Compositional Technique in Ezekiel 38-39*, Tooman distinguishes between quotation, allusion, echo, and influence, using 'allusion' in much the same way as Hays uses 'allusive echo' or, more typically, just 'echo'. For Tooman, the fundamental difference between allusion and echo is that allusions function as 'semantically transformative' while echoes do not.¹³ Tooman's criteria for determining inner-biblical reuse include:¹⁴

⁹ Evans and Sanders 1993: 64-5. Hays (Evans and Sanders 1993: 85-6) says in response that, not only are his tests more constraining, due not least to the fact he offers seven when Fishbane offers just two, but that Beker, in misreading the text, has chosen as his example for why the tests are inadequate the very example Hays offers to demonstrate the tests identifying a *lack* of echo! Beker's critique of Hays' proposed seven tests is ultimately rather weak.

¹⁰ Porter 2008: 36-39.

¹¹ Moreover, Porter's definition of allusion—a 'figure of speech that makes indirect extra-textual references' (p. 30)—can, by definition, include Hays' understanding of echo. Their criteria and terminology may differ, but their understandings of Paul's intertextual use of Scripture are not very far apart. Richard Longenecker (1999) also suggests Hays' seven tests are insufficient, and, like Beker, his evidence of their insufficiency rests entirely on his examination of the sufficiency of Fishbane's. Longenecker says only this about Hays' suggestions (p. xv1): 'Richard Hays, on the other hand, tends to treat biblical quotations as merely louder echoes of Scripture, and he uses them principally as springboards for the discovery of much more significant resonances in the allusive biblical materials that appear in Paul's letters. In the hands of an able and articulate practitioner, such a method produces some rather exciting results. What it lacks, however, are the necessary controls and constraints of careful research, thereby allowing the inclusion of data that can be questioned as being primary'. From this, the reader is forced to decide between two conclusions: either Hays is the only 'able and articulate practitioner' to utilise the tests appropriately, or the tests—which Longenecker does not analyse—are insufficient even for one who is an 'able and articulate practitioner' such as Richard Hays. Moreover, Longenecker ultimately critiques Hays for his lack of emphasis on explicit citations, compared to that of Fishbane—an unjustified critique due to the simple fact that Hays' goal in *Echoes* was to present a case for reading the *echoes* of Scripture in Paul, rather than present an overarching method of analysis of all levels of inner-biblical exegesis.

¹² Tooman 2011: 24.

¹³ Tooman 2011: 8.

¹⁴ Tooman 2011: 27-32.

- Uniqueness: is the source text the only text where that ‘element’¹⁵ is found?
- Distinctiveness: ‘the locution, image, or trope in question is associated with a particular antecedent text, though it may appear in other texts as well’;¹⁶
- Multiplicity: concerns the number of elements from the source text which can be identified in the alluding text and their degree of proximity to one another;
- Thematic correspondence: the degree to which the two texts have similar themes or subjects;
- Inversion: when ‘a number of elements in close proximity to one another in one text may be inverted in the borrowing text’.¹⁷

Tooman’s criteria have not received scrutiny like those of Hays, but do have some significant elements of overlap. In this thesis, a combination of the proposed methods will be used for determining inner-biblical allusion.

Given that Hays’ first criterion, ‘availability’, is generally not an issue for Paul’s use of Israel’s Scriptures, I will not include this in my method for determining possible allusions. Likewise, because, with Porter, I find Hays’ final three criteria (‘historical plausibility’, ‘history of interpretation’, and ‘satisfaction’) too subjective for determining reuse, these also will not be considered as criteria. Also, Tooman’s final criterion, ‘inversion’, is applicable primarily to issues of scriptural reuse in the Hebrew bible, and it too will not be included. Therefore, the criteria used in this thesis will be a combination of Hays’ and Tooman’s most valuable suggestions: (1) ‘uniqueness’ (T); (2) ‘volume’ (H), which includes elements of ‘distinctiveness’ (T) and ‘multiplicity’ (T); (3) ‘recurrence’ (H), and (4) thematic correspondence (T/H).

Two final notes are required: (1) Hays says about his own treatment of intertextual echoes: ‘to run explicitly through this series of criteria for each of the texts that I treat would be wearisome. I trust the reader’s competence to employ these criteria and to apply appropriate discounts to the interpretive proposals that I offer throughout’.¹⁸ I echo this sentiment, though I will offer a note on the ‘shades of certainty’ of those intertextual allusions which bear significant weight on my proposed argument. (2) One additional significant point of overlap between Hays’ and Tooman’s proposals is their shared emphasis on metalepsis. Tooman writes: ‘the

¹⁵ Tooman 2011: 27: ‘Implicit reuse of Scripture is marked by demonstrable repetition of some element or elements of an antecedent text. An “element” can be a word, phrase, clause, paragraph, topos, or form’.

¹⁶ Tooman 2011: 28. He notes also (2011: 29) that ‘even if a particular shared element is not unique to an antecedent text, it might be used with an unusual meaning or in an unexpected way that is common to the source text and the evoking text’.

¹⁷ Tooman 2011: 30.

¹⁸ Hays 1989: 32.

category *allusion*, in particular, is sensitive to the ways that authors can use small discrete markers to evoke an entire context. This latter quality, in particular, has often been overlooked in the biblical study of reuse'.¹⁹ Likewise, Hays writes that, 'when a literary echo links the text in which it occurs to an earlier text, the figurative effect of the echo can lie in the unstated or suppressed (transumed) points of resonance between the two texts. . . . Metalepsis . . . places the reader within a field of whispered or unstated correspondences'.²⁰ Metalepsis will be a noted, though not crucial, feature of Paul's biblical allusion at different points throughout my argument.

(5) This thesis intentionally will not discuss: (a) the meaning or function of προγινώσκω and προορίζω in 8:29a as theological terms either within Paul's biblical theology or within contemporary discussions of systematic theology; (b) the *ordo salutis* of Romans 8:29-30 as a systematic and logical rendering of the stages of salvation; (c) the manifold discussions of δικαίω currently flooding Pauline studies. Other theological motifs currently at or near the centre of Pauline studies and which are related to Romans 8, but which do not receive special attention, include: (d) issues of apocalyptic discourse and Paul as an apocalyptic theologian; (e) Paul's engagement with empire, the imperial cult, and Caesar; (f) pneumatology and (g) eschatology as discussions in themselves; and (h) a full treatment of environmental ethics. Lengthy discussions of any of these would no doubt add to the quality of the thesis; they must nevertheless be reserved for subsequent projects.²¹ The purpose of this thesis is solely to address the meaning of 'conformed to the image of his Son' in Romans 8:29b as a phrase which arises out of Paul's biblical theology.

1.4 *History of Interpretation*

As noted above, to date, no focused, full-length treatment of Romans 8:29b has been produced. Recent interpretations of Romans 8:29b are, therefore, primarily found only in commentaries, as well as in monographs and articles which focus on any number of biblical and theological topics. In this thesis, those topics and their specific field of literature and interpretation will receive individual treatment within their respective chapters. My goal in this introductory section is to provide an overview of the recent interpretations of Romans 8:29b found primarily in commentaries but also in particular monographs and articles.

Writers who refer to Romans 8:29b in their work usually fall into one of six common categories. Those who:

¹⁹ Tooman 2011: 9; emphasis original.

²⁰ Hays 1989: 20.

²¹ For a recent treatment of current discussions on these and other topics within Pauline theology, see Wright 2015.

- (1) offer no attempt at an explanation of the meaning of ‘conformity to the Son’, content to say that it refers to being made ‘like Christ’;
- (2) propose a physical conformity, i.e. receiving the same ‘form’ as Christ’s resurrected body;
- (3) propose a spiritual or moral conformity, i.e. the process of sanctification;
- (4) propose a conformity to the Son’s eschatological glory, with ‘glory’ understood as radiance;
- (5) propose a sacrificial conformity, wherein the believer becomes ‘like Christ’ as she suffers with Christ;
- (6) propose some combination of any of the above categories.

1.4.1 No Meaning and a Variety of Meanings

Those who offer no meaning and those who suggest a variety of meanings behind Romans 8:29b (numbers 1 and 6 above) both arrive at the same result: ambiguity. For this reason, I will treat them together here.

Some comment on the text with great brevity:

“to be conformed to the image of his Son”: This, and nothing less is the end in view. “conformed”, that is, “made like in form”. Cf. Phil 3:21, 2 Cor 3:18. “image” is more than “likeness”; it denotes the facsimile or basic pattern. “of his Son”, who is himself “the image of God” (2 Cor 4:4, Col 1:15).²²

Others do so with extreme ambiguity:

According to the divine plan, Christians are destined to reproduce in themselves an image of Christ by a *progressive share* in his *risen life*. . . . Through faith and baptism the sinner becomes a Christian, who bears *the shape or form* of God’s own Son. Christians are . . . being *continually transformed or metamorphosed* into an *eikōn*, “image, likeness”, of the Son of God.²³

Or more typically:

We are to become *like Christ*. . . . It is God’s plan that his people become *like his Son*, not that they should muddle along in a modest respectability. . . . We have been admitted to the heavenly family. . . . We are accordingly to live as members of the family, and that means

²² Taylor 1955: 56; emphasis original. In his commentary, Luther (1954: 116-7) acknowledges the phrase only in passing.

²³ Fitzmyer 1993: 525; emphasis mine.

being made *like our elder brother*. . . . [God] predestined us . . . in order that we might become *like his Son*.²⁴

Others, those in category six, offer suggestions that are so overburdened with ideas and facets of ideas that they fail to express one clear suggestion:

Behind the *συμμόρφους τῆς εικόνας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ* there is probably the thought of man's creation *κατ' εικόνα θεοῦ* (Gen. 1:27) and also the thought of Christ's being eternally the very *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ* (not, be it noted, just *κατ' εικόνα θεοῦ*). The believers' final glorification is their full conformity to the *εἰκὼν* of Christ glorified; but it is probable that Paul is here thinking not only of their final glorification but also of their growing conformity to Christ here and now in suffering and in obedience—that is, that *συμμόρφους, κ.τ.λ.* is meant to embrace sanctification as well as final glory, the former being thought of as a progressive conformity to Christ, who is the *εἰκὼν* of God, and so as a progressive renewal of the believer into that likeness of God which is God's original purpose for man.²⁵

When Romans 8:29b is approached in this way, it often is the natural result of gathering all the other verses in which these same themes appear throughout the Pauline corpus (1 Cor. 15:49; 2 Cor. 3:18; Phil. 3:10, 21; Col. 1:15, 18)²⁶ and packing them tightly into a very stretchy but durable bag, as if Paul intended the phrase *συμμόρφους τῆς εικόνας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ* to include every theme at once. Of course, it is possible that more than one referent exists behind Paul's phrase, and unarguably several of the preferred categories are related to one another, i.e. glory and vocation; sanctification and suffering; suffering and glory; glory and body. Nevertheless, this thesis will provide evidence that, on the basis of the semantic and theological connection of 8:29b to Paul's previous statements in the letter and elsewhere, only one meaning stands behind the apparently obscure phrase.

1.4.2 *Physical Conformity: Receive a Resurrection Body like Christ's*

Physical conformity refers to the future reception of a resurrection body like Christ's. Supporters of this view emphasise a physical reading of *μορφος* in *σύμμορφος* and *εἰκὼν* in 8:29b. Of those recent commentators with this interpretation,

²⁴ Morris 1988: 333; emphasis mine. Morris does state that 'becoming like Christ', 'as Hendriksen points out, means sanctification', but he fails to qualify this statement as he progresses. 'In what way will Christians be *like his Son*?' one wants to ask.

²⁵ Cranfield 1975: 432; emphasis mine. Also, Harvey (1992: 335), who relies on Cranfield, and Hasitschka 2010: 353.

²⁶ The relationship between these texts and Rom. 8:29b will be discussed at various points throughout this thesis.

Ben Witherington provides perhaps the most extensive case,²⁷ adduced even in his translation: ‘to share the likeness of the form of his Son’.²⁸ Witherington writes, ‘The end or destiny of believers is to become fully Christ-like, even in their bodily form. Paul has just said that the believer’s hope is the redemption of his or her body, and here he explains how God will be working to get the believer to that goal’.²⁹ His explanation comes on the basis of two primary factors: the fact that Paul refers to the physical resurrected body in 8:23 and that, with Paul’s use of εἰκὼν in 8:29, Adam is most likely in view, which therefore entails a return to Adam’s pre-fall physical state.

This interpretation of σύμμορφος as a future physical conformity, however, is flawed for two reasons. The first is that Paul’s emphasis on the body in 8:23 cannot be read either backwards into the preceding discussion at 8:18 or forward into 8:28-30. On 8:18 Witherington writes, ‘Here the point at issue is what will happen to our human bodies. Paul has in mind the future resurrection, at which point believers will be well and truly conformed to Christ’s image, and then be truly revealed as sons of God, like the Son of God’.³⁰ Sonship, physical resurrection, and conformity cannot so easily be made synonyms, as will be revealed in the second half of this thesis. The second issue is equally as significant, though slightly more removed. If Witherington and Dunn are correct, this is a different use of Adam from what we find in Romans 5, and it is well established that Romans 5 is a dense pre-statement of a point to which Paul returns in Romans 8. If conformity implies the future physical resurrected body, which Christ in his resurrection state as the Last Adam now bears, then the relationship Paul paints between Adam and Christ in Romans 5:12-21 is different from that in Romans 8:29. The reason the Son of God is the Second Adam has nothing to do with his bearing of Adam’s pre-fall physical form.³¹

²⁷ See Witherington 1994: 101. Witherington (1994:173) also writes of ‘*the process of being conformed to the image of the son in this life*’, but fails to state what that process is; emphasis mine. He later writes (1994: 230): ‘conformity to the image of the son . . . likely means gaining a resurrection body like Christ’s, though progressive sanctification might also be implied’: see also p. 330 and Witherington with Hyatt 2004: 220-35. James Dunn (1988a: 483-4) also emphasises the end result of the Christian life as well as the fact that Paul is referring to the risen Son and not the incarnate Son. See also Hunter 1955: 84-5.

²⁸ Witherington with Hyatt 2004: 221.

²⁹ Witherington with Hyatt 2004: 229.

³⁰ Witherington with Hyatt 2004: 222.

³¹ One thinks of Paul’s statements in 1 Cor. 15:48-49 to which we will turn in due course.

Dunn (1988a: 283-4) suggests that: ‘here [σύμμορφος] probably denotes the form which the Son takes, the concrete representation which his appearance embodies’ and then later, ‘The Adam Christology involved is clear: Christ is the image of God which Adam was intended to be, the Son as the pattern of God’s finished product’. Dunn does not use the term ‘body’, but it is nevertheless the future resurrected physical form he considers Paul has in view. The reader can assume that the weight Dunn places on the body is due to his particular interpretation of Paul’s Adam Christology.

1.4.3 *Spiritual Conformity: Become Holy Like Christ*

The second category of conformity is that of spiritual or moral conformity, often referred to as sanctification. This is perhaps the most commonly assumed interpretation of *σύμμορφος*, particularly within popular church settings. The general assumption is that to be ‘made like Christ’ is to be ‘holy like Christ’. What Morris voices in his ambiguous treatment of the phrase noted above is an interpretation of 8:29b as moral or spiritual conformity. Hendriksen also addresses the spiritual, and therefore present, conformity in direct contrast to those who suggest a physical, and therefore future, conformity.³² Hendriksen writes, ‘If gradual renewal into the image of Christ is not what Paul had in mind, are we not forced to conclude that one very important link in the chain of salvation, namely the link of *sanctification*, is missing? The answer given by some that justification includes sanctification does not satisfy’.³³ Hendriksen and Morris are not alone in their interpretation. F. F. Bruce agrees and, though he offers little by way of explanation of *σύμμορφος* itself, he does suggest that, like Hendriksen, the reader must note Paul’s lack of mention of sanctification in the ‘golden chain’ of 8:30. Why does Paul choose not to include ‘sanctified’ between ‘justified’ and ‘glorified’? Bruce suggests that it is because:

The coming glory has been in the forefront of his mind; but even more because the difference between sanctification and glory is one of degree only, not one of kind. Sanctification is progressive conformity to the mind or image of Christ here and now (cf. 2 Cor. 3:18; Col. 3:10); glory is perfect conformity to the image of Christ there and then. Sanctification is glory begun; glory is sanctification consummated.³⁴

For Bruce, Paul understands the coming glory as a future instantiation of a Christian’s status. Nevertheless, he primarily views the conformity of 8:29b as a present spiritual conformity. This spiritual conformity is, more specifically, one of sanctification—becoming holy like Christ.

Included in this category are three popular works which bear similar titles: Oswald Chambers’ 1985 *Conformed to His Image*; Kenneth Boa’s 2001 *Conformed to the Image of His Son*; and W. Irvin Koen’s 2010 *Conformed to His Image*. All three titles use Romans 8:29b as a shorthand phrase for spiritual formation, the focus of each book. Unfortunately, however, the phrase receives little to no exegetical attention in any of the works. Rather, the books seek to challenge believers in their

³² Hendriksen 1980: 283.

³³ Hendriksen 1980: 284.

³⁴ Bruce 1985: 168. Bruce exemplifies the typical scholar who freely combines the potential categories of present and future conformity. This dual-temporal understanding of *σύμμορφος* is not difficult to sustain, as will be demonstrated in chapter six. What is difficult to sustain, however, is a dual-temporal meaning which includes one form of conformity in the present and another form of conformity in the future.

spiritual formation and use Romans 8:29b as the text which—the authors assume—encourages that formation. None of these three books will assist the exegetical investigation of Romans 8:29b in this thesis; I mention them only for the purpose of demonstrating the prominence of understanding ‘conformed to the image of his Son’ as spiritual formation or conformity within popular Christianity.

Also included in this section is A. R. C. Leaney’s 1964 article, “Conformed to the Image of His Son (Rom. 8:29)”. Leaney explores one ‘of the strands which may have contributed to the pattern of Paul’s thinking about conformity to Christ’.³⁵ This strand is the shift in obedience and moral conformity to prescribed ethical and ceremonial laws common in Israel and Qumran to those established by God in Christ. Conformity to these ancient laws, he argues, was the Jewish means of living ‘according to the structure of the universe’ established by God.³⁶ Part of this structure was the Law and, according to Leaney, those at Qumran were anticipating its imminent end in the new age and re-established dedication to the covenant and obedience to God.³⁷ Leaney suggests that Paul shifts this obedience and moral conformity to the Law as the pathway to the new age to obedience and moral conformity to the image of God in Christ as the pathway to the new age. He writes, ‘We are released from all ceremonial demands in the Law; our salvation does not lie in our conformity even to the laws of the universe but in God’s conforming us not to his creation, not even to a restored and flawless creation, but to himself in his Son’.³⁸

Unfortunately, this is the most specific statement about Romans 8:29b that Leaney makes in the entire article and, regrettably, it comes as the very last line. Nearly the entire article is dedicated to examining the role of ceremonial law in ancient and early Judaism, the basis of which is not connected to Romans 8:29b until the final paragraph. The only other hint of Romans in the article is in a slight reference to Romans 10:4 and the inclusion of 6:2 in a footnote. As with the three monographs listed above, Leaney’s article will be of little assistance in discovering the meaning of Romans 8:29b within the literary and theological context of Romans.

Despite its popularity, understanding *σύμμορφος* as a spiritual process has problems of its own—three, in fact. First, the interpreter cannot simply assume that because Paul did not include ‘sanctified’ between ‘justified’ and ‘glorified’ that he therefore intends it to be read behind *σύμμορφος*. Second, the desire for ‘sanctification’ to be in and among the other terms stems from a reading of the terms primarily through the lens of particular systematic theologies. Rather, these terms should be viewed through a biblical and narrational lens, as will be highlighted in chapter seven of this thesis. And third, sanctification and/or holiness are neither terms nor themes strongly present in Romans 8.

³⁵ Leaney 1964: 470.

³⁶ Leaney 1964: 473.

³⁷ Leaney 1964: 478-9.

³⁸ Leaney 1964: 479.

1.4.4 *Sacrificial Conformity: Christ's Suffering/Death*

Present conformity to Christ's suffering and death is a popular reading of σύμμορφος.³⁹ Barth writes:

'For they who are *called* are they who have been *foreordained* by God to be *conformed to the image of his Son*: and the *image* to which they are *conformed* is the death of Jesus'.⁴⁰

Likewise, Käsemann suggests that:

Passages like 1 Cor. 15:49; 2 Cor. 3:18; Col. 1:18; Phil. 3:10f. have *seduced* some to think in terms of the risen Christ and participation in his resurrection body as in Phil 3:21. . . . Against that it is to be objected that in the text Paul consistently establishes the present salvation by use of the aorist and he does not speak merely of the exalted Christ. . . . We are made like him in the birth of which Gal. 4:19 speaks in baptismal language and which leads to participation in his death according to Phil. 3:10. The final clause states unmistakably that this takes place already in our earthly existence.⁴¹

He goes on to write,

'In baptism the divine image which was lost according to 3:23 is restored by conformation to the Son. Although this statement seems to be in contradiction with his eschatological caution, Paul adopts it here, as in 2 Corinthians 3:18; 4:6, in order that in the context of vv. 19-27 he may paradoxically set forth the link between suffering with Christ and the glory of divine sonship'.⁴²

Käsemann argues that vv. 28-30 return to v. 18 and the reality that 'the sufferings of the present time cannot be denied'. Käsemann's argument against a present-future paradox in 8:29b is contradicted by his own argument that conformity is baptismal language and that it is at baptism that this paradox of death and life, suffering and glory begins (see Rom. 6:1-11).⁴³

Within this category, Käsemann is unique among those who suggest suffering as conformity. Whereas Käsemann limits conformity to suffering,⁴⁴ most who suggest

³⁹ See Barth 1933: 323; Calvin 1960: 181; Käsemann 1980: 244; Wilckens 1980: 164; Barrett 1991: 170; Peterson 1995: 120; Keesmaat 1999: 89, 124, 141; Gorman 2001; Wright 2002: 602; Burke 2006: 148; Gorman 2009; Wright 2013a: 440.

⁴⁰ Barth 1933: 323; emphasis original.

⁴¹ Käsemann 1980: 244; emphasis mine.

⁴² Käsemann 1980: 245.

⁴³ Käsemann 1980: 244, 255.

⁴⁴ As does Calvin (1960: 181-2).

that 8:29b refers to suffering suggest that it is part one of a two-part process: part one being suffering and part two being resurrection.⁴⁵ Barrett offers: ‘At present we are conformed (συμμορφιζόμενοι) to his *death* (Phil. 3:10); we shall be conformed (σύμμορφοι) . . . to the *body of his glory* (Phil. 3:21)’.⁴⁶ And Wilckens writes:

Die Formulierung in Röm 8,29b ist so allgemein gehalten, daß man am besten einen dementsprechend umfassenden Sinn heraushört.... In der Taufe haben Christen an Tod und Auferstehung Christi teilgewonnen, so daß sie in ihrem gegenwärtigen Leiden und den Leiden Christi teilhaben und in ihrer künftigen Auferstehung an der Auferstehung Christi teilhaben werden.⁴⁷

Not unlike Barrett and Wilckens’ treatment of 8:29b, Michael Gorman says:

Conformity, for Paul, is narrative in character, a two-part drama of suffering/death followed by resurrection/exaltation. . . . Conformity to Christ – “to the image of [God’s] Son” – in resurrection is the logical and guaranteed sequel to a life of death to self and of suffering for the gospel that corresponds to the narrative of Christ’s dying and rising.⁴⁸

For Gorman, conformity is certainly a ‘two-part drama’, but one gets the sense that it is in the first part that Paul is focused with his use of σύμμορφος. Sylvia Keesmaat also argues for a two-part process. She writes,

The glory of Adam, the image of God, is revealed in the one who came into this same suffering creation and saved it. The pattern of Jesus is the pattern of the rest of believers; his way of exercising his dominion over creation was to stretch out his arms and die for it. *This image of suffering is the image to which believers are conformed.*⁴⁹

Here, again, suffering takes precedence.

Most scholars who suggest suffering with Christ or sharing in Christ’s sufferings as an explanation for σύμμορφος are primarily dependent on 8:17, where suffering with Christ (συμπάσχω) is deemed a pre-requisite for being glorified with Christ (συνδοξάζω). The connection is rightly drawn between 8:17 and 8:29bc,⁵⁰ but the problem with this interpretation of 8:29b is multifold. I will address it more fully in a discussion of the relationship between suffering and glory in chapter six of this thesis. Here I offer only a brief introduction to its problems. The first issue,

⁴⁵ E.g. Wilckens 1980; Barrett 1991; Gorman 2001; Wright 2002.

⁴⁶ Barrett 1991: 170.

⁴⁷ Wilckens 1980: 164.

⁴⁸ Gorman 2001: 327. *Cruciformity* as a whole is an exposition of this two-part process.

⁴⁹ Keesmaat 1999: 124; emphasis mine; see also p. 141.

⁵⁰ See esp. Wilckens 1980: 164.

particularly for Käsemann, is that it will not do to suggest that passages such as 1 Corinthians 15:49 and Philippians 3:21 in their future emphasis simply ‘seduce’ the interpreter of Romans 8:29b into an eschatologically focused reading. Käsemann’s suggestion accords with his larger apocalyptic and cross-centred reading of Paul, but the passages in 1 Corinthians and Philippians are too obviously close in meaning and context to Romans 8 for them to be brushed like crumbs off the table. Second, to emphasise the connection between 8:17 and 8:29 and thereby to suggest that *σύμμορφος* must include suffering with Christ is to deny the much stronger semantic structure of the passage linking 8:29b to ‘glorified’ in 8:30 which is linked to ‘co-glorified’ and ‘co-heirs’ in 8:17. According to this semantic structure or logic of discourse, which will be addressed in detail in chapter seven of this thesis, *σύμμορφος* is not linked with the suffering but with the inheritance and glory. The third issue with understanding ‘conformity’ to include, or to mean, ‘suffering’ is that it ignores the role of *εἰκόν* in 8:29b, as will be discussed in chapter five of this thesis.⁵¹

1.4.5 *Glory Conformity: Receive Christ’s Glory*

Conformity to Christ’s glory is perhaps the most common interpretation of the verse within the New Testament guild.⁵² This is primarily because it is also the category of understanding ‘conformity’ which is most commonly combined with others: glory and the resurrection body⁵³ and, as noted above, present suffering and future glory. In fact, as with suffering, the meaning behind ‘conformed to the image of his Son’ is rarely understood as glory alone. Douglas Moo’s treatment of the phrase provides an excellent example:

Paul may think of the believer as destined from his conversion onward to “conform” to Christ’s pattern of *suffering followed by glory*. . . . But

⁵¹ Keesmaat’s handling of the verse is unique in that she does draw a connection between Paul’s use of ‘image’ and the motif of suffering. She argues that the Son, as the new Adam, reveals the image of God through his suffering (1999: 24, 141). Nevertheless, though she correctly sees the renewed Adamic image in the image of the Son, she is incorrect to suggest that it is an image of suffering.

⁵² See Dodd 1932: 141-2; Black 1973: 125; Cranfield 1975: 432; Wanamaker 1987: 187; Dunn 1988a: 483-4; Ziesler 1989: 227; Scott 1992: 245-7; Moo 1996: 534-5; Gorman 2001: 35; Witherington 2004: 230; Gorman 2009: 169. Included here is also Fahy’s 1956 “Romans 8:29”. Fahy (p. 411) writes: ‘There can be no doubt that *σύμμορφος* denotes glorification.’ His primary purpose in the extremely brief article, however, is to contrast the Greek text (*σύμμορφος*) and its proper translation, ‘conformed (as they were)’ (according to Fahy) with the Vulgate translation of ‘*conformes fieri*’, which he says is provided ‘as if the reading were *σύμμορφος εἶναι*, “to be conformed,” the infinitive expressing “purpose”’ (p. 411). In so doing he argues that the Latin translation presents God as predestining Christians to glory apart from ‘any extrinsic consideration’ (p. 411), and the Greek, he suggests, presents God as predestining Christians to glory on the basis of their foreknown merits. The article is more accurately about the nature of ‘*προέγνω, καὶ προώρισεν*’ in 8:29a and, like Leaney’s article mentioned above, will therefore have little bearing on this thesis.

⁵³ Hunter 1955: 85; Siber 1971: 155; Dunn 1988a: 483-4; Wright 2002: 601; Witherington 2004: 230.

the closest parallels, Phil. 3:21 and 1 Cor. 15:49, are both eschatological; and eschatology is Paul's focus in this paragraph. . . . It is as Christians have their *bodies resurrected* and transformed that they *join Christ in his glory* and that the purpose of God, to make Christ the "firstborn" of many to follow, is accomplished.⁵⁴

So also does Kürzinger's 1958 treatment of the verse:

Ob dabei nur an die Herrlichkeit des erhöhten Herrn oder ob nicht eher – ganz im Sinn der übrigen Aussagen des Römerbriefes – an das Teilnehmen am ganzen Erlösungsgeschehen (Tod – Begrabenwerden – Auferstehen) gedacht ist, mag offen bleiben.⁵⁵

Nearly every scholar suggests that final glorification has some role to play in understanding 8:29b, even if it is joined by sanctification, suffering, or physical renewal.

Support for this reading is, like that of suffering, found in the connection between 8:17, in which Paul says the children of God will be 'co-glorified' (συνδοξασθῶμεν) with the Son, and 8:30 (see also 5:2), in which glorification is the final result of the process of conformity in 8:29.⁵⁶ The believer is 'conformed to the image of the Son', usually understood as taking place at the resurrection, at which point they are glorified with Christ.

These thematic and textual connections with co-glorification in 8:17 are indeed the keys to understanding Paul's intentions behind συμμόρφους τῆς εικόνας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. In fact, they will be incorporated into the very foundation of my argument in this thesis. This being said, however, there is one primary weakness in these suggestions. When scholars suggest that Romans 8:29b refers to believers' glorification, they often fail to define 'glory' or 'glorification'; if being conformed means being glorified, then one ought to say what glorification *is*. More broadly, Paul's use of δόξα and δοξάζω has received little treatment within Pauline scholarship and, when scholars *do* attempt to define 'glory', they denote it as an eschatological splendour, radiance, or brilliance—words which are sometimes used to connote the manifest presence of God. But these definitions of glory are inadequate for their occurrences in Romans. In chapter six of this thesis, I will argue that Romans 8:29b refers to believers' eschatological glory only if 'glory' is understood as something *other than* splendour/radiance or the visible, manifest presence of God.

We have seen thus far that συμμόρφους τῆς εικόνας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ is commonly accepted and promoted throughout New Testament scholarship as a reference to the renewed physical body, eschatological glory (splendour or presence

⁵⁴ Moo 1996: 534-5; emphasis mine.

⁵⁵ Kürzinger 1958: 298.

⁵⁶ This semantic link will be examined in detail in §6.2.3.

of God), sanctification, or present suffering. For the reasons I have mentioned, however, each suggestion has at least one if not several weaknesses. Most importantly, though these examined suggestions all have a significant role within discussions of Romans 8, each solution either overlooks or downplays the semantic and theological position of 8:29b within Romans 5—8. Paul’s focus in Romans 8:29b, then, is not on believers’ resurrection body, current suffering, becoming holy like Christ (sanctification), or a hope for eschatological splendour, though each of these is important within the larger context of Romans 5—8.

A fifth suggestion is also proposed, though not widely adopted. James Dunn, Robert Jewett, Tom Schreiner,⁵⁷ Brendan Byrne, N. T. Wright⁵⁸—five scholars from diverse traditions and perspectives—have all suggested that conformity in 8:29 refers to a functional conformity;⁵⁹ that is, when believers are conformed to the image of the Son, they are conformed to his status and function as the Son of God who rules over creation. Each scholar argues his case from a different perspective, but all share the common focus on conformity as function or vocation. I will argue that this suggestion, made almost in passing, is at the heart of Paul’s meaning behind ‘conformed to the image of his Son’ in 8:29b. Nevertheless, though these scholars pose this alternative reading of the phrase, they each do so briefly and without the substantive support necessary to make their case. This thesis will adapt, expand, and, most importantly, substantiate this functional reading of 8:29b hinted at by these scholars.

1.5 Outline and Agenda for Each Section

This thesis will expand and substantiate this functional reading of Romans 8:29b.⁶⁰ It is divided into two halves, with the first half addressing Pauline and biblical semantic and theological concerns, and the second half addressing the interpretation of Romans 8:29b within the context of Romans 8 primarily and on the basis of the conclusions drawn in the first half.

Because believers’ conformity in 8:29b is linked to believers’ glorification (δοξάζω) in 8:30, as well as their co-glorification (συνδοξάζω) in 8:17 and δόξα in

⁵⁷ Schreiner 1998. This interpretation does not come through, however, in his *Paul, Apostle of God’s Glory in Christ* (2001).

⁵⁸ I previously included Wright with those who suggest that 8:29b implies a sacrificial conformity. With others, he holds to a two-part conformity, i.e. suffering now and glory later. However, unlike most who hold to a two-part conformity, Wright not only emphasises glory over suffering, but he primarily interprets ‘glory’, like ‘conformed’, as a functional motif. That is, unlike most scholars who hold to a two-part conformity, Wright understands the second of the two parts differently than most (i.e. glory is not splendour but status/function).

⁵⁹ Also Scott 1992 and Worthington 2011 hint at functional interpretations, though only in dialogue with one or more of the other common suggestions.

⁶⁰ Unlike most New Testament doctoral theses, this thesis will not include a section at the start of the project dedicated to the relevant Greco-Roman and Jewish sources. I will examine this material of importance as it arises in conjunction with related topics in each chapter.

Romans 8:18, 21, it is necessary to examine Paul's use of these terms. Chapters two and three will serve this end. Chapter two will offer a brief description of semiotic theory, before investigating the semantic use of δόξα and δοξάζω throughout the LXX, and briefly in the apocalyptic texts of Daniel and *1 Enoch*. The terms will be analysed according to their denotative and connotative functions throughout the text, with a particular view to how they function, in particular, in relation to God and to humanity. It will be discovered that δόξα and δοξάζω are used in ways more variegated than are often recognised.

On the basis of the conclusions drawn in chapter two, chapter three will investigate the meaning of δόξα and δοξάζω in Romans, particularly as the terms are used in 1:23; 2:7, 10; 3:23; 5:2; 8:17, 18, 21, 30; 9:4. After assessing current interpretations of the terms and their inadequacies, I will address a number of considerations that must be made in such discussions, considerations which include the presence and role of Adam in Romans and the significance of Psalm 8 for Paul's new Adam Christology. The heart of the chapter will be an examination of what I will call Paul's 'narrative of glory'—the theological storyboard for Romans 1—8 and the context in which 'conformed to the image of his Son' in 8:29b will be interpreted.

Chapter four focuses on the Pauline motifs of union and participation. I suggest that, throughout Paul's letters, he articulates a motif of vocational participation with Christ, which is believers' active share in the resurrection life and glory of Christ as redeemed humans in him. This motif of vocational participation is then examined in Philippians 3:21 where the only other New Testament occurrence of σύμμορφος is found. It is also examined in 1 Corinthians 15:49 and Colossians 3:10 where εἰκόν is also used within a context of vocational participation. The chapter will conclude with an examination of 2 Corinthians 3:18; 4:4 and a discussion of their usefulness in determining the meaning of Romans 8:29b.

In the second half of the thesis, I will turn the attention to Romans 8:29 itself. Chapter five will address the identity of the Son within the context of the phrase 'image of his Son'. I will suggest that, on the basis of Paul's references to Jesus as the 'Firstborn' and the significance of Psalm 89 and 110 for Paul's identification of the Son elsewhere, in 8:29 the Son should be understood as the long-awaited Davidic king, Israel's Messiah. Additionally, I will argue that Paul's εἰκόν-language elsewhere, particularly in contexts of his new Adam Christology, and his use of πρωτότοκος, designate the Son as the new Adam in Romans 8:29, an identity which picks up Paul's Adam-Christ typology of 5:12-21. As both Messiah and new Adam, I will argue that he reigns over creation as the highest of the kings of the earth and that he stands as the representative of a new family of God and a redeemed humanity.

Chapter six will serve as the heart of the thesis. Here I will draw together the conclusions of the previous five chapters into an investigation of Paul's vocational participatory motif latent in Romans 8:17, 29, 30. I will address the theological significance of adoption and sonship in Romans 8 and its relationship to 8:29bc. The

chapter will then suggest that Paul's references to being 'co-inheritors' and 'co-glorified' in 8:17 and 'glorified' in 8:30 all refer to believers' participation with the Son in his unique role as sovereign over creation. Because of the semantic link between 8:17, 30 and 29, I will argue that, in being conformed to the Son, believers participate with the Son in his rule over creation as people renewed in the image of God.

Chapter seven will examine the structural and theological relationship that exists within 8:28-30. I will suggest that, despite its importance, 8:29b does not constitute Paul's main point. Rather, Paul's point in 8:28-30 is in 8:28b, where Paul articulates that God's children are called with a purpose. This purpose, I will suggest, is their glorification—a future reality, no doubt, but also a present reality. I will argue that this motif of present glorification, if only in part, is implied in the preceding verses: in the prayers of the believers and the Spirit in 8:26-27, and in God's working all things toward good in 8:28. God's children are called to function as vicegerents of God, not only in the eschaton but, however paradoxically, also in the present. It is to these issues articulated above that I now turn.

PART 1: THE HOPE OF GLORY IN ROMANS 5—8

2. ΔΟΞΑ AND ΔΟΞΑΖΩ IN JEWISH LITERATURE

The subject of this thesis is the allusive phrase *συμμόρφους τῆς εικόνας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ* in Romans 8:29b. In order to make sense of the phrase, one must first make sense of the phrase's syntactical connections to *δόξα* and *δοξάζω* in the surrounding context. Most immediately, 8:29b is connected to *ἐδόξασεν* ('[those] he glorified') in the last clause of 8:30—a summary of the fuller statement in 8:29b.⁶¹ Moreover, 8:29-30 draw together the strands of the argument which began in 8:17 with references to the 'glorification' of believers 'with the Messiah'. And, on a larger scale, Romans 5—8 as a unit is framed by believers' 'hope of glory' in 5:2 and 'glorification' in 8:30, making believers' hope of glory and/or glorification with Christ—the *telos* of the redeemed life—a key, perhaps even *the* key, to interpreting 8:29b.

The meanings of *δόξα* and *δοξάζω* directly impact the meaning of 8:29b. I will suggest in chapter three that the common interpretation of humanity's *δόξα* and *δοξάζω*—i.e. (receiving) an eschatological splendour or radiance associated with one's transformation in the presence of God—needs re-thinking, particularly in terms of their function within Romans. Before doing so, however, it is important to investigate the scriptural roots of Paul's notion of 'glory' in order to see the ways he has either retrieved or reinterpreted them. The argument I present in this chapter and which will lead to this re-thinking is two-fold: (1) In the LXX and apocalyptic literature, when *δόξα* and *δοξάζω* are used vis-à-vis God, the terms are equally associated with light imagery/theophany and with concepts of exaltation, status, honour, and rule. (2) In the LXX and apocalyptic literature, when used vis-à-vis humanity, the terms are almost entirely used in association with the concepts of status, honour, and rule, and not with light imagery (i.e. what is often referred to as splendour or radiance). My conclusions are drawn in accordance with discussions of lexical semiotics and the application of lexical semiotics to the language of glory and glorification in the LXX and in apocalyptic literature.⁶²

2.1 A Discussion of Semiotics

Before turning to the Jewish literature, a brief introduction to the issues of linguistic semiotics relevant to our investigation is in order. For assistance, I turn to the classic discussion of the word 'glory' between Humpty-Dumpty and Alice in Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking Glass*. Their discussion is relevant not only to

⁶¹ I will examine this connection in detail in §7.1.1.

⁶² All references to the Old Testament in this chapter will be references to LXX versification.

this chapter because it highlights the meaning of glory, but because their discussion is on issues which pertain to semiotics, albeit implicitly so.⁶³ The narrative goes:

‘There's glory for you!’

I don't know what you mean by "glory", Alice said.

Humpty Dumpty smiled contemptuously. 'Of course you don't — till I tell you. I meant "there's a nice knock-down argument for you!"'

'But "glory" doesn't mean "a nice knock-down argument"', Alice objected.

'When I use a word', Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful tone, 'it means just what I choose it to mean — neither more nor less’.

'The question is', said Alice, 'whether you **can** make words mean so many different things’.

'The question is', said Humpty Dumpty, 'which is to be master — that's all’.

...

'When I make a word do a lot of work like that', said Humpty Dumpty, 'I always pay it extra’.

'Oh!' said Alice. She was too much puzzled to make any other remark.

'Ah, you should see 'em come round me of a Saturday night', Humpty Dumpty went on, wagging his head gravely from side to side, 'for to get their wages, you know’.

Humpty-Dumpty and Alice approached the word ‘glory’ in different ways; they also approached the philosophy of language, i.e. semiotics, in different ways. I will note their differing approaches anon, but first offer a brief introduction to semiotics.

The study of semiotics was established by Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) and American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914), whose models of semiotics, or sign-systems, continue to undergird discussions today.⁶⁴ According to Achille, semiotics is ‘the study of signs, or of language considered in its broadest possible sense’, with ‘sign’ (or ‘symbol’) referring to ‘any

⁶³ Ironically, most academic references to Humpty-Dumpty’s use of ‘glory’ are for the purpose of placing it within larger discussions of semiotics and semantics (see e.g. Hancher 1981). I wish to note his use of ‘glory’ for that reason, but only as an introduction to an investigation of what the term actually *can* mean, at least within ancient Jewish literature.

⁶⁴ See Chandler 2007: 1-11 and Cobley and Jansz 2010 for an overview and development of the study of semiotics from Saussure until today.

phenomenal object that may be taken to signify something'.⁶⁵ Chandler lists possible 'phenomenal objects' as 'words, images, sounds, gestures, and objects'.⁶⁶ In particular, what form the basis of linguistic semiotics today are Saussure's distinction between signifier (the symbol/sign itself) and signified (the mental concept generated by the sign),⁶⁷ and Peirce's triadic model which includes a sign/representamen, an object (that which is represented by the sign), and an interpretant (the 'sense' made of the sign by the interpreter, or the result of the sign).⁶⁸ Peirce's 3-part model has led to what is called 'unlimited semiosis', where a signifier points to a signified, wherein the signified becomes a new signifier pointing to another signified, and so on.⁶⁹ This 3-part path to meaning prohibits reducing meaning to an oversimplified 'word-thing/concept' approach often associated with lexicons.⁷⁰

Peirce's triangle ultimately recognises the role of how signs *function* within syntagma, i.e. as both literal and figurative signs which exist in unlimited semiosis.⁷¹ 'Literality is easier to illustrate than to define', notes Caird, who goes on to suggest that 'words are used literally when they are meant to be understood in their primary, matter-of-fact sense'.⁷² In contrast, words, or signs in general, are used figuratively or symbolically when used as one of numerous possible tropes or motifs, with the four 'master tropes', according to Chandler,⁷³ being metaphor,⁷⁴ metonym, synecdoche, and irony. Figurative language, while found on every street corner, is most commonly associated with poetry.

Metaphor and metonymy are the most important forms of figurative language for our purposes here. Metaphor involves an implicit comparison between the

⁶⁵ Aichele 1997: 9. A distinction is often made between 'sign' as the signifier and 'sign' as that which includes a signifier and signified (and the interpretant, the 'sense' made of the sign, in Peirce's tri-part model); see Chandler 2007: 29-30. Here I use 'sign' as synonymous with 'signifier' and 'symbol' to refer to a sign which 'relates to its object by means of convention alone, e.g. a word, a flag' (opposed to an icon: a sign that shares resemblance with its object, e.g. photograph); Copley and Jansz 2010: 33.

⁶⁶ Chandler 2007: 2.

⁶⁷ Silva 1994: 35; Copley and Jansz 2010: 8-17.

⁶⁸ See Chandler 2007: 32-6 and Copley and Jansz 2010: 21-26. Also notable is Ogden-Richards' (1945: 11) influential linguistic semiotic triangle, consisting of symbol (the written word), thought (the mental content generated by the symbol), and referent (the extra-linguistic thing in reality to which the symbol points), similar to Peirce's tri-part model; see Silva 1994: 102.

⁶⁹ See Chandler 2007: 33 and Copley and Jansz 2010: 25.

⁷⁰ The critique of this approach began with James Barr's 1961 criticism of 'word-thing/concept' approaches to hermeneutics, otherwise commonly known as 'word studies' (and, in Barr's time, the hermeneutical approach particularly represented by the TDNT). See Newman 1992: 8; Silva 1994: 101-8.

⁷¹ Chandler 2007: 123.

⁷² Caird 1980: 133.

⁷³ Chandler 2007: 126-37.

⁷⁴ Caird (1980: 129-200) suggests 'metaphor' as the overarching term for all other forms of figurative language; see also Chandler 2007: 126. Ricoeur's 1975 *La métaphore vive* remains the classic study on the use of metaphor.

signifier and signified,⁷⁵ or ‘a literary device in which the description of one reality expresses another’.⁷⁶ Chandler suggests three forms of metaphor: orientational (‘metaphors primarily relating to spacial organization’, e.g. up/down, near/far); ontological (‘metaphors which associate activities, emotions, and ideas with entities and substances [most obviously, metaphors involving personification]’); and structural (overarching metaphors . . . which allow us to structure one concept in terms of another [e.g. rational argument is war or time is a resource]).⁷⁷ On the level of words, metaphors (and metonyms) can be a single word or a phrase (e.g. ‘pain in the neck’)⁷⁸ and can be both visual and verbal.⁷⁹ Additionally, some metaphors are living metaphors and some are dead. Caird writes that ‘through constant use [a metaphor] then becomes a faded or worn metaphor, and finally a dead one’, at which point speakers ‘treat the word as a new literalism’.⁸⁰ That is to say that, when a metaphor is living, it is commonly recognised as figurative language; when it is dead, it is assumed to be literal language.⁸¹

Metonymy is ‘the evocation of the whole by a connection. It consists in using the name of a thing or a relationship, an attribute, a suggested sense, or something closely related’.⁸² Put more simply, metonymy is ‘calling a thing by the name of something typically associated with it’.⁸³ Metonymy includes various sub-forms, including the substitution of *part* for the *whole* or *object* for *user* (‘the Crown’ for the monarchy).⁸⁴

These literal and figurative forms can also be expressed in terms of denotation and connotation—the basis of Peirce’s unlimited semiosis. Generally speaking, denotation represents the literal form, the form exhibited in a dictionary, and connotation represents the figurative, that which is characterised by metaphor, metonymy, etc. Chandler notes that ‘connotation and denotation are often described in terms of levels of representation or levels of meaning—what Louis Hjelmslev first

⁷⁵ Caird 1980: 144.

⁷⁶ Patella 2005: 328; see Chandler 2007: 127.

⁷⁷ Chandler 2007: 129. Caird (1980: 145-9) suggests four forms of metaphor: perceptual (appealing to any of the five senses), synaesthetic (when two senses overlap, e.g. thick darkness), affective (a feeling of one thing is compared to another), and pragmatic (the activity of one thing is compared to another).

⁷⁸ Silva 1994: 103.

⁷⁹ Chandler 2007: 131.

⁸⁰ E.g. the eye of a needle; Caird 1980: 152; see also p. 131-2, 191 where he notes how the ‘body of Christ’ has come to be treated by some as a dead metaphor, in that some have come to take ‘body’ ‘to mean “the visible, organized form which an entity assumes”’. They could then argue that, since the church is the outward, organic form of Christ’s presence in the world, it is literally the body of Christ’.

⁸¹ Caird 1980: 185. He writes (p. 185): ‘If there is any correlation between literalism and the evolution of language, the biblical evidence would suggest that literalism came quite late on the scene, the product of that semi-sophistication which is the parent of pedantry’.

⁸² Chandler 2007: 130 quoting Wilden 1987: 198.

⁸³ Caird 1980: 136.

⁸⁴ Chandler 2007: 130.

called ‘orders of significance’. For purposes of exactness and clarity here, it will be helpful to quote Chandler in full:

The *first order* of signification is that of denotation: at this level there is a sign consisting of a signifier and a signified. Connotation is a *second order* of signification which uses the denotative sign (signifier and signified) as its signifier and attaches to it an additional signified. In this framework, connotation is a sign which derives from the signifier of a denotative sign (so denotation leads to a chain of connotations). A signified on one level can become a signifier on another level. This is the mechanism by which signs may seem to signify one thing but are loaded with multiple meanings. Indeed, this framing of the Saussurean model of the sign is analogous to the ‘infinite semiosis’ of the Peircean sign in which the interpretant can become the representamen of another sign.⁸⁵

This relationship between denotation and connotation, like that of literal and figurative signs/symbols, will bear significantly on our discussion of semiotics in the Old Testament.

Returning our attention to Humpty Dumpty’s use of glory, then, with this introduction to semiotics in mind, it becomes clear that both Alice and Humpty Dumpty were using the word correctly. While Alice wished to emphasise the word’s denotation,⁸⁶ Humpty Dumpty recognised that, like any word in a living language, the ability of the word ‘glory’ has the practically limitless ability to function figuratively.⁸⁷ Alice and Humpty Dumpty’s differing uses of glory illustrates the difference between what Saussure called *langue* and *parole*, or language and speech. ‘*Langue* refers to the system of rules and conventions which is independent of, and pre-exists, individual users; *parole* refers to its use in particular instances’.⁸⁸ The question which follows is whether *parole* is limited to *langue* or whether it has the capacity to transform *langue*? The importance of this question will be recognisable in our examination of the Old Testament below.

⁸⁵ Chandler 2007: 140; emphasis original.

⁸⁶ With any language, though, etymological definitions do not always remain in common use: e.g. ‘nice’ in English today means ‘pleasant’ but is derived from the Latin *nescius* which means ‘ignorant’ (Caird 1980: 44).

⁸⁷ In any particular context a word can be made to do ‘extra work’, as Humpty Dumpty does with ‘glory’, simply by allowing their denotations to function as signs of something else: connotations. Humpty Dumpty uses ‘glory’ to function anthropomorphically as words made to do more ‘work’, and which he thus ‘pays’ extra when they ‘come round [him] of a Saturday night...for to get their wages’. In this example, then, not only does ‘glory’ function as more than its denotation, but so also do ‘work’ and ‘pay’.

⁸⁸ Chandler 2007: 12; emphasis original; Cobley and Jansz (2010: 15) describe the system by saying: ‘*Langua* can be thought of as a communal cupboard, housing all the possible different signs which might be pulled out and utilized in the construction of an instance of *parole*’ (emphasis original).

Before approaching the Jewish Scriptures, however, one further point of significance is necessary to note: whether a sign is literal or figurative has no bearing on its ontological reality. With Caird, I caution that, ‘just as words are not identical with their referents, so linguistic statements (i.e. statements about words) are not to be confused with metaphysical statements (i.e. statements about reality)’.⁸⁹ If in referring to my Harley Davidson I say that I gave my hog a good run, I am clearly speaking metaphorically; it is not actually a hog and it did not literally run. Nevertheless, that does not rule out my motorcycle’s ontological existence or movement. Or, if I suggest that Garrison Keillor is the voice of Minnesota, Minnesota is clearly a metonym not only for the people of Minnesota but (here begins a ‘chain of connotations’) a particular culture with which the people of Minnesota identify. It is not an ontological statement about the political State of Minnesota.

2.1.1 *Semiotics and the Old Testament*

With this introduction to semiotics, I turn our attention to its application to the Old Testament, particularly in recognition of the role of figurative language.⁹⁰ Understanding semiotics is crucial to interpreting the Old Testament, not least because the Old Testament is largely composed of poetic/figurative—specifically, analogical and symbolic—language.⁹¹ For the biblical writers, as for anyone, ‘reality is framed within systems of analogy’,⁹² and biblical analogy (or poetry in general), according to Prickett, appeals ‘not just to the intellect, but also to the imagination’.⁹³ The importance of this fact cannot be overstated.

More important yet is the fact that all language about God is necessarily analogical language. According to Gibson,

All God-talk, all theology, even ours, is metaphorical, describing God in terms that properly belong to the human sphere. It cannot be otherwise, as human words, like human thought, belong this side of creation, and cannot begin to describe its other side, God as he is in his own interior life. Such knowledge as we have of God is not of God as he is, but as he shows himself towards human beings. . . . When we say that God saves, redeems, pities us, is our Father, our shepherd, our King, we are using metaphors or images drawn from human life and

⁸⁹ Caird 1980: 193-4; see also 132-3.

⁹⁰ A number of recent studies exist on semiotics/language and imagery in the Old Testament or bible: e.g. Caird 1980; Prickett 1986; Silva 1994; Aichele 1997; Gibson 1998; Grelot 2006.

⁹¹ This fact is only recently recognised. Prickett (1986: 214) suggests that, ‘with the emergence of the idea of the ‘poetic’ in the eighteenth century we find also a rehabilitation of the classical notion of metaphor as its appropriate centre of activity’.

⁹² Chandler 2007: 125. Grelot (2006: 19-24) suggests four categories of symbol/metaphor in the bible: analogical (pp. 25-66), mythical (pp. 67-102), figurative (pp. 103-48), relational (pp. 149-98).

⁹³ Prickett 1986: 217-8.

experience. In other words, we are using anthropomorphisms, ascribing to God human actions and human feelings.⁹⁴

When this limitation of language is forgotten in the pursuit of theology understood through the lens of the biblical text, not only must once living metaphors be declared dead, but the interpreter's understanding of God will necessarily be obscured by figurative language read literally.

Various metaphors are used to describe God, but, according to Gibson, 'the leading image of God in the Old Testament is undoubtedly of him as king, and king of the whole universe rather than merely of Israel'.⁹⁵ One need only turn to the enthronement Psalms to see this, as well as to any number of other texts with royal imagery.⁹⁶ This fact will become important in our analysis of δόξα in its associations with God in the Old Testament.

Much more could be said about the application of the study of semiotics to the Old Testament. With this introduction, however, we are able to apply it to the various uses of δόξα and δοξάζω in the LXX and offer a cursory introduction to the meaning of glory and glorification in Jewish apocalyptic literature.

2.2 ΔΟΞΑ and ΔΟΞΑΖΩ in the LXX

2.2.1 Lexical Overview

2.2.1.1 Establishing the Terms

כבוד

Given that my interest is ultimately in the New Testament use of δόξα and δοξάζω, this study will focus specifically on the semantic range of δόξα and δοξάζω in the LXX. In doing so, it will rely on the two most recent studies of the terms: Millard Berquist's 1941 PhD dissertation and George Caird's 1944 DPhil dissertation,

⁹⁴ Gibson 1998: 22. Caird (1980: 144) concludes something similar: '[Metaphor] comprises a large part of our daily speech and almost all the language of theology. God speaks to man in similitudes, and man has no language but analogy for speaking about God, however inadequate it may be'. See also Carey 2005: 12.

⁹⁵ Gibson 1998: 121. For a recent study on the kingship of God in the Old Testament, see Flynn 2014; see also Gray's 1979 classic treatment of the theme of God's kingship, kingdom, and reign throughout the biblical narrative.

⁹⁶ Enthronement Psalms of God: 47, 93, 95-99; God identified as King: e.g. Ps. 5:2, 4; 29:3, 10; 74:12, 14; 95:3-5; 96:10; 103:19-22; Isa. 6:5; Zech. 14:6-9; texts with royal imagery in Isaiah alone: God sits on a throne (Isa. 6:1; see. 66:1); the earth is his footstool (66:1); God reigns (52:7). This figurative language of God is picked up in the New Testament: e.g. Matt. 5:35; Acts 7:49; Rev. 19:6. Gibson (1998: 138-8) suggests that images of God as divine warrior, judge, and the living God are connected with the imagery of God as king.

both unpublished.⁹⁷ Had one or both of the dissertations been published in its time, the suggestion I am making in this chapter might now be commonplace. Before tracing an overview of δόξα and δοξάζω, a brief word on כבוד and its verbal cognates is necessary.⁹⁸

In its most fundamental form, כבוד means something that is literally ‘weighty’.⁹⁹ The majority of its uses, however, are figurative or symbolic. As I will do with δόξα and δοξάζω anon, כבוד must be categorised according to its meaning *vis-à-vis* both God and man. Berquist and Caird each do so and arrive at similar conclusions.

According to Berquist, when associated with mankind and objects, כבוד is used to connote ‘the honor, repute, respect, or esteem in which a man is held by reason of the “heaviness” or abundance of his earthly possession, or because of the “weight” or importance of his achievements, or by virtue of the qualities of his character’ (Gen. 45:13; Job 19:9; Ps. 49:16-17).¹⁰⁰ In its association with God, Berquist suggests that כבוד carries three overarching connotations:¹⁰¹ (1) כבוד is ‘a summary term for the self-manifestation of God as he reveals himself to Israel in various phases and characteristics of his divine nature’ (Exod. 33:18; Ps. 25:7; 29:19, 20; 31:19; 97:21; esp. 104:23; Hos. 3:5).¹⁰² (2) כבוד is ‘a more sensuous manifestation of Jehovah, represented by natural phenomena such as fire, smoke, radiance, brilliance, or splendor’ (Exod. 16:7-10, 27-34). Berquist suggests that this use is limited to the Pentateuch and Ezekiel, and even here a difference exists between them. In the Pentateuch, the phenomenon are not equated with the כבוד but is the symbol in which or through which God’s ‘might and power and wisdom and judgment and

⁹⁷ I am unable to find any evidence that suggests that Caird was aware of Berquist’s work completed three years previously.

⁹⁸ The כבוד-δόξα relationship between the Hebrew bible and the LXX is extensive and need not detain us here. The question of why δόξα was chosen to translate כבוד, given the terms’ lexical differences, has yet to find a straightforward answer. In his survey, Newman (1992: 150-2) proposed that δόξα was used to translate כבוד because both terms (1) overlap in their meaning of ‘honour’, (2) can function subjectively or objectively, and (3) were used in literature which included ascents and dream visions. See also: Forster 1930; Kittel 1934: 34-47; Berquist 1941: 17-50; Caird 1944: 122-41; Brockington 1955; Kittel 1964: 233-7, 242-5; 253; Caird 1969: 267-8, 273-7; Newman 1992: 134-153.

⁹⁹ Von Rad 1964: 238 in Kittel 1964; Holladay 1971; Koehler 1995: 455-8; see also Berquist 1941: 17-18; Davies 1960: 401.

¹⁰⁰ Berquist 1941: 18; see Caird 1944: 52.

¹⁰¹ Koehler (1995: 457-8) suggests: (1) giving glory to Yahweh; (2) Yahweh’s glory, which etymologically means ‘power, authority and honour of God; however it is often connected with manifestations of light’; (3) manifestation of Yahweh; (4) ‘essence and power in a broader sense, reserved only for God’; see also Brown, Driver, and Briggs 1972: 457-9; Jenni (Westermann) 1997: 595-602.

¹⁰² Berquist 1941: 21-22.

providential care are made known to Israel and to her enemies'.¹⁰³ Ezekiel, however, departs from the Pentateuch in that the כבוד becomes not just a symbol but 'a definite physical manifestation, anthropomorphic, and radiant, and the light and fire elements are constituent parts of the כבוד, not merely accompaniments' (Ezek. 9:3; 10:14, 45; 11:22-23, 46).¹⁰⁴ (3) כבוד is 'God's self-manifestation as deliverer or savior' (Exod. 16:10; Num. 14:10, 20-22; Ps. 84:11; 85:9; Isa. 40:5; 42:8; 48:11; 60:1-2).¹⁰⁵ Found in the Pentateuch, Psalms, Prophets, and especially Isaiah 40—66, this is the most extensive use of the term in the Hebrew bible. Moreover, Berquist suggests, it is the meaning that informed Paul's use of δόξα in the New Testament. Unlike in the Ezekiel texts, 'it is not the mere fact of his presence that is significant, but that he is present as a redeemer-deliverer'.¹⁰⁶ These three connotations will prove significant for our lexical assessment of δόξα in the following paragraphs.

Caird is more nuanced in his categorisation of כבוד in its association with mankind and objects. He suggests four categories: (1) Riches or material possessions (Gen. 31:1; Esth. 5:11; 2 Chron. 32:27; Isa. 61:6; 66:11-12; Haggai 2:3, 7-9); (2) Honour, stating that 'the last meaning of kabod is closely associated with honour, and the one meaning merges into the other so that it is often hard to say under which head a passage should be placed' (1 Kgs. 3:13; 1 Chron. 19:12; 29:28; 2 Chron. 1:11; 32:33; Prov. 3:16; 8:18; 11:21; 15:33; Jer. 48:18).¹⁰⁷ A man or object's status of honour can be symbolised by 'any outward display of magnificence' (Gen. 44:13; Job 19:9; Dan. 11:39) or in association with a crown (Ps. 8:5f) or throne/chief seat (1 Sam. 2:8; Isa. 22:23);¹⁰⁸ (3) Manpower (Isa. 8:7; 16:14; 21:16f; Hos. 9:11f); and (4) Self or soul (Ps. 7:6; 16:9; 30:12; 108:1f). The first and second categories are the most extensive.

In association with God, the terms carry three metaphorical connotations for Caird: (1) Honour by analogy (Jer. 14:21; 17:12; Mal. 1:6) or in general (1 Chron. 16:24; Ps. 19:1; 72:19; 104:31; Isa. 6:3; 42:8; 43:6-7), and particularly in the use of the piel (Jud. 13:17; Isa. 43:23; Dan. 11:38; Ps. 22:23; 86:9, 12; Isa. 24:15). Caird concludes this category by saying:

¹⁰³ Berquist 1941:31-32

¹⁰⁴ Berquist 1941: 38-39.

¹⁰⁵ Berquist 1941: 39. On those texts such as Isa. 60:1-2 which combine glory with light imagery, Berquist suggests that the light imagery symbolises the 'impending deliverance, salvation, and restoration of Israel, by the hand of Jehovah God' (1941: 48).

¹⁰⁶ Berquist 1941: 42.

¹⁰⁷ Caird 1944: 60.

¹⁰⁸ Caird 1944: 62; also here: 'To show respect or to do honour to a man is to recognise that he has this status'.

Like the kings of the earth, God requires honour to be paid to Him; but His honour, that which commands the respect and adoration of His creatures, is not as the honour of men. The honour, the rank and authority of men is symbolized by wealth and magnificence, by the throne and the crown. The honour of God is that which exalts Him high above all creatures; it is symbolized by His dealings with men in nature and in providence, by the stars in their courses and by the earth with its fullness. It has much in common with His holiness and His righteousness.¹⁰⁹

(2) ‘A title for God; He is the kabod of His people Israel’ (1 Sam. 4:21-22; Jer. 2:11; Ps. 3:1-3; 106:19-22): ‘God is the kabod of Israel because He profits them, because He saves them and does wondrous works on their behalf, in short, because He is the source of their honour’.¹¹⁰ (3) ‘An outward quasi-physical manifestation of the presence or activity of God, usually in the form of light or fire, and sometimes with a surrounding envelope of cloud’ (Exod. 33:18-22; Lev. 9:6; 10:3; Ezek. 1:27).¹¹¹ After assessing the relationship between this quasi-physical manifestation in relation to the other uses of כבוד, Caird concludes:

Just as the honour of the king was the material splendour or show of power by which his worth could be recognised, and which constituted a claim upon the respect of men, so too the Glory . . . was a manifestation of the honour of God, of His greatness, majesty, power, kingliness, of all that makes Him honourable in the eyes of men.¹¹²

Berquist and Caird’s categories do not align exactly, but the overlap is obvious. In association with mankind and objects, the noun כבוד means riches, material greatness, and honour. The term functions the same when applied to God, with the addition that, in the Priestly and Ezekiel accounts, God’s honour *as a result of his status, power, or character* is symbolised by his self-manifestation in theophany.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Caird 1944: 76.

¹¹⁰ Caird 1944: 76.

¹¹¹ Caird 1944: 78.

¹¹² Caird 1944: 83, 86-7; see also pp. 123-41.

¹¹³ See also Von Rad 1964: 238-42 in Kittel 1964. From here it is not difficult to see how δόξα went from referring to the visible manifestation of God in splendour to refer to the beauty of objects. On this, Harrison (1982: 478-9) writes: “Since *doxa* could be used legitimately to translate kabod in the areas of reputation and honor, only a slight step was required to make it a blanket term for rendering other meanings of kabod that had not belonged to doxa in its classical Greek setting. Once doxa had become established as a translation for kabod in the sense of majesty or splendour, which was something of a departure from native Greek usage, apparently this was sufficient precedent to go further and employ doxa to render a whole group of Hebrew words involving the notion of beauty or adornment’. Harrison confirms what Berquist and Caird demonstrate at length: δόξα primarily means

A number of points are significant to note at this stage. Berquist and Caird conclude that:

- (1) כבוד associated with mankind refers to a person's status or honour;¹¹⁴
- (2) the most extensive use of כבוד associated with God *does not mean* a theophanic revelation; and
- (3) the theophanic revelations which do occur symbolise God's status, power, or character.

That Berquist and Caird draw these conclusions *independently of one another* should caution us against too easily assigning δόξα such theophanic weight in the New Testament, particularly when it is used in association with humanity. I will return to this cautionary note at the end of this section. But first, we must categorise our primary concerns, δόξα and δοξάζω, into their respective denotations and connotations.

δόξα and δοξάζω

It is widely acknowledged that δόξα in non-biblical Greek means 'opinion' or 'reputation',¹¹⁵ and that in the LXX it assumes the most basic and connotative meanings of כבוד: status, honour, character, splendour.¹¹⁶ Muraoka lists four categories of meaning for δόξα in the LXX: (1) 'status of honour and distinction'; (2) 'external splendour, magnificent appearance'; (3) 'an opinion which appears to be or commonly held to be right'; and (4) 'partiality; favouritism'. He also lists three categories for δοξάζω: (1) 'to bring or accord honour to'; (2) 'to accord splendour to'; and (3) 'to express oneself with reverence over'.¹¹⁹

An obvious overlap exists between Muraoka's categories for δόξα and those of Berquist and Caird for כבוד, something not unexpected given the relationship between the two terms. But one significant difference exists. Whereas Berquist distinguishes between כבוד as the external manifestation of God's character/power/status and כבוד as theophanic splendour, and Caird does so through nuancing the external manifestations as *symbolic* of God's character/power/status,

honour/status, which then came to be symbolised by visible splendour, which then was extended to connote adornment or beauty.

¹¹⁴ As is supported by Brown, Driver, Briggs 1962: 458-9.

¹¹⁵ Kittel 1964: 233-4.

¹¹⁶ Berquist suggests it maintains its non-biblical Greek denotation in Jewish literature only in 4 Macc. 5:17 (1941: 49)

¹¹⁹ Muraoka 2009: 176; see also Owen 1932; Newman 1992: 149.

Muraoka's generalised categories distort such distinctions. This is particularly the case in his second category: 'external splendour/magnificent appearance'. It is precisely this kind of generalisation, one that compounds the imbalanced emphasis on glory in the bible as splendour associated with theophany, which is present in biblical scholarship today.¹²⁰ I will return to assess further Muraoka's second category below.

At this stage, I wish only to offer a lexical overview of δόξα and δοξάζω in the LXX and, in conjunction with the work of Berquist, Caird, and Muraoka, to offer a basic presentation of the lexical categories into which the terms best fit. While the work of Berquist, Caird, and Muraoka stand in the background, the categories I suggest are primarily a result of understanding the meaning of δόξα and δοξάζω in the LXX through the application of linguistic semiotic theory.

2.2.1.2 Linguistic Semiotics and δόξα

As we saw earlier, one of the chief weaknesses of lexical entries is their presentation of signs/referents as word-thing/word-concept; they overlook the fact that signs also perform functions within syntagmas and often participate in 'connotation chains'.¹²¹ For this reason, among others, Muraoka's 2009 lexical entry on δόξα presents a less than complete depiction of the terms.¹²² As noted above, the issue is primarily with the overly generalised second category which combines 'external splendour' and 'magnificent appearance', though other issues exist as well. The works of Berquist and Caird both independently demonstrate that δόξα should be distinguished between meaning (a) a status of honour/distinction, which is *sometimes*

¹²⁰ Compared to Berquist's (pp. 49-50) nuanced categorisations for δόξα associated *with man*: (1) 'material possessions, or moral or spiritual qualities that cause an individual to be held in esteem'; (2) 'the inner being or essential nature of impersonal objects or bodies being personified'; (3) 'man's inner being or soul, the seat of human character'; and *with God*: (1) 'theologically, a summary term for the self-revelation of Jehovah's nature in its various elements by actual or figurative manifestation'; (2) 'term of ascription by which affirmation is given to such nature'; (3) Jehovah himself, being used as a designation for the Divine Being'; (4) 'Brilliance, splendor, brightness, glowing fire, etc., of divine origin and significance, and even divine representation'; (5) Specifically, God's manifestation of himself among men as savior and redeemer'. And though Caird does not categorise δόξα as he did with כבוד or as Berquist does with δόξα, he no less traces δόξα and δοξάζω throughout what he calls the 'canonical books of the LXX' (p. 42; 122-41) and the Apocrypha (pp. 142-55). Caird concludes that, among the distinct functions and meanings of δόξα in the LXX, δόξα was used 'with the meaning honour, either because this was the meaning of the corresponding word in the Hebrew text, or because it seemed an adequate paraphrase. In particular, it was used for kabod because the basic meaning of kabod was honour' (p. 140) and that 'like kabod, doxa in the LXX must be regarded as a single, many-sided term' (p. 141).

¹²¹ See Silva 1994: 101-8. For an overview of critiques made about theological lexicography, particularly since James Barr's critique of Kittel's *TDNT*, see Silva 1994: 17-32. Silva (1994: 137) also notes that lexicons fall subject to the 'hermeneutical circle', noting in particular our semi-dependence on BDAG which is dependent on prior exegesis, and, I add, exegesis common to the accepted hermeneutical methods of the time.

¹²² This is particularly the case if one tries to build an understanding of the New Testament use of δόξα on his depiction of the LXX use of δόξα.

represented or symbolised by (a.1) a magnificent appearance or (a.2) a visible splendour, and (b) an external, visible splendour associated with theophany. Δόξα in the LXX simply does not have the same meaning when applied to an object of beauty as it does when understood as the glory of the Lord filling the temple. It has both literal and figurative nuances—a fact which must be recognised, and which is not necessarily recognised through the use of a lexicon alone.

Muraoka's entry condenses to this:

(Category #1) 'status of honour and distinction': Hos. 4:7; Sir. 5:13; Hab. 2:16; Wis. 8:10; Hos. 10:5; Mal. 1:6; Hos. 9:11; Mal. 2:2; Hab. 2:14; Mic. 5:4; Gen. 31:16; 31:1; Jer. 13:18; 14:21; Sir. 1:11; Pro. 3:16; 8:18; Ref to God: Es. 4:16; To. 12:12; 3:16; 12:15; Ps. 105:20;

(Category #2) 'external splendour, magnificent appearance': Ex. 24:16; 16:10; Nu. 12:8; Ex. 16:7; Is. 35:2; Ex. 28:2; Jb. 37:22; Hag. 2:3, 9; Sir. 43:9; Is. 52:14; 53:2; Sir. 24:16; 24:17; 2 Chr. 18:1; Is. 2:7; 3:18; Ex. 33:5; Sir. 6:29; 27:8; *magnificent looking object*: 1 Macc. 14:9; Is. 8:7; *not visible*: Sir. 17:13;

(Category #3) 'an opinion which appears to be or commonly held to be right': Is. 11:3; Sir. 8:14; *reputation*: 4 Mac. 5:18;¹²³

(Category #4) 'partiality; favouritism': Sir. 32:15.¹²⁴

Unfortunately, Muraoka misdescribes the key category (#2) in the following ways, ultimately giving it far more weight than it deserves: (a) Exodus 16:7 is clearly a reference *not* to theophany but to the manna which God makes appear for the sustenance of the Israelites (a sign of his power/salvation); (b) The glory of God which the people will see in Isaiah 35:2 is most likely a reference to the redemptive works of God listed in 35:4-9; (c) The priestly garments of honour and glory in Exodus 28:2 have a magnificent appearance symbolic of honour/status, but in no way does this mean they are splendid (i.e. radiant). The same can be said of the temple in Haggai 2:3, 9 and the garments/accessories in Exodus 33:5; Isaiah 3:18; Sirach 6:29; 27:8; (d) Not only are these garments and accessories probably not luminous, but they should be categorised under 'magnificent looking object'; (e) Here also, the glory of Assyria in Isaiah 8:7 in no way qualifies as a 'magnificent looking object' and should be classified under category #1; (f) Jehoshaphat, with his 'πλοῦτος καὶ δόξα πολλή' in 2 Chronicles 18:1, should clearly be listed under category #1 as a 'status of honour

¹²³ Isa. 11:3 and Sir. 8:14 are more probably references to the honour/status/power of the person being judged rather than the opinion of the judge (the Messiah) himself.

¹²⁴ Muraoka 2009: 175. The first three categories denote the majority of occurrences; the fourth is listed specifically for Sir. 32:15. See also Forster 1930: 312-4; Owen 1932; Caird 1944: 122-41 (Old Testament); 142-55 (Apocrypha); 156-7 (Later Translations); Brockington 1955; Kittel 1964: 242-5; Newman 1992: 149-50.

and distinction’ rather than under ‘external splendour/magnificent appearance’; (g) To top it off, Isaiah 2:7 is a typographical error; it should read Haggai 2:7 (and Sir. 32:15 in category #4 should read Sir. 35:12/15). These observations alone warrant a strong word of caution to anyone looking to a lexicon on the LXX use of δόξα in order to understand the word’s meaning in the New Testament. That Berquist and Caird’s conclusions could be so different from Muraoka’s lexical entry is due to the fact that Berquist and Caird both recognised the diverse semiotic *functions* of δόξα throughout various contexts of the LXX, the derivation between δόξα’s denotation and connotations, and how δόξα’s connotations expanded over time.

In the following pages, I have included my own lexical and concordance entries. The purpose behind doing so is two-fold: (1) Most simply, a comparison of the lexical and concordance entries demonstrates that, in terms of number of occurrences, a lexicon can be a misleading or inaccurate depiction of reality. Texts selected for inclusion in a lexical entry are a reflection of a particular lexicographer’s perspective. (2) Unlike a lexicon, a concordance presents a visual breakdown of how lexemes function within the text(s). For this reason, the reader’s primary attention should be directed at the concordance, where the relationship between the denotation and connotations of δόξα in the LXX are tabulated on the basis of applied basic linguistic semiotic theory. The reader will see that δόξα exists in three denotative forms, one of which is associated with various symbolic connotation chains. These connotation chains (b, d, e below) are associated with metaphors and metonymy—symbolic language often associated with phenomenal imagery. When such symbolic imagery is utilised in poetic language, as in many of the texts below, the reader must ask, what exactly does this imagery symbolise? As will be clear in the concordance entry, the phenomenal images are signs which connote the honour or exalted status of the object they signify.

2.2.1.3 Lexical Entry

δόξα

- (1) δόξα as honour or status associated with character, power, or wealth
 - (a) **ascription given to God or which God receives:** Josh. 7:19; 1 Chr. 16:28-29; Ps. 28:1-2, 9
 - (b) **God’s honour or status associated with his character or power:** 1 Chr. 16:27; Pro. 25:2; *manifested or demonstrated in (symbolised by) redemptive or saving activity:* Ps. 101:16, 17; Sir. 17:13; Bar. 4:24, 37
manifested in (symbolised by) splendour/theophany: Ex. 16:10; 24:16, 17; 33:18, 19, 22; 40:34, 35; Lev. 9:6, 23; Num. 12:8; 14:10; 16:19; 17:7; 20:6; Deut. 5:24; 1 Kgs. 8:11; 2 Chr. 2:5; 5:13-14; 7:1-3; Isa. 4:5; 6:1; Ezek. 1:28; 3:12, 23; 8:4; 9:3; 10:4, 18, 19,

22; 11:22, 23; 43:2, 4, 5; 44:4; Zech. 2:9; Sir. 36:13; 45:3; 49:8; 2 Macc. 2:8; Ps. Sol. 11:6

- (c) **a person's honour or status associated with his character, power, or wealth:** 1 Kgs. 3:13; Ps. 3:4; 1 Esd. 8:4; Sir. 8:14
 - (d) **a nation's honour or status associated with its character, power, or wealth:** Isa. 8:7; Jer. 31:18; Ez. 27:10; *symbolised by radiant beauty or splendour:* Prov. 18:11; Ps. Sol. 2:5
 - (e) **an object or place's honour, status, authority, character, power, or wealth, often symbolised by beauty or magnificent appearance:** Exod. 28:2; Isa. 3:18, 20; Hag. 2:3, 7, 9; Sir. 6:29, 31; 1 Macc. 2:9; 2 Macc. 5:16, 20
- (2) δόξα as God himself, as a title for God: 1 Sam. 4:22; Ps. 3:4; Isa. 64:10
- (3) δόξα as splendour or beauty (not symbolising honour/status): Ez. 27:7, 10; Sir. 24:16, 17; 43:1, 9, 12; 50:7

δοξάζω (+ἐνδοξάζομαι)

- (1) δοξάζω and ἐνδοξάζομαι as according a status of honour, power, or authority:
- (a) **God:** 1 Sam. 2:30; Ps. 49:15; *symbolised by visible splendour:* Ezek. 28:22; 38:23; 39:13¹²⁵
 - (b) **Individuals:** Ps. 14:4; 1 Macc. 2:18, 64; Sir. 49:16; *symbolised by visible splendour:* Sir. 50:5
 - (c) **Israel/Jews:** Wis. 18:8; Sir. 24:12; 1 Macc. 11:42, 51; 14:29; 15:9
 - (d) **Objects/Places:** Isa. 10:15; Lam. 1:8; 1 Macc. 14:15; *symbolised by visible splendour:* Ps. Sol. 17:31¹²⁶
- (2) δοξάζω and ἐνδοξάζομαι as making radiant/splendid or beautiful:
- (a) **Individuals:** Exodus 34:29-30, 35¹²⁷
 - (b) **Objects/Places:** Ps. Sol. 17:31¹²⁸

2.2.1.4 Concordance Entry

A categorised and tabulated concordance entry is a more accurate depiction of the meanings of δόξα and δοξάζω and their frequency of occurrence in the LXX.

¹²⁵ Given its closeness to 28:22 and 38:23, it is probably God revealing his status as God/King through his wrath on the nations.

¹²⁶ Dependent on how the glory of God is taken in the same verse.

¹²⁷ No indication exists that Moses' face was splendid due to his own status of honour, power, or authority.

¹²⁸ Again, this is questionable, depending on the rest of the verse.

	A title for God	δόξα as Honour, Status, Power, Character			
		Given to God in ascription	Possessed by God	Manifested in signs/symbols (e.g. light)/actions usually associated with salvation/redemption or judgment	Manifested in theophany
<p>God</p> <p>‘δόξα κυρίου’ texts are represented by *</p>	<p>1 Sam. 4:22; Ps. 3:4; Isa. 64:10; Tob. 3:16 (GII only); 12:12 (GII only), 15</p>	<p>Josh. 7:19; 1 Sam. 6:5; 1 Chr. 16:28-29; 2 Chr. 30:8; Ps. 28:1-2, 9; 65:2; 67:35; 70:8; 71:19; 95:3, 7, 8; 113:9; Isa. 42:12; 66:19; Jer. 13:16; Dan(TH) 3:43, Dan(TH) 3:52; Dan (TH) 4:34; Mal. 1:6; 2:2; 1 Es. 9:8; 1 Macc. 14:29; Sir. 47:8; 51:17; Baruch 2:17, 18; Ps. Sol. 17:6; 4 Macc. 1:12; 18:24</p>	<p>1 Chron. 16:27; 29:12; Ps. 23:7-10; 28:3; 78:9; 103:31*; 105:20; 137:5*; 144:11, 12; Prov. 25:2; Isa. 24:14, 15*; 40:26; 42:8; 43:7; 45:24; 48:11; 59:19; 63:12, 14, 15; Jer. 23:9; Dan(TH) 3:53; Hab. 2:14*; Mic. 5:3; Zech. 2:12; Sir. 42:16, 17; 1 Es. 4:59; 5:58; 2 Macc. 2:9, 14; Ps. Sol. 5:19*; 11:8; 3 Macc. 2:9, 14, 16</p>	<p>Ex. 15:7, 11; 16:7*; Num. 14:21*, 22; 1 Chron. 16:24; Ps. 16:15; 18:1; 56:6, 12; 62:3; 84:10; 96:6; 101:16, 17; 107:6; 112:4; 144:5; Isa. 2:10, 19, 21; 4:2; 26:10; 30: 27, 30; 35:2*; 40:5*; 58:8*; 60:1*, 2; 66:18, 19; Ezek. 39:21; Sir. 17:13; Tob. 13:16; Bar. 4:24, 37; 5:1, 2, 7, 9</p> <p>Sir. 17:31 [?]</p>	<p>Ex. 16:10*; 24:16*, 17*; Ex. 29:43; 33:18, 19, 22; 40:34, 35; Lev. 9:6*, 23*; Num. 12:8*; 14:10*; 16:19*; 17:7*; 20:6*; Deut. 5:24; 1 Kgs. 8:11*; 2 Chr. 2:5; 5:13, 14*; 7:1-3*; Isa. 4:5; 6:1, 3; 60:19; Ezek. 1:28*; 3:12*, 23*; 8:4*; 9:3; 10:4*, 18*, 19, 22; 11:22, 23*; 43:2, 4*, 5*; 44:4*; Zech. 2:9; Sir. 36:13; 45:3; 49:8; 2 Macc. 2:8; Ps. Sol. 11:6</p> <p>Sir. 17:31 [?]</p>

	δόξα as Honour, Status, Character, or Wealth/Possessions		δόξα as splendour or beauty (not symbolizing honour/status)
	Given to or Possessed by (often symbolised by magnificent appearance or general beauty)	Symbolized by splendour or radiant beauty	
People	<p>Abraham (Sir. 44:19); Jacob (Gen. 31:1, 16); Joseph (Gen. 45:13); Moses (Sir. 45:2); Aaron (Sir. 45:20); Phinehas (Sir. 45:23); Sons of Aaron (Sir. 50:13); Balaam (Num. 24:11); Joshua (Num. 27:20); The Needy (1 Sam. 2:8); Solomon (1 Kgs. 3:13; 1 Chr. 29:25; 2 Chr. 1:11, 12; Sir. 47:20); David/David the King (1 Chr. 29:28; Ps. 7:6; 20:6; 29:13; 56:9; 61:8; 72:24[?]; Sir. 47:6, 11); Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. 17:5; 18:1); Uzziah (2 Chr. 26:18); Hezekiah (2 Chr. 32:27, 33); Josiah (1 Es. 1:31); Kings of Israel/Judah (Sir. 49:5); The Son of Man (Ps. 8:6); Those who fear the Lord (Ps. 111:3, 9; Sir. 1:11, 19; 40:27); Children (Sir. 3:10, 11); General person (Ps. 83:12; 107:1; Prov. 18:12; 20:3, 29; 28:12; Eccl. 6:2; 10:1; Isa. 11:3; 40:6; Mal. 1:6; Sir 1:11; 5:13; 33:23; 1 Es. 4:17); King's daughter (Ps. 44:14); The fool and stupid (Ps. 48:15, 17, 18; Prov. 26:8); The Devout (Ps. 149:5, 9); Job (Job 19:9; 29:20); Wisdom (Prov. 3:16; 8:18; Wis. 7:25; 8:10; 9:11; Sir 14:27[?]; 24:16-17); The wise (Prov. 3:35; Sir. 4:13); king in general (Prov. 14:28); The Righteous (Prov. 21:21; 22:4; 28:12); The Humble (Prov. 29:23); King of Assyria (Isa. 8:7); Eliakim (Isa 22:[22], 23, 25); Solomon as King has glory because of Wisdom (Wis 8:10); King (Isa. 33:17; Jer. 13:18, 20); The Servant (Isa. 52:14; 53:2); Kings (Prov. 14:28; Jer 13:18); Artaxerxes (Esther 1:4); Haman (Est. 5:11); Mordechai (Esther 6:3; 10:2); Nebuchadnezzar (Dan 2:37; Dan/TH 4:30, Dan 4:31, 32, 36; TH5:18); One Like a Son of Man (Dan. 7:14); King (Dan/TH. 11:20, 21, 39); Daniel (TH10:8; Dan. 12:13); Ezra (1 Esd. 8:4); Mattattias' Sons (1 Macc. 2:51); One who makes idols (Wis. 15:9); Ancestors (Wis. 18:24; Sir. 44:2, 13); Sinners (1 Macc. 2:62; Sir. 9:11); Judas Maccabaeus and family</p>		

	(1 Macc. 3:3; 9:10); Ptolemy and Alexander as kings (1 Macc. 10:58); Jonathan Maccabaeus (1 Macc. 10:60, 64; 11:6, 42); Simon Maccabaeus (1 Macc. 14:4, 5, 10, 21, 35, 39; 15:9, 32, 36); Alcimus (ancestral glory: 2 Macc. 14:7); 'Jeremias' (2 Macc. 15:13; gray hair); Jews (Sir. 45:26); Judges (Sir. 8:14); Scribes (Sir. 10:5); Lenders (Sir. 29:6); [Solomon (Ps. Sol. 2:31); The king, the son of David (Ps. Sol. 17:31); General persons (Ps. Sol. 1:4); Jews (3 Macc. 7:21; 4 Macc. 5:18)]		
Nations	Ephraim (Hos. 9:11; Flower/Ephraim: Isa. 28:1, 4); Moab (Isa. 16:14; Jer. 31:18); Kedar (Isa. 21:16); Babylon (Isa. 13:19 [ἑνδοξος]; 14:11); Lebanon (Isa. 35:2; 60:13); Assyria (Isa. 8:7; 10:12, 16); Egypt (Isa. 20:5); Nations in general (Isa. 66:12). Israel: 1 Sam. 4:22[?]; Isa. 3:8; 10:3; 12:2; 17:3-4; 30:18; 43:7; 46:13 [δόξασμα]; 60:21; 61:3; 62:2[?]; Jer. 2:11*; 13:11; Hos. 4:7; Mic. 1:15; Hab. 2:16; Bar. 4:3 (could also be title for God); 5:4, 6	Israel: Lam. 2:1 (δόξασμα)	Sor/Tyre (Ez. 27:7, 10; beauty)
Objects and Places	Garments (Ex. 28:2, 40; 33:5; Isa. 3:18, 20; 61:3; 1 Macc. 14:9; Sir. 6:29, 31; 27:8; 45:7; 50:11; Ps. Sol. 2:21; 11:7); Unicorn (Num. 23:22; 24:8; see MGB version); Temple (1 Chron. 22:5; Hag. 2:3, 7, 9; 2 Macc. 5:16, 20; Sir. 49:12); Stones (2 Chron. 3:6); Building operations (1 Esd. 6:9); Jerusalem (Isa. 52:1; 66:11); Vessels (1 Macc. 2:9); Sabbath Day (2 Macc. 6:11; 15:2; Sir. 11:4); Idol (Hos. 10:5); Flower/Ephraim (Isa. 28:1, 4; see above); Kingdom (Th11:20, 21); Human affairs (3 Macc. 6:28); Throne of Glory: 1 Sam. 2:8; Prov. 11:16; Isa. 22:23; Jer. 14:21; 17:12; Sir. 7:4; 47:11; Wis. 9:10[?]; Ps. Sol. 2:19 Crown of Glory: Ps. 8:5; Isa. 22:18 (esp. with v. 19); Jer. 13:18; Lam. 2:15; Sir. 47:6 (διόδημα)	City (Prov. 18:11); Sanctuary (Ps. Sol. 2:5)	Sun (Sir. 43:1); Stars (Sir. 43:9); Rainbows (Sir. 43:12); Clouds (Sir. 50:7); Wisdom's branches and flowers (Sir. 24:16, 17)

	δοξάζω and ἐνδοξάζομαι as giving, showing/demonstrating, or receiving honour, an exalted status, or wealth/possessions	Symbolised by having visible splendour or theophany	δοξάζω and ἐνδοξάζομαι as having/reflecting splendour or 'shining' (not symbolizing honour/status)
God	Ex. 14:4, 17, 18 (each is ἐνδοξάζομαι); 15:1, 2, 6, 11, 21; Lev. 10:3; Judg. 9:9 (B); 1 Sam. 2:30; Ps. 21:24; 49:15; 50:23; 85:9, 12; 86:3; 88:8 (ἐνδοξάζομαι); Isa. 5:16; 24:23 (reign); 25:1; 33:10; 42:10; 43:23; 44:23; 49:3; 66:5; Ez. 28:22 (ἐνδοξάζομαι); 38:23 (ἐνδοξάζομαι); 39:13; Dan. 3:26, 51, 55 (OG only), 56; 4:34/37 (TH only); 5:23; Hag. 1:8 (ἐνδοξάζομαι); Mal. 1:11; Sir. 3:20; 36:5; 43:28, 30; Ps. Sol. 10:7; 17:5, 30	Ezek. 28:22; 38:23; 39:13 (all possible but more likely 'show honour')	
People	Moses (Exod. 33:16; ἐνδοξάζομαι; Sir. 45:3); Joseph (Deut. 33:16); Abimalech (Olive Tree; Judges 9:9 [A]); Angel of the Lord (Judg. 13:17); Eli's sons (1 Sam. 2:29, 30); Saul (1 Sam. 15:30); David (2 Sam. 6:20, 22; 1 Chron. 17:18; Sir. 47:6); Elijah and those raised by Elijah (Sir. 48:4, 6); Naas, father of Hannon (2 Sam. 10:3; 2 Chron. 19:3); Amaziah (2 Kings 14:10; ἐνδοξάζομαι); those who fear the Lord (Ps. 14:4); enemies of the Lord (Ps. 36:20); those who turn to the Lord in times of trouble (Ps. 90:15); the one who convicts (Prov. 13:18); Elders (Lam. 5:12); Haman (Esth. 3:1); Mordecai (Esth. 6:6, 7, 9, 11; 10:3);	Simon High Priest (Sir. 50:5)	Moses' Face (Ex. 34:29-30, 35);

	<p>Father (Mal. 1:6); Daniel and friends (Dan. 1:20; 2:6); God Maozin (Dan 11:38x2); Wisdom's 'noble birth' (Wis. 8:3); Esdras' family (1 Es. 8:25); Judith (Judith 12:13); Oneself over a father (Sir. 3:10); Oneself (Sir. 10:26, 27, 28, 29); Poor/Rich (Sir. 10:30, 31); Father (Sir. 3:2; 7:27); Mother (Sir. 3:4); Priest (Sir. 7:31); Sinner (Sir. 10:23); Nobleman, judge, and ruler (Sir. 10:24); General persons (Sir. 25:5); Pharmacists (Sir. 38:6; ἐνδοξάζομαι); Shem and Seth (Sir. 49:16); Israel's ancestors (Sir. 44:7); Joshua (Sir. 46:2); Buried judges (Sir. 46:12); Mattathias and his sons (1 Macc. 2:18; 2:64); Seron, commander of Syrian army (1 Macc. 3:14); Judas and his brothers (1 Macc. 5:63); Jonathan (1 Macc. 10:65, 88); Simon (1 Macc. 14:39); King of Phoenecia (2 Macc. 4:24); Daniel (4 Macc. 18:13)</p>		
<p>Israel and Jews</p>	<p>Exod. 33:16 (ἐνδοξάζομαι); Deut. 26:19 (δοξαστός); Isaiah 4:2; 43:4; 45:25 [ἐνδοξάζομαι]; 49:5; 52:13; 55:5; 1 Esdras 8:64; 9:52; Sir. 24:12; 1 Macc. 11:42, 51; 1 Macc. 14:29; 15:9; Wis. 18:8; 19:22</p>		
<p>Objects and Places</p>	<p>Axe (Isa. 10:15); Temple (Isa. 60:7, 13; 1 Esdras 8:64, 78; 2 Macc. 3:2); Holy places (1 Macc. 14:15); Jerusalem (Lam. 1:8; Ps. Sol. 17:31 [?]; see right)</p>	<p>Jerusalem (Ps. Sol. 17:31[?]; dependent on how 'glory of the lord' is taken in same verse; see above)</p>	

2.2.2 Lexical Analysis

2.2.2.1 δόξα, δοξάζω and God

Understanding the meaning of δόξα in association with God is often difficult because a number of occurrences of δόξα fit equally into multiple categories and the division of categories seems almost limitless. Δόξα seems to defy classification. Because of this fact, it is here, if anywhere, that *the categorisation of the term is relative to the reader's presuppositions and the contextual ambiguities of its location in the text.*¹²⁹ Nevertheless, a number of conclusions can be drawn. I begin with the most important for our purposes here.

(1) *Δόξα does not primarily mean splendour.* For God, δόξα functions as symbolic, anthropomorphic imagery just as frequently as it functions denotatively as honour or status. Glory is often used as metonymy for God's unsurpassable identity, which necessarily includes his unequalled honour, status, power, or character. When it is applied to God as a title, God is identified as the one who is unequalled in these things. When glory is something God possesses, it can be either a metonym for any of these unsurpassed characteristics or it can refer more literally to one denotative element (e.g. God's power). Δόξα is often used figuratively as light or as a metonym for the activity of God, both of which are often associated with the salvation, redemption, or judgment of God. What does it mean for the heavens to declare the glory of God in Psalm 18:1? Carey Newman writes that, 'looking at creation allows one to perceive the presence of God, for the heavens declare the **אל כבוד**'.¹³⁰ I suggest, rather, that 'the heavens declare the glory of God' is itself figurative language (personification), and the 'glory of God' which 'the heavens' (metonymy for everything in created existence) 'declare' is the unsurpassed power and artistry of the Creator God manifested in his created works.¹³¹

Similarly, what is intended in Psalm 107:6 when the psalmist declares, 'ὕψώθητι ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἡ δόξα σου'?¹³² Is the reader meant to envision something like the sun's rays being cast from heaven and down onto the earth? I suggest not. In the same way that God's 'mercy is above the

¹²⁹ In chapter three I will highlight the work of Carey Newman, whose interpretation of 'the glory of God' is remarkably different from those of Berquist and Caird. I note here that it is this issue of contextual ambiguity and relativity that allows for such stark differences of interpretation.

¹³⁰ Newman 1992: 22.

¹³¹ As Harrison (1982: 479) comments: 'In nature God presents in tangible form a demonstration of His own power, beauty, and order', as can be seen 'in connection with God's raising the dead (Jn. 11:40; Rom. 6:4)'.
¹³² This is one of many verses which associate glory and God without any reference to light imagery or theophany that Newman does not include in his study (which I will examine in chapter 3). Others include: Josh. 7:19; 1 Chron. 29:12; 2 Chr. 30:8; Ps. 70:8; 78:9; 95:7, 8; 144:5; Isa. 42:12; 45:24; 66:19; Jer. 13:16; Dan(TH) 3:43, Dan(TH) 3:52; Dan(TH) 3:53; Dan (TH) 4:34; Zech. 2:12; Mal. 1:6; 2:2; 1 Es. 4:59; 5:58; 9:8; 1 Macc. 14:29; 2 Macc. 2:9, 14; 4 Macc. 1:12; 18:24; Sir. 36:13; 47:8; 51:17; Baruch 2:17, 18; 4:37; 5:2; Ps. Sol. 17:6; Tob. 12:12.

heavens' and God's 'truth is unto the clouds' in 107:5, God's glory (i.e. God's redemption) is recognised among the nations. This is made clear by the verses that follow, beginning with v. 7: 'that your loved ones might be rescued; save by your right hand and listen to me'. Likewise, in Isaiah 2:7, 10, 21 people do not hide in rocks to escape the radiant splendour of God, nor even the more general presence of the Lord, but the 'power of his strength' manifested when he 'rises to break the earth into pieces' (i.e. when he judges and redeems).

When God's glory is personified as dwelling in the temple, it symbolises the visible presence of the one who is glory—the one who is unequalled, unsurpassed, and unrivalled in every respect; *that* God is the God who is present. Or, similarly, when God's glory is symbolised in terms of phenomenal imagery (e.g. fire), the imagery is not symbolising itself. In Deuteronomy 5:24, for example, the fire symbolises the unsurpassed power and greatness of God—concepts identified as δόξα by the LXX translators. I will mention this theophanic depiction of God's glory more below.

I have not emphasised the role metaphor plays here because the glory of God, when used figuratively, is used as metonymy more than metaphor. The latter does occur on occasion, however. One example is Isaiah 60:1: φωτίζου φωτίζου Ιερουσαλημ ἦκει γάρ σου τὸ φῶς καὶ ἡ δόξα κυρίου ἐπὶ σὲ ἀνατέταλκεν. The glory of the Lord is aligned with light imagery, which then raises the question: is the light visible in real time and space? As in most poetic language, the light is a poetic symbol; we are not meant to think that Jerusalem is literally bathed in light. Rather, the light is a symbol for the glory of God—*the redemption of God which has established Jerusalem and her people in exaltation*: a glorified (symbolised in splendour) city and people. Though assumed at the start of the chapter in the poetic language, it becomes obvious by 60:14:

The sons of those who afflicted you shall come bending low to you, and all who despised you shall bow down at your feet; they shall call you the City of the LORD, the Zion of the Holy One of Israel. Whereas you have been forsaken and hated, with no one passing through, I will make you majestic forever, a joy from age to age. You shall suck the milk of nations; you shall nurse at the breast of kings; and you shall know that I, the LORD, am your Saviour and your Redeemer, the Mighty One of Jacob.

Before addressing the second conclusion, a cautionary word on the interpretation of light imagery is in order. Light imagery, when used symbolically such as it is above and elsewhere throughout the Old Testament, should not be assumed to exist in time and space. Light is one of the most common metaphors used in the bible, and one need only turn to the Gospel of John to realise that it does not

always imply a material substance which exists concretely in reality.¹³³ As Prickett helpfully notes, ‘The metaphor that Christ is the “light of the world” changes not merely the way in which we are to understand Christ, but also the way we understand *light*. The condition is not unexpected: this language of signs is essentially that of “poetry”’.¹³⁴ Light imagery, in the Old Testament as much as in the New Testament, is symbolic; it represents something beyond itself, a point which will become more evident and important as we turn briefly to apocalyptic writings.

These serve as a few examples of how δόξα, when associated with God, is used as both literal and figurative language, and that, when used as metonymy, metaphor, or general symbolic imagery, the images used often symbolise the unsurpassed power, character, or redemption of God. When we read δόξα in association with God in the LXX, we should not in the first instance translate it as ‘splendour’. And when it does clearly indicate splendour, the reader should recognise it as symbolic language ultimately pointing to the unsurpassed God.

(2) *God’s glory is commonly associated with his status or his identity as king.* Harrison writes that ‘to recognize God’s glory is thus to acknowledge Him as the supreme moral ruler’.¹³⁵ A few examples will suffice here:

- The Chronicler makes this obvious in 1 Chronicles 16:23-31. In 16:24 he writes: Αναγγείλατε εἰς τὰ ἔθνη τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, εἰς πάντας τοὺς λαοὺς τὰ θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ, followed closely by v. 27: δόξα καὶ ἔπαινος κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἰσχύς καὶ καύχημα ἐν τόπῳ αὐτοῦ. The glory which God possesses and which is declared among the nations is the glory of the King in v. 31: εὐφρανθήτω ὁ οὐρανός καὶ ἀγαλλιάσθω ἡ γῆ καὶ εἰπάτωσαν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν κύριος βασιλεύων.
- Psalm 23:7-10: ἄρατε πύλας οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπάρθητε πύλαι αἰώνιοι καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης κύριος κραταιὸς καὶ δυνατός κύριος δυνατὸς ἐν πολέμῳ ἄρατε πύλας οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπάρθητε πύλαι αἰώνιοι καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης (see also Ps. 95:1-13)
- Psalm 144: v. 1: ὑψώσω σε ὁ θεός μου ὁ βασιλεύς μου, followed by vv. 10-13: ἐξομολογησάσθωσάν σοι κύριε πάντα τὰ ἔργα σου

¹³³ See John 1:4, 5, 7, 8, 9; 3:19, 20, 21; 5:35; 8:12; 9:5; 11:9, 10; 12:35, 36, 46.

¹³⁴ Prickett 1986: 217; emphasis original. Chandler (2007: 126) notes that Derrida too highlighted this point: ‘Derrida shows how philosophers have traditionally referred to the mind and the intellect in terms of tropes based on the presence or absence of light (Derrida 1974); everyday language is rich in examples of the association of thinking with visual metaphors (bright, brilliant, dull, enlightening, illuminating, vision, clarity, reflection, etc.)’.

¹³⁵ Harrison 1982: 478.

καὶ οἱ ὄσιοί σου εὐλογησάτωσάν σε δόξαν τῆς βασιλείας σου ἐροῦσιν καὶ τὴν δυναστείαν σου λαλήσουσιν τοῦ γνωρίσαι τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν δυναστείαν σου καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας τῆς βασιλείας σου ἢ βασιλεία σου βασιλεία πάντων τῶν αἰώνων καὶ ἡ δεσποτεία σου ἐν πάσῃ γενεᾷ καὶ γενεᾷ.

- God has a throne of glory in Jeremiah 14:21: κόπασον διὰ τὸ ὄνομά σου μὴ ἀπολέσης θρόνον δόξης σου μνήσθητι μὴ διασκεδάσης τὴν διαθήκην σου τὴν μεθ' ἡμῶν.
- Psalms of Solomon 5:19: εὐλογημένη ἡ δόξα κυρίου ὅτι αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν.¹³⁶

(3) *The 'glory of the Lord'*¹³⁷ *does not always refer to God's theophanic manifestation.* Or, put another way, when 'יהוה כבוד'/'δόξα κυρίου' appears in the Old Testament, the reader should not assume that it refers to the manifest presence of God in visible splendour.¹³⁸ As Holladay notes on יהוה כבוד, it is a 'fixed phrase' for the 'power, authority, honor of God, but also connected with manifestations of light'.¹³⁹ On occasion it is associated with God's manifestation in visible splendour, particularly in Ezekiel,¹⁴⁰ but 'δόξα κυρίου' often makes more sense as metonymy for God's unsurpassed honour/power or for God's works of creation/redemption evident in the cosmos. This is the case even when the glory of the Lord is 'seen' (Isa. 35:2) or is presented with light imagery (Isa. 58:8; 60:1). Other examples include: Exodus 16:7; Numbers 14:21-22; Psalm 103:31; 137:5; Habakkuk 2:14.

(4) *When the glory of God does indicate the visible, manifest presence of God, that presence must be recognised as only part of the equation.*¹⁴¹ The δόξα κυρίου does connote the presence of God, but not just 'God'. By the time δόξα is used in Ezekiel and the Priestly traditions, its meaning has expanded from honour or status to include beauty, light, and God's theophanic presence. Nevertheless, one should not

¹³⁶ Ps. Sol. 5:19 is the one יהוה כבוד/δόξα κυρίου text Newman does not include in his study.

¹³⁷ Represented by an asterisk in the concordance above.

¹³⁸ This will be a point of contention when I turn to Carey Newman's work in the next chapter.

¹³⁹ Holladay 1971: 151.

¹⁴⁰ Even in Ezekiel, however, the reader's interpretation of the 'glory of the Lord' should not be limited to a visible splendour but should recognise it as imagery symbolic of God's unsurpassed honour and greatness. Caird (1944: 97), too, emphasises this point. He writes on the vision in Ezekiel 1: '[Ezekiel] may also have regarded his vision as the symbol of the divine activity, which outside his visions he calls the holiness or the glory of God. Such a conception would be made easier by the parallel notion of human glory. If a man's worth or greatness can be symbolized by the outward show of his magnificence, then the worth or greatness of God, which in history is manifested in His righteous government and in His faithfulness to the covenant, might in a vision be symbolized by a brightness round about Him. The honour of God, the glory of the vision, was enthroned in the temple'.

¹⁴¹ This is what I will identify as perhaps the greatest weakness of Newman's important work on יהוה כבוד as a technical term signifying 'the visible and mobile presence of Yahweh': Newman 1992: 24, 20-24.

therefore assume that the foundational meaning has disappeared. As elsewhere where δόξα is light imagery symbolising God's unsurpassed greatness, so also when that light imagery expresses the presence of God: *the visible glory of the God who is present is the visible manifestation of his unsurpassed greatness, his absolute power, his status as King and his dominion over creation.*¹⁴² It is *this* God that is present—the God of glory. Not the God of presence, but the God of glory, the King of glory—He Who Is Unsurpassed In Every Way. He is the one who is present and who dwells in the temple; he is the one on whom Moses and Aaron and the people were allowed to gaze. His glory signifies that the God who is present is the God who rules over Israel, the nations, and over creation. What other idol/god has such power? God's glory in visible, phenomenal imagery identifies him as the God who creates, who rules, who judges, who redeems, and who, as such, exists as Israel's God dwelling in the temple on his royal throne—his throne of glory.

(5) Related theologically to analysis #4 above, it is important to note that, while it is possible to distinguish between the glory of God as that which represents God's ontological existence,¹⁴³ i.e. the presence of God or who the God is who is present, and that which represents God's functional existence, i.e. what God does, such metaphysical categories tend to obscure more than they do clarify. This is the case for two reasons. The first is because, theologically, the 'who' and the 'what' of God are indivisible; his ontological and functional existence are mutually coalescent and thus inseparable.¹⁴⁴ Put another way, according to the presentation of the identity of God by the translators of the LXX, the identity of God is irreducible to his presence. God is presented as a God who reigns *because* he is omnipotent and, as an omnipotent God who ranks above all idols and other gods, he *therefore* reigns as king. As the Chronicler says in 1 Chronicles 16:31: εὐφρανθήτω ὁ οὐρανός καὶ ἀγαλλιάσθω ἡ γῆ καὶ εἰπάτωσαν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν κύριος βασιλεύων. The Lord reigns because of who he is.

¹⁴² 'Δόξα seems therefore to connote to the translators the external manifestation of male and female power and position whether it appears in money or clothes or appearance': Forster 1930: 314; see also Kittel 1964: 243.

¹⁴³ Here and throughout this thesis I do not use 'ontology' (or 'ontological') in its classic definition of referring to the existence of a thing, i.e. God; see Craig 1998. I take it for granted that the writers of the Hebrew Scriptures assumed God's existence. Rather, I use the term here to refer to the essence or characterization of that thing which exists: who God is in his existence. God exists and is present, but what is the essence or identity of that God which exists and is present, and how is that identity distinct from his function/activity?

¹⁴⁴ The logical and ontological relationship between God's being and act, particularly as it is presented in Karl Barth's *Church Dogmatics*, but also beyond Barth's work, is taken up by George Hunsinger and Bruce McCormack. McCormack argues that the possibility of understanding an 'ontological priority' of God's essence over his actions in relation to humanity (beginning in but not limited to the act of election), according to Barth and in McCormack's own perspective, is impossible (2010: 207). See Hunsinger 2008 and McCormack 2010.

In ‘God Crucified’,¹⁴⁵ Bauckham argues something similar, albeit under the auspices of different terms and with further regard to the identity of Jesus. Bauckham argues that Jews of the Second Temple period identified the God of Israel by *who* God is (his activities, character, etc.) rather than by *what* God is (metaphysical attributes, e.g. immutability).¹⁴⁶ Bauckham writes,

That God is eternal, for example—a claim essential to all Jewish thinking about God—is not so much a statement about what divine nature is, more an element in the unique divine identity, along with claims that God alone created all things and rules all things, that God is gracious and merciful and just, that God brought Israel out of Egypt and made Israel his own people and gave Israel his law at Sinai and so on. If we wish to know in what Second Temple Judaism considered the uniqueness of the one God to consist, what distinguished God as unique from all other reality, including beings worshipped as gods by Gentiles, we must look not for a definition of divine nature but for ways of characterizing the unique divine identity’.¹⁴⁷

This is to say that the ‘divine identity’ of God, as understood by Second Temple Jews, was *who* God is: i.e. *both* who he is in his person (his character/personality) *and* what he does as that person. According to Bauckham, God’s unique identity, as it is known in all reality, is that ‘he is Creator of all things and sovereign Ruler of all things’.¹⁴⁸

The second reason is because the various uses of δόξα and its cognates fall more naturally into semantic categories rather than theological categories. As indicated in the concordance entries and analysis above, the various uses of δόξα in relationship to God are either denotative or connotative, and these categories are not synonymous with those of ontology and function. God’s visible splendour is not synonymous with an ontological description of God. His visible splendour is *figurative* imagery which *connotes* his power or character or status. Put another way, the visible splendour of God does not connote the presence of God but the presence of a particular God with particular attributes and who acts in the world in particular ways, aka the Ruler rules. Whether functioning literally or symbolically, the glory of God identifies who God is, and who God is includes both his person (ontology) and his activity (function).

¹⁴⁵ See Bauckham’s 2008 *Jesus and the God of Israel* (pp. 1-59).

¹⁴⁶ Bauckham 2008: 7.

¹⁴⁷ Bauckham 2008: 7.

¹⁴⁸ Bauckham 2008: 8.

2.2.2.2 δόξα, δοξάζω and Humanity

(1) Most notable here is the unmistakable fact that the answer to Humpty-Dumpty's question regarding which meaning is *master* is that, at least in the LXX and when used in association with humanity, glory as splendour or radiance is certainly *not* master. Rather, *glory (and its cognates) primarily bears its denotative meaning of status/honour associated with power, authority, character, or riches*. Only once is there clear indication that a human possesses glory as splendour or is glorified such that they are made to shine: Moses is glorified and thus reflects the visible glory of God on his face in Exodus 34:29-30, 35. The only other person possibly to be glorified in this way is Simon in Sirach 50:5-11: upon leaving the inner sanctuary, Simon is said to be 'glorified' (ἐδοξάσθη) like the morning star, full moon, shining sun, rainbow on clouds of glory, roses, lilies, green shoots, fire and incense, jewelled vessels, and olive and Cyprus trees, before putting on his 'robe of glory' or 'glorious robe' (στολήν δόξης) robe. Even here, however, glory as splendour is contestable. Caird writes:

That this wealth of imagery should be used in a single description is a further indication that the glory of sun, moon, stars, and rainbow was akin to the glory of the flowers and trees, to the glory of gold, of jewels, and of the priestly robe; that all could be symbols of the same honour, and that the mind of a Hebrew could move freely from one image to another.¹⁴⁹

Additionally, Israel possibly has glory as splendour in Lamentations 2:1 (though this is ambiguous), and Tyre has glory in Ezekiel 27:7, 10 (though here it is clearly beauty rather than splendour). *In nearly every instance of δόξα and δοξάζω in association with humanity in the LXX, it is a reference to the exalted status or honour the person possesses or in which they exist rather than a visible splendour after the likeness of God's theophanic splendour.*¹⁵⁰

(2) More precisely, *humanity's glory and glorification as exalted status or possessed honour is often associated with the person's status as king, ruler, or person of authority*. A selection of obvious examples includes:

¹⁴⁹ Caird 1944: 146.

¹⁵⁰ Harrison (1982: 478) writes that, 'When glory was used of persons, it reflected noteworthy elements such as dignity of character, position (cf. Gen. 45:13), wealth (Gen. 31:1; Ps. 49:16 [MT 17]), or power. Thus the king's glory consisted in the multitude of his people (Prov. 14:28), but by contrast the glory and pomp of the rebellious people would receive its reward by being banished to Sheol (Isa. 5:14)'.⁷

δόξα:

- Joseph: ἀπαγγείλατε οὖν τῷ πατρί μου πᾶσαν τὴν δόξαν μου τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ (Gen. 45:13)
- David: κύριος ἀφεῖλεν τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνύψωσεν εἰς αἰῶνα τὸ κέρας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ διαθήκην βασιλέων καὶ θρόνον δόξης ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ (Sir. 47:11; see also Ps. 20:6; Sir. 47:6)
- Solomon: καὶ ἐμεγάλυνεν κύριος τὸν Σαλωμων ἐπάνωθεν ἐναντίον παντὸς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δόξαν βασιλέως ὃ οὐκ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ παντὸς βασιλέως ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ (1 Ch. 29:25; see also 1 Kgs. 3:13; 2 Chron. 1:11, 12; Wis. 8:10)
- Son of Man: ἠλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχὺ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτόν (Psa. 8:6)
- Haman: καὶ ὑπέδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἣν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῷ περιέθηκεν καὶ ὡς ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν πρωτεύειν καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι τῆς βασιλείας (Est. 5:11)
- Nebuchadnezzar: σύ βασιλεῦ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων καὶ σοὶ ὁ κύριος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἔδωκεν (Dan. 2:37)
- One Like a Son of Man: καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένη καὶ πᾶσα δόξα αὐτῷ λατρεύουσα καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ ἐξουσία αἰώνιος ἥτις οὐ μὴ ἀρθῆ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἥτις οὐ μὴ φθαρῆ (Dan. 7:14)
- Other clear examples include: Num. 27:20;¹⁵¹ 1 Sam. 2:8; 2 Chron. 17:5; 18:1; Prov. 14:28; Isa. 8:7; 13:19; 14:11; 16:14; 21:16; 22:22, 23, 25; 33:17; 35:2; Jer. 13:18, 20; 31:18; Esther 1:4; 6:3; 10:2; Dan/TH 4:30, Dan. 4:31, 32, 36; TH5:18, see TH5:20; Dan/TH. 11:20, 21, 39; Dan. 12:13; Hos. 9:11; Mal 1:6; 1 Macc. 10:64; 14:4, 5, 10, 21, 35, 39; 15:9, 32, 36; Sir. 49:5

δοξάζω

- Haman: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐδόξασεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἄρταξέρξης Ἀμαν Ἀμαδαθου Βουγαῖον καὶ ὑψωσεν αὐτόν καὶ ἐπρωτοβάθρει πάντων τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ (Esth. 3:1)

¹⁵¹ On Num. 27:20, Harrison (1982: 479) notes that 'divine appointment to a position of leadership and responsibility bestows the glory of authority'.

- Jonathan Maccabaeus: καὶ ἐδόξασεν αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἔγραψεν αὐτὸν τῶν πρώτων φίλων καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ μεριδάρχη (1 Macc. 10:65)
- Father: ὁ γὰρ κύριος ἐδόξασεν πατέρα ἐπὶ τέκνοις (Sir. 3:2)
- Israel: ἔθνη ἃ οὐκ ἤδεισάν σε ἐπικαλέσονται σε καὶ λαοὶ οἳ οὐκ ἐπίστανταί σε ἐπὶ σὲ καταφεύξονται ἕνεκεν τοῦ θεοῦ σου τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰσραηλ ὅτι ἐδόξασέν σε (Isa. 55:5)
- Daniel and other wise men: καὶ ἐν παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ συνέσει καὶ παιδείᾳ ὅσα ἐζήτησε παρ' αὐτῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς σοφωτέρους δεκαπλασίως ὑπὲρ τοὺς σοφιστὰς καὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους τοὺς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐδόξασεν αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ ἀνέδειξεν αὐτοὺς σοφοὺς παρὰ πάντας τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐν πράγμασιν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῆ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ (Dan. 1:20)

Two points of significance are notable here:

(a) In each of the examples for δοξάζω above, it is the aorist active indicative 3rd person singular form that is used—the same form used in Romans 8:30 for God's glorification of humanity.

(b) In nearly every instance of humanity's glorification in the LXX (the exceptions being Exod. 34:29-30, 35 and Sir. 50:5), δοξάζω refers primarily to a status or position of honour, authority, or rule and *not* to being radiant or brought into the presence of God.

I will return to and develop both points in chapter three.

(3) The topic of human glorification as transformation will be taken up in chapter four in discussion of believers' union and participation with Christ. It is important to note here the clear distinction between what we have seen in this chapter and traditional understandings of human glorification. Traditionally, glorification is understood as synonymous with sanctification, where a person is made holy or righteous or pure, as God is, often though not always as a result of being in God's presence. It is a process of ontological transformation from being a person with less God-likeness to a person with greater God-likeness. However, *at least in the LXX, zero indication exists to suggest that a person's glorification is ever about transformation of one's sanctity. In being glorified, humanity is never made 'like God', other than the fact that humans are honoured or exalted to a status of power or rule.* In this way, humanity's glorification in the LXX does represent an ontological transformation, but it is distinct from that of holiness. Their glorification neither makes them more pure or holy nor does it transform their bodies into bodies of visible splendour because of God's theophanic presence. Undoubtedly, Moses' face reflected the splendour of God, but in no way does that imply that Moses was sanctified, or that

the glorification of God's people is either eschatological sanctification or physical transformation into radiant beings. If this were the case, then believers should expect no more than radiant faces. What changes, rather, is their status or the honour associated with their status.

I make these statements only in regard to the use of glory and glorification language for humans in the LXX. In the LXX, there is no tangible difference between the ontological identity of a person and that person's glory; it simply is not a focus of the Hebrew/Greek narratives. Undoubtedly, this is not the case in apocalyptic Jewish literature of the Second Temple Period, particularly in visions of throne ascents where a stronger emphasis is placed on the ontology of the heavenly mediators or human worshippers. Even there, however, the imagery of glory and ontological transformation should be read with an abiding awareness of the function of symbolism, on which see below. When we turn to Paul's understanding of human glorification,¹⁵² I will address this issue in terms of union and participation with Christ, what I consider the only theologically sound way of understanding any distinction between believers' ontology and function, particularly with regard to their possession of or participation in Christ's glory.

2.2.2.3 *Crowns and Thrones of Glory*

Before turning our attention to the use of δόξα and δοξάζω in Jewish apocalyptic literature, a brief word on the metaphoric thrones and crowns of glory is necessary. On several occasions δόξα modifies θρόνος and στέφανος, and on one occasion, διάδημα.¹⁵³ And, similar to glory language elsewhere, these metaphors are also commonly held captive by the assumption that glory language generally implies radiance. But is the reader expected to envision a crown on a figure's head bathing him in light, or a throne emanating what looks like sun rays? Because of the range of meaning δόξα can have, including radiant light, this certainly is possible. But it is also possible that it might mean beauty, *without* implying *radiant* beauty. Or, that δόξα exists in its denotative form, meaning honour or admiration associated with a status of exaltation and authority.

Which option is best is dependent on the literary context, its syntagmatic relation.¹⁵⁴ It may be that a throne of glory is primarily intended as a throne of beauty, such as in Psalms of Solomon 2:19 where κάλλος is used as a related sign: ὠνειδίσαν γὰρ ἔθνη Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐν καταπατήσει κατεσπάρθη τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς ἀπὸ θρόνου δόξης. In several texts, the metaphors exist within clearly royal contexts: Isaiah 22:18-

¹⁵² See §3.1; §3.3; §6.2; §6.3.

¹⁵³ See the Table above.

¹⁵⁴ See Silva 1994: 143. Silva uses the example of Luke 15:25 to indicate that ὁ πρεσβύτερος means older son rather than religious elder because of its "syntagmatic relation" with all the preceding words in the story, particularly ὁ νεώτερος in verse 11'.

19; Jeremiah 13:18; 14:21; Sirach 7:4; 47:6, 11.¹⁵⁵ In these contexts, the metaphors are royal metaphors, with the throne/crown by definition implying kingly functions: i.e. dominion and rule. In Psalm 8, for example, when the psalmist writes that the son of man is ‘crowned with glory and honour’, he is not implying that the son of man is given a pretty hat to wear; he is explicitly stating that the son of man is given the status, and thereby, function of a king.¹⁵⁶ That this is the intended meaning of δόξα is confirmed by the inclusion of its related signifier: τιμή. Furthermore, the syntagma ‘δόξη καὶ τιμῆ ἑστεφάνωσας’ exists in synonymous parallelism with ‘κατέστησας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου’ which is also parallel with ‘πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ’. The semantic structure of Psalm 8 demands that δόξα means a status of honour which is associated with dominion or rule.

In the case of Psalm 8, then, the whole metaphor ‘crowned with glory and honour’ means that the son of man is established as a royal figure with an exalted status of rule and authority. And, as noted above, because the status of one who has glory or who is glorified has a status of rulership, the implicit message is that that person of glory *rules*. If they have a kingly status, they function as a king: they reign. If they have glory in association with their governance, in their glory they *govern* (see Isa. 22:18, 19).

2.3 ΔΟΞΑ and ΔΟΞΑΖΩ in Apocalyptic Literature

Continuing from the above discussion of δόξα and δοξάζω in the LXX, here my aim is to provide an abbreviated overview of how the term ‘glory’ functions in apocalyptic texts.¹⁵⁷ Given the vastness of apocalyptic literature and of the discussions currently surrounding it, the following overview will seem exceptionally brief. It will seem particularly brief in comparison with the discussion of δόξα and δοξάζω in the LXX above. Because Paul’s primary sources, at least those texts from which he quotes, consist in what is now the Septuagint, the following discussion of how glory functions in apocalyptic texts will receive less focused treatment. Space here allows me to highlight only three topics relevant to Jewish apocalyptic literature: the nature of apocalyptic symbolism in relation to its literary function, the occurrences of the relevant uses of glory and its verbal forms in Daniel (which serves as a link between

¹⁵⁵ Newman notes that the metaphors in the apocalyptic literature, particularly in Sir. 47:11, are reused from the glory tradition of the monarchic period, when the tradition was associated with the Davidic promises; see Newman 1992: 119-20; also: pp. 44-52.

¹⁵⁶ See Gibson 1998: 141. I will return to Psalm 8 in chapter 3 of this thesis.

¹⁵⁷ I take as apocalyptic those included in Charlesworth’s 1983(a) collection, as well as Daniel in the LXX, and portions of *Jubilees* and the Dead Sea Scrolls. These qualify as apocalyptic under the definition proposed in Semeia 14 (1979): ‘a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another supernatural world’.

the LXX and apocalyptic literature more specifically) and *1 Enoch*, and the conclusions one can safely draw from those occurrences.

2.3.1 *Apocalyptic Symbolism and Literary Function*

The discussion of literary semiotics above is applicable to apocalyptic literature as much as it is to the Old Testament. Any reading of apocalyptic texts must begin with the recognition of the distinction between literal and figurative language and their overlapping use throughout the texts. According to Carey, ‘apocalyptic discourse inhabits the realms of imagination, of comparison, symbol, and vision’.¹⁵⁸ He goes on to say that ‘apocalyptic discourse employs the sort of dense language typical of poetic art’, where ‘evocative symbols, images, and allusions animate the apocalyptic visions’.¹⁵⁹ Collins, too, emphasises the symbolic reading: ‘the apocalyptic literature provides a rather clear example of language that is expressive rather than referential, symbolic rather than factual’.¹⁶⁰ Much like the poetic and prophetic texts of the Old Testament, caution should be taken against any reading of apocalyptic literature which interprets the symbolic language literally.

Part of the task of interpreting apocalyptic literature and symbolism is recognising the text’s historical context. Establishing the nature of that historical context, however, is not easy, and no consensus currently exists as to what inferences can be made. Scholars acknowledge that many apocalyptic texts arise out of some form of distress or, if not distress, some problematic issue.¹⁶¹ According to Portier-Young, apocalypse as a literary genre is one of ‘resistant counterdiscourse’.¹⁶² She writes:

Apocalypse answered the empire. The writers of the apocalypses countered hegemonic cosmologies, imperial spectacle, and false claims to power by articulating and promulgating an alternative vision of the world. They turned the symbols and values of the empire upside down and asserted truth in the place of falsehood. They also countered domination and repression with a call to resistance.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ Carey 2005: 12.

¹⁵⁹ Carey 2005:13; e.g. ‘Astral powers fall from the sky; holy people walk golden streets; and beasts embody the features of several animals at once’. This is the basis of Collins’ *Apocalyptic Imagination*.

¹⁶⁰ Collins 1998: 17. He also notes that ‘biblical scholarship in general has suffered from a preoccupation with the referential aspects of language and with the factual information that can be extracted from a text. Such an attitude is especially detrimental to the study of poetic and mythological material, which is expressive language, articulating feelings and attitudes rather than describing reality in an objective way’.

¹⁶¹ Collins 1998: 41.

¹⁶² Portier-Young 2011: xxii.

¹⁶³ Portier-Young 2011: 217.

Carey goes so far as to state that ‘although the early ancient Jewish and Christian apocalyptic texts seem to reflect diverse social contexts, *all* of them share one common feature: a radical dissatisfaction concerning some dimension of public life’.¹⁶⁴ There is the sense that ‘the world has gone horribly wrong and that God must intervene to change things’.¹⁶⁵ For this reason, David Hellholm suggested that the definition of apocalyptic proposed by *Semeia* 14 should include: ‘intended for a group in crisis with the purpose of exhortation and/or consolation by means of divine authority’.¹⁶⁶ At the risk of undue speculation, it is perhaps enough to recognise, cautiously, that apocalyptic texts arose out of some form of historical problem, without assigning unknown details or speculations as to the extent of such problems.

Collins notes that the development of apocalyptic texts progressed through three historical phases: the post-exilic era;¹⁶⁷ the Hellenistic period, climaxing in 168-164 B.C.E. with the persecution under Antiochus IV Epiphanes and the Maccabean revolt; and during the rise of Christianity.¹⁶⁸ My focus here is on those composed in the Hellenistic era and, in particular, Daniel and *I Enoch*. While a full treatment of the use of glory throughout all apocalyptic literature, and even all apocalyptic literature that arose in the Hellenistic era, is ideal, space simply does not permit such an investigation here. Daniel and *I Enoch* are by no means representative of the whole genre, but are acknowledged as two of the earliest and more influential pieces of apocalyptic literature. As such, they will serve as representative *examples* of the meaning of glory in apocalyptic texts perhaps influential in the first century CE.¹⁶⁹

What must be remembered in reading Daniel and *I Enoch* is that the figurative language is often, though not always, symbolic of and in direct correlation with literal historical realities. And, as with figurative language elsewhere, a sign’s metaphorical existence is neither precluded by nor assumed by its syntagmatic function as symbol, metaphor, or metonym in apocalyptic literature. Moreover, as with the glory of God and humanity in the LXX, the writers of apocalyptic literature make no distinction between the ontological and functional identities of the one that has glory or is glorified.

¹⁶⁴ Carey 2005: 15; emphasis original; also pp. 7-8. See also Horsley 2000: 304-9.

¹⁶⁵ Carey 2005: 15; see also Collins 2000: 158-9.

¹⁶⁶ Hellholm 1986: 27; see also p. 27n27 for others in support of such a reading and Yarbrow Collin’s addendum to the definition in *Semeia* 36: 7.

¹⁶⁷ E.g. Ezek. 40-48; Isa. 6, 24-27, 56-66; Zech. 9-14.

¹⁶⁸ Collins 2000: 129-61.

¹⁶⁹ Moreover, these two texts bear similarities to Paul’s letters, purely in terms of their historical situation: they are written by (and perhaps read by) religious minorities under the dominion of (and possibly oppressed by) Hellenistic rulers and culture: Horsley 2000: 306. Paul, like the authors of Daniel and *I Enoch*, wrote his letter to Rome with the purpose of exhortation and consolation. Nothing definitive can be said beyond this without making false or, at best, speculative generalisations. See Collins 2000: 147 on the function of Daniel and *I Enoch* as texts which serve to exhort and console because of a ‘cultural crisis precipitated by Hellenism and aggravated by the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes’.

2.3.2 *Daniel*

2.3.2.1 *Concordance*

The Daniel texts are included in the tabulated concordance of δόξα and δοξάζω in the LXX above. Given Daniel's importance for apocalyptic literature during the Hellenistic period, and potentially thereafter,¹⁷⁰ it is important to see clearly how δόξα and δοξάζω are used in Daniel as an apocalyptic text which is unique from the majority of LXX literature.

¹⁷⁰ See Carey 2005:38.

	A title for God	δόξα as Honour, Status, Power, Character			
		Given to God in ascription	Possessed by God	Manifested in signs/symbols (e.g. light)/actions usually associated with salvation/redemption or judgment	Manifested in theophany
God		Dan/TH 3:43; Dan/TH 3:52; Dan/TH 4:34;	Dan/TH 3:53 [?]		Dan/TH 3:53 [?]

	δόξα as Honour, Status, Character, or Wealth/Possessions			δόξα as splendour or beauty (not symbolizing honour/status)
	Given to or Possessed by (often symbolised by magnificent appearance or general beauty)		Symbolized by splendour or radiant beauty	
People	Nebuchadnezzar: Dan 2:37; Dan/TH 4:30, Dan 4:31, 32, 36; TH5:18; One Like a Son of Man: Dan. 7:14; King: Dan/TH 11:20, 21, 39; Daniel: TH10:8; Dan. 12:13[?];		Daniel: Dan. 12:13[?]	
Nations				
Objects and Places				

	δοξάζω and ἐνδοξάζομαι as giving, showing/demonstrating, or receiving honour, an exalted status, or wealth/possessions	Symbolised by having visible splendour or theophany	δοξάζω and ἐνδοξάζομαι as having/reflecting splendour or 'shining' (not symbolizing honour/status)
God	Dan/TH 3:26; Dan/TH 3:51; Dan. 3:55; Dan/TH 3:56; Dan/TH 4:34; TH: 4:37; TH 5:23		
People	Daniel and co.: Dan. 1:20; Chaldeans: TH 2:6;		
Other Gods	Maozin: TH 11:38x2;		

2.3.2.2 Analysis

(1) The most obvious conclusion is that nearly every occurrence of δόξα in Daniel unequivocally means either honour, power or an exalted status associated with some form of rule or governance which is possessed by God or people. There are two exceptions: God's glory in Dan/TH 3:53 and the glory of those who will rise in (Dan) 12:13. I leave 3:53 ambiguous and note the use of δόξα in 12:13c: καὶ ἀναστήσει ἐπὶ τὴν δόξαν σου εἰς συντέλειαν ἡμερῶν. It is purely assumption to suggest that the glory to which the righteous will rise is one of visible splendour. Based on how δόξα is used elsewhere in Daniel, particularly for the One Like a Son of Man in 7:14, the reader should not assume the glory to which one rises is anything but an exalted status associated with rule and dominion. The reason for the assumption stems from 12:3, where the wise shall 'φανοῦσιν ὡς φωστῆρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ [Dan]; ἐκλάμπουσιν ὡς ἡ λαμπρότης τοῦ στερεώματος [TH]'. Here, however, several key points need to be kept in mind: (a) the wise will shine like the stars, not like God. (b) Though not obvious here, the brilliance of the luminaries is associated with their rule, as will be seen in the analysis of 1 Enoch below. (c) Similarly, it is kings who are spoken of as luminaries elsewhere (e.g. Num. 24:17).¹⁷¹ (d) The shining of the wise is directly correlated with their exaltation, a fact made obvious by the progression of thought from v. 1 to v. 3. (Dan) 12:1 says that, after the time of tribulation, those whose names are written in the book of life are exalted: καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὑψωθήσεται πᾶς ὁ λαός ὃς ἂν εὐρεθῇ ἐγγεγραμμένος ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ.¹⁷² In (Dan) 12:2 the reader is told that, at the resurrection, some will rise to eternal life while others rise to shame (i.e. the opposite of honour/glory): οἱ μὲν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον οἱ δὲ εἰς ὄνειδισμόν οἱ δὲ εἰς διασπορὰν καὶ αἰσχύνην αἰώνιον. Eternal life is contrasted with shame, implying that the life to which the dead will rise is one of honour, a reading validated by the resurrection exaltation in v. 1. In 12:1-2, then, the dead rise to a life of exaltation and honour, and in 12:3 are said to shine like the stars in the heavens. I suggest that this 'shining like the stars' is metaphorical language to describe the exalted status/life of the dead who rise to eternal life.¹⁷³ (3) Moreover, when (Dan) 12:13 is compared to (TH) 12:13, δόξα in (Dan) aligns with κληρὸν in (TH)—what contemporary translations identify as 'allotted place' (ESV, RSV), 'allotted inheritance' (NIV), or 'reward' (NRS). As

¹⁷¹ See Wright 2003: 112.

¹⁷² Here one should keep in mind the historical setting of Daniel. As Carey (2005: 41) notes: 'Daniel's primary *historical setting*, however, clearly relates to the Maccabean Revolt, 167-164 B.C.E. No doubt, some of the material in Daniel 1—6, and perhaps even its complete form, may have developed quite a bit earlier. Parts of Daniel 7—12 may be older than others, but Daniel as a whole surfaced during this period of crisis'; emphasis original. It is not difficult to imagine the desire for the reversal of authority and power, and for Jewish exaltation to rightful rule over their own people and land.

¹⁷³ Cf. Wright 2003: 112-3.

elsewhere in Daniel, then, δόξα in (Dan) 12:13 most closely indicates one's honour or status of exaltation.

(2) Additionally, every occurrence of δοξάζω, in both the Old Greek (Dan) and Theodotion (TH) versions, means giving, showing, or receiving honour as an exalted status associated with some form of rule or governance. In reference to God, every occurrence means giving or being given praise or adoration, as it does in TH 11:38 with the god Moazin. In TH 2:6, the Chaldean's glorification probably means their receiving of riches or other form of physical honour. This leaves only the glorification of Daniel and his friends in Dan. 1:20: καὶ ἐδόξασεν αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ ἀνέδειξεν αὐτοὺς σοφοὺς παρὰ πάντας τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐν πράγμασιν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῆ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ. Glorification here unequivocally means one thing: exaltation to a status of power and authority in which the person rules or governs. And if the meaning of ἐδόξασεν here is not exegetical with the status of rule, then it remains undeniable that the two are very closely associated with one another.

(3) The One Like a Son of Man in Dan. 7:14 clearly is given glory understood as power, authority, honour associated with a status of rule: καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένη καὶ πᾶσα δόξα αὐτῷ λατρεύουσα καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ ἐξουσία αἰώνιος ἥτις οὐ μὴ ἀρθῆ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἥτις οὐ μὴ φθαρῆ. No indication exists that δόξα should be understood as God's theophanic presence or light symbolism of any kind in 7:14.

2.3.3 *1 Enoch*

2.3.3.1 *Concordance*¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ I am using Charlesworth's 1983 translation of *1 Enoch* and Nickelsburg's 2001 and Nickelsburg/VanderKam's 2012 commentary translations.

	Adoration	Splendour	Honour, Power, or Status of Rule	Name	Glorified	Glorious	Throne/Seat of Glory
God	47:2; 48:6; 61:7, 9, 12; 63:2, 4, 5, 7; 69:25; 27; 90:41	39:12[?]; 40:2 [?]; 41:7; 50:4; 63:6[?]; 104:1[?]	27:2, 5; 63:3[?]; 91:13; 103:1; 104:1[?]	Great Glory: 14:20; 102:3 Glorious One: 14:20 Lord of Glory: 22:14; 25:3; 27:5; 36:4; 40:4; 63:2; 83:8 God of Glory: 25:7 God of Eternal Glory: 75:3; King of Glory: 81:3		9:4; 45:3	9:4; 34:1; 47:3; 60:3; 62:2, 3; 71:8
Son of Man; Elect One	46:5; 62:6		49:1, 3		51:4		45:3; 51:3; 55:4; 61:8; 62:6; 69:29
Righteous/Elect		Noah: 106:6	50:1; 62:16 [?]; 65:12			58:2	108:13
Unrighteous	99:1		98:3; 99:15; 103:6				
Angels			Fallen angel: Kasb'el: 56:4; 69:14[?]				
Objects/Places		Garments of Glory: 62:16 [?] Sheep (metaphor of king): 89:46	14:6			Stones: 24:2; Trees: 32:3; Mist: 60:19; Land: 89:40	
Other			93:7				

2.3.3.2 Analysis

(1) The lexical range of glory is found throughout *1 Enoch* and, unlike in Daniel, the numbers of occurrences of each meaning are relatively balanced.

(2) Glory used in association with God means the honour or exalted status possessed by God *and* God's theophanic splendour.

(3) Glory as splendour is used primarily in the Similitudes, whereas glory as honour/exalted status is found throughout the text.

(4) The two most frequently recurring uses of glory are in the name of God, which is often closely associated with his identity as King (e.g. 14:20; 22:14; 25:3, 7; 27:5; 63:2; 81:3),¹⁷⁵ and in the genitival relationship with 'throne' or 'seat'.¹⁷⁶ As with the crown of glory in Psalm 8 noted above, the throne of glory in *1 Enoch* is consistently associated with kingly functions: e.g. 9:4: 'they said to the Lord of the potentates, "For he is the Lord of lords, and the God of gods, and the King of kings, and the seat of his glory (stands) throughout all the generations of the world. . . . You have made everything and with you is the authority for everything'.

(5) Only once does a person have a radiant glory: the infant, Noah, in 106:6: 'He is not like an (ordinary) human being, but he looks like the children of the angels of heaven to me; his form is different, and he is not like us. His eyes are like the rays of the sun, and his face glorious'. In 106:2 it is said that, 'when he opened [his eyes], the whole house glowed like the sun'. Here 'glorious' undoubtedly indicates splendour or radiance in *1 Enoch*. Nevertheless, it must be kept in mind that: (a) unlike Moses in Exodus 34, the infant Noah was not reflecting the splendour of God, and (b) it was not his whole body that was splendid but, like Moses, only his face.¹⁷⁷

(6) Only once is someone 'glorified'—the Elect One in 51:4—and there it is clearly in reference to his exaltation to a status of rule/dominion: 'In those days, (the Elect One) shall sit on my throne, and from the conscience of his mouth shall come out all the secrets of wisdom, for the Lord of the Spirits has given them to him and glorified him' (51:3-4).

¹⁷⁵ For God as King, see: 12:4; 25:3, 5, 7; 84:1-6. Nickelsburg (2001: 43) notes: '1 Enoch's principal metaphor for God is King, and transcendent holiness, glory, greatness, power, and justice dominate the authors' descriptions of God and statements about him. . . . By depicting God as king, the Enochic authors provide their readers or audience with a familiar point of reference; they lived in a world that was ruled by earthly kings. At the same time, the terminology made it possible to assert God's status as the *unique* king. On the heavenly level, among the holy ones, he was the Great Holy One, the God of gods, and the Lord of spirits. On earth kings are subject to the heavenly King (9:4; 46:4-8), who is the ultimate sovereign, the King of kings and Lord of lords'.

¹⁷⁶ For other throne of God imagery, see: 18:8; 24:4; 25:3.

¹⁷⁷ More can and must be said on this point, but here I suggest only one point: the understanding of that believers' heavenly glory will be to have splendid bodies is primarily based on the example of Moses in Ex. 34 and 2 Cor. 3. If, however, believers' heavenly bodies, which, having been in the presence of God as Moses was, thus reflect that glorious presence, then it is only the face of believers which should be understood to have a splendid glory. It was not the case that Moses' entire body shined for the world to see, nor should it be assumed to be the case for resurrected believers.

(7) Only twice is glory used in association with angels: fallen angels in 56:4 and Kasb'el in 69:14. In both cases, glory probably refers to their former status. Kasb'el's 'dwelling in the highest in glory' may also refer to the place which characterised by splendour/light, though the light of heaven is often described as something that will occur in the future (e.g. 45:4: 'On that day, I shall cause my Elect One to dwell among them, I shall transform heaven and make it a blessing of light forever').

(8) When heavenly mediators¹⁷⁸ or humans have glory it is primarily a reference to honour/power/status associated with rule, as is made clear by: e.g. the glory of the Elect One in 49:3: 'The Elect One stands before the lord of the Spirits; his glory is forever and ever and his power is unto all generations'; or the righteous in 65:12: 'he has preserved your righteous seed for kingship and great glory',¹⁷⁹ or the glory of the fallen angels in 56:4: 'Then the valley shall be filled with their elect and beloved ones; and the epoch of their lives, the era of their glory, and the age of their leading (others) astray shall come to an end'.

(9) The term is as versatile and symbolic in apocalyptic literature as it is in the LXX: in 60:19 even mist, or the 'wind of the mist', is glorious: 'The wind of the mist is not mingled with [the winds of the sea, frost, and snow (vv. 16-18)] in their storehouses, but has a special storehouse, because its course is glorious,¹⁸⁰ both in light and in darkness, and in winter and in summer and in its storehouse is an angel'.

And two other pieces of analysis are worthy of mentioning, though they are not included in the concordance on 'glory'.

(10) Light imagery is not always God's splendour/theophanic glory; e.g. 58:2: 'The righteous ones shall be in the light of the sun and the elect ones in the light of eternal life which has no end'.

(11) Light imagery occurs frequently but is rarely used in association with the word 'glory'. This does not mean there is no lexical association, but it is worth keeping in mind. Moreover, as indicated in the analysis of δόξα in Daniel above, the light imagery can be used in association with language of rule and authority: e.g. 96:1, 3: 'You shall be given authority upon [the sinners], such (authority) as you may wish (to have) . . . a bright light shall enlighten you'. Similarly, the sun, moon, and stars shine and cast light, but they also rule: e.g. 75:3: 'in order that they—the sun, the moon, the stars, and all the created objects which circulate in all the chariots of heaven—should rule in the face of the sky and be seen on the earth to be guides for

¹⁷⁸ For a taxonomy of heavenly mediators in apocalyptic literature, see Davilla (1999: 4-5), who suggests 5 kinds of mediatorial figures: personified divine attributes (Philo's *Logos*), exalted patriarchs (and matriarchs) (e.g. Enoch, Moses), principal agents (e.g. Metatron in *3 Enoch*), charismatic prophets and royal aspirants (e.g. Theudas in *Ant.* 20:28), and ideal figures (e.g. Davidic king, Mosaic prophet, Aaronid high priest).

¹⁷⁹ See also 96:1, though 'glory' is not used.

¹⁸⁰ Literally 'in glory'; see Nickelsburg and VanderKam 2012: 232.

the day and the night'.¹⁸¹ This follows the pattern set already in Ps. 135:8-9 LXX: the sun has authority over the day and the moon authority over the night. Light imagery is used symbolically as visual imagery which connotes a status of honour/rule/power.

2.4 Conclusion

I have suggested in this chapter that, when used vis-à-vis humanity in the LXX and the earliest pieces of apocalyptic literature, Daniel and *I Enoch*, δόξα and δοξάζω primarily refer to or are associated with the concepts of honour, power, wealth, and/or authority that come with an exalted status. Other than Moses' face reflecting the splendour of God, at no point is it unequivocally the case that a human is given glory or glorified such that their bodies are made to shine due to being in the presence of God. Rather, it is almost entirely the case that the glory given to a person (or a person's glorification) either constitutes or is closely related to the honour, power, wealth, or authority associated with an exalted status of rule. The case is similar for the use of δόξα and δοξάζω vis-à-vis God, though the terms are more nuanced when applied to God and refer to the splendour or radiance of God in approximately half of their occurrences. However, when understood in terms of semiotics—how individual signs form a language and function within it—I suggest that, when used as light imagery or in reference to phenomenological events, the terms are used *figuratively*, usually as metonymy for the unsurpassed greatness (and thus power, authority, etc.) of Israel's God. This is the lexical background for understanding not only the use of δόξα and δοξάζω in Jewish literature, but also how δόξα and δοξάζω are used vis-à-vis God and humanity in Pauline literature. In particular, it is the background to Paul's use of the terms in Romans, to which I now turn.

¹⁸¹ See also 83:16 and 108:11, 12 where the righteous are brought 'out into the bright light' and will be 'resplendent for ages that cannot be numbered', but where they are also seated 'one by one upon the throne of his honor'. These are each perfect examples of how an object's/person's ontology cannot be removed from its function. The sun has the greatest rule because its light is the brightest; it *does* what it *is*.

3. ΔΟΞΑ AND ΔΟΞΑΖΩ IN ROMANS

My goal in this chapter is to establish the significance of the theme(s) of humanity's and Israel's glory for Paul within Romans, and to make clear what Paul does and does not mean by δόξα and δοξάζω. Paul's use of δόξα and δοξάζω are not topics at the forefront of current Romans scholarship, but they should be. The motif reveals to a greater degree than is normally recognised Paul's theological indebtedness to his Jewish heritage, the significance of Adam for Paul's anthropology and Adam-Christ typology, and his view of the relationship between humanity and creation. Moreover, the motif of glory should be a discussion point because, as hinted at in the previous chapter, in scholarly and lay circles alike, Paul's references to Christians' glory and glorification are too often understood on the basis of either preconceived cultural notions of glory as splendour or radiance, or on the basis of assumed lexical definitions of glory as the presence of God manifested in light phenomena. Unfortunately, this notion of glory has not only impacted the message of redemption in Romans, but it has blinded Paul's readers to the real meaning of 'conformed to the image of [God's] Son' in Romans 8:29b. Romans 8:29b can be understood only when the motif of glory in its surrounding context (esp. 5:2, 8:17, 18, 21, 30) is properly understood within the larger context of Romans and within the parameters of its use in Jewish literature set in the previous chapter.

To this end, this chapter will consist of three sections: (1) a brief look at how the terms are commonly defined in Romans and the inadequacies of such definitions; (2) an examination of five considerations which are critical to accurately interpreting Paul's use of δόξα and δοξάζω in Romans; (3) an analysis of the texts in Romans in which Paul refers to the glory or glorification of humanity (1:23; 2:7, 10; 3:23; 5:2) and Israel (1:23; 9:4, 23), with the exception of a close analysis of those in Romans 8. Romans 8:17, 18, 21, 30 will be more closely examined at a later point. I will offer what I refer to as Paul's 'narrative of glory'—an underlying narrative of eschatological renewal, of humanity, Israel, and creation—implicit in Romans. This 'narrative of glory' will serve as the primary context in which 8:29 will be discussed.

3.1 ΔΟΞΑ and ΔΟΞΑΖΩ in Romans: Current Approaches

In the last half century alone, three works have shared the title *In Hope of (God's) Glory*.¹⁸² Yet in few such books whose titles include the term do the authors provide a clearly articulated definition of glory—a striking fact considering its frequency of occurrences within the Pauline corpus and the emphasis placed on glory or glorification as a Christian's hope or purpose.¹⁸³ Glory and its cognates are words

¹⁸² Loane 1968; Giblin 1970; Wilson 1997.

¹⁸³ Within the Pauline canon, δόξα has 61 occurrences, with frequent appearances in Romans (1:23; 2:7, 10; 3:7, 23; 4:20; 5:2; 6:4; 8:18, 21; 9:4, 23[x2]; 11:36; 15:7; 16:27); 1 Corinthians (2:7, 8; 10:31; 11:7[x2], 15; 15:40, 41[x4], 43); 2 Corinthians (1:20; 3:7[x2], 8, 9[x2], 10, 11[x2], 18[x3]; 4:4,

used often in Pauline scholarship, but, at least in proportion to their usage, are rarely investigated.¹⁸⁴

Within Pauline studies, glory is typically either defined as or assumed to be a visible splendour, radiance, or brilliance which often, though not always, connotes the manifest presence of God and is derived from δόξα, the Septuagintal gloss for כבוד.¹⁸⁵ Precedents do exist for this traditional interpretation: i.e. the Damascus Christophany (Acts 9:3); Paul's clear use of δόξα as visible splendour (2 Cor. 3); later Jewish traditions of Adam losing his garment of glory (*Gen. Rab.* 12.6) and/or the light of God with which he was at first clothed (*Apoc. Mos.* 21);¹⁸⁶ and, as seen in the previous chapter, the Septuagintal and early apocalyptic occurrences where δόξα, δοξάζω, glory, or glorification are associated with light imagery and theophany.

The most discussion these words receive is in dictionaries or focused studies.¹⁸⁷ Perhaps most helpful, if even on a cursory level, is Brockington's 1955 essay on 'The New Testament use of δόξα'. Brockington suggests that 'there are four ways in which δόξα is used in the New Testament which may be said to be directly due to corresponding usage in the LXX: (1) the conception of brightness; (2) the power and wonder-working activity of God; (3) the saving power of God; (4) the conception of God-likeness'.¹⁸⁸ Brockington argues that the New Testament use of δόξα is primarily dependent on Old Testament theophanic traditions, but his emphasis

6, 15, 17; 6:8; 8:19, 23), and, relatively speaking, in Ephesians (1:6, 12, 14, 17, 18; 3:13, 16, 21) and Philippians (1:11; 2:11; 3:19, 21; 4:19, 20). This frequency reduces when the verb form is used, with only five references in Romans (1:21; 8:30; 11:13; 15:6, 9); two in 1 Corinthians (6:20; 12:26); three in 2 Corinthians (3:10[x2]; 9:13); one in Galatians (1:24); and one in 2 Thessalonians (3:1).

¹⁸⁴ Neither the *Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible* (2005) nor the 6-volume *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (1992) includes any reference to glory. Gaffin, in the *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters* (1993: 348-50), spends 2.5 pages discussing Paul's use of δόξα and never once provides a proper definition of the term as it is understood and used by Paul. *Harper's Bible Dictionary* (1985: 349) includes not one single reference to glory in Romans in its explanation of the term.

¹⁸⁵ BDAG (2000: 256-8) provides four meanings of δόξα: 1) 'the condition of being bright or shining, *brightness, splendor, radiance*'; 2) 'a state of being magnificent, *greatness, splendor*'; 3) 'honor as enhancement or recognition of status or performance, *fame, recognition, renown, honor, prestige*'; 4) 'a transcendent being deserving of honor, *majestic being*'; emphasis original. BDAG (2000: 258) also lists two meanings of δοξάζω: 1) 'to influence one's opinion about another so as to enhance the latter's reputation, *praise, honor, extol*'; 2) 'to cause to have splendid greatness, *clothe in splendor, glorify*'; emphasis original. Louw & Nida (1989) suggest nine glosses for δόξα: splendour, brightness, amazing might, praise, honour, greatness, glorious being, heaven, and pride, and three for δοξάζω: praise, honour, glorify.

¹⁸⁶ See 3 Baruch 4:16.

¹⁸⁷ Owen 1932: 265-79; Berquist 1941; Brockington 1950: 172-6; 1955: 1-8; Jervell 1960: 180-96, 324-31; Davies 1962: 401-3; Carrez 1964; Kittel 1964: 233-7, 242-5, 253; Caird 1969: 265-77; Aalen 1976: 44-52; Harrison 1982: 477-83; BDAG 2000: 256-8. Though George Caird's 1944 DPhil dissertation is titled 'The New Testament Conception of Doxa', it purely addresses the Old Testament backgrounds to the term.

¹⁸⁸ Brockington 1955: 3.

on the differing ways in which the tradition was *rendered* throughout the New Testament is helpful.¹⁸⁹

James Harrison's more recent approach to understanding Paul's use of δόξα also deserves mention.¹⁹⁰ In *Paul and the Imperial Authorities at Thessalonica and Rome* (2011), Harrison aligns himself with the growing emphasis on the socio-political context confronting the churches in Rome. In doing so he emphasises the Roman Imperial notion of *Gloria* and suggests that Paul and his readers would primarily have associated glory with the quests of Roman nobles for *gloria ancestra* ('glory of the ancestors')¹⁹¹ which defined their social status within the Empire. Harrison writes,

For Paul in Romans, glory was a gift of divine grace dispensed to his dependants through the dishonor of the crucified Christ who had become their *hilasterion*. . . . It challenged the anthropocentric boasting of the Roman *nobiles*, as much as it challenged the cosmic and ancestral myths of the imperial ruler. Paul's radical inversion of the traditional understanding of *Gloria* ultimately changed the face of Western civilization by enshrining humility as the distinguishing sign of a truly great and successful man.¹⁹²

Paul's glory is not derived from what Harrison describes as 'reserves' of ancestral glory¹⁹³ (i.e. glory gained through service to the state¹⁹⁴), but from the God of Israel. For Paul, Harrison argues, it is the glory of Israel's God which is the only status-shaper of any eternal significance. Harrison provides a rigorous and comprehensive treatment of philosophical, political, benefactorial, and virtue-based notions of glory in imperial Roman culture. His treatment of δόξα in Romans in light of such imperial uses was both long overdue and insightful to all who wish to read the text against the backdrop of its first-century political and social context. I will return to his treatment of δόξα throughout the thesis.

Along with Harrison, Robert Jewett's treatment of the term in his Romans commentary is notable.¹⁹⁵ Unlike Harrison, Jewett emphasises not the ancestral traditions but the paradigm of honour and shame which permeated the social strata of the Empire. Together, both scholars have helpfully highlighted Paul's use of the term from an increasingly important socio-historical perspective.

¹⁸⁹ Brockington's distinctions are less obvious, however, in his 1950 treatment of 'Glory', located under 'Presence' in *A Theological Word Book of the Bible*.

¹⁹⁰ Harrison 2011.

¹⁹¹ Harrison 2011: 205.

¹⁹² Harrison 2011: 269.

¹⁹³ Harrison 2011: 214.

¹⁹⁴ Harrison 2011: 206.

¹⁹⁵ Jewett 2007.

With Harrison's treatment of δόξα noted above, another highly significant study for our purposes here is the influential work of Carey Newman. Carey Newman examines Paul's use of δόξα in *Paul's Glory-Christology* (1992), where he investigates 'how and why Paul came to identify Jesus as glory'.¹⁹⁶ Newman argues that Paul interpreted the Christophany as the appearance of God's eschatological Glory in the resurrected Christ. Newman begins by tracing the development of יהוה כבוד as a 'technical term to refer to God's visible, mobile divine presence' throughout the Old Testament,¹⁹⁷ and examines its development as a technical term through four traditio-historical strands: Sinai, theophanic, Royal and prophetic.¹⁹⁸ These four strands, Newman suggests, coalesce in Paul's interpretation of the Christophany. He writes:

In Paul's convictional interpretation of the Christophany, the various strands of the Glory tradition coalesce. Paul echoed the Glory tradition in his interpretation of the Christophany as a (i) theophany of δόξα, (ii) a Sinai-like revelation יהוה כבוד, (iii) as the Davidic Messiah's exaltation to Glory, (iv) as a fulfilment of the prophetic promise that God would inaugurate the new age with a revelation of his כבוד, (v) as a prophetic call in which he was confronted by the Glory of God, and (vi) as an apocalyptic throne vision in which he saw the principal agent of God, the manlike יהוה כבוד of Ezekiel 1:28. Paul's identification of Christ as δόξα centers upon the convergence of multiple construals of the Glory tradition in his interpretation of the Christophany.¹⁹⁹

For Paul, Newman says, 'the Christophany is a revelation of the end-of-time, resurrection presence of God—his δόξα'.²⁰⁰ The glory of God—the visible, manifest presence of God—rests in Christ, thus 'proleptically inaugurating the eschatological age of blessing'.²⁰¹ Though Paul never says so explicitly, 'Christ = δόξα',²⁰² and Newman argues a case for this on the basis of (a) 1 Corinthians 9:1-2 and 15:1-11, where Christophany points to resurrection, and therefore end-time Glory; (b) Galatians 1:11-17, where Paul indicates that the Christophany was a throne vision where he 'encountered the special agent, Jesus, who is to be equated with the Glory of God';²⁰³ and Philippians 3:2-21, where the Christophany is the model for the Christian life—a life which begins and ends in eschatological Glory.²⁰⁴ Newman

¹⁹⁶ Newman 1992: 164.

¹⁹⁷ Newman 1992: 190.

¹⁹⁸ Newman 1992: 25-75.

¹⁹⁹ Newman 1992: 246.

²⁰⁰ Newman 1992: 186.

²⁰¹ Newman 1992: 192.

²⁰² Newman 1992: 211.

²⁰³ Newman 1992: 211.

²⁰⁴ Newman 1992: 211.

further suggests that Glory functions in Paul’s rhetoric as a ‘sociomorphic portrayal of transference’ and as ‘physiomorphic description of Christian progress’,²⁰⁵ and that, at least in two places, we see Paul ‘self-consciously [echoing] the [Glory] tradition’ in a reinterpretation of his narratival and symbolic world now interpreted through his Christophany: 2 Corinthians 3:4—4:6 and 1 Corinthians 2:8.

3.1.1 *Inadequacies of Carey Newman’s Glory-Christology*

No publication has yet been produced which surpasses Newman’s investigatory depth or breadth of Paul’s use of δόξα, and much of his work is to be highly praised.²⁰⁶ In particular, I fully support his conclusions that: (a) in his Christophany, Paul understood Christ as the ‘visible, manifest presence of God’; (b) Paul reinterpreted his narratival and symbolic world in terms of his Christophany; and (c) that Paul employed his Christophany to serve to validate his apostolic authority, message, and suffering in 2 Corinthians 3:4—4:6. Nevertheless, I suggest that his conclusions are not prescriptive for how δόξα should be interpreted when used to refer to the glory or glorification of believers or when δόξα is used more generally in Paul’s letters, and particularly in Romans.

(1) The most pressing issue is that, while Newman traces the lexical use of the כבוד-δόξα word group through the Old Testament, his study deals almost exclusively with its use in relation to God. He acknowledges outright that “The כבוד word group possesses a fluid semantic range. This study, however, focuses upon just a small slice of the כבוד’s meaning: namely, those places where כבוד (both denotatively and connotatively) is used as a symbol of ‘divine presence’”.²⁰⁷ More specifically, Newman focuses on יהוה כבוד, which he argues is a technical term signifying ‘the visible and mobile presence of Yahweh’.²⁰⁸ He does not examine how either δόξα or δοξαζω function for humanity in the LXX, and, while he acknowledges the non-technical uses of glory in the Old Testament, he does not elaborate on them. The trajectory of development of what Newman titles the ‘Glory tradition’ is exclusively a development of how the יהוה כבוד was interpreted and utilised throughout the passages of Israelite and Jewish history.

(2) The logical result of this is that, when Newman turns to Paul’s use of δόξα and Paul’s reinterpretation of the glory tradition in terms of his Christophany, the primary ‘Glory tradition’ Newman utilises is that of the development of the יהוה

²⁰⁵ Newman 1992: 240.

²⁰⁶ As are the insights of Harrison and Jewett, who are correct to emphasise the notion of honour or praise, usually as a result of a status (in Romans). I will return to these insights in a closer examination of δόξα in Romans in the second half of this thesis.

²⁰⁷ Newman 1992: 18.

²⁰⁸ Newman 1992: 24, 20-24.

כבוד.²⁰⁹ First, *this* glory tradition is labelled ‘the Glory tradition’ and not just ‘a glory tradition’ because it is *the* glory tradition from which Newman primarily draws his conclusions. Second, in Newman’s final statements in the work he concludes: ‘In Paul’s interpretation of the Christophany, God’s glory appeared in the once crucified, but now resurrected person of Jesus’.²¹⁰ In this Newman’s case is strong. However, his final sentence betrays him: ‘I submit this thesis best explains Paul’s use of δόξα’. No doubt this definition has its place, particularly in Paul’s interpretation of his Christophany experience, but this does not demand that every use of δόξα denotes the eschatological presence of God. Basing Paul’s use of δόξα on this definition/tradition does no justice either to the multifarious uses of δόξα throughout the LXX or to the clearly linear use of δοξάζω when used in reference to humanity in the LXX.²¹¹

(3) Newman argues that δόξα and δοξάζω function as sociomorphic and physiomorphic transfer signifiers, but his evidence for such a reading is scant at best. Humanity’s exchange of the glory of God in Romans 1:23 and falling short of the glory of God in Romans 3:23, Newman argues, are references to a ‘ruptured relationship’ with God, a relationship that is restored in their ‘glorification’ in 8:30.²¹² He suggests that the passive συνδοξάζω in 8:17 and the aorist δοξάζω in 8:30 both refer to a ‘metamorphosis into Glory and therefore [relate] the verb to a paradigmatic field of words and constructions for spiritual transformation’.²¹³ Justification for the suggestions that (a) they refer to ‘spiritual transformation’ and (b) they refer to transformation into ‘Glory’, i.e. divine presence, is non-existent, however, other than to say that it is a result of ‘incorporation into Jesus’,²¹⁴ which itself is a loaded statement left entirely unpacked. No discussion is provided for why the verbal forms should be understood as such. And, more importantly, no justification is given for why the verb forms in 8:17, 30 are not categorised with those instances where, according to Newman himself, the ‘verb is used to mean “honor” or “magnify”’ (e.g.

²⁰⁹ I say ‘primary’ here because Newman does trace the semantic range of δόξα throughout Paul’s letters in pp. 157-63. At the end of this chapter on semantic range, however, he lists 42 occurrences of δόξα which he says are ‘left for consideration’, many of which are never again discussed (p. 160n22).

²¹⁰ Newman 1992: 247.

²¹¹ I wish to be clear: I am not suggesting that Newman emphasises an ‘ontological’ interpretation of glory, whether applied to that of God, Christ, or humanity, at the expense of a ‘functional’ interpretation of glory. As noted in chapter two, such categories are less than helpful here. Rather, Newman is giving one semantic use of the term precedence over numerous others. In his conclusion that the glory of God is the visible manifestation of God, whether vis-à-vis God or humanity’s relationship to that visible manifestation, Newman neglects the numerous other semantic uses of the term which have no relationship to the visible splendour of God (i.e. the majority of occurrences of δόξα and δοξάζω vis-à-vis humans in the LXX) and the ways in which they may contribute to Paul’s use of the term (see note above).

²¹² Newman 1992: 225-7.

²¹³ Newman 1992: 158.

²¹⁴ Newman 1992: 245.

Rom. 11:13; 1 Cor. 12:26).²¹⁵ This is particularly significant given that *δοξάζω* is never once used in the LXX to refer to humanity's 'spiritual transformation'.

(4) Other than the short and relatively unsubstantiated mentions of *δόξα* or *δοξάζω* in the Romans texts noted above, Newman's conclusions on Paul's use of *δόξα* rest almost exclusively on Paul's references to *δόξα* outwith Romans. Most explicit references to any key *δόξα* or *δοξάζω* texts in Romans primarily appear in his chapter on the word's semantic range but bear little weight otherwise. Similarly, he acknowledges that *δόξα* can denote 'social status' or 'honour',²¹⁶ but does not suggest that the use of *δόξα* in either 2:7 or 2:10 belong here, despite their associations with *τιμή* in the same verses. He suggests, rather, that they belong with 42 other occurrences of *δόξα* which are 'left for consideration'.²¹⁷ Neither verse, however, is mentioned again.

(5) Newman's study rests heavily on the function of *δόξα* in 2 Corinthians 3, as it should; 2 Corinthians 3 has more occurrences of *δόξα* than any other New Testament passage, and it is here that Paul explicitly mentions the reflection of God's visible splendour on Moses' face in Exodus 34:29-35. In 2 Corinthians 3:7-11, Paul draws a contrast between the glory associated with the ministry of the law, presented as a visible manifestation of God's glory on Moses' face, and the glory associated with the ministry of the Spirit:

Now if the ministry of death, chiselled in letters on stone tablets, came in glory (*δόξα*) so that the people of Israel could not gaze at Moses' face because of the glory (*δόξα*) of his face, a glory (*δόξα*) now set aside, how much more will the ministry of the Spirit come in glory (*δόξα*)? For if there was glory (*δόξα*) in the ministry of condemnation, much more does the ministry of justification abound in glory (*δόξα*)! Indeed, what once had glory (*δόξα*) has lost its glory (*δόξα*) because of the greater glory (*δόξα*); for if what was set aside came through glory (*δόξα*), much more has the permanent come in glory (*δόξα*)!

Newman is correct to suggest that Paul 'contrasts the Sinaitic revelation to Moses with his Christophany' in order to argue for a 'superior role and message based upon a superior revelation'.²¹⁸ By doing so, Newman says, Paul legitimises his apostolic authority, preaching, and suffering on the basis of the revelation of *δόξα* in Christ: 'The Christophany as a revelation of final, eschatological *δόξα* appropriates to Paul the legitimizing power inherent in the Sinaitic Glory construal in order to defend his apostleship'.²¹⁹ Paul's invocation of the Exodus narrative as a basis for his own

²¹⁵ Newman 1992: 158.

²¹⁶ Newman 1992: 158.

²¹⁷ Newman 1992: 160.

²¹⁸ Newman 1992: 235.

²¹⁹ Newman 1992: 235.

Christophanic revelation is at the heart of Newman's thesis. There, in Christ, is the visible, radiant, manifest presence of the One True God.

That being said, however, several points are worthy of note:

(a) While δόξα in 2 Corinthians 3 does clearly refer to God's visible splendour as it was revealed on Moses' face, Paul's point is not to emphasise God's presence. Paul uses it as background context to describe the authority of the Spirit's ministry as superior to that of the Law. Thrall suggests that 'glory' in 3:7-18 refers to a 'manifestation of (divine) power', 'divine presence', or 'divine nature'.²²⁰ Here in 3:7-11, 'divine power' is most fitting. The old covenant (παλαιά διαθήκη, v. 14) is abolished in Christ (ἐν Χριστῷ καταργεῖται, v. 14); the glory (i.e. the authority) of the Law is replaced with that of the Spirit's glory, and not the Spirit's visible presence but the superiority of the Spirit's ministry (or power) in the world. The glory is presented in the context of the Sinaitic Glory tradition, where Moses reflects the δόξα of God as God's *visible splendour*, symbolic of his *presence*, but the point is to describe the glory of the Law as that which held less *authority/power* than the glory of the Spirit's ministry. This is to say that, even in 2 Corinthians 3:4—4:6, Paul uses various denotations of δόξα.²²¹

(b) Given the terms' variegated uses throughout the LXX and Newman's own admission that they are used in various ways throughout Pauline literature, one cannot justifiably interpret the theology of glory or glorification in Romans on the basis of Paul's reflections on the Christophany in 2 Corinthians 3—a different passage in a different letter with an altogether different purpose, message, and background.²²² How glory and glorification function in Romans must be determined first and foremost on the basis of their purpose and function within the message and context of Romans.

These inadequacies are substantial enough to warrant a re-reading of how δόξα and δοξάζω function in Romans. I do not wish to minimise Newman's study, but rather applaud his work on this overlooked but significant topic for Pauline studies. Though I suggest that Newman's 'Glory-Christology' is not applicable to most occurrences of δόξα and δοξάζω in Romans, it is applicable elsewhere, and it goes a long way in understanding Paul's interpretation of his Christophany.

3.2 ΔΟΞΑ and ΔΟΞΑΖΩ in Romans: Considerations

If we are to understand Paul's use of δόξα and δοξάζω in Romans, then we need to understand the terms against the background of the letter's socio-political environment and literary context. We need to consider: (1) the importance and

²²⁰ Thrall 1994: 246. Thrall is one of the few commentators to question the underlying meaning of δόξα in 2 Cor. 3:7-11.

²²¹ See also §4.2.2.3

²²² This is more a critique of those who seek to apply Newman's conclusions on Paul's glory language vis-à-vis the Christophany to Paul's use of δόξα elsewhere, i.e. Romans 8.

denotation of glory/honour within the first-century Roman imperial environment; (2) the significance of Psalm 8 in understanding human glory in Romans; (3) Adam in Paul's image and morphic language; (4) the presence of echoes of Adam in Romans 1 and 3; (5) Adam's paradigmatic function in Romans. Considerations 2-5 all *relate to the fact that the image and glory of Adam, or of humanity in Adam, is a key interpretative piece of Paul's Christology and anthropology in Romans*. Considerations #2 and #4 will require extended treatments.

3.2.1 *Glory in Romans and Glory/Honour within the First-Century Roman Imperial Environment.*

Robert Jewett argues that 'competition for honor was visible in every city of the Roman Empire in which members of the elite competed for civic power through sponsoring games and celebrations, financing public buildings, endowing food distributions, and so on. The public life in the Roman Empire was centered in the quest for honor'.²²³ Paul's letter to Rome, Jewett further states, 'employs honor categories from beginning to end'.²²⁴ James Harrison similarly interprets δόξα in Romans through a socio-political lens, recognising the importance of ancestral glory traditions familiar to every Roman household. He writes that 'Paul addressed [the issue of glory] especially for the benefit of Roman believers living in the capital in the late 50's and integrated his presentation with the eschatological traditions of glory that he inherited from the Septuagint and from Second Temple Judaism. *Thus Paul's understanding of glory, while being profoundly theological, was also political in its polemic*'.²²⁵ Glory for believers, according to Harrison, was rooted only in Israel's God, the 'truthful Judge' and the 'grace of the crucified Benefactor', and it was received only through humility and boasting in tribulations—a starkly different understanding of glory than that of Roman nobility.²²⁶ In Romans, 'we see Paul *retelling* the story of Israel and its fulfilment in Christ . . . as a powerful counterpoint to the ancestral stories of glory that framed the Roman understanding of history, republican and imperial'.²²⁷ Given this, we should not be surprised to discover that Paul's references to glory in Romans imply references to one's honour or status.

²²³ Jewett 2007: 50.

²²⁴ Jewett 2007: 49.

²²⁵ Harrison 2011: 263; emphasis mine.

²²⁶ Harrison 2011: 264-5.

²²⁷ Harrison 2011: 267; emphasis original. Harrison's work is supremely helpful in establishing the foundation of Paul's use of glory in Romans in light of the imperial Roman environment. One particular weakness of his discussion, however, is the denotative ambiguity of Paul's use of δόξα at various points in Romans. Harrison follows Newman and Raurell (1979) in suggesting that Paul's LXX-based, Jewish 'glory-tradition' is a tradition based almost exclusively on theophanic examples of glory in the LXX. How Harrison views Paul bridging the gap between the theophanic traditions of glory in the LXX with Roman nobles' quest for ancestral glory, i.e. honour, power, is never addressed, particularly given that Raurell is specifically arguing against glory as honour in the

3.2.2 *Psalm 8 and the Glory of Humanity in Romans*

In chapter two of this thesis, I demonstrated that the motif of glory, when applied to humanity in the LXX, is consistently applied in terms of honour/power/authority/character and is not a visible manifestation of the presence of God. Within this motif, one text is particularly important and representative: Psalm 8. Its significance is based both on its semantic use of δόξα for humanity in the LXX as well as its Christological application by Paul and other early church writers. In particular, I suggest that Psalm 8 is a key text which stands behind Paul's use of δόξα and its cognates in Romans. Psalm 8 as a unit and the vocational use of δόξα within it underscore both Paul's use of the term in Romans and the unfolding narrative of anthropological redemption presented therein. These claims are significant and thus warrant further defence.

Psalm 8:5-7 (LXX) reads:

τί ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ὅτι μνησκή αὐτοῦ ἢ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ὅτι ἐπισκέπη
αὐτόν⁶ ἠλάττωσας αὐτόν βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους δόξη καὶ τιμῇ
ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτόν⁷ καὶ κατέστησας αὐτόν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν
σου πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ.²²⁸

Most notable is that the psalmist's use of δόξα falls into the semantic domain of honour/praise as a result of a status of kingly rule and not a visible splendour or radiance. Psalm 8 is a psalm of praise which extols YHWH for the way in which he ordered creation and placed humanity in a position of sovereignty over every created thing. The psalmist reflects in vv. 3-4 on the enigmatic thoughtfulness of YHWH toward humanity which, presumably, is as weak and powerless and equally as mortal as the rest of creation. The outworking of this thoughtfulness is then expressed in vv. 5-8 as the constitution of humanity as a sovereign who rules over the creation in the name of the Creator.²²⁹ The psalmist paints a picture of YHWH as the majestic Creator-King, a King reigning within his kingdom as sovereign over all that is, yet a King who does not rule unmediatedly. YHWH has created humanity in order that humans might reign as vicegerents over his creation, maintaining via their dominion the goodness and beauty of which the cosmos inherently consists (Gen. 1:4, 9, 12, 18, 21, 25, 31). As Wilson notes, YHWH has allowed 'his power to be displayed through those creatures he has graciously chosen to extend his authority into the world'.²³⁰ As

Book of Wisdom. Humans are created to share in God's glory, Harrison argues, but whether that glory is assumed to be God's presence (*a la* Newman) or God's supreme honour/power/character (as it would stand in contrast to Caesar's glory or Roman nobles' glory) is left unaddressed.

²²⁸ No variants exist that might change the reading provided by Ralfs.

²²⁹ See Limburg 2000: 25-6.

²³⁰ Wilson 2002: 207.

those with the unique image-bearing vocation, humans share in the glory of God as they rule over his good creation.²³¹

The appearance of Psalm 8 in early Jewish literature is limited at best. For this reason, Mark Kinzer, who has provided one of only two treatments of the text in Second Temple and Rabbinic literature, suggests that the limited presence of Psalm 8 in early Jewish texts has led to an assumption that ‘the key to understanding the early Christian interpretation of Psalm 8 is found exclusively in internal developments within the Christian community’.²³² But Kinzer, along with Wenceslaus Urassa, suggests otherwise.²³³

Both scholars suggest that echoes of Psalm 8:5-8 LXX are found in *1 Enoch*, particularly with regard to the identity of the Son of Man figure and his enthronement on the ‘throne of glory’ (*1 En.* 61:8).²³⁴ Urassa concludes that ‘the son of man in *1 Enoch* has much to do with ADAM in relation to both ethical and anthropological reinterpretations of the dominion text in Genesis’.²³⁵ Likewise, Kinzer suggests that Psalm 8 lies in the background of *2 Enoch* 58:3 (J&A),²³⁶ *1 Enoch* 71:14, and *3 Enoch* at several points.²³⁷ Psalm 8:5-8 LXX is also echoed in *4 Ezra*, particularly at 6:45-46, 53-59 where Ezra alludes to Adam’s, and thus Israel’s, right to rule over creation. From here Urassa notes that Philo, in *De Opificio Mundi*, ‘midrashically paraphrased Ps. 8 to interpret Gn. 1:26f’, and that, though he never mentions Psalm 8, Josephus’ ‘literary style and interpretation of the creation account could shed some light on its later interpretations in the NT’.²³⁸ In addition to these, Kinzer suggests that Psalm 8 is echoed in Qumran’s references to the ‘glory of Adam’²³⁹ and that an echo of Psalm 8 exists in *The Apocalypse of Moses* 10:1, 3; 11:1. Urassa notes the presence of the psalm in the Midrash Tehillim,²⁴⁰ but Kinzer spends an entire chapter making his way through the diverse Rabbinic literature and its echoes of the psalm.²⁴¹ Both scholars demonstrate the broad use of Psalm 8 in Jewish literature outside the New Testament.

²³¹ See Schmidt 1969: 1-15 cited in Goldingay 2006: 159; Wilson 2002: 206-9, 213-20.

²³² Kinzer 1995: 6.

²³³ Urassa 1998.

²³⁴ See Kinzer 1995: 122-5 where he argues that, along with the commonly accepted texts of Dan. 7, the Servant of YHWH in Isa. 40-53, the Davidic Messiah in Isa. 11, Pss. 2 and 110, and the enthroned glory in Ezek. 1:26-28, Psalm 8 forms the identity of the ‘Son of Man’ in *1 En.* 37-71.

²³⁵ Urassa 1998: 91; capitals original.

²³⁶ Kinzer 1995: 127. In *2 Enoch* Psalm 8 is not applied to a heavenly figure but to a particular human, Enoch.

²³⁷ In *3 Enoch* the ‘son of man’ figure of *1 Enoch* is Metatron, the one ‘who sits on “a throne like the throne of glory” (10:1), is clothed in “a glorious cloak in which brightness, brilliance, splendor, and luster of every kind were fixed” (12:2), and is crowned with “a glorious crown” (14:5) which is inscribed with the name of God (12:4; 13:1-2)’; Kinzer 1995: 133-4.

²³⁸ Urassa 1998: 99, 108.

²³⁹ Kinzer 1995: 105n17.

²⁴⁰ Urassa 1998: 108-12; see Kinzer 1995: 94.

²⁴¹ Kinzer 1995: 40-78.

From his survey of the literature, Kinzer draws two conclusions. First, though the ‘son of man’ in the psalm is applied to Adam, Enoch, Abraham, and Moses throughout Jewish literature, ‘those individuals were usually presented as in some way fulfilling the vocation of Adam’.²⁴² Second, Kinzer notes that ‘Gen 1 and Ps 8 were not read as descriptions of the present human position before God and the created order. . . . They were read protologically and eschatologically. Ps 8 was thus seen to promise heavenly wisdom, glory, and immortality for those who were cleansed from the polluting sin of Adam and his descendants’.²⁴³ These two conclusions will be significant for reading the echoes of Psalm 8 in Paul, to which I now turn.

The psalmist’s use of δόξα in Psalm 8 falls indisputably within the semantic domain of honour/rule in the LXX. Paul’s use of δόξα in Romans, then, I contend stems directly from his reading of Psalm 8 in the light of a new understanding of Israel’s plight. The question of plight (and solution) was initially prompted by Ed Sanders and was recently re-addressed by N. T. Wright.²⁴⁴ Wright contends that on the road to Damascus,

Saul of Tarsus was there confronted with the fact of the risen Jesus, and with the immediate conclusion that *he* was therefore the Messiah, that *he* had been exalted to the place of glory and authority at God’s right hand – and that monotheism itself had therefore to be reconfigured around a man of recent memory who had not delivered Israel from the pagans, had not intensified Israel’s own Law-observance, had not cleansed and rebuilt the temple, and had not brought justice and peace to the world after the manner of Isaiah’s dream. This was, in its way, as cataclysmic a reversal of expectations for Saul of Tarsus as the fall of Jerusalem would be for the next generation. It compelled, as did that shocking event, a radical rethink, all the way back to Adam.²⁴⁵

Israel’s real problem, Saul realised, was Sin and Death—a problem that started at the beginning of Israel’s history, was recorded for the generations in Genesis 3, and had impacted Israel just as it did the Gentiles. This revelation led Paul to re-think and re-read his own Scriptures, and in so doing, Genesis 1—3 began to tell a new story. Psalm 8 told a new story as well. When read in the light of Genesis 1—3, it told a

²⁴² Kinzer 1995: 215.

²⁴³ Kinzer 1995: 110.

²⁴⁴ See Sanders 1977: 442-3, 474-4. For an extensive discussion of the debate, see Wright 2013a: 747-71.

²⁴⁵ Wright 2013a: 751. For an argument against this view, see Eisenbaum (2009: 142-3) who argues that Paul’s ‘mystical encounter with the risen Jesus cannot be used as the key to understanding Paul’. She also argues that Paul’s theology is fundamentally not Christocentric but theocentric (2009: 173).

story of intentions and failures; yet when read in the light of the Messiah's resurrection, it told a story of hope and redemption. If this is the case, then, according to Kinzer's conclusion above that the Psalm was read either protologically or eschatologically, Paul's reading of the Psalm followed the patterns of the day.

The following pages are dedicated to Paul's retelling of these stories in Romans. But first one must establish, as much as is possible, that Psalm 8 has any place in Romans at all. Since this is a matter of detecting scriptural echoes/allusions rather than direct quotations, it is of course impossible to attain complete certainty. Nevertheless, the joint criteria of Hays and Tooman,²⁴⁶ established in chapter one of this thesis, can bring us a long ways in establishing the presence of Psalm 8 in Paul's letters.

Four factors lend weight to the possibility that Psalm 8 stands behind Paul's use of δόξα in Romans: 1) Paul uses Psalm 8 in 1 Corinthians 15:27, a verse thematically similar to the key δόξα passages in Romans; 2) Paul's post-Damascus understanding of redemptive history is dependent, at least in part, on the role of Adam in Genesis 1—3; 3) the thematic and linguistic relationship between Genesis 1:26-28 and Psalm 8:5-8 LXX, particularly the link between the glory of mankind in Psalm 8 and the image of mankind in Genesis 1, both of which are set within the context of humanity's rule over creation; and 4) the non-coincidental overlap of δόξα and εικόν in Romans and other Pauline texts.²⁴⁷ These four factors establish at least the possibility that Psalm 8 stands behind Paul's use of δόξα within Romans. Their significance for my larger argument encourages us to examine them further.

The first indication that Paul echoed Psalm 8 in Romans is that he demonstrates his awareness of the Psalm and its significance for the same narrative of redemption in 1 Corinthians 15:27—a verse in a thematically similar context to the key δόξα passages in Romans.²⁴⁸ As Keesmaat suggests: 'Given . . . Paul's use of Psalm 8 in 1 Cor. 15:27, it is quite possible that Paul linked the glory of humanity with humanity's rule over creation. As Romans 8 progresses we discover that this is indeed the case'.²⁴⁹ In 1 Corinthians, Psalm 8 is evidence of the restoration of God's intended order of rule within his kingdom by the resurrection of his Son. The presence of death in 1 Corinthians 15:21 (δι' ἀνθρώπου θάνατος) which came through Adam in 15:22 (ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν) is counteracted by the resurrection of the Son. In his resurrection from the dead, the Messiah subjected all enemies, including death, under his feet (1 Cor. 15:24b-7), thereby restoring the Kingdom of God to his

²⁴⁶ Namely: 'uniqueness'; 'volume', which includes elements of 'distinctiveness' and 'multiplicity'; 'recurrence', and thematic correspondence.

²⁴⁷ 1 Cor. 11:7-15; 15:40-9; Col. 3:4, 10; esp. Rom. 1:23 and 2 Cor. 3:18; 4:4; see Van Kooten 2008a: 69-91.

²⁴⁸ Paul also alludes to Ps. 8 in Phil. 3:21 and Eph. 1:22. The writer of Hebrews also placed great weight on the Psalm in demonstrating the Son's dominion in 2:5-9. This fulfils Hays' criteria of recurrence and both Hays and Tooman's criteria of thematic correspondence.

²⁴⁹ Keesmaat 1999: 85.

Father (1 Cor. 15:24a). Paul interprets Psalm 8 Christologically, yet he makes clear that the Kingdom of God, and presumably the ‘subjection of all things under his feet’, is not the inheritance of the Son only. Dominion will be for all those whose bodies will be ‘raised in glory’ (1 Cor. 15:43) with the Son and who will thus ‘bear the image of the man of heaven’ (1 Cor. 15:49).²⁵⁰ If this is an accurate reading, then Psalm 8, even if implicit, is a viable background for Paul’s similar texts in Romans.

Second, it is undeniable that Paul relies on the figure of Adam in Genesis 1—3 for the formation of his understanding of YHWH’s redemption of his people. This dependence is seen in Paul’s Adam-Christology. New Testament scholarship has produced a wealth of discussion on this topic—a wheel not needing reinvention here.²⁵¹ Within Romans, Adamic echoes potentially exist in 1:23; 3:23; 7:7-11; and 8:29,²⁵² while Romans 5 includes the only explicit mention of Adam. For the sake of this study I draw attention to the role of Adam in Romans 5 as the one through whom sin and death came into the world (5:12, 17) and as the man with whom Paul contrasts the Messiah (5:17-21; see 1 Cor. 15). Here Paul depends on the role of Adam in the creation narratives of Genesis as *a*, if not *the*, foundation for his anthropology, hamartiology, and soteriology in Romans.²⁵³

Third, Craigie notes that the thematic and possible textual relationship²⁵⁴ between the creation poetry of Psalm 8:5-8 LXX and the creation poetry/narrative of Genesis 1:26-28 is identified by numerous authors and commentators on the texts.²⁵⁵ Several elements of overlap are prominent: (1) Both pieces are set in the context of

²⁵⁰ See Ciampa and Rosner 2007: 745-6.

²⁵¹ E.g. Davies 1948; Jervell 1960; Barrett 1962; Brandenburger 1962; Scroggs 1966; Dunn 1989; Hooker 1990; Dunn 1998b. In the last decade, surprisingly few publications were made that focus specifically on Paul’s Adam-Christ typology. This is perhaps due to Levison’s (1988) warnings against scholars’ too-easy tendency to declare particular early Jewish Adamic texts as normative among first-century Jews. Levison successfully demonstrated that a variety of ‘portraits’ of Adam existed in early Jewish literature, and to suggest that any one was normative, usually on the basis of its suggested relationship to Paul’s theology, is to do an injustice to the varied readings and perspectives on Adam.

²⁵² For discussions of Paul’s use of Adam in these texts, see Hooker 1959-60: 297-306; Scroggs 1966; Dunn 1989: 98-125; Dunn 1998b: 79-101; Hooker 1990; Wright 1991: 18-40; Schreiner 2001: 146-50. Cf. Stowers (1994: 86-9) who argues that Adam is not in view. I will return to the question of echoes of Adam in Romans in detail in the second half of this chapter.

²⁵³ See Thielman 1995: 169-95.

²⁵⁴ τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης (Gen. 1:26) τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης (Gen. 1:28)	τοὺς ἰχθύας τῆς θαλάσσης (Ps. 8:9 LXX) τοὺς ἰχθύας τῆς θαλάσσης (Ps. 8:9 LXX) τὰ διαπορευόμενα τριβους θαλασσῶν (Ps. 8:9 LXX)
τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (Gen. 1:26) τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (Gen. 1:28)	τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (Psalm 8:9 LXX)
τῶν κτηνῶν (Gen. 1:26) τῶν κτηνῶν (Gen. 1:28)	τὰ κτήνη τοῦ πεδίου (Ps. 8:8 LXX)
πάσης τῆς γῆς (Gen. 1:26)	πάντα ὑπέταξας (Ps. 8:7 LXX)

²⁵⁵ See Craigie 1983: 106; Urassa 1998: 72.

kingship with ties to ancient Near Eastern kingship narratives.²⁵⁶ (2) In both poems, mankind has dominion over creation. (3) In both texts it is Adam or mankind (ἄνθρωπος) in focus. Schaefer remarks that ‘literally the second query in [Ps. 8] v. 4 could be translated “[what are] the children of Adam that you care for them”, evoking not Abraham or Israel, but everyone tainted by sin’.²⁵⁷ (4) Most importantly for this study, in both poems Adam/humanity is given authority to rule over this inclusive creation: ἀρχέτωσαν (Gen 1:26 LXX); κατακυριεύσατε αὐτῆς (Gen 1:28 LXX); ἄρχετε (Gen 1:28 LXX); κατέστησας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ (Psalm 8:7 LXX), serving in both texts as the depiction of his being ‘made in the image of God’²⁵⁸ or ‘crowned with glory’ by God.

Given these similarities between the two poems, it is possible that the forming of Adam ‘in the image of God’ in Genesis 1:27 and the crowning of Adam ‘with glory and honour’ in Psalm 8:6 LXX are different but coterminous metaphors.²⁵⁹ Both suggest the bestowal of God’s authority on Adam/humanity to rule over the creation within God’s Kingdom and on God’s behalf. The metaphorical synonymy is not negated by the facts that δόξα is not found in Genesis 1:26-28 and εἰκὼν is not found in Psalm 8:5-8 LXX. Whether the psalm is textually based on Genesis 1 or vice versa presently remains unclear,²⁶⁰ but the thematic and linguistic evidence warrants the strong possibility of either textual relationship.²⁶¹ It is certainly possible that a first-century Jewish writer such as Paul would have seen the connection between the two poems, both of which he utilized in his letters.²⁶²

Fourth, it is no coincidence that in certain key passages where Paul uses δόξα in Romans it is in close proximity to his use of εἰκὼν (Rom. 1:23-5; 8:29-20; see 1 Cor. 11:7; 15:40-9; 2 Cor. 2:7—4:6; Col. 1:11, 15, 27; 3:4-10) or, more generally, to

²⁵⁶ See Beale 2004: 66-121; Middleton 2005: 26-9; Beale 2008: 127-35.

²⁵⁷ Schaefer 2001: 24. Though the Greek is ambiguous, the writer of the Psalm in the MT most likely did not have Adam in mind in 8:5 as the Hebrew term used was not אֱדָם but אֲנִישׁ.

²⁵⁸ The ‘image of God’ is, of course, an ongoing topic of debate. For extended discussions on the history of interpretations of the phrase and on understanding the ‘image of God’ as a functional image and/or royal image, see Clines 1968; Bird 1981; Hall 1986; Jónsson 1988; Hughes 2001; Middleton 2005; Beale 2008; McDowell 2015. After noting the five main solutions suggested for understanding what the ‘image’ or ‘likeness’ refers to, Wenham (1987: 31-2) states that ‘the strongest case has been made for the view that the divine image makes man God’s vice-regent on earth’. He writes: ‘The image makes man God’s representative on earth. That man is made in the divine image and is thus God’s representative on earth was a common oriental view of the king . . . Man is here bidden to rule and subdue the rest of creation, an obviously royal task (cf. 1 Kgs. 5:4 [4:24], etc.) and Ps. 8 speaks of man as having been created a little lower than the angels, *crowned* with glory and made to *rule* the works of God’s hands. The allusions to the functions of royalty are quite clear in Ps. 8’: 1987: 30; emphasis original.

²⁵⁹ See 4Q504 frag. 8 where the image and glory of God are conflated: ‘Thou hast fashioned [Adam], our [f]ather in the likeness of [Thy] glory’.

²⁶⁰ Craigie 1983: 106.

²⁶¹ See 2 Baruch 14:17-19.

²⁶² Not faced with today’s text-critical conversations, Paul presumably understood Genesis 1 to be written significantly earlier than Psalm 8.

texts which already are listed as possible echoes of Adam (Rom. 3:23).²⁶³ Romans 1:23; 3:23; and 8:29-30, based on both Genesis 1:26-28 and Psalm 8:6-9 LXX, establish Paul's storyline of redemption within Romans, telling his readers what Adam/humanity was meant to do, what Adam/humanity did wrong (informed by his re-reading of Gen. 3:1-19), and, because of what the Son has done, what those who share in the Son's inheritance do now in part and will do in the future in full (Rom. 8:17, 29). I shall argue this more completely below.

These four reasons will not convince everyone. Grant Macaskill, for example, has argued in *Union with Christ* that scholars should recognise less readily the presence of Adam and specifically the glory of Adam in Pauline texts. He dedicates a chapter to examining the Adamic backgrounds to union with Christ, from which he draws three conclusions: (1) the lack of Adamic glory in Second Temple texts should make New Testament interpreters hesitate to assign Adamic glory to New Testament texts which are not clearly based on solid evidence; (2) the diversity of Adam traditions within Jewish literature should challenge Paul's readers to allow for the same level of diversity; and (3) the Adamic glory traditions within Jewish texts are never the primary motifs but are integrated into the larger narrative of Israel's history, a fact which should lend itself to Paul's use of Adam in the same manner.²⁶⁴

Macaskill rightly critiques those who want to collapse the diverse traditions of Adam which exist in Jewish literature into Paul's reading of Adam. As I will make clear throughout this thesis, I do not suggest that Paul reappropriates in the person of Christ a tradition which speaks of Adam's loss of an innate splendour in the fall. That being said, Paul does bring together Adam, image, glory, Christ, and morphic language (which I note below) which must be reckoned with. A more defensible position, I suggest, particularly with regard to the glory of Adam or humanity in Psalm 8, but also elsewhere, is recognising the possibility that the glory can be understood in terms other than splendour. As was made clear in the previous chapter, within the LXX the glory or glorification of humans is rarely presented as splendour. Rather, it is almost exclusively presented as man's honour or exalted status, and is very often associated with a position of authority or rule.²⁶⁵ When Adam's glory is understood as honour which is associated with a status of rule and is viewed coterminously with his vocational rule as bearer of the image of God, then Psalm 8 and its significance for Pauline Christology and anthropology become unmistakable.

²⁶³ In this, Tooman's criterion of distinctiveness and multiplicity are both present. The δόξα trope can, no doubt, stem from a number of antecedent texts, but its relationship to εἰκόν makes it quite distinct to Psalm 8, particularly in those texts where εἰκόν is used nearby.

²⁶⁴ Macaskill 2013: 133-43.

²⁶⁵ I note again that the distinction between reading glory as splendour vs. honour/exalted status/power is not one of ontology vs. function. The distinction, rather, is semantic. Both are ontological qualities, both are qualities which are gifted by God and experienced only in relation to God, and both have their place in Paul's language of glory. See further the discussion of glorification as an ontological transformation in union with Christ in §4.1.2.

One further note: Macaskill also warns against ‘assigning Adamic connotations to Psalm 8 in the mind of a Jewish reader’. He does so on the basis of the Rabbinic use of Psalm 8 in *Pesikta Rabbati* 25:4, in which the glory is not ascribed to humanity or Adam, but to the Torah given to Israel. Based on this, Macaskill concludes that the Psalm’s ‘christological significance was not primarily seen as Adamic’.²⁶⁶ In the context of *Pesikta Rabbati* 25:4, this conclusion is correct. Yet as Kinzer concluded above, though the ‘son of man’ in the psalm is applied to Adam, Enoch, Abraham, Moses, and the Torah (the connotation Macaskill picks up on) throughout the literature, ‘those individuals were usually presented as in some way fulfilling the vocation of Adam’.²⁶⁷ Moreover, the textual similarities alone, which I noted above, warrant assigning the *primary* connotations of Psalm 8 to those of Adam.

These four factors—Psalm 8 in 1 Corinthians 15:27; Paul’s re-reading of Genesis 1—3; the relationship between Genesis 1:26-28 and Psalm 8:5-8 LXX; and the overlap of δόξα and εἰκόν in Paul—by no means confirm Paul’s use of Psalm 8 within Romans. Nevertheless, they solidify the *possibility* that when Paul used δόξα in Romans, especially in the texts in proximity to εἰκόν but not necessarily limited to them, Psalm 8 and the crowning of Adam with glory and honour was a possible textual backdrop. *Within Romans, therefore, it is—at a minimum—possible that humanity’s hope for glory (2:7, 10; 5:2; 8:18, 21; 9:23) and glorification (8:17, 30) means humanity’s hope to share in the exalted status with Christ in his rule over creation, having received the crown of glory originally given to Adam in their co-glorification with Christ, the new Adam.* This is confirmed by two things: 1) the inadequacy of understanding δόξα as a visible light associated with the manifest presence of God or Imperial notions of glory; and 2) the plausibility of the presence of Psalm 8 in Romans.

3.2.3 Adam in Paul’s Image and Morphic Language

Adam is mentioned explicitly only seven times in Paul’s letters: in the contexts of Romans 5:12-21, 1 Corinthians 15:21-28, 45-47, and 1 Timothy 2:12-15. From this only two conclusions are typically drawn: (1) Adam is not as important to Paul’s theology as he is often made out to be; he is hardly mentioned; and (2) Adam is critical to Paul’s theology; he is mentioned explicitly in Romans and 1 Corinthians in passages which are central to and/or climactic in and/or theologically significant to Paul’s letters. I suggest the latter expression is more accurate, not least because the figure of Adam is arguably present in intertextual echoes elsewhere in Paul’s letters, most importantly for our purposes in Romans 1:23; 3:23; and 8:29, which I will discuss below.

²⁶⁶ Macaskill 2013: 142.

²⁶⁷ Kinzer 1995: 215.

Those familiar with the question of the presence of Adam naturally and rightly think of the work of James Dunn. But in more recent years, the mantle has been taken up by George van Kooten in his 2008 *Paul's Anthropology in Context*, where he traces Paul's 'image' and morphic language in contrast with 'image of god' and morphic language of both Jewish and Graeco-Roman literature.²⁶⁸ Van Kooten concludes, in part, that 'image' and 'form' are fundamentally connected in both sets of sources and that Paul's use of 'image' and 'form' (or morphic language) are similarly connected. Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly here, van Kooten suggests that Paul's image and morphic language are part and parcel of Paul's Adam Christology. Van Kooten suggests:

The extent of the semantic and conceptual field of the divine image is larger than might be assumed at first glance; the scope of Paul's Adam Christology is extensive. The extent of this field is so large, and especially its inclusion of morphic language so important that, without much exaggeration, one could characterize Paul's Christology and anthropology as 'morphic'. This semantic taxonomy of only a part of Paul's Adam Christology shows that this type of Christology is indeed very dominant in Paul'.²⁶⁹

In his hearty agreement with Dunn's emphasis on Paul's Adam Christology, but in recognition that even Dunn has overlooked this image-form taxonomy, van Kooten writes:

I wish to contribute to this search by focusing on the semantic field of the image of God, which is part of Paul's Adam Christology. It seems that the semantic-conceptual field of the notion of the image of God is larger and more coherent than is often realized. I shall argue that the notion of the image of God not only comprises the terminology of 'image' (εἰκών) but also that of μορφή ('form') and its cognate terms μορφόομαι ('take on form, be formed'), σύμμορφος ('having the same form, similar in form'), συμμορφίζομαι ('be conformed to, take on the same form as'), and, last but not least, μεταμορφόομαι ('be transformed, be changed into the same form').²⁷⁰

For van Kooten, Adam lurks behind the surface of numerous texts which are often not recognised as Adamic, namely those in which Paul's image-form taxonomy occurs

²⁶⁸ Van Kooten (2008a: 70) writes: 'I agree with [Dunn] that "Adam plays a larger role in Paul's theology than is usually realized", that "Adam is a key figure in Paul's attempt to express his understanding both of Christ and of man", and that "it is necessary to trace the extent of the Adam motif in Paul if we are to appreciate the force of his Adam Christology"', quoting Dunn from his 1989 *Christology in the Making*: 101.

²⁶⁹ Van Kooten 2008a: 71; see pp. 75, 91, 340-92.

²⁷⁰ Van Kooten 2008a: 70.

(e.g. Rom. 1:23; 8:29; Phil. 3:21, among others). Van Kooten's argument will be taken up at various places throughout this thesis.

3.2.4 *Echoes of Adam in Romans 1 and 3*

I will discuss briefly the evidence for viewing 1:23 and 3:23 as implicit allusions to Adam on the basis of Tooman and Hays' criteria, leaving that of 8:29 to chapter five where a more comprehensive treatment will be given.²⁷¹ Despite its reception since antiquity and its continued wide acceptance in modern scholarship, many now reject the Edenic fall narrative as the backdrop of 1:18-32 and specifically of 1:23. Those who reject an allusion to Genesis 3 in Romans 1:23 do so on the basis that neither 'Adam' nor the 'fall' is mentioned in Romans 1:18-32. Some thus opt for a middle ground: Paul is not describing Adam's fall, as it is recorded in Genesis 3, but he would no doubt see the correlation between it and the fall of humanity more generally. Moo writes, 'That Paul may view the "fall" of individual human beings as analogous *in some ways* to the Fall of the first human pair is likely, but the text does not warrant the conclusion that he is specifically describing the latter'.²⁷²

Stanley Stowers raises a serious objection to the implicit reference to a fall narrative in *A Rereading of Romans*.²⁷³ What is described in 1:18-32, Stowers suggests, is neither the fall of humanity nor specifically of the primal pair, but the 'sinful degradation into which the non-Jewish peoples have declined owing to their worship of many gods and idols'.²⁷⁴ 'Since they have refused to acknowledge him', Stowers continues, 'the true God has punished these idol worshippers by allowing their enslavement to the passions (*pathē*) and the desires (*epithumiai*) of their bodies. Thus they live in societies characterized by evil and vice'.²⁷⁵ Romans 1:18-32 is about the 'human degeneration into the non-Jewish peoples',²⁷⁶ and not the primal pair's fall into sin, nor that of humanity at large. Three critiques must be made at this point.

²⁷¹ I note a critical point: *even if* the argument is not persuasive that 1:23 and 3:23 allude to the figure of Adam, Paul's explicit use of Adam in Romans 5:12-21 as a partial basis to his Christology—a Christology at the heart of his eschatological anthropology in Romans 5—8—is warrant enough to read the 'hope of glory' texts in Romans 8 as references to the glory that will be *given by God* to a *humanity redeemed in the new Adam* who is not ruled by Sin and Death but who rules over Sin and Death. Put another way: understanding humanity's glory as a renewed Adamic glory in Romans 8 is not dependent on the presence of allusions to Adam in 1:23 and 3:23. The presence of Adam in these texts simply makes it all the more likely in 8:29.

²⁷² Moo 1996: 110n85; emphasis original. In the same place, Moo argues that, because 'Rom. 1 focuses on human neglect of "natural revelation", whereas Rom. 5:13-14 shows that Paul linked Adam with Israel in being responsible for "special revelation", Adam is not in view in 1:23. Moreover, this is the case because no clear allusions to Gen. 3 exist in the text'. For views against the echo of Adam in 1:23, see also Scroggs 1966: 75-9; Fitzmyer 1993: 283; Stowers 1994: 83-125; Esler 2003: 148-50.

²⁷³ Stowers 1994: 83-125.

²⁷⁴ Stowers 1994: 36-7. See also: pp. 83-125.

²⁷⁵ Stowers 1994: 37.

²⁷⁶ Stowers 1994: 107.

First, Stowers finds partial support for his rejection of the Adamic fall narrative in Levison's *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism*. With Levison, he argues that Adam is not echoed in Romans 1:23 because it was not until post-70 AD when Jewish writers such as those of 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch began assessing anew the consequences of Adam's transgression. The new assessment, Stowers writes, 'stems from a profound pessimism generated by the catastrophe to Judaism caused by the destruction of Jerusalem. Paul lived on the other side of this divide. The Judaism of 4 Ezra and Baruch would have been unimaginable to the apostle'.²⁷⁷

This assumption, however, raises a number of questions. (1) If Jews began to reconsider the consequences of Adam's sin after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 AD, what prevented the same conclusion in 586 BC? (2) Stowers and Levison both rightly acknowledge the variety of Jewish interpretations of Genesis 1—3, none of which are deemed dependent on the others. Why, then, is Paul's interpretation of Genesis 1—3 expected to align with a previously held Jewish interpretation? Why is Paul's Damascus Road experience not enough of a *Tendenz* particular to Paul as a zealous Pharisee who now understands that Jesus is the anticipated messiah—a messiah who has not only died by crucifixion but also resurrected from the dead? (3) Would a personal encounter with a resurrected human not challenge a person's preconceptions of reality equally as much as (if not more so) the relatively anticipated military defeat and thus re-destruction of holy places? (4) Is the argument for what 'would have been unimaginable to the apostle' dependent on extant sources, as both Levison and Stowers assume it to be? (5) Can one assume that the writers of 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch were wholly unfamiliar with Paul's writings on Adam, sin, and death? Space does not permit discussion of these questions, but they are important to note nonetheless. Both Stowers and Levison are correct to point out the variety of Jewish interpretations of Genesis 1—3 but are mistaken in the argument that Paul's interpretation must therefore align with one of the pre-existing interpretations.

Van Kooten also finds fault with Levison's treatment of the various occurrences of Adam in Jewish literature, describing it as showing 'traces of reductionism where he emphasizes, again and again, that all views on the "image of God" are wholly incorporated into the *Tendenzen* of a particular author, so that the notion almost ceases to have any substance of its own'.²⁷⁸ Van Kooten finds unity in the midst of diversity in the various 'image of God' texts in three motifs: (1) a shared 'antithesis between the image of God and other images'; (2) a 'divine anthropology'; and (3) 'a physical understanding of God's image'.²⁷⁹

Second, Stowers' rereading of Romans 1:18-32 fits within his larger rereading of Romans in which he concludes that the 'encoded readers' of Romans are not a

²⁷⁷ Stowers 1994: 88.

²⁷⁸ Van Kooten 2008a: 44.

²⁷⁹ Van Kooten 2008: 45-8.

combination of Jewish and Gentile believers, as traditionally understood, but Gentile believers alone.²⁸⁰ The purpose of Romans, according to Stowers, is to inform Gentile followers of Christ that their attempts at self-mastery through obedience to the Jewish law will not profit. Righteousness (or ‘self-mastery’) comes through the one perfect Law-keeper, Jesus Christ.²⁸¹ But this reading of the audience has not gone uncriticized. Several reviewers have found it provocative and insightful but ultimately unpersuasive.²⁸² On the basis of the reviews of Hays and Barclay in particular, I am unpersuaded that the ‘encoded readers’ are entirely Gentile, a crucial argument in Stowers’ overall argument.²⁸³ Hays systematically critiques Stowers’ examination or lack of examination of key Romans texts²⁸⁴ as evidence of Jews forming some part (even if minor) of the encoded audience.²⁸⁵ Stowers’ argument is shared by Mark Nanos who published just after Stowers and also argued that Paul’s ‘implied audience’ was ‘primarily, if not exclusively, Christian gentiles’.²⁸⁶ Because Nanos’ provocative work on Romans will not impact the argument of this thesis at large, I will not elaborate at this point, other than to suggest that many of Hays’ critiques of Stowers apply equally to Nanos’ argument as well.

Additionally, Stowers’ argument was picked up by Caroline Johnson Hodge, whose work will be noted throughout this thesis and especially when I turn to Romans 8 in particular. I am critical of a number of her arguments, many of which are reliant on that of Stowers’ rereading of Romans as a letter to an exclusively Gentile audience. Those issues which are in the first instance potential weaknesses in her work are made explicit flaws by her almost entire lack of any significant response to the critiques presented against Stowers, particularly Hays’ critiques of an exclusively Gentile audience in Romans. She briefly highlights the conversation,²⁸⁷ and on the partial-Jewish audience in Romans, in particular, she writes only that the arguments put forth in favour of a mixed audience ‘have been unconvincing’.²⁸⁸ Due to her self-acknowledged recognition that the nature of the audience is the ‘pivotal issue for

²⁸⁰ Stowers 1994: 21.

²⁸¹ Stowers 1994: 36.

²⁸² Barclay 1995: 646-51; Bassler 1996; Hays 1996; Peterson 1997.

²⁸³ See also Esler 2003 for what is perhaps the most recent thorough treatment of Romans as a letter to both Jews (Judeans) and Gentiles, as well as Longenecker’s (2011: 55-91) helpful summation of the issues and arguments surrounding the question of Paul’s addressees in Romans.

²⁸⁴ Rom. 1:16; 2:17; 3:22-23; 4:1; 5:1-11; 7:1; 15:7-13; 16:1-27.

²⁸⁵ Hays 1996: 36-9.

²⁸⁶ Nanos 2006: 84. Nanos argues that, ‘while [Paul’s] concerns in Romans involve Jews, they are not directed toward Jews, or Jewish exclusivism, except paradigmatically to clarify the problems inherent in the misguided views that were gaining ground among the *gentile* believers in Rome toward Jews, though perhaps springing from resentment because of the response of some Jews who may have been questioning their faith claims in Christ. . . . The mystery of Romans is revealed when we realize that the Paul we meet in this letter is engaged in confronting the initial development of just such a misunderstanding of God’s intentions in Rome manifest in Christian-*gentile* exclusivism’; 1996: 10; emphasis original.

²⁸⁷ Johnson Hodge 2007: 9-11.

²⁸⁸ Johnson Hodge 2007: 10.

determining one's reading of Paul²⁸⁹ and forms the fundamental basis for her entire argument, her lack of response to critics simply will not do.

Third, and more important for our purposes here, Stowers' reading of 1:23 as a description of humanity's degradation into non-Jewish idolaters does not necessitate a rejection of an implicit echo of Adam. Stowers may be correct that this is Paul's intended description in the passage. Nevertheless, nothing warrants the impossibility of using the Genesis narrative as an illustrative primal text for humanity's degradation into Gentile idolaters. In fact, van Kooten does just this:

In Romans 1, Paul criticizes those who have degenerated into idol-worshippers. . . . Whereas exchanging the glory of God for images of idols is a sign of mankind's decline, its restoration takes place when man is conformed to God's image [8:29]. The antagonism between the image of God and idols seems already to be part of the Old Testament background to the notion of the image of God. . . . It is not unlikely that the assertion that man is created 'in God's image' (Gen 1.26-27) could bear anti-idolatrous overtones, as the term 'image' is one of the words used to refer to idols.²⁹⁰

Van Kooten recognises that Paul can make his point about Gentile idolatry *on the basis of* the primal text. Fitzmyer, too, acknowledges that Paul is using the Hebrew Scriptures to characterise pagan idolatry; referring to Paul's allusion to Psalm 106:20 and Jeremiah 2:11, allusions whose presence in the text he does not reject, Fitzmyer writes, '[Paul] is simply extrapolating from such incidents in the history of the chosen people and applying the ideas to the pagan world'.²⁹¹ With Fitzmyer, and in reference not to Genesis 1—3 but to the possible echoes of Jeremiah and Psalm 105 (LXX), Philip Esler also notes that 'there was nothing to stop Paul applying to non-Israelites derogatory descriptions previously used of Israelites, especially when the language in question concerned idolatrous activities by Israelites'.²⁹² Fitzmyer and Esler ultimately reject an echo of Genesis 3 in Romans 1:18-32, but their recognition that Paul writes to Gentiles and that he uses ancient Israelite texts as his basis demonstrates the weakness of Stowers' argument. Against Stowers, reading Romans 1:23 as the Gentiles' degradation into idolatry does not thereby bar an echo of Genesis 1—3 from the verse.

²⁸⁹ Johnson Hodge 2007:9.

²⁹⁰ Van Kooten 2008a: 73-4.

²⁹¹ Fitzmyer 1993: 271. The same can be said for the implicit background of Wisdom of Solomon especially at 13:10—15:19. As rightly noted by most scholars, the Jewish polemic against idolatry is unmistakable in the text. But, as with Ps. 105:20 LXX and Jer. 2:11 (see below), it does not overshadow the clear reuse of Gen. 1:26-28.

²⁹² Esler 2003: 148-9.

Traditionally, scholars reject arguments for the implicit Genesis narrative in Romans 1:23 because the evidence of a ‘fall’ narrative from Genesis 3 is lacking,²⁹³ and *rightly so*; the embrace of idolatry, whether by humanity as a whole or Gentiles in particular, is not labelled in Genesis 3 as it is in Romans 1. But this does not mean that the Genesis narrative is therefore nonexistent in Romans 1:23; nor does it mean that because what is described in Romans 1:23 as idolatry does not in some way reflect or bear witness to any Genesis narrative. In fact, it is precisely in the *creation* narrative of Genesis 1:26-28 rather than the ‘fall’ narrative of Genesis 3 that the echo of ‘Adam’, aka ‘humanity’ in Romans 1:23 exists (see esp. Gen. 5:2 LXX: καὶ ἐπωνόμασεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν Ἀδαμ; **אָדָם** in Gen. 1:26, without distinction of male and female). It is here, both textually and theologically, that I suggest Paul’s point has been overlooked.²⁹⁴

Textually, the allusion to Adam as humanity in Genesis 1:26-28 is difficult to miss, at least on the grounds for determining intertextuality laid out by Richard Hays and William Tooman:

(1) Volume: With its associated elements of distinctiveness and multiplicity, volume is represented by the 3-fold reference to the animal world in both Romans 1:23 and Genesis 1:26, 28. Πτερινόν and ἐρπετόν occur in both Romans 1:23 and Genesis 1:26, 28, and while Paul uses τετράπους in Romans 1:23 rather than κτήνος, which is found in Genesis 1:26, 28, τετράπους is found immediately before it in Genesis 1:24. Moreover, lexical correspondence is demonstrable in three other words: εἰκόν and ἄνθρωπος in Romans 1:23 and Genesis 1:26, 27, and at least a strong possibility of correspondence between ὁμοίωσις in Genesis 1:26 and ὁμοίωμα in Romans 1:23. The volume of shared lexemes, then, between Romans 1:23 and Genesis 1:26-28 is weighty: five words correspond between Romans 1:23 and Genesis 1:26-28, with an additional word (τετράπους) bearing extremely close proximity.²⁹⁵

²⁹³ For arguments for the implicit echo, see e.g., Davies 1948; Hooker 1959-60; Jervell 1960; Barrett 1962; Brandenburger 1962; Scroggs 1966; Dunn 1989; Hooker 1990; Dunn 1998b.

²⁹⁴ This is not to suggest that scholarship has failed to see the textual echo of Gen. 1:26-28 in Rom. 1:23. Niels Hyldahl wrote an article in 1956 describing the textual relationship between the two passages, a point which numerous scholars have followed. Even Fitzmyer (1993: 274), who rejects the idea that Paul is referring to Adam in 1:23, acknowledges that any allusions that do exist regard Genesis 1. For this reason, Esler’s (2003: 149) comment that ‘it is far-fetched to introduce Adam into the picture’ is perhaps itself too far-fetched, or at least overstated. Esler himself acknowledges the possibility of Deut. 4:16-18 as the source from which Paul ‘derived’ the ‘paraphernalia of idol worship mentioned in Rom. 1:23’ (2003: 147), but does not acknowledge the lexical similarities between Rom. 1:23 and Gen. 1:26-28 recognised by Fitzmyer. Esler goes on to suggest that the Sodom tradition stands behind Rom. 1:18-32 (2003: 149-50), an insight which may offer another valid reading. But this does not explain away the linguistic link between Rom. 1:23 and Gen. 1:26-27.

²⁹⁵ See Hooker 1960; Dunn 1989: 101-2; Dunn 1988a: 60-1; Beale 2008: 203. Also in agreement are Byrne 2007: 68; Wright 2002: 432; Harrison 2011: 257.

(2) Thematic correspondence: Genesis 1 implies no wickedness in humanity, in contrast to Paul’s description of humanity’s sinful state in Romans 1. Nevertheless, the two texts share the same theme of a creation context: ‘since the creation of the world (κτίσεως κόσμου)’, Paul writes in Romans 1:20. Given the lexical overlap noted above, it is difficult to assign this contextual/thematic correspondence to coincidence.

(3) Recurrence: Paul later refers to the ‘first man’, Adam, explicitly in Romans 5:12, 17. Moreover, he refers in Romans 8:19-22 to the impact on creation of humanity’s rejection of its created purpose, thus picking up (albeit implicitly) the theme of the curse placed on the ground in Genesis 3:17 as a result of the sin of the ‘first man’ and, theologically, as a result of his rejection of his created purpose: to be the image (Gen. 1) and glory (Ps. 8) of God.

If Hays’ and especially Tooman’s criteria—with Tooman’s having received little to no criticism—for determining intertextual echoes/allusions are demonstrably fulfilled, which they are, then the textual burden of proof for objecting to an allusion to Adam in Romans 1:23 lies on those who object to its possibility. Käsemann recognises the correspondences without elaborating on them, but rejects the idea that Paul could here be alluding to Genesis 1:26-28 on the basis of the fact that Paul applies the term εἰκών to the animals as well. Käsemann nevertheless acknowledges that ‘the association certainly may be derived from the creation story’.²⁹⁶ Yet, as van Kooten persuasively demonstrates, there is an antagonism between the image of God and the images and/or forms of idols throughout the Old Testament, as well as in other Jewish literature.²⁹⁷ This indistinction is illustrated by *Sibylline Oracles* 3.8: ‘Men, who have the form which God moulded in his image’ (ἄνθρωποι θεόπλαστον ἔχοντες ἐν εἰκόνι μορφῆν).²⁹⁸ The strict metaphysical distinction Käsemann wants to keep between the image of God and those of idols is not a distinction held within early Judaism. With Harrison, ‘Jewish auditors familiar with the Genesis narrative would have spotted Paul’s *clear allusion* to the subjugation of the created order (Gen 1:26b: birds, livestock, creeping things) that mankind, as the image of God (Gen 1:26a), was commanded to undertake’.²⁹⁹ Stowers, in all his argumentation against the presence of Genesis 1—2, fails to mention the textual correspondences between Genesis 1:26-28 and Romans 1:23.³⁰⁰ He writes only that ‘the commonly cited Jewish

²⁹⁶ Käsemann 1964: 45.

²⁹⁷ Van Kooten 2008a: 69-91.

²⁹⁸ See van Kooten 2008a: 89 where he quotes this text in response to Fee, saying ‘Fee’s distinction between “form” and “image” runs contrary to the way in which (the combination) of these terms would have been commonly understood in Antiquity’. The same argument can be made against Käsemann on Rom. 1:23.

²⁹⁹ Harrison 2011: 257.

³⁰⁰ See Bassler 1996: 367 who critiques Stowers’ lack of emphasis on the Jewish narratives.

parallels ought to be viewed as peculiar versions of the larger phenomenon of ancient primitivism’, or what he calls ‘decline narratives’.³⁰¹

The textual evidence for an allusion to Genesis 1:26-28 in Romans 1:23 is unmistakable, however. Moreover, once the textual link is identified, the theological link between Romans 1:23 and Genesis 1:26-28 is also made clear. As noted above, the traditionally suggested allusion is to an implied ‘fall’ narrative of the primal pair—a narrative rooted in Genesis 3 and a narrative which, in agreement with Stowers, Esler, and Fitzmyer, does not exist in Romans 1. Paul’s point in each of the texts is *not* to emphasise the fall of humanity (though humanity’s sin is nonetheless implied, as is made clear in Romans 3:23), but rather to emphasise the fact that, in its rejection of God, *humanity failed to be the image of God in its created purpose as those who are meant to rule over the created order*. Byrne rightly recognises the heart of the verse:

Behind the line of argument here would seem to be the biblical tradition, stemming from Gen 1:26-28, where human beings, created in the image and likeness of God, are given dominion over the rest of creation (fish, birds, animals, reptiles), a motif given more poetic expression in Psalm 8 (esp. vv 5-8). Idolatry represents the summit of “futility” (v 21) in that it has human beings submitting themselves in worship to the creatures over which they were meant to rule. This perverts the whole *raison-d’être* of the non-human created world, subjecting it to “futility” (8:30).³⁰²

The point of Romans 1:23 is not the ‘fall’ into sin of the primal pair from Genesis 3, particularly through idolatry, which thus impacted either Gentiles specifically or humanity more generally, but humanity’s (אדם) ‘exchange of the glory of the immortal God’ in terms of its failure to fulfill its created purpose or identity as creatures made in the image of God, having dominion over creation as vicegerents of the Creator God—*hence Paul’s obvious allusion to Genesis 1:26-28 and not Genesis 3:6*. Ortlund rightly argues that Paul’s reference here is not to God’s own glory, which then implies an ‘exchange of worship’, but ‘it is probably human glory (the divine image) that is in view’.³⁰³ Humanity’s rejection of its created purpose throughout history took the form of idolatry—a form found in both Gentile and Jewish history—and resulted in a humanity which existed in their actions and desires as shadows of their created selves (Romans 1:24-32). Though the ‘fall’ narrative of Genesis 2—3 is not implicit in Romans 1:23, Genesis 1:26-28 certainly is. Moreover, though the name ‘Adam’ is not mentioned in Romans 1, the created purpose or identity of corporate

³⁰¹ Stowers 1994: 85.

³⁰² Byrne 2007: 68.

³⁰³ Ortlund 2014: 117. See Hooker 1960: 305.

humanity (‘adam’; אָדָם) in Genesis 1:26-28 is undoubtedly of central importance in Romans 1:23.

An adamic (i.e. all humanity in Adam) echo also exists in Romans 3:23: πάντες γὰρ ἥμαρτον καὶ ὑστεροῦνται τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ.³⁰⁴ When this echo is recognised, scholars generally assume a link exists between the δόξα in 3:23 and Jewish traditions of Adam losing his garment of glory (*Gen. Rab.* 12.6) and/or the light of God with which he was at first clothed (*Apoc. Mos.* 21).³⁰⁵ That Paul was even aware of these Adam traditions, however, is dubious, especially given that the date of writing of *Genesis Rabbah* was significantly past the mid-first century and that the existence of a Hebrew vorlage for *Apocalypse of Moses* is based entirely on speculation. The texts were possibly written as late as 400 AD.³⁰⁶ If Paul referred to Adam’s ‘fall from glory’ narrated in the two non-biblical texts, he relied on either an oral or non-extant written tradition on which these two non-biblical texts were also based. This is not to say that all scholars who hear an echo of Adam assume a connection to the Jewish texts. As noted above, Newman and Harrison correctly suggest that the glory of humanity in Romans 3:23 is not a reference to these later accounts of Adam’s loss of glory but to a ‘ruptured relationship’ between God and humanity;³⁰⁷ but in this assessment, they stand quite alone.

I do not, however, suggest that the figure of Adam is thus absent in Romans 3:23. If the textual echo of Genesis 1:26-28 was lacking from Romans 1:23, such a conclusion would be warranted. But Genesis 1:26-28 is present in Romans 1:23, and Romans 3:23 is a restatement of 1:23 in summarised form: πάντες γὰρ ἥμαρτον καὶ ὑστεροῦνται τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ.³⁰⁸ The thematic connection between Romans 1:23 and 3:23 is unmistakable, with the only differences being that in 3:23 Paul replaces ἀλλάσσω with ὑστερέω and the reference to humanity’s rejection of its created purpose as ‘sin’. As in 1:23, Paul does not mention Adam specifically, but the textual and thematic correspondences between the two verses warrants reading them as referring to the same rejection of humanity’s created identity: God’s glory. Moreover, given the previously demonstrated correlation between image and glory in Genesis 1:26-28 and Psalm 8:6-9 LXX, and the thematic relationship between humanity being crowned with glory in Psalm 8:6 and ‘lacking’ the glory of God in Romans 3:23, it is also within the scope of possibility that not only is humanity in Adam from Genesis

³⁰⁴ *Contra* Stowers (1994: 190), who argues that Paul here refers ‘only to gentiles or perhaps to extremely wicked and unrepentant Jews,’ the grammatical dependence of 3:23 on 3:22 requires that both Jews and Gentiles be in view. As Hays (1996: 38) directly and appropriately critiques Stowers at this point: ‘This simply will not wash’; see also Barclay 1995: 649.

³⁰⁵ See 3 Baruch 4:16. See Hooker 1960; Barrett 1962; Scroggs 1966: 26-27, 54-56; Käsemann 1980: 95; Dunn 1988a: 168; Hughes 1989: 130; Schreiner 1998: 187; Seifrid 2007: 618; Byrskog 2008: 9-10, to name just a few.

³⁰⁶ Charlesworth 1983b: 251-2.

³⁰⁷ Newman 1992: 225-7; Harrison, following Newman, in 2011: 264-5.

³⁰⁸ See Harrison 2011: 263, 265.

1:26-28 behind the text, but so also is the humanity crowned with glory and honour from Psalm 8. The glory which humanity lacks (because of their sin) is the glory of God. It is the glory which forms the identity and purpose of humanity—to have all things under their feet (Ps. 8:7 LXX). The links between the motif of human glory in the LXX, as illustrated in Psalm 8, and image, as in Genesis 1:26-28, warrant the strong possibility that here in Romans 3:23 it is the adamic glory (honour associated with their status as vicegerents over creation) which humanity now lacks. I will return to the nature of this glory in the final section of this chapter.

3.2.5 *Adam's Identity as Paradigmatic*

Here in 1:23 and 3:23, the image and glory of Adam is presented as the paradigmatic image and glory ascribed to all humanity in Genesis 1:26-27 and Psalm 8:6-9 LXX. Paul describes Adam's (humanity's) created identity and vocation negatively by describing humanity's rejection of that image in Romans 1:23 and lack of that glory in 3:23. As noted above, this is the function of the echo of Adam in both texts: humanity in Adam was created to be and to act as God's royal representatives on earth—an identity which humanity rejected.

The function of the Adamic echo shifts slightly in Romans 5:12-21, where the echo is first presented in an Adam-Christ typology and where the *fall* narrative of Genesis 3 is first presented.³⁰⁹ Here Paul's focus turns from the image and glory of humanity in Adam from Genesis 1:26-28/Ps. 8:6-9 LXX to the sin and death which resulted from the one man, Adam (Gen. 2—3). Romans 5:12 reads: 'sin entered the world through (ὁ) one man', which indicates, according to Moo, that 'Paul's focus is on [Adam's] role as the instrument through whom sin and death were unleashed in the world'.³¹⁰ Paul continues in 5:12 by saying that 'death came to all people because (ἐφ' ᾧ) all sinned'. Esler notes that when this final phrase (ἐφ' ᾧ) is taken as a causal conjunction (rather than as an introduction of a relative clause³¹¹), as most modern scholars see it,³¹² then 'Paul's idea seems to be that while Adam's sin unleashed death, so that he was the ultimate cause ("many died through one's person's wrongdoing," 5:15), nevertheless all other human beings still needed to subject themselves to it, and did so'.³¹³ In this way, then, Adam's sin was paradigmatic as well.

³⁰⁹ Again, this proposed reading is in opposition to traditional readings which attempt to establish echoes of Genesis 3:6 in Romans 1:23 and 3:23.

³¹⁰ Moo 1996: 321.

³¹¹ See Fitzmyer 1993: 413.

³¹² See again Moo 1996: 322 for a breakdown of the various translations offered of the conjunction. Fitzmyer 1993:413-17 also has a helpful, extended discussion of the various renderings of this final conjunction.

³¹³ Esler 2003: 200.

The sin, death, and condemnation which resulted from the sin of one man, Adam, Paul then sets in direct contrast with the grace, life, and righteousness which resulted from the obedience of the one man, Christ (5:15-19). In this way, the one man, Adam, is ‘a type of the one to come’, Christ (5:14). Again, Esler helpfully notes that: ‘Here τύπος carries the meaning of “type” in the sense of a person from the primordial time who provides a pattern for a phenomenon in the New Testament period, an example or rule, an “advance presentation” intimating end-time events’.³¹⁴ And, yet, more seems to be involved in Paul’s Adam-Christ typology here than recognition of the two individuals as mere patterns. In 5:19 the relationships between Adam and Christ and those associated with each ‘one man’ become more obviously corporate: ‘For just as by the one man’s disobedience the *many were made sinners*, so by the one man’s obedience the many will be made righteous’. Humanity’s sin, which was individual in nature in 5:12, has now become corporate in nature: ‘Adam’s disobedience placed the mass of humanity in a condition of sin and estrangement from God; the text does not imply that they became sinners merely by imitating Adam’s transgression; rather, they were constituted sinners by him and his act of disobedience’.³¹⁵ This corporate relationship which Paul hints at in 5:19 will become foundational in his description of baptism into Christ in chapter six and the incorporation of believers in Christ as the Son in Romans 8.

But the relationship between humanity’s personal responsibility for its sin in 5:12 and the corporate relationship which seems to stand behind Adam and humanity in 5:19 should not be pressed farther than the text allows. All humanity in Adam was created to serve as God’s representatives; the image and glory invested in the first Adam is the same image and glory with which all humanity was invested. Adam represents what humanity was intended to be and what they, through sin, elected to be.

3.2.6. Conclusion

Based on these considerations and by way of introduction to the final section of this chapter, I suggest that Paul utilised the Greek Scriptures to tell the story of God’s faithfulness to Israel, and he did so in a way that directly corresponded with the culture in which his readers lived. The denotation of δόξα and δοξάζω in Romans, both in reference to God and to humanity, was intelligible in first-century Rome to both Jewish and Gentile Christians because it shared the same denotative function in reference to both God and humanity as was used throughout the LXX and in first-century socio-political Roman parlance. In reference to God, δόξα and δοξάζω in Romans primarily denote the honor, esteem, power, or governing status of God as a

³¹⁴ Esler 2003: 200-1.

³¹⁵ Fitzmyer 1993: 421.

result of his identity as Creator and King.³¹⁶ And in reference to humanity, δόξα and δοξάζω primarily denote the honor, esteem, power, governing status of people as a result of their identity as renewed humans in the new Adam. This thesis will be fleshed out on multiple levels over the course of this chapter and those that follow. Here I offer only an observation deck analysis of δόξα and δοξάζω in Romans. In subsequent chapters the analysis will be done on ground level.

Following a similar categorisation scheme as that which was utilised in the previous chapter, here is what can clearly be seen in Romans, even from a distance:

		Honour, Praise Given/Received in Ascription:	Honour, Status, Power, Character Possessed by:	Visible Splendour (as theophany, presence of God, etc.)
δόξα	God	3:7; 4:20; 11:36; 15:7; 16:27	6:4	
	Humanity		2:7, 10	
δοξάζω	God	1:21		
	Humanity			

Left to be determined, then, are the denotions of δόξα and δοξάζω with reference to God in 1:23; 3:23; 5:2; 9:23a and to humanity/believers in 8:17 (συνδοξάζω), 18, 21, 30; 9:4, 23b.

3.3 Paul's Anthropological 'Narrative of Glory' in Romans

I have argued that Paul uses δόξα and δοξάζω to refer to the glory of humanity in Psalm 8 in relationship to Genesis 1 and 3. I now turn our attention to Paul's specific use of the terms throughout Romans. I will argue here that throughout the letter there is an implied narrative of glory, a narrative which begins with humanity forsaking the glory of God, i.e. humanity's purposed identity and vocation (Rom. 1:23; 3:23) and God's people receiving again the glory of God (Rom. 2:7, 10; 5:2; 8:17, 21, 30; 9:23). This narrative of glory forms the heart of the meaning behind Paul's dense phrase 'conformed to the image of [God's] Son'.

I am aware of only one other attempt at this narrative construction of glory in Romans. Samuel Byrskog wrote in 2008 an article titled 'Christology and Identity in an Intertextual Perspective: The Glory of Adam in the Narrative Substructure of Paul's Letter to the Romans'. Byrskog traces Adam's fall from glory in Romans 1—3 to humanity's redemption to glory in conformity to Christ in 8:18-30. He does so with the purpose of 'asking about the existence of a narrative substructure that holds

³¹⁶ See §2.2.2.1.

together the allusions and the explicit references to Adam in Romans and opens up avenues to a more dynamic thinking about Christology and identity'.³¹⁷ Byrskog concludes that Christian identity and Christology find their link in Paul's Adam-Christology, a conclusion that I too will share.³¹⁸

Why then is this examination of humanity's glory and glorification in Romans necessary? While Byrskog explores the same intertextual links between Romans and Genesis 1—3, and rightly suggests that the echoes in 8:18-30 refer to the renewed glory which was lost in 1:23 and 3:23,³¹⁹ he makes one major assumption: that the source material for Paul's references to Adam's glory is the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*. Because of this, he presupposes that humanity's original glory is the splendour or radiance with which Adam was clothed in *LAE* 21:6. Moreover, Byrskog links 'image' and 'glory' but never articulates what it means to be 'made in the image of God'. Though I appreciate a vast amount of Byrskog's essay on the narrative substructure of glory in Romans, it should not be assumed that Paul drew from the same tradition as the writer of *LAE* 21:6, and thus further work is required.

This narrative substructure of glory in Romans which Byrskog rightly notes will quickly become clear. Throughout the letter, δόξα is used fifteen times: 1:23; 2:7, 10; 3:7, 23; 4:20; 5:2; 6:4; 8:18, 21; 9:4, 23; 11:36; 15:7; 16:27. Δοξάζω is used six times: Romans 1:21; 8:17 (συνδοξάζω); 8:30; 11:13; 15:6, 9. I suggest that the 'glory of God' in 1:23; 3:23; 5:2; 9:23 refers not only to the glory possessed by God but also to the glory possessed by humanity via their participation in the glory of God,³²⁰ in much the same way that δόξα in 2:7, 10; 8:18, 21, and perhaps 9:4 refers to a glory possessed by humans. And, with the exception of 8:17, 30 which we must defer for the moment, δοξάζω always refers to the giving of honour or praise on the basis of a status, presumably that of dominion/sovereignty. This case will be made for 8:17 and 30 as well. Similarly, nearly every instance of δόξα can be understood likewise.³²¹ When we read δόξα in Romans through the lens of a post-Damascus re-reading of Psalm 8 (and its relationship to Genesis 1 and 3),³²² the texts begin to tell a remarkable story—a story of the enthronement, abdication and re-enthronement of God's people as God's representatives within his kingdom. God's people do have a hope of glory—not just to reflect the glorious presence of God, but to be the fullest expression of true humanity in their vicegerency with the Son of God. This narrative

³¹⁷ Byrskog 2008: 2.

³¹⁸ Byrskog 2008: 14-8.

³¹⁹ Byrskog 2008: 10-14.

³²⁰ The term 'participation' will be examined and defined in §4.1.2.

³²¹ Rom. 6:4 is less explicit but no indication exists that it is a reference to God's radiance or manifest presence. In fact, one would expect Paul to say 'power' here instead. See Dunn 1988a: 315; Schreiner 1998: 311. Byrne (2007: 196n4) writes: 'The translation takes the preposition *dia* instrumentally, so that *doxa* is virtually equivalent to the power of God, a sense which it frequently has in the LXX'.

³²² See Wright's discussion of 'Plight and Solution' in 2013a: 747-71.

substructure of glory will become clear upon examination of the critical δόξα texts in Romans to which we now turn.

3.3.1 Adam/Humanity Forsake the Glory of God

What, then, is the glory of God which humanity exchanged and thus lacked? For most scholars it is, without question, the visible manifestation of the presence of God. Moo describes τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ in Romans 1:23 as the ‘splendor and majesty that belong intrinsically to the one true God’³²³ and τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ in 3:23 as the ‘magnificent presence of the Lord’.³²⁴ Dunn maintains his understanding of glory from 1:23 to 3:23, having defined δόξα in 1:23 as ‘the awesome radiance of deity which becomes the visible manifestation of God in theophany and vision’.³²⁵ Käsemann describes this glory as ‘the radiance . . . which awaits the justified in heaven’,³²⁶ and, according to Fitzmyer, it is ‘the radiant external manifestation of his presence’.³²⁷ Gaffin, who shares this view, writes, ‘having so drastically defaced the divine image, they have, without exception, forfeited the privilege of reflecting his glory’.³²⁸ The list could go on. This is not to suggest that these are not viable options. Indeed, they make good sense, given the Damascus Christophany and the clear use of ‘glory’ as visible splendour in 2 Corinthians 3, a text to which I will turn anon.

Two cautionary points must be made here. First, given the multiple denotative variations of δόξα as it pertains to God and the entire lack of denotative variations of δόξα when applied to humanity in the LXX, as demonstrated in chapter two of this thesis, one should not assume that the glory of God in Romans, and especially in 1:23 and 3:23, refers to the visible, manifest presence of God with which humanity was originally endowed and thus lost. Second, given the dubiousness of Paul articulating the motif of the loss of an Adamic glory only found in later Jewish texts, as argued above, the rationale for understanding ‘the glory of God’ in 3:23 as Adam’s pre-fall visible splendour is thus entirely speculative.³²⁹ Though the paradigmatic representative of male and female (ἡτκ in Gen. 1:26) stands behind πάντες in 3:23, as it did the third-person-plural of ἀλλάσσω in 1:23, Adam’s loss of an outer garment of glory does not. Humanity in Adam abdicated their throne and the glory with which they were crowned, the glory of God in which they shared.³³⁰ ‘Falling short of’ or

³²³ Moo 1996: 108; emphasis mine.

³²⁴ Moo 1996: 226.

³²⁵ Dunn 1988a: 168, 59; emphasis mine.

³²⁶ Käsemann 1980: 94; emphasis mine.

³²⁷ Fitzmyer 1993: 283; emphasis mine.

³²⁸ Gaffin 1993: 348.

³²⁹ This is not to suggest that there is not overlap between the presentation of Adam in Paul (esp. Rom. 5:12-21; 1 Cor. 15:21-28) and in *Apocalypse of Moses/Life of Adam and Eve*. Most significantly, both accounts associate the *imago dei* with dominion; for the association in *Apoc. Mos.* see 10-12, 39; Levison 1988: 164-7, 185.

³³⁰ See Byrne 1996: 125.

‘lacking’³³¹ the glory of God meant for the Apostle exceedingly more than Adam losing his lustre. It was Adam/humanity losing his/their crown.

Rather than these two commonly held assumptions, I suggest this: because Genesis 1:26-28 is echoed in Romans 1:23, and because Genesis 1:26-28 is textually and thematically parallel to Psalm 8:5-9 LXX, and because Romans 1:23 and 3:23 refer to the same event, all of which I have demonstrated above, we can *therefore* argue that Genesis 1:26-28 and Psalm 8:5-9 LXX together form the textual and thematic backdrop to the narrative echoed in Romans 1:23 and 3:23: the creation of humanity in God’s image and with the enowment of God’s glory as God’s representatives within his kingly realm. Romans 1:23 and 3:23 both describe humanity’s *intended* identity and purpose as God’s vicegerants by describing its exchange of and thus loss of God’s glory—the glory which the son of man in Psalm 8 is intended to possess.

Romans 1:23 fits within the larger discourse framed by 1:18-25.³³² Here Paul sets the stage for humanity’s rebellion against God and rejection of its created purpose and, consequently, the need for the redemptive work of death and resurrection on the part of the Messiah.³³³ Romans 1:18-25 is the part of the story in which mankind rejects its created purpose, namely to worship and serve the Creator, by instead worshipping and serving the creation (1:25). Man ‘exchanged the glory of the immortal God for the likeness of the image of mortal man and animals and reptiles’ in 1:23, thereby abdicating the throne of dominion originally established for him at the time of creation (Gen. 1:26-28; Ps. 8:7 LXX).³³⁴ As Ortlund writes, ‘We stopped resembling the Creator and started resembling the creation. We became sub-

³³¹ The majority of contemporary versions translate ὑστεροῦνται as ‘fall short of’, given the genitive following the verb. The KJV and WEB have ‘come short of’ and only the NJB has ‘lack’—the gloss used in nearly every other New Testament use of the verb. ‘Lack’ is most appropriate here as well, despite the verb-genitive construction, as ‘fall short of’ merely obfuscates Paul’s dense phraseology and theology. ‘Fall short of’ is not used as a gloss for ὑστερέω at any other place in any translations of either the LXX or GNT.

³³² Romans 1:18-25 is a text questioned most recently and notably by Douglas Campbell, who suggests that Paul was using the rhetorical device of ‘speech in character’. Rather than espousing the content of 1:18-25 (1:18—3:20), Paul was establishing it as a misguided understanding—an understanding he would then go on to refute; see Campbell 2009: 519-41. On the basis of the criticisms put forth by Macaskill (2011), I also am unpersuaded by Campbell’s suggestion.

³³³ ἁμαρτία does not appear until 3:9, but is nevertheless the focus of 1:18-32; see Wright 2002: 430, 457.

³³⁴ Wolter (2015: 388-92) makes an interesting though ultimately unpersuasive assessment of God’s glory here. He begins in Rom. 4:20 by suggesting that the phrase ‘[Abraham] gave glory to God’ is synonymous with ‘[Abraham] believed God was God’; ‘Abraham believes in the promise, because he believes that God is God’ (p. 389). Wolter then works backward to Rom. 1:23 and suggests that, on the basis of Abraham giving ‘glory to God’ (aka ‘believing God is God’), the gentiles in 1:23 make the same mistake: they failed to believe that God is God. Though Abraham undoubtedly did believe that ‘God is God’, such believe is not necessarily synonymous with ‘giving glory to God’, aka praising, exalting, or honouring God on the basis of the fact that he is God. Moreover, the exchange of God’s glory in 1:23 is irreducible to a lack of belief that God is God. Lack of belief is certainly fundamental to the exchange of glory, but it is not synonymous with the exchange of glory.

human'.³³⁵ From creation onwards, every person could know God and honour him as such (Rom. 1:19-21), but chose instead to disregard their created duty and gave glory where the least glory was due (Rom. 1:21-25).³³⁶

This abdication of the throne is again expressed in 3:23, in which the 'they' of Romans 1 is explicitly 'all (humanity)' (and 'all humanity' will be viewed as 'in Adam' in Romans 5). Everyone sinned (πάντες γὰρ ἤμαρτον), which is to say that everyone 'exchanged the glory of the immortal God for images of corruptible animals' (1:23), and everyone now bears the consequences of this sin by lacking the glory of God (καὶ ὑστεροῦνται τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ).

The narrative substructure of glory, and particularly Adam/humanity's rejection of glory, which Paul begins in 1:23 and continues in 3:23, resurfaces again in 5:12-21. Δόξα and δοξάζω are both absent from 5:12-21, but that Adam's disobedience was his abdication of his throne is not. Rather than δόξα and δοξάζω, Paul uses βασιλεύω (5:14, 17[x2], 21[x2]; also 6:12), a word with implicit significance here due to the fact that occurs only here in Romans and that it occurs in this passage with notable frequency. Ciampa notes that few scholars have acknowledged the importance of this fact.³³⁷ In this text, Paul uses βασιλεύω to describe death's dominion which existed in place of Adam's (and all humanity in Adam) intended dominion over creation.³³⁸ In 5:12-21 it is not Adam who reigns but ὁ θάνατος (v. 14, 17), οἱ τὴν περισσειάν τῆς χάριτος καὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς δικαιοσύνης λαμβάνοντες (v. 17), ἡ ἁμαρτία (v. 21), and ἡ χάρις (v. 21). Nevertheless, Adam's intended reign is implied in 5:12 by the link between the presence of sin to Adam and the presence of death to sin. Had humanity in Adam not 'exchanged the glory of the immortal God' (1:23) and come to 'lack the glory of God' (3:23), humanity would reign and sin and death would be non-existent.

Though the subjects of the narrative are identified rather cryptically as 'they' in 1:23 and 'all [humanity]' in 3:23, in 5:12 those subjects become explicit: 'all who sinned', i.e. humanity, in Adam. It was no longer merely 'man' (ἄνθρωπος) in Psalm 8:5 LXX who was crowned with glory and honour and given dominion over creation, but the Adam (ἄνθρωπος) of Genesis 1:26. And it was under Adam's feet that God had put all things (πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ) in Psalm 8:7 LXX. In

³³⁵ Ortlund 2014: 117. I will return to Ortlund's work on 8:30 at length in §6.3 and §7.2.

³³⁶ Schreiner (1998: 88) is one of only a few commentators who properly define sin as the lack of giving God glory, stating: 'Failing to glorify God is the root sin. Indeed, glorifying God is virtually equivalent with rendering him proper worship since Paul describes (v. 25) the same reality as surrendering the truth of God for worship of the creature. . . . Sin does consist first and foremost in acts that transgress God's law. . . . These particular acts are all rooted in a rejection of God as God, a failure to give him honor and glory'.

³³⁷ Ciampa 2013: 107.

³³⁸ Here a shift occurs in the use of the Adamic figure. Whereas in 1:23 and 3:23 Adam's creation in the image and glory of God was paradigmatic for that of all humanity, in 5:12-21 Adam's rejection of that image and glory was etiological for humanity. All humanity sinned creation in the image and glory of God, in 5:12-21 the emphasis is on the

Romans 1:23 and 3:23 we see that, though this was the case at creation, Adam/mankind grievously rebelled. By exchanging the glory of God for that of the created world, Adam/mankind ultimately abdicated his God-given throne and invited sin and death to reign in his stead (explicit in 5:12, 17, 21). He rejected his created role as God's vicegerent over creation.

What then does this say about Paul's use of glory in 1:23 and 3:23? (1) It is not a visible shining light that Adam loses in 3:23, or 'the awesome radiance of deity which becomes the visible manifestation of God in theophany and vision', as Dunn describes it.³³⁹ (2) Rather, it is the glory with which mankind is crowned—the glory man has as mediator between God and his creation, as God's keeper of creation, as his vicegerent on his royal throne. This is the glory, the honour, which man rejects and forsakes for another (1:23, 25), and the glory of God in which all humanity was created to participate but has chosen instead to forsake by rejecting its created purpose.

3.3.2 *The Glory of Israel*

Israel, too, has a leading role in Paul's narrative of glory in Romans. Paul mentions Israel's glory in 9:4, Israel's rejection of that glory in 1:23, and Israel's redemption to glory in 9:23. Because Paul reveals more about the nature of Israel's glory in 1:23, I begin there with Israel's rejection of glory before examining their original possession of glory in 9:4 and restoration of glory in 9:23.

In 1:23 Paul alludes also to the golden calf episode of ancient Israelite history, as it is recorded in Psalm 105:20 LXX and Jeremiah 2:11. As noted above, not all agree that Paul implicates Israel in Romans 1, which then begs the question of why Paul alludes to this Israelite narrative. According to Fitzmyer, Paul alludes to these texts in order to apply the ideas to the pagan world.³⁴⁰ And, as I noted above, Stowers and Eisenbaum, among others, reject the idea that Paul is implicating Israel in this section. But, as Jewett notes, 'Since every culture displays evidence of suppressing the truth by the adoration of perishable images, demonstrating that the perverse will to "change the glory of the imperishable God" is a universal problem, the gospel elaborated in this letter has an inclusive bearing'.³⁴¹ His assessment is preceded by Käsemann's similar conclusion: 'Precisely the point of the verse is that Paul extends to the whole human race what Jer 2:11 restricted to the people of God'.³⁴² No strong evidence supports the idea that only the pagan world should be read in these verses.

Like Adam, Israel possessed God's glory but also rejected that God-given glory. Paul implies that Israel rejected their God-given glory by 'exchanging the glory

³³⁹ Dunn 1988a: 59.

³⁴⁰ Fitzmyer 1993: 271.

³⁴¹ Jewett 2007: 162; see also Cranfield 1975: 105.

³⁴² Käsemann 1980: 46.

of the immortal God'.³⁴³ Whereas Adam's rejection of his created purpose is echoed in textual links to Genesis 1, Israel's rejection of her purpose is echoed in textual links to Psalm 105:20 LXX and Jeremiah 2:11, which refer to Israel's creation of the golden calf in Exodus 32. In each of these texts, the nature of the glory which Israel exchanged is revealed: it was a glory possessed by Israel and it was a glory associated with rule/dominion. Let us quickly examine these texts.

In both Psalm 105:20 LXX and Jeremiah 2:11, Israel is described as exchanging their glory for that of idols. Psalm 105:20 LXX reads: ἠλλάξαντο τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν ἐν ὁμοιώματι μόσχου ἔσθοντος χόρτον, and Jeremiah 2:11b: ὁ δὲ λαός μου ἠλλάξατο τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἧς οὐκ ὠφεληθήσονται.³⁴⁴ The glory in question here is possessed by Israel: in Psalm 105:20 LXX it is clearly 'their glory' (τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν), and in Jeremiah 2:11: '[my people's] glory' (τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ).³⁴⁵ Holladay notes that this is a *tiqqun sopherim* in the Hebrew manuscripts of both Psalm 106:20 and Jeremiah 2:11, indicating that the glory in both texts was possibly originally followed by a first-person suffix. He argues, however, that an original third-person suffix may be valid, given the example of Psalm 3:4 and the surrounding context of the passages.³⁴⁶ LXX manuscripts witness this possible alteration.³⁴⁷ It is possible that the Psalmist and Jeremiah both describe Israel's worship of idols as an exchange of their glory for that of the idols.

Following this, Hooker suggests that the glory in Romans 1:23 is Israel's, as it is in the background texts. She writes, 'δόξα may here . . . refer not only to the glory which God possesses in himself, but to that same glory in so far as it was originally possessed also by man'.³⁴⁸ And further, 'Paul . . . does not say that man ever lost the image of God The things which man *did* lose were the glory of God and the dominion over Nature which were associated with that image'.³⁴⁹ In 1:23, τὴν δόξαν

³⁴³ *Gen. Rab.* provides precedence for regarding the exchange of glory in 1:23 as that of *both* Israel and Adam. Morris (1992: 124) notes that this overlap occurs in two places: 1) 'It is written "But they like Adam (men) have transgressed the covenant" (Hos. 6:7). They are like men, in particular, the first man. "I brought the first man to the Garden of Eden (Gen. 2:15), I commanded him (2:16) but he broke my commandment (3:11). I sentenced him to be . . . driven out (3:23), but I grieved for him, saying "How . . ." (*Gen. Rab.* 3:9); and 2) 'The same is for his descendants. I brought them to the Land of Israel (Jer. 2:7), I commanded them (Lev. 24:2), but they broke my commandment (Dan. 9:11). I sentenced them to be . . . driven out (Jer. 15:1), but I grieved for them, saying "How . . ." (*Lam.* 1:1)' (*Gen. Rab.* 19:9).

³⁴⁴ See Hos. 4:7; also Wis. 11—15; Deut. 4:16-18. See Jewett's (2007: 160-1) treatment of ἀλλάσσω in 1:23. Dunn (1988a: 61), Moo (1996: 109), and Beale (2008: 205-6) say Ps. 105 LXX and Jer. 2 might be in the background, but do not discuss it further. See also Hyldahl 1956: 285-88.

³⁴⁵ The MT also has כבוד as a third person plural in both texts. The ESV, RSV, NRSV obscure this by translating it as 'the glory of God'. The NAS, NIV, and NJB all have 'their glory'.

³⁴⁶ Holladay 1986: 50.

³⁴⁷ The Göttingen editors of Ps. 105:20 chose αὐτῶν, evidenced in: B' Sa Sy 55, *suam* La Ga = Mas in rejection of αὐτοῦ in R L' A' and τοῦ θεοῦ in L^{psu}.

³⁴⁸ Hooker 1959-60: 305. Schreiner says Hooker's assessment is 'valid as long as we see that human beings lose glory when they fail to give God glory' (1998: 87). *Contra* Fitzmyer 1993: 283.

³⁴⁹ Hooker 1959-60: 305; see also Ortlund 2014: 117.

τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ refers to a glory which comes from the immortal God and is possessed by Israel.

Moreover, in each text Israel is described as becoming subject to the nations (Jer. 2:14-16; Ps. 105:41-42, 46 LXX) *because of* their ‘exchange of glory’ (i.e. worship of idols). The reader can assume on this basis that Israel’s glory was her honourable position as rulers over the land they were to possess (Lev. 20:24; Num. 33:53; Deut. 5:31-33; see esp. Deut. 28:63-64; 30:5, 16-18; Josh 23:5).³⁵⁰ Israel forsook that created purpose by submitting themselves to idols, and thus to other nations (see Sir. 49:5). As with that of all huminity in Adam in Romans 1:23, the nature of Israel’s glory was their honourable status associated with dominion and authority.

Paul includes Israel’s rejection of glory in 1:23 (and implies it in 3:23) but writes positively about Israel’s possession of glory in 9:4, 23. In these texts we see the diversity of the semantic functions of δόξα at play, even in Paul’s theology. Beginning in 9:4, it is unclear how Paul intends ἡ δόξα to function. He writes: οἵτινες εἰσιν Ἰσραηλῖται, ὧν ἡ υἰοθεσία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ αἱ διαθήκαι καὶ ἡ νομοθεσία καὶ ἡ λατρεία καὶ αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι. Unlike 1:23, ἡ δόξα in 9:4 has no explicit textual echo by which to decipher Paul’s meaning. Most consider ἡ δόξα in 9:4 a reference to the splendour of God, ‘the epiphany of the *Shekinah* in the historical and cultic sphere’, according to Käsemann.³⁵¹ Alternately, Jewett suggests that it is a continuation of Paul’s remarks on the future eschatological glory awaiting believers from Romans 8:17, 18, 21, 30.³⁵² Susan Eastman does so as well by implication; connecting the adoption and glory of the ‘sons of God’ in v. 19 to that of Israel in 9:4, Eastman writes: ‘The future “sons of God” are characterized by “adoption” and “glory” (8:17, 18, 21, 23). But in Rom 9:14, Paul says of the Jews, his kinsfolk according to the flesh, that to *them* belong ἡ υἰοθεσία καὶ ἡ δόξα.’³⁵³ Moo attempts to hold the two in tandem, suggesting that there is the ‘ultimate continuation of [God’s presence with the people of Israel] (into the eschaton) that is the issue’.³⁵⁴ And, in contrast with the suppositions of most scholars, BDAG locates δόξα in 9:4 under the category of ‘honor

³⁵⁰ Also noteworthy is the texts’ shared response of YHWH to Israel’s subjection of herself to idols and, hence, nations, in forsaking him. YHWH is depicted as having ‘detested his inheritance’ (ἐβδελύξατο τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ) in Ps. 105:40 LXX and saying ‘[you] made my inheritance into a detestable thing’ (τὴν κληρονομίαν μου ἔθεσθε εἰς βδέλυγμα) in Jer. 2:7 LXX.

³⁵¹ Käsemann 1980: 258-9. See Wilckens 1980: 188; Fitzmyer 1993: 546; Schreiner 1998: 484; Byrne 2007: 287; Kruse 2012: 371; Ortlund 2014: 121n47.

³⁵² Jewett (2007: 563) suggests that the arthrous δόξα refers back to the use of δόξα in 8:18-19. He writes: ‘Commentators overlook this function of the article, disregarding the connection with the immediately preceding chapter and referring instead to ancient Israel’s concept of glory’. Wright (2002: 629) and Barrett (1962: 178) omit comments on the presence of the arthrous δόξα altogether.

³⁵³ Eastman 2002: 266.

³⁵⁴ Moo 1996: 563; also Dunn 1988b: 526-7 and Schreiner 1998: 484.

as enhancement or recognition of status or performance, *fame, recognition, renown, honor, prestige*.³⁵⁵

Contra Jewett and Eastman, the glory in 9:4 does not refer to an eschatological glory, at least not an eschatological glory defined by that of Christ, as in Romans 8. With Newman and the majority of scholars, it is most likely that here, unlike elsewhere in Romans, Paul refers to God's theophanic manifestation in splendour in the Exodus narrative. The primary reasons for this are two-fold. The first is its occurrence in an unusual articular form, implying that it refers to something more specific than a general sense of honour or an exalted status: to Israel belongs 'The Glory'. It is here that Newman's 'Glory-tradition' is appropriate. The second reason is its placement within what Newman describes as a 'litany of salvation-historical markers' particularly representative of the exodus tradition.³⁵⁶ The exodus motif is difficult to miss or dismiss. I suggest that, with Newman and unlike in most places in Romans, Paul's reference to Israel's glory in 9:4 is in fact a reference to the visible manifest presence of God in Israel.

This leaves then only the reference to Israel's glory in 9:23 to consider. In 9:22-24, Paul writes:

²² What if God, desiring to show his wrath and to make known his power, has endured with much patience the vessels of wrath prepared for destruction;²³ and what if he has done so in order to make known the riches of his glory for the vessels of mercy, which he has prepared beforehand for glory (καὶ ἵνα γνωρίσῃ τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ σκεύῃ ἐλέους ἃ προητοίμασεν εἰς δόξαν;)—²⁴ including us whom he has called, not from the Jews only but also from the Gentiles?

Paul's transition to the inclusion of Gentiles in 9:24 makes clear that the 'vessels of mercy' who are 'prepared beforehand for glory' in v. 23 refer to both Jewish and Gentile believers. As Esler rightly notes, 'Paul now expressly states that the vessels of mercy include Israelites and non-Israelites'—the 'children of God' and the 'children of the promise'.³⁵⁷ While it would make sense to treat this verse in the following section where I treat the renewal of humanity's glory in Christ, Paul's focus on God's dealings with Israel in the preceding context makes this a better fit. Jews are guaranteed a future glory; God has prepared them for it beforehand (προετοιμάζω,

³⁵⁵ BDAG 2000: 257; emphasis original. Contrast this with BDAG's equally odd placement of δόξα in 1 Cor. 15:43 under the category of being bright or shiny, which most commentators disagree with as well; see §4.2.2.1. Despite suggesting that the glory refers to the manifest presence of God, Fitzmyer (1993: 546) notes that 'ancient commentators . . . sometimes understood *doxa* in the Hellenistic sense of Israel's honor or reputation in the world', listing Apollinaris of Laodicea and Gennadius.

³⁵⁶ Newman 1992: 217; see Moo 1996: 563.

³⁵⁷ Esler 2003: 281.

see Wis. 9:8; Eph. 2:10).³⁵⁸ Though the original glory was exchanged (indicated in the echoes of Ps. 105 LXX and Jer. 2 in Rom. 1:23), they nevertheless have an eschatological glory awaiting them.

Further on in chapter 9, in 9:23 Paul uses δόξα twice, once in reference to the ‘riches of God’s glory’ and once as that for which the ‘vessels of mercy’ have been prepared beforehand. The phrase τὸ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ occurs also in Ephesians 3:16 and a similar phrase, τὸ πλοῦτος αὐτοῦ ἐν δόξῃ, occurs in Philippians 4:19. Jewett suggests that the phrase in Romans ‘appears to be drawn from the tradition of liturgical participation in the numinous cloud or bright fire that was thought to surround the divine tabernacle (Exod 40:34f.) or throne (Ezek 1:26-28).’³⁵⁹ I suggest, rather, that greater precedence exists for reading δόξα here not as anything associated with God’s theophanic presence, but as his honour, power, or character. The two terms, πλοῦτος and δόξα are brought together throughout the LXX (e.g. 1 Kgs. 3:13; Eccl. 6:2; Ps. 3:4). I categorised this use as ‘a person’s honour or status associated with his character, power, or wealth’ in the concordance in the preceding chapter. Most appropriately, in 1 Chronicles 29:11-12 it is written: ‘Yours, O LORD, are the greatness, the power, the glory, the victory, and the majesty; for all that is in the heavens and on the earth is yours; yours is the kingdom, O LORD, and you are exalted as head above all. *Riches and glory come from you*, and you rule over all. In your hand are power and might; and it is in your hand to make great and to give strength to all’. The phrase ‘the riches of God’s glory’ then refers to the magnitude of his power or character in salvation, his status as the one ‘exalted as head above all’ who rules over heavens and earth; this is the glory of God made known to those who receive his salvation.

If this is the case, then the glory for which the ‘vessels of mercy’ are prepared is perhaps not what Jewett calls the ‘divine glory’, by which he means the presence of God,³⁶⁰ or what Schreiner says ‘refers to the goal that is attained through God’s foreordination: future splendor in the *eschaton*.’³⁶¹ Nor can Newman’s suggestion that it refers to ‘God’s benefit’ find support.³⁶² Rather, it is the ‘riches and glory (i.e. honour)’ which the Chronicler says come from this King who saves.

Before turning to the renewal of glory to all believers more generally in Romans, one further point is necessary here in regard to the eschatological glory anticipated by Israel. Though certainly not present in Romans 9:23, precedents exist in the Qumran Scrolls for reading Israel’s anticipated eschatological glory with the fulfilment of Adam’s original glory—a glory, which, according to the Scrolls, bears

³⁵⁸ See Jewett (2007: 597-8) for a discussion of the predetermination motif latent in 9:23.

³⁵⁹ Jewett 2007: 597. Newman places it in the ‘left for consideration’ category (1992: 160).

³⁶⁰ Jewett 2007: 597; see also Fitzmyer 1993: 570.

³⁶¹ Schreiner 1998: 523.

³⁶² Newman 1992: 159-60. Rom. 9:23b and 1 Cor. 2:7, Newman says, are the two places where δόξα means God’s ‘benefit’. I find zero support for this reading. See also the note on Rom. 2:7, 10 above.

closer affinities to an exalted status than to a garment of light.³⁶³ In the *Words of the Heavenly Lights* (4Q504), a liturgical text of prayers for the week, part of the first day's prayer reads:

. . . Rememb]er, O Lo[r]d that . . . Thou hast fashioned [Adam], our [f]ather in the likeness of [Thy] glory; Thou didst breathe [a breath of life] into his nostrils and with understanding a knowledge [Thou didst give him] . . . Thou didst make [him] to rule [over the Gar]den of Eden which Thou didst plant . . . and to walk in the land of glory . . . he guarded (4Q504 frag. 8).³⁶⁴

Here Genesis 1:26-28 is rewritten for the Qumran community and brings together the motifs of God's image and glory. How exactly God's glory here should be interpreted is unclear but, given the range of uses of glory vis-à-vis God noted above, it is not impossible that God's glory is his honour or exalted status. Moreover, even if the author intends the reader to understand God's glory as visible splendour, we are aware already of the fact that such splendour symbolises the presence of a particular God: the unsurpassed God who rules over heaven and earth. Van Kooten adopts this balanced approach: Adam's restoration to glory, or his creation in the image of God's glory, 'is an effulgence of God's glory, demonstrating the elevated status of human beings above the rest of creation'.³⁶⁵

Adam's glory fulfilled in Israel's eschatological glory is seen in several other texts.³⁶⁶

For these are those selected by God for an everlasting covenant and to them shall belong all the glory of Adam (1QS 4:22-23).

³⁶³ I am indebted to Wright 1992: 265; Keesmaat 1999: 87; Fletcher-Louis 2002: 92-7; and Macaskill 2013: 137-43 for these references. Unless otherwise noted, translations from Qumran are taken from Martínez 1996.

³⁶⁴ Vermes 1987.

³⁶⁵ Van Kooten 2008: 46-7. Van Kooten's statement is in response to the conclusions drawn by Fletcher-Louis, who suggests that 'given that the liturgy starts with Adam in the land of Glory, as one made in the likeness of God's Glory, there seems also here to be a priestly theology which grounded the prayer for God's restoration not simply in the Mosaic covenant but also a pre-fall relationship of ontological affinity between God and his own humanity, now summed up in Israel' (2002: 94). Specifically it is Fletcher-Louis' suggestion of an 'ontological affinity' which van Kooten critiques (2008: 21-22); see also that of Macaskill (2013: 119-21) who rightly critiques Fletcher-Louis for his 'slippage from his astute recognition of participation in heavenly liturgy to speaking of the angelomorphic divinity of human worshippers' (p. 120), and, more generally, see Goff 2003.

³⁶⁶ Considering Rom. 3:23 and its commonly made associations with the Adam tradition represented in the *Life of Adam and Eve*, I suggest that, if indeed Paul was influenced by traditions external to the LXX or MT, then those which bear the greatest theological similarity are these from Qumran in which Adam and 'the glory of Adam' occur frequently.

You raise an [eternal] name for them, [forgiving them all] sin, eliminating from them all their depravities, giving them, giving them as a legacy all the glory of Adam and plentiful days (1QH^a 4:14-15).

Those who remained steadfast in it will acquire eternal life, and all the glory of Adam is for them (CD 3:19-20).

Those who have returned from the wilderness, who will live for a thousand generations, in safety; for them there is all the inheritance of Adam and his descendants for ever (4QpPs.37 3:1-2).

Macaskill rightly warns that these texts may not refer ‘to Adam as a person’ but ‘to humanity more generally. None of the texts ultimately requires us to see a reference to the glory that Adam lost through sin, even if that is a possibility.’³⁶⁷ Rather, he states, ‘the phrase may point to the idea of the future rule of God’s people over the nations of the world and the eschatological reversal of their fortunes’.³⁶⁸ His reading of these texts is similar to that of van Kooten: though the glory of God in which ‘Adam’ is created is understood as the ‘glorifying presence of God’,³⁶⁹ both scholars nonetheless recognise existing implications which bear on the ‘future rule of God’s people’, i.e. Israel.

These motifs of glory will carry over into the following discussion of the renewal of glory in humanity throughout Romans. We will see that Romans 9:23 shares affinities with Romans 8:29-30, where God’s adopted children are predestined (προώρισεν, 8:30) to glorification (ἐδόξασεν, 8:30)³⁷⁰—a glorification that (I will argue in the following section) refers to believers’ exalted status.

3.3.3 *God’s Children are Reinstated to Glory*

We turn now to the glorious climax, or more appropriately, the climax of glory in Paul’s δόξα narrative in Romans. Paul uses δόξα and its cognates in seven key eschatologically focused verses: 2:7, 10; 5:2; 8:17, 18, 21, and 30. My comments here are intended primarily to demonstrate that Paul’s use of δόξα and δοξάζω in these texts leading up to and in Romans 8 follows both the lexical and narrational pattern I have argued for thus far.

³⁶⁷ Macaskill 2013: 138.

³⁶⁸ Macaskill 2013: 138.

³⁶⁹ Macaskill 2013: 121; Macaskill uses this phrase to describe the glory of God mentioned in a range of texts on which Fletcher-Louis develops his argument for human transformation into angelic likeness in worship, texts which include but are not limited to the ‘glory of Adam’ texts noted here.

³⁷⁰ Käsemann (1980: 271) also links 9:23 with 8:30, suggesting ‘eschatological glorification takes place already now in such a way that God’s claim to lordship over the world . . . establishes itself over his creatures and restores the divine likeness (cf. 8:30) lost according to 3:23’. This link between the texts is weak for Käsemann, however, given that his applied definition of δόξα in 3:23 was not a ‘divine likeness’, but ‘the radiance which . . . awaits the justified in heaven’ (1980: 94).

Eschatological glory for God’s people is first indicated in Romans 2:7: τοῖς μὲν καθ’ ὑπομονὴν ἔργου ἀγαθοῦ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν ζητοῦσιν ζωὴν αἰώνιον, and subsequently in 2:10: δόξα δὲ καὶ τιμὴ καὶ εἰρήνη παντὶ τῷ ἐργαζομένῳ τὸ ἀγαθόν, Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἕλληνι. In both verses the contrast is stark between the traditional denotation of human glory as the reflection of the visible presence of God—or ‘splendor’, as Schreiner describes it³⁷¹—and the understanding I am advocating, namely believers’ share in God’s honour or power as his image bearers.

The interpretative key undoubtedly lies in the triads of glory, honour, and immortality in 2:7 and glory, honour, and peace in 2:10. Commentators generally elaborate very little on the denotation of δόξα at this point, though most assign some element of synonymity with ‘honour’.³⁷² According to Kruse, it is ‘the reward for a good life’, which I find ambiguous and unhelpful.³⁷³ Most helpful is Jewett, who writes, ‘Paul is deliberately employing honorific categories that will appeal to his audience. . . . Both glory and honor are central motivations in the culture of the ancient Mediterranean world, where young people were taught to emulate the behavior of ideal prototypes. . . . That one should seek such honor and glory was simply assumed in Rome’.³⁷⁴ In an approach similar to Jewett’s, Harrison contrasts the two triads with those mentioned by Sallust, a first-century Roman historian. Harrison writes:

One of the interesting sidelights of Sallust’s presentation of *Gloria* is his use of the word in triads that speak of political and social status. In contrast to Paul’s eschatological triads of ‘glory, honour, and immortality’ (Rom 2:7) and ‘glory, honour and peace’ (2:10), Sallust articulates a different set of triads: ‘glory (*gloriam*), honour and power’ (*Cat.* 11:1); ‘riches, honour and glory (*gloriam*)’ (*Cat.* 58.8; 20.14); ‘honour, glory (*gloria*) and authority’ (*Cat.* 12.1).³⁷⁵

Several discussions later, Harrison notes that:

³⁷¹ Schreiner 1998: 113: ‘The personal benefits of those who are granted eternal life are emphasized in these words. They will experience splendor, honor, immortality, and peace’.

³⁷² See e.g. Dunn 1988a: 85; Fitzmyer 1993: 302; Moo 1996: 137m7; Byrne 2007: 86. As noted in my criticisms of Newman above, not once does he indicate how δόξα in Romans 2:7, 10 fit into his understanding of Paul’s Glory-Christology, other than to suggest that they join 42 other occurrences of δόξα ‘left for consideration’ and yet never actually considered: 1992: 160.

³⁷³ Kruse 2012: 228. At the point of Romans 5:2, Kruse offers a general taxonomy of believers’ future glory throughout Paul’s epistles, though it also is both too ambiguous and too brief to offer much usefulness here.

³⁷⁴ Jewett 2007: 205.

³⁷⁵ Harrison 2011: 209-10.

Paul does not diminish the importance of the believer seeking ‘glory’ (δόξαν), honour (τιμὴν) and immortality (ἀφθαρσίαν) (Rom 2:7). For Paul, the Romans are correct in highlighting the importance of the quest for glory over against certain representatives of the Greek ethical tradition (e.g. Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom) who dismissed the acquisition of δόξα as misguided and ephemeral. But the allocation of δόξα for the believer is an eschatological gift and Paul differentiates his triads from Sallust and Cicero precisely by the addition of the parallel terms of ‘immortality (Rom 2:7: ἀφθαρσία) and ‘peace’ (Rom 2:10: εἰρήνη). Thus, according to Paul, the significance and worth of glory is not determined by the estimation of the Roman elite – as Sallust, Cicero and the Scipionic *elogia* proposed – but rather by the God who judges the secret thoughts of all (Rom 2:16).³⁷⁶

Given these parallels, it is difficult to imagine a Roman gentile convert thinking in the first instance that δόξα refers to anything other than what it was considered by Sallust, Cicero or any other Roman nobleman of societal honour and authority.

Further support for reading δόξα here as something other than believers’ eschatological reflection of God’s radiance is found in Paul’s use of δόξα in 1 Corinthians 2:7: ἀλλὰ λαλοῦμεν θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην, ἣν προώρισεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων εἰς δόξαν ἡμῶν. On its own, δόξαν ἡμῶν could mean ‘the visible presence of God which we will reflect upon entering the heavenly realms’ and which is made possible by God’s wisdom. Oddly enough, Newman here suggests that our ‘glory’ is our ‘benefit’.³⁷⁷ However, it is not on its own, and the context demands an alternate reading.

The denotation of δόξα in 1 Corinthians 2:7 is made clear by the thematic emphases of 2:8 and Paul’s reference to Jesus as the ‘Lord of glory’. Here Newman suggests that the phrase κύριον τῆς δόξης stems from its only other known use: the apocalyptic throne vision of 1 Enoch 40:3.³⁷⁸ Newman may be correct. Yet even if he is, it does not therefore imply that Paul is referring to Jesus as the embodiment of the

³⁷⁶ Harrison 2011: 264.

³⁷⁷ Newman 1992: 159-60n14. Only twice does δόξα denote ‘benefit’, according to Newman: in 1 Cor. 2:7 and in Rom. 9:23. He explains that in both verses the ‘construction features a verb + εἰς + δόξα in the accusative case with God being the one whom the verb benefits’: p.160. Additionally, Newman notes that in both verses the emphasis on salvation-history leads to God’s actions being taken “‘for his benefit” (εἰς δόξαν ἡμῶν)’: p. 160n15. It is unclear to me why Newman included ἡμῶν in his description, given that it seems directly to contradict his point (see also p. 209). In using ἡμῶν, Paul clearly refers to *believers* (‘our’) glory/benefit. Moreover, this purpose-clause construction only confirms that it is for the purpose of someone or something and does not require that God be the recipient or the direction of the purpose. In the case of Rom. 9:23, it is clearly the ‘objects of mercy’ who are prepared beforehand for the purposes of glory, aka *their* glory, and the case is unequivocally the same in 1 Cor. 2:7.

³⁷⁸ Newman 1992: 235-9 with reference to the ‘Lord of Glory’ in the apocalyptic throne vision of 1 Enoch 40:3 on p.86.

theophanic presence of God. Jesus as the Lord of glory can equally refer to Jesus as the risen and exalted King who in his exalted status embodies the supreme Ruler on the throne in the apocalyptic vision. Van Kooten notes the work of Burrowes who argues that it was neither Jewish literature nor the Damascus Christophany which led Paul to an understanding of Jesus as the image of God, but the Hellenistic ruler ideologies. Burrowes' insights prove helpful here as well:

Paul's conception of the Christ as the image of God derives from the Hellenistic ruler ideology (...). In his vision of Christ, Paul experienced Jesus as the risen and enthroned kurios, since his most basic confession of faith is 'Jesus is Lord' (Rom 10:9, 1 Cor 12:3). The exaltation of Jesus to universal lordship would naturally have brought comparison to secular rulers, specifically to the Roman emperors and the Seleucid kings of Antioch. In Hellenistic political philosophy, the ideal king was an image of the divine in the exercise of his power and in his moral character. As the only true Lord in contrast to the mere Roman and Seleucid pretenders, it is Jesus who is the true and faithful image of the divine'.³⁷⁹

Much the same can be said for Jesus as the glory of God. 'Lord of glory', within Roman kingly and political ideologies, would naturally imply to Gentile converts the true King who has true power, honour, supreme dominion, as Harrison implies in his rhetorical question: 'What would Paul's gospel of the "Lord of glory" (1 Cor 2:8; 2 Cor 4:4, 6) have meant for Romans attached to the old republican perspectives of glory and for those who were grateful clients of the new imperial Lords of glory at Rome?'³⁸⁰ Such Gentile converts may have recognised a further connection to Jewish apocalyptic throne visions, but even then, 'glory' associated with a supreme deity on a throne would not lose its regal connotations. Moreover, Paul's emphasis in 2:8 is on the contrast between the 'rulers of this age' and the true ruler whom they crucified.

Paul's use of δόξα in 1 Corinthians 2:7, 8 fits first and foremost within this political and royal semantic field, and it is this same semantic field in which believers' eschatological δόξα fits in Romans 2:7, 10, as is made clear by the parallel triads of Sallust.

In Romans 2:7, 10 Paul only hints at believers' eschatological glory as the regained glory of God formerly exchanged or lost. He then refers explicitly to it in 5:2: καυχώμεθα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ. The glory of God, Paul says, is believers' hope, their eschatological *telos*. But it is not at first obvious just how one should understand God's glory. In the realm of scholarship at this point, two oddities stand out: (a) as in 2:7, 10, Carey Newman makes very little of Paul's phrase here,

³⁷⁹ Burrowes 2007 quoted in van Kooten 2008a: 205.

³⁸⁰ Harrison 2011: 204.

including it in the 42 occurrences of δόξα which require further consideration and which, other than one undiscussed mention of believers' hope of glory in 5:2, is never again mentioned;³⁸¹ and (b) Robert Jewett randomly links τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ with the יהוה כבוד traditions of the Hebrew bible, referring to it as the glory of God 'manifest in radiant holiness and in transcendent power to create and redeem', having not made such a link in either 1:23 or 3:23.³⁸²

The most common interpretation is that of a moral perfection or righteousness which classifies God and which classified the original 'God-likeness' of the pre-fall Adam. Moo describes it in this way: it is 'that state of "God-like-ness" which has been lost because of sin, and which will be restored in the last day to every Christian'.³⁸³ Schreiner develops this by saying: 'the already-not yet character of Paul's eschatology emerges in this paragraph. . . . We still await future glorification, which will involve moral perfection and restoration to the glory Adam lost when he sinned. Believers are clearly not yet morally perfect, for otherwise they would possess God's glory now, and the growth in godly character described in verses 3-4 would be superfluous'.³⁸⁴

Schreiner rightly notes that the glory of God in which believers hope is connected to the glory Adam lost, but that glory, as we have seen, is not a moral perfection. It is, rather, the exalted status gifted by God to all humanity and which Paul describes in the Adam motif in the following section, 5:12-21, as having been rejected. As Dunn notes, 'With the reemergence of the theme "the glory of God" Paul already before 5:12ff. reverts to the Adam motif—the divine purpose in salvation being understood in terms of a restoration (and completion) of fallen humanity to the glory which all now fall short of'.³⁸⁵ In fact, believers' hope of glory in 5:2 stands as a thematic overview for the entire section to come, leading Moo rightly to note that, 'It is the topic of "hope" and "glory" that Paul elaborates on in 5:12-21 and 8:14-39'.³⁸⁶

³⁸¹ Newman 1992: 228.

³⁸² Jewett 2007: 352. He does add, however, that 'only divine glory is perceived to be worthy of the highest possible honor'.

³⁸³ Moo 1996: 302.

³⁸⁴ Schreiner 1998: 254-5; see also Käsemann 1980: 134 and Byrne 2007: 165. Wolter (2015: 187-8) suggests 'the meaning of "glory" in [5:2; 8:18, 29-30] is in line with the use in the Old Testament and in Jewish writings outside of the bible. There this concept can be used as a comprehensive designation for the eschatic salvation that was expected [citing e.g. Isa. 40:5; 60:1-2]. According to Rom 3:23, it is precisely "God's glory" that humanity has lost because of their sin. Paul here picks up a traditional interpretation of the "fall", according to which Adam and Eve were the cause for humanity's loss of "God's glory", with which they originally were endowed'. Two weaknesses of Wolter's assessment stand out: (1) With most scholars who comment on the phrase, he offers no rationale for why God's glory should be understood as God's salvation; and (2) If God's 'glory' is God's 'salvation' in 5:2, and it is this glory that Adam and Eve lost in 3:23, then this implies that Adam and Eve were 'endowed' with a pre-fall 'salvation'—a counter-intuitive notion which requires further, but unoffered, explanation.

³⁸⁵ Dunn 1988a: 249.

³⁸⁶ Moo 1996: 297.

To understand what the glory is in which believers hope in 5:2, one must first understand the texts in which Paul further illustrates that glory: 5:12-21 and 8:17-30.

Given all that Paul has already said about humanity's relationship to the glory of God in Romans 1:23 and 3:23, and presumably, though certainly less explicitly, in 2:7, 10, the glory of God in which believers hope is not necessarily God's visible, manifest presence, nor is it God's moral perfection. It is Adam/humanity's honour or power associated with its status as the Creator's representatives called to steward his creation.

Romans 5:12-21 is often 'treated as the ugly stepsister of the family of major sections in the letter to the Romans', according to Ciampa.³⁸⁷ When valued as an expression of Paul's theology, it is viewed primarily as the basis of Paul's Adam-Christology, and for good reason. Often overlooked, however, is that Paul primarily addresses the reason for why God's people have hope in the glory of God (5:2). Adam was called to rule and to establish dominion on the earth and, as mentioned previously, allowed sin and death to reign in his stead (5:14, 17, 21).³⁸⁸ But the story does not end there. Whereas Adam was disobedient, Jesus was obedient (5:19); and his obedience made it possible that God's people would again reign over the earth. Paul writes in 5:17: εἰ γὰρ τῷ τοῦ ἐνός παραπτώματι ὁ θάνατος ἐβασίλευσεν διὰ τοῦ ἐνός, πολλῶ μᾶλλον οἱ τὴν περισσεῖαν τῆς χάριτος καὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς δικαιοσύνης λαμβάνοντες ἐν ζωῇ βασιλεύσουσιν διὰ τοῦ ἐνός Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Here is Paul's point in 5:12-21: that believers will *reign in life* through the one man, Jesus Christ. It is a point often overlooked. In Jesus, God will restore humanity to their originally created vocation; humanity will again have the honour associated with dominion; they will again share in the glory of God of 5:2.³⁸⁹ Fitzmyer is one who misses the message: 'Whereas in v 14 Paul spoke of the reign of death, now he replaces that with the *reign of life*, i.e., justified Christians enjoy the regal freedom of life eternal'.³⁹⁰ What replaces the reign of death is not life, but those who receive God's abundant grace. As Dunn writes, 'The opposite to the coldly final rule of death is the unfettered enjoyment of life—the life of a king'.³⁹¹ Romans 5:17 is Paul's conclusion to the saga of Adam's rejection of his created vocation, his exchange of the glory of the immortal God (1:23).³⁹² God's people will again reign over the earth as Adam was meant to do and, as Paul will make clear in Romans 8, they will do so as adopted children of God,

³⁸⁷ Ciampa 2013: 103.

³⁸⁸ See also Ciampa 2013: 111.

³⁸⁹ Paul may be picking up Jewish traditions of restored rule: Dan. 7:22, 26-27; Wis 3:8; 5:15-16; 1QM 12:14-15; 1QpHab 5:4-5; see also Matt. 19:28; Rev. 20:4, 6.

³⁹⁰ Fitzmyer 1993: 420; emphasis mine. Surprisingly, Schreiner (1998: 291-2) omits any discussion of 'reign in life', discussing the potential for an implied universalism instead; see also Schreiner 2001: 153.

³⁹¹ Dunn 1988a: 282.

³⁹² See also Ciampa 2013: 114.

sharing in the inheritance of the Firstborn Son.³⁹³ To overlook this message in 5:17 is to overlook the narrative of glory; to overlook this narrative of glory is to overlook the point of Romans 5:12-21; and to overlook the point of 5:12-21 is to overlook what it is to boast in the hope of sharing in the glory of God in 5:2—the theme to which Paul returns most climactically in 8:17-30.

Finally, we turn to humanity’s renewal of δόξα in Romans 8. Though Paul first introduces humanity’s reinstatement to glory in 8:17, followed closely by 8:18, I begin this section in 8:21. This verse is significant not only because it is difficult to translate, but because it is the precise point at which Paul identifies the relationship between God’s children and creation.³⁹⁴ In fact, it is the reason Paul includes this otherwise ostensibly random focus on the cursed creation here at all. Romans 8:21 reads, beginning at the end of v. 20: ἐφ’ ἐλπίδι [21] ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ κτίσις ἐλευθερωθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ, translated by the Kingdom New Testament as: ‘in the hope that creation itself would be freed from its slavery to decay, to enjoy the freedom that comes when God’s children are glorified’.³⁹⁵ Tracing Paul’s logic from present to future in 8:17-21, we can deduce that:

- (v. 20) though creation is currently subjected to decay,
- (v. 19) it waits for God’s children to be revealed,
- (v. 18) because their glory will then be reinstated,
- (v. 17) a glory which they have as God’s heirs and co-heirs with Christ,
- at which point and, indeed, because of which,
- (v. 21) creation will again be free from its bondage to decay.

We can also deduce from Paul’s logic here that:

- (v. 21) if creation will be freed from its bondage
- when
- (v. 18) God’s children are reinstated to glory,
- then
- (v. 20) creation was unwillingly subjected to decay
- when
- (1:21-21; 3:23 implicitly) God’s children first forsook their inheritance of glory.

³⁹³ See Ridderbos 1978: 559-62, who emphasises believers’ rule but not as a renewal of Adam’s original glory. See also Morris 1988: 237-8; Byrne 2007: 179-80; Jewett 2007: 383-5; Wright 2013a: 890, 959 1090.

³⁹⁴ My argument for interpreting κτίσις as ‘creation’ is given in §7.2.1.

³⁹⁵ This is in contrast to: creation obtaining ‘the freedom of the glory of the children of God’ (ESV, NAS, NRSV) and ‘the glorious freedom of the children of God’ (KJV and RSV, both with ‘liberty’, NIV). These translations skew Paul’s point: that creation obtains freedom from corruption when God’s children are glorified. I will return to this text in more detail in §7.2.1.

According to Newman, humanity's eschatological glory in 8:18, 21 refers to 'a qualitatively new relational sphere of existence for the "sons"', which follows from the 'ruptured relationship' implied in 1:23 and 3:23.³⁹⁶ No doubt, a ruptured relationship is part of humanity's rejection of its created purpose, but a number of reasons exist for us to reject this thesis. (1) While Paul does emphasise the restored relationship between humanity and God through adoption in Romans 8 (esp. 8:15),³⁹⁷ he does not equate humanity's δόξα with that restored relationship. In fact, what Paul does equate humanity's eschatological glory with is its inheritance as children of God in 8:17, a theme to which I will return at length in chapter six. (2) Humanity's eschatological glory as a restored relationship fails to explain the direct link between creation's restoration in 8:21 and the restored relationship between God and man; what explicit impact does humanity's reestablishment in the presence of God have on the renewal of creation? (3) Newman's definition fails to explain why Paul includes a treatment of the restored creation here at all. In fact, if this is Paul's implicit understanding of δόξα, then his inclusion of the present groaning and future liberation of creation is inexplicable in its literary context.³⁹⁸ (4) As I demonstrated in chapter two of this thesis, the primary use of δόξα vis-à-vis humanity in the LXX is almost always in reference to a person's exalted or honoured status, often associated with rule or authority. (5) As noted above, the reference to humanity's δόξα in Romans 2:7, 10 bears far greater associations with the denotation I am suggesting than Newman's in 8:18, 21, whose understanding of δόξα in 2:7, 10 failed to make it into any denotative category.³⁹⁹

In response to (2) and (3) above, at least, if δόξα is understood as humanity's exaltation to a renewed status of honour associated with its created purpose of having dominion over creation, then creation's renewal as a result of humanity's restored δόξα makes sense, and Paul's inclusion of the restoration of creation at this point is no longer ostensibly random.⁴⁰⁰ Humanity's renewed δόξα results in creation experiencing its own freedom from bondage, because in their glorification, creation itself is free to be what it was created to be, and humanity plays an integral role in making that happen. It is what humanity was created to do. Reasons (4) and (5) are self-explanatory; and, in regard to (1), because of the multiple critical and complex themes in 8:17, 30, not least the significance of humanity's inheritance and the role that an interpretation of it plays in one's interpretation of δόξαζω, I hold off on many comments associated with the term in these two verses. I will return to them in full in chapter six.

³⁹⁶ Newman 1992: 225-6.

³⁹⁷ I will return to the motif of adoption in §6.1.

³⁹⁸ I will return to this passage at length in §7.2.1.

³⁹⁹ See again, Newman 1992: 160-1.

⁴⁰⁰ See Wright 2013a: 1092.

3.4 Conclusion

This is the glory for which all God's people hope (5:2): this re-fitted, re-jewelled and replaced crown of glory originally bestowed on humanity in Psalm 8 (understood in tandem with Genesis 1) and quickly rejected in Genesis 3. Through the Son, God would undo what Adam did, condemn sin in the flesh (8:3), and restore humanity's crown of glory. Though his point reaches its climax in 8:30, nowhere does Paul make it more clear than in 5:17: 'if, because of one man's trespass, *death reigned through that one man*, much more will those who receive the abundance of grace and the free gift of righteousness *reign in life through the one man Jesus Christ*' (ESV). This is believers' 'hope of glory' and, to arrive back at where we started, this is why δόξα and δοξάζω cannot, in Romans, be translated either as splendour or radiance, even as words representing the visible presence of God, though these may exist in the background. To be glorified is to experience a transformation of status—to be exalted to a new status, one of honour associated with a representative reign over creation, crowned with glory and honour as Adam was meant to be and as the Messiah now is.

The significance of this introduction to Paul's use of δόξα and δοξάζω cannot be overstated. Understanding glory as humanity's honourable position associated with its dominion over the created order as God's vicegerent will be fundamental to understanding 'conformed to the image of [God's] Son' in 8:29b, both within the immediate context of Romans 8 and within the larger context of Romans 1—8. In the following chapter, I turn our attention to the theological motifs of union and participation in Pauline theology, motifs which underlie the premise of believers sharing in or being 'co-glorified' with the Son in 8:17 and 8:30, and thus ultimately being 'conformed to the image of the Son' in 8:29b.

4. PARTICIPATION IN CHRIST'S GLORY

Before examining Romans 8:29b within its specific literary context of Romans 8, an assessment of one critical Pauline motif is necessary: participation with Christ. 'Participation' is a term commonly applied to believers' sharing in fellowship with Christ in which what is true of him becomes true of the Christian.⁴⁰¹ This motif of participation, which is part and parcel of Paul's incorporative language and which has recently regained popularity within discussions of Pauline theology, is central to Paul's use of *συμμόρφος* in 8:29b.

This chapter and chapter six are intended to be read hand-in-glove: this chapter will comprise the glove into which chapter six will fit. In them I will argue that in the phrase *συμμόρφους τῆς εικόνας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ* Paul refers to believers' participation with the Firstborn Son in his rule over creation as adopted children of God. More specifically, I will suggest that in 8:29 a *vocational* participation is implied. By 'vocational participation' I mean that, on the basis of their union with Christ and thus transformed identities in him as the new Adam, believers therefore share with Christ in his resurrection life and glory, and thus fulfil their vocation as redeemed humans: representing God to his creation and interceding on behalf of creation to God. In this chapter I address the notion of vocational participation; the details of this vocation will be addressed in chapter seven of this thesis.

This fourth chapter will be comprised of three sections. (1) I will examine the now commonly held idea that the concept of incorporation into Christ, whether expressed in union, representation, or participation, is a foundational motif in Pauline theology. In this first section, I will: (a) provide a brief history of approaches to Paul's incorporative language and (b) articulate an implied 'vocational participation' in union: believers who are glorified in the Messiah are therefore called to live out that glorification.⁴⁰² (2) I will examine Paul's use of *συμμόρφος* as a term which connotes vocational participation in Philippians 3:21, a context that resembles Romans 8:29. I will also look briefly at *συμμορφίζω* in 3:10. (3) I will examine Paul's use of *εἰκόν* in 1 Corinthians 15:49 and Colossians 3:10, two verses with contexts wherein Paul presents believers as vocational participants with the Messiah in his cosmic rule. On the basis of these verses, I will establish the support for reading 'conformed to the image of [God's Firstborn] Son' as implicative of believers' vocational participation in the Messiah as renewed humanity. In chapter six, then, I will establish this reading on the basis of Romans 8 itself. To begin, I turn our attention to the muddy waters of incorporative terminology.

⁴⁰¹ McKim (1996: 201) suggests: 'A general term to describe how the nature of one being can have effects on another'.

⁴⁰² 'Vocational' here should not be taken to imply 'functional'. It implies only an ontological reality expressed as a lived reality (being and act held inseparably).

4.1 Participation as a Foundational Motif in Pauline Literature

4.1.1 History of Incorporative Language

Investigation of Paul's incorporative language is not a recent development in New Testament studies.⁴⁰³ Between the late 1800's and today the motif has regained popularity within Pauline studies, and perhaps especially so since the mid-1970's. Beginning in 1892, Paul's incorporative language regained popularity in scholarship thanks to Adolf Deissmann.⁴⁰⁴ Deissmann suggested that Paul's use of 'in Christ' referred to a 'Christ mysticism',⁴⁰⁵ in which 'Paul lives "in" Christ, "in" the living and present spiritual Christ, who is about him on all sides, and who fills him, who speaks to him, and speaks in and through him'.⁴⁰⁶ Deissmann distinguished Paul's 'Christ mysticism', in which the person is not transformed into a deity or Christ, from what might be considered a technical mysticism influenced by Paul's Hellenistic culture and which blurs any distinction between human and deity.⁴⁰⁷

Nearly four decades later, Albert Schweitzer argued in his 1930 work, *Die Mystik des Apostels Paulus*, that, while Paul did have an ultimate mystical relationship with God in focus, it was a relationship mediated by a mystical relationship with Christ in the present.⁴⁰⁸ And, like Deissmann before him, the mysticism of which Paul wrote, said Schweitzer, maintained a distinction between the man and the deity.⁴⁰⁹ Perhaps unlike those before him, however, for Schweitzer, Paul's understanding of a mystical relationship with Christ was the answer to a problem of eschatology. Campbell notes that 'Schweitzer regarded mysticism as the means by which Paul was able to reconcile the otherwise contradicting elements of his eschatology. Redemption is future, and yet believers are able to experience Christ's death and resurrection in their present existence because they share with

⁴⁰³ See Macaskill (2013: 54-72) for an overview of the Fathers' approach to incorporative language and Billings (2007) for an overview of Calvin's use of the motifs. For information additional to that presented here, see: Campbell (2012: 31-58), who also notes Wilhelm Bousset (1913), John Murray (1955), Alfred Wikenhauser (1960), Fritz Neugebauer (1961), Michel Bouttier (1962), Karl Barth (1932-1968), Robert Tannehill (1967), W.D. Davies (1970), Richard Gaffin (1978), and Michael Horton (2007); see also Macaskill (2013: 25-34), who notes N. T. Wright (1991 esp.) and Richard Hays (2002).

⁴⁰⁴ Wolter (2015: 221-2) notes several German scholars who alluded to the motif of 'Christ mysticism' before Deissmann.

⁴⁰⁵ Deissmann 1912: 130-1.

⁴⁰⁶ Deissmann 1912: 135-6; see Dunn 1998b: 391. Those who would come after Deissmann and who would also focus much of their study of Paul's incorporate language on Paul's use of 'in Christ', include: Best 1955; Neugebauer 1961; Kramer 1966; and Moule 1977: 54-69.

⁴⁰⁷ Deissmann 1912: 149-53; see Macaskill 2013: 18-20. Campbell (2012: 34-5) and Macaskill (2013: 20-1) also note that Deissmann's successor, William Bousset, also argued that Paul's 'mysticism' bears only vague resemblance to that of Hellenistic notions of mysticism; see Bousset 1913: 164.

⁴⁰⁸ Schweitzer 1931: 3; see Macaskill 2013: 21-4.

⁴⁰⁹ Schweitzer 1931: 15.

Christ'.⁴¹⁰ Schweitzer's ideas were before their time and were for many years met with quizzical dismissals.⁴¹¹

It was not only from within the New Testament guild, however, that ideas of the corporate nature of Christ were developed. H. Wheeler Robinson and his 1936 work on 'corporate personality' in the Old Testament did as much to fuel conversations on the corporate nature of Christ as he did sociological conceptions of corporate identity in the Old Testament and Hebrew culture.⁴¹² By 'corporate personality' Robinson meant that 'the whole group, including its past, present, and future members, might function as a single individual through any one of those members conceived as representative of it'.⁴¹³ Robinson's work was criticised for its dependence on now-discredited theories of social anthropology,⁴¹⁴ its imprecise use of the term 'corporate personality',⁴¹⁵ and its lack of consideration for the emphasis on an individual's responsibility within Mosaic Law.⁴¹⁶ Nevertheless, his work made a lasting impact on the study of both Old and New Testament understandings of corporate identity in the Old Testament⁴¹⁷ and theological themes of incorporation in and with Christ in the New Testament.⁴¹⁸

Schweitzer's non-Hellenistic mystical understanding of 'in Christ' stands in contrast to that later proposed by Rudolf Bultmann (1952). Whereas for Schweitzer, 'in Christ' connoted a mystical unity, for Bultmann, the phrase referred to believers' 'articulation into the "body of Christ" by baptism', i.e. becoming part of the Church.⁴¹⁹ For Schweitzer, Paul was not influenced by the Hellenistic mystery religions; for Bultmann, the Gnostic redeemer myth was at the root of Paul's language.⁴²⁰

Though present in earlier years, conversations surrounding Paul's incorporative language intensified in the mid 1970's. During these years, the corporate nature of Christ slowly became coupled with a variety of other highly significant theological motifs: the role of covenant and the influence of Jewish apocalyptic literature on Paul's theology and letters, and perhaps most theologically significant: justification (by faith), the economy of the atonement, and Pauline

⁴¹⁰ Campbell 2012: 38.

⁴¹¹ See Dunn 1998b: 391-3.

⁴¹² See Macaskill (2013: 101-2) for a summary of Robinson's argument and its criticisms.

⁴¹³ Robinson 1981: 25.

⁴¹⁴ Powers 2001: 15; see Rogerson 1970: 9-12.

⁴¹⁵ Rogerson 1970: 1-16.

⁴¹⁶ Porter 1965: 361-80.

⁴¹⁷ See Joel Kaminski (1995) for a persuasive treatment that, despite the weaknesses of Robinson's theory, ideas of corporate identity do exist and are significant in the Old Testament. Kaminski focuses on deuteronomistic notions of corporate responsibility whereby the many are punished for the sins of the few—or the one, in the instance of a king—and the future generations bear the covenant curses of their ancestors. See esp. Kaminski 1995: 47-54.

⁴¹⁸ See Best 1955 and Ridderbos 1975: 61-2.

⁴¹⁹ Bultmann 1951: 311; see Campbell 2012: 39.

⁴²⁰ Bultmann 1951: 298.

soteriology. The former two currently exist as themes at the centre of discussions of participation, but it is the latter three which have (primarily) occupied scholars' attention from the early 1970's onward. Each has its own history of interpretation, and to elaborate on all or even one would require more words than this project allows. What is important to say at this point is that one is hard pressed to read publications on Paul's use of corporate language from 1970 onward which do not consider the motif in relationship to Paul's view of justification, the atonement, and/or salvation.

In 1971 Morna Hooker asked: 'If Christ is identified with man's condition . . . how are the Jews set free from the curse of the law, and how does the blessing come to the Gentiles?'⁴²¹ The answer, she suggested, could be found in the term 'interchange' or, more exactly, an 'interchange of experience'.⁴²² By 'interchange', she suggested that 'Christ shares in our experience, in order that we might share in his',⁴²³ or 'Christ has become what we are in order that we might become what he is'.⁴²⁴ 'Interchange', for Hooker, is the key to interpreting Paul's incorporative language and its relationship to Paul's view of the atonement and salvation. Christ does not suffer on the cross as man's substitute but as his representative. As one whose identity is in Christ, man suffers with Christ.⁴²⁵ This 'interchange of experience' is at the heart of Paul's view of atonement, the reconciliation between God and man, and the relationship between creation and redemption—and the role and status of mankind in both.

Perhaps most famous for establishing the significance of Paul's incorporative language in more recent scholarship is E. P. Sanders. His 1977 release of *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* triggered a seismic shift within Pauline Studies, the aftershocks of which continue to be felt throughout the discipline. What Hooker said rather modestly through 'interchange', Sanders said with unequivocal abandon: 'The heart of Paul's theology', Sanders declared, 'lies in the participatory categories' rather than juridical categories.⁴²⁶ That is to say that, 'the main theme of Paul's gospel was the saving action of God in Jesus Christ and how his hearers could participate in that action'.⁴²⁷ This participatory salvation comes through being transferred into the right

⁴²¹ Hooker 1971: 351.

⁴²² Hooker 1971: 349-61, with 'interchange of experience' on pp. 353, 355.

⁴²³ Hooker 1971: 352.

⁴²⁴ Hooker 1971: 358. She argued that it is 'in Christ' that Jews are set free from the Law and Gentiles are brought into the Abrahamic blessing. More generally, Christ has become a curse for believers in order that they might become sons of God (Gal. 2-3): p. 352; Christ has been sent in the likeness of sinful flesh in order that believers might be sons of God living in the Spirit (Rom. 8:3, 14f.): p. 354; Christ became human ('in Adam') in order that believers might 'share what he is—namely—the true image of God' (Rom. 8:3, 29): p. 355; 'Christ humbled himself, becoming man, in order that by his humiliation we might become glorious in him' (Phil. 2: 6-11; 3:10, 21): p. 357.

⁴²⁵ Hooker 1971: 358.

⁴²⁶ Sanders 1977: 502, 520; see pp. 431-523.

⁴²⁷ Sanders 1977: 447.

union⁴²⁸—a union not characterised by enslavement and condemnation but a new union with Christ. Salvation comes through a union which is characterised by participation in the death of Christ, freedom, transformation into a new creation, reconciliation, and justification/righteousness.⁴²⁹ This transfer from one union to the other comes from ‘*sharing* in Christ’s death’ and thereby dying ‘to the *power* of sin or to the old aeon’.⁴³⁰ Sanders argues that ‘the *purpose* of Christ’s death was not simply to provide expiation, but that he might become Lord and thus save those who belong to him and are “in” him’ (Rom. 14:8-9; 2 Cor. 5:14-15; 1 Thess. 5:10).⁴³¹ Christ’s death effected more than a verdict of ‘not guilty’; it effected a ‘*change in lordship*’—a change which takes place through believers’ participation in Christ’s death (Rom. 6:3-11; 7:4; Gal. 2:19-20; 5:24; Phil. 3:10).⁴³²

Sanders draws heavily on Schweitzer’s *Die Mystik* (1931) in which Schweitzer had suggested more than forty years previously that Paul’s gospel centred on the mystical union of believers in Christ—a theme similar to that of what Sanders called ‘participation’. As indicated, however, Schweitzer’s work was premature. It was written at a time when currents within Pauline scholarship were yet unfavourable to a new ‘centre’ of Paul’s theology; that, and the fact that he used the term ‘*Mystik*’ which perhaps carried connotations unintended by Schweitzer.⁴³³ Forty years on, however, the tide had turned, and when Sanders published *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* and argued that the heart of Paul’s soteriology is understood with participatory motifs, he also resurrected Schweitzer’s previously rejected observations. Since 1977 Schweitzer has had no lack of audience, and ‘participation’, particularly in its relationship to other soteriological motifs, has now become a household word in Pauline studies.⁴³⁴

⁴²⁸ Sanders is not specific about who or what is the object of this former union, though he hints at Adam in a brief synopsis of the Adam-Christ passages that refer to the salvation of all humanity (e.g. Rom. 5:18; 1 Cor. 15:22): 472-4.

⁴²⁹ Sanders 1977: 463-72.

⁴³⁰ Sanders 1977: 467-8; emphasis original.

⁴³¹ Sanders 1977: 465; emphasis original.

⁴³² Sanders 1977: 465-6; emphasis original.

⁴³³ Dunn (1998b: 394) notes that “‘Christ mysticism’ has become very much a “back number”, the lack of clear and consensual definition for its principal term and its esoteric overtones discouraging the attention it deserves’.

⁴³⁴ Sanders’ emphasis on participation and union as key components of Paul’s soteriology has led to an ever expanding emphasis on Paul’s incorporation language, particularly ‘participation with Christ’, in relation to themes of justification and substitutionary atonement. To date, one of the most influential publications on the relationship between the two motifs, albeit only tangentially connected to Sanders’ proposal regarding the relationship between judicial and participationist accounts of soteriology, in general, and the death of Christ, in particular, is Richard Hays’ *The Faith of Jesus Christ* (1983). Influenced by Sanders’ emphasis on participation in Christ, Hays suggests that salvation comes through believers’ participation in the faith/faithfulness of Jesus: 2002: xxvii. He writes, ‘We are taken up into his life, including his faithfulness, and that faithfulness therefore imparts to us the shape of our own existence. . . . Ultimately, being united with Christ is salvific because to share his life is to share in the life of God’: 1983: xxxii-iii. This participatory motif is only a secondary emphasis in *The Faith of Jesus Christ*, but has nevertheless helped to solidify the increasingly popular argument that

Dunn's 1998 *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* contains an entire section dedicated to 'Participation in Christ',⁴³⁵ and, perhaps as a sign of the times, is categorised under the guise of the theme's relationship to Paul's views of justification and salvation.⁴³⁶ Nevertheless, the interrelationship between the participation and soteriological motifs does not dominate his discussion. Dunn suggests that there are three primary ways of approaching and understanding Paul's 'in Christ' language: (1) objectively, as the 'redemptive act which has happened "in Christ" or depends on what Christ is yet to do';⁴³⁷ (2) subjectively, as believers being 'in Christ';⁴³⁸ and (3) where 'Paul has in view his own activity or is exhorting his readers to adopt a particular attitude or course of action'.⁴³⁹

Since the turn of the millennium, emphasis on incorporative language has reached new heights. The sheer numbers of works published with the sole purpose of addressing Paul's use of the motifs throughout his letters demonstrate this increase.⁴⁴⁰ Three scholars deserve mention in the more recent years of this historical survey: Michael Gorman (2001, 2009); Constantine Campbell (2012); and Grant Macaskill (2013). Michael Gorman does not focus on the question of union and participation with Christ *in se* as much as he uses the concepts, particularly 'participation', to put forth an argument that being 'conformed to Christ' ultimately means participating in the life of God.⁴⁴¹ He suggests a union⁴⁴² between God and believers through what he calls 'cruciformity'—believers' participation in the death of Christ⁴⁴³ or, more semantically accurate, believers' conformity to the crucified Christ.⁴⁴⁴ For Gorman, 'cruciformity' is not limited to conformity to Christ, but includes also conformity to God and the Spirit. 'Cruciformity' means theosis, or 'theoformity',⁴⁴⁵ which is 'transformative participation in the kenotic, cruciform character of God through Spirit-enabled conformity to the incarnate, crucified, and resurrected/glorified Christ'.⁴⁴⁶ Because the concepts of participation and conformity to Christ are key

Paul's theology of justification by faith is linked with participation with Christ. See Macaskill (2013: 25-6, 31-4) for an extended discussion of Hays' 'narrative participation'. More recent works include: Powers 2001 and Douglas Campbell's *The Deliverance of God* (2009).

⁴³⁵ Dunn 1998b: 390-412.

⁴³⁶ Dunn 1998b: 390-1.

⁴³⁷ Dunn 1998b: 397.

⁴³⁸ Dunn 1998b: 398.

⁴³⁹ Dunn 1998b: 398.

⁴⁴⁰ A selection of monographs alone includes: Powers 2001; Fowler 2005; Horton 2007; Billings 2007; Letham 2011; Billings 2011; White 2012; Campbell 2012; Macaskill 2013.

⁴⁴¹ Gorman 2009: 2.

⁴⁴² Though he does not use the term 'union' specifically.

⁴⁴³ Gorman 2001: 32.

⁴⁴⁴ Gorman 2009: 4; see Macaskill (2013: 25-28) for an extended discussion of Gorman's understanding of 'cruciformity', 'theosis', and use of 'likeness'.

⁴⁴⁵ Gorman 2009: 4.

⁴⁴⁶ Gorman 2009: 7.

concepts for Gorman’s argument, I will address a number of the finer points of his argument throughout the rest of this section.

The most comprehensive treatment of Pauline incorporative language to date is Constantine Campbell’s 2013 *Paul and Union with Christ*. After systematically analysing Paul’s ‘in Christ’, ‘with Christ’, ‘through Christ’, *et al.* language, Campbell discusses the notion of union with Christ in relation to other Pauline theological motifs. More so than most, Campbell attempts to distinguish between the commonly used terms of union, participation, identification, and incorporation.⁴⁴⁷ He suggests that ‘together these four terms function as “umbrella” concepts, covering the full spectrum of Pauline language, ideas, and themes that are bound up in the metatheme of “union with Christ”’.⁴⁴⁸

One final work deserves mention. In *Union with Christ in the New Testament* (2013), Macaskill sets out to answer the question, ‘How is the union between God and those he has redeemed represented in the New Testament?’⁴⁴⁹ Macaskill suggests in his central chapter that union with Christ is represented throughout the New Testament in ‘the paired images of the church as temple and body of Christ’—images which can be regarded ‘as core to New Testament theology’.⁴⁵⁰ This ‘pairing of images relates to participation’ in that ‘it maintains the distinction between God and the creatures present in the temple, while allowing his glory to be shared with them; it is covenantal, and specifically related to the Spirit-promises of the new covenant; and it involves a particular union between believers and the Messiah’.⁴⁵¹ Within the temple imagery, believers are the building and Christ is the cornerstone, and the union created by the two creates sacred space for the presence of the indwelling Spirit.⁴⁵² *Union with Christ* is the most extensive and in-depth analysis of the New Testament theme of union with Christ in scholarship to-date, as well as the most comprehensive survey of union and participation in scholarship from the Church Fathers onward.

4.1.2 *Defining and Grounding the Terms in Paul*

With the exception of using the terms chosen by individual authors, I have thus far refrained from using terms other than ‘incorporative language’ to describe Paul’s ‘incorporative’ motifs. There is an ever-present danger in over-defining such terms, but the danger of not defining words of such high significance is perhaps even

⁴⁴⁷ Campbell 2012: 406-13.

⁴⁴⁸ Campbell 2012: 413; see Macaskill (2013: 38-40) for a summary of Campbell’s conclusions.

⁴⁴⁹ Macaskill 2013: 1.

⁴⁵⁰ Macaskill 2013: 12.

⁴⁵¹ Macaskill 2013: 12.

⁴⁵² Macaskill 2013: 147-59, but also picked up in detail throughout the study.

greater.⁴⁵³ For my purposes here, it is important only to articulate the relationship between union and participation as I am using the terms in this thesis.

Modern authors use union and participation synonymously at times, and at other times view the terms as separate but interrelated, with the intricacies of the interrelationship rarely explained. Hays argued in 1983 that believers participate in the faithfulness of Jesus but failed to articulate even once what he meant by participate.⁴⁵⁴ Daniel Powers titled his 2001 dissertation *Salvation through Participation* and yet mentioned participation no more than twice in the introduction, and not once to define the term. The case is much the same for the majority of recent scholars, particularly in reference to the relationship that exists between Christ and believers. The distinctions are important for our purposes here only because of the semantic use of glory or glorification which I am suggesting stands behind Paul's use of the terms vis-à-vis humanity in Romans. It is important to flesh this out further.

Union

Paul's 'in Christ' language operates in a variety of ways. According to Campbell, these include: things achieved for/given to people, believers' actions, characteristics of believers, faith in Christ, justification, new status, contribution to

⁴⁵³ See Wolter 2015: 221. The danger of not defining such terms is evident in the work of Johnson Hodge (2007), whose argument that the identities of Jews and Gentiles remain distinct from one another 'in Christ' rests on a theology of union with Christ in which both Jews and Gentiles find their primary identities 'in Christ' but also retain their ethnic distinctions (see esp. ch. 7, but the point is articulated throughout the work). A *theology* of union with/in Christ, however, is all but dismissed. She covers the theological interpretations of union with Christ of Deissmann, F. C. Porter, Dunn, and Sam K. Williams in four sentences, before suggesting that 'each one seems to be based more on modernist theological reflection than on Paul's arguments' (p. 93). Failing entirely to qualify that statement, she then proceeds in the next sentence to suggest that 'in Christ' language refers to 'patrilineal descent', which she describes as the 'notion that descendants are manifestations of their ancestors and that members of kinship groups share the same "stuff"' (p. 93-4); they are 'in' their ancestors as Jews were 'in' Abraham as his descendants. While 'patrilineal descent' is probably correct on a fundamental level, in that it recognises some element of kinship relationship between Jesus and Gentiles (and I would suggest Jews, as well), disregarding the clearly theological aspects of Paul's 'in Christ' language in which believers (on some level or in some way) share the experience of Christ's death and resurrection seems theologically reductionistic. This and other serious weaknesses which infect the entire work and thus prompt serious critique, particularly of her interpretation of Rom. 8:29, will be addressed in §5.3.2 and §6.1.

⁴⁵⁴ Macaskill (2013: 26) notes this as well but suggests that it reflects a 'deliberate move on Hays' part'. I am less persuaded. More recently Hays tried to bring clarity of thought through his essay titled 'What is "Real Participation in Christ"?' in a *Festschrift* dedicated to Ed Sanders (2008). There he identifies four suggestions for how to understand participation: belonging to a family, political or military solidarity with Christ, being the corporate body of Christ, and living within the Christ Story, by which he means the narrative of redemption. Nevertheless, throughout the piece Hays hints that participation is somehow distinct from union, and yet at the very end he conflates the two: 'These proposals [about "real participation"] offer some ways of approaching the issue, but they hardly exhaust the matter; there remains something irreducibly mysterious about union with Christ' (p. 349).

Trinitarian contexts, and periphrases denoting someone as a believer.⁴⁵⁵ Without disputing this list, I wish to emphasise here the transformation of believers' status and/or identity in union with Christ. For Paul, this transformed status and/or identity is communicated via a variety of metaphors: justified; adopted; free/redeemed from slavery to sin, death and the law; reconciled to God; or a new creation.⁴⁵⁶ This new identity in Christ also includes being glorified: being identified by Christ's glory, or having the honour which is Christ's. Justified,⁴⁵⁷ adopted,⁴⁵⁸ and glorified are the three transformations of a believer's identity most closely associated with 8:17-30.

Wolter notes that Paul's descriptions of believers' 'present status of salvation' (e.g. glorified, elect, children of God, no longer enemies of God, reconciled, etc.⁴⁵⁹) are all 'semantically isotopic—they stand in a paradigmatic relationship and are therefore interchangeable among each other without limitation. The same thing is repeatedly said in different words'.⁴⁶⁰ While 'semantically isotopic' may be an

⁴⁵⁵ Campbell 2012: 67-199. He notes in conclusion (2012: 199): 'It is, therefore, impossible to define the meaning of these idioms by a single description as though they are formulaic. Virtually the full range of lexical possibilities of the preposition ἐν is extant for ἐν Χριστῷ and its variations'.

⁴⁵⁶ For texts on being justified, see: Rom. 3:24, 26; 5:1, 9; 6:7; 8:1 (Paul does not use δικαίω or δίκαιος in 8:1, but the sentiment behind 'no condemnation' is the same; see Wright 2009a: 234); Gal. 2:16, 17. On being adopted, see: Rom. 8:15, 23; Gal. 4:5; Eph. 1:5. On being free/redeemed from slavery to sin, death and the law, see: Rom. 6:1-10; 8:2; Gal. 3:13-14; see Fee 2004: 52-5. On being reconciled to God, see: Rom. 5:10, 11; 2 Cor. 5:19. On being a new creation, see: 2 Cor. 5:17. This short list of metaphors should in no way indicate that I am reducing them to a mere list of metaphors that talk about one's status 'in Christ'. Theologically and exegetically, each metaphor functions as and connotes much more than just this status. Together they form the larger narrative of creation, sin, exodus, exile and redemption, all of which are rooted in Israel's past and Scriptures. As noted in the discussion of semiotics, metaphorical language does not imply metaphysical existence or nonexistence.

⁴⁵⁷ The relationship between justification and union/participation, as indicated above, is often the centre of the current discussions of Paul's incorporative language. Entering into the discussion here will not advance my larger argument, and thus I will refrain from so doing. I wish only to highlight and contest the proposal of Michael Gorman who, with numerous contemporary scholars (see Gorman 2009: 41), suggests that justification by faith refers to a participatory soteriology. According to Gorman, Paul understands justification as 'new life/resurrection via crucifixion with the messiah Jesus, or "justification by co-crucifixion", and therefore as inherently participatory' (Gorman 2009: 44). Gorman summarises this as: 'Justification is the establishment or restoration of right covenantal relations—*fidelity* to God and *love* for neighbor—by means of God's grace in Christ's death and our Spirit-enabled co-crucifixion with him. Justification therefore means co-crucifixion with Christ to new life within the people of God and the certain *hope* of acquittal/vindication, and thus resurrection to eternal life, on the day of judgment': Gorman 2009:85-6; emphasis original. For a similar perspective, see Shauf 2006. The primary weakness I find with Gorman's description of justification is that, in one line he suggests justification is '*by means of* . . . co-crucifixion' and in another he says justification '*means* co-crucifixion'; emphasis mine.

⁴⁵⁸ Yarbrough (1995: 140) says that 'for . . . Paul . . . adoption into the family of God is a key metaphor for the new status believers have obtained' (quoted by Burke 2006: 22). See Burke (2006: 120-23) on Paul's emphasis on adoption as a status made possible only through union with Christ. There Burke (p. 123) quotes John Murray, who says, 'we cannot think of adoption apart from union with Christ . . . union with Christ and adoption are complementary aspects of this amazing grace. Union with Christ reaches its zenith in adoption and adoption has its orbit in union with Christ' (Murray 1961: 170).

⁴⁵⁹ See Wolter 2015: 186.

⁴⁶⁰ Wolter 2015: 186.

overstatement, or perhaps even reductionistic, his recognition that the terms or phrases all describe salvation from different perspectives is correct. The same critique can be made of the important work of Michael Gorman.⁴⁶¹ As Fee notes, ‘although metaphors do indeed give expression to *one dimension of a reality*, no one of them is adequate to embrace *the whole of that reality*’.⁴⁶² Each metaphor has its particular place in Paul’s letters, and each speaks to believers’ identity and location ‘in Christ’. In this way, descriptions of a person’s status in Christ are multivalent.

In furtherance to the brief comments I offered on ontological transformation in chapter two, I note here that, in terms of a believer’s union with Christ, her glorification (as in Rom. 8:30) or co-glorification with Christ (as in Rom. 8:17) *do* imply an ontological transformation—a transformation of the identity (which includes status) which characterises her existence,⁴⁶³ even if understood as honour or exalted status associated with rule: Christ’s honour or exalted status becomes that of the believer. It is not as if the traditional understanding of glorification refers to an ontological transformation where the person becomes more like God, in the presence of God, and thus reflects the splendour of God, and this semantic use of glorification does not. Understanding human glorification as existing in or belonging to a status of honour is also ontological in that it belongs to a person’s identity which characterises their existence.

Participation

Participation with Christ, as noted by Campbell, exists under the auspices of union with Christ. Participation is not somehow outside of union with Christ or something different than union with Christ; it is a logical consequence of certain ontological transformations which take place in union with Christ, namely those which imply an active rather than passive reception of such transformations. For example, justification, sanctification, adoption, and traditional understandings of eschatological glorification ‘in Christ’ are all passive. In each case, it is an ontological transformation which happens in union with Christ and which implies no logically subsequent activity on the part of the believer.

On the other hand, being united with Christ in his suffering, crucifixion, death, resurrection all imply sharing in an ‘activity’ with Christ. This I am referring to as participation, and, more specifically, as vocational participation. It is the logical consequence of an ontologically transformed identity in Christ and occurs only

⁴⁶¹ Throughout Gorman’s work, a plethora of terms, including: union, participation, kenosis, theosis, cruciform, conform, transform(ation), holiness, justification, sanctification, suffering and glory, are used so frequently in mutual interpretation that, at the end of the argument, the reader is left to wonder how the terms can and should be distinguished one from the other.

⁴⁶² Fee 2004: 49; emphasis original;

⁴⁶³ Refer back to my initial definition in §2.2.2.1 (Footnote #143) of how I am using ‘ontology’ and ‘ontological’ in this thesis.

because of that transformation.⁴⁶⁴ In the case of glorification, if glory and glorification are used in Romans vis-à-vis humanity as they are in the LXX vis-à-vis humanity, then the semantic use of the terms as reference to honour, power, or authority associated with an exalted status of dominion implies an ontological transformation of status which, by definition, also necessarily implies an associated action. To receive a status of honour associated with dominion or rule implies that the person will thus bear that honour in rule; as those glorified in Christ, they will actively participate in the glorious/honourable rule of Christ. As noted in chapter two, one's transformed identity logically includes 'being' and 'act'; one who is 'in Christ' acts in ways which demonstrate that transformed identity.

A word of caution must be noted here. This ontological transformation which occurs in union with Christ is increasingly being referred to as *theosis*, a motif historically central to Eastern Traditions and slowly making its way into Protestant traditions in the West.⁴⁶⁵ Within these Protestant—primarily Pauline—circles, Michael Gorman has written on this transformation as *theosis*.⁴⁶⁶ Gorman defines *theosis* as the 'transformative participation in the kenotic, cruciform character of God through Spirit-enabled conformity to the incarnate, crucified, and resurrected/glorified Christ'.⁴⁶⁷ Gorman rightly emphasises the role of the Spirit in this transformation, but, with Macaskill, I question Gorman's theological use of the term *theosis* and the interplay between becoming 'like Christ' and 'incorporation into the divine identity'.⁴⁶⁸ Participation in Christ does not blur the ever-present distinction between God in Christ and believers in Christ. The glory in which believers participate is not innate to themselves; it originates in God alone and is received only as a gift from God in union with Christ.⁴⁶⁹

Within Pauline terms, these participatory activities which believers share with Christ, most significantly those of dying, rising, suffering, and sharing in glory,⁴⁷⁰ are presented primarily through Paul's use of *σὺν* as an independent preposition and *σὺμ-*/*σὺν*-compounds.⁴⁷¹ This chart represents these participatory activities and the texts in which they are found:

⁴⁶⁴ I reiterate that 'vocational' is not somehow distinct from 'ontological' but rather the teleological purpose to union with Christ. Karl Barth treated these distinctions similarly (though certainly not the same) to those I am presenting here. See Neder (2009: 15-28) for a succinct discussion of Barth's two-fold (objective and subjective) form of participation.

⁴⁶⁵ See Macaskill 2013: 42-82 on the Church Fathers' and Luther's understanding of *theosis*.

⁴⁶⁶ Gorman 2009.

⁴⁶⁷ Gorman 2009: 7.

⁴⁶⁸ Macaskill 2013: 27-8.

⁴⁶⁹ See Macaskill 2013: 143.

⁴⁷⁰ See Harvey 1992; Campbell 2012: 408.

⁴⁷¹ Dunn notes that there are approximately forty *σὺν*-compounds found throughout the Pauline corpus which are the 'real force' of the 'with Christ' motif; see Dunn (1998b: 402-3) for the list of compounds and their respective locations throughout the letters. See McGrath 1952 who provides a lexical definition of 24 of the words.

	Crucifixion/ Death	Burial	Suffering	Resurrection	Life	Glorification
σὺν Χριστῷ	Rom. 6:8; Col. 2:20				Col. 3:3* Phil. 1:23	
σὺν κυρίῳ					1 Thess. 4:17*	
σὺν αὐτῷ				1 Thess.4:14	2 Cor. 13:4 Col. 2:13 1 Thess. 5:10	Col. 3:4
σὺν Ἰησοῦ				2 Cor. 4:14		
σὺμ- /σὺν- comp- ounds	Rom. 6:6 Gal. 2:20 Phil 3:10 (συμμορφίζω) 2 Tim. 2:11	Rom. 6:4 Rom. 6:5 (σύμφυτος) Col. 2:12	Rom. 8:17	Eph. 2:6 Col. 2:12; 3:1	Rom. 6:8 Eph. 2:5 2 Tim. 2:11	Rom. 8:17 Rom. 8:29 (σύμμορφος) Eph. 2:6 (συγκαθίζω) Phil. 3:21 (σύμμορφος) 2 Tim. 2:12 (συμβασιλεύω)

Not every use of σὺν or every σὺμ-/σὺν-compound that has the believer as the subject and Jesus as the object of the preposition automatically signifies a participatory motif.⁴⁷² There are also two σὺμ-/σὺν-compounds whose categories are not as obvious at first glance: συγκληρονόμος in 8:17 (which I have not listed)⁴⁷³ and σύμμορφος in Romans 8:29 (which I have and will defend shortly).

Space does not permit a full treatment of each of the motifs. My starting point I take as Tannehill's analysis of believers' transfer from one dominion to another in Romans 6:

⁴⁷² I include Phil. 1:23 here for the sake of a less complex table, despite that it may not be the most appropriate category and that it may not refer to participation at all. Campbell includes Phil. 1:23 as a reference to participation. I am not convinced, however, and consider Paul's 'be with Christ' as emphasising the physical proximity between the believer and Christ and thereby lacking the activity on which the participatory motif seems so dependent: 2012: 223. Intriguingly, Campbell does not include 1 Thess. 4:17 in the list of participatory verses, suggesting that it has a 'quasi-physical accompaniment with Christ rather than a conceptual or spiritual participation': 2012: 223. His description of 1 Thess. 4:17 seems equally as apt for Phil. 1:23.

⁴⁷³ Eph. 3:6 includes συγκληρονόμος and also συμμετοχος—sharing the promise. In both cases, however, believers are fellow heirs or sharers in the promise with one another and not with the Messiah.

The believers were enslaved to sin, but now they stand under a new master. This change has taken place through dying with Christ. The motif of dying and rising with Christ is important to Paul because it brings out this decisive transfer and connects it to the death and resurrection of Christ. Dying with Christ means dying to the powers of the old aeon and entry into a new life under a new power.⁴⁷⁴

Tannehill's analysis aligns with my suggestion above that believers are either in Adam or in Christ. Through participation in Christ's death and resurrection in baptism, believers are transferred from one dominion to another; they are transferred from one union to another. Or, as Esler describes it within his reading of Romans through the lens of Social Identity Theory, 'Paul thus identifies baptism [in 6:4-5] as the locus for the destruction of the old identity and the acquisition of the new'.⁴⁷⁵

On the basis of this relationship between union and participation, the rest of this section will focus primarily on what I have defined above as a 'vocational participation': sharing with Christ in his resurrection life and glory as redeemed humans. These vocational themes, I will demonstrate, are *a result of* dying and rising with Christ and *on the basis of* the newly formed union with Christ and, thus, are a *vocational* participation with Christ/the new Adam as redeemed humanity. I will turn to 8:29 shortly, but before doing so will briefly examine the participatory motifs in Romans 6:4-8 and 8:17. Paul writes about believers' vocational participation with Christ in his resurrection in Romans 6:5,⁴⁷⁶ his resurrection life in Romans 6:8,⁴⁷⁷ and his glory in Romans 8:17, 29.⁴⁷⁸

I begin in Romans 6:4-8. Paul refers specifically to participation in Christ's resurrection in 6:5 (albeit implicitly) and participation in Christ's resurrection life in 6:8. In 6:5 Paul says *σὺμψυτοὶ γεγόναμεν*, meaning 'planted together'⁴⁷⁹ or, as most contemporary translations suggest, 'united with'.⁴⁸⁰ Some may contend that 6:5 does

⁴⁷⁴ Tannehill 1966: 21.

⁴⁷⁵ Esler 2003: 214. Esler later writes (p. 217), 'The reality that results [from baptism] can be described as "union with Christ" and is communicated by the distinctive expressions beginning or associated with *συν*- ("with") that run throughout the passage and serve to align the experience of the Christ-follower with that of Christ'.

⁴⁷⁶ Implied; see also 1 Thess. 4:14; Eph. 2:6; Col. 2:12; 3:1,

⁴⁷⁷ See also 2 Cor. 13:4; Col. 2:13; 5:10; Eph. 2:5; 2 Tim. 2:11. Whether 1 Thess. 4:17; Col. 3:3; and Phil. 1:23 belong here as well is unclear.

⁴⁷⁸ See also Phil. 3:21; Col. 3:4; Eph. 2:6; 2 Tim. 2:12.

⁴⁷⁹ KJV.

⁴⁸⁰ ESV, NIV, RSV, NRS. Fitzmyer (1993: 435) prefers 'grown together with' and Dunn (1988a: 330-1) prefers 'fused together with'; see Dunn (1998b: 329), where he uses a metaphor of two broken bones fused together at the ends. Interestingly, Byrne (2007: 191) uses 'conformed to', a decision no doubt influenced by his reading of 8:29. Most helpful here is Origen, who maintained the more lexically accurate 'planted together with' in his commentary on Romans: "'Planted together" . . . must be understood of both. Consider how necessary it was for him to adopt the image of planting. For every plant, after the death of winter, await the resurrection of spring. Therefore, if we have been planted in Christ's death in the winter of this world and this present life, so too we shall be found in the

not contain participatory motifs, whether in reference to participation in the death or the resurrection of Christ, because Paul's reference is to a status or existence rather than an event. However, as Campbell rightly notes, 'participation language remains apt since the verse refers to the state of being associated in common experience—the death of Christ. Thus, the phrase underscores the participation in which believers partake; they are joined with Christ in the co-experience of his death'.⁴⁸¹ Campbell overlooks the participation in Christ's resurrection implicit in the second half of the verse, but the sentiment is the same: if believers share in or participate in Christ's death they will do so as well in Christ's resurrection.

This implicit point is made explicit in 6:8. There Paul writes: εἰ δὲ ἀπεθάνομεν σὺν Χριστῷ, πιστεύομεν ὅτι καὶ συζήσομεν αὐτῷ. The only difference between Paul's sentiment in 6:5 and 6:8 is that in 6:5 he refers to participation in the resurrection of Christ and in 6:8 he refers to the life of Christ. But both expressions refer to the same reality: the believer no longer participates in the dominion of sin but in the dominion of Christ. Believers are raised to new life in Christ and thus share in the vocation of Christ. Yet Paul's reference here is not to believers' status as those who have new life, but to their active participation in the resurrection life of Christ. In dying *with Christ*, believers are raised *with Christ* to a life in which they actually *live with Christ*. And the life of Christ in which believers share is one in which Christ, the Messiah, reigns as such and as the new Adam. As indicated in chapter three of this thesis, Paul has already stated this clearly in 5:17.

This vocational participatory motif is more explicit in 8:17 than elsewhere in the letter. Since I will address the participatory motifs of 8:17 in the following chapter, here I note only the vocational nature of the motifs. Paul writes in 8:17: 'and if children, then heirs—heirs of God and co-inheritors of Christ (συγκληρονόμοι), if we suffer with him (συμπάσχομεν), in order that we might be glorified with him' (συνδοξασθῶμεν). Paul emphasises participation with Christ, a result of being made children of God (see vv. 14-16). *If* God has already adopted the person and given her the status of child of God, *then* she is a co-inheritor with Christ, which is to say that she will be co-glorified with Christ. The participation comes only as a result of or on the basis of the believers' adoption into God's eschatological family—a believers' change in status. Because the believer has received the Spirit of adoption (8:15) and her identity is that she is a child of God, she is a co-inheritor with Christ, which is to be glorified with Christ and thus share in his vocation as Messiah and new Adam.⁴⁸²

coming spring bearing the fruits of righteousness from his root'. Though the springtime resurrection is not necessarily a reference to 'bearing the fruits of righteousness', the metaphor of 'planted together' rather than 'grown (or fused) together' makes more sense of Paul's argument: Origen CER 3:152, 154, 156 cited in Bray 1998: 157.

⁴⁸¹ Campbell 2012: 229.

⁴⁸² The details of this relationship between συγκληρονόμοι and συνδοξασθῶμεν will be examined in §6.2. Campbell (2012: 231) suggests that συγκληρονόμοι does not imply participation.

Schreiner rightly notes that ‘the inheritance becomes a reality through union with Christ . . . Those who are united with Christ share in the inheritance that he has gained for them’.⁴⁸³ Looking at the term through this lens of participation, one can readily see that it is a *vocational* participation.

It would be natural to discuss the implied participation in σύμμορφος in 8:29 at this point. For the sake of suspending conclusions until the end, however, I will refrain from doing so completely. I suggest here only that in 8:29 Paul uses σύμμορφος, a σύν-compound literally meaning co-formed to the image of the Son.⁴⁸⁴ Similar to his use of σύμμορφος in Philippians 3:21 (examined below), here in Romans 8:29 Paul implies that believers participate in the image of the Son.⁴⁸⁵ Believers do not become the image of the Son or the image of God in Christ. Humanity was created κατ’ εικόνα θεου in Genesis 1:27, and as those who are now in Christ, they now *bear* the image of the Son (as in 1 Cor. 15:49; see below); it is the image which they bear and not the image which they are.

Saving the rest of what can and must be said on 8:29 for the second half of this thesis, I will conclude this section with a brief word on Romans 8:32, where Paul writes, ‘He who did not spare his own Son but gave him up for us all, will he not also with him (σὺν αὐτῷ) give us all things (τὰ πάντα)?’ Campbell says participation is not in view here.⁴⁸⁶ His reading, I suggest, overlooks the larger context of Romans 8. What are the ‘all things’ which God gives to his children that he has already given to the Firstborn Son? They are those ‘things’ to which he has just referred, namely, believers’ predestination, justification, and glorification (8:30), which God will bring to completion. More specifically, τὰ πάντα refers back to believers’ inheritance in 8:17. Jewett rightly notes that ‘τὰ πάντα (“the all”) refers to the entire creation rather than the totality of salvation’, and that this ‘is indicated by the article and suggested by the previous argument that believers inherit the promise to Abraham that his descendants should “inherit the world” (4:13)’.⁴⁸⁷ God has already brought the

The assumption is natural, especially if the reader does not see the relationship between συγκληρονόμοι and συνδοξασθῶμεν.

⁴⁸³ Schreiner 1998: 428.

⁴⁸⁴ The reader will note that a number of other σύν-compounds exist in the context of Rom. 8:16-26: ‘It is the Spirit himself bearing witness with (συμμαρτυρεῖ) our spirit (v.16)’; ‘We know that the whole creation groans (συστενάζει) and suffers the pains of childbirth (συνωδίνει) until now (v.22); ‘Likewise the Spirit helps us (συναντιλαμβάνεται) in our weakness (v.26)’. These compounds, though they share the same context as the participatory compounds, are not themselves *participatory* compounds. They do not refer to the believer sharing with Christ or the Spirit in an activity.

⁴⁸⁵ Byrne (1996:272n29) notes that, because σύμμορφος is used with the genitive εικόνας, it has a substantival quality; see also Byrne 1979: n156 where he notes that this substantival use with the genitive denotes a ‘shared or taken part in’.

⁴⁸⁶ Campbell 2012: 224.

⁴⁸⁷ Jewett 2007: 538; see further Wilckens 1980: 173-4; Dunn 1988a: 502; Scott 1992: 251-2; Wright 2002: 612; Byrne 2007: 276; *contra* Balz 1971: 119; Cranfield 1975: 437; Morris 1988: 336; Edwards 1992: 224; Fitzmyer 1993: 532 who understand τὰ πάντα as a reference to ‘all things

predestination, justification, and glorification of the Firstborn Son to completion—the Son is *now* at the right hand of the Father (8:34). Paul says that God will do the same for all those who are ‘in him’.

This section has served as an introduction to the motif of participation in Romans. More specifically, it has examined the motif of vocational participation: believers’ participation as redeemed humanity in the new Adam’s resurrection, life, and glory. Before turning specifically to 8:29 within the context of Romans 8, three other passages demand our attention: Philippians 3:21, where Paul uses σύμμορφος in a participatory context, and 1 Corinthians 15:49 and Colossians 3:10, where Paul uses εικόν in contexts of vocational participation. These texts and those examined in Romans 6:4—8:32 will provide insights into understanding ‘conformed to the image of [God’s Firstborn] Son’ in Romans 8:29 as believers’ vocational participation with the Son in his glory. I will conclude with an examination of the role 2 Corinthians 3:18 and its context plays in the conversation.

4.2 Participation Elsewhere

4.2.1 Conformed to Christ’s Body of Glory in Philippians 3:21

Συμμόρφος appears only twice in the New Testament: in Romans 8:29 and Philippians 3:21.⁴⁸⁸ Philippians 3:21 reads: ὃς μετασχηματίσει τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ὑποτάξαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα. Paul declares that the believer will conform to ‘[Christ’s] body of glory’ in contrast to humanity’s ‘body of humility’. Despite his use of ‘body of glory’ rather than ‘image of his Son’, as in Romans 8:29b, the two phrases bear significant similarities. Interestingly, whereas the majority of recent translations suggest ‘conformed’ for συμμόρφος in Romans 8:29, only the NAS and NRS do so in Philippians 3:21. Most others, including the ESV, NIV, RSV, and KNT all translate σύμμορφος as ‘be like’. The KJV has ‘be fashioned like’ and the NLT has ‘change them into’.⁴⁸⁹ This is partly due to the unclear grammatical use of the σύμμορφος in 3:21, where it stands as an accusative adverbial adjective with no substantive.⁴⁹⁰ I suggest, however, that it is primarily due to the mistranslations of the

necessary for salvation’ and Käsemann 1980: 247; Barrett 1991: 161; Moo 1996: 541; Schreiner 1998: 460 who suggest a more ‘all inclusive’ referent.

⁴⁸⁸ I am in general agreement with the arguments put forth by O’Brien as to why Phil. 3:20-21 is not a pre-Pauline hymn. Paul perhaps borrowed language from earlier pieces, but the composition of the two verses is his own; see O’Brien 1991: 467-72.

⁴⁸⁹ Thurston and Ryan 2009: ‘change’; Hansen 2009: ‘be like’ and ‘have the same form as’.

⁴⁹⁰ ‘The acc. adjective, when it is not dependent on a noun, almost defies classification. To discuss it under “Adjectives” is somewhat misleading, as is a discussion of it under “Accusative”’: Wallace 1996: 200. The textual variant, εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτὸ, is clearly an attempt to smooth the difficult syntax caused by σύμμορφον. It is maintained in eight late manuscripts: D¹, Ψ, 075, 33, ℞, sy; Ir, Ambr; see Silva 2005: 189; Reumann 2008: 580; Hansen 2009: 274n287.

two adjectival phrases and the failure to see the *embedded motif of believers' vocational participation in the Messiah's fulfilment of Psalm 8*. In the following discussion, I will examine the two elements of Philippians 3:21 which lead to this reading: (1) Paul's use of δόξα as being consistent with what we have seen in Romans above. This will be demonstrated on the basis of (a) Paul's use of ταπείνωσις and δόξα as contrastive possessive genitives and (b) the echo of Psalm 8; (2) the participatory motif behind the term σύμμορφος, consistent with Paul's language of participation elsewhere. Support for this will come in the link between Paul's morphic language in 2:6, 7 and 3:21. Until conclusions can be drawn, I will translate σύμμορφος as 'formed with'.

4.2.1.1 Denoting Δόξα

Paul's use of δόξα in 3:21 is identifiable on the basis of recognising ταπείνωσις and δόξα as contrastive possessive genitives, and the implicit echo of Psalm 8. In this verse Paul contrasts two kinds of physical bodies: those of humanity, which he characterises as τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως, and that of the resurrected Jesus, characterised as τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ. The two genitives are commonly read as adjectival genitives,⁴⁹¹ with τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ usually translated as 'glorious body',⁴⁹² and ταπείνωσις as 'lowly',⁴⁹³ 'weak',⁴⁹⁴ 'vile',⁴⁹⁵ or even 'wretched' body.⁴⁹⁶ The two exceptions to this are the NAS, which renders the first phrase 'body of our humble state' and the NRS, which renders it 'body of our humiliation'. Both translate the second phrase as 'body of his glory'.

Σῶμα denotes the material body here, as it does in most places.⁴⁹⁷ Yet its grammatical relationship to ταπείνωσις and δόξα suggests that believers' earthly or resurrection physicality is not Paul's emphasis, which is instead the characteristics by which each of the bodies is identified; the genitives are not merely adjectival (= 'glorious body') but possessive (= 'body which belongs to his glory').⁴⁹⁸ O'Brien

⁴⁹¹ ESV, NIV, RSV, KJV, KNT.

⁴⁹² ESV, NET, NIV, RSV, KJV, NLT.

⁴⁹³ ESV, NIV, RSV.

⁴⁹⁴ GNB.

⁴⁹⁵ KJV.

⁴⁹⁶ JB.

⁴⁹⁷ The four times σῶμα does not refer to the physicality of a human body are: (1) the metaphorical use of believers as the 'body of Christ'—a 'unified group of people', according to BDAG: 984; see Rom. 12:5; 1 Cor. 10:17; 12:12-13, 27; Eph. 1:23; 2:16; 3:6; 4:12, 16; 5:23, 30; Col. 1:18, 24; 2:19; 3:15; and (2) its reference to 'slaves' in Rev. 18:13; (3) its reference to plant and seed structures in 1 Cor. 15:35, though here too it refers to the physical nature of them; and (4) its reference to substantive reality in Col. 2:17. For the best treatment of the history of interpretation of σῶμα, see Jewett 1971: 201-50.

⁴⁹⁸ This understanding of σῶμα should not be confused with that offered by Bultmann in his classic treatment of the word within Pauline anthropology (1952: 192-203) nor that of John A. T. Robinson's 1952 *The Body* in which he dissents from Bultmann's treatment of σῶμα as the 'me' rather than the 'I': pp. 12-13n1.

suggests that ‘τῆς ταπεινώσεως is a genitive of quality, signifying not the body that is inherently evil (see AV, ‘vile body’) but that which *belongs to the state of humiliation* [what I have called ‘possessive’] caused by sin and is thus always characterized by physical decay, indignity, weakness, and finally death’.⁴⁹⁹ As Hellerman notes, ‘unlike ταπεινοφροσύνη, which denotes an attitude or mind-set, ταπεινώσις signifies a “state or condition”’.⁵⁰⁰

In contrast in 3:21, the body of Jesus exists in a state of glory caused by resurrection and is thus characterised by imperishability, immortality, and power (see 1 Cor. 15:42-43, 52-54 to which I will turn anon). Hellerman continues with: ‘Most take δόξης as “radiant, glorious body”,⁵⁰¹ but given (a) the status connotations of the parallel ταπεινώσεως (“humble state or condition”) and (b) the intended contrast with the pseudo-glory of those who set their minds on earthly things, the meaning “fame, recognition, renown, prestige” is probably better’.⁵⁰² Having been resurrected, Jesus’ body exists within or belongs to his glorified or exalted state.⁵⁰³ The bodies of believers continue to exist in a state of humility as ones not yet glorified.

Support for this interpretation is found in 2:6-11, a text which shares a variety of overlaps with 3:10, 21.⁵⁰⁴ The most notable overlap for our purposes here is the use of ταπεινώω in 2:8. My reader will undoubtedly be familiar with the labyrinth of studies done on this text. These studies and discussions will either be omitted in the following pages or relegated to footnotes if their relevance is obvious. My sole intent here is to discover how ταπεινώω functions within the passage.

In 2:6-8 Paul writes:

ὅς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἄρπαγμὸν ἠγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ,⁷
ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν, ἐν ὁμοιώματι
ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος· καὶ σχήματι εὗρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος⁸
ἐταπεινώσεν ἑαυτὸν γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ
σταυροῦ.

To make sense of ταπεινώω in 2:8, we must first see its relation to the preceding clauses. In 2:6 Paul describes Christ as existing in the ‘form of God’ and

⁴⁹⁹ O’Brien 1991: 464; emphasis mine; see also Reumann 2008: 580; Hansen 2009: 274-5.

⁵⁰⁰ Hellerman 2015: 224, noting also BDAG 990c.

⁵⁰¹ Citing BDAG 257a and Reumann 2008: 580.

⁵⁰² Hellerman 2015: 225.

⁵⁰³ Schmissek (2013: 1) comes close to this reading, but suggests that Christ’s body of glory refers to ‘*Christ’s presence with God*, rather than a descriptive phrase about properties of the resurrected body’; emphasis mine.

⁵⁰⁴ See Hooker 1975:155; Hawthorne 1983: 169; Wright 1991: 59; Fee 1995: 382; Bockmuehl 1997: 235-6. On a purely lexical basis, the overlap of vocabulary is striking, including: σύμμορφον (3:21) and μορφῇ (2:6); ὑπάρχει (3:21) and ὑπάρχων (2:6); μετασχηματίζει (3:21) and σχήματι (2:7); ταπεινώσεως (3:21) and ἐταπεινώσεν (2:8); δύνασθαι... ὑποτάξαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα (3:21) and πᾶν γόνυ κάμψη (2:10); κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν (3:20) and κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός (2:11); δόξης (3:21) and δόξαν (2:11); *contra* Fowl 2005: 175n140.

subsequently taking on the ‘form of a slave’. Exactly what ‘form of God’ means here in 2:6 is beyond our purview.⁵⁰⁵ At a minimum, it means he shared the identity and activity of God in his equality with God (τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ);⁵⁰⁶ as God he possessed the sovereignty and power of God. Gorman and others note that ‘form of a servant’ (2:7) should be read in direct contrast to ‘form of God’, indicating therefore that being in the ‘form of a slave’ means having the identity and activity of a slave.⁵⁰⁷ In his equality with God in his power and sovereignty, he demonstrated that equality by his willingness to possess the status of a slave.⁵⁰⁸ The result of or demonstration of this ‘form of a slave’ is that he ‘became in the likeness of man’ (2:7c) which is to say that he was ‘found as a man in his outward appearance’ (2:8a); he became human.⁵⁰⁹

Most importantly for our purposes, in his status as a slave and in the mode of his being human, he ‘humbled himself (ἐταπεινώσεν ἑαυτὸν) by becoming obedient to the point of death’ (2:8). Here Paul uses ταπεινῶω, a word used only eight times elsewhere in the New Testament: Matt. 18:4, 23:12 [x2]; Luke 3:5; 14:11 [x2]; 18:14 [x2]; 2 Cor. 11:7; 12:21; Phil. 4:12; Jas. 4:10; 1 Pet. 5:6. With the exception of 2 Corinthians 12:21, every instance is clearly in reference to a low status. Given Paul’s description of Jesus’ obedience unto death in 2:6-8, the use of the term in 2:8 unequivocally denotes this low status as well. As Fee remarks, ‘in his human existence he chose, in obedience, to “take the lowest place”’.⁵¹⁰ Jesus’ humility was not a display of an attitude of meekness or unpretentiousness, nor was it the opposite of pride or arrogance, any of which can be denoted by ‘humility’ or ‘humbleness’ in modern terms. Rather, ταπεινῶω here refers to his taking on a *status* of absolute subjection, a lack of any and all sovereignty or power over those who would crucify him; it was the status of being the most powerless even of slaves.

With this all-too-brief examination of Paul’s use of μορφή and ταπεινῶω in 2:6-8, I return our attention to 3:21 and its corresponding adjectives, δόξα and ταπεινώσις (returning to μορφή below). Given the connections Paul draws between the incarnate and now resurrected body of Jesus in 2:6-8 and 3:21, it is clear that just as ταπεινῶω did not mean the opposite of proud in 2:8, so also ταπεινώσις in 3:21

⁵⁰⁵ See O’Brien (2001: 205-16) for a survey of contemporary interpretations of the phrase; see also Hawthorne 1983: 110-14. For an extended discussion of the many uses of μορφή outside the Greek NT, see Martin 1967: 99-133; Behm 1975: 742-59, and, in part, Bockmuehl 1997.

⁵⁰⁶ That ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ refers to equality with God (τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ), see Hooker 1975; Hawthorne 1998: 101; Wright 2001: 83; Silva 2005: 100-101; Fowl 2005: 94; Gorman 2009: 19.

⁵⁰⁷ Gorman 2009: 22.

⁵⁰⁸ See O’Brien 2001: 224-5. The debate about how to understand ἀρπαγμός in Phil. 2:6 is as deep as it is wide. For an overview of the main arguments, see Wright 1991: 62-90.

⁵⁰⁹ See Hooker 1975: 160-2; O’Brien (2001: 224) suggests that the phrase ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος identifies the manner by which Christ ‘emptied himself’ rather than the manner by which Christ ‘took the form of a servant’. This, however, is a false distinction. Because, as O’Brien notes, since Christ’s ‘emptying himself’ refers to his ‘making himself powerless’ (2001: 217), his ‘emptying himself’ stands in apposition to his ‘taking the form of a servant’; thus, the incarnation is the manner by which both actions are accomplished.

⁵¹⁰ Fee 1995: 216.

does not refer to an attitude of meekness or unpretentiousness. *Contra* Heil, it is not a reference to believers’ ‘humbleness’,⁵¹¹ which I take to be different from ‘humble state’ (NAS), or ‘humiliation’ (NRS). And it certainly does not denote ‘weak’, ‘vile’, or ‘wretched’. No, in 3:21 ταπεινώσις refers to believers’ bodies which belong to or exist in their state of humility⁵¹²—as humans subject to the powers of this world, just as Jesus’ body was in the incarnation (2:6-8).

It is this σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως with which Paul contrasts σώματι τῆς δόξης. As Hellerman noted, scholars generally define ‘glory’ here as Christ’s heavenly radiance in connection with the presence of God,⁵¹³ if it gets defined at all.⁵¹⁴ Given this understanding of ταπεινώσις, and thus ‘bodies which belong to our state of humility’, interpreting Jesus’ resurrection body as the ‘body which exists in or belongs to his state of glory (i.e. sovereignty, power)’ is hardly a stretch.⁵¹⁵ When understood in the light of 2:6-11, it becomes clear that the Messiah’s glory in 3:21 is not the visible splendour of God but Jesus’ own sovereignty and power over creation.⁵¹⁶ Paul does not yet know the ‘power of [Christ’s] resurrection’ (3:10) but he has participated with Christ in his death (3:10) and his citizenship is now in heaven (3:20). Until that citizenship is fully realised and his body is transformed, Paul’s body and those of other believers with him remain in or belong to a state of humility characterised by subjection, suffering, and powerlessness over enemies.

I turn now to the second reason for reading Paul’s use of glory in 3:21 as not the visible, manifest presence of God, usually conflated to ‘radiance’ or ‘splendour’, but the honour or power associated with the status authority and sovereignty. At the close of 3:21 Paul describes the bodily transformation as happening ‘κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ὑποτάξει αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα’. Commonly accepted here is an echo of Psalm 8,⁵¹⁷ a text we have already seen to have implications for

⁵¹¹ Heil 2010: 139.

⁵¹² Fee 1987: 785; Thiselton 2000: 1273.

⁵¹³ E.g. O’Brien (2001: 464n131): “‘Glory’, as is often in Paul, denotes the active and radiant presence of God and here describes Christ’s glorified body”; BDAG 2000: 257.

⁵¹⁴ E.g. Osiek (2000), though she hints at themes of royalty through suggesting echoes of Ps. 110; Silva 2005; Thurston and Ryan 2005; Reumann 2008; Cousar 2009.

⁵¹⁵ Carey Newman’s analysis runs similar to this, though he suggests that the power which characterises Jesus’ resurrection body indicates the Christophanic presence of God: 1992: 210.

⁵¹⁶ See Hellerman (2015: 124-5) on the glory of God in Jesus in 2:9-11: ‘Paul carries the themes of status, honor, and prestige through to the end of the narrative, where, through the exaltation of Jesus, God finally receives the public recognition that is his due’.

⁵¹⁷ Tooman and Hays’ criteria are fully fulfilled here: (1) ‘Uniqueness’: the words in question are unique to Ps. 8; (2) ‘Volume’, which includes elements of ‘distinctiveness’ and ‘multiplicity’: Three words or their cognates are found in both texts: δόξα, πάντα, and ὑπέταξας are found in and are distinctive to Ps. 8 and δόξα, πάντα, and ὑποτάξει are found in Phil. 3:21. In each text, the three terms occur in very close proximity to one another; (3) ‘Recurrence’: Paul clearly quotes Psalm 8:6 in 1 Cor. 15:27, alludes to it in Eph 1:22, and, as seen above, implicitly echoes throughout Romans the motif of δόξα in Ps. 8 and its link to the ‘image of God’ in man in Gen. 1:26-28. Additionally, Ps. 8 was interpreted messianically by the writer of Heb. 2:6-8; and (4) Thematic correspondence:

Paul's use of δόξα in Romans. In 3:21 Paul depicts Jesus as the son of man from Psalm 8 who is crowned with glory and honour and who has cosmic rule: ὑποτάξαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα. Since the motif of humanity's glory in Psalm 8 relates to humanity's creation in the image of God in Genesis 1:26-28, and both relate very closely to humanity's dominion over the created order, and Paul specifically alludes in 3:21 to the son of man's dominion over creation in Psalm 8, then Paul's echo of Psalm 8 in 3:21 should inform our interpretation of Paul's use of δόξα in 3:21.⁵¹⁸ Jesus' 'body of his glory' refers to the body which exists in his glory, i.e. his honour or power associated with his resurrection rule over all things. O'Brien rightly notes the echo and says that Christ 'fulfils mankind's destiny' in subjecting all things to himself.⁵¹⁹ Jesus is the representative son of man in Psalm 8, the perfect human whose human body now belongs to or exists in the glory for which it was created. And it is to this body of glory that humanity will be 'formed with'.

4.2.1.2 Συμμόρφος as 'Conformity'

With this interpretation of Philippians 3:21, we are now in a position to make sense of Paul's use of συμμόρφος,⁵²⁰ the primary (though not the only) link between

both texts describe the cosmic exaltation of the son of man, i.e. humanity and/or the messianic figure applied to Jesus.

⁵¹⁸ This is especially the case if an adamic echo is present in 2:6-11; see e.g. Cullmann 1959: 174-81; Dunn 1989: 114-21; Hooker 1990: 96-100; Wright 1991: 58-62, 90-8; Hansen 2009. The argument rests in part on Paul's use of μορφή, in which Paul declares that Christ is not just according to the image of God (Gen. 1:26; κατ' εικόνα ἡμετέραν) as Adam was, but that he was *equal* to God in being and in status. Whereas Adam was made according to the image of God, Christ is the image, i.e. form, of God (see 2 Cor. 4:4; Col. 1:15). Paul then develops this echo by emphasising Jesus' obedience to God. Whereas Adam was disobedient (Gen. 3:6; see Rom. 5:19), Jesus was obedient (Phil. 2:8; see Rom. 5:19). Adam's disobedience forced him into a humble position of slavery and subjection; Jesus, in his obedience, *willingly* took on the form of a slave and *willingly* subjected himself to his crucifiers. Having done so, Paul writes that God therefore (διὸ) exalted him as Lord (2:9, 11) 'in order that *at the name of Jesus every knee should bow*, in heaven and on the earth and under the earth'. In his obedience to God, he became what Adam was meant to be—in a position of glory over creation. And again, van Kooten (2008a: 90) is unambiguous: 'However one understands Philipp 2.6, the essential fact remains that this passage is part of Paul's Adam Christology, although [*contra* Dunn] the emphasis here seems to be on the pre-existent Adam from heaven'. For objections to this reading, see Bockmuehl 1997: 9-11.

⁵¹⁹ O'Brien 2001: 466. See also e.g. Reumann (2008: 600).

⁵²⁰ A term used only twice in the New Testament: Phil. 3:21 and Rom. 8:29. It is part of Paul's trans-morphic language. BDAG says 'having a similar form, nature, or style' (2000: 958). The word is found only a few times elsewhere. In Nicander's *Theriaca* (line 321) from the 2nd century BCE, συμμόρφος means 'to resemble in physical form': 'Εὖ δ' ἂν σηπεδόνοσ γνοιίης δέμασ, ἄλλο μὲν εἶδει αἰμορόφω σύμμορφον, ἀτὰρ στίβον ἀντί' ὀκέλλει, καὶ κεράων δ' ἔμπλην δέμασ ἄμμορον, ἡ δὲ νῦ χρουή οἴη περ τάπιδοσ λασιῶ ἐπιδέδρομε τέρφει.' (lines 320-3); 'You would do well to recognize the form of the Sepedon, which in other respects resembles the Blood-letter in appearance, but it steers a straightforward path; moreover it is almost without horns, and its colour, like that of a carpet, is spread over a rough surface': translation from Gow 1997: 49.

In Heraclitus Stoicus' *Quaestiones Homericae* (77, line 12), from 1 BCE to 1 CE, the meaning is ambiguous: ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι, οἵτινες ἡγέμονες Δαναῶν καὶ κοίρανοι ἦσαν, ἡ πάλιν ἡνίκα τῆσ Ἀγαμέμνονοσ ἀνδραγαθίασ ἐνάρχεται τὸν τρισὶ θεοῖσ ἦρωα

Philippians 3:21 and Romans 8:29. As mentioned previously, συμμόρφος is translated as ‘conformed to’ in only the NAS and NRS, while all other contemporary translations defer to ‘be like’, ‘be fashioned like’ or ‘change them into’. Yet in nearly every contemporary translation of Romans 8:29, συμμόρφος is translated as ‘conformed to’. Why does such a difference exist?

The primary reasons, I suggest, are the two-fold issues noted above: the nature of glory in 3:21, and the genitives functioning as qualitative rather than adjectival are consistently misinterpreted or mistranslated; it is difficult to imagine participation in a radiant body. For this reason, Campbell translates συμμόρφος as ‘be like’ and thus dismisses the participatory reference. On 3:21 he writes: ‘This σύν-compound is best not regarded as expressing participation with Christ per se. It conveys the idea that believers’ bodies will be *like* Christ’s, but this is distinct to sharing in his own body’.⁵²¹ Campbell is correct; Paul does not describe some form of mystical, physical union between Christ’s body and those of believers. But this does not dismiss the notion of participation. Rather, Paul describes the transformation (μετασχηματίζω) of the body which will bear the resemblance of Jesus’ resurrection body and which will participate in the mode of existence of Christ’s resurrection body, namely glory.⁵²² Paul’s use of σύμμορφος in 3:21 bears the same participatory motifs as his σύν-compounds do elsewhere. Being ‘like Christ’ and participating with Christ is a false dichotomy. Hansen sees what Campbell does not:

A combination of 2:6-11 and 3:20-21 tells the complete story of the way of salvation that leads through suffering to glory. . . . The story of salvation tells us of a great “interchange” between Christ and us: Christ came to share in our suffering so that we would share in his glory. . . . the lines of his letter [lift] his readers to envision a bright future when

σύμμορφον ὕμνων·’ (lines 8-12); ‘Tell me now, Olympian Muses, who have houses [or, Muses who live in Olympia], who were the leaders and rulers of Danaos; or again, when does he begin [telling] the heroic [deeds] of Agamemnon, while singing about the hero [who] is in the same shape as the three gods?’: my translation.

Origen uses it in *Contra Celsum* 2:69:15-16 where he comments on Phil. 3:10 and 2 Tim. 2:11. After these instances, the word is used only a handful of times over the next six centuries. See Kürzinger (1958: 296) who rightly notes: ‘Das Wort συμμόρφος ist also äußerst selten; wenn de Belegstelle aus Nikander sicher ist, braucht man nicht an eine Neubildung des Apostels zu denken. Aber auch dann hat er dem Ausdruck einen neuen Sinn gegeben’.

⁵²¹ Campbell 2012: 235; emphasis original. Similarly in 3:10, Campbell (2012: 234) writes: ‘being conformed to Christ’s death is distinct to sharing in Christ’s death; the former views his death as a pattern to which one may conform, while the latter involves participation in it’.

⁵²² *Contra* Cohick (2013: 203) who writes: ‘Paul says, we participate in his (Christ’s) suffering. But the glory is always and only Christ’s. His is the victory over sin and death; ours is the sure hope of transformation to his likeness’. On the contrary, believers share in that victory (see 1 Cor. 15:57) and thus in the state of glory (even if it is ultimately a glory which belongs to Christ and in which believers participate through union with him).

all the humiliation of suffering will be transformed to glorious participation in Christ's complete victory over all things.⁵²³

With Hansen, Paul does express the theme of participation in Philippians 3:21 and, given this, I find no persuasive reason to translate σύμμορφος as 'be like' rather than 'conformed to'.

Moreover, it is in Paul's use of σύμμορφος that he describes the relationship between believers' present and future status and the Messiah's present status as a result of their union with Christ. Believers participate with Christ in his cosmological glory, as those whose identity is shaped by their union with the Messiah—a Messiah who embodies the human vocation in Psalm 8. This is especially likely if van Kooten is correct. As noted previously, he suggests that Paul's morphic language (e.g. Phil. 2:6-11 and 3:10, 21) supports 'one of the central tenets of his theology – his Adam Christology and, more precisely, his reflections on the image of God'.⁵²⁴ This is why Paul uses the word σύμμορφος in 3:21: to indicate, as a participatory σύν-compound, believers' vocational fulfilment in their participation with the Messiah in his cosmological reign over creation.⁵²⁵ Though they are now in subjection, this will not last; they will share in Christ's exaltation.⁵²⁶ As Christ participated in the human status of humility and subjection (2:7-8),⁵²⁷ those in Christ, having already participated in his death (3:10), will thus also participate in his victory (3:21).

4.2.1.3 Συμμορφιζόμενος in Philippians 3:10

This reading of 3:21 is strengthened when it is read in the light of 3:10-11, where Paul writes: τοῦ γινῶναι αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ [τὴν] κοινωνίαν [τῶν] παθημάτων αὐτοῦ, συμμορφιζόμενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ, εἶ πως καταντήσω εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν. Here Paul uses συμμορφίζω, a semantic cousin of συμμόρφος and a hapax legomenon. Different only in its grammatical function, συμμορφίζω serves in a semantic role equal to that of its adjectival relative in 3:21, and, like συμμόρφος in 3:21, is rarely translated as 'conform to' in recent translations. The ESV, NIV, NRS, and RSV all provide 'becoming like him' in his death.⁵²⁸ Hansen offers three common interpretations of

⁵²³ Hansen 2009:276-7; emphasis mine.

⁵²⁴ Van Kooten 2008a: 91.

⁵²⁵ Heil (2010) never suggests either a definition of σύμμορφος (or συμμορφίζω in 3:10) or a discussion of the term's relationship to Paul's other σύμ-/σύν-compounds elsewhere. The closest he comes is on pp. 3, 127-8, 138-9 where, in every instance, 'conform' is provided with no explanation to meaning. This is unfortunate, not least because his work is titled: *Philippians: Let Us Rejoice in Being Conformed to Christ*.

⁵²⁶ In Phil. 3:21 this exaltation (aka glorification) of believers is purely future, as is made clear through the future indicative μετασχηματίζω. The temporal element is less obvious in Rom. 8:29-30, and will be treated in §7.2.2..

⁵²⁷ See Tannehill 2007.

⁵²⁸ Only the NAS provides 'being conformed to his death' (also KJV: 'being conformable to').

the phrase συμμορφιζόμενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ: (1) a reference to Paul’s martyrdom;⁵²⁹ (2) a reference to ‘the inward experience of dying to sin by being united with Christ in his death’;⁵³⁰ and (3) a reference to ‘Paul’s obedience in his faithful proclamation of the gospel of Christ’.⁵³¹ Heil adds a fourth: Paul desires to have the same ‘form’ of humility in his own death as that which Christ had in his, thus making him a ‘model of humility for the audience’.⁵³² Hansen goes on to suggest that the three alternates he notes may all reflect Paul’s intentions behind the phrase.

True though this may be, I suggest that Paul primarily refers to his spiritual participation in the death of Christ—a death which thus brings him into unity with Messiah. Three indications of this are obvious. First, in 3:10, as well as in 3:21, 2:6-8 stands in the background; the Messiah participated with humanity in its slave status (see Rom. 8:3) in 2:7-8 and thus was exalted to the highest status. So also Paul wishes to participate in Christ’s suffering in order that he might participate also in his exaltation (2:9-11; 3:11, 21; see Rom. 8:17).⁵³³ Second, Paul presents this 2-stage participatory process of death and resurrection in 3:10-11: συμμορφιζόμενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ (v. 10) εἶ πως καταστήσω εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν (v. 11). Paul does not use a participatory compound in 3:11 but the death-resurrection sequence fits the participatory mould found throughout his epistles, most obviously in Romans 6:4-8. Third, συμμορφιζόμενος as a present participle accords with the perfect tense γεγόναμεν in Romans 6:5. *Contra* Hansen, who suggests the present tense participle in Philippians 3:10 is the primary reason for not reading συμμορφίζω as participatory, Paul makes clear in Romans 6:5 that participation in Christ’s death had a beginning and is ongoing. As O’Brien suggests, ‘Paul is continually being conformed to [Christ’s] death as he shares in Christ’s sufferings. The decisive break with the old aeon of sin and death must be continually maintained and affirmed, for the Christian is still exposed to the powers of that old aeon’.⁵³⁴ These three textual supports demonstrate that συμμορφίζω in Philippians 3:10 implies some form of participation in Christ. Moreover, only when this participatory reality is recognised will it make sense to translate συμμορφίζω like many other σὺμ-/σὺν-compounds in Paul where participation in the death or resurrection of Christ is in view. Here in Philippians 3:10, participation in the death of Christ is unequivocally in Paul’s view.

Paul uses συμμόρφος in 3:21 and συμμορφίζω in 3:10 as participatory compounds with which he describes believers’ participation in Christ’s death (3:10) and Christ’s resurrection glory (3:21)—Christ’s dominion over creation as the messianic son of man in Psalm 8. In 3:21 τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ refers to

⁵²⁹ O’Brien (1991: 409) suggests that this view ‘has been almost universally rejected’. Though, see Osiek 2000 and Thurston and Ryan 2005 who favour it.

⁵³⁰ Silva 2005: 190; O’Brien 1991: 410; Hawthorne 1983: 145f.

⁵³¹ Hansen 2009: 246-7.

⁵³² Heil 2010: 127-8, 139.

⁵³³ See Tannehill 1966: 114-23.

⁵³⁴ O’Brien 1991: 410.

resurrection body of Jesus which exists in or belongs to his status of honour or power associated with his sovereign rule over creation. We may therefore conclude that *συμμόρφος* in Philippians 3:21 is intended to be understood as a participatory compound that refers to believers' vocational participation in the status and activity of the messiah who embodies the vocation of humanity in Psalm 8.

4.2.2 *Paul's Use of εἰκών in Contexts of Participation*

As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, Paul's use of a *σὺμ*-compound is not the only indication that he intends his reader to understand 'conformed to the image of [God's] Son' as a vocational participation with Christ. Paul also does so with *εἰκών*. Given its use in Romans 1:23 and in Genesis 1:26-28, *εἰκών* is immediately recognisable as indicative of a vocational participation. In being 'conformed to the *image* of [God's Firstborn] Son', believers—having been transformed into redeemed humanity in union with Christ—now participate with Christ in his resurrection life of vocation. This reading will be supported by an examination of Paul's use of *εἰκών* in 1 Corinthians 15:49 and Colossians 3:10, two texts thematically similar to Romans 8:29. In both texts Paul describes believers' transition from one image to another, that is, from participation in one domain to another. I conclude with an examination of the relationship between Romans 8:29 and 2 Corinthians 3:18.

4.2.2.1 *1 Corinthians 15:49*

1 Corinthians 15:49 and its context share textual affinities with both Romans 8:29 and Philippians 3:21 and their contexts. (1) 'Glory' has central importance in all three: Romans 8:17, 30; Philippians 3:21; 1 Corinthians 15:40, 41, 43, as well as implicit glory in vv. 21-28, not least due to the echo of Psalm 8. (2) All three articulate a contrast between believers' pre- and post-resurrection status: 1 Corinthians 15:35-53; Philippians 3:10-11, 20-21; Romans 8:23. (3) *Σῶμα* occurs in all three contexts: 1 Corinthians 15: 37, 44; Philippians 3:21; Romans 8:23. (4) The identification of the Messiah/Son in all three passages is linked with a previously articulated, whether implicit or explicit, Adam-Christ typology: 1 Corinthians 15:21-28, 45-49; Philippians 2:6-11;⁵³⁵ Romans 5:12-21.

Recognising these three-way similarities, I turn our attention to the most significant connection between 1 Corinthians 15:49 and Romans 8:29: Paul's use of 'image' and 'glory' within the context of an explicit Adam-Christ typology in 15:21-

⁵³⁵ The presence of an Adam-Christ typology in the Phil. 2:6-11 is undoubtedly debatable. See the relevant footnote at the end of §4.2.1.2. If the typology is present, it is certainly implicit and thus different in emphasis than the typology presented in 1 Cor. 15 and Rom. 5. Nevertheless, its presence in Phil. 2 in no way limits the presence of the typology or its implications for Paul's anthropology presented in 1 Cor. 15 and Rom. 5.

28, 45-49. After identifying the Son as the last Adam, Paul then responds to the Corinthians' question posed in 15:35 concerning the kind of bodies that will be raised (ποιῶ δὲ σώματι ἔρχονται), writing: καὶ καθὼς ἐφορέσαμεν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χοϊκοῦ, φορέσομεν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου.⁵³⁶ The two sections are not unrelated. Throughout the verses, Paul does not use συμμόρφος or any other σὺμ-compound in either 15:49 or the larger context, as he does in Romans. Nevertheless, when the phrase φορέσομεν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου in 15:49 and the larger context of 15:21-58 are read as participatory, as I will demonstrate below, then it will become clear that, despite the omission of a σὺμ-compound, Paul's use of within 1 Corinthians 15:21-58 supports a motif of believers' participation in the new Adam, and specifically in his glory.

The use of εἰκόν in 15:49 rests on the Adam-Christ typology presented in 15:21-28, and so we begin our investigation there. In 1 Corinthians 15, Paul conflates Psalms 8 and 110, two psalms read messianically in the early church.⁵³⁷ In 1 Corinthians 15:25 Paul makes an explicit allusion to the Davidic King of Psalm 110, whose enemies will be made a 'footstool under [his] feet' (110:1). Then in 1 Corinthians 15:27 Paul links 'footstool under [his] feet' from Psalm 110 with 'all things are made subject under [the son of man's] feet' from Psalm 8:6.⁵³⁸ In 15:28 Paul then conflates the subjects of the two psalms—the 'son of man' in Psalm 8 and the (assumed) Messiah of Psalm 110—under the title 'Son': 'when all things are subjected to him [i.e. the son of man], then the Son [i.e. the Son of God] himself will also be subjected to him who put all things in subjection under him, that God may be all in all'.

Commentators regularly note Paul's use of both psalms in the passage, and most note Paul's messianic reading of Psalm 8.⁵³⁹ Albl writes:

The whole of 1 Cor. 15:25-27, then, is a carefully adapted Christian reflection on the end times based on Ps. 110:1 and Ps. 8:7. Through textual confluences and the attribution to Christ of God's actions recorded in scripture, an eschatological narrative is produced in which Christ is portrayed as the Lord of all creation, triumphant even over death itself.⁵⁴⁰

More to the point, Wright notes:

⁵³⁶ Whether or not Paul has in mind Philo's 'Heavenly Man' in vv. 44-49 (esp. vv. 46-7) is beyond our purview here. For a list of the many possibilities, see de Boer 1988: 99-105.

⁵³⁷ These two texts are also conflated in Mk. 12:36; Matt 22:44; Eph. 1:20-22; Heb. 1:13—2:8; 1 Pet. 3:22; and the letter of Polycarp to the Philippians 2:1-2; see Hengel 1995: 163-72; Hays 1989: 84.

⁵³⁸ See Ciampa and Rosner 2010: 771-2; Collins 1999: 550.

⁵³⁹ In addition to those quoted below, see also Heil 2005: 205-20; Lee 2005: 217-9 and Montague 2011: 273.

⁵⁴⁰ Albl 1999: 223; also p. 228; see also Ciampa and Rosner 2010: 760-79; 2007: 745.

The passage in 1 Corinthians thus gives every indication that Paul had combined these great biblical themes: Adam, creation and the dominion of humans over the animals; the Messiah, his victory over the nations and his continuing rule until all are subject to him. . . What this passage reveals further, albeit densely, is the intimate connection between those two (Adam and Messiah) in Paul’s mind.⁵⁴¹

The Messiah of Psalm 110 is the son of man of Psalm 8, according to Paul, and as both, he is the one in whom all humanity can find new life.⁵⁴² Also notable is that Paul collapses both figures under the title ‘Son’ in v. 28.⁵⁴³ The Son of God is the Messiah who is the new Adam, and he is so on the basis of both Psalm 8 and 110.

This is the foundation on which the reader is meant to read Paul’s responses to questions concerning the body and its resurrection in 15:35-54. There Paul contrasts the earthly body and the resurrection body via a series of six antonyms: perishable/imperishable (vv. 42, 50, 53, 54); dishonour/glory (v. 43); weakness/power (v. 43); ‘natural’⁵⁴⁴/spiritual (vv. 44, 46; see 1 Cor. 2:14); mortal/immortal (vv. 53, 54); and earthly/heavenly (vv. 40, 47-9). He then concludes the series of antonyms with a final climactic adjective that will characterise the resurrected body: victorious (v. 57). These antonyms, though contrasting the two representative bodies, are directly dependent on Paul’s contrast of the identity and actions of Adam and Christ in 15:21-28. Formerly God’s people were identified by their participation in Adam’s death, as evidenced by their bodies’ susceptibility to decay (v. 42), humiliation, and weakness (v. 43). At the resurrection, however, they will be identified by their participation in Christ’s victory over death (1 Cor. 15:21-22, 57), as evidenced by their future bodies characterised by incorruptibility (ἀθαρσία) and immortality (ἀφθαρσία) in v. 53.

In distinguishing between the earthly and resurrection body, Paul says believers do or will (see below) ‘bear the image of the heavenly man’, the last Adam, in contrast with the image which they currently bear: that of the ‘man of dust’, the first Adam (15:49). No doubt, treatments of ‘image’ here vary. Collins and,

⁵⁴¹ Wright 2013a: 1064; also 733-7; see also Thiselton 2000: 1234-6.

⁵⁴² See also Wright 2003: 334; Ciampa and Rosner 2010: 771.

⁵⁴³ Hay (1973: 109-10) examines all the texts in which the king of Psalm 110 is associated with divine sonship: Barn. 12:10; Mark 12:35-37 (Matt. 22:41-46; Luke 20:41-44); Mark 14:61-62 (Matt. 26:63-64; Luke 22:67-70); Heb. 1:3-4, 13; 1 Cor. 15:25, 28; 1 Clem. 36:4.

⁵⁴⁴ Much has been discussed regarding Paul’s use of ψυχικός and its potential counter-gnostic intent in v.44. Scholars now agree that the contrast here is not between the material and non-material. The only certainty is that he echoes Gen. 2:7: *καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν*, declaring so himself in v.45a: ‘Thus it is written, “the first man Adam became a living being”’, and then adding to it by stating in v.45b: ‘The last Adam became a life-giving spirit’. Paul is most likely not refuting a gnostic teaching, but is simply using a cognate to ψυχὴν, which has its root in Gen. 1—3—a text from which he is forming not only his anthropology and Christology, but his eschatology throughout all of 1 Corinthians 15. For an extended look at Paul’s use of σῶμα ψυχικόν in vv.44, 46, see Wright 2003: 348-56; 2013a: 1400-1402.

surprisingly, Thiselton make little of its presence. Collins' comments are summarised almost entirely with: 'Paul's words express a christological and eschatological transformation of the image-motif. For Paul the normative image is that of Christ, but it is an image we must strive to bear even if it is a gift of God. Ultimately there is to be conformity between human beings and the heavenly one'.⁵⁴⁵ Likewise, Thiselton's comments in 15:49 are short, as if his extensive discussion of the flesh/body, first Adam/last Adam contrasts in 15:35-48 has said all that is required. Indeed, it has come close to doing so. Yet as helpful as his preceding discussion is, his comments on the role of εἰκών in the parallel phrases of 15:49 are left wanting. There he equates the 'image of the man of dust' with '*being human*', which is to say being '*vulnerable, fallible, and fragile*', and 'the image of the man of heaven' with 'a mode of existence wholly like that of the raised Christ in glory'.⁵⁴⁶ Thiselton is correct, I suggest, but his treatment of 'image' would be more complete had he brought forward his discussion Paul's Adam-Christ from the preceding verses.

Fee rightly notes that, in the context of Adam and Christ as prototypical representatives,⁵⁴⁷ the use of 'image' may reflect Genesis 1:26-27.⁵⁴⁸ This seems a strong possibility not only because of the Adam-Christ typology at play, the importance of 'image of God' language within that typology, and the fact that Paul cites Genesis 2:7 in the verse just previous, placing the reader already in the primal motif. Fee writes: 'Since believers have all shared the existence of the first Adam, they are being called to bear the image of the last Adam, which in its eschatological expression will be a "heavenly" body such as he now has'.⁵⁴⁹

Determining how we read the phrase φορέσομεν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου is partially dependent on whether φορέσομεν is read as an aorist subjunctive: 'let us bear' or a future indicative: 'we shall bear'. The external evidence highly favours the subjunctive.⁵⁵⁰ On the grounds of internal evidence (i.e. Paul's clear emphasis on the resurrection body of believers throughout the context), however, the UBS 4th ed., NRSV, REB, NIV, NJB, RV, AV/KJV and the majority of

⁵⁴⁵ Collins 1999: 572; so also e.g. Soards 1999 and Montague 2011. The majority of contemporary translations provide 'to bear' for φορέω. With Thiselton, I believe Paul uses the verb metaphorically, meaning 'to wear'; see Thiselton 2000: 1289-90; also Kim 2004: 193-200; Ciampa and Rosner 2010: 825. Interestingly, Collins (1999: 570) translates it as 'conformity with': 'A first implication [Paul's Adamic Christology] is that living human beings are in conformity with the first person; like the first person they are of dust. In contrast, those who are in conformity with the last person are heavenly'. Wishing to be specific where the text is specific, I find it unhelpful to translate φορέω here as 'conform to' or any variation thereof.

⁵⁴⁶ Thiselton 2000: 1290; emphasis original.

⁵⁴⁷ See also Conzelmann 1975: 288.

⁵⁴⁸ Fee 1987: 794.

⁵⁴⁹ Fee 1987: 788.

⁵⁵⁰ P⁴⁶, Ⲛ, C, D, F, G. Latin VSS, Coptic, Bohairic, Clement, the Latin of Irenaeus, Origen, and Gregory of Nyssa. The future indicative is supported only by B and a few minuscules, with the Coptic, Sahidic, Gregory Nazianzus.

commentators opt for the future indicative. Conzelmann suggests that ‘the context demands the indicative.’⁵⁵¹ *Contra* Conzelmann, however, I am persuaded by Fee’s analysis of the external evidence which seems to demand the subjunctive: ‘it is nearly impossible to account for anyone’s having changed a clearly understandable future to the hortatory subjunctive so early and so often that it made its way into every textual history as the predominant reading’.⁵⁵²

If therefore Paul says that believers should now bear the image of the man from heaven, what does bearing that image in a pre-resurrection state mean? Can the internal evidence be so overlooked? Fee’s answer is that Paul is not only referring to a future bodily likeness, but ‘Paul is here intending also a broader sense, including behavioral implications, involved in their sharing in his likeness now’.⁵⁵³ He goes on to write that Paul’s ‘exhortation is not that the Corinthians try to assume their “heavenly body” now . . . Rather, they are being urged to conform to the life of the “man of heaven” as those who now share his character and behavior’.⁵⁵⁴ Richard Hays follows a similar line of thought.⁵⁵⁵ And though Thiselton favours the future indicative, his recognition that the ‘image’ which believers (will) bear is not purely the physical body but a ‘mode of existence’⁵⁵⁶—a mode which could plausibly be operative in either the present or the future.

In line with both Fee and Hays, I suggest that Paul is exhorting the believers to live out the new identity or participate fully in the new identity which is already present within them and which will be brought to its completion with the future transformation of the body. Though also opting for the future indicative, Ciampa and Rosner nevertheless recognise this participatory element at work in the text, here commenting on v. 47: ‘[Paul] will build on the Adam/Christ distinction to distinguish between what it means to participate in Adam’s kind of humanity and what it means to participate in the new (renewed) humanity Christ has brought about through his resurrection from the dead’.⁵⁵⁷ Campbell also identifies the motif: ‘The notion of bearing *the image of the heavenly man* is at least suggestive of union with Christ, though it is unusual language for the concept’.⁵⁵⁸ Bearing the image of the heavenly man, or participating in the ‘new (renewed) humanity’ is not reducible to having the same body as the heavenly man; it must incorporate, as Fee suggests, the ‘life’ of the heavenly man, the last Adam, even now in union with Christ.

What is assured in all this is the fact that believers will be raised with Christ and their bodies will be transformed to bear the likeness of that of the last Adam.

⁵⁵¹ Conzelmann 1975: 280n3.

⁵⁵² Fee 1987: 794-5. See Collins 1999: 572; Fee 2007: 119, 519.

⁵⁵³ Fee 1987: 794.

⁵⁵⁴ Fee 1987: 794-5.

⁵⁵⁵ Hays 1997: 273.

⁵⁵⁶ Thiselton 2000: 1290.

⁵⁵⁷ Ciampa and Rosner 2010: 822.

⁵⁵⁸ Campbell 2012: 314; emphasis original.

Those bodies will be characterised by imperishability, power, and immortality. It will also be ‘raised in glory’ (v. 43; ἐγείρεται ἐν δόξῃ).⁵⁵⁹ Conzelmann writes that ‘σῶμα is not the stuff of the body, but the form, and δόξα is its state. . . . σῶμα always exists in a specific mode of being’.⁵⁶⁰ This surely is not far from what we saw to be the case in Philippians 3:21. The question, then, is how one is to conceive of the state of glory in which the body will exist? BDAG places the word under ‘the condition of being bright or shining’.⁵⁶¹ Ironically, most scholars disagree with BDAG here, or at least they do not suggest this definition in the first instance. Rather, they recognise that δόξα in v. 43 refers to a state of honour. According to Ciampa and Rosner, ‘The word’s antithetical relationship with “dishonour” in this verse clearly indicates that glory in the sense of (majestic) honor is in mind, not luminescence, although it will certainly involve magnificent splendour as well’.⁵⁶² And, according to Fee and Thiselton, not only should the term not be understood as splendor or lustre, but the ἀτιμία of v. 43 should be rendered ‘humiliation’ or ‘lowly position’, as both scholars note it is in Philippians 3:21.⁵⁶³

This recognition that, *contra* BDAG, δόξα in v. 43 refers to a state of honour is all the more striking given that Paul uses δόξα just previously in 15:40, where the general consensus is that the term does mean ‘splendour, radiance, or lustre’, as suggested by BDAG. That most commentators regard δόξα to have two semantically different meanings, and that these meanings are separated by only three verses here in 1 Corinthians 15:40-43, is testimony to the fact that δόξα has a variety of semantic uses and that Paul utilises those distinct uses throughout his letters. This is a generally recognised fact, but seems often to be forgotten in practice, as can be seen in how δόξα is treated in e.g. Philippians 3:21 and, as I have argued throughout this thesis, in Paul’s letters more generally.

To return then to the notion of participation in the future life of the last Adam, one characteristic of that life will be glory: a state of honour or exalted status. Macaskill rightly notes that there is no indication here that Paul is referring to the glory of the first Adam.⁵⁶⁴ I suggest nevertheless that Paul is highlighting the glory of the last Adam—the Son of Man of Psalm 8 who now has victory over death (vv. 21-28). The physical body of the resurrected Christ, which is imperishable, immortal,

⁵⁵⁹ Newman (1992: 160-1) places 1 Cor. 15:43 in the category of the 42 occurrences of δόξα ‘left for consideration’ rather than the category of ‘social status’ or ‘honour’, in which he includes only 1 Cor. 4:10; 11:15; 2 Cor. 6:8; 1 Thess. 2:6 and notes that in three of the four occurrences, ‘Paul contrasts δόξα with ἄτιμος in the immediate context’. He mentions 15:43 again for a second time in the footnote of the following sentence, in which he says, ‘There does not seem to be any observable syntactical pattern to this profile’. Yet, later on p. 194 he writes in reference to 15:43 that ‘[the body] is raised in/by eschatological Glory’.

⁵⁶⁰ Conzelmann 1975: 282.

⁵⁶¹ BDAG 2000: 257.

⁵⁶² Ciampa and Rosner 2007: 814; see Conzelmann 1975: 283.

⁵⁶³ Fee 1987: 785; Thiselton 2000: 1273.

⁵⁶⁴ See Macaskill 2013: 143.

glorious, and powerful, represents his victory (15:57) over the powers and rulers of this age and declares that he alone is the Lord of Glory (1 Cor. 2:8). It is this life of dominion, of victory, in which believers will share in total transformation in the resurrection, and in which they participate through union with Christ already.⁵⁶⁵ The ‘life’ of the heavenly man, as suggested by Fee above, goes hand in hand with the glory of the heavenly man and his dominion over creation as the last Adam.⁵⁶⁶ This is why Paul states in 15:50 that only those who wear the ‘image of the man of heaven’ can ‘inherit the kingdom of God’. Moreover, it is why Paul can write in 15:54-57: ‘Death is swallowed up in victory. . . . Thanks be to God, who *gives us the victory* (τῷ διδόντι ἡμῖν τὸ νῖκος) through our Lord Jesus’.⁵⁶⁷ With the resurrection body—a body which exists in or belongs to a new ‘mode of existence’, the resurrection glory, the ‘image of the heavenly man’—believers will participate in the Messiah’s subjection of all God’s enemies (15:27-28; see Rom. 8:37). They will participate in the Messiah’s victory over death and their resurrection bodies will be living proof of that participation; they will be remade in the ‘image of the heavenly man’, the new Adam.

4.2.2.2 Colossians 3:10⁵⁶⁸

Participation in Christ is a characteristic motif of Colossians, though is a motif noticed less often than it is, for example, in Romans. Thompson is one of the few to acknowledge the motif explicitly: ‘[Believers] participate [with Christ] in his death, resurrection, and parousia. They are identified with Christ in his death, resurrection,

⁵⁶⁵ One may question the duration of the Son’s dominion within the kingdom, and thus believers’ participation in that dominion, on the basis of 15:24, 28. As Payne (2009: 134-5) correctly argues, however, it is best not to see a subordinationist theology at work in these two verses, but to recognise that in 15:28 Paul transitions from designating God as the Father (v. 24) to God as the Godhead (v. 28)—‘so that God may be all in all’. Christ does not lose his authoritative or exalted position, as Paul makes clear in Romans 9:5; Eph. 1:20-22. Thiselton too (2000: 1237) notes that we must ‘recall that the purposes of God and of *Christ* remain *one*, and that any differentiation occurs within the framework of a source, mediate cause, agency, means, and goal which *do not compete* but belong to what Paul and other NT writers (not least John) express as a shared purpose’; emphasis original.

⁵⁶⁶ Ciampa and Rosner (2010: 813-4) recognise an echo of Psalm 8 here. Unfortunately, they blend Adam’s glory as honour or rule in the Psalm with that of Adam’s glory as splendour in some early Jewish literature.

⁵⁶⁷ Collins (1999: 583) notes Christians’ victory in 15:57 but does little with it. Ciampa and Rosner (2010: 837) again helpfully write: ‘Here Paul makes it clear that God’s victory is also our victory. It is the victory that God *gives us* . . . *through our Lord Jesus Christ*. In a strange paradox, the Christian needs to learn that “it’s not about me” but about Christ the Lord and his agenda. Once that has been properly grasped, one may go back and recognize that, as it turns out, God’s agenda has been that of redeeming us (and the rest of his creation) and giving us the ultimate victory over the enemies of his righteous reign’; emphasis original.

⁵⁶⁸ I am persuaded that Paul wrote Colossians, or that he at least had a direct hand in its creation. I regard the often noted theological, lexical, and stylistic distinctions between Colossians and the undisputed Pauline epistles to be less significant than they are commonly assumed to be. With O’Brien (1982: xlix), the differences which exist between Colossians and the undisputed Pauline epistles ‘are best interpreted as being called forth by the circumstances at Colossae’.

and ultimate revelation in glory. What they have, they have in him and from him, a reality which Paul summarizes in the metaphor that their lives are hidden with Christ in God”⁵⁶⁹. Ben Blackwell has argued that participation with Christ, a phrase which he says implies ‘attributive deification’, stands behind Colossians 2:9-10: ‘in him all the fullness of deity dwells bodily, and you are filled in him’.⁵⁷⁰ Blackwell’s conclusions will prove helpful for my purposes here—purposes which focus not on Colossians 2:9-10 but on the participatory language that builds up to the image language of Colossians 3:10. There the believer is described as ‘being renewed in knowledge according to the image of its creator’. In this section, I wish briefly to highlight the language of participation used to characterise believers as those who were once identified by the ‘old man’ and are now identified by the ‘new man’, their new identity in Christ. Because recognition of the identity of this ‘new man’ is dependent on recognition of the identity of Christ, I begin there.

In Colossians, Christ is depicted as the cosmic victor, beginning in 1:15-20, a text traditionally regarded as the Colossian Hymn.⁵⁷¹ Here too the Son is described with εἰκὼν-language: in 1:15 as ὃς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως and in 1:18 as ὃς ἐστὶν ἀρχή, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν. Scholarship generally recognises a literary dependence on Wisdom traditions here, particularly those rooted in Proverbs 8:22 and Wisdom of Solomon 7:26.⁵⁷² The Messiah, God’s Son, is referred to in the terms with which Wisdom was personified in Jewish tradition.⁵⁷³ Wilson points out the two often recognised divisions or strophes in the

⁵⁶⁹ Thompson 2005: 69; see further Lohse 1971: 103-5.

⁵⁷⁰ Blackwell 2014. Blackwell distinguishes ‘attributive deification’ from ‘essential deification’ by saying that in ‘attributive’ deification, ‘believers take on divine attributes through an ontological transformation but remain distinct from the divine essence’ (p. 104).

⁵⁷¹ For a survey of discussions on 1:15-20, see: O’Brien 1982: 32-7; Hay 2000: 50-66; Wilson 2005: 123-6.

⁵⁷² See also Philo’s reference to Wisdom as ‘beginning’, ‘image’, and ‘vision of God’ in *Leg. All. 1.43*. For an extended treatment of wisdom texts which exist here as possible background motifs, see Lohse 1971: 46-56.

⁵⁷³ In accordance with most scholarship, Dunn suggests that the Messiah is presented as the pre-existent God who is sovereign over creation in terms of Wisdom in 1:15. Yet he diverges from the mainstream in his reading of 1:18. There Dunn suggests that, while the Wisdom motifs in 1:15 emphasised Christ’s ‘*primordial* primacy’, in 1:18 they emphasise his primacy as a result of the resurrection, particularly Christ’s work of reconciliation as the last Adam; see Dunn 1996: 98-99, as well as Barrett 1962; Martin 1974: 59; and Davies 1980: 36-51, who picks up the work of C. F. Burney who read the hymn as an exposition of *Bereshith* in Gen. 1.1 (*JTS* 27: 1926). Determining whether Dunn is correct is not critical for this discussion of participation in Christ. I am not arguing in this section that Paul’s reference to the ‘old man’ and ‘new man’ in Colossians are references to the first and last Adam. If Paul has an implied Adam-Christology at work in Colossians, it is far less perspicuous than in Romans and 1 Corinthians. That being said, I do not disregard it as a possibility worth exploration, particularly given the complexities of terminology used in the text, not least ‘image’, ‘firstborn’, ‘creator’, and the characterisation of a person as either ‘old’ or ‘new’ which no doubt bears some semblance (whether or not the semblance is intentional in Col.3:9-10) to Paul’s description of Christ as the ‘last/second man’ opposed to Adam as the ‘first man’ in 1 Cor. 15. See also the treatment of the ‘image of God’ motif in Ridderbos (1975: 68-78), who suggests that little separation can ultimately be made between the different interpretations of Christ as the image of God.

hymn, 1:15-17 and 1:18-20, with the former focused on creation and the latter focused on redemption.⁵⁷⁴ This identity of the Son gets folded into the rest of Colossians, where, as Garland rightly notes, Paul's primary focus is undoubtedly on the incarnate 'image of the invisible God', the man Christ who through his death and resurrection is now established as sovereign of creation.⁵⁷⁵ Paul's focus in Colossians is on the resurrection Christ (πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, 1:18) and what that resurrection has accomplished: through him God 'reconciled all things to himself' (1:20);⁵⁷⁶ and Christ became the 'head over every power and authority' (2:10), having 'disarmed the rulers and authorities' and 'making a public spectacle of them' (2:15) and is now 'seated at the right hand of God' (3:1) in glory (3:4).

Blackwell argues that it is the death and resurrection, along with these consequences of the resurrection, which form the expression of Christ's divinity. He rightly and persuasively argues (on the basis of Bauckham's work that I noted previously⁵⁷⁷) against the division between 'functional' and 'ontic' categories for Christ, recognising instead that Christ's divinity is expressed in his actions and accomplishments. Blackwell further argues that these actions, particularly the death and resurrection, are the attributes of Christ in which believers participate (or 'embody') and are thus 'deified'.⁵⁷⁸ While I appreciate Blackwell's distinction between 'attributive' and 'essential' deification, I find it unnecessary to extend beyond the terminology of participation and union I have outlined above, not least because Blackwell's definition of 'attributive deification' aligns closely with my use of 'participation'. Nevertheless, with Blackwell, it is these actions and accomplishments of Christ in which believers' identity is shaped and in which they thus participate with Christ.

Paul's participatory language begins in 1:13-14 with: 'He has rescued us from the power of darkness and transferred us into the kingdom of his beloved Son, in whom we have redemption, the forgiveness of sins'. Believers exist as those who are redeemed and who now belong to or are identified by their existence in the kingdom of the Son. He goes on to say in 1:21-22a that believers were formerly 'alienated and hostile in mind, doing evil deeds' and are now reconciled to God in Christ. The motif of transfer from one identity to another is part and parcel of believers union with Christ in Colossians. Lohse suggests that 'the aorist forms ἐρρύσατο (delivered) and μετέστησεν (transferred) point to baptism as the event through which the change from one dominion to another has taken place, in that we have been wrested from the

⁵⁷⁴ Wilson 2005: 126-7.

⁵⁷⁵ Garland 1998: 90.

⁵⁷⁶ For a persuasive summary of why 'all things' in 1:20 refers to humans, angels, and creation, see Peterson 2010.

⁵⁷⁷ See §2.2.2.1.

⁵⁷⁸ Blackwell 2014: 105-11.

power of darkness and placed in the “kingdom” of the beloved Son of God’.⁵⁷⁹ And, as Wilson rightly notes, the aorists indicate ‘an accomplished fact’.⁵⁸⁰ Believers belong now to the kingdom of the Son.

The reality of this transfer and its implications is elaborated throughout Colossians. Moreover, the language used to do so bears significant resemblance to Paul’s language in Romans 6:4-8 and 8:17-30, where he describes the new union through the various σὺμ-/σὺν-compounds that pertain to dying, being buried, rising, living, and sharing glory with Christ. Interestingly, few commentators acknowledge the significance of these σὺμ-/σὺν-compounds for Paul’s (or the writer’s) theology in Colossians.⁵⁸¹ As in Romans 6:4, participation with Christ occurs through believers dying with Christ (2:20; ἀπεθάνετε σὺν Χριστῷ), being buried with the Son (συνθάπτω) in baptism and ‘raised with him (συνεγείρω) through faith in the power of God’ (2:12; 3:1). Believers were formerly dead in their sins and are now alive with Christ (2:13; συζωοποιέω); their lives are now ‘hidden with Christ (3:3; κέκρυπται σὺν τῷ Χριστῷ). And having been raised with Christ (συνεγείρω), believers can expect to appear in glory with Christ (3:4; σὺν αὐτῷ φανερωθήσεσθε).

O’Brien helpfully notes that, ‘When the preposition σὺν (“with”) is compounded with certain verbs it relates to past events and resulting present experiences so that this close union with Christ is already a present reality. Both the phrase and related verbs are employed in Colossians to describe the death and resurrection with Christ as a past event and the resulting new experience for the Christ: it is his life with Christ’.⁵⁸² Indeed, from 2:6—3:4 but also more sporadically elsewhere, Paul highlights believers participation with Christ as the logical result of their union with Christ, their redemption in him (1:14) and new existence in his kingdom (1:13). In Blackwell’s words: ‘Through a variety of images, Paul returns again and again to the embodiment of Christ’s death and life—through baptism, circumcision, forgiveness, triumph over powers, mindset, and clothing. In all these things, embodying the Christ narrative is the central soteriological experience for believers’.⁵⁸³

These participatory motifs build up to 3:5, where Paul transitions (‘therefore’; οὖν) from illustrating the fact of believers’ position in Christ in his kingdom to their lived expression of that fact. Paul says believers should embrace their new identities in Christ. They should live not as the ‘old man’ (τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον, 3:9), the man

⁵⁷⁹ Lohse 1971: 38.

⁵⁸⁰ Wilson 2005: 115.

⁵⁸¹ The significance of this literary and theological overlap between Colossians and Romans is testimony to Pauline authorship of Colossians. Dunn (1996: 158) suggests that it is ‘characteristically Pauline’. Even if it was written after Paul, it was done so by someone who knew the Apostle’s mind well. See also O’Brien 1982.

⁵⁸² O’Brien 1982: 170-1; Dunn (1996: 208) described it as ‘identification (not just association) of Christ with the (real) life of believers (“who is our life”)’.

⁵⁸³ Blackwell 2014: 117.

who lived under the power of darkness (1:13), but as the ‘new man’, the man ‘being renewed in the image of its Creator’ (3:10, τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν κατ’ εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν). But just who are this ‘old man’ and ‘new man’?

Τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον and τὸν νέον are often translated as ‘old self’ and ‘new self’⁵⁸⁴ rather than ‘old man’ and ‘new man’. But this overlooks Paul’s anthropology in Colossians which is so firmly rooted in Christ, the firstborn of the dead who reigns in his kingdom in glory as the perfect human. Wilson rightly suggests that ‘the “old man” is their former pre-conversion way of life, which they have now left behind’.⁵⁸⁵ Similarly, Wright describes the ‘new man’ as, ‘the new humanity’ which ‘is the solidarity of those who are incorporated into, and hence patterned on, the Messiah who is himself the true Man. . . . At last, in Christ, human beings can be what God intended them to be’.⁵⁸⁶ Though it is not explicit in the text, Matera nonetheless suggests that ‘they are grounded in the Adam Christology of Romans and 1 Corinthians. Whereas the old self is indebted to Adam (the old human being), the new self draws its life from Christ (the new human being), the eschatological Adam’.⁵⁸⁷ Whether Paul intends his readers to hear echoes of Adam in the ‘old man’ is unclear, and unfortunately space does not allow what would surely be a helpful investigation;⁵⁸⁸ but Matera is nonetheless correct in recognising Paul’s emphasis on the believers’ new identity in Christ.

This new life in Christ is not simply analagous to the resurrection life of Christ; it is instead a believer’s transformed identity in Christ. Believers are not therefore divine like Christ, but the depth of their humanity is shaped by that of Christ’s as they embody his same human experience.⁵⁸⁹ For this reason Paul can say that the new man ‘is being renewed in the image of its Creator’. In the use of εἰκόν in 3:10, the reader is taken back to the description of the Son in 1:15-20. Again, Blackwell’s parallel conclusions ring true: ‘The nature of the “image” is clear: Christ is the image of God who created the world (1:15-16), and he is the one who died and

⁵⁸⁴ ESV, NAS, NIV, NRS; MacDonald 2000: 137.

⁵⁸⁵ Wilson 2005: 251.

⁵⁸⁶ Wright 1986: 138.

⁵⁸⁷ Matera 2012: 78. See also Moule 1958: 119; Carson 1960: 84; Martin 1974: 107; Dunn 1996: 222; Seitz 2014: 159. See also Johnson (1992) who argues that the two occurrences of εἰκόν in Col. 1:15 and 3:10 reflect an Adam-Christ typology in which the image of God is understood primarily as a functional concept (i.e. dominion) which is restored in humanity in the eschaton. While I am sympathetic to his argument, I do not find it persuasive on the basis of the basic (reductionistic?) Adam-Christ typology Johnson presents for Colossians.

⁵⁸⁸ See my note above on 1:18. Lohse (1971: 142) writes that ‘God’s eschatological new creation is described here with reference to Gen 1:26f. To be sure, this reference does not consist of an explicit Scripture citation, but originated in the adopted catechetical tradition which in turn relied on Gen 1:26f’.

⁵⁸⁹ See Blackwell 2014: 119-20: ‘Christ and believers have a similar experience but distinct ontologies. Though Christ is *homoousios* with humanity, he is also *homoousios* with the Father, and believers are not. They participate in the divine life through Christ, but they do not (and cannot) become a member of the holy Trinity’.

who was raised from the dead (*passim*). Thus, being renewed according to this image is dying and rising with Christ or, in the language of the immediate context, stripping off the old self and putting on the new self.⁵⁹⁰ In their solidarity as redeemed humanity, believers are patterned on the image of the Creator, the image which is Christ—the firstborn of creation and the firstborn of the dead. According to 3:10, then, believers participate in the Son’s kingdom through taking off or disarming their ‘old man’ loyalties and putting on those of Christ. Indeed, those who are in the kingdom of the Son have already ‘put on’ the image of the Creator and those characteristics which identify them with him.⁵⁹¹ Transformation has happened and is happening in Christ, i.e. in believers’ participation with Christ in his kingdom and in the continuous expressions of their new identities.

4.2.2.3 2 Corinthians 3:18; 4:4

Before concluding this chapter, I address the role that 2 Corinthians 3:18 and 4:4 play in interpreting Romans 8:29b. Scholars consistently link Romans 8:29 to 2 Corinthians 3:18 and they primarily do so on the basis of the presence of εἰκὼν (here also 2 Cor. 4:4), δόξα (also 3:7, 8, 9, 10, 11; 4:4, 6, 15, 17), and morphic language in both texts.⁵⁹² 2 Corinthians 3 is a significant passage for the helpful work of both Seyoon Kim and Carey Newman. Nevertheless, caution must be exhibited when comparing 2 Corinthians 3:18 with Paul’s image, glory, and morphic language elsewhere. I suggest in this final section that, while Paul’s image, glory, and morphic language in 2 Corinthians 3—4 is significant and cannot be dismissed, Paul nonetheless uses each term differently than he does in e.g. Romans, Philippians, and 1 Corinthians, and that the two passages should therefore not be forced into a mutually interpretative relationship.

I begin with Paul’s image language in 2 Corinthians 3:18 and 4:4. In 2 Corinthians 4:4, the Messiah is presented as the ‘image of God’ (ἐν οἷς ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐτύφλωσεν τὰ νοήματα τῶν ἀπίστων εἰς τὸ μὴ ἀυγάσαι τὸν φωτισμὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ) and it is into this ‘image’ that believers are transformed in 3:18 (ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενοι τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν καθάπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος). The image motif here, as in 1 Corinthians 15:49, Colossians 1:15; 3:10, and Romans 8:29, is significant for Paul’s

⁵⁹⁰ Blackwell 2014: 117.

⁵⁹¹ O’Brien (1982: 189) notes that Paul’s use of the two aorist participles in vv. 9, 10 are used to connote completed actions, just as aorist participles or aorist indicatives often do in Colossians: 1:6, 7, 13, 22; 2:6, 7, 11-15, 20; 3:1, 3.

⁵⁹² E.g. Käsemann 1980: 244-5; Best 1987: 35; Dunn 1988a: 483-4; Morris 1988: 333; Segal 1990: 59; Fitzmyer 1993: 525; Schreiner 1998: 453; Garland 1999: 200; Gorman 2001: 337, 347; Wright 2002: 602; Matera 2003: 102; Keener 2005: 170; Byrne 2007: 272; Jewett 2007: 530; Litwa 2008; van Kooten 2008a; Gorman 2009: 6, 32, 169.

Christology. But, as seen above in Paul's use of εἰκόν in Colossians 1:15 and 3:10, εἰκόν can be used in a variety of ways and with a variety of referents.

The question surrounding Paul's use of εἰκόν in 2 Corinthians 3:18 and 4:4 regards whether its use implies an Adam-Christology, a Wisdom-Christology, both, or neither.⁵⁹³ Those who suggest an implicit Adam-Christology naturally link εἰκόν to Genesis 1:26-27, suggesting therefore that Christ is the perfect image of God in contrast to the 'fallen' image in humanity.⁵⁹⁴ Others suggest that, as is commonly seen in Colossians, Paul is dependent here on Wisdom traditions, especially that seen in Wisdom 2:23 and 7:26.⁵⁹⁵ The majority, however, suggest that both Wisdom and Adamic texts form the background to the designations 'image of the Lord' in 3:18 and 'image of God' in 4:4.⁵⁹⁶ According to Litwa, 'Paul assumes no separation between Christ as theological image and anthropological image in 2 Cor. 3:18 or elsewhere in his undisputed letters'.⁵⁹⁷

I sympathise with those who wish to see a reference to both Genesis and Wisdom texts in 2 Corinthians 3:18 and 4:4. But *contra* Litwa, Paul does distinguish between the human and divine images of Christ, through the employment of his Adam-Christ typology. Unlike in Romans and 1 Corinthians, where Paul explicitly describes an Adam-Christ typology, little evidence exists in 2 Corinthians 3:18 and 4:4 to suggest that Paul is reflecting on that typology. Rather, Paul here is primarily dependent on Wisdom traditions, as he is in Colossians 1:15, texts which place the emphasis on Christ's relationship to the 'divine' image, in Litwa's terms. Paul's image-language cannot be so easily reduced to an 'all-of-the-above' approach, as van Kooten demonstrates in *Paul's Anthropology in Context*.⁵⁹⁸ Recognising this scholarly desire for both Adam and Wisdom, and the common propensity to treat Paul's image language consistently throughout the epistles, Barrett writes:

⁵⁹³ For a recent survey of the numerous suggestions on the textual backgrounds, particularly of the use of the mirror, including Greek magic, Dionysian mysteries, 'vision mysticism', Greco-Roman mythology, among others, see Litwa 2012. Litwa himself suggests the rabbinic reading of Num. 12:8 which linked the vision of God through a mirror with the Sinai tradition. This last option also includes Wright's suggestion that the 'image' which one sees in the mirror in 3:18 is the reflection of Christ in other believers, a suggestion rejected by most today; see Wright 1987: 147. It can also be applied to those who, though not following the suggestion of Wright, nevertheless omit any reference to either Gen. or Wis. texts; e.g. Martin (2014), who simply says on 3:18, 'Christ is the living embodiment of God's revelation' (p. 214), and on 4:4, 'Christ is not only the full representation of God but the coming-to-expression of the nature of God, the making visible . . . of who God is in himself' (p. 223) and Harris (2005), who says the image is 'Christ as God's glory or God in Christ' (p. 315) without reference to background texts.

⁵⁹⁴ E.g. Jervell 1960: 173-6; van Kooten 2008a: 91; Seifrid 2014: 184, 197-8.

⁵⁹⁵ E.g. Barrett 1973: 125; Thrall 1994: 293; Sampley 2000: 70.

⁵⁹⁶ E.g. Barnett 1997: 207; Garland 1999: 200; Matera 2003: 102; technically Litwa 2008 fits here in his argument that Christ as the image of God in 3:18 and 4:4 implies Christ as both the 'theological' (i.e. 'divine') and the 'anthropological' (i.e. 'human') image, though he does not base such categories on Wisdom or Genesis texts respectively.

⁵⁹⁷ Litwa 2008:123.

⁵⁹⁸ Litwa's article and van Kooten's book were both published in 2008.

It is impossible to draw together into a unity the various occurrences in the Pauline writings of the word *image*. Paul was aware of its use in the Old Testament creation narrative, and in the Wisdom literature. . . . In for example 1 Cor. xi it is the creation narrative that is in mind; here in 2 Cor. iv (and in Col. i. 15) he uses the concept of Wisdom as the means by which the unknown God is revealed. . . . Wisdom was God’s agent in creation (Prov. viii.22, 30; Wisd. vii. 21), and also ‘entered into holy souls making them friends of God and prophets’ (Wisd. vii. 27)—that is, Wisdom was also the agent of conversions.⁵⁹⁹

I echo this sentiment wholeheartedly, both with regard to Paul’s use of εἰκών and his use of δόξα and choice morphic language, to which I now turn.

Paul uses δόξα in 2 Corinthians 3—4 more frequently than any other place in his letters. In 3:1-18 Paul contrasts his ministry in the new covenant of Christ with that of Moses’ ministry of the old covenant. In 3:7-18 he draws imagery from Exodus 34:29-35 where, after seeing the glory of the Lord, Moses needed to veil his face, in order to, according to Paul, ‘keep the people of Israel from gazing at the end of the glory that was being set aside (or fading)’ (3:13). Paul’s use of δόξα in this section unequivocally stems from the semantic use of δόξα which refers to the visible splendour of God’s presence in theophany, what Newman classifies as part of the Sinaitic Glory Construal.⁶⁰⁰ Moses reflected God’s glory, his visible, manifest presence on Mount Sinai. But, as Harris notes, that glory also becomes a symbol of the impermanence and permanence of the old and new covenants (3:10, 13).⁶⁰¹ Indeed, Paul uses the term in various ways throughout the passage.⁶⁰² In 3:18 the glory which Paul said once characterised the old covenant and now characterises the ministry of the Spirit is now the glory which characterises the believer who is being transformed into the image of God in Christ ‘from glory to glory’ (ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν), from one degree of divine transformational presence to another.⁶⁰³

‘Transformation’ (μεταμορφόω) or, more literally, ‘metamorphosis’ into the image of God in Christ (τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα), van Kooten says, results in the ‘gradual growth of the “inner man”’ in 2 Corinthians 4:16 and the ‘renewal of the mind’, given the shared terminology with Romans 12:2.⁶⁰⁴ Sampley writes: ‘As believers gaze upon the glory of the Lord, therefore, they actually look to their source and at the same time to their goal to which, gradually, as they become more like

⁵⁹⁹ Barrett 1973: 125.

⁶⁰⁰ Newman 1992: 107-12.

⁶⁰¹ Harris 2005: 300.

⁶⁰² I highlighted this issue in §3.1.1. in which I offer some inadequacies of Newman’s ‘Glory-Christology’ for application to Romans.

⁶⁰³ Seifrid (2014: 182) rightly notes three distinct differences from Exodus 34 to 2 Corinthians 3:18: this vision of the divine glory is now unmediated, it is for all who believe, and it is seen in the image which is Christ.

⁶⁰⁴ Van Kooten 2008a: 203-4; see also van Kooten 2008a: §7.3.

Christ, God's glory reflected, they become more identified with the glory of God'.⁶⁰⁵ For van Kooten and Sampley, as for the majority of scholars who comment on this verse, including Litwa who argues against the majority of scholarship on the verse,⁶⁰⁶ this 'identification with the glory of God' indicates a progressive metamorphosis into the moral likeness of God (i.e. sanctification, or what Litwa describes as 'a mode of being that is manifested in concrete acts').⁶⁰⁷

Amidst the many questions which surround this difficult passage, what is beyond questioning is how δόξα functions semantically: in 2 Corinthians 3 δόξα unequivocally refers to God's theophanic splendour which symbolises his presence with and in his people, in particular the Christ who is the perfect image of God. And yet, δόξα in 1 Corinthians 15:41 clearly means brightness or luminosity and nothing more, and δόξα in 1 Corinthians 15:43 means a status or position of honour and victory. Δόξα indisputably spans the semantic range throughout Paul's letters. With Barrett above, we need to allow Paul's words to mean what they mean in their own contexts, without imposing a one-size-fits-all definition to them.

Additionally, Paul's use of εἰκόν differs in 2 Corinthians 3—4 from its use in contexts of an Adam-Christ typology, as in Romans 8:29 (see below) and 1 Corinthians 15:49. In 2 Corinthians 3:18; 4:4 εἰκόν more closely resembles his use of εἰκόν in Colossians 1:15—a Wisdom-Christology. While it is understandable at first glance that readers should connect 2 Corinthians 3:18 (also 4:4) to Romans 8:29, caution must be exercised in doing so. The similarities no doubt exist, but they are nevertheless outweighed by the subtle but present differences. I simply suggest that no conclusions regarding Romans 8:29 can be drawn on the basis of 2 Corinthians 3:18 or 4:4 or their larger context.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that Romans 8:29b is indicative of Paul's larger theology of participation, evidenced by his use of συμμόρφος as a participatory

⁶⁰⁵ Sampley 2000: 71.

⁶⁰⁶ Litwa tries to argue that this transformation is a transformation into Christ's divinity as much as it is his humanity. Against Scott Hafemann (2005) in particular, but the majority of scholarship on 2 Cor. 3:18 in general, Litwa argues that, because Paul does not distinguish between the 'theological' and 'anthropological' images of Christ (according to his reading), when believers are transformed into 'the same image', they are thus transformed into *both* the 'anthropological' and 'theological' (divine) images of Christ. They 'will truly share in God's [the divine] reality' (p. 129), which, for Litwa, is the 'life of joyful obedience to God's commands' (p. 129). Litwa's argument strikes me as reductionistic and unnecessary. It is reductionistic because it reduces the 'divine' image of God in Christ to Christ's 'joyful obedience'—the logical conclusion to arguing that humanity's transformation into Christ's 'divine' image results in their 'joyful obedience' to God. It is unnecessary because, Litwa basically arrives at the same conclusion as those whom he is arguing against (e.g. Hafemann): the human fully transformed into the image of God in Christ is a human who is fully and 'joyfully obedient' and thus perfectly sanctified.

⁶⁰⁷ Litwa 2008: 129.

compound and his use of εἰκόν in reference to Jesus. In the first half of the chapter I discussed participation as a Pauline motif, particularly in its relationship to the motif of union with Christ. I defined believers' participation in the resurrection life and glory of the Messiah as believers' vocational participation with Christ in his rule over creation in fulfilment of God's originally intended Adamic vocation.

I then turned to those Pauline texts which share this participatory motif. I demonstrated that Paul's use of συμμόρφος in Philippians 3:21 suggests a vocational participation with Christ in his eschatological and cosmological glory. I then turned our attention to 1 Corinthians 15:49 and Colossians 3:10, where Paul uses εἰκόν in contexts of vocational participation. It was discovered that in Philippians 3:21 and in the contexts surrounding 1 Corinthians 15:49 and Colossians 3:10, Paul emphasises believers' vocational participation in the Messiah's present reign over creation. And, in the case of Philippians 3 and 1 Corinthians 15, this cosmological rule of Christ and believers' participation in that rule is in fulfilment of Psalm 8, the Psalmist's vision of Genesis 1:26-28. On the basis of these conclusions, it is reasonable to make a preliminary suggestion: 'conformed to the image of [God's Firstborn] Son' in Romans 8:29 means believers' vocational participation with the Son. And now the question remains: can this preliminary conclusion be defended on the basis of Romans itself and specifically on the basis of Romans 8? The heart of this project lies in this question and implied answer, to which we now turn in the second half of this thesis.

PART 2: ROMANS 8:29

5. IMAGE OF THE SON

We are now in a position to investigate Romans 8:29b within the literary and theological context of Romans 8 itself. In the following two chapters, I will investigate the notion of believers' participation in the image of the Son (chapter 6) and then conclude with an examination of the relationship between believers' conformity to the image of the Son and the calling and purpose of God (chapter 7). Here I take up the phrase itself, τῆς εἰκόνοσ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, and address the identity of the person whom Paul refers to as God's Son. I will argue that behind the designation of 'Son' in Romans 8:29 stands both the long-awaited Davidic Messiah and the new Adam, the image of redeemed humanity. His messianic identity, I will argue, is established in subtle echoes of the Davidic royal ideologies of Psalms 89 and 110 in Romans 8:29, and 34, respectively. I will suggest that his identity as the new Adam lies in Paul's use of εἰκών and πρωτότοκος within the context of an already established Adam-Christ typology in 5:12-21. There the Messiah's identity as the new Adam is clearly linked to his designation as the Son of God in 5:10. Before turning to Romans 8:29, I offer a brief survey of scholarship on 'son of God' backgrounds and a few comments on my primary presupposition: the significance of Jesus' messianic identity for Paul.

5.1 Son of God Backgrounds

The designation 'Son of God' or 'Son' originated long before its ascription to Jesus.⁶⁰⁸ In Jewish literature the title was ascribed to King David's son in 2 Samuel 7:12-14 and Psalm 89, and ascribed to the Davidic heir of Psalm 2. It is also found in particular Jewish texts of the Second Temple period. In Ancient Near Eastern accounts, Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Canaanite literature all testify to the use of 'Son of God' as a designation of the king.⁶⁰⁹ Roughly contemporary with Jesus, Roman emperors ascribed to themselves the title, beginning with Caesar Augustus.⁶¹⁰ The literature on 'Son of God' in each of these contexts is vast and will not be

⁶⁰⁸ In this chapter I assume that when Paul refers to Jesus with υἱός, υἱός is shorthand for the full title, υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ. Likewise, I assume that when Paul read 2 Sam. 7:14 and Ps. 2:7, he understood υἱός as υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ.

⁶⁰⁹ Yarbrow Collins and Collins 2008: 3-11.

⁶¹⁰ Questions remain regarding a possible distinction between *deus* and *divus*. See Peppard (2011b: 32, 41-2) who argues that the former distinctions of *deus* as 'god' and *divus* as 'deified' (and therefore less honourable) have now been overturned by recent archaeology and understandings of the emperor cult; see also Wright 2013a: 327n205.

engaged with here. My purpose in this section is to provide an all-too-brief account of the trajectory of scholarship on the background of Paul's use of the title.⁶¹¹

I begin with the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* and its proposal that 'Son of God' has parallels within Hellenistic literature.⁶¹² William Bousset argued in *Kyrios Christos* that early Christianity was influenced by Hellenistic mythology,⁶¹³ and that Paul's use of 'son of God' stemmed from pagan mystery religions and Gnostic redeemer myths known throughout the empire.⁶¹⁴ Bousset writes that 'the title "the Son of God" does not at all fit in with the sensitivities of Old Testament piety. It has a much too mythical ring which stands in contradiction with the rigid monotheism of the Old Testament',⁶¹⁵ and then later, 'When [Paul] speaks of the Son of God, it may once more be stressed, he has in view the present exalted Lord whom the Christians venerate in the cultus'.⁶¹⁶ In today's scholarship, the tide has turned. The Hellenistic mythologies are deemed irrelevant to Paul's theology, as Hurtado summarises: 'It is difficult to find true Greco-Roman parallels that would account for Paul's view of Jesus as God's "Son" or render it more intelligible to Paul's Gentile converts. The human race could be referred to as offspring of Zeus or other gods, but this generally seems irrelevant to the particular significance Paul attached to Jesus as God's unique Son'.⁶¹⁷

This tide turned in the mid 1970's with Martin Hengel's publication of *Son of God*.⁶¹⁸ He argued there that the origin of Paul's Christology, particularly his use of 'Son of God', was not influenced by pagan traditions but by Hellenistic Jewish literature. Hengel traces 'Son of God' language through Sirach, Wisdom of Solomon, Joseph and Aseneth, Qumran Scrolls in which royal messianic traditions of the Old Testament are found, 3 Enoch, The Prayer of Joseph, wisdom traditions, and Philo.⁶¹⁹ A number of scholars have followed Hengel's lead,⁶²⁰ and today the conversation of 'Son of God' backgrounds in relation to Paul's use of the term remains focused on Jewish literature. I argue in this chapter that, of the Jewish texts originally surveyed

⁶¹¹ The most comprehensive short survey of 'son of God' remains that of Jarl Fossum 1992: 128-37.

⁶¹² See Baird 2003: 222-53.

⁶¹³ Bousset 1970: 93-7, 206-10.

⁶¹⁴ Bousset 1970; see also Hurtado 1993: 901; Peppard 2011b: 14-7. Peppard (p. 15) summarises Bousset's overarching thesis: '*Kyrios Christos* charts the development of early Christian veneration for Jesus, from the primitive Palestinian community's acclamation of the "son of man" as a pre-existent, heavenly Messiah to the later Gentile communities' confession of Jesus as "Lord"'.
⁶¹⁵ Bousset 1970: 93.

⁶¹⁶ Bousset 1970: 209.

⁶¹⁷ Hurtado 1993: 900; see also Hengel 1976: 23-41.

⁶¹⁸ Hengel's publication was anticipated by Samuel Sandmel's 1961 SBL Presidential Address, later published as "Parallelomania" in *JBL* 18 (1962).

⁶¹⁹ Hengel 1976: 42-56.

⁶²⁰ E.g. Dunn 1989; Wright 1991; Dunn 1998b; Wright 2003; Yarbro Collins and Collins 2008. More generally on Jesus' identity understood through Jewish texts, see e.g. Hurtado 1999; Longenecker 2005; Fee 2007; Bauckham 2009.

by Hengel, several in particular are the key influences on Paul's use of 'Son of God', at least as a designation for Jesus in Romans. These influences are those Old Testament texts which feature a royal Messiah: 2 Samuel 7:12-14 and Psalms 2, 89. More will be said about each text in its turn. For now, one additional background to Paul's use of 'Son of God' must be mentioned: the emperor cult.

Bousset and others in the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* originally considered the emperor cult as part of the Hellenistic sphere of influence, though they afforded it little weight compared with that of the mystery cults and other pagan traditions. Unlike the rest of the Hellenistic influences, emperor worship and the designation of the emperor as the 'son of god' have recently resurfaced as backgrounds to the title. After surveying the trend in scholarship from Bousset until today, Peppard examines 'son of God' as a metaphor dependent on first century practices and milieus. He proposes that the majority of Christian scholarship is too dependent on Nicene-era presuppositions and phraseology when analysing Paul's first-century use of the title.⁶²¹ He writes that 'son of God has received some treatment as a topic that connects Jesus Christ and the emperor, but the studies have been thin; the imperial "son of God" title has been often noted but rarely elaborated.'⁶²² Octavian's designation of himself as the 'son of god', Peppard argues, meant that Paul's designation of Jesus as the 'Son of God' created an unmistakable contrast between the two rulers.⁶²³

Not all agree that the imperial designation 'son of god' is as significant as Peppard claims. Hurtado writes: 'Any influence of Roman emperor devotion upon early Christology was probably much later than Paul and likely involved Christian recoil from what was regarded as blasphemous rather than as something to be appropriated'.⁶²⁴ N. T. Wright, one of the few advocates for the significance of both Jewish literature and the Roman imperial context, makes an important distinction between 'derivation' and 'confrontation'. He argues that while Paul did not derive the title 'Son of God' from the Roman imperial context, he may have nevertheless used it to confront the bold claims of Caesar;⁶²⁵ there was one ruler of the world, and Caesar was not it. I acknowledge that the Roman imperial use of 'son of God' would no doubt have come to mind when Paul's letter to the Romans was read. Nevertheless, I

⁶²¹ Peppard 2011b: 29-30. He concludes this discussion with: 'Recent scholarship on emperor worship has catalyzed a new understanding of divinity in the Roman world. A focus on material culture and ritual practices, combined with a rejection of old presuppositions, illuminates a conception of divinity as a status based on power, not an essence or nature. The old "problem" of emperor worship—was he a man or a god?—has turned out to be a mirage, which vanishes when the background horizon is altered': 2011: 40.

⁶²² Peppard 2011b: 45, also 30. He lists as examples: Kim 1998; Yarbrow Collins 2000; Mowery 2002.

⁶²³ Peppard 2011b: 46-9.

⁶²⁴ Hurtado 1993: 901; see also Hengel 1976: 28-30, 62-3.

⁶²⁵ See Wright 2013a: 1272.

will argue that Paul's primary inspiration came from his reading of the royal ideologies attached to the Davidic dynasty.

5.2 *Christ as Messiah – A Presupposition*

Before looking at Paul's use of 'Son of God' in Romans 8, let me acknowledge and address my primary presupposition. In this chapter (and throughout the thesis) I presuppose that Paul uses *χριστός* as a reference to Jesus as the Messiah. For Paul, Jesus Christ is the long-anticipated Davidic King and Redeemer of the Jewish people—what Wright has deemed 'the very heart of Paul's theology'.⁶²⁶ Because the conversation is as deep as it is wide, my intent here is simply to provide a survey of the classic arguments posed against reading *χριστός* as more than a proper name interchangeable with *Ἰησοῦς* and those more recently posed in support of it.

5.2.1 *Arguments against Χριστός as a 'Messianic' Reference*

Within Romans, *χριστός* is found 65 times.⁶²⁷ In comparison, *Ἰησοῦς* is found 36 times,⁶²⁸ *κύριος* is found 17 times,⁶²⁹ and *υἰός* is found 7 times.⁶³⁰ Despite—or for some, because of—the number of occurrences of *χριστός*, many scholars are disinclined to ascribe to it any significance beyond that of a denotative name.⁶³¹ One classic opponent of a messianic reading is Martin Hengel, who notes six reasons for why *χριστός* should be interpreted as a proper name in Pauline literature: (1) In Paul's letters, *χριστός* as a title was simply 'taken for granted'; (2) Paul was an apostle to the Gentiles, a race of people without a historical or theological relationship to the term; (3) Given Paul's difficult typological interpretations of Scripture (e.g. 1 Cor. 10:1-11), it is probable that he had already explained to his readership at a previous point the significance of the term *χριστός* for the person of Jesus; (4) *χριστός* was a unique term and, when used alongside Jesus, a common name, served to identify that particular Jesus as the Messiah; (5) 'Kyrios', because of its replacement of the tetragrammaton, was the stronger of the titles/names, so that, ultimately, the association of Jesus and

⁶²⁶ Wright 2013a: 816.

⁶²⁷ 1:1, 4, 6, 7, 8; 2:16; 3:22, 24; 5:1, 6, 8, 11, 15, 17, 21; 6:2, 4, 8, 9, 11, 23; 7:4, 25; 8:1, 2, 9, 10, 11, 17, 34, 35, 39; 9:1, 3, 5; 10:4, 6, 7, 17; 12:5; 13:14; 14:9, 15, 18; 15:3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 29, 30; 16:3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 16, 18, 25, 27. The case is much the same throughout the Pauline corpus. Within Paul's seven undisputed letters *χριστός* occurs 270 times: Novenson 2012: 64.

⁶²⁸ 1:1, 4, 6, 7, 8; 2:16; 3:22, 24, 26; 4:24; 5:1, 11, 15, 17, 21; 6:3, 11, 23; 7:25; 8:1, 2, 11, 34, 39; 10:9; 13:14; 14:14; 15:5, 6, 16, 17, 30; 16:3, 20, 25, 27.

⁶²⁹ In clear reference to Jesus: 1:4, 7; 4:24; 5:1, 11, 21; 6:23; 7:25; 8:29; 10:9 (10:12, 12); 13:14; 14:14; 15:30; 16:18, 20.

⁶³⁰ In clear reference to Jesus: 1:3, 4, 9; 5:10; 8:3, 29, 32.

⁶³¹ See particularly Chester 2007: 382-96.

Messiah was overshadowed by the fact that ‘Jesus Christ’ was the ‘Lord’;⁶³² and (6) Paul’s use of *χριστός* is dependent on the historical fact that Jesus went to the cross as the Messiah.⁶³³

Each of these suppositions is contestable on different grounds. (1) It is impossible to know that the messianic designation was simply ‘taken for granted’, when, in fact, the sheer frequency of occurrences indicates that it was not. As John Collins contends, ‘if this [frequency of occurrences] is not ample testimony that Paul regarded Jesus as messiah, then words have no meaning’.⁶³⁴ (2) The Gentiles may not have had a historical or theological relationship to the term *χριστός*, but that does not relegate its use within Romans or elsewhere to a mere name, especially since, (3) having never met the majority of his readers, Paul would be dependent on others not only to understand the significance of *χριστός* but also to assist in making its use clear on a historical and theological basis (as in Rom. 15:8-13) to those less familiar with the issues.⁶³⁵ (4) ‘Jesus’ was a common name, but that does not necessitate the diminishment of *χριστός* as a term indicative of something more. (5) If ‘Kyrios’ truly did nullify any messianic expression of *χριστός*, then one should expect the frequency of both terms to be reversed. (6) The historical event of the crucifixion in no way undermines the significance of either the historical role of the Messiah within Israel’s history of redemption or the theological role of Jesus as that Messiah within Paul’s letters.

N. Dahl takes a philological approach. He contends that, because *χριστός* is (1) ‘never a general term but always a designation for the one Christ, Jesus’, (2) nowhere a predicate, (2) never governed by a genitive or a possessive pronoun, and (3) never in an appositional structure (Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός), that *χριστός* should therefore be understood as a proper name.⁶³⁶ Unlike Hengel, Dahl does well to base his arguments on the text, but he nevertheless fails to demonstrate that, because these semantic patterns exist in Paul’s letters, they therefore *necessitate* that *χριστός* neither should be nor cannot be considered a messianic designation.⁶³⁷

5.2.2 *Arguments for Χριστός as a Messianic Reference*

Paul’s use of *χριστός* as more than a name cannot be dismissed as freely as some are inclined to do. My purpose here is not to make a case for reading *χριστός* as

⁶³² Zetterholm (2007: 33-56) also emphasises Jesus’ identity as Lord over that of Messiah, but he does so on the conviction that it was Paul’s way of keeping the Gentiles from associating themselves too closely with Israel’s Torah.

⁶³³ Hengel 1983: 71-6.

⁶³⁴ Collins 1995: 2 cited in Wright 2013a: 818n130.

⁶³⁵ Galatians also lacks an explanation of *χριστός*, a term used 38 times in reference to Jesus. Yarbro Collins and Collins (2008: 106) argue that Paul most likely had already explained the term. See also Wright 2012.

⁶³⁶ Dahl 1974: 37-40.

⁶³⁷ For an assessment of Dahl’s four arguments, see Novenson 2012: 98-115.

a messianic designation in Paul, nor do I wish even to build on the footings poured by others, most recently that of Matthew Novenson.⁶³⁸ Due to the importance of his work, however, I briefly note Novenson's primary contribution to the discussion. In his recent study on the lexical and semantic use of *χριστός* within patterns of speaking, Novenson concluded that Paul used *χριστός* as neither a proper name nor a title but as an honorific, much like Caesar took the honorific, Augustus. Novenson writes:

Paul's ostensibly idiosyncratic use of *χριστός* is not really idiosyncratic, at least not in a formal sense. Granted, it is neither a proper name nor a title of office, but it is not therefore an onomastic innovation. Rather, it fits a known onomastic category from antiquity, namely the honorific. Honorifics, which are amply attested in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, were typically borne by rulers. An honorific was taken by or bestowed on its bearer, usually in connection with military exploits or accession to power, not given at birth. It was formally a common noun or adjective (e.g., hammer, star, savior, manifest, august, anointed), not a proper noun. In actual use, it could occur in combination with the bearer's proper name or stand in for that proper name. It was not a uniquely Semitic-language convention but one shared among ancient Mediterranean cultures and even translated from one language to another. It is not coincidental that these are the very features of Paul's use of *χριστός* that have so vexed his modern interpreters.⁶³⁹

I consider Novenson's work the principal treatment of Paul's messianic use of *χριστός*. On the basis of it and that of others,⁶⁴⁰ I presuppose in this chapter the messianic significance of *χριστός* for Paul.

My primary aim here is to illuminate the most obvious reason for interpreting Paul's use of *χριστός* as an honorific for the Messiah in Romans. This reason is that Paul clearly and purposefully presents Jesus as the human descendent of David at two significant points in the letter, and he does so on the basis of Old Testament texts fundamental to Jewish messianic expectations:

⁶³⁸ Novenson 2012.

⁶³⁹ Novenson 2012: 95-6.

⁶⁴⁰ See especially Wright 1991: 41-55; 2013a: 815-911; 2014b: 3-23. Moreover, I presuppose messianic significance on the basis of pre-Christian messianic expectations: e.g. 2 Sam. 7:16; Ps. 89:3-4, 19-37; Isa. 11:1, 10; Jer. 23:5-6; 30:9; 33:14-18; Ezek. 34:23-24; 37:24-25. Other texts which could be noted are: Ps. Sol. 17.23 (21); 4QpIsaa; 4QPB; 4QF1. Also, as Wright points out, the messianic Florilegium from Qumran Cave IV includes Ps. 2:7 and 2 Sam. 7:14. See Collins 2007: 1-20 for a full survey of pre-Christian messianic expectations.

περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα
(1:3)

γὰρ Χριστὸν διάκονον γεγενῆσθαι περιτομῆς ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας θεοῦ, εἰς
τὸ βεβαιῶσαι τὰς ἐπαγγελίας τῶν πατέρων (15:8)

Ἡσαΐας λέγει· ἔσται ἡ ρίζα τοῦ Ἰεσσαὶ καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν
ἔθνῶν, ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν (15:12)

In the letter’s introduction the Son of God is presented as the ‘seed (σπέρμα) of David according to the flesh’ (1:3). Paul does not echo any particular text here, but no doubt certain texts would ring out as background motifs of Davidic Sonship, most importantly: 2 Samuel 7:12-14 and Psalm 89:3-4.

When your days are fulfilled and you lie down with your fathers, I will raise up your offspring (σπέρμα) after you, who shall come from your body, and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build a house for my name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom forever. I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son (2 Samuel 7:12-14).

You have said, “I have made a covenant with my chosen one; I have sworn to David my servant: ‘I will establish your offspring (σπέρμα) forever, and build your throne for all generations’” (Ps. 89:3-4).

At the outset of Romans, Paul declares that the Son of God is the descendent of David, the long-awaited Messiah of Israel whom YHWH had promised would be higher than all earthly kings (Ps. 89:27) and whose throne would be established forever. Yarbrow Collins and Collins write, ‘It is striking that Paul gives more information about Jesus as son of God and messiah in the address and greeting of Romans than he gives anywhere in his other letters’.⁶⁴¹

Though David is mentioned by name only once in relation to the Messiah (1:3),⁶⁴² David is also the implicit referent in 15:8, 12 as the ‘root of Jesse’, quoting Isaiah 11:10 LXX.⁶⁴³ The ‘root of Jesse’ (15:12) unequivocally refers to David, the Israelite King who would rise to rule the nations (ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἔθνῶν, Isa. 11:10) and in whom ‘the nations will hope’ (ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν). This ‘root of Jesse’ is not David alone, however, even in Isaiah, as it is he who will lead Israel and the nations when God chooses to gather the remnant of his people (Isa. 11:11). For

⁶⁴¹ Yarbrow Collins and Collins 2008: 116.

⁶⁴² David is also mentioned by name in 4:6 and 11:9 but in no direct association with the Messiah at these points.

⁶⁴³ Paul is clearly quoting Isa. 11:10 LXX which differs from the MT at a particularly crucial point. While the LXX records that the root of Jesse will ‘rise to rule the nations’, the MT has ‘who will stand as a sign for the nations’ (אֲשֶׁר עֲמֹד לְנֶס לְגוֹיִם).

Paul, as it was for Jews in the Second Temple period,⁶⁴⁴ the root of Jesse is the Messiah.⁶⁴⁵ The semantic dependence of 15:12 on 15:8 demonstrates this:⁶⁴⁶

‘Christ became a servant to the circumcised’ (15:8)⁶⁴⁷ . . .
‘and [he did so in order that]⁶⁴⁸ the Gentiles might glorify God.
As it is written (15:9). . .

“The root of Jesse will come, even he who arises to rule the Gentiles;
in him will the Gentiles hope” (15:12).

For Paul, the ‘root of Jesse’ is Jesus as the Son of God, sent to redeem God’s people and, moreover, to rule over the Gentiles *as their hope*.⁶⁴⁹

This reading is further confirmed by the fact that 15:7-13 has a claim to be the summation of Paul’s theological argument—an argument which began with the messianic identity of the Son in 1:3-4.⁶⁵⁰ In 1:3 and 15:8-12 Paul says that Jesus is the Messiah, the descendent of David. It is difficult to imagine on what basis Hengel made his observation that ‘nowhere does Paul advance a proof that Jesus is the anointed one and bringer of salvation promised in the texts of the Old Testament. Of course he presupposes that Jesus is the Davidic Messiah . . . but he never employs this in the course of his argument’.⁶⁵¹ Paul establishes his terms at the very beginning: the Son of God is the Messiah, the promised Davidic heir to the throne, who will redeem Israel and the Gentiles too, and in whom the nations will hope. Contrary to Hengel’s suggestion that ‘the traditional messianic proof texts of the Old Testament do not play any direct or essential role in his letters’,⁶⁵² Paul does employ these messianic texts of the Hebrew Scriptures with absolute directness and as playing *the* essential role in his

⁶⁴⁴ 4Q285 frag. 5, 4QpIsa^a frags. 7-10; *Pss. Sol.* 17:21-25; see further Collins 2010: 52-78.

⁶⁴⁵ This is consistent with the reading of the Isaiah Targum at this point. Tg. Isa. 11:1 reads: ‘And the king will come forth from the sons of Jesse, and the Messiah from his sons’ sons will grow up’. Tg. Isa. 11:6 reads: ‘In the days of the Messiah of Israel peace shall be multiplied in the earth. The wolf shall dwell with the lamb . . .’; and in Tg. Isa. 11:10: ‘And there shall be at that time a son of the son of Jesse, who shall stand for an ensign of the people; kings shall obey Him, and the place of His dwelling shall be in glory’; texts taken from Pauli 1871: 39-40. See also Chilton 1983: 88, 89, 113.

⁶⁴⁶ See esp. Jewett 2007: 896-7; also Fitzmyer 1993: 707-8; Schreiner 1998: 757-8; Wright 2002: 748-9; Byrne 2007: 430. *Contra* Dunn (1988b: 846, 850), who acknowledges the messianic reference, particularly in 15:12, but suggests Paul is emphasising Jesus as the risen Christ in both 15:8 and 12.

⁶⁴⁷ The NA²⁷ lists Ps. 89:3 as an allusion in 15:8b.

⁶⁴⁸ I take the δὲ at the start of 15:9 to coordinate the adverbial infinitive in v. 9 (τὰ . . . δοξάσαι) with the εἰς + τὸ + infinitive construct in 15:8b, thus making 15:9a a purpose clause stemming from 15:8a. This reading is supported by most contemporary translations and commentators. *Contra* Wagner (1997: 473-85), this reading is supported by the semantic structure of 15:8-12 as a unit, a structure Wagner does not consider.

⁶⁴⁹ See Novenson 2012: 160.

⁶⁵⁰ See esp. Jewett 2007: 891, 896; also Wright 2002: 746, 748.

⁶⁵¹ Hengel 1983: 67.

⁶⁵² Hengel 1983: 67.

letters, at least in that to Rome. Through the course of this chapter, this messianic emphasis will become all the more evident, particularly in Paul's identification of the Son as the Messiah in Romans 8.

5.3 *Son of God as the Davidic Messiah*

In Romans 15:5, 12 Paul employs Isaiah 11 to designate the Son of God as the long-awaited Davidic Messiah—a designation he gave the Son, albeit more subtly, already in 1:3-4. But Jesus's messianic identity as the Son of God is also perspicuous throughout the letter, and it is especially so in Romans 8, where three of the seven reference to Jesus as God's Son occur in Romans (8:3, 29, 32), the others being 1:3, 4, 9; and 5:10. I suggest that at two critical points in Romans 8 Paul echoes two messianic psalms, and each psalm occurs at a point in Romans 8 where Paul designates Jesus as the Son of God. The two psalms are 110 and 89, and they occur in 8:34, 29 respectively. The first is virtually indisputable, and the second is probable, but not without nuance. I begin on the most stable terrain.

5.3.1 *The Right Hand of God – Psalm 110*

Psalm 110 is a Davidic psalm in which the Davidic King is told to sit at the right hand of [the LORD] until his enemies are made a footstool for his feet (110:1). Collins notes that, with Psalms 2 and 89, Psalm 110 is an enthronement psalm used in Israelite coronation ceremonies.⁶⁵³ Whether the psalm was originally intended as a messianic psalm is debatable. 'Messiah' is not used, but given that it is an enthronement psalm of the Davidic king, Novenson suggests that the reader can assume the king in reference is Israel's Messiah.⁶⁵⁴ Echoes of this reading are possibly supported by Daniel 7:9-14 and by R. Akiba,⁶⁵⁵ and Rabbinic literature after the second half of the third century CE also interpreted the king of Psalm 110:1 as the Messiah.⁶⁵⁶ But according to Albl, it was the New Testament writers who established Psalm 110 as a messianic psalm.⁶⁵⁷

Paul unmistakably echoes Psalm 110—the 'most cited scriptural text in the NT'⁶⁵⁸—in Romans 8:34. There he writes: Χριστὸς [Ἰησοῦς] ὁ ἀποθανών, μᾶλλον δὲ

⁶⁵³ See Collins 2010: 25. Other royal psalms include: 2, 18, 20, 21, 45, 72, 101, 110, 132, and 144; see Gunkel (1933) 1998: 99-120; Collins 2013.

⁶⁵⁴ See Novenson 2012: 145-6.

⁶⁵⁵ b. Sanhedrin 38b.

⁶⁵⁶ A messianic reading of Psalm 110 is attested, but it was one among many: David, Abraham, Hezekiah, and the Hasmonean rulers were also understood as the one at the right hand of God. See Hay (1973: 26-28) for an extended list of the literature, and Juel (1988: 137-9) who reiterates and updates Hay's discussion of Psalm 110 in Jewish literature; see also Hengel 1995: 119-225, esp. 137-63.

⁶⁵⁷ Albl 1999: 222; see Collins 2010: 142.

⁶⁵⁸ Byrne 2007: 280. The NA²⁷ lists Matt. 22:44; Mark 12:36; Luke 20:42; Acts 2:34; 1 Cor. 15:25; Col. 3:1; Heb. 1:13; 5:6; 7:17, 21 as direct quotations and Matt. 26:64; Mark 14:62; 16:19; Luke

ἐγερθεῖς, ὃς καὶ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃς καὶ ἐντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. The echoed phrase is κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου in Psalm 109:1 LXX. Most commentators notice the echo; of those who do, however, few draw any Christological significance from it.⁶⁵⁹ In this case, only the word δεξιός is common between the two texts, and it is certainly not a word on its own that is distinct or unique to Psalm 109 LXX. Nevertheless, the *similarity of the two phrases* and the *thematic correspondences* between the two texts make the echo unmistakable. While δεξιός on its own bears no significance, ‘the right hand’ or ‘being at the right hand [of God]’ is a commonly noted reference to power or to a position of power, honour, or exaltation throughout the LXX (Exod 15:6, 12; Deut 33:2; Job 40:9; Pss. 17:7; 18:35; 97:1; Isa. 41:13).⁶⁶⁰ The phrases, ‘sit at my right hand’, spoken by God to the Messiah, and ‘at the right hand of God’, Paul referring to the Messiah in his resurrection state of exaltation and victory, certainly correspond thematically. Moreover, given the *significance and recurrence* of Psalm 110 as a Messianic psalm throughout the New Testament witness, especially in 1 Corinthians 15:21-28,⁶⁶¹ according to the criteria established by Hays and Tooman, the burden of proof rests on those who would argue against the presence of an echo of the Psalm in Romans 8:34.

Recognition of the echo of Psalm 109:1 LXX then, establishes once again in Romans that Paul considers the Son of God to be the Davidic Messiah. His description of the Messiah here stems from that of the Son in 8:32 (ὃς γε τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πάντων παρέδωκεν αὐτόν). The Son, who was ‘given up on behalf of us all’ (8:32) and who rose again (8:34), is *now* at the right hand of God the Father, ruling as God’s Son—the Messiah. Dunn suggests the significance behind Paul’s ‘obviously deliberate’ allusion to the psalm is, in part, ‘a highly honorific way of asserting that Israel’s king was appointed by God as, in effect, God’s vice-regent over his people’.⁶⁶² Moo also notes the echo, saying, ‘The language is, of course, metaphorical, indicating that Jesus has been elevated to the position of “vicegerent” in God’s governance of the universe.’⁶⁶³ The Son is the Davidic King

22:69; Rom. 2:5; 8:34; 11:29; Eph. 1:20; Col. 3:1; Heb. 1:3; 5:10; 6:20; 7:3, 11, 15; 8:1; 10:12 as allusions; see also Lee 2005: 214-6.

⁶⁵⁹ E.g. Cranfield 1975; Käsemann 1980; Morris 1988; Fitzmyer 1993; Schreiner 1998; Witherington 2004; Byrne 2007; Jewett 2007. Seifrid offers a slightly extended commentary (2007: 635), and, intriguingly, not even the basic fact of Jesus’ placement at the right hand of God makes an appearance in Wright’s commentary (2002: 612-4), not to mention the resulting omission of Paul’s allusion to Psalm 110—and just where one might expect to find a whole paragraph dedicated to the Son’s messianic fulfilment of a highly regarded Old Testament messianic text! Though in the *Paul for Everyone* series (2004b: 160) he does suggest an allusion in vv. 33-34 to the Servant Song in Isa. 50:4-9. More recently in *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, Wright mentions on p. 1066, albeit very briefly, the significance of Paul’s use of Psalm 110 at Romans 8:34 for establishing Jesus’ messianic identity.

⁶⁶⁰ See Dunn 1988a: 503.

⁶⁶¹ Peppard 2011a: 99: ‘Paul makes clear that Jesus’ divine sonship is constitutive of his being the eschatological Messiah (e.g., 1 Cor 15:20-28). “Son of God” is a royal title’.

⁶⁶² Dunn 1988a: 503-4.

⁶⁶³ Moo 1996: 543.

who, at his resurrection, is exalted to a position of regency at the right hand of God and over the kings and nations of the earth (Ps. 110:5-6).

5.3.2 *The Firstborn Son – Psalm 89*

The Son's messianic identity in Romans 8 is also presented in 8:29, where believers are conformed to the Son *in order that* (εἰς τὸ εἶναι) he might be the 'firstborn among many siblings': πρωτότοκον ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖ. Dunn rightly notes that υἱός and πρωτότοκος are coterminous, with υἱός made explicit by its modifier, πρωτότοκος;⁶⁶⁴ the Son of God is, more specifically, the Firstborn Son of God, and it is to this Son that God's people are conformed. The primary question needing to be addressed here is whether πρωτότοκος signifies something beyond itself and, if so, what? Before doing so, however, I raise briefly the question of the identity of the ἀδελφοῖ in 8:29, a question to which I will return at length in the following chapter.

Caroline Johnson Hodge argues in *If Sons, Then Heirs* (2007) that the ἀδελφοῖ are Gentile believers who, through baptism into union with Christ, are adopted as children of God, having received the Spirit of adoption. According to Johnson Hodge, Gentiles alone constitute Jesus' siblings in Romans 8:29 because they alone are in need of a kinship connection to Abraham. Arguing primarily against traditional (i.e. Lutheran) readings of Paul in which those 'in Christ' constitute a 'universal, "non-ethnic"' identity of God's people, Johnson Hodge suggests that Paul does not eradicate ethnic distinctions between Jews and Gentiles in Christ. Jews are connected to Abraham by birth and thus are already established as his descendants; they are already recipients of the promises and therefore do not require a kinship with Jesus in order to be made children of God. The 'central theological problem of [Paul's] writings', she argues, is that 'gentiles are alienated from the God of Israel' and that Paul's solution is that 'baptism into Christ makes gentiles descendants of Abraham'.⁶⁶⁵ Johnson Hodge's argument will be taken up again in the following chapter when I turn to the motif of adoption and participation in the Son's inheritance. Here I note only some perennial weaknesses which stand at the heart of her overall thesis and which will prompt further discussion anon.

⁶⁶⁴ Dunn 1988a: 483; see Hughes 2001: 27; Byrne 2007: 272n29; Hasitschka 2010: 353.

⁶⁶⁵ Johnson Hodge 2007: 4. As a reader of Paul who is also heavily dependent on Stowers, as well as John Gager and Lloyd Gaston, Pamela Eisenbaum (2009: 173) posits something similar: 'the most important theological force motivating Paul's mission was a thoroughgoing commitment to Jewish monotheism and how to bring the nations of the world to that realization as history draws to a close'. Also with Johnson Hodge, though without a nod to her, Eisenbaum (2009: 207) similarly argues that 'the purpose of Paul's mission is to integrate all these various non-Jewish peoples into the Abrahamic family. Like Abraham, Jesus' faithfulness benefits others, in this case, Gentiles in particular. Jesus' great act of faithfulness enables the integration of Gentiles into the lineage of Abraham, so that now Jews and Gentiles are all the heirs of God's promises. Paul's mission is about helping God keep God's promises'. Certainly this is the case, but Paul is also about helping to keep God's promises for the rescue and renewal of Israel.

(1) As noted earlier, Johnson Hodge is uncritically reliant on Stowers' thesis that Paul's 'encoded audience' is exclusively Gentile—a perspective which clouds nearly every part of her work.⁶⁶⁶ (2) The identity or role of Jesus as the Jewish Messiah is never articulated, a fact which then leads to two highly significant but also unanswered questions:⁶⁶⁷ (a) *Why* is Christ as the seed of Abraham the 'perfect candidate for passing the blessings on to the gentiles'?⁶⁶⁸ (b) What is Jesus' identity as the Son of God in both Romans 1:4 and 8:29 and how does that identity impact her understanding of his siblings? (3) The relationship between the Jew and Christ is never fully articulated, other than a few scattered suggestions that the Jew is also 'in Christ' through baptism, an oversight which also prompts a number of related but unanswered questions: (a) What does it mean to be 'in Christ' or what is her theology of 'union with Christ'? (b) What do Jews gain from being baptised into Christ? (c) What is her theology of baptism? (d) What is her theology of sin/salvation? (d) What is her theology of Jesus' death and resurrection? (e) What is the Jew's relationship to the disobedience of Adam and obedience of Christ? (f) What is the Jew's relationship to sin, or the Jew's need of salvation through the death and resurrection of Christ? (4) How can she argue that Gentiles' alienation from God is 'the central theological problem of his writing', when issues such as these just listed are never discussed, most importantly Paul's hamartiology and soteriology? (5) What is the Jew's relationship to the Spirit, particularly if they are not in need of the Spirit of adoption? (6) What is the reason for Paul's tribulations in 2 Corinthians 11:24 if he does not advocate a 'universal' family of God on the basis of the faithfulness of Christ rather than the Law or one's ethnic identity?⁶⁶⁹

Because these questions are not addressed by Johnson Hodge, her argument that the ἀδελφοὶ of 8:29 are exclusively Gentiles baptised into Christ and who are thus children of God as siblings of Jesus can only be deemed unsound. Gentiles are undoubtedly included in the family of God through baptism into Christ, as I have argued before, but little evidence exists to suggest that Jews are not also included as those made part of the family of God on the basis of Christ's faithfulness. As Alan

⁶⁶⁶ Here, too, Stowers' words are just below the surface (1994: 283): 'As Christ was appointed "a son of God" or "the son of God" (Paul's language is ambiguous), so also gentiles in Christ will be designated sons of God. . . . The gentile communities that are thus "conformed to the image of his [God's] son" (8:29) have been destined, called, and justified as part of God's plan to reconcile the world'. See Dunn's (2009: 644-5) unfortunately short critique of Johnson Hodge here, where he writes, 'The disproportionate influence of Stowers is understandable but skews an otherwise valuable thesis'. It is helpful to note here that an argument for an exclusively Gentile 'encoded' or implied audience does not predetermine this reading of the brothers of Christ in 8:29. Mark Nanos maintains that the letter has a 'primarily, if not exclusively' (1996: 84) Gentile audience and yet includes both Jewish and Gentile followers of Christ in the identity of the Son's siblings in 8:29. See Nanos 1996: 112 for a helpful table of distinctions.

⁶⁶⁷ The most description she provides is that Jesus is 'a messianic agent of God' (p. 4).

⁶⁶⁸ Johnson Hodge 2007: 104.

⁶⁶⁹ On this last point, see also Barclay 1995: 651 and Hays 1996: 40 in response to Stowers.

Segal argued nearly two decades before Johnson Hodge: ‘The idea of two separate paths—salvation for gentiles in Christianity and for Jews in Torah—does not gain support from Paul’s writings’.⁶⁷⁰ Johnson Hodge posits that ‘traditional scholarship . . . has tended to ignore or make abstract Paul’s kinship language’, a tendency which has ‘allowed interpreters to wrench the words out of a first-century context by subsuming the passage under the later Christian theological categories of predestination, personal salvation, and the restoration of God’s image’.⁶⁷¹ While the argument presented in this thesis agrees with her assessment, in part, the suggestion that the restoration of God’s image as a ‘later Christian theological category’ has no basis.⁶⁷² Moreover, the dichotomy she creates between the restoration of God’s image and Paul’s emphasis on kinship to Christ is a false dichotomy. It is kinship with Christ which Paul articulates, but it is a kinship of both Jews and Gentiles and a kinship which restores the image. I will return to Johnson Hodge’s thesis throughout this chapter and the next. For now I return our thoughts to who Jesus is as the *πρωτότοκος*.

It is possible to regard *πρωτότοκος* as a reference to Paul’s Wisdom-Christology, as is the case in Colossians 1:15.⁶⁷³ Ironically, though it is possible to link 8:29 to Colossians 1:15, rarely is Paul’s use of *πρωτότοκος* in 8:29 linked to Jewish Wisdom speculation in particular. Even the link to Colossians 1:15 is made more often on the basis of Paul’s use of *εικών*, which I discuss below, rather than *πρωτότοκος*. Unlike in Colossians 1:15, where Paul’s emphasis is on Christ’s pre-existent agency in creation as the ‘firstborn’, the larger context of Romans 8 and indeed Romans 5—8 is on the eschatological renewal of God’s people in their relationship to Christ in his incarnate and resurrection state. In this way, Paul’s use of *πρωτότοκος* in Romans 8:29 is closer to his use of *πρωτότοκος* in Colossians 1:18.

With the support of numerous scholars, I suggest that *πρωτότοκος* functions in 8:29 in two ways. First, it functions as an echo of Psalm 89, a text which itself exists as part of the larger Old Testament trope of Israel as God’s ‘firstborn’.⁶⁷⁴ Second, Paul designates the Son of God as the new Adam, the firstborn of the new humanity. The two backgrounds are not as unrelated as they may at first appear, as will be seen. I will return to the new Adam designation below, but take up here the notion of the Son as the Firstborn of God’s eschatological family.

⁶⁷⁰ Segal 1990: 130.

⁶⁷¹ Johnson Hodge 2007: 110.

⁶⁷² The weakness of her argumentation on the ‘image of God’s Son’ here is evident in the fact that van Kooten’s work fails even to appear in the bibliography.

⁶⁷³ See §4.2.2.2.

⁶⁷⁴ See e.g. Dunn 1988a: 484; Scott 1992: 254; Moo 1996: 535; Schreiner 1998: 453-4; Byrne 2007: 269; Jewett 2007: 529; Hultgren 2011: 329.

The designation *πρωτότοκος* was applied most explicitly to Israel in Exodus 4:22 (cf. Jer. 31:9; Hos. 11:1) and is taken up by the psalmist in Psalm 89:27.⁶⁷⁵ Whereas in 4:22 it is a designation that all of Israel bore as the redeemed family of God from their slavery in Egypt, in Psalm 89 the term is limited to the son of David, the ‘one chosen from the people’ (Ps. 89:19; see also 89:3). This chosen Son from among the people would be established as King and would inaugurate worldwide renewal on behalf of Israel. At vv. 26-29 the Psalm reads:

He shall cry to me, ‘You are my Father, my God, and the Rock of my salvation!’ I will make him the firstborn, the highest of the kings of the earth. Forever I will keep my steadfast love for him, and my covenant with him will stand firm. I will establish his line forever, and his throne as long as the heavens endure.

The Davidic King, depicted as a son of God in 89:26, is established as God’s royal representative: *κἀγὼ πρωτότοκον θήσομαι αὐτόν ὑψηλὸν παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν τῆς γῆς* (88:28 LXX). He is the Son of God (Ps. 89:26; cf. 2 Sam. 7:14a), is appointed as a Davidic descendent or as a chosen one among Israel (Ps. 89:3, 19; cf. 2 Sam. 7:12), and is given an everlasting throne (Ps. 89:4, 29, 36-7; cf. 2 Sam. 7:13). In Psalm 89:27, the Firstborn is the son of God (8:26) who will rule over the earth (89:25) as the ‘highest of the kings of the earth’ (89:27). Worldwide renewal will come through this Firstborn Son, the Davidic King, and it would come on behalf of all God’s children, Israel.

Here in Romans 8, at the climax of the entire epistle thus far, Paul’s focus is on the Spirit-led children of God (esp. 8:14-17) and their renewal as God’s family in the Firstborn Son (8:17, 29), as indicated by the adverbial infinitive, *εἰς τὸ εἶναι*, indicating purpose.⁶⁷⁶ In his use of *πρωτότοκος*, neither Exodus 4:11 nor Psalm 89:28 is very distant. Though he does not include Exodus 4:11, Scott likewise concludes that ‘*πρωτότοκος* in Rom. 8:29c alludes to God’s promise that the Davidic Messiah would be adopted as son to rule as chief among other rulers of the world (Ps. 89:28)’.⁶⁷⁷ According to Fee, the significance of *πρωτότοκος* and *υἱός* appearing here together for the first time in Paul’s epistles indicates that Exodus 4:22-23 and Psalm 89 are in the background. He writes, ‘God’s Son is also his “firstborn” (=has the rights of primogeniture), who in Paul’s understanding has assumed the role of the messianic king, who in turn had come to stand in for God’s people’.⁶⁷⁸ The two texts exist together in Romans 8:29, analagous to their relationship in the Old Testament,

⁶⁷⁵ The majority of instances of *πρωτότοκος* in the LXX refer to individual humans or animals born first in the succession of births. Exod. 4:22 and Jer. 31:9 are the only instances of the term used as a reference to the body of God’s people and Ps. 89 is the only reference to a king.

⁶⁷⁶ Wallace 1996: 590-1.

⁶⁷⁷ Scott 1992: 254.

⁶⁷⁸ Fee 2007: 250.

though Paul's focus in 8:29 is undoubtedly on the Firstborn Son of God as the messianic Son to whom all other sons are conformed.⁶⁷⁹ As Hultgren writes, 'He is the πρωτότοκος (the "firstborn") "among many brothers and sisters," the new humanity, and that company of brothers and sisters, fellow heirs, is devoted to him as its Lord'.⁶⁸⁰

Based on the criteria set by Hays and Tooman, the presence of Psalm 89 in Romans 8:29 finds its needed support. It is not heavily supported in terms of *volume*, with only πρωτότοκος linking the two texts. Additionally, it is true that πρωτότοκος occurs in a variety of texts throughout the LXX and is thus not *unique* to Psalm 89 or Exodus 4. That being said, πρωτότοκος is certainly *distinctive* to Psalm 89:28, as well as Exodus 4:11 (also Jer. 38:9 LXX), despite its various applications throughout the LXX. Moreover, its associated use with Psalm 89 is *recurrent* in the New Testament most clearly in Revelation 1:5: ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ μάρτυς, ὁ πιστός, ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλείων τῆς γῆς. Most of all, the *thematic correspondence* between the preeminent Sonship of the Firstborn in Psalm 89 and the associated sonship of God's people in Exodus 4 is a primary theme of Romans 8, especially 8:14-17 and 8:29. I will return to these themes in chapter six of this thesis. Romans 8:29 is, at least partially, about the renewal of God's eschatological family in the Firstborn Son, the Messiah, the one who is now exalted to the right hand of God in 8:34.

5.4 Son of God as the New Adam

We have seen thus far that the Son of God in Romans 8:29 is the long-awaited Davidic king. But, as noted in the introduction to this chapter, the Son of God is also the new Adam, the representative of a new humanity. Though the Son is not named as the new or last Adam in 8:29, as he is in Romans 5:12-21 or 1 Corinthians 15, implicit reference to his role as such is nonetheless present. This is demonstrable on the basis of Paul's own identification of the Son as the new Adam in Romans 5, and the use of εἰκόν and πρωτότοκος within the context of an Adam-Christ typology.

⁶⁷⁹ Johnson Hodge (2007: 115) provides a very limited sample of the use of 'firstborn' in the Old Testament: vis-à-vis the eldest son of a family (Ex. 13:1-2), Israel as God's firstborn (Ex. 4:22), and the Levites as God's firstborn (LXX Num. 3:11-13). She naturally fails to note Ps. 89. After dedicating one sentence to each (sentences primarily composed of the verse itself), she concludes by stating: 'Thus when Paul describes Christ as the "firstborn among many brothers", he is simultaneously linking Christ to the gentiles in a kin relationship and setting him apart as one who particularly belongs to God'. I fail to see her logic. Based on these verses and the ambiguous logic linking them to 'thus', at a minimum, Christ should be linked with the physical descendants of Abraham in a kinship relationship rather than with Gentiles.

⁶⁸⁰ Hultgren 2011: 329. Hultgren goes on in the text to note Psalm 89 as the background to Paul's imagery.

5.4.1 *Romans 5:10*

I return our attention to the Adam-Christ typology explicit in Romans 5:12-21.⁶⁸¹ Despite the fact that Romans 5:12-21 is usually considered a self-contained pericope,⁶⁸² it is important to note that Paul's identification of the new Adam in 5:12-21 (5:15, 17, 19) is but is a continuation of his identification of the 'Lord Jesus the Messiah' (5:11), whom he identified as the Son of God in 5:10. Though separating 5:1-11 from 5:12-21 is now commonplace, the reader should not be bound by such contemporary divisions. This Son of God, Paul says in 5:10-21, is the new Adam who ended the dominion of death (ὁ θάνατος ἐβασίλευσεν, 5:17) and the reign of sin in death (ἐβασίλευσεν ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ, 5:21; also 5:12-14; cf. 6:6, 12) inaugurated by the first Adam. Unlike the first Man, the new Man was not disobedient to the will of God but was obedient (5:19); and through his obedience, the powers of sin and death were defeated. All that the new Man, the new Adam does or accomplishes in the pericope is a direct reflection on his Sonship in 5:10. This new Man is the Son of God, the Messiah, who now stands as the new royal representative over the created order, wearing the crown of glory and ruling over every created thing (8:34; see Rom. 8:17; 1 Cor. 2:8; Phil. 3:21).

The link Paul creates between his identification of Jesus as the Son who is the eschatological Adam in Romans 5:10-21 is essentially the same as the link Paul creates between the two names in 1 Corinthians 15. As noted above, in 15:21-22 Paul conflates Psalms 8:6 and 110:1 in 1 Corinthians 15:27. Then in 15:28 he conflates the subjects of the two psalms: 'when all things are subjected to him [i.e. the son of man], then the Son [i.e. the Son of God] himself will also be subjected to him who put all things in subjection under him, that God may be all in all'. Based on 1 Corinthians 15:21-28 and Romans 5:10-21, it is no problem to equate the title of Son of God with the new Adam. In both passages, the Son serves as the redeemer of a new humanity, in whom is life and victory (1 Cor. 15:57) and rule (Rom. 5:17) for all God's people.

5.4.2 *Eikῶn and the Adam-Christ Typology*

Paul identifies the Son in Romans 5:10 as the new Adam. It is now incumbent upon me to establish that the identification of the Son in Romans 8:29 also bears that function. I suggest that the Son's role as the new Adam is expressed in Paul's use of εἰκῶν and πρωτότοκος within the continuing context of the Adam-Christ typology he established in 5:[10]12-21. I will first highlight the evidence which suggests that this typology has not receded from Paul's purview and then discuss his use of εἰκῶν within that context. A discussion of πρωτότοκος within that same context will follow.

⁶⁸¹ See §3.3.1 above.

⁶⁸² This pericope is based on the break created by the διὰ clause at the beginning of 5:12.

Dahl rightly notes that Romans 8:31-39 establishes a bookend to the section which began in 5:1-11.⁶⁸³ Moreover, a number of motifs which exist in either or both of these sections are also picked up throughout Romans 5—8 as a whole. These motifs include: God’s enemies/those hostile to God (5:10; 8:7); justification (5:1, 9; 8:30, 33); reconciliation (8:10, 11; 8:39 albeit implicitly); the Son’s death (5:6, 8, 11; 8:3, 32, 34); the Son’s resurrection/life (5:10; 8:11, 34); the presence of the Holy Spirit (5:5; 8:2-16, 26-27); the Christian’s suffering (5:3; 8:17, 18, 35-6); the Christian’s glory (5:2; 8:17, 18, 21, 30); hope (5:4, 5; 8:20, 24, 25)—all summarised in the love of God (5:8; 8:35, 37, 39). More extensive yet, Dunn argues that 8:18-30 stands as the bookend to what Paul started in 1:18.⁶⁸⁴ His scope and succinctness compel me to quote him in full:

[Romans 8:18-30] is the climax to chaps. 6—8, and indeed of 1:18—8:30. Paul presents this cosmic outworking of salvation in strong Adam terms, as the final reversal of man’s failure and climax of his restoration. Hence the verbal links back to 1:18ff.: κτίσις (1:20, 25; 8:20-22), ματαιότης (1:21; 8:20); δοξάζειν (1:21; 8:30); δόξα (1:23; 8:18, 21); εικόν (1:23; 8:29); σώματα degraded (1:24) and redeemed (8:23). And above all the dominance of the whole Adam motif—with restoration of creation cursed for Adam’s sin and dependent on man’s own restoration (8:19-23) providing final answer to the dismal analysis of 1:18-32, and the salvation-history sweep of 8:29-30 with its strong Adam-Christology insertion matching the similar sweep of 5:12-21, and bringing the argument back to that point with the issues of chaps. 6—8 having been clarified.⁶⁸⁵

Indeed, given Paul’s assessment of the sinful state of humanity in 1:18—3:20 and his rationale for that state in 5:12-21, it is not a stretch of the imagination to see the death and resurrection of the Son of God as restoring that state of humanity (and creation) to its divinely intended purposes. That Paul says the Son was sent in order to deal with sin in 8:3 speaks to the fact that the impact of the first Adam’s transgression has not faded, at least not fully, into the background. Just as Paul uses the Adam-Christ motif in 1 Corinthians 15 to establish the importance of the Son’s resurrection victory over death, and thus the guarantee of new life for believers, he also does so in Romans 5—8. The sin and death which came from the first Adam are replaced by the life that comes to those who have received the Spirit of adoption into the new family of God on the basis of the obedience of the new Adam (8:5-17). And in Romans 8:29-30, Dunn rightly notes, Paul picks up that ‘salvation-history’ sweep of 5:12-21, and

⁶⁸³ See Dahl 1952: 37-48.

⁶⁸⁴ See also Fee 2007: 249.

⁶⁸⁵ Dunn 1988a: 467; see also van Kooten 2008: 342.

declares that it is not according to the sonship of the first Adam that believers are made children of God but in the Sonship of the new Adam. In him God creates a new humanity of God worshippers—a new family of God.⁶⁸⁶

How then should one understand Paul's use of εἰκόν in Romans 8:29? It should be noted first that, as Hughes rightly suggests, τῆς εἰκόνοϛ and τοῦ υἱοῦ in 8:29 should be taken as mutually explicative, so that the verse reads: 'be conformed to the image (which is) [God's] Son' (see 1 Cor. 15:49).⁶⁸⁷ The image is neither external to the Son nor an attribute of the Son which can theoretically be removed or replaced; the image is the Son himself, the perfect representation of Sonship. On this note, I turn our attention to the meaning of the phrase, 'image of his Son'.

Among scholars, the consensus generally lies in one of four areas:

(1) 'Image of his Son' refers to the image of the eternally, pre-existent Son who is the absolute image of God, similar to Paul's use of εἰκόν in Colossians 1:15.⁶⁸⁸ Käsemann writes, 'In reality Christ as the manifestation of eschatological divine likeness is the divine image in the absolute, as in 2 Cor 4:4; Heb 1:3. He is thus the mediator of creation as in Col 1:15 and the prototype of every creature'.⁶⁸⁹ Cranfield suggests 'the thought of man's creation "in the image of God" (Gen. 1:27) and also the thought (compare 2 Cor. 4:4; Col. 1:15) of Christ's being eternally the very "image of God"' both stand behind the phrase in 8:29.⁶⁹⁰ Interestingly, while this use of εἰκόν in Colossians 1:15 is commonly associated with Paul's Wisdom-Christology, the same connection is rarely made by commentators on Romans 8:29.

(2) In the phrase 'image of his Son', Paul employs the broad Jewish motif of mankind being made in the image of God.⁶⁹¹ The motif is demonstrated elsewhere in the New Testament in 1 Corinthians 11:7 and James 3:9. Jewett notes that the idea of humanity bearing the image of God 'was derived from ancient kingship ideology, in which the ruler was thought to represent divine sovereignty and glory. Paul joins the OT tradition of democratizing this ideology by extending the restoration of sovereignty and glory to all those conforming to Christ's image'.⁶⁹² In this view no one particular text from within the motif stands out as significant for Romans 8:29 in particular, and scholars are generally prone to link Paul's εἰκόν-language to any of its other occurrences we have examined (i.e. 1 Cor. 15:49; Col. 3:10; 2 Cor. 3:18; 4:4).

⁶⁸⁶ I will return to these themes at length in the following chapter.

⁶⁸⁷ Hughes 2001: 27; see also Dunn 1988a: 485; Fitzmyer 1993: 525; Moo 1996: 534.

⁶⁸⁸ See §4.2.2.2 above.

⁶⁸⁹ Käsemann 1980: 244.

⁶⁹⁰ Cranfield 1985: 205; see Murray (1959: 319) who recognizes a similar tension in the text.

⁶⁹¹ E.g. Gen. 1:27; Sir. 17:2-4; Wis. 2:23; *T. naph* 2.5; *Apoc. Mos.* 10.3; 12.1; 33.5; 35.2; *LAE* 14.1-2; 37.3; 4 *Ezra* 8.44; Ps. 8:6-7 is often included in the list. See e.g. Fitzmyer 1993; Jewett 2007.

⁶⁹² Jewett 2007: 529. Jewett nevertheless notes Jervell's (1960: 197-256) argument that in early baptismal traditions, the image that was lost at the fall was understood to be regained through the baptismal union of the believer to the image of Christ.

Often, though not always, Colossians 1:15 is excluded from the list. Always omitted in this category, though, is the designation of the Son as the new Adam.

(3) In the phrase ‘image of his Son’, Paul specifically employs his Adam-Christ typology on the basis of Genesis 1:26-27 (ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ’ εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν; Gen. 1:27 LXX).⁶⁹³ Recognising that the motif of humanity being made in the image of God is present throughout the various Old Testament texts, Genesis 1:26-27 is nonetheless of greater significance for Paul, and, according to Ridderbos, ‘the idea of Christ as the second Adam is predominant’.⁶⁹⁴ Matera writes that Paul ‘refers to him as “the image of God,” the eschatological Adam,’ “the new human being”’.⁶⁹⁵ According to Moo, ‘The language Paul uses here . . . suggests a (negative) comparison with Adam. Now it is God’s purpose to imprint on all those who belong to Christ the “image” of the “second Adam”’.⁶⁹⁶ Though being an ‘imprint’ is perhaps not the most accurate synonym for being ‘conformed’, Moo’s suggestion is indicative of the general consensus of those who support this new Adam reading. Stuhlmacher, too, recognises the ‘image of the Son’ in 8:29 as a reference to the Son as the last Adam.⁶⁹⁷ And, as we have seen above, van Kooten suggests that Paul’s letters which contain an explicit Adam Christology (esp. 1-2 Cor. and Rom. for van Kooten) as well as εἰκόν-language, ‘also contain the designation of Adam as the image of God, be it Adam I or Adam II’.⁶⁹⁸

(4) For some, ‘image of his Son’ is not a phrase which can be parsed into either divine, anthropological, or adamic emphases. The identification of the Son as the last Adam is inseparable from the Son as the eternal Son of God; both identities or roles of the Son are wrapped up in him being the ‘image of God’ in Romans 8:29. Attempting to maintain this tension he sees as implicit in the text, Fee writes: ‘the one who as divine Son perfectly bears the divine image, in his humanity also perfectly bore the true image intended by God in creating human beings in the first place. The second Adam, in his becoming incarnate and through his death and resurrection, has restored what the first Adam defaced’.⁶⁹⁹

Adjudication between the options rests once again on the criteria established by Hays and Tooman. In terms of *volume*, *uniqueness*, and *distinctiveness*, all four depend on the sole use of εἰκόν and its relationship either to the use of εἰκόν in the Wisdom traditions or the texts which reflect the motif of humanity being made in the

⁶⁹³ Dunn 1988a; Moo 1996; Schreiner 1998; Hughes 2001; Byrne 2007.

⁶⁹⁴ Ridderbos 1975: 225.

⁶⁹⁵ Matera 2012: 80.

⁶⁹⁶ Moo 1996: 534.

⁶⁹⁷ Stuhlmacher 1994: 136.

⁶⁹⁸ Van Kooten 2008: 75 (pp. 71-75).

⁶⁹⁹ Fee 2007: 251. See also Ridderbos (1975: 77), who writes, ‘In a word, his Sonship and his Redemptorship are in Paul’s preaching nowhere abstracted. For this reason *even in the glory of his pre-existence he can be designated by the name of the last Adam* and he can already be ascribed by the disposition that would characterize him as the second man’; emphasis mine.

image of God, whether Genesis 1:26-27 is made primary or not; εἰκὼν as a single term is neither unique to or distinctive of one or the other category. Likewise, all four also find support elsewhere in the New Testament in terms of *recurrence*, though when viewed in the light of their thematic correspondences, the support they share here is perhaps not spread equally. In Romans 8:29, determining how to understand εἰκὼν depends primarily on the the final criterion of *thematic correspondence*, and here, I suggest, understanding εἰκὼν as an implicit reference to Genesis 1:26-27 finds greater support than the alternatives.

The idea that in Romans 8:29 believers are conformed to the pre-existent divine image of God who was present with God as mediator of creation (category 1) finds little thematic support in Romans 8. This is certainly Paul's emphasis in Colossians 1:15, where he is also the firstborn of all creation, i.e. the beginning of all creation as the eternally pre-existent image of God. Likewise, with Fee and supporters of category (4) above, it is unequivocally the case that the incarnate and resurrection Son can never be identified as somehow distinct from the eternal Son who *became* incarnate; and, thus, theologically, the eternally pre-existent Son is always behind Paul's references to the Son in his incarnation and resurrection (e.g. Rom. 8:3). That being said, when interpreting Paul's specific uses of the phrase within their particular literary contexts, it should go without saying that Paul may give precedence to one aspect of the Son's identity over another. This is clearly seen in the differences between his image-language in Colossians 1:15 and 1 Corinthians 15:49. And in Romans 8:29, as in 1 Corinthians 15:49, Paul's emphasis is obviously on the resurrected, incarnate Son as the image to which believers are conformed, not the pre-existent divinity as is reflected in Colossians 1:15.

It is this emphasis on the resurrected, exalted Son as the image of God in Romans 8:29 which propels most scholars to cast their vote toward either the general motif of humanity being made in the image of God (category 2), or to the new Adam imagery which is specific to Genesis 1:26-27 in particular (category 3). But are these two options very different from one another? Both focus on a renewed humanity in the resurrected image of the Son who represents God's children as the preeminent Son. What is altered in the interpretation when the Son is identified as the last Adam, the resurrected representative of a renewed humanity—as he clearly is in 1 Corinthians 15:49, the text to which supporters of the 'general motif' commonly link Romans 8:29? I suggest that identifying the representative of a renewed humanity as the 'last Adam' alters the interpretation very little.

Those who identify the general motif of humanity's creation in the image of God are, therefore, correct. But I suggest precedence exists within Romans for identifying the Son as the new Adam on the basis of Paul's use of εἰκὼν in 8:29. First, as suggested above, the role of the Son as the new Adam, established in 5:10-21 has not receded completely into the shadows. In Romans 8, Paul continues to elaborate on the reconciliation and renewal of life that is established on the basis of the death

and resurrection of the Son, the new Adam of Romans 5. Second, as Catherine McDowell has recently demonstrated, humanity's creation in the 'image of God' in 1:26-27 implies humanity's kinship with God, and, more specifically, humanity's sonship with God (as is supported by the image-language of Gen. 5:3). McDowell writes that the ANE accounts 'demonstrate that image and likeness terminology was indeed used in the ancient Near East to define the relationship between a god and his offspring as one of sonship. . . . I suggest, therefore, this is how these terms are functioning in Genesis 1. That is, the nature of the divine-human relationship as it is presented in Genesis 1 has three major components that are intimately related to one another: kinship, kingship, and cult'.⁷⁰⁰ McDowell's thesis no doubt has implications for interpreting Paul's εἰκόων and sonship language in Romans 8:29.

At this point also, Johnson Hodge is both on target and yet far off-centre. For her, 'conformed to the image of God's Son' refers to sharing the form of Jesus' sonship, similar to Aristotle's claim that 'the male seed shapes the fetus "after its own pattern"'.⁷⁰¹ She writes that 'the language of Romans 8:29 is connected to procreation in the context of scientific and philosophical discussions of embryology, succession, and the relationship between parents and offspring'.⁷⁰² Like many scholars on 8:29, Johnson Hodge rightly picks up on the image language of Genesis 1:26-27 and 5:3.⁷⁰³ She also rightly notes the connection between image and sonship, particularly in Genesis 5:3—an interpretation now well attested by McDowell. However, unlike most scholars on Paul's use of εἰκόων, particularly van Kooten, Johnson Hodge limits the use of εἰκόων to kinship and procreation, ignoring its Pauline applications elsewhere. In Romans 8:29 εἰκόων is clearly used in the context of kinship, but the same cannot be said so easily of its use in, for example, Romans 1:23 and 1 Corinthians 15:49. Moreover, because she fails to identify what it means for Jesus Christ to be the 'Son of God' in 8:29, her criticism that 8:29 is not about the restoration of God's image is weakened all the more. Paul's εἰκόων-language here does indeed carry kinship connotations, but the term's use elsewhere in Paul and outwith Paul suggests that its applications extend beyond kinship relationships.

Third, the other occurrence of εἰκόων in Romans is in 1:23, where, as demonstrated above, Paul echoes Genesis 1:26-28. And, as noted previously, Paul does not highlight the fall of Adam in Romans 1:23 but the created purpose of humanity in Adam (again, see Gen. 5:2 LXX)—the same purpose Jewett suggests in his non-adamic explanation of 8:29: 'to represent divine sovereignty and glory'.⁷⁰⁴ The created purpose of human governance as God's vicegerents runs throughout Romans, from 1:23 to 3:23 to 5:17 to 8:29, where that purpose finds its fulfilment in

⁷⁰⁰ McDowell 2015: 136.

⁷⁰¹ Johnson Hodge 2007: 113.

⁷⁰² Johnson Hodge 2007: 113.

⁷⁰³ Johnson Hodge 2007: 111.

⁷⁰⁴ Jewett 2007: 529.

the new Adam (already hinted at in 5:17). This is why Byrne can suggest that ‘implicit in the present description of God’s plan for human beings is the sense of Christ, as risen Lord and “Last Adam” (1 Cor. 15:45), displaying and “modelling” for the new humanity the original design of the Creator according to which human beings “image” God before the rest of creation (Gen 1:26-28; Ps 8:5-8)—the role in which the “First” Adam failed’.⁷⁰⁵ Likewise, it is why Schreiner can write, ‘the use of the term “image” signifies that Jesus as the second Adam succeeded where the first Adam failed. Human beings were created to rule the world for God and to live under his lordship, and we know Adam failed in this endeavour. . . . The second Adam has secured what the first Adam failed to accomplish’.⁷⁰⁶ Indeed, the category with the greatest textual support is also that which finds the greatest scholarly support: in ‘the image of [God’s] Son’ Paul employs his Adam Christology, identifying the Son of God as the exalted image of an eschatologically redeemed humanity.

5.4.3 *Πρωτότοκος and the Adam-Christ Typology*

What then does one make of Paul’s use of *πρωτότοκος*? I suggested above that little in the context of Romans 8:29 supports reading it as part of a Jewish Wisdom motif, as Paul uses it in Colossians 1:15. I also suggested above that *πρωτότοκος* in Romans 8:29 likely picks up the Old Testament motif of Israel being the ‘firstborn’ of God’s children, with special emphasis on the Firstborn of Psalm 89, the ‘one chosen from among [Israel]’ to serve as Israel’s representative Ruler. I now suggest that, in addition, *πρωτότοκος*, with *εικόν*, also picks up the new Adam motif which Paul explicitly employs in Romans 5. Much of the evidence for this has already been discussed in the paragraphs above, but a brief word is nonetheless useful.

Those who identify Paul’s image-language as referring to the Son as the image of God who is the archtype of all redeemed humanity generally also find *πρωτότοκος* as a reference to his resurrection status as the representative new Adam.⁷⁰⁷ As Barrett rightly notes, *πρωτότοκος* in Romans 8:29 more closely resembles the use of *πρωτότοκος* in Colossians 1:18 than in 1:15.⁷⁰⁸ In Colossians 1:18 he is the *πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν*, the first to rise into the transformed existence of resurrection life. Ridderbos suggests that a parallel metaphor likewise exists in 1 Corinthians 15:20: *Νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων*, followed by 15:23: *Ἐκαστος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι· ἀπαρχὴ Χριστός, ἔπειτα οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ*.⁷⁰⁹ In his resurrection from the dead, Christ is the ‘firstfruits’ of those those who sleep, i.e. the first to experience the resurrection life of

⁷⁰⁵ Byrne 2007: 272n29.

⁷⁰⁶ Schreiner 1998: 454.

⁷⁰⁷ E.g. Ridderbos 1975: 81; Dunn 1988a: 483-4; Moo 1996: 534; Byrne 2007: 269; Jewett 2007: 529.

⁷⁰⁸ Barrett 1971: 170; see Dunn 1988a: 484.

⁷⁰⁹ Ridderbos 1875: 56; see also e.g. Moo 1996: 535.

those who have died. Perhaps most significant here, at least in terms of the early church witness to Paul's use of *πρωτότοκος* here in Romans 8:29, is the use of *πρωτότοκος* in Revelation 1:5: Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ μάρτυς, ὁ πιστός, ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς. I noted it above in discussion of the importance of Psalm 89 at this point, but here we can see also its significance for the Son's being the first human to rise from the dead. John conflates the two ideas: Jesus is the first to rise from the dead, and, as that Firstborn, he fulfills Psalm 89:27. *Πρωτότοκος* is not limited as a reference to either one (Ps. 89) or the other (representative of a new humanity).⁷¹⁰

Though the discussion at this point is not directly related to the reuse of Scripture, the criteria we have established can prove helpful here as well. In terms of those applicable criteria, *πρωτότοκος* recurs in Colossians 1:15, 18 and Revelation 1:5, but according to the *thematic correspondences*, only Colossians 1:18 and Revelation 1:5 can be deemed similar to Romans 8:29. Support for reading *πρωτότοκος* as reference to the firstborn of a new humanity also exists in the parallel metaphor of *ἀπαρχή* in 1 Corinthians 15:20, 23.⁷¹¹ Given these correspondences between texts, particularly with *ἀπαρχή* in a context with an explicit Adam-Christ contrast, I suggest that the implicit identity of the Firstborn in Romans 8:29 is the new Adam: it is how Paul identifies Jesus as the *ἀπαρχή* in 1 Corinthians 15; it bears close proximity to a thematically similar use of *εἰκών*; it occurs in a context in which the role of the new Adam is not far removed; and it is the logical and Christological (in this context) result of declaring the Son to be the representative of a new humanity.

The Son in 8:29 is the first to rise from the dead of those who would become God's eschatological family: *πρωτότοκον ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς*, or what O'Brien describes as, 'a new eschatological race of people'.⁷¹² Whether his Sonship is one of temporality or primacy, however, is debatable. *Contra* Dunn, who writes that, 'although there is a clear sense that the sonship of believers is *derived* from Jesus' sonship, is a sharing in *Jesus*' sonship, there is no clear implication that the sonship of believers is of a different order from Jesus' sonship. If anything, the thought is rather

⁷¹⁰ Mounce (1997: 49) writes on Rev. 1:5 that Jesus' messianic kingship stems from Ps. 89:27. He further notes that, 'as the risen Christ now exercises sovereign control, so also will the faithful share in his reign (Rev. 20:4-6)'. Beale (1999: 191), too, recognises the significance of Ps. 89 here for both Jesus as the Messiah and those who share in his messianic reign: 'John views Jesus as the ideal Davidic king on the escalated eschatological level, whose death and resurrection have resulted in his eternal kingship and in the kingship of his "beloved" children'. Neither Mounce nor Beale describe the Messiah as a representative of a new humanity nor the king's descendants as a new humanity, but their recognition that the Davidic promises of rule extend to believers on the basis of Ps. 89 is nevertheless similar to the motif of believers sharing in the Messiah's reign as Son in Rom. 8:29.

⁷¹¹ For an extended discussion of the relationship between *πρωτότοκος*, *ἀπαρχή*, and *ἀρχή*, see Ridderbos 1975: 54-55.

⁷¹² O'Brien 1993: 303. Dunn (1988a: 485) refers to it as a 'new family of humankind'. The nature of this eschatological family is of course contested but is anticipated by Paul in Rom. 2:25-29 and indeed in most of Rom. 4. In both passages, God's eschatological family includes both Israel and humanity as one new and unique group of people.

of Jesus as the eldest brother in a new family of God'.⁷¹³ Ortlund rightly notes that *πρωτότοκος* does not merely designate the Messiah as the Son born first in a long line of sons.⁷¹⁴ This temporal element of *πρωτότοκος* is intrinsic to the term, no doubt, and the temporal connotations are certainly primary in the parallel metaphor in 1 Corinthians 15:23. But in Romans 8:29, 'Firstborn' primarily indicates a position of supremacy and agency. Hurtado writes, 'The one divine Son here is the prototype as well as the agent through whom others are enfranchised as sons of God. The uniqueness of Jesus the Son is not restrictive but redemptive'.⁷¹⁵ Jesus' identity as the Firstborn Son—the representative of a new humanity in whom God's people find new life, the Davidic Messiah who rules over the kings of the earth and who represents Israel as God's firstborn—can be nothing other than 'redemptive' and restorative.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the description of Jesus in Romans 8:29 as the 'image of [God's] [Firstborn] Son'. In the first section, I offered a brief treatment of the trajectory of scholarship on the background of Paul's use of the title. I then turned to a brief discussion of arguments in support of and against upholding *χριστός* as a messianic title or honorific, and, as such, as a designation with greater Christological significance than is often recognised. In this thesis, I presuppose that *χριστός* is not interchangeable with *Ἰησοῦς*: in designating Jesus as *χριστός*, Paul declares that Jesus is the long-anticipated Messiah of Israel.

In Romans 8:29 in particular, Paul refers to Jesus as God's Son, designating him as the Firstborn of God's eschatological family. I argued that Paul picks up the motif of Israel as God's Firstborn, a designation which is applied to the Davidic Messiah of Psalm 89: the one called from among God's people in order to represent them as God's Firstborn, the highest of the kings of the earth. This messianic identity is supported by the echo of Psalm 110:1 in Romans 8:34, where the Son is described as being at the right hand of God. But Paul does not present Jesus only as the long-awaited Davidic king. I argued here that Paul also presents Jesus as the new Adam, the paradigmatic and preeminent representative of a new, redeemed humanity. Jesus is the perfect image of God who, in his resurrected and exalted state, is the Firstborn of both a new humanity and an eschatological family of God—brothers and sisters who participate in the life of this resurrected Son. And it is to this participation in sonship in Romans 8 that we now turn.

⁷¹³ Dunn 2004: 114; emphasis original. See also Byrne 1979: 118; 1996: 269; Barrett 1991: 159; Hasitschka 2010: 353.

⁷¹⁴ Ortlund 2014: 118; see also e.g., Kürzinger 1958; Schreiner 1998: 453-4; Hultgren 2011: 329; Kruse 2012: 357.

⁷¹⁵ Hurtado 1993: 905.

6. PARTICIPATION IN THE FIRSTBORN SON'S GLORY

In chapter four I made a preliminary argument that Romans 8:29b refers to believers' vocational participation with the Messiah in his exalted status of rulership. I made this argument on the basis of Paul's use of σύν-compounds in Romans 6—8 and on the basis of his use of συμμόρφος in Philippians 3:21 and εικόν in 1 Corinthians 15:49 and Colossians 3:10. In chapter five, I argued that 'the image of [God's] [Firstborn] Son' refers to the Son's identity as both the exalted messianic king, who serves as the firstborn of all God's people, and as the new Adam, the representative of a new humanity. We are now in a position to examine 8:29b as a reference to believers' vocational participation in the Son's exalted status within the context of Romans 8 itself. In this chapter I will argue that συμμόρφους τῆς εικόνας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ *means* the participation of believers in the Firstborn Son's honourable status of power and authority over creation as adopted members of God's eschatological family and as renewed humanity.

This chapter will consist of three parts: (1) an examination of believers' adoption into God's eschatological family, a theme which forms a new-exodus motif in 8:1-16 and the basis for 8:17-30 which follows; (2) an examination of 8:17 and, in particular, the relationship between believers as co-inheritors and those who are co-glorified with Christ; (3) an examination of δοξάζω in 8:30.

6.1 Adoption into God's Eschatological Family: The Basis of Conformity

Romans 8:17-30, and specifically 8:29, can be understood only in the light of Paul's references to sonship and adoption in 8:14-16. But even this connection between 8:14-16 and 8:17-30 must first be established on the transition Paul makes from 8:1-13 to 8:14-16. In 8:1-13 Paul reiterates from Romans 6 the transfer of believers from their status as slaves to the law of sin and death (8:2) in the realm of the flesh (8:12-13) to the life found in the realm of the Spirit (8:10-13). Esler rightly notes that 'when Paul describes members of the Christ-movement as those "who walk . . . according to the Spirit" (8:4) he is designating them with respect to the unique and exciting realm of the Spirit-charged to which they were admitted on baptism'.⁷¹⁶ Then for the first time in Romans, in 8:14 (see Gal. 3:26) Paul refers to those in Christ as 'sons of God': ὅσοι γὰρ πνεύματι θεοῦ ἄγονται, οὗτοι υἱοὶ θεοῦ εἰσιν, who in 8:15 have received the Spirit of adoption: πνεῦμα υἱοθεσίας⁷¹⁷ (Rom. 8:23; 9:4; Gal. 4:5; Eph. 1:5). Because this is the first time Paul mentions the theme of adoption/sonship,

⁷¹⁶ Esler 2003: 246.

⁷¹⁷ Υἱοθεσία is omitted in P46, D, G but is probably original. Discussions surrounding Paul's use of πνεῦμα υἱοθεσίας in 8:15 are plenty but cannot be a focus here. With Jewett (2007: 498), I suggest the genitive indicates purpose ('a Spirit which produces sonship' or 'effects sonship' [a la Dunn 1988a: 452] or 'constitutes sonship' [a la Fitzmyer 1993: 498]); *contra* Byrne (1979: 100) who suggests the genitive should be translated as a Spirit which 'goes with' or 'pledges' adoption.

Michel infers that Paul's sudden emphasis on sonship or adoption at 8:14 does not follow the logic of the passage.⁷¹⁸ What does the metaphor of sonship have to do with freedom from the flesh? In part, Michel's confusion is understandable. Not only is there no obvious link between the two sets of motifs, but Paul mentions neither believers' sonship nor adoption at any point previously in the letter.

The answer to Michel's questions, I suggest, lies in the context from which Paul draws the term υιοθεσία. The term is used in the New Testament only by Paul, and only in Romans 8:15, 23; 9:4, Galatians 4:5, and Ephesians 1:5. It is not found once in the LXX, nor is it a word or a practice with roots in Jewish culture.⁷¹⁹ It is, however, a term and practice common within first-century Greco-Roman society. For this reason, scholars suggest that Paul derives his understanding of the term from the socio-legal context of adoption in his Imperial world.⁷²⁰ Fitzmyer suggests that Paul adopts the word from the Greco-Roman setting where legal adoption was a common practice and applies it metaphorically to the formation of God's family composed of Gentile and Jew.⁷²¹ The place of adoption and sonship within the Greco-Roman milieu has been investigated in detail and will therefore not be a focus of our study here.⁷²² Not all are convinced, however, that the Greco-Roman environment, whether in mythological or legal categories, provided the impetus for Paul's use of the term. Scott suggests that the one possible Greco-Roman legal context, the Roman ceremony of adoption 'in which the minor to be adopted was emancipated from the authority of his natural father and placed under the new authority of his adopted father', lacks any close parallel context in Paul's letters to make it likely.⁷²³

Despite the paucity of references to adoption in the Old Testament, the possibility that Paul draws his material from his Jewish roots has recently grown in popularity. James Scott has provided the most detailed argument, suggesting that even

⁷¹⁸ Michel 1966: 196-7; see Leenhardt 1961: 213-4.

⁷¹⁹ Fitzmyer (1993: 500) helpfully notes: 'There is practically no evidence of it in the OT. Normally, one could not be taken into a Jewish family in order to continue the line of the adopter. Although a form of adoption seems attested in Gen. 15:2; 48:5; Jer. 3:19; and 1 Chr. 28:6, these are instances of either slaves in the *familia* or other cases about which we know little in detail. For otherwise either polygamy or Levirate marriage was the substitute for it. Philo of Alexandria knows of the institution, but does not use the word *huiiothesia*; he refers to the institution to express figuratively the relation of the wise man to God (*De somn.* 2.41 ss273). Later rabbinic Judaism was aware of men who brought up the children of other parents (Str-B 3.340), but it is far from clear that such children ever had filial rights'.

⁷²⁰ E.g. Bruce 1985: 157; Dunn 1988a: 452; Fitzmyer 1993: 500; Esler 2003: 247; Burke 2008: 266.

⁷²¹ Fitzmyer 1993: 500.

⁷²² See Scott 1992: 3-60; Lindsay 2009; Peppard 2011b. Scott (1993: 16) lists examples of Greco-Roman mythological adoption, none of which use υιοθεσία: the adoption of Heracles by Hera [Diodorus Siculus 4.39.2]; Alexander the Great by Amon-Zeus [Plutarch Alex. 50.6]; Solon by Fortune [Plutarch Mor. 318C]; and Libyan goddess 'Athena' by Ammon-Zeus [Herodotus 4.180].

⁷²³ Scott 1993: 16.

in texts such as 2 Samuel 7,⁷²⁴ what the author describes is essentially what the first-century Roman understood as adoption, despite the non-use of the term and the prevalence of the practice in the Hebrew culture.⁷²⁵ Υιοθεσία, he suggests, is not only a Jewish motif but it must always be translated as ‘adoption’. In this, however, Scott stands rather alone.

Burke suggests with Scott that Paul derives his understanding of this new family of God from the Hebrew Scriptures, but disagrees that Paul does so on the basis of the concept of adoption itself. Rather, he suggests, Paul does so on the Old Testament motif of Israel as the son of God.⁷²⁶ Burke notes that, rather than adoption, ‘a much more important theme on the landscape of the Old Testament . . . which permeates the entire canon of Scripture, is the *general notion of sonship*, and if there is any Old Testament background to Paul’s adoption term, it is more likely to be found here’.⁷²⁷ Sonship is a dominant theme at particular points of Israelite and Jewish history,⁷²⁸ and, more specifically, that of Israel (or the eschatological Israel) as the children/sons of God.⁷²⁹ In chapter five I argued that Paul presents Jesus in Romans 8:29 as the Firstborn Son of Psalm 89 in conjunction with Exodus 4:22 (Sir. 36:17; *Pss. Sol.* 18:4). Here in 8:14-17, it is those who are ‘in Christ’ who are the sons of God (8:14) or children of God (8:16, 17).

With Fitzmyer above, Paul likely derived the term υιοθεσία from the socio-legal practices of Rome and the Empire. He applied the term, however, to the historical narrative of God and God’s family, and theologically to his understanding of believers’ union with the Firstborn Son. As those who are ‘in Christ’, the Firstborn Son, believers are adopted as God’s children. ‘In him’ believers are made sons of God;⁷³⁰ their legal and social status has changed. Yet their sonship is not a natural sonship. Couched between 8:3 and 8:29, believers’ sonship is only in relation to that of the Messiah’s Sonship, whose Sonship forms his original identity. Believers,

⁷²⁴ For Scott (1992), in fact, 2 Samuel 7 is Paul’s single key Old Testament text; see Burke 2006: 29.

⁷²⁵ Scott 1992: 3-114; Scott 1993: 15-8. Before him, Theron 1956: 6-14.

⁷²⁶ See Burke 2006: 46-71.

⁷²⁷ Burke 2006: 71; emphasis original.

⁷²⁸ See Fossum 1992: 128-37.

⁷²⁹ Fitzmyer 1993: 497. See Deut. 32:6, 7, 20, 43 (τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ [LXX] compared with עֲבָדָיו [MT]); Deut. 14:1; Ps. 28:1 LXX—υἱοὶ θεοῦ compared with בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים [Ps. 29:1 MT]; Isa 1:2, 4; 43:5-7; 45:11 (τῶν υἱῶν μου καὶ περὶ τῶν θυγατέρων μου [LXX] compared with בְּנֵי [MT]); 63:8; 64:7); Jer. 31:9 (LXX 38:9); 31:20 (LXX 38:20); Ezek. 16:21 [MT] (בְּנֵי [‘my sons’] compared with τὰ τέκνα σου with σου referring to Israel [LXX]); Hos. 1:10 [2:1 LXX] (see Rom. 9:26); 11:1; Sir. 36:4; Wis. 9:7; 12:6, 21; 14:3; 16:10, 26; 18:4, 13; 19:6; *Pss. Sol.* 13:9; 17:27; 18:4; *Jub.* 1:24, 25; 2:20; *Sib. Or.* 3:702; 5:202; *T. Mos.* 10:3; *1 Enoch* 62:11; *4 Ezra* 6:58; *2 Apoc. Bar.* 13:9; *Bib. Ant.* 18:6; 32:10; 4QDibHam 3:4-6; 3 Macc 6:28.

⁷³⁰ Byrne (1979: 81) notes that, given the emphasis on sonship in the Hebrew bible, ‘Paul’s contribution would not consist in coining a new metaphor but rather in extending a traditional way of speaking about the privilege of Israel to the Christian community, composed of Jews and Gentiles alike’.

however, are *granted* sonship, solely on the basis of their union with the Son (8:17). For this reason Byrne suggests that it is best to keep the metaphor clear in 8:15, 23 by translating *υιοθεσία* as ‘adoption’ rather than merely ‘sonship’⁷³¹ or even ‘adoptive sonship’.⁷³² This combination of Greco-Roman legal practices and Jewish notions of sonship indicates the context from which Paul derived his use of *υιοθεσία*, a derivation which may be, as Burke suggests, ‘Paul’s own unique and creative thinking on adoption, where he provides novel insights to serve his own theological purposes’.⁷³³

The most extensive treatment of the phrase ‘Spirit of adoption’ and the themes of sonship and inheritance in 8:14-17 is that of Sylvia Keesmaat’s doctoral dissertation, *Paul and His Story* (1999).⁷³⁴ She suggests that, underlying 8:14-17 is a new-exodus narrative. Keesmaat does not interact with Paul’s use of *υιοθεσία* at any length, but she nevertheless argues that the themes of freedom, slavery, life, sonship, and Spirit in 8:14-16, and thus the context surrounding *υιοθεσία*, as well as inheritance and glory in 8:17, are direct allusions to the exodus traditions from the Hebrew bible. She suggests that Paul uses the exodus traditions to retell the continuing story of the formation of God’s people (Exod. 6:7; Lev. 26:12; see Jer. 31:33)—that they are/would be his son(s) (Exod. 4:22; see Isa. 45:11; 43:6; Hos. 1:10). Keesmaat traces the themes in 8:14-17 back to the various accounts and retellings of the exodus in Jewish history,⁷³⁵ and then interprets 8:18-30 on the basis of that re-reading.⁷³⁶ Her argument is that Paul uses the exodus traditions in ways similar to his predecessors: with the prophets, Paul says the believers, like Israel, are called ‘sons of God’ and therefore ‘they have both an identity and calling to obedience’,⁷³⁷ and that they are passing through the wilderness *en route* to their inheritance. However, Keesmaat also argues that Paul shapes the tradition to fit the new context: the new exodus is now taking place, the Law is no longer ‘central in this

⁷³¹ NIV and RSV in 8:15, though these decisions probably have more to do with Paul’s use of the phrase *πνεῦμα υιοθεσίας* than they do the use of *υιοθεσία* as a metaphor.

⁷³² Byrne 1996: 252. This represents a change of thinking from Byrne’s 1979 work on the text where he preferred ‘sonship’ over ‘adoption’ because ‘sonship’ reflects Paul’s emphasis on status rather than action.

⁷³³ Burke 2006: 71.

⁷³⁴ Unfortunately, few commentators since the publication of her work have taken up her argument. The one exception is N.T. Wright, who, using Keesmaat’s suggestion as a launch pad, has continued the investigation into Paul’s use of the exodus tradition in Romans. He argues that, beyond 8:14-17, the entirety of Romans 3—8 contains rethought elements of the exodus motif: Wright 1999: 160-8 and 2002. See also Thielman (1995: 169-95) who argues that the narrative of Israel forms part of Paul’s argument in Rom. 5—8, despite the lack of explicit references to Israel or the biblical text.

⁷³⁵ Keesmaat 1999: 60-74.

⁷³⁶ Keesmaat 1999: 97-154.

⁷³⁷ Keesmaat 1999: 153.

new exodus event',⁷³⁸ and God's people find their identity in a suffering Messiah rather than Torah.⁷³⁹

Keesmaat's thesis is insightful and offers a plausible explanation for Paul's references to sonship and adoption in 8:14-17. Paul's metaphor of adoption provides the basis for believers' conformity to the image of the Son, because it is in their adoption that they are made co-heirs with Christ and, therefore, are co-glorified with him (8:17). Because of the Messiah's victory over the powers, God's people are redeemed from the 'Egypt of sin and death' and are united with Christ. As Esler also notes, 'Paul invokes sonship and heirship of God as a further means of designating the new identity they have achieved in Christ, now using imagery from the realm of kinship and household, the arena of social relations most characterized by its intimacy and fidelity'.⁷⁴⁰ After 8:30 Paul does not drop the themes of sonship or adoption but declares that, for those who are God's adopted children—those redeemed from slavery to the powers of sin and death—there is no power, great or small, that can undo what Christ has done (8:31-39). There will be no return to Egypt; victory is theirs in Christ (see 1 Cor. 15:57). Victory is theirs because they are adopted sons of God, the motif which dominates the entirety of chapter eight.

Two final words on the motif of adoption in Romans 8 are necessary before taking a closer look at 8:17 in particular. The first regards the proleptic nature of adoption expressed in 8:23. Believers' adoption in the Spirit dominates 8:14-17 before Paul turns to the plight of creation. He then refers to adoption again in 8:23: οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἔχοντες, ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς στενάζομεν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι, τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν. The motif of adoption as both a present as well as a not yet complete reality in Romans 8 is made clear in the contrast between 8:14-17, 8:23a and 8:23b: those in union with the Messiah *now* have the Spirit of adoption (8:15)—the first fruits⁷⁴¹ of their adoption (8:23a)—and look forward to their full adoption as children of God (8:23b) when their bodies also are fully redeemed. Fee suggests that 'the larger context and the nature of the argument indicate that verse 23 is the main point of everything in vv. 18-27'.⁷⁴² I broadly agree with this, however it is not the redemption of the body that is the 'main point of everything'; but the completion of believers' adoption to the full

⁷³⁸ Keesmaat 1999: 141,153-4.

⁷³⁹ Keesmaat 1999: 153.

⁷⁴⁰ Esler 2003: 248.

⁷⁴¹ Esler (2003: 262) suggests that the reference to the 'first fruits' of the Spirit in 8:23 is 'undoubtedly to the exciting array of charismatic phenomena, such as miracle working, prophecy, and glossolalia, that characterized the early communities of Christ-followers'. Certainly the 'charismatic phenomena' were associated with the reception of the Spirit at baptism, but there is little in 8:23 to suggest that Paul refers specifically to these benefits of the Spirit. A more cautious reading which emphasises the status and benefits of adoption associated with the Spirit is likely more appropriate at this point.

⁷⁴² Fee 1994: 572.

status of sonship *and all that that entails*, including possessing the inheritance/glory (8:17) and the redemption of the body (8:23).⁷⁴³

Secondly, I return to the work of Johnson Hodge on adoption in Romans 8. In the previous chapter I raised a number of questions regarding her argument that only Gentiles are ‘in Christ’ as adopted children of God. Space does not allow for a comprehensive treatment of her work here, or of the critical unstated points which permeate it. Our focus must rest on her reading of 8:14-17 and the associated argument that Gentiles alone are recipients of the Spirit of adoption. Her thesis that Jews are not included is more stated than it is argued, as indicated by the pressing but unanswered questions I posed above.

According to Johnson Hodge, Paul indicates in Romans 9:4 that Jewish followers of Jesus are those who already bear the adoption and sonship of God,⁷⁴⁴ and are therefore not in need of receiving the Spirit of adoption in their baptism into Christ.⁷⁴⁵ The assumption made here is that Israel is thus not in need of spiritual renewal and reform. Surely, though, this was the exact message of the prophets, including that of Ezekiel whom Johnson Hodge suggests Paul ‘has in mind’ in Romans 8:14-16, albeit only for the Gentiles. It is worth quoting her in full at this point:

It is possible that Paul has in mind several biblical texts which associate the spirit with a creation or restoration of a relationship with God. These passages contain a cluster of related themes: God issuing the spirit upon his people, the people renewing their commitment to the Law, and the reestablishment of the relationship between God and his people.⁷⁴⁶

She goes on to quote Ezekiel 36:26-28,⁷⁴⁷ the Testament of Judah 24:3,⁷⁴⁸ and Jubilees 1:23-24,⁷⁴⁹ before continuing with:

⁷⁴³ Susan Eastman’s (2002: 268-70) suggestion that the singular ‘body’ in 8:23 refers to the metaphorical body of Christ, a transition from the reference to individual ‘bodies’ in 8:11, is interesting but also ultimately unpersuasive. In fact, the link between the physical redemption of creation in 8:19-22 and the physical redemption of the body in 8:23 makes a metaphorical reference not only difficult to argue for but also superfluous within the context. The suggestion only obfuscates what the context makes obvious.

⁷⁴⁴ Johnson Hodge 2007: 50-51, 71.

⁷⁴⁵ What baptism symbolises for Jews and why they would need to be baptised into Christ are two questions left unanswered, other than in articulating their identity ‘in Christ’ as their primary identity (pp. 117-35). Why this identity is needed is also left unstated.

⁷⁴⁶ Johnson Hodge 2007: 73.

⁷⁴⁷ ‘A new heart I will give you and a new spirit I will put within you; and I will remove from your body the heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh. I will put my spirit within you, and make you follow my statutes and be careful to observe my ordinances. Then you shall live in the land that I gave to your ancestors; and you shall be my people, and I will be your God’.

⁷⁴⁸ ‘And he shall pour out the spirit of grace upon you; And you shall be to him sons in truth, and you shall walk in his commandments first and last’.

These passages . . . describe moments of God taking back those who have already been his people and renewing a covenant with them. In each one, as in Romans 8:15 and Galatians 4:6, the people receive some sort of spirit which establishes an ethnic or kinship tie with God. Part of this new relationship is a commitment on the part of God's people to follow his laws. *In the case of Paul who is talking about gentiles*, he does not exhort them to follow the Law in the same way *Ioudaioi* do, but he instructs them to live the life of the spirit, so that the "just requirements of the Law" are fulfilled in them (Rom 8:4). The spirit enables the gentiles to live as the Law requires. The goal seems to be the same for Jews and gentiles (to live as the Law requires), but the means are different (*life in the spirit for gentiles*; faithful practice of the Law for Jews). In the Testament of Judah and Jubilees passages, God takes the Israelites on as his children, just as in Romans and Galatians the gentiles become adopted children of God. Paul's adoption passages use the language of these Jewish texts, asserting that there is some connection between the spirit, kinship, and a new standing before God.⁷⁵⁰

As Johnson Hodge rightly acknowledges, the three texts clearly and specifically describe the coming 'life in the spirit' *for Israel*. However, though Paul unequivocally includes the Gentiles in this new life in Christ by the Spirit, there is no indication that Israel, too, was not also in need of the Spirit. And it certainly cannot be argued on the basis of Romans 9:4. The adoption, glory, covenants, Law, worship, and promises of 9:4 were Israel's during the exile, but Ezekiel's exilic prophecy was no less necessary. The same can be said for Jeremiah's prophecy of the coming *new covenant* (Jer. 31:31-33): the covenants belonged to Israel, but Jews were nevertheless in need of a new covenant. And just as they were in need of the new covenant in Christ Jesus, so also Jews were in need of the Spirit of adoption in Christ Jesus.

Johnson Hodge also limits the Jewish need of the Spirit of adoption when she notes the 'pedigree of the firstborn son' as she sees it in Romans 1:4. Here she writes:

Christ is both a descendant of David "by birth" (or "according to the flesh") and he was made the son of God by the spirit. These two kinships (shared blood and kinship by spirit) converge to make Christ a *particularly capable agent of gentile salvation*. Because he *is made a son by the spirit*, Christ is a model for how the gentiles will be adopted

⁷⁴⁹ 'And I will create in them a holy spirit, and I will cleanse them so that they shall not turn away from me from that day to eternity. And their souls will cleave to me and to all my commandments, and they will fulfill my commandments and I will be their father and they shall be my children'.

⁷⁵⁰ Johnson Hodge 2007: 74; emphasis mine.

as younger siblings. Because he is a descendant “by birth”, however, Christ serves as the necessary link to the lineage of David and Abraham.⁷⁵¹

A number of unanswered questions pose themselves here. (1) What does it mean for Christ to be a ‘son of God by the spirit’? If other Jews do not need to be made such, why did Christ, and how was he therefore different from other Jews? (2) How does being a son by the spirit make Christ a ‘particularly capable agent of gentile salvation’? (3) What is ‘gentile salvation’ and how is it different than Jewish (Jews’) salvation? (4) Most importantly, why is Jesus’ ‘kinship by spirit’ beneficial only for Gentiles and not also Jews?⁷⁵²

Johnson Hodge’s arguments in both 8:14-17 and 1:4 that only Gentiles require adoption by the Spirit are left, for all intents and purposes, unexamined and unsupported. This thesis will therefore continue to interpret Paul’s theology of adoption to sonship as one which includes both Jew and Gentile.⁷⁵³

6.2 *Participation in the Son’s Inheritance and Glory in 8:17*

It is as those who are led by the Spirit and adopted into God’s family by the Spirit of adoption that believers in 8:17 are said to be children of God. And, as children of God, they are heirs of God and co-heirs with Christ, as well as co-glorified with Christ, if they share also in Christ’s suffering: εἰ δὲ τέκνα, καὶ κληρονόμοι· κληρονόμοι μὲν θεοῦ, συγκληρονόμοι δὲ Χριστοῦ. εἶπερ συμπάσχομεν ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν. This participation in the Son’s inheritance, suffering, and glory in 8:17 is the continuation of the new-exodus motif established in 8:1-16, as well as the introduction to 8:17-30.⁷⁵⁴ As Wright correctly notes, ‘[8:17] is the fulcrum about which the whole discourse now pivots’.⁷⁵⁵

⁷⁵¹ Johnson Hodge 2007: 115; emphasis mine. These two sentences are taken from a 4-sentence paragraph which precedes the chapter conclusion and which are left entirely unsupported.

⁷⁵² These are the omissions which permeate Johnson Hodge’s work and which must be answered if she wishes her argument to stand. Hays’ (1996: 42) critique of Stowers is that his work ‘is insufficiently theological’. The criticism can be applied to the arguments of Johnson Hodge as well.

⁷⁵³ Hays’ (1996: 38) challenge to Stowers regarding the inclusion of the Jew in Rom. 1:16 is applicable to Johnson Hodge’s thesis here as well. The Jew cannot be excluded from Paul’s theology of adoption in Christ until 1:16 is treated adequately, something Johnson Hodge, like Stowers, fails to do.

⁷⁵⁴ Like all passages of Scripture, particularly in Paul’s letters, this proposed structure of Romans 8 is debated. Most agree that vv. 31-39 stand as a unit and that v. 17 creates a transition point between vv. 1-16 and 18-30, with v. 17 usually added to the end of vv. 1-16. Scholars have suggested a variety of sub-paragraph divisions within the sections 8:1-17 and 8:18-30, most of which do not impact the narrative in a significant way. The one exception is the placement of the transitional verse 17. Most often, v. 17 is combined with the first primary section of the letter, 8:1-17. Nevertheless, a number of reasons exist for why it should be read as the start of 8:17-30: (1) the explicit role of the Spirit ends in v. 16; (2) the δὲ in v. 17 indicates a shift or development in Paul’s thought; (3) Paul introduces themes of being ‘heirs’ and ‘co-heirs’, suffering and glory—themes Paul will develop in vv. 18-30; and (4) the semantic relationship between v. 17 and vv. 29-30 which enclose the unit. See Cranfield 1975: 404-5.

⁷⁵⁵ Wright 2002: 594.

The reader will recall that I examined Paul's use of δόξα in Romans 8:18, 21 as part of the conclusion to the implicit narrative of glory which climaxes in Romans 8, and there deferred examination of the verbal cognates in 8:17 and 30. Having now discussed Paul's Adam Christology in Romans and elsewhere, his implicit theology of believers' union and participation with Christ throughout his letters, and the messianic and adamic identity of the Son in 8:29, we are now prepared to examine the occurrences of δοξάζω in 8:17, 30. I begin in 8:17, where believers' co-glorification with Christ is closely associated with their co-inheritance with Christ.

6.2.1 *Participation in the Son's Inheritance in 8:17*

We begin with the inheritance believers share with the Son in their role as children of God: εἰ δὲ τέκνα, καὶ κληρονόμοι (8:17a; see Gal. 3:29; 4:7).⁷⁵⁶ The inheritance due to them, however, is not their own; it is their brother's, the Firstborn's inheritance: κληρονόμοι μὲν θεοῦ, συγκληρονόμοι⁷⁵⁷ δὲ Χριστοῦ (8:17ab). As children of God and therefore God's heirs, those adopted into God's eschatological family are given the privilege of sharing with the Firstborn in the family inheritance. Thus, to know what it means to be co-inheritors with the Messiah, we must first know what it is that the Messiah inherits.

Paul does not explicitly state what the Son's inheritance is in Romans 8. Nor is Paul's source for the term immediately obvious. Hultgren writes that 'Paul takes for granted that Christ is an "heir of God", which would have its basis in various OT texts concerning God's declaring the king (messiah) to be his son (2 Sam 7:14; Pss 2:7; 89:27 [LXX 88:28]).⁷⁵⁸ Given the links to Paul's use of πρωτότοκος in 8:29, Hultgren's suggestion seems warranted. According to Burke, κληρονόμος stems from Roman law, in much the same way as he claims the term υἰοθεσία is derived from the Roman socio-political context.⁷⁵⁹ I submit that, while Hultgren's suggestion certainly has merit, κληρονόμος stems from Paul's understanding of the Abrahamic promises, given his use of the term already in Romans 4 where he identifies those promises.⁷⁶⁰ There Paul's focus is on the Patriarch, God's promise to him regarding his Seed, and the Seed's inheritance of the world. A closer look will be helpful.

⁷⁵⁶ See Hermann and Foerster 1965: 768-9 for a full treatment of the term's background.

⁷⁵⁷ See Jewett 2007: 502 for a list of pre-Pauline uses of the term; also BDAG 2000: 952.

⁷⁵⁸ Hultgren 2011: 316.

⁷⁵⁹ Burke 2006: 97.

⁷⁶⁰ Wright, Byrne, Keesmaat, Scott, and Johnson Hodge are among those who have either noticed or developed this connection. Interestingly, Wright says very little about 8:17 in his commentary, given that it is 'the fulcrum' of the passage. He does not describe what the inheritance is, nor does he link it to the covenantal promises given to Abraham in Romans 4. In his recent "Paul and the Patriarch" (2013b: 554-92), however, he presents a persuasive argument that Paul intended the inheritance in 8:17 to be understood in the light of its relation to Abraham in Rom. 4.

In Romans 4 Paul reminds his readers of how God promised Abraham⁷⁶¹ that he and his offspring would ‘inherit the world’ (τὸ κληρονόμον αὐτὸν εἶναι κόσμου, 4:13) and that his descendants would swell to the size of ‘many nations’ (4:17-18; Gen. 17:4-5). In his reuse of Scripture here Paul adjusts the original promise given by God to Abraham in Genesis 15. In Genesis 15:5 God promises Abraham that he will make his descendants as ‘numerous as the stars’, and in 15:7 that God ‘will give [Abraham] [the] land to possess’ and the same to his descendants (15:18). These promises are in addition to the promise God made at Abraham’s calling: ‘in you all the families of the earth shall be blessed’ (12:2-3; 18:18). Esler suggests that Paul’s reference to Abraham’s descendants inheriting ‘the world’ is a summary statement of these three promises noted throughout Genesis 12-22.⁷⁶² Undoubtedly, all the promises included in the Abrahamic covenant are for Abraham’s descendants, but it is probably best to recognise in Paul’s use of κόσμος in 4:13 a reference to the specific promise of land rather than a general reference to all the promises. In Genesis, the hope of the nations is in Abraham’s family, Israel, and Israel’s hope is to possess and rule the land from Egypt to the Euphrates. In Romans 4:13, however, the land that extends from Egypt to the Euphrates has disappeared and is replaced by ‘the world’ (κόσμος). According to Paul, Abraham and his offspring would inherit the world, which is to say that Israel would possess and thereby rule the world.

This reading of 4:13 is supported by other texts which demonstrate that the expansion of the land in Genesis was not Paul’s creation. In Psalm 2, David expands the implied promises of God to include the ‘nations’ and the ‘ends of the earth’ as part of the Son’s inheritance: δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσιν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς (see also Ps. 72:8). Moreover, the expansion of the land had grown popular throughout the intertestamental period (see *Jub.* 22:14-15; 32:19; Ps. Sol. 14.5-10;⁷⁶³ 1 Enoch 5:7; 40.9; 2 Enoch 9.1;⁷⁶⁴ 4 Macc. 18.3⁷⁶⁵; 4 Ezra 6.59; 2 Bar. 14.19).⁷⁶⁶ On the basis of these texts, Byrne notes that “‘inheritance’ came

⁷⁶¹ In this section I recognize that previous to Gen. 17, Abraham is more accurately called ‘Abram’. However, because Paul refers to Abram as Abraham in Rom. 4, I do so as well here.

⁷⁶² Esler 2003: 191-2. Nanos (1996: 140n138) takes a similar approach, though on the basis of what Paul writes elsewhere in Romans rather than the Genesis text: ‘What did Abraham expect to inherit? The focus Paul gives in Romans variously describes it as righteousness (4:22-25); forgiveness (4:3-8, 25; 3:23-26); salvation (1:16; 13:11); justification (3:24-26; 4:25); and the glory of the children of God, the redemption of our bodies that the very creation waits to share in (8:16-25)’. Paul undoubtedly recognised such gifts as the ultimate result of the Abrahamic promises, but the suggestion that Abraham himself considered these as part of the promises is textually indefensible.

⁷⁶³ Here the inheritance of Israel is life: οἱ δὲ ὄσιοι κυρίου κληρονομήσουσιν ζωὴν ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ (v. 10).

⁷⁶⁴ The terms ‘inheritance’ and ‘heir’ are not used, but the anticipated eschatological place mentioned is ‘Paradise’, a level of heaven prepared for and guaranteed to the righteous; see Charlesworth 1983a: 116footnoteK-L.

⁷⁶⁵ This text is ambiguous as to whether the inheritance (here θείας μερίδος) is of a spiritual or physical nature.

⁷⁶⁶ Cf Hermann 1965: 776-81; Byrne 1979: 68-69; Schreiner 1998: 427; Keesmaat 1999: 82-3.

eventually to embrace the whole complex of eschatological blessings promised to Israel,⁷⁶⁷ an understanding of the covenantal promises given to Abraham that Paul picks up in his letters. Most noticeable in Romans 4:13 is not the spiritual adaptation but the physical expansion. In Genesis 12:7; 15:7, 18 LXX Abraham is promised ‘this land’ (τὴν γῆν ταύτην), a specific region of the physical earth. ‘This land’, then, Paul expands by declaring that Abraham and his descendants shall inherit the world, ὁ κόσμος, in Romans 4 (see Rom. 1:20). Abraham’s offspring shall inherit everything in existence.

The expansion of the land to the world is not Paul’s only adaptation of the original promises. He also narrows the identity of Abraham’s descendants from Israel to Jesus. In Romans 4:13 Abraham’s offspring (τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ), the same collective singular as is used by the writer of Genesis, should be read as a singular, given that ‘heir (κληρονόμον) of the world’ is singular. This ‘heir’ could refer to Abraham, though the emphasis in Genesis is on Abraham’s descendants, and Paul’s emphasis likely reflects that. Paul makes this insight more explicit in Galatians 3:16, 19 than he does in Romans 4:13. In Galatians 3:16 (see 3:29) the Seed of Abraham is unequivocally the Messiah, who exists as the corporate representative of Israel.⁷⁶⁸ The singular descendent is present in Romans 4:13 nevertheless. For Paul, Israel will inherit the world, but the inheritance will pass through Abraham’s Offspring, Jesus [the] Lord (4:24). The Messiah, as Israel’s Representative, is Abraham’s descendent and the heir of the world.

Returning, then, to the theme of inheritance in Romans 8:17, we see that Paul speaks not in terms of the Abrahamic family but of God’s family.⁷⁶⁹ Jesus [the] Lord (4:24) is no longer the heir of Abraham but, as the Son of God, is the heir of God. For Cranfield, this shift in emphasis from Abraham’s children in Romans 4 to God’s children in Romans 8 is the exact reason for why the inheritance in 8:17 is *not* the Abrahamic inheritance: believers will share ‘not just in various blessings God is able to bestow but in that which is peculiarly His own, the perfect and imperishable glory of His own life’.⁷⁷⁰ So also, Scott concludes that ‘since coming into the Abrahamic inheritance thus depends on being a son of God, Paul can say that the sons of God are

⁷⁶⁷ Byrne 1996: 251. Johnson Hodge (2007: 70n10) also acknowledges Paul’s return to Rom. 4:13 and suggests that ‘Paul incorporates various promises (land, descendants, gentiles) into a larger vision of the promise, in which Abraham and his seed inherit the world’.

⁷⁶⁸ See Longenecker 1990: 131-2; Schreiner 2010: 228-30; Moo 2013: 229-30.

⁷⁶⁹ ‘The “inheritance” in question is unquestionably the whole world, as in Psalm 2 and as in the explosive promise about creation’s renewal in Romans 8:18-24. Interestingly, several of Paul’s uses of the *kleronomos* root occur when he is talking about “inheriting God’s kingdom”, which goes closely with the “messianic” theme at least in the basic text of Psalm 2’: Wright 2013a: 819.

⁷⁷⁰ Cranfield 1975: 407. Cranfield (1975: 406) draws a distinction between being an heir ‘through God’ (διὰ θεοῦ) in Gal. 4:7 and an heir ‘of God’ (θεοῦ) in Rom. 8:17. Despite these slight syntactical differences, the overlap of the motifs of Abraham, Messiah, son(s) and inheritance between Rom. 4, 8, and Gal. 3, 4 are too great to discount.

heirs “through God” (διὰ θεοῦ [Gal. 4:7]) or even heirs “of God” (8:17).⁷⁷¹ Yet this overlooks Paul’s theological narrative which underscores the entire epistle, and it especially overlooks the connection between believers’ inheritance in 8:17 and the inheritance of Abraham’s offspring in 4:13. Against Scott and Burke, children of God are not heirs ‘of God’, as if to say that God is the object of believers’ inheritance,⁷⁷² but they are heirs ‘of God’ in that they receive the inheritance which God gives: i.e. the promises originally given to Abraham. The inheritance behind 8:17 is the same inheritance to which Paul refers in Romans 4 and Galatians 3—4; it is the land promised to Abraham and his descendants in Genesis 15 and extended in Romans 4 to include the world.

This is the case not least because believers’ sonship and thus inheritance is directly dependent on their being co-inheritors in union with the Firstborn Son. Hurtado refers to believers’ sonship as a ‘derived sonship’: ‘Paul consistently refers to the sonship of Christians as derived sonship, given through and after the pattern of Jesus, whereas Jesus is the original prototype, whose sonship is not derived from another’.⁷⁷³ Through the Spirit of adoption and their freedom from slavery to the former reigns of sin and death, God’s children are co-inheritors with the Firstborn Son, and as sons of God themselves they are guaranteed the reception of the same inheritance (Gal. 3:26-29).⁷⁷⁴ As Scott writes, ‘The Abrahamic heirs are those who participate in Christ, who is the “seed” of Abraham and heir of the promise *sensu stricto*’.⁷⁷⁵ Abraham’s promised children, those led by God out of the Egypt of sin and death and declared to be his own sons, will participate with the Messiah in ruling over the promised inheritance on the basis of their participation in his Sonship.⁷⁷⁶

The question remains then as to the nature of the inheritance. What does it mean to inherit ‘the world’? Jewett suggests the inheritance is more relational than it is about ‘ownership of property’:⁷⁷⁷ ‘So in the case of the children of God in Paul’s discourse, every promise and possession once granted to Israel are now granted in a new and symbolic sense to each and every believer and to each believing community’.⁷⁷⁸ This relational and spiritual emphasis, however, is difficult to square

⁷⁷¹ Scott 1992: 249, 251; Burke 2008: 272.

⁷⁷² See Moo 1996: 505; *contra* Schreiner 1998: 427; Cranfield 1975: 406-7; Burke 2006: 98.

⁷⁷³ Hurtado 1993: 906. In indirect counterpoint to Hurtado’s description, Peppard (2011a: 102) writes: ‘The context of the verse in Romans suggests that, in any case, Paul is not trying to *separate* the divine sonship of Christ from the divine sonship of Christians. On the contrary, he draws them as closely together as he can. “Conformed to the image of his Son” and “firstborn of many brothers” are meant to unify all those who share in the spirit of the resurrection, the family spirit that binds them under one father’.

⁷⁷⁴ See Schreiner 1998: 428.

⁷⁷⁵ Scott 1992: 249, 251.

⁷⁷⁶ See Byrne 1996: 253n17; Scott 1992: 244.

⁷⁷⁷ Jewett 2007: 501; see Morris 1988: 317. Jewett (2007) does not suggest that Paul returns to Romans 4 at 8:17, nor does he say what the inheritance is other than the relationship.

⁷⁷⁸ Jewett 2007: 501-2.

with Paul's connection of 'the world' to the original promises of the physical land in Romans 4, now realised in the Messiah, or with Paul's emphasis on the relationship between humanity and the physical world in 8:19-22.⁷⁷⁹ Even Byrne, who draws the connection between Romans 8:17 and 4:13, spiritualises the inheritance into eternal life:

With the sonship status established, v. 17 moves on to the deduction that as sons of God we are also heirs. It is at this stage that the ζήσεσθε of v. 13 finally receives its full support from vv. 14-17 considered as a whole. To be an 'heir (of God)' is to be one destined to receive the inheritance of eternal life from his hands. The progress from the idea of sonship to that of inheritance is a natural one and one may think that Paul here simply pursues an image that comes easily to mind. However, the description of the eschatological blessings and specifically eternal life in 'inheritance' terms is characteristic of the Jewish background.⁷⁸⁰

Eternal life is certainly one of the many blessings given by God to his eschatological family, but it is not a result of their adoption as sons—not, at least, in Romans 8:13. Rather, like adoption, the gift of eternal life is a result of the Spirit's indwelling of the believer. No longer is the believer enslaved to death but is granted freedom and life. The inheritance and eternal life are certainly not unrelated, but they are not, as Byrne suggests, synonymous. Instead, the inheritance is the physical world, the physical land of Genesis 12 and 15, now expanded to include the cosmos and everything in it. God's family will possess the creation which bears his name.⁷⁸¹ Bringing together the Abrahamic and Davidic promises, Scott recognises the fulfilment of both in believers' co-inheritance with the Messiah which he describes as 'universal sovereignty'. He writes:

...when the Son will be the firstborn among many brothers and sisters (Rom 8:29; cf. 2 Ps 89:27). At that time the sons of God will share in the Abrahamic promise of universal sovereignty as fellow-heirs with Christ the Messiah (Rom 8:17; cf. Rom 4:13; 8:32; Gal 4:1). Hence the

⁷⁷⁹ I will return to this relationship in §7.2.1.

⁷⁸⁰ Byrne 1979: 101-2. Byrne's emphasis on the recourse to eternal life in 8:13 is muted in his Romans commentary. There his understanding of Paul's dependence on Romans 4 is more developed than it was in 1979. He writes, 'The motif . . . occurs very frequently with regard to the promise God made to Abraham regarding possession of the Land; in the later tradition, with the broadening of the "Land" promise to embrace both the present and future world, "inheritance" came eventually to embrace the whole complex of eschatological blessings promised to Israel': 1996: 251.

⁷⁸¹ Jesus picks up this theme in the Beatitudes, saying 'Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth' (Matt. 5:5). Closer yet to Paul's terms elsewhere, those who are children of God will inherit the Kingdom of God (1 Cor. 6:9, 10; 1 Cor. 15:50; Gal. 5:21), a metonym for God's sovereign rule over all that exists.

present and future aspects of *huiiothesia* in Romans 8 reflect successive stages of participation in the Son by the Spirit and, as such, constitute ways that believers share with the Son in the Davidic promise.⁷⁸²

Indeed, in their adoption as children of God in the Firstborn Son of God, believers are given their portion of the inheritance: participation in the Messiah's 'universal sovereignty'.

6.2.2 *Participation in the Son's Glory in 8:17*

With this understanding of *συγκληρονόμος* in 8:17, Paul's passive use of *συνδοξάζω* becomes all the more obvious. In this section, I draw together what I have already established in the previous chapters of this thesis, namely that believers' final glorification in Romans is their reinstatement to Adamic rule over creation and that the Firstborn Son of God already reigns over creation as the Messiah who is the new Adam. As believers share in the Firstborn Son's inheritance, his possession of the world, so also believers share in the Firstborn Son's eschatological rule over that world as God's reigning representatives.⁷⁸³ This is the heart of Romans 8:17-30 and Romans 8:29b, and is thus the heart of this thesis: as children of God, believers are co-heirs with the Son of God and thus share in his glory: they are conformed to the image of the Son who rules as God's Firstborn and as humanity's representative.

I note first that, just as believers' sonship is what Hurtado calls a 'derived sonship', and thus their inheritance is a derived inheritance, so also is believers' eschatological glory. As Paul makes clear through the use of the passive in 8:17 (*συνδοξασθῶμεν*), believers' glory is not something intrinsic to themselves, but it comes to them as part of their union with Christ. As those who share in the Sonship of the Firstborn Son, they too are 'made to share' in Christ's glory. As Bruce rightly notes, believers 'are fellow heirs with Christ because the glory which they are to inherit by grace is the glory which is his by right (*cf.* Jn. 17:22-24)'.⁷⁸⁴

Again, I return to the example offered by Newman in his now classic treatment of *δόξα* and its cognates in Paul's letters. On the use of *συνδοξάζω* in 8:17, Newman writes: 'The passive form of *συνδοξάζω* in Rom. 8:17 refers to a metamorphosis into Glory and therefore relates the verb to a paradigmatic field of words and constructions for spiritual transformation (e.g., *μεταμορφόομαι*, Rom. 12:2; 2 Cor. 3:18)'.⁷⁸⁵ He suggests additionally that, in both 8:17 and 30, 'The verb can also be used to denote eschatological transformation of the state of possessing divine

⁷⁸² Scott 1993: 17.

⁷⁸³ I will discuss the temporal aspects of believers' glorification in §7.2.2.

⁷⁸⁴ Bruce 1985: 159. He says very little about 8:17, otherwise, making no mention of the Abrahamic promises, the nature of either glory or inheritance, or the way in which believers demonstrate their inheritance and glory.

⁷⁸⁵ Newman 1992: 158.

presence'.⁷⁸⁶ And, though I emphasise Newman's interpretation here, he is certainly not alone. Hultgren, for example, writes, 'To be "glorified with Christ" . . . means to share in his glory in the presence of God, made possible by resurrection'.⁷⁸⁷

I find a number of weaknesses in this understanding of believers' eschatological glorification in 8:17. (1) To suggest that it is part of a 'paradigmatic field of words of constructions for spiritual transformation' is simply unfounded. Newman gives no support for this suggestion, other than to say that it shares similarities with μεταμορφομαι in Romans 12:2 and 2 Corinthians 3:18. Μεταμορφομαι does fall into a field of 'transformation' signifiers, as van Kooten demonstrates;⁷⁸⁸ συνδοξάζω does not, even in a passive form. (2) Newman's analysis overlooks the significance of Paul's συν-compounds throughout this section and particularly the fact that συνδοξάζω is one—the participatory importance being suggested all the more by the relationship to συγκληρονόμοι and συμπάσχω in the same verse. (3) The relationship between συγκληρονόμοι and συνδοξάζω is strikingly close. Whether designated as coterminous or synonymous, the meaning of συγκληρονόμοι has direct impact on the meaning of συνδοξάζω. And, as I demonstrated above, to be a co-inheritor with Christ is to share in his universal sovereignty. (4) I demonstrated in chapter three of this thesis that Paul's use of δόξα in 8:18, 21 implies believers' exalted status as humans designated to have dominion over creation, and not, *contra* Newman, a restored relationship between humanity and God. If such is the case in 8:18, 21, where the semantic function stems from the verbal cognate in 8:17, then the verbal cognate should bear the same or at least a similar semantic function.

In 8:17, where believers' shared inheritance with the Son implies their participation in the Son's universal sovereignty by means of their union with Christ, the best designation for believers' shared glory with the Son is their participation in his glory as the Son of God. Though Esler does not examine this verse, he nevertheless insightfully translates the final clause, ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν, as: 'in order that they might be honored with him'—a translation which more closely resembles my proposed interpretation of συνδοξάζω than Newman's. Believers are reinstated to glory on the basis of their position as children of God, sharing in the inheritance of the Son who, as the Messiah and new Adam, is already crowned with glory and honour.

⁷⁸⁶ Newman 1992: 158. On 2 Thess. 1:10 Newman (1992: 159) writes: 'The ideas of God's (i) future (ii) self-manifestation are (iii) coordinated with the believer's transformation into Glory'.

⁷⁸⁷ Hultgren 2011: 317.

⁷⁸⁸ See van Kooten 2008: 69-91.

6.2.3 Participation in the Son's Sufferings in 8:17

Before turning to the glorification of believers in 8:30, a brief note on the relationship between συμπάσχω and συνδοξάζω in 8:17 is necessary. Paul refers to the fact that believers 'rejoice in tribulation' (καυχώμεθα ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν) in 5:3. In 8:17 the reference is to believers' shared suffering with Christ (συμπάσκομεν) and in 8:18 to believers' sufferings of the present time (τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ). In each case, suffering is closely linked with glory: the 'hope of glory' in 5:2, participation in the Messiah's glory in 8:17, and future glory in 8:18.

Paul does not articulate the nature of the suffering in 5:3 and 8:17-18. Recent commentators either offer no comments on the nature of the suffering⁷⁸⁹ or they suggest the sufferings in these texts refer to the general hardships of pre-resurrection life.⁷⁹⁰ Burke suggests, along with Moo⁷⁹¹ *et al.*: 'For God's children who live on this side of eternity, sufferings may be manifested through persecution, illness, bereavement and, of course, death itself'.⁷⁹² Of those who suggest something more general, a number point out the sufferings expected at the end-times, as in Mark 13:7-8, 19-20 (see James 1:2-4 and 1 Pet. 1:6-7);⁷⁹³ others note the list of tribulations at 8:35-39;⁷⁹⁴ but most do all of the above throughout the three verses. Jewett suggests that the suffering in 5:3 and 8:17-18 refers specifically to the persecution of Roman Christians. This, he argues, is indicated by Paul's inclusion of the article in 5:3—ταῖς θλίψεσιν and ἡ θλίψις.⁷⁹⁵

⁷⁸⁹ E.g. Byrne (1996) on 8:17, 18; Schreiner (1998) on 8:17, 18; Wright (2002) on 5:3 and 8:17. Intriguingly, Gorman (2009) never references 5:3 and only mentions 8:18 in relation to the theme of 8:18-25.

⁷⁹⁰ E.g. Moo 1996: 302-3 on 5:3 and p. 511 on 8:18. Käsemann (1980: 231) suggests only that the suffering in 8:18 is shared between believers and creation.

⁷⁹¹ If Moo sees a connection between 5:3 and 8:17, then he contradicts himself in 8:17 by stating that 'the suffering Paul speaks of here refers to the daily anxieties, tensions, and persecutions that are *the lot of those who follow the one who was "reckoned with the transgressors"* (Luke 22:37)': 1996: 506; emphasis mine. He specifically says on 5:3 that the sufferings experienced are not limited to 'those sufferings caused directly by the believer's profession of Christ'.

⁷⁹² Burke (2006: 182) on 8:18, who goes on to cite Loane. Loane, however, seems to argue a point more similar to Jewett than Burke is: 'St. Paul's basic idea was that suffering in one form or another belongs to the experience of *all who are members of God's household* . . . Not all are martyrs; not all are captives; not all are driven into exile for Christ's sake; not all are in fact called upon to bear insult, scorn, or assault on the open stage of the world's hostility. Many indeed are still called, just as many were called when St. Paul wrote these words, for the world is no more in love with God and his *children* now than it was before. And yet even those whose path has been most sheltered in the goodness of God will be called to endure suffering somehow, some time, in the course of this life, if they . . . live as *sons of God*': Loane 1968: 76; emphasis mine.

⁷⁹³ E.g. Käsemann (1980: 134) who suggests θλίψις in 5:3 is the 'end-time affliction which comes on the Christian as a follower of the messiah Jesus'; see Beker (1980: 146) on 5:3; Byrne (1996: 166) on 5:3; Schreiner (1998: 255) on 5:3.

⁷⁹⁴ Byrne (1996: 166) on 5:3; Wright (2002: 595) on 8:18.

⁷⁹⁵ Jewett 2007: 353.

What is important for our purposes here, though, is not the nature of the suffering but the implied relationship between suffering and glory. Paul writes: συγκληρονόμοι δὲ Χριστοῦ, εἴπερ συμπάσχομεν ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν. The εἴπερ is most commonly taken as conditional: ‘we will be glorified with Christ *provided that* we first suffer with Him’.⁷⁹⁶ Within traditional interpretations of glorification, the implied assumption then becomes that co-suffering with Christ progresses into co-glorification with Christ; suffering produces sanctification which in its most completed form is glorification. In recognition, then, of the semantic relationship between 8:17 and 8:29, 30, believers’ conformity in 8:29 is understood to refer to both suffering and glory. This is the reason why Gorman can write:

Paul, then, experiences hope in the midst of suffering, but he understands his suffering not merely as something to be endured or conquered because it enables him to participate in the sufferings of Christ, the final end of which is glory. This is cruciform hope: conformity to the image of God’s Son (Rom. 8:29) in suffering and glory, in the present and the future’.⁷⁹⁷

In this reading conformity in the present is represented by suffering, and conformity in the future will be represented by glorification.

Gorman is correct to suggest that hope resides in the midst of suffering; he is, however, incorrect to suggest that the end of suffering is glory, as if the terms function on the same plane, the suffering-side of which is in the present age and the glory-side of which is in the future age. Undoubtedly Paul is speaking in 8:17 to the future glorification of believers with Christ, and it is probably correct to read the εἴπερ as conditional,⁷⁹⁸ but this does not warrant a reading in which suffering progresses into glorification and it certainly does not warrant a reading of 8:29 which suggests that present conformity is represented by suffering and future conformity is represented by glorification, i.e. a complete(d) sanctification. I will argue in the following chapter that glorification, at least in 8:30, does not imply only a future glorification. If glorification is understood as I have proposed here, namely as being placed in an exalted status or status of honour associated with a position of authority or rule, and that status is the Firstborn Son’s as the Messiah and new Adam, then suffering is not a pre-resurrection version of being glorified with Christ, as Gorman suggests. Rather, it is a present reality contemporaneous with present glory (8:30), and is a reality which will cease when glorification is experienced in its fullness in the future (8:17). This will become more clear in the following chapter when I discuss the present aspects of glorification in 8:30.

⁷⁹⁶ See e.g. Käsemann 1980: 229; Dunn 1988a: 456; Fitzmyer 1993: 502; Byrne 1996: 254; Moo 1996: 505-6; Schreiner 1998: 428; Dunn 1998b: 485; Burke 2008: 285; Ortlund 2014: 126.

⁷⁹⁷ Gorman 2001: 329-30.

⁷⁹⁸ *Contra* Jewett 2007: 502-3.

Much the same can be said for the relationship between suffering and glory in 8:18: Λογίζομαι⁷⁹⁹ γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς. Paul’s reference to suffering here likely refers to the participatory suffering just mentioned in 8:17, and so also for the glory. With Gorman, *et al*, Moo suggests that ‘Paul is not so much interested in [suffering’s] relationship to glory as he is in their sequence’: suffering now, glory later.⁸⁰⁰ Though this sequential aspect is clearly part of 8:17-18, where Paul just happens to refer to believers’ *final* and *absolute* glorification, *contra* Moo, in 8:17-18 the intrinsic relationship between the two is no less important. If glory in 8:18 is not ‘a qualitatively new relational sphere of existence for the “sons”’, as suggested by Newman,⁸⁰¹ but humanity’s renewed status as sons of God and thus participants in the new Adam, then no reason exists to read Paul as saying that suffering will be replaced by glory in the eschaton, as if glory in the future is the completion of suffering in the present.

6.3 A Re-Glorified Humanity in 8:30

Paul returns to this theme of believers’ glory in Romans 8:30, and it is here that Paul’s narrative of glory comes to its glorious climax—or rather climax of glory. From 1:23 and 3:23, and with 2:7, 20; 5:2; 8:17, 18, and 21 in the middle, Paul has come around full circle in 8:29-30 in describing humanity’s response to God’s intentions for it.⁸⁰² Because the majority of what could be said about the semantic function of δοξάζω in 8:30 has already been adumbrated elsewhere, I will keep my comments here brief.

Newman’s treatment of συνδοξάζω in 8:17 applies equally to his treatment of δοξάζω in 8:30: it denotes believers’ transformation into the manifest presence of God. BDAG classifies it under ‘to cause to have splendid greatness, *clothe in splendor*, glorify’.⁸⁰³ Dunn writes on both 8:17 and 30 that, ‘Since δόξα describes the radiance of heaven and of God in particular, in contrast to the duller shades of earth, it is natural to describe the hoped-for transformation to heaven in terms of δόξα’.⁸⁰⁴ And, Fitzmyer simply describes ‘glorification’ as ‘the final destiny for all who put

⁷⁹⁹ Moo 1996: 511: Paul uses λογίζομαι ‘with the connotation of “realize from the standpoint of faith”’; see Rom. 2:3; 3:28; 6:11; 14:14; 1 Cor. 4:1; 2 Cor. 10:7, 11; 11:5; Phil. 3:13; 4:8.

⁸⁰⁰ Moo 1996: 508-9.

⁸⁰¹ Newman 1992: 225-6.

⁸⁰² See Ortlund 2014. Van Kooten (2008a: 203) recognizes the connection between 1:23 and 8:29/30, though not in terms of glory but of image: ‘Whereas pagans have “exchanged the glory of the immortal God for the likeness of an *image* of a mortal human being or birds or four-footed animals or reptiles” (Rom 1.23), it is through being predestined to become of the same form as the *image* of Christ, God’s Son (Rom. 8.29) that man is able to overcome the downfall of humanity’; emphasis original.

⁸⁰³ BDAG 2000: 258.

⁸⁰⁴ Dunn 1988a: 456-7.

faith in Christ Jesus'.⁸⁰⁵ Interestingly, many scholars fail to define *δοξάζω* in either 8:17 or 8:30. In his examination of the temporal aspects of *δοξάζω* in 8:30,⁸⁰⁶ Ortlund helpfully writes, 'The point is that *Romans 8:30 restores what was lost according to Rom 3:23*. Having been born in Adam and thus into sin, lacking the divine glory that was ours in Eden (3:23), in union with Christ that glory is restored: "we are glorified" (8:30). That is, we are restored to "the image of his Son" (8:29), the new Adam'.⁸⁰⁷ Unlike most, Ortlund is aware of the various approaches to understanding glory, particularly that which is possessed by or characterises humanity. He continues:

In systematic theological terms glory is generally thought of as a visible resplendence or beauty, as seen especially in the writings of such thinkers as Augustine, Jonathan Edwards, or Hans Urs von Balthasar. This should certainly be acknowledged as a connotation of glory as used by Paul and other biblical writers. Yet our investigation indicates that if glory is often referring to what humans (and not only God) possess, Paul would define glory as that which visibly represents a beautiful God. One thinks, for example, of the theophanic cloud of glory that was the tangible representation of Yahweh. Such a definition of glory acknowledges the close connection between image and glory, since image is clearly that which visibly represents God on earth—namely, humanity, supremely in Christ and derivatively in those united to him. . . . Glorification, then, is the restatement of the divine image. It is to be rehumanized.⁸⁰⁸

Despite his recognition of the connections between Romans 8:23, glory, image, and believers' rehumanisation in the new Adam in 8:30, the glory nevertheless remains for Ortlund the 'divine glory', namely the theophanic presence of God.

Here again, I wish to contest this interpretation of believers' eschatological glory and to suggest, rather, that believers' eschatological glory, or transformation into glory, is best understood as their transformation into an exalted status as those who participate in the sovereign rule of Christ: (1) The end of Paul's 'golden chain' is *δοξάζω*, which is parallel to 8:29b, conformity to the image of the Son.⁸⁰⁹ If 8:29b is participation in the image of the Son who is the representative kingly figure, then so also is their glorification in 8:30. (2) Glorification in 8:30 picks up co-glorification in 8:17, where co-glorification is directly related to being co-inheritors; and, as discovered, being co-inheritors refers to participating in the Son's universal sovereignty. (3) It is consistent with not only *συνδοξάζω* in 8:17 but also believers'

⁸⁰⁵ Fitzmyer 1993: 526.

⁸⁰⁶ I will return to this topic in the following chapter.

⁸⁰⁷ Ortlund 2014: 121; emphasis original.

⁸⁰⁸ Ortlund 2014: 129-30.

⁸⁰⁹ This connection will be analysed more fully in the following chapter.

δόξα in 8:18, 21, both demonstrated to refer to believers' exalted status. (4) It is consistent with Paul's depiction of humanity's rejection of glory in 1:23 and 3:23 and picks up humanity's hope for glory in 2:7, 10; and 5:2. (5) Like 8:17, it follows the LXX use of 'glorification' for humanity. (6) Paul's reference to σύμμορφος in 8:29 and δοξάζω in 8:30 is similar to his use of σύμμορφος and δόξα in Philippians 3:21. There I demonstrated that the text refers to believers' conformity to the resurrection body of Christ which exists in a state of glory, i.e. a position of sovereign rule over the cosmos in fulfilment of Psalm 8. The evidence strongly suggests that believers' glorification in 8:30 entails a transformation of status through participation in the exalted rule of Christ.

Before concluding the treatment of δόξα and δοξάζω in Romans, from 1:23; 2:7, 10; 3:23; 5:2; 8:17, 18, 21, to now 8:30, I wish to return briefly to Ortlund's helpful critique of common approaches to interpreting glory in the bible. He is right to distinguish between those approaches made by systematicians and biblical theologians, as in the quote above. He further writes on 8:30 in particular (but which is applicable to each of the examined texts here),

'Rom 8:30 should *first* (not *only*) be read through a disciplined lens of biblical theology, in which we strive to let the text inform our system rather than (in an unhealthy way) our system inform the text. To be sure, it is not only impossible but undesirable to read any given text without a systematic framework. Yet our mindset must be one of self-consciously letting the text tinker with the framework rather than the framework with the text'.⁸¹⁰

This is a sentiment which I wholeheartedly echo, along with his further recognition of the importance of 'the need for theological formulation that is self-consciously controlled by the text, context, and thought-world of the biblical author, rather than importing connotations of specific words or concepts (such as glorification) into the domain of biblical theology'.⁸¹¹ Ortlund is, of course, speaking to the previous distinctions between systematic and biblical approaches to interpretations of glory and glorification. But I find his important words applicable within the field of biblical scholarship itself and, more specifically, within Pauline scholarship. What I have argued throughout this thesis is just this: that 'importing connotations of specific words or concepts (such as glorification)' into the domain of Paul's epistles—epistles with different contexts, themes, and messages—can only lead to an oversight of what is actually a highly *varied* application of δόξα and δοξάζω throughout his epistles.

In short, what I have argued here in 8:29-30 is that Paul sees that those conformed to the image of the Son are those who, though once participants in the

⁸¹⁰ Ortlund 2014: 128; emphasis original.

⁸¹¹ Ortlund 2014: 129.

adamic submission to the powers of sin and death, now participate in the reign of the new Adam over creation. Mankind's position on earth as God's vicegerents to his creation is now restored, though now through the image of the Son of God who reigns as God's preeminent vicegerent.⁸¹² The depiction of humanity being crowned with glory and honour and established with dominion over creation in Psalm 8 is now again a reality, both through the Firstborn Son of God and those who participate in his exalted status, i.e. his glory. Byrne notes that this is the 'full arrival at the goal of God's intent for human beings' in 8:29.⁸¹³ Those conformed to the image of God's Son participate in the Firstborn Son's sovereign position over creation as adopted members of God's eschatological family and, *as such*, as a re-glorified humanity.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the restoration of believers' glory through their adoption into the family of God and thus their participation in the inheritance and glory of the Firstborn Son. I argued that from 8:1-16 Paul traces believers' transition from bondage to sin (8:1-4) to life in the Spirit (8:5-13) to adoption into God's family (8:14-17) on the basis of a new-exodus motif. I suggested that in 8:17 Paul presents the theme of believers sharing in the inheritance and glory of the Son, both of which refer to believers participating in the universal sovereignty of the Son. These themes are picked up again in 8:29-30. In 8:30 in particular, glorification follows the pattern set previously in Romans vis-à-vis humanity's eschatological glory. I have established that believers' conformity to Christ in 8:29 and glorification in 8:30 entails a transformation of status in Christ. We are now poised to address the temporal aspects of this transformation, and it is to this discussion that I now turn.

⁸¹² See Jewett 2007: 529-30. Cranfield (1975: 432) mentions this connection but does not develop it.

⁸¹³ Byrne 1996: 268-9; see Byrne 1996: 253n17: 'For Paul the risen Christ, as "Last Adam" (1 Cor. 15:45), is heir already in possession of the inheritance (Phil. 2:9-11); believers are heirs in waiting, and enjoy this status solely in virtue of their union with him (see also Gal. 3:16, 26-29). In 1 Cor. 3:21b-23 Paul states that "all things" belong to Christians in that they "belong" to Christ; their union with the risen Lord as "Last Adam" sets them in line to come into that lordship of the universe which, in the development of Gen. 1:26-28 (cf. also Psalm 8) in the Jewish tradition, represents God's original design for human beings'; see also Byrne 1996: 272-3n29. Byrne's reading of the passage has changed considerably since his publication of *Sons of God – Seed of Abraham* in 1979. His comments in *Romans* include themes of ruling, reigning, sovereignty, as well as connections with Gen. 1:26-28 and Psalm 8, none of which feature in the earlier publication.

7. *PURPOSED FOR CONFORMITY*

Up to this point I have for all intents and purposes ignored the majority of 8:28-30 which surrounds 8:29bc; it is too deep a canyon for us to walk incautiously along its rim. Some risks, however, must be taken. In this seventh and final chapter, I turn our attention to the placement of 8:29b within Romans 8:17-30 more generally and 8:28-30 in particular. I will suggest that ‘conformity to the image of [God’s Firstborn] Son’, i.e. vocational participation in the Firstborn Son’s exalted position over creation, is the task for which believers are called and purposed *in the present as well as the future*. This seventh chapter consists of two parts: (1) I will briefly outline the embedded structure of 8:28-30 and discuss the role of κλητός in 8:28 and καλέω in 8:30 within that structure; (2) I will argue that, contrary to the majority of scholarship, believers already manifest their decreed calling and purpose by participating in the Son’s glory in the present.

7.1 *God’s Eternal Decree: Called with a Purpose: 8:28-30*

I first examine the notion of believers as ‘τοῖς κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς οὖσιν’ in 8:28c and again in 8:30. Both 8:28 and 8:30 are pithy, yet pregnant with theological and narrational weight. For Paul, the narrative of God’s commitment to his covenant begins and ends with the purposes of God’s calling. People in Christ are God’s children, Paul declares, on the basis of God’s eternal decree, ‘rooted in God’s inscrutable will’.⁸¹⁴ God has foreknown and predestined his eschatological family; he has called them, justified them, and glorified them *according to his purpose*.

The history of interpretation of Romans 8:28-30, particularly with a view to the *ordo salutis* or the ‘Golden Chain’, is too vast to recount here.⁸¹⁵ Nor do I wish to provide an individually focused treatment of each of the heavyweight terms. My goal here is only to highlight these verses as a bold brush stroke on Paul’s canvas of Romans. I suggest that the three verses work together to form a composite whole with an often overlooked internal structure—a structure by which Paul tells the creational and covenantal narrative of redemption. God calls his people because of a commitment to his creation and his covenant which includes his commitment to accomplishing his aims through a redeemed humanity. The structure of 8:28-30 makes this clear.

⁸¹⁴ Wright 2004a: 93; see Hurtado 1993: 905.

⁸¹⁵ See Muller 1985: 215-6 and esp. Fahlbusch 2003.

7.1.1 Romans 8:28-30 and Its Structure

Romans 8:28-30 reads:

Οἶδαμεν δὲ ὅτι τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν τὸν θεὸν (8:28a)

πάντα συνεργεῖ εἰς ἀγαθόν, (8:28b)

τοῖς κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς οὓσιν. (8:28c)

ὅτι οὓς προέγνω, καὶ προώρισεν (8:29a)

συμμόρφους τῆς εἰκόνης τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, (8:29b)

εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πρωτότοκον ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς· (8:29c)

οὓς δὲ προώρισεν, τούτους καὶ ἐκάλεσεν· (8:30a)

καὶ οὓς ἐκάλεσεν, τούτους καὶ ἐδικαίωσεν· (8:30b)

οὓς δὲ ἐδικαίωσεν, τούτους καὶ ἐδόξασεν. (8:30c)

Despite its significance for this project and theologically within 8:28-30, 8:29b is not Paul's main point—at least not directly. Paul's main point is 8:28b: God has called his people with the ultimate goal of fulfilling his purposes through them. In 8:29a, then, Paul steps back even behind God's calling and says that God's people were foreknown and predestined by God with the ultimate end of being 'conformed to the image of [his Firstborn] Son', which he identifies as glorification in 8:30. In all the verses there is divine action with an ultimate goal and a specific means to that goal. Structurally, it looks like this:

8:28 called... according to his purpose.

8:29 foreknew – predestined... to be conformed to the the image of his Son.

In 8:30, then, Paul brings together 8:28-29, albeit now with 'called' occurring after 'predestined':

8:30 predestined – called – justified – glorified

With 8:30 the reader realises that the two ultimate goals of 8:28 and 8:29 (i.e. fulfilling God's purposes and conformity to the Son) are not only the same but are the same as the final divine action in 8:30 (i.e. glorified):

8:28 called... according to his purpose.

8:29 foreknew – predestined... to be conformed to the image of his Son.

8:30 predestined – called – justified... glorified.

reached its eschatological realization in the death and especially the resurrection of Christ'.⁸²⁰ Because I have already examined in detail 8:29bc and 8:30c, and because 8:29a (foreknown and predestined) and 8:30a (predestined) are not Paul's emphases, my focus here will be on Paul's understanding of God's calling and purposing of his people.

Along with the majority of commentators on Paul's use of κλητός in 8:28 and καλέω in 8:30,⁸²¹ Byrne suggests that it is the formation or the creation of a people called out for God and as God's children.⁸²² This association of calling and sonship is recurrent in Jewish literature.⁸²³ In the same way that Paul uses καλέω in Romans 4:17 ('[who] calls into existence things which do not exist) to denote an act of creation, so also is Israel's formation as the descendants of Abraham (Gen. 12:2) and as a nation called out of Egypt (Hos. 11:1) —a connection made previously when I examined Paul's references to sonship and adoption as exodus motifs in 8:14-16. Additionally, numerous references exist in Deutero-Isaiah to God's calling of Israel as his people (Isa. 41:9; 42:6; 43:1; 48:12).⁸²⁴

Yet, in contrast to the use of κλητός and καλέω in Jewish literature, and in contrast to the arguments highlighted previously of Stowers and Johnson Hodge regarding the identity of Gentiles alone as the adopted children of God and siblings through Christ, Paul's use of κλητός and καλέω in 8:28, 30 is not exclusive. Rather, the calling of believers in 8:28, 30 implies God's faithfulness to his eschatological family—a family now composed of both Jew and Gentile (see Zech. 2:11). Rosner recognises what Stowers and Johnson Hodge do not. He writes, 'With respect to the election of Israel, in Romans Paul opposes the notion that the Jews . . . constitute the people of God . . . Instead, the church comprises the new people of God, whom he describes as the elect (8:33); called (1:6-7; 8:28, 30; 9:7, 12, 24-28); beloved (1:7; 9:25); saints (1:7); beloved children of Abraham (4:11-12, 16-17); and the true circumcision (2:28-29)'.⁸²⁵ Likewise, Byrne notes that 'the "call" that has gone out as the first stage in the realization of God's plan refers to the summons contained in the gospel. By means of the gospel God has "called" into being a People of God, made up

⁸²⁰ Gaffin 1987: 13; see also p. 29: 'It may be maintained here as a working principle, subject to further verification, that whatever treatment Paul gives to the application of salvation to the individual believer is controlled by his redemptive-historical outlook'.

⁸²¹ Within Romans itself, Paul makes this purpose of calling explicit. Paul is called to be an apostle (1:1; see 1 Cor. 1:1); believers are called to belong to Jesus (1:6) and to be saints (1:7; see 1 Cor. 1:2). Elsewhere in Paul, believers are called to freedom (Gal. 5:13), to peace (1 Cor. 7:15; Col. 3:15), to hope (Eph. 1:18; 4:4), to a calling (Eph. 4:1; 2 Tim. 1:9), to holiness/obedience (1 Thess. 4:7), to salvation (2 Thess. 2:14), to eternal life (1 Tim. 6:12).

⁸²² Byrne 1996: 273n30.

⁸²³ Hos. 1:10 (MT, LXX 2:1); 11:1; Sir. 36:17; *Jub.* 1:25; *Bib. Ant.* 18:6; *4 Ezra* 6:58; 4QDibHam 3:4-5. See Byrne 1996: 273.

⁸²⁴ Israel is referred to as God's elected or chosen people at numerous points in Jewish history: Deut. 7:6; 14:2; Ps. 105:6; Isa. 43:20; 45:4; Sir. 46:1; 47:22; Wis. 3:9; 4:15; *Jub.* 1:29; 1QS 8:6; CD 4:3-4.

⁸²⁵ Rosner 2013: 218.

of Jews and Gentiles (cf. 9:24; 1 Cor. 1:26), destined to display God's original design for human beings'.⁸²⁶ As Byrne hints, this understanding of *καλέω* is certainly present in Romans 9:24.

Nevertheless, though this new identity is unequivocally part of Paul's underlying paradigm, it is not Paul's emphasis in 8:28, 30. With *καλέω*, rather, Paul affirms God's faithfulness to his covenant people. God promised Abraham a family (Gen. 18:19; 21:1; see Rom. 4:21) and Israel the land as their inheritance (Exod. 12:5; 32:13; Deut. 9:28; 12:20; 19:8; 27:3; Josh. 23:5; see Acts. 7:5). Paul picks up these promises in Romans 4:21: '[Abraham was] fully convinced that [God] was able to do what he had promised'. Likewise, God also promised Israel, saying 'I will take you to be my people and I will be your God' (Exod. 6:7; see Lev. 26:12; Deut. 26:19; 29:13; Jer. 7:23; 11:4; 30:22; Ezek. 36:28).⁸²⁷ Rather than emphasising that God is doing something new in believers' calling in 8:28, 30, Paul declares that God has actually done something quite rooted in the past. God has brought to fruition an ancient element of Israel's history—his covenantal promises to Abraham and to Israel as a people set apart for God. In this case, God has done so by calling believers to be his own, bringing them into a life of faith and obedience to God.⁸²⁸

7.2 *Called with a Present Purpose: 8:17-30*

Until this point in this thesis I have discussed conformity and glorification with an undefined time. We now must ask, 'At what point are believers conformed to the image of the Son?' Or, 'When are God's children glorified?' The answer to this question is not easy to secure, particularly in Romans 8 where Paul's articulation of the redemptive narrative is decidedly *inter tempora*. In 8:17-18, the glory of believers is yet to come; according to 8:30, believers are already glorified. The same scenario exists with believers' adoption: in 8:15 believers have already received adoption, but in 8:23 that adoption is yet to come. I will return to this conundrum below. Dunn remarks that, 'what complicates things for Paul is the fact that, contrary to conventional Jewish apocalyptic expectation, these two "ages" have not followed each other in orderly sequence; they in fact overlap and co-exist at the present time'.⁸²⁹ Yet because the ages overlap and the eschatological age has come in the present, if not yet fully, those currently in the Messiah have also been raised with the Messiah. As Ortlund posits, 'We are indeed only glorified with the dawning of the

⁸²⁶ Byrne 2007: 269; see also Burke 2006: 172.

⁸²⁷ See Deut. 1:11; 6:3; 15:6.

⁸²⁸ See Jer. 7:23; 11:4; Eph. 4:1; 1 Thess. 4:7; 1 Pet. 2:21. See Wright (2004a: 93) who notes that "'Call'" denotes the event that people often refer to as "conversion", though of course whereas "conversion" draws attention to the change of heart and mind in the person concerned, the word "call" draws attention to God's action and hence places that change of heart and mind already in the category of "obedience" as well as "faith" (see e.g. Rom. 1:5)'.
⁸²⁹ Dunn 1998b: 464; see Byrne 2010: 85.

eschaton, the *Endzeit*—and this dawning has already broken onto the world stage, at Christ’s coming and particularly at his resurrection’.⁸³⁰ Byrne also rightly notes, ‘This means that, as far as relations with God are concerned and as attested by the gift of the Spirit, believers already live the life of the new age. As far as their bodily existence is concerned, however, they are still anchored in the present age’.⁸³¹

Philip Esler questions the traditional, proleptic ‘now, but not yet’ reading of Paul’s eschatological framework. He suggests that the Mediterranean culture recognised a trajectory of history in which what comes in the future stems from what exists in the present, rather than as a future age launched at some point in the recent past.⁸³² The notion of a ‘now’ and ‘not yet’, he writes, is ‘an unnecessary modern intrusion on Paul’s thought’.⁸³³ Distinctions are important, no doubt, but on this point, the present reality for Paul is the same either way: the present and future are intricately connected; one reflects a version of the other. As Byrne is noted above as saying, believers’ reception of the restored physical body may not occur in the present age, but their participatory lives in Christ have nevertheless begun. The argument, I will suggest, is the same for believers’ glorification.

The reader would expect the greatest clue as to when believers are glorified to come in 8:29b or 8:30c itself. Romans 8:29b is of no assistance, however, given that *σύμμορφος* is an atemporal adjective.⁸³⁴ Moreover, because the adjective is linked in a cause-effect relationship with 8:29c, *σύμμορφος* is at least partially ruled by the infinitival purpose clause (*εἰς τὸ εἶναι*) which determines 8:29c. Neither is interpreting Paul’s use of the aorist *ἔδόξασεν* in 8:30 a straightforward endeavour. According to modern traditional grammar rules of Greek, the use of the aorist implies that God has already glorified believers, just as he has already foreknown, predestined, called, and justified his children. For many commentators, though, this use of the aorist is difficult to reconcile with what seems to be a present reality.

Most agree that Paul writes as if he himself is standing in the eschaton and looking back, and the glorification of believers in real time and space has not yet begun.⁸³⁵ Witherington is representative when he writes, ‘The verb tenses make it clear that Paul is looking at things from the eschatological end of the process, with even glorification already having transpired. *Doxa*, “glory,” here refers to the future glory of resurrection’.⁸³⁶ Without qualification, Moo assumes that it is a future

⁸³⁰ Ortlund 2014: 131; emphasis original.

⁸³¹ Byrne 2010: 85.

⁸³² Esler 2003: 260-5.

⁸³³ Esler 2003:265.

⁸³⁴ Nevertheless, Byrne 1979: 118; Barrett 1991: 159-60; Scott 1992: 247 all suggest an entirely future dimension of conformity.

⁸³⁵ E.g., Murray 1959: 321; Calvin 1960: 182; Cranfield 1975: 433; Barrett 1991: 160; Scott 1992: 295; Stuhlmacher 1994: 137; Moo 1996: 535-6; Dunn 1998b: 484-6; Witherington with Hyatt 2004: 230. For a comprehensive list, see Ortlund 2014.

⁸³⁶ Witherington with Hyatt 2004: 230.

glorification: ‘What makes this interesting is that the action denoted by this verb is (from the standpoint of believers) in the future, while the other actions are past’.⁸³⁷ Paul’s purpose in doing so, Moo says, is because he ‘touches on the ultimate source of assurance that Christians enjoy, and with it he brings to a triumphant climax his celebration of the “no condemnation” that applies to every person in Christ’.⁸³⁸ Dunn also makes this end time viewpoint and believers’ assurance of salvation the basis for understanding Paul’s use of the aorist: ‘This probably explains the exceptional use of the aorist here (“we were saved”); only in the later Paulines do we find comparable language (Eph. 2:5, 8; 2 Tim. 1:9; Tit. 3:5). . . . Its use here . . . mirrors the character of hope: assured hope assures of completed salvation. The aorists of 8:29-30 reflect the same confidence: God’s purpose as seen from its assured end’.⁸³⁹ Schreiner simply says, ‘The glorification posited here does not begin in this life’.⁸⁴⁰ Even Esler himself arrives at a similar conclusion, though he does so via a different pathway. Esler writes on ‘glorified’ in 8:30: ‘If one adopts a more Mediterranean view of time that locks present and future far more closely together, a different solution suggests itself. Now the glory is forthcoming, rather than future, and has a direct, organic connection with present experience. It exists on the horizon of the present, even if it is not already here’.⁸⁴¹ How this ‘solution’ is different from those posed above is unclear. Though the glory has an ‘organic connection with present experience’, it is nevertheless still ‘forthcoming’ and ‘not already here’. These attempts to make sense of the aorist ἐδόξασεν in 8:30 are typical.

Contrary to Schreiner, Witherington, Moo, *et al* who maintain this guaranteed future reality, there is no indication within the context of 8:30 that Paul writes from this future standpoint. Assurance alone is not a strong rationale for assuming Paul is writing about believers’ guarantee of glorification from a future perspective.⁸⁴² I suggest that scholars take this view because their presupposed definition of δόξα requires it: God’s people have clearly not yet been brought fully into the divine glory; therefore, the only explanation of the aorist is that, because it is so assured in the future, it can be spoken of as if it is a reality already in the present. This anticipatory interpretation, however, is unsupported.⁸⁴³

Dane Ortlund (whose criticisms of particular theological uses of glory were noted at the end of the last chapter) has most recently advanced the conversation, arguing thoroughly—though neither exhaustively nor without oversight—that

⁸³⁷ Moo 1996: 535-6

⁸³⁸ Moo 1996: 536.

⁸³⁹ Dunn 1998b: 438n129; see also p. 467.

⁸⁴⁰ Schreiner 1998: 454; see Schreiner 2001: 277.

⁸⁴¹ Esler 2003: 265.

⁸⁴² See Ortlund 2014: 114.

⁸⁴³ Moreover, reading the aorist on the basis of Verbal Aspect Theory, while perfectly warranted, by its nature offers no solution. See Porter 1993: 83-109.

ἐδόξασεν refers to an inaugurated reality.⁸⁴⁴ He argues on the basis of several factors: (1) Paul's inaugurated eschatological framework which dominates throughout Romans 8; (2) the relationship between 8:29b and glorification in 8:30 on the basis of the relationship between δόξα and εἰκόν throughout Paul's epistles; (3) justification, just preceding glorification, is primarily regarded as inaugurated;⁸⁴⁵ (4) according to Romans 6, believers are united to 'the glory-resurrected Christ'; (5) believer's glory is spoken of in the present elsewhere in the New Testament; (6) Psalm 8 speaks of human glory being a present glory, and is a text which links δόξα and εἰκόν as Paul does. Ortlund's argument is well-substantiated on a number of levels and I direct my reader to his article.

In the following paragraphs, I wish to add to Ortlund's contextual reading of Paul's use of the aorist in 8:30. Before doing so, however, I note one point of clarification. On the basis of my proposed interpretation of the denotation of glorification as presented throughout the thesis, I too suggest that believers' glorification has already taken place, as have the other aorists in 8:30. But I do not suggest that ἐδόξασεν in 8:30 should be understood as an ingressive aorist. As Ortlund rightly notes on this: 'Our argument is not simply that the aorist ἐδόξασεν should be read as an ingressive aorist, indicating the beginning of a process that will one day be completed. Such a reading allows for a beginning of glorification but retains a focus on the future, and understands glorification as a process instead of a single event in two phases'.⁸⁴⁶ Glorification, according to my working definition, occurs in two stages. On the basis of believers' union with Christ, glorification is a present reality, at least in part. They are free from the powers of sin and death and have received the Holy Spirit, the firstfruits of their adoption. When believers' bodies are resurrected to share in the glory of Christ, as in Philippians 3:21, then they will do so fully.

With this in mind, I wish to add to Ortlund's contextual argument, though on the basis of grounds untouched in his work. I suggest here that believers' present glorification is attested not only on the basis of the six areas presented by Ortlund, but also in the immediately preceding verses: 8:26-28 and their relationship backward to 8:17-25 and forward to 8:29-30. The traditional readings of 8:26-27 and 8:28 need rethinking. All three verses are generally read as assurance for believers that, in the midst of suffering, their ultimate good will come, either from the Spirit's intercessory work (8:26-27) or God who works all things for their good (8:28). Before looking at these three verses, however, I must return our attention to the hope of creation in

⁸⁴⁴ Ortlund 2014.

⁸⁴⁵ See also Byrne 1996: 269.

⁸⁴⁶ Ortlund 2014: 132-3. *Contra* Byrne (1996: 270), who emphasises the present hiddenness and future public revelation of glory. Also Jewett (2007: 530), though he does so only in agreement with Käsemann's suggestion of a baptismal tradition (1980: 245), following Eltester (1958: 24-25, 165).

8:18-25. I noted earlier in discussing humanity's glory in 8:18, 21 that it is in 8:18-21 that Paul says believers have a job to do.⁸⁴⁷ I now return to the hope of creation in 8:18-21 with a view to examining more closely the relationship between creation's anticipated freedom and humanity's glory—a relationship which is then linked to Paul's subsequent points in 8:26-27, 28, and 29-30.

7.2.1 *The Hope of Creation*

Thinking back to the narrative of glory demonstrated in chapter two of this thesis, it is here in 8:18-27,⁸⁴⁸ framed by 8:17 and 28-30, that the final act of Paul's soteriological drama is properly acted out. It is here that the hope of God's people and the hope of creation are aligned. But what is the hope of creation? And first, what is the κτίσις to which Paul refers? With the majority of recent commentators, I suggest that Paul's use of κτίσις in 8:19-22 is a reference to the non-human creation, i.e. 'nature'.⁸⁴⁹ The rationale for understanding κτίσις as the sub-human creation is expressed in a number of points. (1) This is the sense behind Paul's use of the word in 1:25 and 8:39. (2) This is the sense of κτίσις in the LXX (whether collectively: Wis. 2:6; 16:24; 19:6 or in reference to individual creatures: Tob. 8:15; Sir. 43:25).⁸⁵⁰ (3) The personification of nature in the Old Testament, similar to that of κτίσις in 8:19-22, is frequent.⁸⁵¹ (4) Paul echoes the creation narratives of Genesis 1—3.⁸⁵² As

⁸⁴⁷ Refer back to §3.3.3.

⁸⁴⁸ The structure of 8:18-27 is debated. The nuances of the argument will add little to our investigation here, but a brief word is perhaps useful. The structure of 8:18-27 is primarily dependent on one's reading of the three-fold use of συστενάζω in 8:22, 23, and 26. If the three uses of συστενάζω are parallel, then 8:18-27 is divisible into vv.19-22, vv.23-25, and vv.26-27. Hahne (2006: 173) suggests that, because the 'groaning' of creation in 8:22 and the 'groaning' of believers in 8:23 both imply an anxious and thus negative groaning, and the groaning of the Spirit in 8:26 is one of intercession and thus a positive groaning, Paul therefore does not intend a three-fold parallel structure; see also Hahne 2006: 175 for an alternate structure. *Contra* Hahne, Byrne (2010: 88) suggests that the ὡσαύτως at the beginning of v.26 indicates a parallel use of συστενάζω, despite the differences between vv.22, 23 and v.26; see Burke (2006: 180) who draws on Byrne (1979: 104) and Jewett (2004: 202). With Byrne, I am persuaded that the ὡσαύτως at the start of v.26, as well as the sheer presence of a third occurrence of συστενάζω, is evidence enough that the three sections are thus parallel.

⁸⁴⁹ This reading began as early as Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* 32.1; 5.36.3) and Chrysostom (*Hom. Rom.* 14), and continues more recently with: Barth 1933: 306-8 (though his shorter commentary on Romans supports κτίσις as 'humanity': Barth 1959: 99); Dodd 1954: 108; Cranfield 1975: 411-2; Sanders 1977: 473; Wilckens 1980: 152-3; Morris 1988: 322; Dunn 1988a: 469; Fitzmyer 1993: 506; Moo 1996: 551; Wright 2002: 596; Hahne 2006: 177; Byrne 2007: 256; Jewett 2007: 511. Because the 'cosmic' view is the most accepted today, I refer to Cranfield (1975: 411), Christoffersson (1990: 19-21, 33-6), and Hahne (2006: 177-8) for discussions of the less accepted suggestions and their supporters. Two recent suggestions are not included in these three sources: (1) Fewster's 2013 linguistic work on κτίσις, in which he argues that the term serves as a metaphor for 'the body'; and (2) Susan Eastman's suggestion (2002: 273-6) that κτίσις refers to the sub-human creation and non-believers who are primarily Israel.

⁸⁵⁰ Hahne 2006: 180.

⁸⁵¹ Hahne (2006: 181) writes: 'Various aspects of nature are frequently ascribed emotions, intellect and will (Pss. 77:16; 97: 4-5; 114:3-8; Isa. 1:2; see Luke 19:40). The earth and other parts of nature have sorrow or pain due to human sin (Gen. 4:11; Isa. 24:4, 7; Jer. 4:28; 12:4). They rejoice at

Adams notes, ‘Paul is reworking the Genesis story’,⁸⁵³ which thus limits κτίσις to the sub-human creation. (5) With Fee and Keesmaat, Paul here is picking up the new exodus motifs of Isaiah 40—66: ‘God is about to do a “new thing” (Isa. 43: 18-19), and in the end will establish “new heavens and a new earth” (Isa. 65: 17; 66:23-3)’.⁸⁵⁴ (6) Jonathan Moo convincingly argues that in 8:19-22 Paul echoes the cosmic judgment and redemption of the earth and its inhabitants in Isaiah 24—27.⁸⁵⁵ (7) Moreover, as numerous commentators point out, κτίσις cannot include non-believers because non-believers do not wait for the revelation of the sons of God (8:19).⁸⁵⁶ These seven reasons provide strong support for reading κτίσις in 8:19-22 as the non-human creation. Now we must ask, ‘What is its hope?’

Paul writes: τῆ γὰρ ματαιότητι ἡ κτίσις ὑπετάγη, οὐχ ἑκοῦσα ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ὑποτάξαντα, ἐφ’ ἐλπίδι ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ κτίσις ἐλευθερωθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ (Rom. 8:20-21).⁸⁵⁷ First, contrary to Hahne and the majority of recent scholars,⁸⁵⁸ the hope of creation is not to share in the glory of the children of God, or more pointedly, to be glorified with the children of God. Hahne writes: ‘Romans 8:19-22 looks forward to the eschatological glory of creation. Even though it traces the present plight of creation to the fall, it does not use the language of a return to paradise or the restoration of pre-fall conditions. Rather, creation will gain more than it lost due to the fall and will have greater glory’.⁸⁵⁹ The problem with this interpretation is three-fold.

(1) It assumes that τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ in 8:21 refers to believers’ bodily redemption. Horrell notes that ‘if the impact of Adam’s sin was universal, bringing decay and death throughout creation, then, so Paul’s logic seems to run,

human righteousness, the display of God’s glory, the vindication of God and the presence of the righteous in the messianic kingdom (Pss. 65:12-13; 98:4, 7-9; Isa. 14:7-8; 55:12). The OT also describes the suffering of the natural world due to human sin (Gen. 3:17; Isa. 24:4-7; 33:9; Jer. 4:4, 11, 26-28) and the transformation of nature in a future golden age of righteousness (Isa. 11:6-9; 65:17-25; 66:22-23)?’.

⁸⁵² The effects of sin on nature are recorded elsewhere in Jewish literature: 4 *Ezra* 7:11; 1 *En.* 51:4-5; 2 *Bar.* 29:1-2, 5-8. See also Isa. 65:17-19.

⁸⁵³ Adams 2002: 28.

⁸⁵⁴ Fee 2004: 47; see Keesmaat 1999: 97-135; Wright 2004a: 100.

⁸⁵⁵ Moo 2008: 83-9; 2014: 105-8.

⁸⁵⁶ Contra Eastman 2002: 273-6.

⁸⁵⁷ On the question of causality and subjection in 8:20, the majority of scholars understand God to be the primary cause of creation’s subjection to futility. Byrne (2010: 89) suggests an appropriate balance between God and Adam as the ‘cause’ of creation’s subjection: ‘God was the agent of the subjection (the *hypotaxanta* corresponding to the divine passive in *hypetagē*); Adam was its cause in the sense of meriting this punishment; creation, as the instrument of the divine retribution, was compelled to be the innocent victim in the entire transaction’. This is a softening of his previous stance in which he, against the majority of opinions, considered Adam to be the primary cause of creation’s subjection in 8:20: Byrne 1996: 261-2n20.

⁸⁵⁸ E.g. Burke (2008: 285): ‘If Paul here is reworking the Genesis story—which undoubtedly he is—then just as the non-human order had a share in humanity’s fall (Gen. 3:17-19) so it will have a share in the future glory through the final revelation of the adopted children of God’.

⁸⁵⁹ Hahne 2006: 216 with similar sentiments on pp. 171, 173, 219, 228.

God's work of redemption, restoring what was lost, can and must encompass the whole created order, or else it remains only a very partial reversal of the earlier pattern of decay and death'.⁸⁶⁰ Law makes the same point when he states that 'redemption cannot be conceived as something which separates and distinguishes between humanity and nature: "In physical terms, believers are bound together in a common destiny with the whole world and all earthly creatures. So what they experience in their own body applies to all other created things"'.⁸⁶¹ These observations are accurate, but they do not warrant reading creation's hope as sharing in the glory of humanity, as if humanity's glory is merely the redemption of a person's body. No doubt, humanity's glory will include the physical redemption of the body as in 8:23 (and as seen previously in Phil. 3:21 and 1 Cor. 15:43), but it certainly is not limited to physical renewal. Creation, too, will be physically redeemed; but, like humanity, creation's hope rests in the results of that physical redemption, i.e. freedom.

(2) In 8:18 Paul says that the glory to be revealed is the glory 'in us' (εἰς ἡμᾶς). The prepositional phrase should be translated 'in us'⁸⁶² or for us but is usually translated 'to us'. It is not a glory that believers view from a distance but is, rather, a glory in which they are active participants.⁸⁶³ Either way, the glory is revealed in relation to the human and not the created order.

(3) Most importantly, the text says that in the eschaton creation will obtain not glory but freedom. The genitival relationship of τὴν ἐλευθερίαν and τῆς δόξης is one of means—creation will receive a freedom that comes *by means of* or *by way of* the glory of the children of God. What Paul says in 8:21 is that *when* God's children are glorified, *then* the creation will be liberated from its bondage to corruption. The glorification of God's children will directly result in the freedom of creation. This is why 'the creation waits with eager longing for the revealing of the children of God' in 8:19.⁸⁶⁴ Creation's hope, therefore, is not to receive glory or physical renewal—though physical renewal is *a hope* of creation's far more than glory is—but freedom. Just as humanity's physical renewal in Romans 8:23, 1 Corinthians 15:49, and Philippians 3:21 will enable men and women to have full dominion over creation as they were intended, so also creation's physical renewal will enable it be the creation it was intended to be before it became subject to corruption (8:20). Physical redemption for both creation and humanity is a means to a much greater end: freedom to fulfil

⁸⁶⁰ Horrell 2010: 77. See Hahne 2006: 215. See Isa. 11:6-9; 43:19-21; 55:12-13; Ezek. 34:25-31; Hos. 2:18; Zech. 8:12; *1 En.* 45:4-5; 51:4-5; cf. 72:1; *4 Ezra* 8:51-54; *2 Apoc. Bar.* 29:1-8; *Sib. Or.* 3:777-95.

⁸⁶¹ Law 2010: 232 quoting Moltmann 1985: 68. See also Jervell 1960: 271-84.

⁸⁶² The NIV rightly translates the preposition 'in'; most other translations elect 'to us'.

⁸⁶³ See Murray 1959: 301; Jewett 2007: 510.

⁸⁶⁴ See Byrne 2010: 90.

God's purposes.⁸⁶⁵ Only when God's children are reinstated to their original throne—their crown of glory and position of dominion over creation as expressed in Psalm 8:5-8—will the creation be liberated.

This fits the interpretation of Romans 8, especially 8:17, 29, and 30, that I have offered throughout this thesis. Freedom is one of a number of themes, which, following on the narrative started in Romans 5, is prevalent in Romans 8. Believers are free from sin and death (6:18, 22; 8:2; see Gal. 5:1) and creation is set free from futility (ματαιότης)⁸⁶⁶ in 8:20 and corruption (φθορά) in 8:21. And the freedom that both believers and creation receive is a freedom to fulfil the purpose of God or, as Hahne rightly notes, 'The futility of nature will be removed *so that* it fulfils the purpose for which it was created'.⁸⁶⁷ So also, Byrne quoting Cranfield: 'It is probably safest to see [ματαιότης] retaining its basic sense of "inability to attain its true purpose"'.⁸⁶⁸ What the purpose of creation is, Paul does not say. One possible solution is the common Jewish motif of creation's praise of its Creator (e.g. Ps. 148).⁸⁶⁹ Whatever the true purposes of creation are, as long as it remains in its current state of corruption, those created purposes are thwarted.

7.2.2 *Believers' Glory and the Redemption of Creation*

Having now introduced the hope of creation in 8:19-22, I turn our attention to God's calling of believers for his purposes in the present. If the hope of creation is to experience the freedom of fulfilling its created purpose under the glory of God's children who participate in the glory of the Firstborn Son, how does this contingent relationship work itself out in the present? Or does it? I suggest that, though God's children have not yet fully received their adoption as sons and thus are not yet in full possession of the inheritance, they are nevertheless called with the purpose of cooperating with God to bring restoration to his creation in the present. Discussions regarding humanity's responsibility toward the non-human creation are increasingly popular, particularly within discussions surrounding the intersection of ecological concerns and theology.⁸⁷⁰ Byrne even goes so far as to suggest that 'the future of the world (salvation) does to some extent lie in human hands'.⁸⁷¹ He continues by stating,

⁸⁶⁵ This is primarily (though not solely) in opposition to Witherington who over-emphasises physical renewal as the goal of humanity throughout this section, including 'conformed to the image of [God's] Son' in 8:29; refer back to §1.4.2.

⁸⁶⁶ ματαιότης has the sense of 'worthlessness' or 'purposelessness': BDAG: 621.

⁸⁶⁷ Hahne 2006: 215; emphasis mine.

⁸⁶⁸ Byrne 2010: 89 quoting Cranfield 1975: 413-4. Witherington writes that the best translation is "'ineffectiveness", inability to reach its goal and *raison d'être*': 2004: 223.

⁸⁶⁹ See Ps. 98:4-9; Pss. 66:1-4; 96:1, 11-12; 97:1; Isa. 44:23; 55:12; Joel 2:21-22. See Fretheim (2005: 267-8) for an extended list, most of which are psalms; see Horrell 2010: 134.

⁸⁷⁰ Though for an earlier treatment, see Jervell 1960:282-5; more recently, see Moo 1996: 474, 484; Wright 2002: 602; Jewett 2004:35; Bauckham 2010; Byrne 2010; Horrell 2010; Moo 2014.

⁸⁷¹ Byrne 2010: 93.

‘Hope for the future in this sense takes human action into account. It remains hope in God but it is also hope in the prevailing power of God’s grace *working through*, not around or above human cooperation’.⁸⁷²

This view is not without opposition, however. In direct response to these suggestions, Horrell writes that ‘Paul does not explicitly tell believers to “care for the whole creation or to value and preserve non-human creatures”’⁸⁷³ and ‘Paul does not say here, at least not explicitly, that humans have a role to play in helping to “liberate” the creation. The main thrust of the text is to encourage a suffering, vulnerable minority group to endure their suffering, with a sure hope that God will bring final deliverance’.⁸⁷⁴ Horrell is primarily keen to renounce any suggestion that humanity has a God-given right to dominate the earth or to exploit it to its benefit,⁸⁷⁵ an emphasis shared by the majority of those who recognise the *positive* role of humanity in creation’s redemption.⁸⁷⁶

I also acknowledge with Horrell that Paul does not state directly that humanity plays a role in the redemption of creation. Nevertheless, I propose that Paul does provide evidence for humanity’s cooperation with God within the context, particularly in 8:26-30. This cooperation then is additional support for reading ‘glorified’ in 8:30 as a present reality and not merely as a guarantee of a future reality. More specifically, this cooperation is seen (1) in 8:26-27, where the task of believers is to intercede on behalf of creation, a task made possible only by the help of the Spirit, and (2) in 8:28, where the good that God brings is brought in cooperation with humanity and for the benefit of both humanity and the non-human creation. I will now consider each of these in its turn.

8:26-27 – Interceding for the Creation

In Romans 8:26-27 Paul writes:

Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα συναντιλαμβάνεται τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ ἡμῶν· τὸ γὰρ τί προσευξώμεθα καθὸ δεῖ οὐκ οἶδαμεν, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑπερεντυγχάνει στεναγμοῖς ἀλαλήτοις· ὁ δὲ ἐραυνῶν τὰς καρδίας οἶδεν τί τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος, ὅτι κατὰ θεὸν ἐντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ ἁγίων.⁸⁷⁷

Commentators stumble over these verses because they either misread Paul’s point in 8:18-25 that what creation hopes for is physical redemption and/or glory, or because they understand 8:18-25 but misread 8:26-27 as tangential verses on believers’ prayer

⁸⁷² Byrne 2010: 93; emphasis original.

⁸⁷³ Horrell 2010: 75.

⁸⁷⁴ Horrell 2010: 79; see pp. 86-7.

⁸⁷⁵ Church of England Report: 2005; Horrell 2010: 136.

⁸⁷⁶ Bauckham 2010; Moo 2014.

⁸⁷⁷ See Ps. 44:21.

life, and therefore fail to make the connection between 8:18-25 and 8:26-27. Sanday and Headlam understood Paul to provide an excursus on prayer, as in *how to pray*,⁸⁷⁸ and Käsemann took it to refer to glossolalia in worship (see 1 Cor. 14:14).⁸⁷⁹ Neither suggestion offers a rationale for Paul's transition from the hope of creation and God's people in 8:18-25 to two seemingly random verses on prayer. Some commentators, in fact, neglect even to offer a hypothesis for how 8:26-27 relates to 8:18-25.⁸⁸⁰

Most understand the reference to the Spirits' intercession *on behalf of* believers (ὕπερ ἁγίων) at the end of 8:27 as *for the benefit of* believers. In other words, that for which believers ought to pray for in 8:26 is for their own benefit—they ought to pray for themselves. But they themselves are not yet fully redeemed and thus struggle with weakness (ἀσθένεια). This weakness is commonly understood as believers' inability to know what particulars to pray for, whether because the particulars are too great and too extensive for the human mind and heart or because the human mind and heart themselves remain in such great need of restoration.⁸⁸¹ Therefore the Spirit intercedes for them. The result, presumably, is that the Spirit's intercession is efficacious for the benefit of the believer. This interpretation flows smoothly into the traditional interpretation of 8:28, which I examine below. But I suggest that it also contributes to the oft-created unnatural division between 8:18-25 and 8:28-30, and is the reason why it can be seen as an excursus on prayer.

I propose that nothing in the text warrants reading τὸ γὰρ τί προσευξώμεθα καθὸ δεῖ οὐκ οἴδαμεν in 8:26 as a reference to the prayers believers should make only on their own behalf. Instead, what the believer ought to pray for in 8:26 and what the Spirit intercedes for in 8:27 is not *only* for the believers' own good but is *also* for the good of the creation which currently groans, hence Paul's transition from creation to believers in 8:22-23. If this is the case, then the prepositional phrase ὑπερ ἁγίων is not *on behalf of the saints* but is *for the benefit of* both the groaning saints and the groaning creation. Wright captures Paul's point here well: 'In this condition they do not even know what to pray for, how it is that God will work through them to bring about the redemption of the world'.⁸⁸² But the Spirit does. The Spirit knows the will of God and thus is able to help (συναντιλαμβάνομαι) believers in their weakness to fulfil their task of interceding (ὑπερεντυγχάνω in 8:26 and ἐντυγχάνω in 8:27) for the groaning creation. Wright continues:

⁸⁷⁸ See Sanday and Headlam 1902: 213.

⁸⁷⁹ Käsemann 1971: 239-41. See Fee 1994: 577-86. Cranfield denies this possibility: 1975: 420-4, as do Schreiner (1998: 445) and Wright (2002: 599).

⁸⁸⁰ See Murray 1959: 310-11. Schreiner suggests 8:26-27 is connected to 8:19-22 and 23-25 by linking the idea of hope in vv. 19-25 and the Spirit's sustainment of that hope in prayer in vv. 26-27; also Moo 1996: 522-3. For a comprehensive overview of differing approaches, see Jewett 2007: 521-4.

⁸⁸¹ Käsemann 1971: 127-8; Cranfield 1975: 421; Dunn 1988a: 477; Fee 1994: 575, 579; Schreiner 1998: 443; *contra* Jewett (2007: 522) who suggests the weakness is the same as the suffering of 8:18.

⁸⁸² Wright 2002: 599; see also Dunn 1988a: 480.

The point Paul is making . . . is that the Spirit’s own very self intercedes within the Christian precisely at the point where he or she, faced with the ruin and misery of the world, finds that there are no words left to express in God’s presence the sense of futility (v. 20) and the longing for redemption. It is not . . . that the Spirit intercedes “for us”; that misses the point, and makes Paul repeat himself in the following verse. What Paul is saying is that the Spirit, active within the innermost being of the Christian, is doing the very interceding the Christian longs to do, even though the only evidence that can be produced is inarticulate groanings.⁸⁸³

God’s children are tasked with the role of participating in God’s restoration process in creation through the practice of prayer. In this way, they participate with the Son’s rule over creation as those whose new identity is in Christ. Just as the Son intercedes on behalf of the saints in his glory in 8:34, so also the saints demonstrate their sonship, and thus their participation in the Son’s glory, in the present. And they do so not in domination but in a Christ-modeled dominion (e.g. Phil. 2:6-11) that leads to redemption. But because of their weakness, they can only fulfil this role with the help and intercession of the Spirit.

8:28 – Cooperating with God for the Good of All Things

Paul may refer to believers’ ultimate glory in 8:17, 18, 21, but, as with most motifs present in Romans 8 (e.g. adoption, new life), Paul can write just as easily about present realities as he does about future realities. The reading of 8:26-27 just proposed demonstrates the present glorification of believers, and it flows into Romans 8:28 where, I suggest, Paul’s focus is on just this—believers’ present glorification. There Paul writes: Οἶδαμεν δὲ ὅτι τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν τὸν θεὸν πάντα συνεργεῖ εἰς ἀγαθόν, τοῖς κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς οὖσιν. As with 8:26-27, Romans 8:28 is usually separated from the verses which precede it, especially 8:19-22. But as with 8:26-27, I suggest that the traditional interpretations or translations have obscured the implicit thematic continuity from 8:17-30, and thus also believers’ present glorification.

These oversights are due to a number of exegetical issues in 8:28, those most frequently discussed having to do with (1) the textually suspect ὁ θεὸς and, related, (2) the identity of the subject of the verb. There are a handful of commonly accepted ways to take the dense phrase: πάντα συνεργεῖ εἰς ἀγαθόν. And, each way revolves around the question of the subject of the verb, συνεργεῖ, and whether πάντα is read as an accusative of specification, the direct object, or whether it itself is the subject of the verb. The question of the subject is partly complicated by the possible omission or

⁸⁸³ Wright 2002: 599; see p. 606.

addition of ὁ θεὸς in various manuscripts.⁸⁸⁴ If ὁ θεὸς is accepted as original, then God is the explicit subject of the verb. The best witnesses, however, are those which do not include the subject. If ὁ θεὸς is not accepted as original, however, God can still be the implied subject of the verb. This is supported by the relationship of 8:28 to 8:29-30, where God is the subject.⁸⁸⁵ The subject of the verb may also be the Holy Spirit, supported by the relationship between 8:28 and 8:26-27, where the Spirit is the subject. Few support this option, with Robert Jewett and Gordon Fee being notable among those who do so.⁸⁸⁶ Also contributing to complications is the ambiguity of πάντα, which can be read as an accusative of specification: ‘in all things’, a direct object: ‘God/the Spirit works all things’, or the subject of the verb: ‘All things work together’. These options leave us with five possible combinations.⁸⁸⁷

- (1) God (whether explicit or implicit) works all things for good (NAS)
- (2) The Spirit works all things for good
- (3) In all things God works for good (NIV, RSV)⁸⁸⁸
- (4) In all things the Spirit works for good
- (5) All things work together for good (ESV, KJV, NKJV, NRS, NET)

These are significant issues to discuss, no doubt, but the resultant underlying message is the same either way: eventually everything works out for God’s people. In fact, many commentators and grammarians find it necessary to comment on this point in particular, that the ‘good’ is specifically for believers. Schreiner states: ‘What is remarkable . . . is that even suffering and tribulation turn out for the good of the Christian’, noting Chrysostom’s *Homilies on Romans* 15 [on Rom. 8:28] who says ‘God uses painful things in this way to show his great power’.⁸⁸⁹ It is this emphasis on the good which comes to believers and these subject-focused exegetical discussions which have broken the obvious link between 8:28 and 8:19-22.

What we need to reconsider, I suggest, is the meaning of συνεργέω and how to render the appositional dative participles: τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν and τοῖς . . . κλητοῖς οὖσιν. These participles are almost always translated as either *for* those who love/are called or *to* those who love/are called. They are translated as datives of advantage or as the indirect object. But these are not the only possibilities.

I suggest that the dative participles should be read as datives of instrumentality: ‘by means of’, or as datives of association: ‘with’. Support for this

⁸⁸⁴ The best witnesses are those that do not include the subject, namely: ⚭ C D F G Ψ 3. 1739. 1881 ⚭ latt sy bo Cl, while those that do are limited to: ℘⁴⁶ A B 81 sa.

⁸⁸⁵ See Bertram TDNT 7:871-6; Morris 1988: 331; Wright 2002: 600.

⁸⁸⁶ NEB; Fee 1994: 588-90; Jewett 2007: 527.

⁸⁸⁷ Most commentators provide three or four of these possibilities but the majority omit #4.

⁸⁸⁸ BDAG suggests accusative of specification.

⁸⁸⁹ Schreiner 1998: 449.

reading already exists in abbreviated form in the NJB and the RSV. The NJB translates the verse as: ‘We are well aware that God works *with* those who love him, those who have been called in accordance with his purpose’, though the editors tack on at the end: ‘and turns everything to their good’. The RSV is more true to the text. It translates 8:28 as: ‘We know that in everything God works for good *with* those who love him, who are called according to his purpose’. The RSV clearly identifies the dative participles as datives of association. Wallace notes that the dative of association and dative of instrumentality/means are closely linked, though distinctions can still be maintained.⁸⁹⁰ In 8:28, the distinction is dependent on how one translates the verb, συνεργέω.

There are two primary denotations of the verb. Συνεργέω can denote a sense of ‘working together’—as in ‘working toward’ or ‘progressing toward’ completion, as is the case in translation number five above.⁸⁹¹ The most common meaning, however, is to ‘work with’ or ‘cooperate with’, as in, two parties working in partnership. BDAG suggests the verb in 8:28 means to ‘help (or work with) someone to obtain something or bring something about’. LSJ provides ‘work together with, help in work, co-operate, co-operate with, or assist’. Louw and Nida suggest that συνεργέω means: ‘to engage in an activity together with someone else’, or ‘to work together with, to be active together with’.⁸⁹² The story is not much different in TDNT or older lexicons. The point here is that, while it is possible to translate συνεργέω as ‘work together’, as in ‘progressing toward something’, as about half of the major English translations of Romans 8:28 do, its primary denotation is ‘work with’ or ‘cooperate with’ someone or something.

The verb’s use in the New Testament tells the same story. Elsewhere in the New Testament συνεργέω is used only four times, all of which are clearly understood as a working partnership or cooperation between two entities. In Mark 16:20 we find: ‘And they went out and proclaimed the good news everywhere, while the Lord *worked with them* and confirmed the message by the signs that accompanied it’. In James 2:22 it is written: ‘You see that his *faith* worked with his *actions*’: ἡ πίστις συνήργει τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. Like Romans 8:28, συνήργει is used in conjunction with a dative of association. And, in addition to Romans 8:28, Paul uses it twice elsewhere: in 1 Corinthians 16:16 where he writes, ‘I urge you to put yourselves at the service of such people, and of everyone *who works and toils with them*’, and in 2 Corinthians 6:1 with, ‘As we *work together with him*, we urge you also not to accept the grace of God in vain’. In Mark 16, 1 Corinthians 16, and 2 Corinthians 6, the dative ‘with them’ or ‘with him’ is supplied by the translators. In James 2, as in Romans 8, the dative is included as an obvious dative of association. In every instance, two entities

⁸⁹⁰ Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics*, 159-61.

⁸⁹¹ E.g. ESV, NAS, NRS.

⁸⁹² Louw and Nida 42.15.

cooperate with one another to produce a final result, and, where a dative is explicit rather than implied, it is a dative of association.

These two denotations, then, provide the distinction between rendering the dative participles in 8:28 as datives of association or datives of instrumentality. If *συνεργέω* is rendered ‘work together’, in the sense of either God progressing all things toward an end or all things progressing toward an end under God’s providence, then the datives are likely datives of instrumentality. If *συνεργέω* is taken as it is most commonly found, i.e. ‘work with’ or ‘cooperate with’ another entity, then the datives are likely datives of association. Additionally, Wallace notes that ‘frequently, though not always, the dative [of association] will be related to a compound verb involving *σύν*’.⁸⁹³ Given this fact, and given that *συνεργέω* is primarily understood as two entities working together, a strong chance exists that what Paul is saying is not simply that God is working all things for good for the benefit of his people. Rather, I suggest three alternate possibilities than those commonly provided for reading Romans 8:28. These are:

(1) *συνεργέω* as ‘work toward completion’ or ‘progress toward completion’ + dative of instrumentality:

All things work together for good (in God’s providence) *by means of* those who love God, who are called according to his purpose.

God works all things together for good *by means of* those who love God, who are called according to his purpose.

Or, more likely:

(2) *συνεργέω* as ‘work with’ or ‘cooperate with’ + dative of association:

In all things God works for good *with those* who love God, who are called according to his purpose.

God works all things for good *with those* who love God, who are called according to his purpose.

Whichever translation is chosen, the good that is done is not for the believer but is done by God *and* the believer on behalf of ‘all things’.

I have argued thus far that this is confirmed both by the definition of *συνεργέω* and by the common datives associated with such *συν*-compound verbs. This reading is additionally supported by the meaning of *πάντα*. However *πάντα* is treated grammatically, it is always understood as little more than a synonym for ‘unpleasant

⁸⁹³ Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics*, 159.

circumstances.’ More specifically, it is understood as little more than a synonym for believers’ difficult or unpleasant circumstances. Cranfield suggests that πάντα refers to ‘the sufferings of the present time’ from 8:18, which he says is confirmed by believers’ assurances in 8:35-39.⁸⁹⁴ While Moo is unwilling to restrict ‘all things’ to human’s suffering and includes even that of humanity’s sin, he unfortunately limits the term to that which affects humanity.⁸⁹⁵ I suggest that this is a myopic misreading of πάντα and that πάντα does not refer specifically to believers’ sufferings and unfortunate situations, but rather it is a metonym for every entity and circumstance in existence. ‘All things’ in 8:28 really is ‘all things’: everything in existence, both entities and circumstances that are not ‘good’ or that are in need of being declared ‘good’. ‘All things’ includes the sufferings of believers from 8:18 *and* those of the physical creation in 8:20-22, as I argued above is the case for 8:26-27 as well.

If the datives in 8:28 are taken as I have suggested, then not only is the translation grammatically sound, but the link between 8:19-22 and 8:28 is obvious: the good which God brings to all things comes in part through his cooperation with believers, a theological reality which parallels Paul’s statements in vv. 19-22 about the redemption and liberation of creation which comes when God’s children are glorified. Moreover, 8:28, then, is not a part of a semi-detached three-verse section, whether it be the end of 8:26-27 or the beginning of 8:29-30 (thus leaving 8:26-27 as its own semi-detached section), but is a transitional verse uniting 8:17-30 as one very clear unit on the glory/glorification believers receive. God’s children *will receive this glory in full* when their own redemption and adoption is complete, but they also *are currently glorified*, even if *in part*. This is the reason believers are predestined, called, and justified: that, as God’s eschatological family, his children might be used by God to bring redemption to the world around them, in part, by action and, in part, by prayer (8:26-27). This participation is the *now* of believers’ glorification, the present purpose for which they were called (8:28, 30). Believers are not yet glorified entirely or completely, but they nonetheless participate in the Son’s glory in the present as those whose new identity is established in the Messiah, the Son of God.

Paul’s use of the aorist ἐδόξασεν in 8:30c, therefore, does indeed speak to a present reality, as Ortlund persuasively argues (though he does not share the reading of 8:28 I have proposed here). Believers are glorified, which is to say that believers are *now* ‘conformed to the image of [God’s Firstborn] Son’, at least in part. As Jewett insightfully notes on the relationship between 8:28-29: ‘The transformation is currently manifest, at least in part, as believers cooperate with the Spirit to achieve the good (Rom 8:28); to restrict the bearing of this passage to future transformation in the resurrection overlooks the significance of the aorist verbs’.⁸⁹⁶ Believers’ conformity

⁸⁹⁴ Cranfield 1975: 428; see also Schreiner 1998: 449; Byrne 2007: 267.

⁸⁹⁵ Moo 1996: 529; see Schreiner 1998: 449; Wright 2002: 600.

⁸⁹⁶ Jewett 2007: 529.

will not be complete until they too rise from the grave with redeemed bodies (8:23); but, as Ortlund rightly argues, if believers are now in union with the Messiah, so too they are now participants in his eschatological glory.

7.3 *Conclusion*

In this seventh and final chapter, I have suggested that ‘conformed to the image of [God’s Firstborn] Son’, i.e. glorified, is the ultimate task for which God purposed and called his children. In the first part of the chapter I outlined the structure of vv. 28-30 and demonstrated that Paul’s placement of 8:29b within the three verses makes conformity to the Firstborn Son the eternally decreed conclusion to that narrative; it is what believers are purposed to do. In section two I suggested that this ultimate goal of conformity, i.e. glory, is not only a purpose of the future. Rather, believers are called even in the present to represent God within creation and to cooperate with God to bring redemption to that creation. Believers are children of God and co-heirs with Christ. They are conformed to the image of God’s Firstborn Son, participating in his role as the reigning representative of God within the cosmos.

8. CONCLUSION

8.1 *Alternative Proposals*

In the introduction of this thesis, I outlined a number of alternative proposals offered for the interpretation of Romans 8:29b. There I noted that this thesis is, by necessity, almost exclusively constructive rather than deconstructive, with the goal of building an argument rather than dismantling those of others; studies focused on 8:29b would first have to exist in order for them to be dismantled. Moreover, a comprehensive treatment of the various themes involved is required in order either to suggest or to argue against one perspective in particular. The themes of each of these alternative proposals are therefore interwoven throughout the thesis. Nevertheless, a brief word on each is important at this point.

(1) Resurrected bodily conformity: Unequivocally, part of believers' resurrection redemption is the renewal of the body, as it is in Philippians 3:21, 1 Corinthians 15:43, and as Paul clearly states in Romans 8:23: οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἔχοντες, ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς στενάζομεν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι, τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν. That being said, Paul's emphasis in 8:29c is on sonship, a wholistic identity rather than a corporeal identity. The case is the same for Paul's entire discussion of adoption and sonship in 8:14-17, 23. Understanding the phrases 'adoption as sons' and 'redemption of our bodies' in 8:23 as exegetical not only ignores the parallels with the Abrahamic promises in 8:17 but thereby suggests that the inheritance is the redemption of the body. As in Philippians 3:21 and 1 Corinthians 15, the Messiah's Sonship is not showcased by the sheer presence of his body but by what he does *with* the body. The Son of God was raised with an incorruptible body, but, as in 1 Corinthians 15, the body is only an indication of the fact that the Messiah now reigns over the powers of sin and death. Paul's point is that the Son reigns in glory over his inheritance with his new body, and believers, with their renewed bodies, will do the same.

(2) Transformation in Holiness: As with the resurrected body, believers' holiness will also be transformed. But this does not warrant Gorman's assertion that Romans 8:29 and 12:2 are speaking to the same realities. Gorman writes on 12:2: 'that this holiness is in fact Christlikeness is clear from the assertion that the *telos* of salvation in Romans is conformity to "the image of his [God's] Son" (8:29) rather than conformity to this age (12:1-2)'.⁸⁹⁷ As noted above, Gorman is correct to suggest that Paul refers in Romans 12:2 to moral transformation, i.e. holiness/sanctification. This contrast of verses, however, has two problems. The first problem is exegetical. Gorman oversteps linguistic bounds when he applies the themes of Romans 12:2 (and

⁸⁹⁷ Gorman 2009: 111, also p. 113.

2 Cor. 3:18) to Paul’s use of σύμμορφος in Romans 8:29.⁸⁹⁸ Σύμμορφος does not occur in Romans 12:2, nor do the majority of the other themes which surround Paul’s use of σύμμορφος in Romans 8. As I have noted on several occasions, one cannot read Paul’s morphic-language, image-language, and glory-language throughout his epistles as all referring to the same reality. They must be interpreted on the basis of their use within their particular lexical and theological contexts. The second problem is theological. The ‘telos of salvation’—especially if it is understood on the basis of Romans 8:29-30—is not holiness but glorification, which I will turn to below. My reader will be aware by now that I find no reason to suggest that believers’ glorification refers to their transformed sanctity, at least not in Romans 8. Holiness, while certainly a significant aspect of a believer’s redemption, is nowhere in Paul made the end-all of redemption in Christ.

(3) Suffering with Christ. As Paul clearly states in 8:17, suffering with Christ is part of the life of the believer this side of eternity. But this does not mean that suffering with Christ is part of the *telos* of salvation. To emphasise the connection between 8:17 and 8:29 and thereby to suggest that σύμμορφος must include suffering with Christ, is to deny the much stronger semantic structure of the passage linking 8:29b to ‘glorified’ in 8:30 which is linked to ‘co-glorified’ and ‘co-heirs’ in 8:17. According to this semantic structure or logic of discourse, σύμμορφος is not linked with the suffering but with the glory. In fact, conformity to the image of the Son is the exact opposite of suffering with Christ, *contra* Käsemann, who refuses to suggest any future aspect of conformity,⁸⁹⁹ and Keesmaat, who suggests that ‘suffering is the so-far-unarticulated centre of the whole passage’.⁹⁰⁰ As Byrne rightly notes, ‘Conformity to the total “career” of Christ—suffering as well as glory—is certainly implicit in the overall Pauline view (cf. esp. v. 17c). But Paul is spelling out here the *goal* of the divine *prosthesis*—the end God has in view for us . . . , rather than the stages on the way’.⁹⁰¹

(4) Restoration to the Presence of God: Throughout the thesis I have interacted with Newman’s *Glory-Christology* as the commonly used paradigm for interpreting Paul’s use of δόξα and δοξάζω throughout Romans. This was not because I wished to refute his work completely; I have made it clear that, while criticizing it, there is much to learn from it, as I suggested in chapter three. Rather, I chose Newman’s work because it demonstrates the complexities behind the terms throughout Paul’s letters, and serves as a cautionary word not to allow one denotation of glory or glorification to become master of them all. Moreover, as I indicated throughout, Newman does not

⁸⁹⁸ Gorman 2009: 111, also p. 113. 2 Corinthians 3:18 is also often linked with Philippians 3:21 due to a similar emphasis on transformation. In Philippians 3:21, however, Paul uses μετασχηματίζω, a term we should not assume means moral transformation. It is found elsewhere only in 1 Cor. 4:6, where it means ‘apply’ and in 2 Cor. 11:13, 14, 15, where it means ‘disguise’.

⁸⁹⁹ Käsemann 1980: 244-5.

⁹⁰⁰ Keesmaat 1999: 88.

⁹⁰¹ Byrne 1996: 272-3n29.

interact heavily with Paul’s glory-language in Romans, and thus served as a good conversation partner for doing just that. That being said, of all the suggestions for interpreting 8:29b, the proposal that it indicates the restoration of glory or the presence of God comes the closest. It is rightly made in recognition that 8:29b aligns with ‘glorification’ in 8:30 and with co-glorification in 8:17c. What is overlooked, however, is that, in the LXX, δόξα and δοξάζω—vis-à-vis humanity—primarily denote a status of honour associated with power, authority, or rule. And Paul’s glory-language in Romans—again, vis-à-vis humanity—follows more closely the LXX use of the terms than it does the theophanic tradition of God’s manifest presence made visible in splendour.

These four suggestions are the most pronounced among scholars’ references to Romans 8:29b. Nevertheless, when a reference to the phrase occurs in an argument, it more often than not occurs as evidence for semi-related issues, and rarely with an eye to Paul’s implied *meaning* of the phrase; ‘conformed to the image’ is itself a chameleon, adaptable to almost any argument, or so it would seem.

8.2 Chapter Conclusions

This thesis has argued for an alternative interpretation of the phrase, one which takes into account the function of Romans 8:29b within the context of 8:17-30 and within Romans 1—8 as a whole. The thesis was divided into two halves. The first half served to establish the larger motifs of glory and glorification in the LXX and in Romans, as well as to establish the motif of vocational participation throughout Paul’s letters. The second half focused on 8:29b within its immediate context of Romans 8:17-30 and examined three key elements of the verse: the phrase ‘image of [God’s] Son’, believers’ participation in the Son’s glory, and the implicit notion of believers’ present glorification. I will briefly summarise the argument of each chapter and thus draw the overarching argument into a concise whole.

After introducing the problem—the lacuna of focused treatments of Romans 8:29b—and the most commonly suggested interpretations of the phrase ‘conformed to the image of [God’s] Son’, I turned our attention in chapter two to the semantic uses of δόξα and δοξάζω in the LXX. The discussion centred on the significance of semiotics and the recognition that words function in various way, often figuratively as metaphor, metonymy, or symbol within connotation chains or ‘orders of significance’. I suggested that these basic elements of semiotic theory must be applied when articulating the function of words in the Old Testament, particularly to the analagous and symbolic language used to describe God. With this basis of semiotic theory in place, I turned our attention to the work of George Caird and Millard Berquist on the primary functions of כבוד as it is used throughout the Hebrew Bible. Independent of one another, Berquist and Caird arrived at three conclusions: (1) when associated with mankind, כבוד refers to a person’s status or honour; (2) the most extensive use of כבוד

associated with God *does not mean* a theophanic revelation; and (3) the theophanic revelations which do occur symbolise God's status, power, or character. Using their investigations into כבוד as a basis, I then turned our attention to the semantic function of δόξα and δοξάζω throughout the LXX, analysing Muraoka's lexical entry on the terms and providing a lexical entry and concordance of my own.

In categorising the concordance according to semantic domains and connotations which exist within those domains, I demonstrated that δόξα and δοξάζω are used in various ways throughout the LXX in reference to both God and humanity. When used in reference to God, four primary conclusions were drawn: (1) δόξα does not primarily mean splendour; (2) God's glory is commonly associated with his status or his identity as king; (3) the 'glory of the Lord' does not always refer to God's theophanic manifestation; (4) when the glory of God does indicate the visible, manifest presence of God, that presence must be recognised as only part of the equation. Likewise, three conclusions were drawn for the term's function in reference to humanity: (1) glory (and its cognates) primarily bears its denotative meaning of status/honour associated with power, authority, character, or riches. In nearly every instance it is a reference to the exalted status or honour the person possesses or in which they exist, rather than a visible splendour after the likeness of God's theophanic splendour; (2) humanity's glory and glorification as exalted status or possessed honour is often associated with the person's status as king, ruler, or person of authority; (3) glorification of a person is never indicative of the transformation of a person's sanctity.

Chapter two concluded with a brief examination of how 'glory' and its cognates functions in Daniel and 1 Enoch, two important examples of apocalyptic imagery. After noting the symbolic nature of the literature which arose out of a historical context, possibly one of resistance, I then offered a concordance of the terms in both pieces of literature and a brief analysis of the general themes which arose out of those concordances. For Daniel, conclusions included: (1) with two exceptions for δόξα, both δόξα and δοξάζω in Daniel unequivocally mean either possessing or being placed in a position of honour, power, or an exalted status associated with some form of rule or governance which is possessed by God or people; (2) the One Like a Son of Man in Daniel 7:14 clearly is given glory understood as power, authority, honour associated with a status of rule. From 1 Enoch, a number of inferences were drawn, the most important of which include: (1) the two most frequently recurring uses of glory are for the name of God, which is often closely associated with his identity as King, and in the genitival relationship with 'throne' or 'seat'; (2) only once does a person have a radiant glory (the infant, Noah, in 106:6); (3) only once is someone 'glorified'—the Elect One in 51:4—and there it is clearly in reference to his exaltation to a status of rule/dominion.

In chapter three, then, I turned to Paul's use of δόξα and δοξάζω in Romans. There I suggested that the common glosses of 'splendour' or 'radiance' are inadequate

for understanding Paul's use of the terms in Romans. I also suggested that Carey Newman's *Paul's Glory-Christology*, in which he argued that the visible manifestation of God in theophany in the Old Testament was present in the person of Jesus Christ, though insightful for many of Paul's letters, is less helpful for understanding the semantics of believers' glory or glorification in Romans. By his own admission, Newman's study rests almost exclusively on the כבוד-δόξα word group as it related to God (rather than humans) throughout the Hebrew Bible/LXX. Moreover, Newman's study rests almost exclusively on Paul's use of the terms outwith Romans. Paul's Glory-Christology, as Newman calls it, as well as the more traditional glosses of 'splendour' or 'radiance', does little to explain believers' expectation of glory in texts such as Romans 2:7, 10, where δόξα is clearly a reference to honour or an exalted status. This alone warranted a re-examination of Paul's use of the terms elsewhere in Romans.

Before re-examining Paul's use of δόξα and δοξάζω in Romans, I offered some brief considerations on key issues which pertain to the investigation. Most notable of these considerations is the significance of Psalm 8 within the discussion of Paul's use of glory. First, Psalm 8 highlights the semantic use of δόξα as part of the motif of humanity's honour or exalted status in which that honour or status is clearly associated with rule or dominion. Second, Paul reads Psalm 8 messianically in his letters, most explicitly in 1 Corinthians 15:27, which indicates his recognition of its significance for the incarnate Son of God as the new Adam. Furthermore, the relationship between humanity's glory as caretakers of creation in Psalm 8 is closely associated with humanity's role as image bearers and thus caretakers of creation in Genesis 1:26-28, a fact which also leads to the non-coincidental overlap of δόξα and εἰκόν throughout Paul's letters. On the basis of these factors, I suggested that it is at least a *possibility* that Psalm 8 and the crowning of Adam with glory and honour was a possible textual backdrop to δόξα at various points in Paul's letters. A second notable consideration regarded the likelihood that Paul echoes Adam at all in Romans, especially in Romans 1:23 and 3:23. I suggested that, while many scholars rightly reject an echo of Genesis 3 and the 'Fall' narrative, there is undoubtedly an echo of Genesis 1:26-27 in Romans 1:23 which gets carried over into 3:23. I argued that, in Romans 1:23, the echo is of corporate humanity in Adam (אדם) from Genesis 1:26-27, and Paul utilises it to emphasise not Adam's transgression of God's command from Genesis 3, but the identity as God's royal representative which Adam (and all humanity with him) was intended to demonstrate. This echo of humanity's created purpose is at the heart of Paul's anthropology and new Adam Christology throughout Romans.

Finally in chapter three, I examined the texts in Romans in which Paul refers to the glory or glorification of humanity (1:23; 2:7, 10; 3:23; 5:2) and Israel (1:23; 9:4, 23), with the exception of a close analysis of those in Romans 8. In doing so, I offered what I referred to as Paul's 'narrative of glory'—an underlying narrative of

eschatological renewal, of humanity, Israel, and creation—implicit in Romans. In this section I argued that Paul echoes humanity’s rejection of its created purpose as God’s representatives in 1:23 and 3:23, which he then elaborates on in Romans 5:12-21. Though δόξα and δοξάζω are both absent from the passage, Adam’s abdication of his throne is not. Here Paul uses βασιλεύω to describe death’s dominion which existed in place of Adam’s (and all humanity’s in Adam) intended dominion over creation. Had humanity in Adam not ‘exchanged the glory of the immortal God’ (1:23) and come to ‘lack the glory of God’ (3:23), humanity would reign and sin and death would be non-existent. And, yet, though the first Adam allowed death to exercise dominion, the obedience of the new Adam ensures that believers will again ‘reign in life’ (5:17). They have a renewed ‘hope of glory’ (5:2) and can look forward to glory, honour, immortality, and peace (2:7, 10). These themes underly Paul’s emphasis on believers’ eschatological glory in Romans 8, a discussion which, by necessity, was primarily relegated to chapters six and seven of this thesis. At this point in chapter three, I further articulated the inadequacy of Newman’s Glory-Christology for understanding the relationship between creation’s renewed freedom and believers’ renewed glory—or why Paul would address this relationship at all—in Romans 8.

In chapter four, the final chapter in the first half of the thesis, I examined the Pauline motif of participation in Christ, a motif with significance for Paul’s emphases in Romans 5—8 in general and 8:29 in particular. There I argued that Paul articulates a vocational participation, in which believers’ participation in the resurrection life and glory of Christ is a fulfilment of their intended vocation as God’s earthly representatives—those whose identity is now in the new Adam, the representative Son of Man of Psalm 8. This vocational participation, I argued, is most clearly identified in Romans 6:4-8, where Paul says believers are transferred in baptism from their identity in Adam to their new identity in Christ. Being united with Christ, believers thus participate in the resurrection life of Christ; they actively share with Christ in his Messianic and new Adamic reign. This motif of vocational participation in Jesus’ reign is encountered again in Romans 8:17, where Paul describes it in terms of being ‘co-inheritors’ and ‘co-glorified’ with the Son. On the basis of believers’ adoption to sonship (8:14-16) and thus their change in identity, as children of God believers participate with the Son of God in his inheritance and glory—his vocational rule over the world as the Firstborn Son of God.

In the second half of chapter four, I examined Philippians 3:21, where Paul uses σύμμορφος in a participatory context, and 1 Corinthians 15:49, Colossians 3:10, and 2 Corinthians 3:18, 4:4, where Paul uses εικόν in contexts of vocational participation. In Philippians 3:21 I argued that, contrary to common interpretations, Christ’s ‘body of glory’ (τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ) should not be read as adjectival, i.e. ‘glorious body’, but as possessive, i.e. ‘his body which exists in glory’. On the basis of Christ’s status of humility and status of exaltation in Philippians 2:6-11, Paul’s reference to ‘bodies of humility’ in 3:21 should also indicate ‘bodies which

exist in [the status of] humility'. Believers' conformity to Christ's 'body which exists in glory', then, should be viewed as their transformation into and vocational participation with Christ in his δόξα—a glory which both denotes an exalted status or power and which is associated with his rule over creation, as indicated by—or, in fact, is necessitated by—the echo of Psalm 8 at the end of 3:21.

Though σύμμορφος is not used in 1 Corinthians 15, Paul nevertheless articulates a motif of vocational participation through his use of εικόν and δόξα, both of which occur within the context of the explicit Adam-Christ typology in 15:45-49, a typology which continues the contrast between the first Adam and last Adam of 15:21-28, where Christ's sovereignty is established, again, on the basis of Psalm 8. In 15:49 Paul writes that believers bear the 'image of the heavenly man', indicating the future resurrection body to be characterised by immortality and incorruptability, but also indicating a present union and participation with Christ in his victorious rule. The body which will be raised to bear the image of the heavenly man (v. 49) will also be characterised by δόξα—a term used in contrast with ἀτιμία (v. 43) and which therefore does not denote 'splendour' or 'radiance'. Throughout 15:21-28, 45-49, Paul highlights the glory of the last Adam—the Son of Man of Psalm 8 who now has victory over death itself (15:54-57). It is this life of dominion, of victory, in which believers will share in total transformation in the resurrection, and in which they participate through union with Christ already (v. 57).

The motif of vocational participation is also found in the context of Colossians 3:10, where the believer is described as 'being renewed in knowledge according to the image of its creator'. Paul's participatory language is expressed in Colossians through various σύν-/σύν-compounds (2:12, 13, 20; 3:1, 3, 4), through which Paul highlights believers' participation with Christ as the logical result of their union with Christ, their redemption in him (1:14) and new existence in his kingdom (1:13). Because believers have been transferred into Christ's kingdom, they should live not as the 'old man' (3:9), the man who lived under the power of darkness (1:13), but as the 'new man', the man 'being renewed in the image of its Creator' (3:10). This is to say that believers should live in solidarity as redeemed humanity, having been patterned on the image of the Creator, the image which is Christ—the firstborn of creation and the firstborn of the dead. According to 3:10, then, believers have taken off or disarmed their 'old man' loyalties and put on those of Christ, thus becoming full and active participants in his kingdom.

Before concluding chapter four, I suggested that a certain level of caution should be exhibited in drawing any conclusions on Romans 8:29 on the basis of 2 Corinthians 3—4. There are, at first glance, a number of lexical similarities between the two texts, but upon closer inspection, the correspondences become less obvious. Paul's morphic language of 'transformation' (μεταμορφόω) corresponds more closely to Romans 12:2, where Paul emphasises the renewal of the mind, than it does to Romans 8:29, where σύμμορφος falls within a context dominated by the motif of

vocational participation. Likewise, Paul's use of εἰκών differs in 2 Corinthians 3—4 from its use in contexts of an Adam-Christ typology (e.g. 1 Cor. 15:49). In 2 Corinthians 3:18; 4:4 εἰκών more closely resembles Paul's use of the term in Colossians 1:15 than it does its occurrence in Romans 8:29. Colossians 1:15 clearly echoes a Wisdom-Christology—a use of εἰκών which few scholars propose for Romans 8:29. Perhaps of greatest dispute is Paul's use of δόξα (or its cognates) in the contexts of both 2 Corinthians 3 and Romans 8. In 2 Corinthians 3 δόξα unequivocally refers to God's theophanic splendour which symbolises his presence with and in his people, in particular the Christ who is the perfect image of God. But this in no way necessitates that the term shares the semantic function elsewhere. Paul uses δόξα in various ways throughout his letters: in 1 Corinthians 15:41 it clearly means brightness or luminosity and nothing more, and just two verses later the term means a status or position of honour and victory. Even within 2 Corinthians 3 itself, δόξα takes on various nuances. Δόξα indisputably spans the semantic range throughout Paul's letters and, therefore, it should not be assumed that Paul's use of the term in Romans 8:29 is the same as his use of the term in 2 Corinthians 3.

Having established in the first half of the thesis the semantic range of δόξα and δοξάζω in the LXX, Paul's use of δόξα and δοξάζω with regard to humanity in Romans, and the motif of vocational participation in Christ in Paul's letters, I then focused in the second half of the thesis on an examination of Romans 8:29b within the literary and theological context of Romans 8. I argued in chapter five that, behind the designation of 'Son' in Romans 8:29 stands both the long-awaited Davidic Messiah and the new Adam, the image of redeemed humanity. Before examining the two identities more closely, I offered a brief treatment of 'son of god' backgrounds. There I suggested that, though the Roman imperial use of 'son of god' would have been a common association for Paul to make, his primary inspiration for the designation likely came from his reading of the royal ideologies attached to the Davidic dynasty. Additionally, before examining the text more closely, I offered a brief treatment of my primary working presupposition in chapter five and throughout the thesis: that Paul uses χριστός as a reference to Jesus as the Messiah, the long-anticipated Davidic King and Redeemer of the Jewish people.

The majority of chapter five was dedicated to an examination of Jesus' designation as the Son of God, in which I argued that, through subtle echoes of Psalms 89 and 110 in Romans 8:29, and 34, respectively, Paul suggests that Jesus is the promised Davidic King. In Romans 8:34 Paul echoes Psalm 109:1 LXX, a clear reference to the messianic king. As the messianic King, Jesus is at the right hand of God and over the kings and nations of the earth. This echo of Psalm 109 LXX in 8:34 illuminates the echo of Psalm 89, another messianic Psalm, in Romans 8:29. Jesus is the Firstborn Son of God of Psalm 89:26; he is appointed as a Davidic descendent, the chosen one among Israel who is established as God's royal representative. It is in this

Davidic king, the Firstborn of Israel, that the Spirit-led children of God are renewed as God's family.

In addition to the Son's identity as the Davidic Messiah, I also argued that Paul designates the Son as the new Adam, the representative of a new humanity. He does so, I argued, through the use of εἰκών and πρωτότοκος within the context of an already established Adam-Christ typology in 5:12-21, a typology which stems from Paul's designation of Jesus as the Son of God in 5:10. In Romans 8 Paul continues to elaborate on the reconciliation and renewal of life that is established on the basis of the death and resurrection of the Son, the new Adam of Romans 5. Furthermore, the other occurrence of εἰκών in Romans is in 1:23, where, as I argued in chapter three, Paul does not highlight the fall of Adam but the created purpose of humanity in Adam. This created purpose of human governance as God's vicegerents runs throughout Romans, from 1:23 to 3:23 to 5:17 to 8:29, where that purpose finds its fulfilment in the new Adam (already hinted at in 5:17). Likewise, the Son as the πρωτότοκος also implies that he is the firstborn of the dead, as it does in Colossians 1:18. He is the first to rise into the transformed existence of resurrection life. That πρωτότοκος can refer to both the Davidic King and the 'Firstborn of the dead' is demonstrated in Revelation 1:5, where John conflates the two ideas in a way similar to Paul in Romans 8:29.

Chapter six functioned as the heart of the thesis. In it I argued that συμμόρφους τῆς εἰκόνας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ *means* the vocational participation of believers in the Firstborn Son's honourable status of power and authority over creation as adopted members of God's eschatological family and as renewed humanity. The argument is predicated on believers' Spirit-led adoption into sonship as God's children who are redeemed from the 'Egypt of sin and death' and united with Christ in his Sonship (8:1-16). This union is then articulated in terms of believers' vocational participation with Christ in his inheritance, suffering, and glory in 8:17, and ultimately in believers' conformity to Christ in 8:29 and glorification in 8:30.

Turning to συγκληρονόμος in 8:17, I argued that Paul returns to what he established in Romans 4, where Paul expands the original inheritance of Abraham's offspring from the land to the world (4:13). According to Paul, Abraham and his offspring would inherit the world, which is to say that Israel would possess and thereby rule the world. For Paul, Israel would inherit the world, but the inheritance passed through Abraham's offspring, Jesus [the] Lord (4:24). In Romans 8:17, then, Paul speaks not in terms of the Abrahamic family but of God's family. Jesus [the] Lord is no longer the heir of Abraham but, as the Son of God, is the heir of God, and it is in his Sonship and inheritance of the world that the adopted children of God will thus also share.

Believers' participation in the Son's inheritance parallels believers' participation in his glory in 8:17 and is linked also to their glorification as children of God in 8:30. On the basis of συγκληρονόμος in 8:17 and Paul's use of δόξα and

δοξάζω for believers elsewhere in Romans (thesis chapter 3), I argued that Paul’s passive use of συνδοξάζω in 8:17 and δοξάζω in 8:30 means believers’ vocational participation (thesis chapter 4) in the inheritance of the Son who, as the Messiah and new Adam (thesis chapter 5), is already crowned with glory and honour. Believers’ final glorification in Romans is their reinstatement to Adamic rule over creation through union with the Firstborn Son of God who already reigns over creation as the Messiah and the new Adam. Mankind’s position on earth as God’s vicegerents to his creation is now restored, though now through the image of the Son of God who reigns as God’s preeminent vicegerent. The depiction of humanity being crowned with glory and honour and established with dominion over creation in Psalm 8 is now again a reality, both through the Firstborn Son of God and those who participate in his exalted status, i.e. his glory. This is the heart of Romans 8:17-30 and Romans 8:29b, and is thus the heart of this thesis: as children of God, believers are co-heirs with the Son of God and thus share in his glory: they are conformed to the image of the Son who rules as God’s Firstborn and as humanity’s representative.

Having brought the examinations of chapters two through five together in chapter six, in chapter seven I argued that ‘conformity to the image of [God’s Firstborn] Son’, i.e. vocational participation in the Firstborn Son’s exalted position over creation, is the task for which believers are called and purposed in the present as well as the future. I argued first that, structurally and theologically, Paul’s main point in 8:28-30 is not 8:29b but 8:28b: God has called his people with the ultimate goal of fulfilling his purposes through them, his purposes of creating a redeemed people through whom he would bring redemption to the rest of the cosmos. Paul articulates this creation of a people through his use of κλητός in 8:28 and καλέω in 8:30; God has brought to fruition an ancient element of Israel’s history—his covenantal promises to Abraham and to Israel as a people set apart for God—and he has done so by calling believers to be his own, bringing them into a life of faith and obedience to God.

I argued additionally that believers already manifest their decreed calling and purpose by participating in the Son’s glory in the present. Adding to Dane Ortlund’s contextual argument, though on the basis of grounds untouched in his work, I argued that believers are called to participate in this restoration process in 8:26-27 and in 8:28, both of which are intricately connected to the relationship between the non-human creation and the children of God in 8:18-21. There Paul writes that the ‘creation waits with eager longing for the revealing of the children of God’ (8:19) because, *when* God’s children are glorified, *then* the creation will be liberated from its bondage to corruption (8:21). Believers cooperate with God to bring restoration to the non-human creation, and they do so, Paul continues to articulate, in two ways. First, Paul says in 8:26-27 that God’s children play a role in God’s restoration process in creation through the practice of prayer. Though believers’ prayers in 8:26 are often understood as referring to the prayers believers make on their own behalf, nothing warrants this conclusion. Instead, what the believer ought to pray for in 8:26 and what

the Spirit intercedes for in 8:27 is not *only* for the believers' own good but is *also* for the good of the creation which currently groans; hence Paul's transition from creation to believers in 8:22-23. Just as the Son intercedes on behalf of the saints in his glory in 8:34, so also the saints demonstrate their sonship, and thus their participation in the Son's glory, in the present through intercession.

Second, I argued that Paul articulates believers' present glorification in 8:28, where he describes believers' cooperation with God for the good of all things. Though *συνεργέω* can denote a sense of 'working together', as in 'working toward' or 'progressing toward', in its four New Testament occurrences elsewhere *συνεργέω* clearly denotes a working partnership or cooperation between two entities (Mark 16:20; James 2:22; 1 Cor. 16:16; 2 Cor. 6:1). Likewise, while the appositional dative participles are typically rendered as datives of advantage or as indirect objects, I argued that they should be read as datives of instrumentality: 'by means of', or as datives of association: 'with'. Finally, I suggested that, while typically understood as little more than a synonym for believers' difficult or unpleasant circumstances, *πάντα* truly indicates 'all things': everything in existence, including the sufferings of believers from 8:18 *and* those of the physical creation in 8:20-22. In Romans 8:26-28, then, Paul articulates believers' present glory. Though not yet glorified entirely or completely, God's adopted children nonetheless participate in the Son's glory in the present as those whose new identity is established in the Firstborn Son of God.

8.3 Thesis Summary

In my systematic treatment of the phrase *συμμόρφους τῆς εικόνας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ*, I have argued that Romans 8:29b refers to believers' participation in the Firstborn Son's rule over creation as God's eschatological family and as renewed humanity. This rule is the reinstatement of humanity's dominion over creation as God's vicegerents, as is narrated in Genesis 1:26-28 and picked up in Psalm 8:5-8. Believers are 'conformed to the image of [God's] Son' on the basis of their adoption into God's family (8:14-16) and thus their participation in the Messiah's Sonship (8:29c). Adopted children of God share in the Firstborn Son's inheritance (8:17), his possession of and rule over the earth, which is to say that they share in the Son's glory (8:17). Conformity to the Son is glorification, the fulfilment of God's purposes for calling his children (8:28-30). Believers are glorified in part in the present (8:30c) through their participation with God in bringing redemption to creation (8:18-28); they will be glorified in full at the resurrection when they too experience the resurrection of the body (8:23) and, with the Firstborn Son, will be at the right hand of the Father (8:34), crowned with glory and honour, and with all things under their feet.

I return my reader to the title of this thesis: 'Re-examining the Goal of Salvation'. For too long, scholars and laymen alike have myopically viewed justification and salvation as ends in themselves, whether for the benefit of the individual or of the incorporative body of Christ. The goal of salvation is believers'

conformity to the Son of God—their participation in his rule over creation as God’s eschatological family and as renewed humanity—but only and always with the purpose of extending God’s hand of mercy, love, and care to his wider creation. This was humanity’s job in the beginning; it will be believers’ responsibility and honour in the future; it is God’s purpose in calling his people in the present.

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