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Romans
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Praescriptio:
Topic 10.3.1
Rom. 1:1-7

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10.3 The Letter to the Romans

This third and final letter of the middle period of Paul's writings is his letter to the church that he neither established nor had previously visited prior to the composition of this letter. Due to its length it stands first in the Pauline corpus with Philemon as last since it is the shortest one of his letters. When the history of interpretation is the perspective, Romans stands at the top of the list of influential documents for their impact on Christian history. This is particularly true among Protestants since Martin Luther in the middle 1500s. It contains the longest sustained argument around a particular theme of any of Paul's letters.¹ The Protestant Reformation under Martin Luther's leadership grew out of his study of Romans and Galatians. And the letter was very influential upon the other reformers of that era such as John Calvin. And it continues in Protestant tradition to occupy a central role in shaping the belief system of most denominations, although differing theological conclusions are often drawn from studying this same text. The Protestant axiom of *sola scriptura* stands behind this but is unevenly applied by most Protestant groups.

One of the problems with most Protestant commentaries, in English especially, is the artificial, and

¹Although, because of its length, it is the first in the letters of the New Testament, Romans was probably the latest of Paul's undisputed letters to be written (see "Letters/Epistles in the New Testament," p. 240 NT). Romans also contains the longest and most complex sustained argument in any of Paul's letters even though it is addressed to Christians he has never met (1.13). For these reasons the letter, especially chs 1-8 , has often been read as Paul's theological "last will and testament," a reflection on and a summary of the gospel of salvation in Christ. It was also intended to persuade the Christians of Rome to support Paul's intended mission to Spain (15.23-24)." ["The Letter of Paul to the Romans - Introduction, [Oxford Biblical Studies Online](#),]

basically misleading division of the body section of the letter (1:16-15:13) into a twofold division (1-11; 12-15) around the rubrics of doctrine and practical. The inevitable impact of this false division is to highlight the importance of 'doctrine' and diminish the role of 'practical' in the letter. In reality, just the reverse is an essential point of Paul in this letter, in consistency with his other letters inside the New Testament. The only way one's faith surrender to Christ finds validation is through what is done in word and deed as expression of such supposed commitment. Without word and deed, no legitimate faith surrender exists. And thus no conversion exists, only a substitute religiosity which leads straight into eternal damnation.

One must never forget that Paul's mind in no shape, form, or fashion was a post-enlightenment western mind. This fallacy in assumption stands behind much of the Protestant misunderstanding. The personal thought world for the apostle was a combination of Greek and Hebrew education both in Tarsus and Jerusalem formed and defined by his faith surrender to Christ as the exclusive anchor pole around which everything else in his life and thinking revolved. His assertion that came later on in Phil. 1:21a, Ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸς, *for to me living means Christ*, sums up his mind profoundly. From his Damascus experience of Christ to his dying breath, this was how he lived and approached life. Christianity equalled exclusively unconditional surrender to the absolute control of Christ over one's existence. Anything less than that was not Christianity, but a dangerous heresy that had to be opposed and exposed as false.

Therefore a proper understanding of the literary design and strategy behind the letter to the Romans is significant for correct understanding of Paul. This NT document has played such an important role in shaping

both the content and structuring of Christian doctrine perspectives in Protestantism that correct understand of Romans takes on additional significance.

Unquestionably this letter is dominantly a 'letter of introduction' coming directly from Paul to the Christian community in Rome. Rom. 15:14-33 makes this abundantly clear in the Travel Plans section at the end of the body proper of the letter.² This perspective is additionally affirmed by the more generalized discussion of Christian principles in contrast to those letters of Paul centering on addressing specific issues existing in the community or communities being targeted by a letter,

²Less so but still significant is the similar thrust of 1:16-17 at the outset of the letter body. See:

In terms of the document's coherence as between framework and body, however, the most important feature is the way in which the body of the letter (1:16-15:13) has been neatly sandwiched between two statements of Paul's future plans which are strikingly parallel (see 15:14-33 Form and Structure). The second statement, however, is markedly fuller and more explicit, particularly about Paul's purpose in coming to Rome. The most obvious deduction to draw from this is that Paul thought it necessary to elaborate his understanding of the gospel at length before he made his specific requests to the Roman Christians, on the assumption that they needed to have this fuller insight before they could be expected to give him the support he sought. This deduction seems to gain strength from the care with which Paul has meshed introduction and peroration into the body of the letter: 1:16-17 serves both as the climax to what has preceded and as the thematic statement for what follows (see 1:16-17 Form and Structure), with the overarching Christology already carefully embedded in the introduction (1:2-6); and 15:14-15 is a polite way of saying that the whole of the preceding treatise was an expression of Paul's grace as apostle, that is, an example of the charism to strengthen faith and of the gospel he had been given to preach (1:11, 15), with which he would hope to repay their support for his future missionary work (cf. 1:12 with 15:24, 27-29).

[James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, vol. 38A, Word Biblical Commentary (Dallas: Word, Incorporated. 1998). lx.]

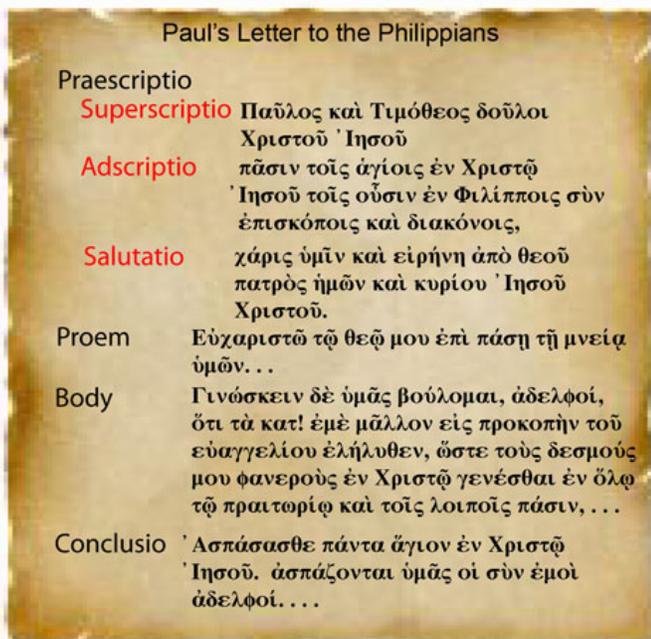
e.g., First Corinthians. This generalization has some affinity with the more generalized tone of the circular letter labeled Ephesians which was addressing a cluster of churches in the province of Asia rather than just the one community at Ephesus. And yet the general orientations of Romans and Ephesians are not quite the same. Most likely, at least part of the distinctives between the two letters is that Ephesians was written to Pauline established communities³ while Romans was addressed to a non-Pauline established community, notwithstanding the presence of several individuals at Rome whom Paul had met elsewhere in his ministry as illustrated in the listing of greetings in chapter sixteen.

The literary classifying of pericopes of ancient texts into narrative and didactic has some limited value from a modern perspective, but it must not be allowed to override the view in the ancient world that did not divide up the contents of written documents in such a manner. This is especially true when ancient Jewish thought patterns become a part of the mind of the composer of the ancient document. Thinking and doing / speaking were but two sides of the same coin and possessed an inseparable connection to one another. Consequently in this multi-faceted mind of Paul, these two aspects were often an integral part of the same small pericope. And Romans will illustrate this repeatedly through the fifteen chapters containing the letter Body. Another frequent pattern moves along the image of a linked chain where thinking and doing / speaking expressed in separate small units of text are linked together by a wide variety of connecting links such as coordinate conjunctions, correlative adverbs etc. like γὰρ (106x in Rom) and οὕτως (39x in Rom). The linking pattern most closely reflects the ancient Hebrew mind-set, and even though Tertius (Rom. 16:22) is the actual composer of the Greek text, Paul's Jewish way of thinking is very apparent in the Greek text of Romans.

This is how the pericope units of text material hang together through the document. And the outline that will function as an organizing structure will emerge out of the analysis of each of the pericopes. The skeleton structure is unquestionably that of the ancient letter. See the graphic below for a visual depiction of this format.

The opening is the *Praescriptio*, or pre-writing. The contents are in a formula structure grammatically without the use of sentence expression. It contains the *Superscriptio*, sender ID, the *Adscriptio*, the recipient ID, and the *Salutatio*, greetings from sender to recipient.

³The Lycus Valley inclusion in this group of targeted addressees for Ephesians by Colossians, Laodicea, and Hierapolis were Pauline churches established by assistants of Paul rather than the apostle himself who never traveled to this particular region in the eastern part of the Roman province of Asia.



Ancient Letter on papyrus

In the initial format of a scroll this material would have been found on the outside of the rolled up scroll as the document ID so that the sealed up scroll could be identified without having to unroll it. About the fourth century AD approximately when the copying of ancient Christian documents including those of the New Testament were shifted from the scroll to the codex, i.e., book format, this section then was moved to the beginning of each letter as an introduction of sorts, since the codex usually contained numerous shorter, previously scroll based, documents.

Three elements typically comprise the *Praescriptio*. These are the identification of the sender or senders of the letter, found first in the *Superscriptio*. Both name and title can be included in the identification of the ones responsible for the contents of the letter.⁴ Exegetical analysis of the two basic elements of the core expression of name and title and the expansion elements developed off these core aspects becomes an important objective for proper understanding.

Identification of the recipients of the letter, labeled the *Adscriptio*, specifies the original targeted readership of the letter.⁵ In Paul's letters this mostly is individual Christian communities located in a city somewhere in the Roman empire of the mid first century. It can, however, specify individuals who functioned in some role as leaders in one of these communities. The historical circumstance behind each letter dictated the appropriate structuring of the *Adscriptio*.

Third comes the *Salutatio*, i.e., the greeting. This is but the first section of the ἀσπασμός, *greeting*, with the second section coming as a subunit in the *Conclusio* of the letter. The communal orientation of the differing cultures of the first century underscored the critical importance of friendship, φιλία, with others particularly inside the 'group' that one belonged to. Maintaining these is reflected in the way the ἀσπασμός segments are expressed.

The *Praescriptio* is typically followed by a *Proem*. Normally outside the letters of Paul in the ancient world, this is a health wish invoked upon the recipients of the letter in the name of the patron deity of the recipients. On occasion the highly brief nature of this prayer flowed in close linkage to the *Salutatio* which immediately preceded it. But in Paul's letters these units are clearly distinct although conceptually linked many times.

In most all of Paul's letters a formulaic expression begins the *Proem* very similar in form, if not identical. It is a prayer of blessing invoked upon the recipients of the letter. Sometimes this request for God's blessings

⁴The Nominative case in the independent function is used for the core designations of identity in the original Greek.

⁵The Dative case in a dative of reference function is used for the core designation of the recipients.

shades off into a prayer of intercession pledging the apostle to pray for specific actions by God in behalf of the recipients.

One very important side note of both the *Praescriptio* and the *Proem* in Paul's letters. Careful analysis of the expansion elements in these two units typically contains signals of the general content to follow in the Body proper of the letter. This is especially the case with extended expansion elements. But key words in the expansion elements are also used to signal theme directions for the Body proper.

The third basic element after the *Praescriptio* and *Proem* is the Body proper, *corporis*, of the letter. The manner of organizing the content of this, the longest segment of the letter, is so diverse that it defies pattern identification with precision. But expressions along the line of "I want you to know that..." and "I don't want you to be ignorant of..." are two main signals of moving from one idea to the next. Scholarly comparisons of Paul to literary Koine and Classical Greek writers indicate similarity of writing strategy between Paul and these outside the New Testament.

The fourth and final basic element of ancient letters is the *Conclusio*. Importantly, this segment is not a conclusion in the modern sense of conclusion. Instead, it was a formal manner of ending a letter and provided a segment where greetings, benedictions etc. could be naturally inserted. As we will discover with Romans chapter sixteen as the *Conclusio* is rather detached from the letter Body conceptually. In no way does it pretend to summarize either conclusions or applications of the letter Body.

Proper exegesis of Romans assumes sensitivity to the literary structure of this NT document. Only in recent commentary studies has this become true to a fair extent. The modern discussion that provoked a lot of the contemporary focus goes back to the German scholar at the close of the 1800s, [Gustav Adolf Deissmann](#), in his 1908 publication, *Licht vom Osten. Das Neue Testament und die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt*. This was translated into English in 1910 as *Light from the ancient East. The New Testament illustrated by recently discovered texts of the Graeco-Roman world*. In this publication a sharp distinction was made between an epistolary tractate and a letter, with Romans being the sole NT example of the former. Although scholarly discussion and debate has ebbed and flowed over time since then about what Romans represents as a literary form and what this means for interpretation of the document, he provoked the ongoing discussion of literary form and its significance.⁶ Unquestionably Romans stands apart in cer-

⁶During the past two centuries, however, emphasis has increasingly been placed (1) on the historical circumstances in Paul's

tain ways from the rest of Paul's letters, although most modern scholars agree that Deissmann's distinction is overdrawn. Yet his basic observations remain generally valid. Romans is no longer seriously considered to be a 'theology textbook' as was generally true through the 1700s. It is indeed a true letter and the distinctive exegetical principles for interpreting letters must be applied to any study of Romans. That will be the case with this study.

10.3.1 Praescriptio, 1:1-7

1.1 Παῦλος δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, κλητὸς ἀπόστολος ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ, 2 ὃ προεπηγγείλατο διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν γραφαῖς ἀγίαις 3 περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, 4 τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, 5 δι' οὗ ἐλάβομεν χάριν καὶ ἀποστολὴν εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, 6 ἐν οἷς ἐστε καὶ ὑμεῖς κλητοὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, 7 πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ, κλητοῖς ἀγίοις, χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

1 Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, set apart for the gospel of God, 2 which he promised beforehand through his prophets in the holy scriptures, 3 the gospel concerning his Son, who was descended from David according to the flesh 4 and was declared to be Son of God with power according to the spirit of holiness by resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord, 5 through whom we have received grace and apostleship to bring about the obedience of faith among all the Gentiles for the sake of his name, 6 including yourselves who are called to belong to Jesus Christ,

7 To all God's beloved in Rome, who are called to be saints:

Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.

While following the pattern of the ancient Greek letter *Praescriptio*, Paul's creativity takes this form and greatly expands it.⁷ The standard three elements

writing to believers in Jesus at Rome and (2) on Romans as a letter rather than a theological compendium or treatise — with the result that the writing of Romans has come to be understood, at least in scholarly circles, in more situational manner and circumstantial terms. And when understood as a true letter, the question asked has often become reversed: "Why, then, is Romans not like Paul's other letters?" [Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 2.]

⁷"The widely held assumption that the formula to be found at the beginning of a Pauline letter is to be explained as a modification and expansion of the ordinary Greek epistolary 'prescript' or opening protocol was challenged by E. Lohmeyer,¹ on the ground

that, whereas the Greek prescript consists of a single sentence in the form ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν (sc. λέγει),² in the Pauline formula the salutation proper invariably stands as an independent sentence. Since both the two-sentence form and the use of first and second person pronouns in the salutation, which it makes possible, are also features of the ancient western Asiatic epistolary style,³ he argued that it was on the western Asiatic rather than on the Greek convention that the Pauline formula was based. But, while it is possible that the western Asiatic convention had some influence in the formation of the Pauline formula, the following considerations suggest that it is more likely that its basis was the ordinary Greek prescript:

"(i) In closing his letters Paul followed the Greek custom by writing a 'subscription' in his own hand (see on 16:20b);

"(ii) The first part of the Pauline formula follows the form of the Greek prescript exactly (the sender's name in the nominative followed by the recipient's in the dative): the Asiatic form was different—the recipient was often mentioned before the sender, and sometimes the sender's name was omitted;

"(iii) The fact that Paul used his Roman name and not his Jewish name, 'Saul', suggests that he would be likely, at any rate when writing as ἐθνῶν ἀπόστολος (11:13) to Gentiles or to a church including a large number of Gentiles, to follow (or adapt) Greek rather than Jewish convention in a matter of external form of this sort. While it is no doubt possible that the two-sentence structure of the Pauline formula derives from the west-Asiatic custom, it is rather more likely that it is simply the natural result of the decision to put a specifically Christian and theological content into the salutation, which could hardly be conveniently done within the tight one-sentence construction. And, when once the salutation became an independent sentence, the use of first and second person pronouns was natural.¹

"If it was, then, the normal Greek prescript which was the basis of the Pauline, Paul certainly modified and expanded it in a most remarkable manner. Roller was surely right in thinking that the prescript must have struck the recipients of one of Paul's letters as extremely strange, when they read or heard it for the first time.² While in ancient Greek private letters to comparative strangers the ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν form was followed exactly and without any expansion, in intimate letters a certain degree of variation (e.g. the introduction of terms of endearment and the use of direct address in the second person) was not unusual, and in official letters the superscription and the address were often expanded by the introduction of titles. Paul's use of the first and second persons in the superscription and address as well as in the salutation (in Romans both first and second persons appear in the superscription and salutation, but neither of them in the address) is a point of contact with the intimate letter prescript; but the resemblance of the Pauline prescript to that of Greek and Latin official letters is more striking, and probably conveyed to the recipients a suggestion of a solemn and authoritative mandate.¹ So, in addition to the astonishment which the Pauline prescript's extraordinary length and theological weight will have caused, there must also have been surprise at its combination of features associated with the most intimate kind of letter with features reminiscent of a Roman imperial mandate. The most important thing about Paul's adaptation and expansion of the prescript is, of course, his making it the vehicle of a specifically Christian and theological content."

[C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, International Critical Commentary (London; New York: T&T Clark International, 2004), 45–47.]

Praescriptio:**Superscriptio:**

1.1 **Παῦλος**
δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ,
κλητὸς ἀπόστολος
ἀφωρισμένος
εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ,
1.2 ὃ προεπηγγείλατο
διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ
ἐν γραφαῖς ἀγίαις
1.3 περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ
τοῦ γενομένου
| ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ
| κατὰ σάρκα,
1.4 τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ
ἐν δυνάμει
κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγιωσύνης
ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν,
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, 5
δι' οὗ ἐλάβομεν χάριν
| καὶ
| ἀποστολὴν
| εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως
| ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν
| ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ,
1.6 ἐν οἷς ἐστε καὶ ὑμεῖς κλητοὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,

Adscriptio:

1.7 **πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν...ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ**
ἐν Ῥώμῃ
κλητοῖς ἀγίοις,

Salutatio:

χάρις ὑμῖν
καὶ
εἰρήνη
ἀπὸ θεοῦ
πατρὸς ἡμῶν
καὶ
κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

of *Superscriptio*, *Adscriptio*, and *Salutatio* are in place following the normal formula structure.⁸ But the expansion elements are unusually lengthy and rich in expression.⁹ These expansion elements in the *Praescriptio*

⁸For a detailed presentation of these elements for the letters in the New Testament, see my "List of Epistolary Divisions" at cranfordville.com. Embedded in this page is a second page with printed biblical text for the sections.

⁹"In the Romans prescript, which is longer than that of any other Pauline epistle (taking thirteen lines of Nestle text: the next longest are the prescripts of Galatians with ten lines and 1 Corinthians with seven and a half), each of the three parts has been given a substantial theological content. Much the most extensive expansion is in the superscription which runs to six verses. The reason for this is of course Paul's special need to introduce himself, since the church to which he is writing is one to which he is not personally known, since he hopes soon to visit it, and since it is the church in Rome. (It is to be noted that in the whole Pauline corpus the only letters in which no one is associated with Paul in the superscription are Romans, Ephesians, 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus.) But in intro-

are linked also with those in the Proem. Together they comprise an excellent summation of the Gospel message that lay at the center of Paul's ministry. Additionally, they anticipate the foundational themes of the letter body, as well as set the stage for [the opening of the letter body](#) in 1:16-18. With Romans being a letter of

ducing himself he naturally refers to his mission, and this leads to a highly significant definition of the gospel which it is his mission to proclaim. This definition, which takes vv. 2–4, is presupposed in vv. 9, 15 and 16, when the gospel is referred to. What follows in vv. 5 and 6 has an obvious and very important bearing on Paul's relations with the Roman church and his proposed visit. Thus we see particularly clearly in Romans Paul's radical transformation of the Greek epistolary prescript. In his hands it has ceased to be a mere protocol, standing outside the 'context' or body of the letter, and has become an integral part of it." [C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, International Critical Commentary (London; New York: T&T Clark International, 2004), 47–48.]

introduction, such is not at all surprising for this letter.

10.3.1.1 Superscriptio, 1:1-6. 1.1 **Παῦλος δοῦλος** Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, κλητὸς **ἀπόστολος** ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ, 2 ὁ προεπηγγείλατο διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν γραφαῖς ἁγίαις 3 περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, 4 τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, 5 δι' οὗ ἐλάβομεν χάριν καὶ ἀποστολήν εἰς ὑπακοήν πίστεως ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, 6 ἐν οἷς ἐστε καὶ ὑμεῖς κλητοὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, **1 Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, set apart for the gospel of God, 2 which he promised beforehand through his prophets in the holy scriptures, 3 the gospel concerning his Son, who was descended from David according to the flesh 4 and was declared to be Son of God with power according to the spirit of holiness by resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord, 5 through whom we have received grace and apostleship to bring about the obedience of faith among all the Gentiles for the sake of his name, 6 including yourselves who are called to belong to Jesus Christ,**

The standard core elements of **name and titles** are listed (cf. bold face print). The remaining parts represent expansion elements. *Expansion elements* show up in the *Superscriptio* of Paul's letters only in the following:

Gal. 1:1, Paul an apostle--not from men nor through man, but through Jesus Christ and God the Father, who raised him from the dead--

1 Cor. 1:1, Paul, called by the will of God to be an apostle of Christ Jesus,

2 Cor. 1:1, Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God,

Rom. 1:1-6, Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, set apart for the gospel of God² which he promised beforehand through his prophets in the holy scriptures, ³the gospel concerning his Son, who was descended from David according to the flesh ⁴and designated Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness by his resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord, ⁵through whom we have received grace and apostleship to bring about the obedience of faith for the sake of his name among all the nations, ⁶including yourselves who are called to belong to Jesus Christ;

Philim. 1, Paul, a prisoner for Christ Jesus,

Col. 1:1, Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God,

Eph. 1:1, Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God,

Phil. 1:1, Paul and Timothy, servants of Christ Jesus,

1 Tim. 1:1, Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus by command of God our Savior and of Christ Jesus our hope,



A military diploma, or certificate of successful military service, granting citizenship to a retiring soldier and the dependents he had with him at the time. The key phrase is "est civitas eis data" where civitas means citizenship.

2 Tim. 1:1, Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God according to the promise of the life which is in Christ Jesus,

Titus 1:1-3, Paul, a servant of God and an apostle of Jesus Christ, to further the faith of God's elect and their knowledge of the truth which accords with godliness, ²in hope of eternal life which God, who never lies, promised ages ago ³and at the proper time manifested in his word through the preaching with which I have been entrusted by command of God our Savior;

Obviously the title aspect mostly centers on his claim to being an ἀπόστολος. The title δοῦλος only surfaces in Romans, Philippians and Titus (in the *Superscriptio* section). With Romans coming chronologically about in the middle of these letters, its use of both terms as titles is not surprising due to it being a letter of introduction. The use of both titles in Titus is due to the letter being read to the Christian communities on the island of Cyprus which were going to be problematic for Titus to resolve their many problems. Appeal to this document by Titus provided an authoritative source of reference for solving these issues among the Christians on the island. The use of the plural δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, *servants of Christ Jesus*, in Phil. 1:1 is clearly consistent with this meaning and applies to both Paul and Timothy, who most likely was the writing secretary for this captivity letter.

Romans identifies itself as coming from Παῦλος. The use of his Greek name rather than the Greek spelling of his Hebrew name Σαῦλος, *Saul*, reflects the writing of this letter to a dominantly Greek speaking and Greek / Roman oriented audience.¹⁰ In fact, Σαῦλος for the

¹⁰One must never forget that the reason for the writing of the entire New Testament in Koine Greek, rather than Aramaic or Hebrew, is that all 27 documents of the NT were composed in the second half of the first century to Christian communities outside Palestine where either Aramaic or Hebrew would have been understood only by a dwindling number of Jewish Christians who either

Hebrew $\lambda\iota\kappa\psi$ is only found in Acts throughout the New Testament. Both of these names, Παῦλος and Σαῦλος, represent popular names of the apostle, rather than official names. His official name, as recorded on his certification of citizenship of the city of Tarsus, issued by a Roman magistrate in the city, would have been much longer and would have included the name of the presiding Roman governor over Tarsus and Cilicia at the time of his birth. The subsequently issued certification being a [citizen of Rome](#), known in Latin as *diplomata civitatis Romanae*, would have included what was contained in the initial assertion of citizenship for Tarsus. Plus it would have been issued in Latin, not Greek or Hebrew / Aramaic, since all official documents of the empire were issued in Latin.¹¹

The significance of the title segment in the *Superscriptio* must not be minimized or neglected. Normally, such insertions were included in more official writings, especially those coming from Roman officials to others in the government. Military based letters contained commands to subordinate officers commonly employed this segment as a part of the official authorization behind the commands that were presented in the letter body.

Both δοῦλος and ἀπόστολος appear as authorizing titles for Romans. But it is the second one of this pair that receives greater expansion of details. As is illustrated in the above listing, only in Titus are these two titles given at the same time:

Rom. 1:1ff. δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ	Titus 1:1ff δοῦλος θεοῦ,
κλητὸς ἀπόστολος ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ	ἀπόστολος δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

First is the phrase δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ,¹² rather spoke or understood these Semitic languages. The second half of the first century witnessed the rise to dominance in Christianity of non-Jewish believers, while the number of Jewish believers began dropping dramatically especially toward the close of the first century after the destruction of the Jewish temple in Jerusalem in 70 AD. Only Paul's generation of Jews came into Christianity with significant numbers. Subsequent generations of Jews less and less identified themselves with Christianity which became the object of growing hatred by orthodox Jewish leaders. Add to that, unfortunately, an explosion of anti-Semitism inside Christianity in the closing decades of the first century that reached its zenith a couple of centuries later. The condemnation of all Jews past, present, and future for the death of Christ became an official teaching of most evolving branches of Christianity.

¹¹For an in depth study of Paul's background see chapter one of this project, *THE APOSTLE PAUL: SERVANT OF CHRIST*, at http://cranfordville.com/PaulStudyGuide/PSG_Index.html.

¹²Note the exact parallel in Phil. 1:1 δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, servants of Christ Jesus, that reaches back to Παῦλος καὶ Τιμόθεος,

than the later δοῦλος θεοῦ in Titus. Of course the term δοῦλος literally means slave, and is most likely the sense intended by Paul here. The word is used 126 times in the NT, and seven times in Romans.¹³ Rom. 6:16 provides Paul's on definition of δοῦλος: οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ᾧ παριστάνετε ἑαυτοὺς δούλους εἰς ὑπακοήν, δοῦλοί ἐστε ᾧ ὑπακούετε, ἤτοι ἁμαρτίας εἰς θάνατον ἢ ὑπακοῆς εἰς δικαιοσύνην; [Do you not know that if you present yourselves to anyone as obedient slaves, you are slaves of the one whom you obey, either of sin, which leads to death, or of obedience, which leads to righteousness?](#) Central to its meaning is that one person totally, completely belongs to another. In both *Superscriptia*, this other person is defined by the genitive of identity function of Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ and θεοῦ. That is, Paul belongs totally to Christ Jesus and to God. But the use of δοῦλος as a title of authority stems from the OT prophetic heritage where in the LXX their favorite self-designation is δοῦλος τοῦ κυρίου, *servant of the Lord*, e.g., in Jer. 25:4, τοὺς δούλους μου τοὺς προφῆτας, [his servants the prophets](#). It was out of this intimate relationship with God that their calling to proclaim God's message to His people is derived. Thus as commissioned to speak in God's behalf, what they spoke represented God's Word to the people, and not just their words as a person.

Therefore δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ in Rom. 1:1 signals that Paul is speaking to the Romans in behalf of Christ Jesus who stands behind the message of this letter with His full authorization of Paul to speak for Him. Thus δοῦλος is not so much a claim of authority for himself as it is a claim of Christ's authority that is to be gleaned from the message of the letter. Just as Amos and Isaiah spoke in God's behalf, Paul speaks in behalf of Christ Jesus.¹⁴

This leads naturally to the second title, ἀπόστολος, [apostle](#). In introducing himself to the Romans officially, the authorization behind being sent by God stems from his status as God's slave. Yet, ἀπόστολος used in the *Superscriptio* assumes the title role of an authorized messenger parallel to the Jerusalem apostles who were commissioned by Christ as apostles during His earthly ministry. Paul in his speeches in Acts ([22:3-16](#); [26:20-23](#)) stressed the same calling from Jesus via his [Damascus road encounter with the risen Christ](#). [History Paul and Timothy](#).

¹³Interestingly, δοῦλος references Paul only in the *Superscriptio*. The other five uses are in the plural and reference his readers: 6:16, 17, 19 (2x), 20.

¹⁴Contrary to a lot of modern erroneous thinking, the voice of Christ embedded in these humanly written words as the θεόπνευστος (cf. 2 Tim. 3:16) would become activated with the oral reading of this text to the various church groups in Rome. At that point Christ's authority in these words became clear. For a more detailed examination of this see my article "[Inspiration](#)" published in the [Encyclopedia of Early Christianity](#) by Garland Press.

has confirmed this calling to a unique role in the founding of Christianity at its beginning. Every time we open the New Testament we acknowledge this unique role by regarding the unique witness of these apostles as sacred scripture.

With the extra expansion elements to the word ἀπόστολος especially in Romans and Titus, the fascinating aspect is the distinct directions that each expansion segment takes. Basically both center on εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ, the Gospel from God. And also Paul's divine calling to proclaim this message as an apostolic messenger:

Romans: κλητὸς ἀπόστολος ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ, called to be an apostle, separated apart for the Gospel from God.

Titus: ὃ ἐπιστεύθην ἐγὼ κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ, which I have been entrusted with according to the command of God our Savior.

In the other *Superscriptia*, the phrases διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ, by the will of God (1-2 Cor, Col, Eph, 2 Tim) / κατ' ἐπιταγὴν θεοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, according to God our Savior's command and Christ Jesus our hope (Titus, 1 Tim) are the primary expansion elements. The focus in these is oriented more to the authority base for Paul's authorship. In Romans and Titus the orientation is more toward defining the Gospel message that Paul preached as an apostolic messenger.

In the Romans expansion εὐαγγέλιον is amplified in a variety of directions:

εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ,

1.2 **ὃ προεπηγγείλατο**
 | διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ
 | ἐν γραφαῖς ἀγίαις

1.3 **περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ**
τοῦ γενομένου
 | ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ
 | κατὰ σάρκα,

1.4 **τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ**
 | ἐν δυνάμει
 | κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγιωσύνης
 | ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν,
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
 τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν,
 1.5 δι' οὗ ἐλάβομεν χάριν

καὶ
 ἀποστολὴν
 εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως
 ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος
 αὐτοῦ,
 1.6 ἐν οἷς ἐστε καὶ ὑμεῖς
 κλητοὶ
 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,

As the diagram illustrates visually, Gospel (εὐαγγέλιον) is defined from two basic perspectives: (1) an ancient message promised in advance (ὃ προεπηγγείλατο) and (2) centered in God's Son (περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ). Each of these elements is then expanded, although the second one receives the greatest amount of defining detail.¹⁵

a) κλητὸς ἀπόστολος ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ, called to be an apostle, separated apart for the Good News from God.

First, Paul is called to be an apostle.¹⁶ The

¹⁵This compares as follows to the expansion in Titus:

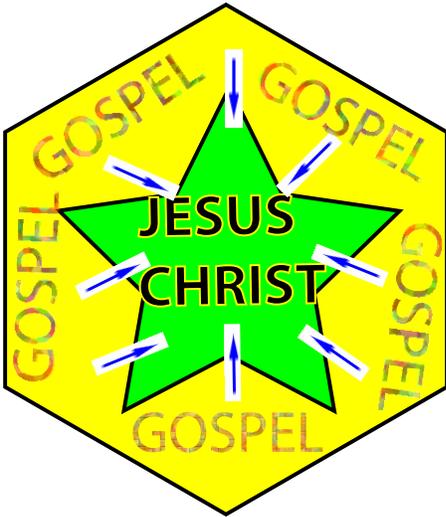
ἀπόστολος δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
 κατὰ πίστιν ἐκλεκτῶν θεοῦ
 καὶ
 ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας
 τῆς κατ' εὐσέβειαν
 1.2 ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ζωῆς αἰωνίου,
 ἣν ἐπηγγείλατο ὁ ἀψευδὴς θεός
 | πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων,
 1.3 | δὲ
 -- ἐφάνερωσεν . . . τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ
 καιροῖς ἰδίους
 ἐν κηρύγματι,
 ὃ ἐπιστεύθην ἐγὼ
 κατ' ἐπιταγὴν
 τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ,

The word εὐαγγέλιον in Romans links up to κηρύγματι in Titus as the preached λόγον which is the Son. The faith surrender (πίστιν) of God's chosen (ἐκλεκτῶν θεοῦ) along with understand of Truth (ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας) link up to this message as defining perspectives. Additionally the foundation for Paul's apostleship is the expectation of life eternal (ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ζωῆς αἰωνίου). This is what God promised ages before it became real in Christ (ἣν ἐπηγγείλατο ὁ ἀψευδὴς θεός πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων). What then had been promised was revealed in Paul's time (ἐφάνερωσεν δὲ καιροῖς ἰδίους). This was God's Word (τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ) disclosed in apostolic preaching (ἐν κηρύγματι). Also the apostle had been entrusted with this message (ὃ ἐπιστεύθην ἐγὼ) by the very command of God our Savior (κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ).

Although various expansion elements in Titus define the preached Gospel, the overall thrust centers on the authorization of the apostle to preach this message. This is more so than in Romans.

¹⁶κλητὸς ἀπόστολος, 'called to be an apostle'—the complete phrase only here and in 1 Cor 1:1. κλητός in common parlance would denote one who had been invited to a meal (e.g., 1 Kgs 1:41, 49; 3 Macc 5:14; Matt 22:14). This sense is derived from the verb καλεῖν, 'invite,' which also has the stronger force of 'summon' (BGD, καλέω 1b, d, e), and which presumably had something of that stronger sense when the invitation to the banquet was given by a king or by a god (as in Matt 22:3, 9 and NDIEC 1:5–6). Even stronger is its Christian usage (cf. particularly Rom 4:17; 9:11–12)—Paul's readers defined precisely as 'the called,' those whose lives had been determined by God's summons, who had been drawn into God's ongoing purpose by the power of that call (1:6–7; 8:28, 30; 1 Cor 1:2, 9, 24; 7:15, 17–24; Gal 1:6; 5:8, 13; etc.—see TDNT 3:488–89, 494). Within that calling, which is one of the distinguishing features of all those belonging to Christ, Paul thinks of a calling to a specific task (1:1; 1 Cor 1:1), though in both cases he takes care to ensure that the idea of a specific calling cannot be sep-

εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ defined in Rom. 1:1b-5



sense here with the ancient middle eastern background is more the sense of being summoned to be, since the summons originates with God. The adjective κλητός, -ή, -όν is derived from the verb καλέω which among regular folks would be the idea of to invite, but when the invitation comes from a king or deity it is stronger and more the sense of to summon. Thus apostleship was in no way anything that Paul sought for himself. Rather, it was a commitment that came as a divine summons of him.

Second, he is dedicated to the Gospel: ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ.¹⁷ The perfect tense participle ἀφωρισμένος from the verb ἀφορίζω connotes the idea of a point of being set aside completely for some religious mission or task. Although only used 10 times in the entire NT, the verb negatively means to exclude or be excluded. In 2 Cor. 6:17 for example, the command to the Corinthians is to exclude themselves from the ungodly ways of evil living and false teaching. But the reverse idea is a part of the verb's meaning also. In excluding ourselves from evil we become totally dedicated and committed to God and His ways. Here the prepositional phrase εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ, for the Gospel from God, sets up the positive orientation of the verb

arated from the calling of all (1:6-7; 1 Cor 1:2; cf. Str-B, 3:1-2). The prominence of the theme of God's summons both here (vv 1, 6-7) and in the context of the Isaiah servant passages (Isa 41:9; 42:6; 43:1; 45:3-4; 48:12, 15; 49:1; 51:2) strengthens the probability that Paul had the Isaianic theme very much in mind." [James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, vol. 38A, Word Biblical Commentary (Dallas: Word, Incorporated, 1998), 8-9.]

¹⁷The genitive / ablative case spelling of θεοῦ sets up a variety of senses of meaning. The action orientation of the noun εὐαγγέλιον points toward a subjective genitive function for θεοῦ, with the meaning of the Gospel sent by God.

ἀφορίζω.¹⁸ The perfect passive participle used here, ἀφωρισμένος, specifies a point of commitment to the Gospel that is permanent and continues on.

Together ἀφωρισμένος and κλητός highlight God's controlling role in making Paul an apostle, and with ἀπόστολος also having the thrust of a divinely commissioned messenger with a message given him by God.¹⁹ Christian ministry is not something the individual chooses. Rather it is something the individual is called by God to do through the indwelling power of God in his or her life. Both the initiative and the enabling comes from God, not from the individual.

b) ὁ προεπηγγεῖλατο διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν γραφαῖς ἁγίαις, which He promised through His prophets in the holy scriptures.

This relative clause reaches back to the past in affirming not just that Christ is a fulfilled prophecy. But for his audience that culturally valued very greatly the treasured past whether Roman, Greek, Jewish etc., Christ is no 'johhny come lately' kind of person, and neither is the message centered on him. People in authentic relationship with God knew centuries before that God was going to send a Messiah with the message of

¹⁸The gospel for which Paul has been 'set apart' has been 'announced beforehand' by his prophets in the holy scriptures" (v 2). This allusion almost certainly signals awareness that 'gospel' (Greek *euangelion*) in Christian usage derives from the use of the corresponding Hebrew verbal form *bśr/mbśr* in (Second) Isaiah in connection with the announcement to Zion of the 'good news' of God's saving intervention (40:9; 41:27; 52:7; 60:6; 61:1; cf. Ps 40:9 [LXX 39:10]; 96:2 [LXX 95:2]; Nah 1:15; see Note). For Paul and other early Christian writers the content of the 'good news' was no longer freedom for the exiles in Babylon but a 'pre-announcement' of the eschatological liberation which God has inaugurated for all peoples in Christ. Paul associates his apostolic role with that of the scriptural prophets since he is the herald who announces the actual realization of the salvation they foretold." [Brendan Byrne, *Romans*, ed. Daniel J. Harrington, vol. 6, Sacra Pagina Series (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1996), 39.]

¹⁹The clause ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ, 'set apart [or, 'separated'] for the gospel that is from God,' is best understood as the third self-identification given by Paul in 1:1 and should be read as parallel with δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ and κλητός ἀπόστολος. As Charles Cranfield has pointed out (contra the omission of a comma between κλητός ἀπόστολος and ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ in UBS and Nestle-Aland, which suggests that the latter phrase is in apposition to the former): 'To take the phrase as in apposition to κλητός ἀπόστολος, which is itself in apposition to Παῦλος, would be very clumsy.'⁵⁰ [Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 56.]

But unquestionably with κλητός ἀπόστολος ἀφωρισμένος, having the two adjective modifiers surrounding the noun they modify, their complementary ideas of calling and setting apart must be taken in close meaning to one another.

redemption and deliverance for all who would surrender their lives to God in obedience.

This awareness centered in the prophets that belonged to God (τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ). This message (ὁ the neuter gender relative pronoun going back to the neuter gender εὐαγγέλιον as its antecedent.) was promised in advance of its happening (προεπηγγείλατο) through (διὰ w. indirect agency genitive / ablative noun) God's prophets as intermediary agents for communicating it. This promise was made ultimately in writing (ἐν γραφαῖς ἀγίας) in the scriptures as a reference point recording permanently the orally delivered message initially.

Now let's break down the details of this relative clause. The relative clause as a literary unit is functioning in a standard adjective modifying role to the noun it is attached to εὐαγγέλιον. This is established by the shared neuter gender singular number of both εὐαγγέλιον and ὁ. Thus what is promised with the Good News of Christ. The compound verb πρό + ἐπηγγείλατο as the aorist middle form of προεπαγγέλλω (2x in NT) thus contains a strong stress on God personally making the promise in advance. What did God promise? The relative pronoun ὁ as the direct object of προεπηγγείλατο defines Gospel as what was promised. The indirect means through which God made this promise is spelled out with διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ, where διὰ for indirect personal agency rather than ὑπὸ for direct personal agency is used. That is, the prophets were channels through which God worked, rather than originating sources of the promise.

Who were these prophets (τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ)? The term προφητῶν is in the plural, not the singular.²⁰ The use of an inclusive plural form can be taken to refer to either the prophets section of the Hebrew Bible (cf. 3:21), or, as referring to all the OT prophets considered to have been prompted by God to speak in His behalf (cf. 11:3).²¹ This latter view is more likely.

²⁰"The pl. οἱ προφήται brings the prophets together under one category (Iren. 1, 7, 3 [Harv. I 63, 2]; cp. Theoph. Ant. 1, 14 [p. 88, 14]): Mt 2:23; 5:12; 16:14; Mk 6:15b; Lk 1:70; 6:23; 13:28; J 1:45 (w. Moses); 8:52f; Ac 3:21; 7:52; 10:43; Ro 1:2; 1 Th 2:15; Hb 11:32 (w. David and Samuel); Js 5:10; 1 Pt 1:10 (classed under e below by ESelwyn, 1 Pt '46, ad loc. and 259–68); 2 Pt 3:2; 1 Cl 43:1 (Μωϋσῆς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πρ.); B 1:7; IMg 9:3; IPhd 5:2; AcPl Ha 8, 16; AcPlCor 1:10; 2:9 and 36. οἱ θεϊότατοι πρ. IMg 8:2; οἱ ἀγαπητοὶ πρ. IPhd 9:2. οἱ ἀρχαῖοι πρ. (Jos., Ant. 12, 413) D 11:11b. S. 2 below for prophetic figures in association with their written productions." [William Arndt, Frederick W. Danker, and Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 890.]

²¹"The phrase διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ ('through his prophets') is a generic expression that includes all of the inspired people who are called 'prophets' in the OT, including such men as Moses (cf. Acts 3:22) and David (cf. Acts 2:30–31) and not just those included in 'the prophets,' the second division of the Hebrew

The possessive genitive αὐτοῦ means they belonged to God, as opposed to false prophets.²² It likely reflects the common Although this narrows the range some, it leaves a wide range of possible references open. And probably the intent is to be inclusive of those messengers of God in the Old Testament.

The work of these individuals was not to predict the future, but to declare the working of God across time, past, present, and future. The rarely used verb (only 2x in NT and in Paul) προεπηγγείλατο underscores God making the promise of the εὐαγγέλιον in advance of bringing His promise to fruition in Christ. And in so expressing the idea this way Paul stresses the reliability of God to do what He promises to do. To be sure, this is done in God's on time and in the way of His choosing. Thus it is not predictable with specific date and time.

This promised good news is contained ἐν γραφαῖς ἀγίας, in the sacred scriptures. This is the exclusive use of this phrase in the entire New Testament²³ and is not Scriptures. Here Paul speaks of the gospel as having been promised διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ, 'through his prophets,' but without the adjectives 'holy' or 'sacred.' Usually Paul does not use 'holy,' 'sacred,' or 'dedicated' with respect to the prophets, but only with reference to 'the law'⁹¹ and when speaking of Christians⁹² or their children (cf. 1 Cor 7:14). The expression 'his [God's] holy prophets,' however, appears in Zechariah's Song of praise in Luke 1:70 and Peter's sermon at the temple gate in Acts 3:21 and so must have been common among both Jews and Jewish Christians." [Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 62.]

²²διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ, 'through his prophets.' 'His prophets' (unusual in the NT) may also reflect Paul's concern to emphasize God's personal involvement in and authority behind the prophetic hope, though it may also be a continuing echo of the familiar OT phrase, 'his/my (God's) servants (δοῦλοι) the prophets,' which lies in part behind Paul's opening self-designation (see on 1:1). Paul avoids saying 'the law and the prophets,' though he uses the fuller phrase later in 3:21 to make a similar point, perhaps because it is precisely the role of the law within the divine purpose which he seeks to clarify in this letter, and almost certainly because he wants to strike the note of promise and fulfillment, of God's promise and his faithfulness to that promise, right from the beginning, as clearly as possible. The apologetic concern is already evident and prepares for the central role Paul gives to God's 'promise' in chap. 4. The prophets and prophecies in question would have been established as Christian proof texts as one of the earliest apologetic requirements of the new movement (cf. 1 Cor 15:3–4). They would already include at least some of the texts cited or alluded to later on (see, e.g., on 4:25) and in the sermons in Acts, and here particularly 2 Sam 7:12–16 and Ps 2:7 (see on 1:3). [James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, vol. 38A, Word Biblical Commentary (Dallas: Word, Incorporated, 1998), 10–11.]

²³ἐν γραφαῖς ἀγίας, 'in [the] holy scriptures' — the only time this phrase ('holy scriptures') as such occurs in the NT. It refers to an established body of writings, already recognized as Scripture and sacred, that is, as having the status of divinely authorized statements or indeed of divine oracles in writing (cf. Philo, Fuga. 4;

found anywhere in the LXX either.²⁴ Evidently the secular use of this term for certain Greek and Roman writings as well as among a few Diaspora Jewish writings prompted this phraseology by Paul. Our assumption that for Paul this meant roughly the books of the Old Testament is just an assumption, since the Sinaitic manuscripts for example which contain the LXX go well Spec. Leg. 1.214; Heres 106, 159). The lack of the definite article makes no difference, as those same references show (cf. also 15:4 with 16:26; 2 Pet 1:20 with 3:16; see also BDF §255). Nor does the plural mark a significant difference from the singular, which was already in use for the collectivity of the Scriptures (Philo, Mos. 2.84; Ep. Arist. 155, 168). The Scriptures in view would be more or less the books contained in our OT (cf. Sir prologue; Josephus, Ap. 1.37–42; 4 Ezra 14:37–48), though the concept of a fixed and closed canon of Scripture was not yet clearly evident, as the larger scope of the LXX indicates." [James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, vol. 38A, Word Biblical Commentary (Dallas: Word, Incorporated, 1998), 11.]

²⁴Also to be noted is the fact that the adjective ἅγιος ('holy') in connection with 'Scripture' or 'Scriptures' is not found in the LXX nor anywhere else in Paul's letters, even though, as noted above, Paul uses the adjective ἅγιος ('holy') with reference to ὁ νόμος ('the law') in 7:12 — and even though he repeatedly uses the articular singular ἡ γραφή ('the Scripture') without that adjective (4:3; 9:17; 10:11; 11:2)⁹³ and the anarthrous plural γραφαί ('[the] Scriptures,' 15:4).⁹⁴ Philo, however, spoke of αἱ ἱερὰ γραφαί, 'the Sacred Scriptures,'⁹⁵ as did also Josephus.⁹⁶ So it may be presumed (1) that Jewish Christians would have referred to what we now call the OT as 'the Sacred Scriptures' or 'the Holy Scriptures,' (2) that Paul's addressees at Rome, who were dominantly Gentile Christians ethnically but also indebted to Jewish Christianity theologically and for their central religious expressions,⁹⁷ would have used such phraseology as well, and (3) that Paul, while he may not have commonly used the adjective 'holy' with reference to 'Scripture' or 'the Scriptures' when evangelizing or writing to Gentiles elsewhere in the eastern part of the Roman Empire, was happy here in 1:2 to condition his words to the forms of expression and sensibilities of his addressees at Rome." [Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 62–63.]

beyond the documents in the Protestant Old Testament as sacred writings. A better understanding is that where the prophets spoke of the promise of the coming Messiah, these texts would be within the framework of what in Jewish tradition was considered to be sacred because they contained the written deposit of the orally proclaimed message of individuals acknowledged to be called of God.²⁵

This raises an interesting side question: what use of the OT did Paul make in Romans? More than half of all OT citations in the entire Pauline corpus are located in Rom 1:16–4:25; 9:1–11:36; and 12:1–15:13.²⁶ Certain OT themes, such as "the faith of Abraham" (4:1–24), "the sin of Adam and its results" (5:11–21), the illustration regarding marriage (7:1–3, with its statement "for I am speaking to those who know the law"), and Jewish and/or Jewish Christian remnant theology (on which much of 9:6–11:32 is based) further reflect the apostle's indebtedness to his Jewish heritage.²⁷ Thus the ideas found in the Hebrew Bible play an important role in the development of Paul's message in Romans. But one should not conclude from this that his audience for the letter is overwhelmingly Jewish. To be sure Jewish Christians were present in the community at Rome. But so also were numerous Gentiles who had been sympathetic to the morality taught in Judaism. Acts 28:17–31 makes it clear that a few years later when Paul did finally arrive in Rome the Jewish synagogue communi-

²⁵To inject a question of the limits of canonicity into this is a misleading distraction. Among Jews in the first Christian century the limits of sacred scripture was quite fluid and debated among the various groups of Jewish leaders.

²⁶Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 62.

²⁷Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 62.

	περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ
	τοῦ γενομένου
	ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυιδ
1.4	κατὰ σάρκα,
	τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ
	ἐν δυνάμει
	κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης
	ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν,
	Τησοῦ Χριστοῦ
	τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν,
1.5	δι' οὗ ἐλάβομεν χάριν
	καὶ
	ἀποστολὴν
	εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως
	ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν
	ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ,
1.6	ἐν οἷς ἐστε καὶ ὑμεῖς κλητοὶ Τησοῦ Χριστοῦ,

ty was dominantly hostile to him and his message (cf. esp. 28:24-28).

c) **περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, concerning His Son.**

The second expansion of εὐαγγέλιον, Gospel, begins with the header phrase in v. 3a.²⁸ And it encompasses the remainder of the *Superscriptio* through v. 6. The preposition περὶ with the genitive of reference functioning noun object υἱοῦ reaches back to εὐαγγέλιον as an adjective modifier. This is reflected in the paraphrase translation of the NRSV: *the gospel concerning his Son*. The header function of -- then triggers a series of modifying expressions as see in the block diagram.

These expansion elements fall into two groupings, as shown above in the diagram and broke out in the outline below. First, τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ triggers a pair of contrastive adjective participles τοῦ γενομένου, *who was born*, and τοῦ ὀρισθέντος, *who was declared*. Both of these are expanded in a variety of ways in vv. 3-4b. Second, the genitive of apposition Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *Jesus Christ*, reaching back to τοῦ υἱοῦ, Son in v. 3, triggers another set of expansion elements with a slightly different thrust to those elements in the first set in vv. 4c-5. The final adjective relative clause in v. 6 goes back to τοῖς ἔθνεσιν in v. 5b instead. This becomes a transition link into the formal *Adscriptio* in v. 7a, πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ, κλητοῖς ἁγίοις, *to all who are in Rome, beloved of God, called to be holy ones*.

The header phrase περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ reflects the thought originally found in Psalm 2:7, Κύριος εἶπεν πρὸς με **Υἱός μου εἶ σύ (יהוָה בְּנִי)**, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε, He said to me, **You are my son**; today I have begotten you.²⁹

²⁸εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ,

1.2 ὃ προεπηγγέλατο
| διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ
| ἐν γραφαῖς ἁγίαις

1.3 περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ

²⁹"The ascription 'his Son' or 'God's Son' is ultimately derived from the coronation decree of God in Ps 2:7, 'You are my Son; today I have begotten you.' For early Christians this ascription came to dramatic expression in the acclamations from heaven of Jesus as God's Son at his baptism⁹⁸ and at his transfiguration.⁹⁹ It seems, in fact, to have been one of the earliest titles ascribed to Jesus by Jewish Christians—as witness, for example, (1) the caption of Heb 1:2 ('in these last days he has spoken to us by his Son [literally 'a son'], whom he appointed heir of all things and through whom he created the ages'), (2) the confessional portion of Heb 1:3-4 ('The Son [literally 'who'] is the radiance of God's glory and the exact representation of his being'), and (3) the first passage from Scripture cited in support of the title in Heb 1:5a ('You are my Son; today I have begotten you'). So while the proclamation of 'the gospel' was always at the heart of Paul's mission, the focus of that proclamation, both among the earliest believers in Jesus and in Paul's proclamation, was on the work and person of 'God's Son'—that is, on 'Jesus Christ our Lord,' as stated explicitly at the end of Rom 1:4." [Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary*

Although originally a coronation decree for the kings of Israel, early Christianity saw this as applying also to Christ and used the title "God's Son" in reference to Christ in light the both the baptismal and transfiguration statements from the heavenly voices. The prepositional phrase clearly underscores the εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ as Good News from God that is centered completely in Jesus Christ as God's Son. Without Him at its center, there is no Gospel message. Everything revolves around who He is which then flows into what He does.

From this grammatical 'stack pole' then flows a variety of expansion elements that elaborate on Christ as the center of the Gospel message. These begin with who Christ is and then move to what He has provided.

One should note the likelihood that what follows in vv. 3b-4 comes out of a pre-formed early Christian Glaubensbekenntnis, or confession of faith.³⁰ Although in form critical studies the label Christian hymn is often used the reality is that most of these are closer in form to a rhythmically structured confession of faith with a structure designed for memorization and recitation. The ancient pattern of formal 'singing' would have sounded much more like a uniformly recited responsive reading in church life today.³¹ For the Christians of Paul day in Rome, this had its roots on the Jewish side in Jerusalem temple worship and for the non-Jewish believers in the somewhat similar formal liturgies of non-Jewish worship in the pagan temples of Rome. As a part of the catechismal learning of their religious faith in the house church groups, such confessions would be recited from

on the Greek Text, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 63.]

³⁰"What follows in 1:3b-4 has often been understood as an early Christian confessional portion, perhaps even part of an early Christian hymn that is quoted by Paul here. One reason for such a judgment is that these verses contain some words, expressions, and motifs that appear somewhat unusual for Paul and could more readily be understood as the language of early Jewish Christianity—such as (1) the association of Jesus with 'seed of David' or 'son of David' imagery (cf. also 2 Tim 2:8); (2) use of the verb ὀρίζειν ('to appoint' or 'designate'), which appears nowhere else in Paul's letters but is found a number of times in Jewish Christian contexts elsewhere in the NT; (3) the phrase πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης ('spirit of holiness'), which seems to have a Semitic base and not to be part of the vocabulary of Paul (who usually speaks of 'God's Spirit' or 'the Holy Spirit'); (4) the contrast of σὰρξ ('flesh') and πνεῦμα ('spirit') in a somewhat unusual Pauline manner; and (5) the association of Sonship with resurrection (found in early preaching, as in Acts 13:33, where Ps 2:7 is quoted)." [Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 63-64.]

³¹For readers of this commentary with a Roman Catholic background, think in terms of the rhythmical, almost singing, of liturgical text by the presiding priest during the Mass.

memory or as newly taught materials to the assembled group.

Paul's incorporation of such preformed Christian confessional material into his letter accomplished several objectives. It affirmed from this apostle whom most did not know personally beliefs already established a common Christian understanding. This in turn gave greater credibility to what the apostle would go on to say, since these expansion elements are signalling what to expect in much greater detail in the letter body of Romans. Further, the use of this material affirmed Paul's apostolic credentials as a messenger of the apostolic Gospel heard in Jerusalem by many in the Roman church on periodic trips to Jerusalem to continue celebrating their Jewish heritage via worship and sacrifice in the Jerusalem temple. Jewish Christians at this stage of history seldom ever ceased practising their Jewish religious commitments after becoming believers. Such cessation would not set in until much latter when levels of hostility between Jews and Christians exploded much beyond what they were in the middle of the first century. This was a by product of the destruction of the Jewish Jerusalem temple in 70 AD.

c1) τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, who was born out of David's seed according to the flesh.

The human side of Jesus is stressed first, and followed then by the divine aspect, c1 // c2. The focus of the human side of Jesus is on his physical (κατὰ σάρκα) descentance from David (ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ).³² This exact phrase ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ, *out of David's seed*, is only found in Paul at 2 Tim. 2:8 beyond here. Of course, when σπέρμα is used in reference to animals or humans it means literally male sperm. Thus the phrase, given the loose way σπέρμα was used in reference to ancestry, should not be taken literally.³³ Add to this the

³²"Establishing a connection between Christ and the lineage of David, however, is not a usual feature in Paul's letters, being found only here in 1:3 (quoting, it seems, part of an early Christian confession or hymn), in Rom 15:12 (quoting Isa 11:10), and in 2 Tim 2:8 (writing to a colleague who was trained in the OT Scriptures). But it is common in the Synoptic Gospels¹⁰⁷ and seems to come to expression in the NT particularly where an understanding that is typically Jewish Christian is to the fore.¹⁰⁸ Further, it needs always to be recognized that for the earliest Jewish believers in Jesus the ascription σπέρματος Δαυὶδ—whether understood as a title ('Seed of David') or simply as signaling lineage ('descended from David')—would have carried with it ideas about Israel's promised Messiah. For the expectation that the Messiah would be the true descendant of David and thus the 'Seed of David' as well as the 'Son of David' was firmly rooted in Jewish thought.¹⁰⁹" [Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 65.]

³³One interesting side note is that Matthew (1:1-17) in tracing Jesus' lineage from Abraham to Joseph through David, goes to Je-

use of γίνομαι, rather than γεννάω the specific word for birth. It points to the more generalized concept of descendant. Most modern English translations use descended from rather than born from.

As the genealogy lists in Matthew and Luke demonstrate, only Joseph needed to be directly linked to David for Jesus to be considered officially a descendant of David. The NT never explicitly mentions whether Mary was a descent of David or not, although the likelihood is that she was given that the vast majority of Jewish marriages (in Palestine) in the ancient world were to distant relatives in the same tribal group. But this would have been regarded as irrelevant to the official descentance of Jesus.

Thus the phrase τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα is more oriented toward asserting an official ancestry that links Jesus back to David and establishes the basis for Jesus to claim to be the Messiah. The messiahship was the primary point to Jesus' human side and centered in the prophetic statements about God's promised deliverer have ancestry in David.³⁴ This clearly was the issue in Mark 12:35-37a and

sus from Joseph who was not the human father of Jesus. So literally one can't go directly from David's seed to Jesus through Joseph. And Matthew acknowledges this in 1:16, Ἰακώβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός, *And Jacob gave birth to Joseph, the husband of Mary from whom Jesus was born who is called the Christ*. From an ancient Jewish perspective this is the only way a legitimate ancestry could have been set up. Even Luke (3:23-38) with his genealogy list focusing on the non-Jewish orientation going back to Adam with no particular emphasis given to David, has to go from Jesus to Joseph, cf. 3:23, Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, ὢν υἱός, ὡς ἐνομίζετο, Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Ἠλὶ, *And Jesus himself was about thirty years old at the beginning being, as was supposed, the son of Joseph, who was son of Eli*. The real irony here is that universal Jewish views understand that one's Jewishness is not established by one's father but his mother. This was why, for example, Timothy had to be circumcised before joining Paul's missionary group that regularly entered Jewish synagogues in witnessing (cf. Acts 16:1-5). But a legitimate ancestry list could only list the father, paternal grandfather, etc. as the official line of descentance.

³⁴τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ. Though it seems that some Jews of the NT period did not regard descent from David as an absolutely essential qualification of the Messiah (Rabbi Akiba may be cited as an example; for he hailed Simeon 'Bar-Cochba' as Messiah—a man who, as far as we know, never claimed Davidic descent), it is clear that the expectation that the Messiah would belong to the family of David was strongly established (compare, in addition to the evidence of the NT itself, Ps. Sol. 17:23(21); 4QpIsaa; 4QPB; 4QFl).³ Its OT basis is to be seen in such passages as 2 Sam 7:16; Ps 89:3f, 19ff; Isa 11:1, 10; Jer 23:5f; 30:9; 33:14-18; Ezek 34:23f; 37:24f. These words assert the Davidic descent of Jesus, in agreement with the testimony of other parts of the NT (cf. Mt 1:1, 2-16, 20; Lk 1:27, 32, 69; 2:4; 3:23-31; Acts 2:30; 2 Tim 2:8; Rev 5:5; 22:16: that the author believed Jesus to have been of David's house is probably to be inferred from Jn 7:42). On the historical credibility of this claim reference may be made to Jeremias,

perhaps also in John 7:42.

The phrase *κατὰ σάρκα* primarily references the human aspect of Jesus, in contrast to *υιοῦ θεοῦ*, **God's Son**, that follows.³⁵ But even this contrast should not be

Jerusalem, pp. 275–302 (cf. E. Stauffer, *Jesus and His Story*, Eng. tr., London, 1960, p. 22f; Cullmann, *Christology*, pp. 127–30). The claim not only has an apologetic significance (drawing attention to Jesus' possession of an important messianic qualification and underlining the correspondence between promise and fulfilment (cf. v. 2)), but also endorses the reality of those promises on which Israel's messianic hopes were founded and implicitly acknowledges the true and inalienable dignity of the succession of the kings of David's line (the fact that they dimly and unworthily, but nonetheless really, foreshadowed Him who was to come, in whom God's promise to David would be finally and completely honoured).

"But in both Matthew and Luke, while Jesus' Davidic descent is asserted emphatically, it is also at the same time indicated that Joseph, through whom the descent is traced (Mt 1:16, 20; Lk 1:27; 2:4; 3:23), was not the natural father of Jesus (Mt 1:18–25; Lk 1:34f); the implication of the narratives is that Jesus' Davidic descent rests on Joseph's having accepted Him as his son and thereby legitimized Him.¹ It is possible that Paul's use here and also in Gal 4:4 and Phil 2:7 of *γίνεσθαι* rather than *γεννᾶσθαι* (which he does sometimes use but never in connexion with the birth of Jesus)² may reflect knowledge on his part of the tradition of Jesus' birth without natural human fatherhood;³ though *γίνεσθαι* is certainly sometimes used with reference to birth (cf. Bauer, s.v. I:1:a), it is not the ordinary word to denote it.⁴"

[C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, *International Critical Commentary* (London; New York: T&T Clark International, 2004), 58–59.]

³⁵"*κατὰ σάρκα*. Paul's uses of the noun *σάρξ* present a bewildering variety of nuances, and we shall often have to try to discover the precise sense which it bears in a particular passage. The phrase *κατὰ σάρκα* itself can have more than one sense. Thus its significance here is quite different from that which it has in, for example, 8:4, 5, 12. The closest parallel to the present instance is in 9:5. Both there and here it is best understood as meaning 'as a man', 'so far as His human nature is concerned'. By using it Paul implies that the fact of Christ's human nature, in respect of which what has just been said is true, is not the whole truth about Him. 'Son of David' is a valid description of Him so far as it is applicable, but the reach of its applicability is not coextensive with the fullness of His person (cf. Mk 12:35–37). But this is not to say that *κατὰ σάρκα* defines Christ's kinship with David as something belonging only to His earthly, historical life.¹ So to interpret it is to impose upon it—quite unjustifiably²—a meaning inconsistent with the truth (fundamental for Paul as for the other NT writers) of the resurrection of Jesus. For belief in the resurrection of Jesus necessarily involves believing that, as the risen and exalted Lord, He still possesses the same human nature—albeit glorified—as He assumed in the Incarnation.³ We take it then that *κατὰ σάρκα* here indicates that the words *τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ* are used of the Son of God in respect of His human nature, not that the kinship with David which they express is to be thought of as limited to the days of His earthly life. (The view that *κατὰ σάρκα* must refer not to Christ's manhood but to the period of His earthly life, His state of humiliation, springs from the assumption that *κατὰ σάρκα* and *κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης* and the two participial clauses as wholes must be closely parallel, with which is often combined the desire to avoid an interpretation which might seem to imply that

pressed very far, since most Roman rulers carried the official title, as expressed in Greek, of *υιοῦ θεοῦ*, from the Latin *Dei Filius*. The phrase *κατὰ σάρκα* carries a variety of nuanced meanings as Cranfield in the ICC commentary explains. Thus translating it with exact precision is very challenging.³⁶ Yet at the center of its meaning here contextually is Jesus' humanness. In that regard He is connected to King David as the divinely promised Χριστός.

c2) τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υιοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν, who was declared God's Son by power according to the Spirit of holiness out of the resurrection of the dead.

The other side of who Jesus was is His connection to God. Here the aorist passive participle *τοῦ ὀρισθέντος* from *ὀρίζω* is critical for understanding the idea being presented. The accusative of reference *υιοῦ θεοῦ* defines what *ὀρισθέντος* specifies. Then three prepositional phrases modify the participle in sharpening the definition established by *ὀρισθέντος*: a) *ἐν δυνάμει*, b) *κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης*, and c) *ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν*.

Even while *σπέρματος Δαυὶδ* ultimately leads back to God as a messianic allusion, *ὀρισθέντος υιοῦ θεοῦ* sets the focus much stronger.³⁷ The verb *ὀρίζω* refers to the defining of boundaries and limits with the intent of explaining ideas or concepts. In three places -- Acts 10:42; 17:31; Rom. 1:4 -- the one defining is God and the one defined is Christ. In Acts, God defines Christ

Christ only became the Son of God at the Resurrection.)" [C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, *International Critical Commentary* (London; New York: T&T Clark International, 2004), 59–61.]

³⁶"The phrase as to his humanity is variously rendered in different receptor languages. The two principal equivalent expressions are 'as a man' or 'as far as his body was concerned.' In some instances this is combined directly with the following phrase: 'he had the same kind of body as the offspring of David.' References to the lineage of David may be expressed as 'he was a grandson of David' (in languages in which the term 'grandson' is a generic term for any male descendant). On the other hand, David may be made the subject of such a phrase—for example, 'David was his grandfather' or 'David was his ancestor.' Again, one may simply specify lineage: 'he belonged to David's family.' It is frequently, however, very difficult to translate literally he was born a descendant; such a passive phrase could be quite misleading." [Barclay Moon Newman and Eugene Albert Nida, *A Handbook on Paul's Letter to the Romans*, UBS Handbook Series (New York: United Bible Societies, 1973), 9–10.]

³⁷The traditional rubrics of humanity / divinity do not really fit the contrast given by Paul here. The contrast between *τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα* and *τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υιοῦ θεοῦ* both ultimately lead back to God. The first goes via the ancestry of David via God's promise of a deliverer, while the second is more directly centered in the divine action of resurrection as the defining mark. Human / divine is at best minimally present here, while both actually stress Christ's connection to the Father.

as Judge at the end of time, while in Rom He defines Christ as His Son. The validating, defining action establishing the roles of judge and son for Jesus is the resurrection of Him from the dead.³⁸ No single English word even begins to capture the sense of ὀρίζω, thus leading to a wide variety of translations.³⁹ The action of raising Jesus from the dead becomes not just the defining of Jesus as υἱοῦ θεοῦ, but perhaps more importantly the open declaration of Him as such.

The title υἱοῦ θεοῦ is thus critical to proper under-

³⁸Most of the church fathers falsely read ὀρισθέντος as though it were προορισθέντος, i.e., predestined, as Longenecker points out:

The Old Latin, Jerome's Vulgate, and a number of Latin writers translated ὀρισθέντος by the Latin *praedestinus*, and so read "the one who was predestined" (as though the text read τοῦ προορισθέντος). And that understanding of Christ as having been "predestined" to be God's Son dominated the understanding of many of the Church Fathers (particularly Cyril of Alexandria and Augustine), and has been a continued feature in various segments of the theological tradition of the western church (both Roman Catholic and Protestant).

As early as the first half of the third century, however, Origen opposed such an understanding and quite rightly insisted:

Although in Latin translations one normally finds the word "predestined" [*praedestinus*] here, the true reading is "designated" [*destinatus*] and not "predestined" [*praedestinus*]. For "designate" [*destinatus*] applies to someone who already exists, whereas "predestine" [*praedestinus*] is only applicable to someone who does not yet exist, like those of whom the apostle said: "For those whom he foreknew he also predestined" [Rom 8:29].... Those who do not yet exist may be foreknown and predestined, but he who is and who always exists is not predestined but designated.... He was never predestined to be the Son, because he always was and is the Son, just as the Father has always been the Father.¹¹⁰

Likewise, John Chrysostom in the latter part of the fourth century understood τοῦ ὀρισθέντος in a similar fashion—that is, as synonymous with δειχθέντος ("displayed"), ἀποφθέντος ("manifested"), κριθέντος ("judged"), and ὁμολογηθέντος ("acknowledged"), but not with προορισθέντος ("predestined").¹¹¹

[Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 65–66.]

³⁹The verb shown literally means 'to set limits (or boundaries),' and so 'define,' 'decide,' 'determine.' It is quite often used of God's will and decision (Luke 22:22; Acts 2:23; 10:42; 17:26, 31; Hebrews 4:7). In English translations the verb appears in a variety of renderings: 'declared,' 'designated,' 'appointed,' 'marked out,' 'demonstrated,' 'installed,' 'proclaimed,' and 'foreordained.' This passive expression was shown may be transformed into an active expression—for example, 'God showed with great power that he was his Son.'" [Barclay Moon Newman and Eugene Albert Nida, *A Handbook on Paul's Letter to the Romans*, UBS Handbook Series (New York: United Bible Societies, 1973), 10.]

standing of this participle phrase. Despite some denials, this phrase had strong messianic associations in early Christianity, thus making υἱοῦ θεοῦ a virtual synonym of σπέρματος Δαυιδ.⁴⁰ Thus Paul's point in using these

⁴⁰Since the flat denial by Gustav Dalman and Wilhelm Bousset, many scholars have asserted that υἱος θεοῦ ('Son of God') had no messianic associations in pre-Christian Judaism.¹¹² Joseph Fitzmyer reflects such a stance when he writes: 'The title 'Son of God' is not being used in a messianic sense ...; nothing is intimated in the text about Jesus' anointed status or agency, and no OT background relates 'son of God' to 'Messiah.'¹¹³ However in 4QFlorilegium, which is a collection of selected OT passages and interpretive comments dateable to the end of the first century B.C. or the beginning of the first A.D., the words of 2 Sam 7:14, 'I will be to him a father, and he will be to me a son,' are given explicit messianic import in the comment 'The 'he' in question is 'the Branch of David' who will appear in Zion in the Last Days, alongside 'the Expounder of the Law.'¹¹⁴ Likewise in 4 Ezra 7:28–29; 13:32, 37, 52; and 14:9—which are passages written by a pious Jewish author only a few years after the apostolic period of early Christianity, probably about 100–120 A.D.—God is represented as speaking repeatedly of the Messiah as 'my Son.' So also 1 En 105:2 in portraying God as speaking in a messianic context of 'I and my Son' (though this verse has often for this very reason been viewed as a Jewish Christian interpolation into earlier Enochian material).

"It should, therefore, not seem strange that 'Messiah' and 'Son of God' are explicitly brought together as christological titles at a number of places in the NT. Most obvious among NT instances are the following:

1. Peter's confession in Matt 16:16 (cf. also Mark 8:29 ἄ): 'You are the Christ ['the Messiah'], the Son of (the living) God.'

2. Caiaphas's question in Matt 26:63 (cf. also Mark 14:61, where there is a locution for God): 'Are you the Christ ['the Messiah'], the Son of God?'

3. The demonic recognition of Jesus as 'the Son of God' in Luke 4:41, which is said by the Evangelist to have been based on a knowledge that he was 'the Christ ['the Messiah].'

4. Martha's affirmation in John 11:27: 'You are the Christ ['the Messiah'], the Son of God, the One coming into the world.'

5. The Fourth Evangelist's statement in John 20:31 that his purpose in writing was that his readers 'may come to believe that Jesus is the Christ ['the Messiah'], the Son of God,' and that by believing they 'may have life in his name.'

6. Paul's early preaching in the synagogues of Damascus, as represented in Acts 9:20–22, which focused on Jesus as 'the Son of God' and as 'the Christ ['the Messiah].'

"It should, therefore, not be thought surprising that in the early Christian confessional portion cited by Paul here in 1:3b–4 'seed of David,' with its messianic connotations, and the christological title 'Son of God' are juxtaposed.

"Actually, apart from its use here in Rom 1:4, 'Son of God' as a title for Jesus appears in only two other passages in Paul's letters—that is, in 2 Cor 1:19 and Gal 2:20. Further, its cognates 'the Son' and 'his Son' are to be found in his letters only twelve times more—that is, in his introduction of 1:3a to the confessional couplet here in 1:3b–4, and elsewhere in his letters in Rom 1:9; 5:10; 8:3, 29, 32; 1 Cor 1:9; 15:28; Gal 1:16; 4:4, 6; and 1 Thess 1:10. As Werner Kramer has observed with regard to Paul's use of 'Son of God,' 'the Son,' and 'his Son' with respect to Jesus: 'In comparison with the passages in which the titles Christ Jesus or Lord occur, this is an infinitesimally small figure.'¹¹⁵ And as Kramer has further noted:

two angles of affirmation is to intensify the assertion of Jesus' messianic connection to God. Their previous incorporation into the preformed confession of faith material here (cf. 1:3b-4) further enhanced Paul's position by utilizing concepts already familiar to and affirmed by the believers in the Christian community at Rome.

The threefold expansion of the core participle phrase, τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ, adds a special richness to the participle construction. First comes ἐν δυνάμει, in/with power. Understanding it clearly poses some challenges.⁴¹ Very important is whether the prep-

Paul's use of the title Son of God depends primarily on external factors, in that it is prompted by what has gone before.¹¹⁶ Rather, it is Matthew among the Synoptic Evangelists who gives increased prominence to the Sonship of Jesus,¹¹⁷ the Fourth Evangelist who makes this theme the high point of his Christology,¹¹⁸ and the writer of Hebrews who highlights in his homily the theme of the superiority of Jesus as God's Son.¹¹⁹

"Thus it may reasonably be concluded (1) that early Jewish believers in Jesus used 'Son of God' as a title for their acclaimed Messiah, (2) that they used it in association with the whole complex of messianic ideas and expressions with which they were familiar, (3) that Christians at Rome, being heavily indebted to the theology and religious language of Jewish Christianity, were probably also in the habit of using 'Son of God' as a title for Jesus, and (4) that Paul in addressing believers in Jesus at Rome used an early Christian confessional portion—or, at least, part of such a confessional portion—which contained certain christological themes and ascriptions that were familiar to his addressees. It may be assumed that Paul agreed with what the Christians at Rome believed and confessed in the material that he quoted in 1:3b-4. Otherwise he would not have included it in the salutation of his letter. Nor would he have introduced it with the expression περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ ('concerning his Son,' 1:3a). But the pattern that Paul exhibits in all his extant pastoral correspondence (likewise, presumably, in all his evangelistic preaching) seems to have been to write (and, presumably, to speak) in ways that could be called 'circumstantial'—that is, in ways that were suited to the understanding and appreciation of those whom he was addressing. And this is what he seems to have done here, as well, in writing to the Christians at Rome."

[Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 66–68.]

⁴¹"The phrase ἐν δυνάμει ('in' or 'with power,' 1:4a) has always been difficult for commentators to interpret. Is it part of the early Christian confessional material that Paul quotes,¹²⁰ or should it be considered a 'supplement' inserted by Paul into an earlier church formulation?¹²¹ Further, is it to be understood adverbially, thereby modifying the participle ὀρισθέντος,¹²² or adjectivally, thereby qualifying υἱοῦ θεοῦ?¹²³ Read adverbially, 'appointed in power' would emphasize the fact that Jesus was appointed or designated 'Son of God' by God's mighty act of raising him from the dead. Read adjectivally, 'Son of God with power' would lay stress not only on the status of Jesus as the Son of God, which was established by God at his resurrection, but also the power that Jesus possesses because of his resurrection and the power by which he is able to energize all who turn to him as their risen Lord. Both readings have been persuasively argued, and each is linguistically possible. Yet it

positional phrase belongs with the pre-formed tradition being used by Paul, or whether it represents a Pauline addition to the tradition for amplification purposes.⁴²

seems far better—if we (1) assume that ἐν δυνάμει was part of the confessional material quoted, and not words injected by Paul, (2) emphasize the parallelism between τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ in 1:3b and τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει in 1:4a, with the first speaking of his status as "Seed of David" and the second of his status as "Son of God," and (3) note that both expressions are immediately followed by a further antithetical parallelism that begins in each case with the preposition κατὰ ('with respect to' or 'in relation to')—to understand 'with power' as being adjectivally connected with the noun phrase 'Son of God.' On such a reading, the movement from 'Seed of David' to 'Son of God' is not a transition from a purely human Messiah to a divine Son of God (as in an 'adoptionist' Christology) but, rather, two affirmations of an early and inclusive christological declaration, which speaks first of Jesus' right to be considered Israel's promised Messiah because of his birth as the true descendant of David and then of his designation by God as God's true Son because of his "spirit of holiness"—all of which was decisively authenticated by his resurrection from the dead." [Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 68–69.]

⁴²For the readers of this commentary without background training and experience in Form Critical Analysis procedures, specific guidelines for identify segments of pre-formed tradition have to be followed in order to isolate out such material embedded in the text. Of course, when Old Testament passages are appealed to by the biblical writer, these are relatively easy to identify since an already know more original form of this material is available for comparison. In such instances, and especially for Paul, the questions center on whether a particular form of the Hebrew text is being used, or -- as most often is the case -- which text tradition of the Greek LXX translation is being used. Paul utilizes a wide variety of sources mainly from the LXX translation text traditions in circulation in the first century AD. But occasionally the apostle will pull up text wording with no known source from any existing manuscript tradition of the Hebrew Bible.

The task of Form Critical Analysis of pre-existing tradition particularly coming out of developing Christian traditions from the first half of the beginning Christian century is more daunting. Largely drawing from the well established approaches of classicist who have worked in very similar tasks, biblical Form Critics come as the process with some well established methodologies.

First, unusually clear meter and ancient Greek poetical patterns (not modern patterns) in the biblical text are identified. The easiest place to begin this is with the Synoptic Gospels which contain large chunks of pre-formed oral tradition centered in what Jesus said, more than in what He did. Add to this is the identifying of Jewish influences especially things such as parallelisms of the full gamut found particularly in the Jewish wisdom literary tradition both inside and outside the Hebrew Bible. Both the ancient Greek and Jewish sources provide a massive background database of existing patterns and writing strategies as a comparison basis for the NT texts.

Note: not only must the form critical scholar be well versed in various forms of ancient Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic, she / he must also have experience with and advanced knowledge of an-

Close analysis would suggest a greater likelihood for the prepositional phrase to have been a part of the tradition rather than a Pauline addition. Thus the phrase originally stood as τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει in parallel to τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυιδ.⁴³ Both

cient linguistics, both its theory and practice. Thus, there's not a large number of such scholars on either side of the Atlantic. Second, the tracing of individual words and short phrases in the biblical texts must be meticulously carried out. Such embedded tradition will characteristically contain unfamiliar vocabulary seldom if ever found elsewhere in the biblical writer's compositions. Plus, just as often somewhat familiar words found elsewhere, say in Paul's writings, will have new and exclusive meaning simply because they were composed by someone else not connected to the Pauline circle of writing secretaries. To the experienced reader of the Greek New Testament, this will stick out like a sore thumb when reading through the text.

Third, a careful search of the remainder of the New Testament, supplemented by analysis of early Christian writings beginning with the second century, will often turn up the same unique patterns and unusual vocabulary. The ancient world well past the apostolic era was overwhelmingly an oral world much more than a visual world of written expression. Learning new ideas in virtually all ancient educational approaches centered on memorizing them after they had been shaped into patterns facilitating easier memorization. Writing helped give longevity to ideas, but passing them down orally remained dominant for many centuries. This particularly since building a personal library of any size was a privilege only for the very wealthy. Added to this was the view that spoken words possessed life while written words were dead as they lay on a papyrus scroll. This was especially the Jewish view picked up from the Genesis 1-2 creation stories where creation happened by God speaking, not doing or writing. The only way written words came to life was when someone orally read them out loud.

These three points are but a very simple overview of a science in biblical studies that requires enormous specialization and training. And very few biblical scholars possess such training. I have been privileged beyond my wildest dreams to have both studied under and worked with some of the best scholars in this field during my experiences in several German universities back down the way. Profs. Gerd Theissen and Klaus Berger are two of these experts.

⁴³For those aware that the royal Messiah was also called God's Son (2 Sam 7:14; Ps 2:7; 1QSa 2.11-12; 4QFlor 1.10—fin.; 4DQpsDan Aa) the phrase 'in power' would be a natural qualification: Jesus did not first become God's Son at the resurrection; but he entered upon a still higher rank of sonship at resurrection. Certainly this has to be designated a 'two-stage Christology' (the first line is not simply preparatory to the second, as the parallelism shows—against Wengst, 114-16), though what precisely is being affirmed of each stage in relation to the other is not clear. To describe the Christology as 'adoptionist' (as Knox; Gaston, Paul, 113) is anachronistic since there is no indication that this 'two-stage Christology' was being put forward in opposition to some already formulated 'three-stage Christology' (as in later Adoptionism); cf. Maillot. And Paul would certainly see the earlier formula as congruent with his own Christology; as already noted under Form and Structure, it is hardly likely that Paul would both use the formula as an indication of common faith with his readers and attempt to correct it at the same time (Eichholz, Theologie, 130-31). 1:4 together with the similar very early Christological formulation in Acts 2:36 and early use of Ps 2:7 in reference to the resurrection (Acts 13:33;

underscore the profound relation of Christ to the Father as the source of power and ministry.

The signal of a cutoff point for both strophes is the *κατὰ σάρκα* then matched by *κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης* in the second strophe. This contextual influence must not be ignored in seeking to understand the hugely strange phrase *κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης*. It has occasioned widely diverse understandings down through the centuries of interpretive history.⁴⁴ Does it refer to

Heb 1:5; 5:5) should be seen more as evidence of the tremendous impact made by the resurrection of Jesus on the first Christians than as a carefully thought-out theological statement. That being said, it remains significant that these early formulations and Paul saw in the resurrection of Jesus a 'becoming' of Jesus in status and role, not simply a ratification of a status and role already enjoyed on earth or from the beginning of time (see further Dunn, Christology, 33-36)." [James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, vol. 38A, Word Biblical Commentary (Dallas: Word, Incorporated, 1998), 14.]

⁴⁴The most difficult question regarding the exegesis of 1:3b-4a, however, has to do with the meaning of *κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης* in 1:4a. A somewhat bewildering array of interpretations have been proposed throughout the course of Christian history. All of them, however, fall into one of the following categories:

"1. *The Divine Nature of Christ*. This first category of interpretation views *κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης* as referring to the divine nature of Christ, that is, to his divinity. For just as *κατὰ σάρκα* in 1:3b has reference to his human nature, so *κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης* here in 1:4 must be understood in antithetical fashion as referring to his divine nature. This was a common understanding among the Church Fathers.

"The fourth-century commentator whom Erasmus dubbed 'Ambrosiaster,' for example, wrote:

When Paul speaks about the Son of God he is pointing out that God is Father, and by adding the Spirit of holiness he indicates the mystery of the Trinity. For he who was incarnate, who obscured what he really was [i.e., during his earthly life and ministry], was then predestined according to the Spirit of holiness to be manifested in power as the Son of God by rising from the dead, as it is written in Psalm 84, "Truth is risen from the earth" [Ps 85:11 (LXX 84:11)]. For every ambiguity and hesitation was made firm and sure by his resurrection, just as the centurion, when he saw the wonders, confessed that the man placed on the cross was the Son of God [Matt 27:54].¹²⁴

"Likewise, Augustine expressed this understanding when he said:

Christ is the son of David in weakness according to the flesh, but he is the Son of God in power according to the Spirit of sanctification.... Weakness relates to David, but life eternal to the power of God.¹²⁵

"And this interpretation has been carried on by such important interpreters as the sixteenth-century reformer Philipp Melancthon,¹²⁶ the eighteenth-century Lutheran pietist Johann Bengel,¹²⁷ and such nineteenth-century commentators as Charles Hodge,¹²⁸ Robert Haldane,¹²⁹ William G. T. Shedd,¹³⁰ Edward H. Gifford,¹³¹ and Henry P. Liddon.¹³²

"2. *The Person and Sanctifying Work of the Holy Spirit*. A second category of interpretation understands *πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης* as a reference to the Holy Spirit, who indwelt and energized Christ Jesus during his earthly life—and who after Jesus' resurrection was the source of power that raised Christ up to an altogether higher type of life. In particular, when in the early church the major

theological issues had to do not only with Christ but also with the nature and work of the Holy Spirit in relation to Christ, the salutation of 1:1–7 was understood by many Church Fathers to contain a number of proofs by which Christ was demonstrated to be the Son of God. So πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης was taken to be speaking not directly about Christ's divine nature but about the Holy Spirit, whose sanctifying work stands, along with the resurrection, as evidence of Christ's Sonship." John Chrysostom, for example, in the first of his thirty-two homilies on Romans preached at Antioch of Syria, declared with respect to the salutation of 1:1–7:

What is being said here has been made obscure by the complex syntax, and so it is necessary to expound it. What is he actually saying? "We preach," says Paul, "him who was made of David. But this is obvious. How then is it obvious that this incarnate person was also the Son of God? First of all, it is obvious from the prophets [cf. v. 2], and this source of evidence is no weak one. And then there is the way in which he was born [cf. v. 3, understanding the virgin birth as implied here], which overruled the rules of nature. Third, there are the miracles that he did, which were a demonstration of much power, for the words "in power" [v. 4a] mean this. Fourth, there is the Spirit which he gave to those who believe in him, through whom he made them all holy, which is why he adds "according to the Spirit of holiness" (κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης) [v. 4a]. For only God could grant such gifts. Fifth, there was the resurrection [v. 4b], for he first and he only raised himself, and he also said that this was a miracle which would stop the mouths even of those who believed arrogantly, for he said: "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up" [John 2:19].¹³³

"Likewise, Erasmus in his paraphrase of Paul's letter to the Romans, which was finally published in 1517, read 1:3–4 as follows:

This is the gospel concerning his Son who was born in time of the lineage of David according to the infirmity of the flesh, but was also revealed to be the eternal Son of the eternal God according to the Spirit which sanctifies all things.¹³⁴

"And Martin Luther in his lectures on Romans, which he delivered at the University of Wittenberg from November 3, 1515 to September 7, 1516, viewed matters in much the same way:

When the passage reads "the spirit of sanctification" rather than the "Holy Spirit," this does not matter much, for it is the same spirit who in terms of his effect is called either holy or sanctifying.¹³⁵

"This understanding of πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης as 'the Spirit who sanctifies' was carried on in all the early English versions from John Wycliffe's New Testament, which was produced sometime around 1380, through to (and including) William Tyndale's New Testament of 1534, the Great Bible of 1539, the Geneva Bible of 1557, and the Bishops' Bible of 1568 (as well as Theodore Beza's Latin translation of the NT of 1556 and the many vernacular German, Dutch, French, Polish, Hungarian, Icelandic, Finnish, Danish, and Slovakian translations that were produced during the sixteenth century). The translators of the King James Version of 1611, however, were evidently attempting to be somewhat conciliatory by their more literal translation 'according to the spirit of holiness'—though, in all probability, their insertion of the definite article 'the' was done not merely for literary purposes but also to suggest that the referent should be understood as "the Holy Spirit."

"Likewise, it is this understanding that appears in most commentaries today—as, for example, those written by Franz Leenhardt,¹³⁶ F. F. Bruce,¹³⁷ Charles Cranfield,¹³⁸ and Joseph Fitzmyer.¹³⁹ And this understanding appears, in various ways, in many modern translations — most expressly in the NIV, which reads in its

text 'through the Spirit of holiness' (though a footnote in the 1984 edition has 'as to his spirit'), and in the NEB, which reads 'on the level of the spirit—the Holy Spirit—he was declared Son of God,' thereby making such an understanding quite explicit. NRSV also has this reading in a footnote, where it capitalizes 'spirit' to read 'according to the Spirit of holiness' (though in its text the lower case of 'spirit' implies something other than the Holy Spirit).

"3. *Jesus' Own Spirit of Holiness.* A third category of interpretation views πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης as pointing not to Christ's divine nature but to his own 'spirit of holiness'—that is, his complete obedience and unswerving faithfulness to his heavenly Father, which he manifested throughout his earthly life. At times this understanding is extended by interpreters to include the 'extraordinary supernatural holiness' of Christ's own human life that 'from the time of the resurrection now informs a body to which it communicates a supernatural glorified spiritual existence.'¹⁴⁰

"It was John Locke, the English philosopher (1632–1704), who seems to have been the first to propose this latter understanding of the expression. Locke devoted the final years of his life to a study of Paul's letters, with his Paraphrase and Notes on Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans, and Ephesians published posthumously in 1705–07. Appended to this work was Locke's essay entitled "Essay for the Understanding of St. Paul's Epistles by Consulting St. Paul Himself," which, as William Sanday and Arthur Headlam characterized it, 'is full of acute ideas and thoughts, and would amply vindicate the claim of the author to be classed as an 'historical' interpreter.'¹⁴¹ In the *Paraphrase and Notes* Locke argued that the parallelism of κατὰ σάρκα in 1:3b and κατὰ πνεῦμα in 1:4a was not only highly significant, but also that both expressions must be understood as referring to Christ's human existence. Or as Locke himself expressed matters: since 'according to the flesh' has reference to 'the body which he took in the womb of the blessed virgin his mother [which] was of the posterity and lineage of David,' the expression 'according to the spirit of holiness' must be seen as having reference to 'that more pure and spiritual part, which in him over ruled all and kept even his frail flesh holy and spotless from the least taint of sin.'¹⁴²

"This thesis was also proposed by such nineteenth-century commentators as Frédéric Godet¹⁴³ and Joseph Lightfoot.¹⁴⁴ It was, however, developed by Sanday and Headlam, who argued that κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης does not refer to either (1) the Holy Spirit, 'the Third Person in the Trinity (as the Patristic writers generally and some moderns), because the antithesis of σάρξ and πνεῦμα requires that they shall be in the same person,' or (2) 'the Divine Nature in Christ as if the Human Nature were coextensive with the σάρξ and the Divine Nature were coextensive with the πνεῦμα, which would be very like the error of Apollinaris.' It refers rather, they say, to the human πνεῦμα, like the human σάρξ, distinguished however from that of ordinary humanity by an exceptional and transcendent Holiness.¹⁴⁵ A number of twentieth-century commentators have also espoused this understanding, such as Marie-Joseph Lagrange,¹⁴⁶ Joseph Huby,¹⁴⁷ A. T. Robertson,¹⁴⁸ Eduard Schweizer,¹⁴⁹ Kingsley Barrett,¹⁵⁰ James Dunn,¹⁵¹ and Douglas Moo.¹⁵² And the phrase has been translated in this manner by Edgar Goodspeed in his *The American Translation of 1948* ('in his holiness of spirit'), Robert Bratcher in his *Good News for Modern Man* (or, "Today's English Version") of 1966 and 1971 ('as to his divine holiness,' which reading was 'reviewed and approved' by the American Bible Society), and the Swedish translation of 1981 ('according to the holiness of his spirit'). Likewise, as noted above, it appears as a footnote in the 1984 edition of the NIV.

"In evaluating the evidence for these three categories of interpretation, it needs to be noted, first of all, that the phrase πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης does not appear anywhere else in Paul's letters. Nor does it appear in the Greek translation (LXX) of the Hebrew Bible (OT). For although the Greek πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης is a literal translation of the Hebrew phrase שְׁדֵי קֳדֹשׁ ('spirit of holiness'), when this wording appears in Isa 63:10–11 and Ps 51:11 (LXX 50:13) it is rendered in the LXX as τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ('the Holy Spirit') and not πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης ('spirit of holiness'). In T Levi 18:7, however, a passage that has often been seen as an early Christian interpolation (whether in whole or in part) into an earlier Jewish writing, the phrase πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης certainly signifies the Holy Spirit in the statement 'the spirit of sanctification [or, 'holiness'] shall rest upon him [in the water]'—evidently alluding to the Spirit coming upon Jesus at his baptism. And in at least seventeen instances in the Dead Sea Scrolls the phrase שְׁדֵי קֳדֹשׁ refers expressly to the Holy Spirit.¹⁵³

"Also to be taken into consideration when attempting to discern the meaning of πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης in Rom 1:4 is the importance the NT places on the full obedience and entire faithfulness of Jesus to God the Father, both throughout his ministry (his 'active obedience') and at his crucifixion (his 'passive obedience')—particularly as expressed in the Christ-hymn of Phil 2:6–11 (note esp. v. 8) and other early Christian confessional portions, but also as found at other places in Paul's letters, the Gospels, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. In an earlier article I have argued that all the titles ascribed to Jesus in the NT, as well as all the metaphors used in description of the nature and effects of his work, are to be seen as founded ultimately on the early conviction of believers in Jesus regarding his obedience, faithfulness, and/or Sonship par excellence.¹⁵⁴ And such a basic conviction needs to be kept in mind here.

"Likewise, it needs always to be taken into account when dealing with Rom 1:3b–4 (1) that these verses incorporate (at least to some extent) various confessional materials that have been drawn (in some manner) from the early church, (2) that confessional materials probably originated in the corporate worship and devotions of the early Christians, and (3) that the language of worship and devotion is often difficult to analyze with regard to what is exactly meant. As I have argued elsewhere:

Devotional material, while having a central focus and expressing essential convictions, is frequently rather imprecise. It attempts to inspire adoration, not to explicate doctrinal nuances. It uses the language of the heart more than that of the mind. It is, therefore, not always philosophically precise, philologically exact, or theologically correct—perhaps, at times, not even logically coherent.¹⁵⁵

"And it is this fact, I suggest, that must be appreciated not only when attempting to exegete some of the other expressions and features of these two verses, but also, and particularly, when trying to understand this phrase πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης.

"Taking all these matters into account—that is, (1) the linguistic parallels and differences, (2) the early christological motifs of obedience, faithfulness, and Sonship, and (3) the worship and devotional matrices of early Christian confessional material—we are compelled to conclude (1) that the phrase πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης probably came to expression among the earliest believers in Jesus in contexts of worship and devotion that were more functional than speculative in nature, and (2) that it probably originally referred to Jesus' own "spirit of holiness," that is, to the complete obedience and unswerving faithfulness to his heavenly Father that he manifested throughout his earthly life. What the phrase came to mean among some Christians when speculative concerns about the per-

Christ's inner being as divine? To his inner holiness while on earth? Or, to the presence of the Holy Spirit in his life on earth? All three basic views have had advocates since the church fathers into the present time of today. The history of translating this phrase over the centuries reflects this same diversity as well.

What we can know with absolute certainty is as follows. The phrase πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης never surfaces anywhere else inside the New Testament. Nor is it ever found in the LXX Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible. The literal idea of the Greek phrase is found in the Hebrew Bible as שְׁדֵי קֳדֹשׁ in Isa 63:10–11 and Ps 51:11 (LXX 50:13). But is translated as τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον in the LXX, not literally as πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης. And in the

son of Jesus later became more prominent (i.e., speculations about the divine nature of Christ) should not, it seems, be read back into an earlier time. And what שְׁדֵי קֳדֹשׁ ('spirit of holiness') meant in the Qumran texts (i.e., the Holy Spirit) would not necessarily be how the earliest Christians used the term, for the doctrinal contents of these two groups were decidedly different and the Teacher of Righteousness of the Dead Sea sectarians was not thought of in the same way as was Jesus by the early Christians.

"It may be that some early believers in Jesus understood πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης in one manner and other believers in Jesus in another—just as some formulations of the church's creeds, some statements of its theology, and some phrases in its hymnody are understood by some Christians today in one way and by other Christians in another. And it may be that the dilemma of modern-day NT scholars regarding whether πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης is to be read 'his spirit of holiness' or 'the Spirit of holiness' corresponds, at least in some measure, to a similar dilemma in the early church—with, perhaps, differing degrees of articulation, but probably with a somewhat similar division of opinion.

"Thus we believe (1) that πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης was most likely understood among the earliest believers in Jesus to refer to Jesus' own obedience and faithfulness to God his Father, that is, 'his spirit of holiness,' which he manifested throughout his earthly life and ministry, (2) that the expressions ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα in 1:3b and υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης in 1:4a were viewed by them as expressions that aptly signaled the two most significant factors of Jesus' human existence—and so were set out in one of their early confessional formulations in parallel form, not in antithetical fashion, and (3) that at some time later these expressions were understood by at least some Christians as referring to the Holy Spirit and his sanctifying work. The phraseology of this confessional portion is somewhat ambiguous (as are many statements born in a context of worship and devotion) and therefore allows for a broader range of interpretations than may have originally been understood. Yet though the expression may be somewhat ambiguous, that is how it was transmitted to the Christians at Rome and how it came to be accepted by them. And that is how Paul quotes it in seeking to gain rapport with his Roman addressees and to proclaim his own convictions in terms of their understanding and their appreciation."

[Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 69–75.]

Dead Sea Scrolls, $\psi\tau\kappa$ $\nu\omicron\upsilon$ is found some 17 times and clearly refers to the Holy Spirit of God.⁴⁵

Without doubt $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omega\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$ in this second strophe matches $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\alpha$ in the first strophe. But highly doubtful is that the contrast here is between human and divine, since this injects a much later christological minds et shaped more by later Greek philosophy from the contemporaneous surrounding Greek culture.

As shown above, the two strophes both point to Christ's connection to God in individually distinct ways, and primarily via His messianic existence through Davidic ancestry and the resurrection. These define the beginning and the termination of His earthly life. From start to finish, Christ belonged to God the Father, as assumed in $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tilde{\iota}$ $\nu\iota\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ to which these participles are attached as modifiers.

Another challenge to understanding is whether both these prepositional phrases introduced by $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$ belong to the preformed tradition, or represent Pauline comments attached to the set tradition. If the former, then the proposal by Longenecker of a multilevel meaning first in the tradition and subsequently in Paul becomes theoretically feasible. Thus points 2 and 3 in Longenecker's tracing of the history in the above footnote become possible by different first century Christian groups. But if these two prepositional phrases represent Pauline comments attached to the traditional material, then $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omega\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$ represents Paul's interpretive qualification of the piece of tradition. Do the contemporary Dead Sea Scrolls' clear pattern for $\psi\tau\kappa$ $\nu\omicron\upsilon$ as referencing the Holy Spirit signal that Paul meant the same thing here with the Greek equivalent in $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omega\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$? Possibly, but Paul was writing to Christians in Rome, not in Palestine where these materials had their influence.

The two best interpretive options historically then are numbers 2 and 3 as described in the above footnote. That is, Jesus as a holy person down to His inner spirit, His essential being, was declared God's Son with the resurrection. Or, this declaration using the resurrection was achieved by the Holy Spirit, whose center is holiness. Logically, the two ideas come very close to one another at a certain point. But any dogmatic conclusion of the meaning of $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omega\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$ being one or the other views cannot be sustained by the balance of legitimately derived evidence.

The third modifier of $\acute{\omicron}\rho\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ is $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$

⁴⁵"Cf. Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah at Qumran*, esp. 71–93 and 185–91, citing such passages as IQS 4.21; 8.16; 9.3; 1QH 7.6–7; 9.32; 12.12; 14.13; 16.7, 12." [Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 73.]

$\nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$, [out of the resurrection of the dead](#). The anarthrous construction without any articles stresses a qualitative aspect impossible to preserve in translation. But the almost formulaic nature of the phrase $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ $\nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$ does show up sometimes with one or both articles, e.g., $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tilde{\iota}$ $\nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$ (Mt. 22:31). The core idea is that Jesus' resurrection represents the beginning of resurrection experience for believers at the end of time, as stated clearly in Acts 4:2; 23:6; 1 Cor. 15:23-24.

Peter's sermon in Acts 2:36b asserts the pivotal role of Jesus' resurrection to His identity as God's Son: $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\tilde{\iota}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\upsilon$ $\acute{\omicron}$ $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tilde{\iota}$ $\tau\omicron\tilde{\iota}$ $\nu\omicron\tilde{\iota}$ $\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\tilde{\iota}$ $\acute{\omicron}$ ν $\acute{\upsilon}$ $\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}$ $\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon$, [God made Him both Lord and Christ, this one whom you personally crucified](#). But one should not read out of the verb $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\upsilon$, [made](#), an adoptionist view. That is, that Jesus did not become God's Son until the resurrection. The attachment of $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ $\nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$ to the verbal participle $\acute{\omicron}\rho\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ prohibits such understanding. Jesus was the divine Son before creation even. His resurrection validated and established the understanding of that at the end of his earthly life. Resurrection did not make Jesus God's Son; it proved that He was for all the world to know. But the longer phrase $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ $\nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$ links this resurrection experience of Jesus not only as proof of Jesus being God's Son, but as the pioneer who will lead others, namely, believers in Him, out of the realm of the dead into eternal life at the general resurrection. The idea of the substantival adjective $\nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$ is that of the underworld where dead people are located, i.e., $\nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}$ =the dead.

c3) $\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\tilde{\iota}$, [Jesus Christ](#).

The final strophe of the preformed tradition is the line $\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\tilde{\iota}$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$, [Jesus Christ our Lord](#).⁴⁶ As a celebration oriented slice of Christian tradi-

⁴⁶"The expression $\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\tilde{\iota}$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ ('Jesus Christ our Lord') at the close of 1:4b is often viewed as Paul's own addition to the confessional couplet that he quotes in 1:3b–4—usually because of the title 'Lord,' which is frequently assumed to be not representative of the consciousness of the earliest believers in Jesus. But 'Lord' as a christological title was also used by early Jewish believers in Jesus, as witness such passages as Acts 2:36 (Peter's sermon: 'God has made [or 'appointed'] this Jesus, whom you crucified, both Lord and Christ'); 1 Cor 16:22 (the Aramaic prayer addressed to Jesus: 'Come, O Lord'); and Phil 2:11 (at the conclusion of an early Christ-hymn: 'Jesus Christ is Lord').¹⁶¹ So while many scholars prefer not to include this identification within the confessional material quoted by Paul, I believe it best to include it within the quotation—not just because the name 'Jesus Christ' appears frequently in various early Christian confessional materials of the NT and because the title 'Lord' was used by Christians before Paul, but also because such a statement nicely rounds off the couplet and the possessive pronoun 'our' seems to continue the ring of an early Christian confession." [Richard N. Longenecker,

tion this strophe brings the segment to a climatic point of confessing Christ as Lord, based on the principle in Rom. 10:9, ἐὰν ὁμολογήσῃς ἐν τῷ στόματί σου κύριον Ἰησοῦν καὶ πιστεύσῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου ὅτι ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, σωθήσῃ· if you confess with your mouth Jesus as Lord and believe in your heart that God has raised Him from the dead, you will be saved. The strophe in the Glaubensbekenntnis here in 1:4c anticipates this later amplification in 10:9-10.

One should note the nature of this short phrase: Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. For many American readers 'Jesus Christ' is his two names, first and family name, or first and middle name. Nothing even close to that entered the minds of first century believers! Ἰησοῦς comes from יֵשׁוּעַ *Jeshua*, a later form for יְהוֹשֻׁעַ *Joshua*.⁴⁷ Thus as a loanword taken into Greek it has irregular spelling (gen. -οῦ, dat. -οῦ, acc. -οῦν, voc. -οῦ) in early Christian literature, including the Greek New Testament. It was the personal name used in reference to Jesus of Nazareth. Of course, in the Aramaic / Hebrew speaking world of Jesus in Palestine, יֵשׁוּעַ was the name used.

Χριστός is the title and comes from the Greek adjective χριστός, χριστή, χριστόν with the meaning anointed as the noun τὸ χριστόν means ointment. The Hebrew background here is central to Christian use of Χριστός. In the Hebrew, מָשַׁח signifies anointing and the noun מָשִׁיחַ (*mashiakh*) means anointed, as in the anointed one. The English word Messiah is derived from this Hebrew word. Anointing of kings and other important persons of significance in ancient Israel was common place and symbolized their dedication to God and the blessing of God to enable them to fulfil their divinely appointed mission. This heritage came in the prophets to be focused in God's promise of a royal king in the lineage of David who would deliver God's people from their oppressors. Apostolic Christianity saw this promise fully realized in Jesus of Nazareth, but in ways that went far beyond the vision of the Israelite prophets. The Greek rendering Χριστός from the Hebrew מָשִׁיחַ has the literal sense of *Jesus the Anointed One*. The capitalizing of Χριστός in the modern printed Greek New Testament reflects a modern assumption of the word being used so commonly that it takes on the qualities of a personal name. But in the original uncial Greek text such was not the case.

Thus the confession is that Jesus is the Christ, that

The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 77.]

⁴⁷William Arndt, Frederick W. Danker, and Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 471.

is, the divinely appointed deliverer of God's people to enable them to enter into relationship with Him that transcends this earthly life into eternity.

ε3ι) τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, *our Lord*.

This appositional genitive noun κυρίου⁴⁸ has an interesting background both in the Greco-Roman world, and especially in the Jewish world of Paul's day.⁴⁹ In the non-Christian world of Paul and the Roman recipients of this letter, the world, κύριος⁵⁰ possessed multiple

⁴⁸It is a part of the word group κύριος, κυρία, κυριακός, κυριότης, κυριεύω, κατακυριεύω. [Gerhard Kittel, Geoffrey W. Bromiley, and Gerhard Friedrich, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964–), 3:1039.]

⁴⁹In German the word 'Herr' (lord) is the most common expression for a fact which is present only in the personal sphere, among men, and which constitutes an essential part of personal being. This is the fact that there is a personal exercise of power over men and things. In this man may be either the subject of the exercise of power (as lord), or its object (as servant), but either way he is its object as concerns his relation to God. In the concept of the lord two things are conjoined in organic unity: the exercise of power as such, and the personal nature of its exercise, which reaches beyond immediate external compulsion into the moral and legal sphere. The exercise of power as such is found also in the non-human sphere of existence as the expression of utilitarian order (the strongest animal as the leader). The decisive element in the exercise of power among men is that in principle it is validated not merely by some form of utility but by an element of law which transcends what is merely natural or expedient, which changes purely temporal possession into the moral concept of ownership, transforms the momentary superiority of the stronger into the authority of the ruler, and turns the superiority of parents over their children, which enforces subordination, and the social authority of masters over their servants, into a rank which demands obedience and imposes responsibility. It seems that in the course of human history, from the first beginnings recorded in language, there must have developed an awareness of the distinctive unity of the two elements. We find the most varied attempts to understand this aright, though in the general intellectual and religious history of humanity there has never yet been a full realization that the two elements in their completeness are destined to permeate one another organically. This realization has arisen only when man is confronted in God the Creator by One who posits, i.e., creates him in absolute power, and who also as such is the absolute authority before which it is freedom rather than bondage to bow. In other words, it has arisen only in the sphere of the biblical revelation. Here a humanity which has rejected subordination to its Creator is confronted by the One who with the authority of the ministering and forgiving love of God woos its obedience and reconstructs all the relations of lordship." [Gerhard Kittel, Geoffrey W. Bromiley, and Gerhard Friedrich, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964–), 3:1040.]

⁵⁰ὁ κύριος is the noun form of the adj. κύριος, which for its part derives from the noun τὸ κύρος. The root of this is an Indo-Germanic √ *keu(ā)*, *kū*, with the sense 'to swell' (cf. *κυέω*, *ἐγκυος*, *ἐγκύμων*, *κύμα*), then 'to be strong'; *κύρ-ιος* is linked with the Sansk. *śra* (strong, brave, hero).¹ τὸ κύρος, which is found from the time of Aesch., means 'force,' 'power,' Aesch. Suppl., 391: οὐκ ἔχουσιν κύρος οὐδὲν ἀμφὶ σοῦ, also 'cause': Soph. El., 918 f.: ἡ δὲ

meanings usually playing off of either power or ownership, as well as a merging of these two root ideas. In a very class conscious society, κύριος often had the meaning of 'sir' in English when addressing someone of a higher rank. Inside the household was the κύριος / δοῦλος structure toward not just the slaves, but all other family members includes children and wife.⁵¹ Throughout non-religious, daily life κύριος would refer to different individuals in some kind of position of authority in society.⁵²

But the term κύριος also commonly referred to deities in the ancient world. This included earthly rulers such as the Roman emperor considered to be gods in their own right.⁵³ Out of this comes then the early Chris-

τιαν use of the Greek speaking Jewish tendency for κύριος to translate the Hebrew Bible *יְיָ* or *יְיָ*, which themselves served as the expository equivalent for the divine name *יהוה*.⁵⁴ The use of κύριος in the New Testa-

νῶν ἴσως πολλῶν ὑπάρξει κύριος ἡμέρα καλῶν." [Gerhard Kittel, Geoffrey W. Bromiley, and Gerhard Friedrich, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964-), 3:1041.]
⁵¹"w. a personal obj.: opp. δοῦλος **J 13:16**; foll. by gen. of pers. (cp. Judg 19:11; Gen 24:36; TestSol 22:5; TestJob 7:9; TestGad 4:4; JosAs 4:14) **Mt 10:24f**; **18:31f**; **24:48**; **Lk 12:36**. ὁ κ. τοῦ δούλου **Lk 12:46**. Abs., though the sense is unmistakable (Diod S 8, 5, 3; ApcEsd 3:14 p. 27, 27f Tdf.) **12:37**, **42b**; **14:23**; **J 15:15**; cp. **Ro 14:4a**; **Eph 6:9a**; **Col 4:1**. Several masters of the same slave (Billerb. I 430.—TestJos 14:2): δυσὶν κυρίοις δουλεύειν **Mt 6:24**; **Ac 16:16**, **19** (s. Souter under a above). κατὰ σάρκα designates more definitely the sphere in which the service-relation holds true οἱ κατὰ σάρκα κ. **Eph 6:5**; **Col 3:22**. As a form of address used by slaves κύριε **Mt 13:27**; **25:20**, **24**; **Lk 13:8**; **14:22**; **19:16**, **18**, **20**, **25**." [William Arndt, Frederick W. Danker, and Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 578.]

⁵²"as a designation of any pers. of high position: of husband in contrast to wife **1 Pt 3:6** (Gen 18:12; TestAbr A 15 p. 95, 15 [Stone p. 38]; ApcMos 2. cp. Plut., De Virt. Mul. 15 p. 252b; SIG 1189, 7; 1190, 5; 1234, 1); of a father by his son **Mt 21:29** (cp. BGU 423, 2 Ἀπίων Ἐπιμάχῳ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ κυρίῳ; 818, 1; 28; Gen 31:35; by his daughter TestJob 46:2; JosAs 4:5); of an official in high position, by those who have dealings with him (cp. PFay 106, 15; 129, 1; 134, 2; BGU 648, 16) **Mt 27:63**. As a form of address to respected pers. gener.; here, as elsewhere, = our sir (as Mod. Gk.) **Mt 25:11**; **J 12:21**; **20:15** (but s. NWyatt, ZNW 81, '90, 38); **Ac 16:30**; **Rv 7:14** (cp. Epict. 3, 23, 11; 19; Gen 23:6; 44:18; TestAbr A 2 p. 78, 33 [Stone p. 4]; JosAs 7:8 al.). The distinctive Gr-Rom. view of 'deified' rulers requires treatment under 2bβ." [William Arndt, Frederick W. Danker, and Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 578.]

⁵³"b) of transcendent beings

a. as a designation of God (for this custom, which has its roots in the Orient, s. the references in Ltzm., Hdb. exc. on Ro 10:9; Bousset, Kyrios Christos 2 1921, 95–98; Dssm., LO 298f [LAE 353ff]; s. also SEG XXXVI, 350 and add. ins cited by DZeller, DDD 918f; LXX (where it freq. replaces the name Yahweh in the Mt); pseudopigr.; Philo, Just.; Hippol. Ref. 8, 17, 1; Orig., C. Cels. 1, 35, 6.—FDoppler, D. Wort 'Herr' als Göttername im Griech.: Opusc. philol. v. kath. akad. Philologenverein in Wien I

1926, 42–47; MParca, ASP 31, '91, 51 [lit.]) ὁ κ. Mt 5:33; Mk 5:19; Lk 1:6, 9, 28, 46; 2:15, 22; Ac 4:26 (Ps 2:2); 7:33; 8:24; Eph 6:7 (perh. w. ref. to Christ); **2 Th 3:3**; **2 Ti 1:16**, **18**; **Hb 8:2**; **Js 1:7**; **4:15**. Without the art. (on the inclusion or omission of the art. s. BWeiss [θεός, beg.]; B-D-F §254, 1; Mlt-Turner 174), like a personal name (οὐδένα κύριον ὀνομαζούσι πλὴν τὸν θεόν Hippol. Ref. 9, 26, 2) **Mt 27:10**; **Mk 13:20**; **Lk 1:17**, **58**; **Ac 7:49**; **Hb 7:21** (Ps 109:4); **12:6** (Pr 3:12); **2 Pt 2:9**; **Jd 5** (θεός Χριστός P72); 9. ἄγγελος κυρίου (LXX, TestSol, GrBar et al.) **Mt 1:20**, **24**; **2:13**, **19**; **28:2**; **Lk 1:11**; **2:9a**; **J 5:3 v.l.**; **Ac 5:19**; **7:30 v.l.**; **8:26**; **12:7**, **23**. δόξα κυρίου (Is 40:5; PsSol 5:19; 7:31; TestLevi 8:11; ApcMos 37) **Lk 2:9b**; δούλη κ. 1:38; ἡμέρα κ. **Ac 2:20** (Jo 3:4); νόμος κ. **Lk 2:23f**, **39**; τὸ ὄνομα κ. **Mt 21:9** (Ps 117:26; PsSol 6:1 al.); **Ac 2:21** (**Jo 3:5**); πνεῦμα κ. **Lk 4:18** (Is 61:1); **Ac 8:39**; τὸ ῥῆμα κ. **1 Pt 1:25** (Gen 15:1 al.); φωνή κ. (Gen 3:8 al.); **Ac 7:31**; χεὶρ κ. (Ex 9:3 al.; TestJob 26:4; ApcMos prol.) **Lk 1:66**. ὁ Χριστὸς κυρίου **2:26** (PsSol 17:32 [Χριστὸς κύριος, s. app.]).—W. the sphere of his lordship more definitely expressed (Diod S 3, 61, 5 Zeus is κ. τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου; 6 θεός καὶ κ. εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου; Jos., Ant. 20, 90 τῶν πάντων κ.; Just., D. 127, 2 κ. τῶν πάντων) κ. τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς (PGM 4, 640f; ParJer 5:32 [Harris]) **Mt 11:25**; **Lk 10:21**; cp. **Ac 17:24**. κ. τῶν κυριευόντων Lord of lords **1 Ti 6:15**. ὁ κ. ἡμῶν **1:14**; **2 Pt 3:15**; **Rv 11:15** (LXX; PsSol 10:5). Cp. **22:6** (s. Num 16:22; 27:16). κ. ὁ θεός **Lk 1:32**; **Rv 1:8**; with μου (σου, etc.) **Mt 4:7** (Dt 6:16), **10** (Dt 6:13); **22:37** (Dt 6:5); **Mk 12:29f** (Dt 6:4f); **Lk 1:16** al. κ. ὁ θεός τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ **1:68** (PsSol 16:3; TestSol 1:13). κ. ὁ θεός (ἡμῶν) ὁ παντοκράτωρ God, the (our) Lord, the Almighty **Rv 4:8**; **15:3**; **16:7**; **19:6**; **21:22** (TestSol D 4:7; cp. ParJer 9:6). κ. Σαβαώθ **Ro 9:29** (Is 1:9; TestSol 1:6 al.; Just., D. 64, 2); **Js 5:4**.—W. prep. ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου **Lk 1:15** (Ex 23:17; 1 Km 1:25 al.; TestJob 15:6 al.; TestReub 1:9 al.). παρὰ κυρίου **Mt 21:42**; **Mk 12:11** (both Ps 117:23). παρὰ κυρίῳ **2 Pt 3:8**. πρὸς τὸν κύριον Hs 9, 12, 6 (LXX; PsSol 1:1 al.).

β. Closely connected w. the custom of applying the term κ. to deities is that of honoring (deified) rulers with the same title (exx. [2ba beg.] in Ltzm., op. cit.; Bousset 93; Dssm., 299ff [LAE 356]; FKattenbusch, Das apostol. Symbol II 1900, 605ff; KPrümm, Herrscherkult u. NT: Biblica 9, 1928, 3–25; 119–40; 289–301; JFears, RAC XIV, 1047–93; JvanHenten, 1341–52 [lit.]; cp. the attitude of the Lacedaemonians: φοβούμενοι τὸν ἕνα κ. αὐτῶν τὸν Λυκούργου νόμον='respecting their one and only lord, the law of Lycurgus' Orig., C. Cels. 8, 6, 12). Fr. the time of Claudius (POxy. 37, 6; O. Wilck II 1038, 6) we find the Rom. emperors so designated in increasing measure; in isolated cases, even earlier (OGI 606, 1; on Augustus' attitude s. DioCass. 51, 7f). Ac 25:26.—On deified rulers in gener. s. LCerfaux-JTondriau, Un concurrent du Christianisme: le culte des souverains dans la civilisation gréco-romaine '57; FTaeger, Charisma, 2 vols. '57–60; DRoloff, Göttlichkeit, Vergöttlichung und Erhöhung zu seligem Leben, '70. S. esp. the collection of articles and reviews by various scholars, in Römischer Kaiserkult, ed. AWlosok '78.

[William Arndt, Frederick W. Danker, and Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 578.]

⁵⁴"The word κύριος, 'lord,' as a name for God in the LXX is a strict translation only in cases where it is used for *יְיָ* or *יְיָ* (in

ment as a reference to God the Father is mainly limited to Old Testament allusions.⁵⁵

The writings of the apostle Paul are a primary NT source for applying κύριος to Jesus, as is illustrated in our text with the strophe from the Christian tradition: Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, *Jesus Christ our Lord*. Here

the ketīb). As a rule, however, it is used as an expository equivalent for the divine name יהוה. It is thus meant to express what the name, or the use of the name, signifies in the original. That it does not altogether succeed in this may be seen at once from the switching of the name to the general concept and also from the fact that in the Bible, as in common usage, κύριος cannot be restricted to the one function of being a term for God. On the contrary, it is also used of men as well as God, like the Heb. הָרֵךְ ('lord'), e.g., in the respectful term of address אֲדֹנָי, plur. אֲדֹנָי (Gn. 19:2), of which there are 192 instances. כֹּעַל, too, which can have the secular sense of 'owner,' is regularly translated κύριος (15 times).⁹⁷ The same is true of גְּבִיר, 'master' (Gn. 27:29, 37), of the Aram. אֲרַמַּי, 'lord' (Da. 3:24; 4:16, 21 [19, 24]; 5:23), which can also be used of God, and שֹׁלֵט 'ruler' (Da. 3:14 [17]). On the other hand, when כֹּעַל is used of a pagan deity, the LXX either uses (ὁ or ἡ) Βάαλ as a proper name or introduces εἰδωλον (Jer. 9:13; 2 Ch. 17:3; 28:2) or αἰσχύνη (1 K. 18:19, 25). In the religious sphere, then, κύριος or ὁ κύριος is reserved for the true God, and, apart from unimportant periphrases of the name in figurative speech, it is used regularly, i.e., some 6156 times, for the proper name יהוה in all its pointings and in the combination יהוה צְבָאוֹת or in the short form ה'. Only by way of exception is κύριος used for the other terms for God: 60 times for אֱלֹהִים, 23 for אֱלֹהֵי, 193 for אֱלֹהֵי, and 3 for אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת. The expressions κύριος θεός, κύριος ὁ θεός and ὁ κύριος θεός usually indicate a Mas. יהוה with or without the apposition אֱלֹהֵי. δεσπότης corresponds to יהוה only in Jer. 15:11 (in the vocative); elsewhere δέσποτα κύριε is sometimes used for יהוה אֲדֹנָי (Gn. 15:2 [Swete], 8; Jer. 1:6; 4:10), though κύριος κύριος is the usual rendering of this." [Gerhard Kittel, Geoffrey W. Bromiley, and Gerhard Friedrich, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964–), 3:1058–1059.]

⁵⁵God is primarily called (ὁ) κύριος in the NT in OT quotations or allusions, which generally follow the LXX, e.g., Mk. 1:3 and par.; Mk. 12:11 and par.; Mk. 12:36 and par. and Ac. 2:34 (here the LXX has ὁ κύριος, but in the NT passages the art. is omitted by B with some support from other witnesses); Mt. 27:10; Lk. 1:46; 4:18, 19; Mk. 11:9 and par.; Jn. 12:38 (twice); Ac. 2:20, 21, 25; 4:26; 13:10 (most MSS do not have the art. in spite of the LXX); 15:17 (in the LXX only A has τὸν κύριον, the others omit it altogether); R. 4:8; 9:28 (the LXX has ὁ θεός for κύριος, except B); 11:3 (κύριε is added to the LXX); 11:34 = 1 C. 2:16; R. 15:11; 1 C. 1:31 (the words ἐν κυρίῳ do not occur in this form in the LXX); 3:20; 10:22 (τὸν κύριον is not a quotation); 10:26; 2 C. 3:16; 8:21; 10:17; 2 Th. 1:9; 2 Tm. 2:19 (LXX has ὁ θεός instead of κύριος); Hb. 1:10; 7:21; 8:2 (LXX without, Hb. with art.); 8:8–10, 11; 10:30; 12:5, 6; 13:6; Jm. 5:11 (B without art.); 1 Pt. 1:25 (LXX τοῦ θεοῦ); 2:3; 3:12 (twice); Jd. 9 κύριος Σαβαώθ; R. 9:29; Jm. 5:4 κύριος ὁ θεός followed by gen. occurs in Mt. 4:7, 10 and par.; Mk. 12:29, 30 and par.; Ac. 3:22 (unlike the LXX no personal pronoun); 2:39 (adding ὁ θεός ἡμῶν to the LXX). ὁ κύριος (LXX + πάσης) τῆς γῆς is found in Rev. 11:4." [Gerhard Kittel, Geoffrey W. Bromiley, and Gerhard Friedrich, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964–), 3:1086–1087.]

the title elevates Jesus above a human level.⁵⁶ Not only

⁵⁶Even in the passages already mentioned the use of the word κ. raises Jesus above the human level (Mani is also κ. for his people: Keph. I 183, 11; 13; 16); this tendency becomes even clearer in the following places: ὁ κύριος Ac 5:14; 9:10f, 42; 11:23f; 22:10b; Ro 12:11; 14:8; 1 Cor 6:13f, 17; 7:10, 12; 2 Cor 5:6, 8; Gal 1:19; Col 1:10; 1 Th 4:15b; 2 Th 3:1; Hb 2:3; Js 5:7f; B 5:5; IEph 10:3; AcPI Ha 6, 21; 7, 5; 27; 8, 2; AcPICor 1:6, 14.—Without the art. 1 Cor 4:4; 7:22b; 10:21ab; 2 Cor 12:1; 1 Th 4:15a; 2 Ti 2:24; AcPICor 1:8. So esp. in combinations w. preps.: ἀπὸ κυρίου Col 3:24. κατὰ κύριον 2 Cor 11:17. παρὰ κυρίου Eph 6:8. πρὸς κύριον 2 Cor 3:16; AcPI Ha 6, 9. πρὸς τὸν κ. 8, 23. σὺν κυρίῳ 1 Th 4:17b. ὑπὸ κυρίου 1 Cor 7:25b; 2 Th 2:13. Esp. freq. is the Pauline formula ἐν κυρίῳ (lit. on ἐν 4c), which appears outside Paul's letters only Rv 14:13; IPol 8:3; AcPI Ha 3, 23; AcPICor 1:1, 16 (cp. Pol 1:1 ἐν κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χριστῷ): 1 Cor 11:11; Phlm 16; πιστὸς ἐν κ. 1 Cor 4:17; cp. Eph 6:21; Hm 4, 1, 4; φῶς ἐν κ. Eph 5:8. ἡ σφραγὶς μου τ. ἀποστολῆς ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἐν κ. 1 Cor 9:2. W. verbs: ἀσπάξασθαι Ro 16:22 (GBahr, CBQ 28, '66, 465f renders: in the service of my master, i.e. Paul); 1 Cor 16:19. ἐνδυναμοῦσθαι Eph 6:10. καλεῖσθαι 1 Cor 7:22a. καυχᾶσθαι 1:31. κοπιᾶν Ro 16:12ab; μαρτύρεσθαι Eph 4:17. παραλαμβάνειν διακονίαν Col 4:17. πεποιθέναι εἰς τινα Gal 5:10. ἐπὶ τινα 2 Th 3:4; cp. Phil 1:14; 2:24. προῖστασθαι 1 Th 5:12. προσδέχεσθαι Ro 16:2; Phil 2:29. στήκειν 4:1; 1 Th 3:8. ὑπακούειν Eph 6:1. τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν Phil 4:2. θύρας μοι ἀνεωγμένης ἐν κ. 2 Cor 2:12.—W. διδάσκαλος J 13:13f. W. σωτήρ 2 Pt 3:2; cp. 1:11; 2:20 (Just., D. 39, 2). W. Χριστός Ac 2:36; cp. Χριστός κύριος (La 4:20; PsSol 17, 32 v.l. [GBeale, Christos Kyrios in PsSol 17:32—'The Lord's Anointed' Reconsidered: NTS 31, '85, 620–27]; PsSol 18 ins) Lk 2:11. ὁ κ. Χριστός AcPICor 2:3. Esp. freq. are the formulas ὁ κ. Ἰησοῦς Ac 1:21; 4:33; 8:16; 11:20; 15:11; 16:31; 19:5, 13, 17; 20:24, 35; 21:13; 1 Cor 11:23; 16:23; 2 Cor 4:14; 11:31; Gal 6:17 v.l.; Eph 1:15; 1 Th 2:15; 4:2; 2 Th 1:7; 2:8; Phlm 5.—ὁ κ. Ἰησοῦς Χριστός Ac 11:17; 28:31; Ro 13:14; 2 Cor 13:13; Phil 4:23; 2 Th 3:6; Phlm 25; 1 Cl 21:6 (Ar. 15, 1). Without the art. mostly in introductions to letters Ro 1:7; 1 Cor 1:3; 2 Cor 1:2; Gal 1:3; Eph 1:2; 6:23; Phil 1:2; 3:20; 1 Th 1:1; 2 Th 1:2, 12b; 1 Ti 5:21 v.l.; Js 1:1; Χριστός Ἰησοῦς κ. 2 Cor 4:5; Χριστός Ἰησοῦς ὁ κ. Col 2:6. Χριστός ὁ κ. 2 Cl 9:5. In an appeal κύριε Ἰησοῦ (cp. Sb 8316, 5f κύριε Σάραπι; PGM 7, 331 κύριε Ἄνουβι) Ac 7:59; Rv 22:20. κύριε AcPI Ha 7:30f, 40.—W. gen. of pers. (in many places the mss. vary considerably in adding or omitting this gen.) ὁ κ. μου ISm 5:2. ὁ κ. ἡμῶν 2 Ti 1:8; Hb 7:14; IPHd ins; ὁ κ. ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Ac 20:21; 1 Cor 5:4; 2 Cor 1:14; 1 Th 2:19; 3:11, 13; 2 Th 1:8; Hb 13:20. Ἰησοῦς ὁ κ. ἡμῶν 1 Cor 9:1. ὁ κ. ἡμῶν Χριστός Ro 16:18 (the only pass. in Paul without Ἰησοῦς). ὁ κ. ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός Ac 15:26; Ro 5:1, 11; 15:6, 30; 1 Cor 1:2, 7f, 10; 6:11 v.l.; 15:57; 2 Cor 1:3; 8:9; Gal 6:14, 18; Eph 1:3; 5:20; 6:24; Col 1:3; 1 Th 1:3; 5:9, 23, 28; 2 Th 2:1, 14, 16; 3:18; 1 Ti 6:3, 14; Js 2:1; 1 Pt 1:3; 2 Pt 1:8, 14, 16; Jd 4, 17, 21 (also TestSol 1:12 D). ὁ κ. ἡμῶν Χριστός Ἰησοῦς AcPICor 2:5; cp. AcPI Ha 8, 17=Ox 1602, 20f//BMM recto 22. Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ὁ κ. ἡμῶν Ro 1:4; 5:21; 7:25; 1 Cor 1:9; Jd 25 (Just., D. 41, 4). (ὁ) Χριστός Ἰησοῦς ὁ κ. ἡμῶν Ro 6:11 v.l., 23; 8:39; 1 Cor 15:31; Eph 3:11; 1 Ti 1:2, 12; 2 Ti 1:2 (ὁ ἡμέτερος κ. Χριστός Ἰησοῦς Just., D. 32, 3 and 47, 5 al.). Χριστός Ἰησοῦς ὁ κ. μου Phil 3:8. ὁ κ. μου Χριστός Ἰησοῦς AcPI Ha 7, 29. ὁ κ. αὐτῶν Rv 11:8.—W. other genitives: πάντων κ. Lord over all (cp. Pind., I. 5, 53 Ζεὺς ὁ πάντων κ.; Plut., Mor. 355e Osiris; PGM 13, 202) Ac 10:36; Ro 10:12. κ. κυρίων (cp. En 9:4) Rv 17:14; 19:16.—That 'Jesus is κύριος' (perh. 'our κύριος

is He to be on complete control over the confessing believer's life as Lord, but it is because He is God. In using this confession from first century house church gatherings, the early Christian communities such as the one at Rome acknowledged Christ as the divine Lord of their lives and community as they came together. Then Paul with including this in the *Superscriptio* of the letter as a beginning part of introducing himself to the community at Rome identifies strongly with this universally agreed upon stance toward Christ. It forms the heart of the εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ that he has been called to preach (v. 1). Even beyond these objectives for including the strophe, it additionally serves to set the foundation for amplifying how Christ indeed stands at the center of the Gospel message in the letter body that follows.

ς3ii) δι' οὗ ἐλάβομεν χάριν καὶ ἀποστολὴν εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, through Whom we have received grace and apostleship for the obedience of faith among all the Gentiles in behalf of His name.

This relative clause clearly stands as a Pauline commentary expansion on the tradition confession, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν. Jesus Christ as Lord is the channel through which God's grace and apostolic calling came to both Paul and the other apostles (= 'we') as the preposition διὰ specifies in specifying indirect agency.

The compound expression χάριν καὶ ἀποστολὴν has occasioned some difference of understanding. But the context grammatically and also historically make it clear that this phrase is a hendiadys construction, i.e., one idea through two words.⁵⁷ Thus Paul's apostolic calling is Jesus') is the confession of the (Pauline) Christian church: **Ro 10:9; 1 Cor 12:3; cp. 8:6; Phil 2:11** (on the latter pass. s. under ἀρπαγμός and κενώω 1. Cp. also Diod S 5, 72, 1: after Zeus was raised ἐκ γῆς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, there arose in the ψυχαῖς of all those who had experienced his benefactions, the belief ὡς ἀπάντων τῶν γινομένων κατὰ οὐρανόν οὗτος εἶη κύριος; s. also 3, 61, 6 Zeus acclaimed 'God and Lord').—In J the confession takes the form ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου **J 20:28** (on the combination of κύριος and θεός s. θεός, beg., and 3c).—JFitzmyer, *The Semitic Background of the NT Kyrios-Title: A Wandering Aramaean—Collected Aramaic Essays* '79, 115–42; s. also 87–90." [William Arndt, Frederick W. Danker, and Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 578.]

⁵⁷"The phrase χάριν καὶ ἀποστολὴν ('grace and apostleship') has frequently been read as connoting two things: (1) 'grace' or unmerited favor, which all Christians have received from God and which Paul shares with all other believers, and (2) 'apostleship,' which Paul received as a special commission from God.¹⁶⁸ Probably, however, these two Greek nouns connected by the conjunction καὶ should be understood as a hendiadys (from the transliterated Greek words hen-dia-dysin, literally 'one [idea] through two [words], in which the one word specifies the other'), and so read as 'God's special grace of apostleship' or 'the grace of being commis-

is seen as a gift of God's grace to the apostle.⁵⁸

The stated objective for that divine calling to proclaim the Gospel as an apostle is expressed as εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, **for obedience in faith among all Gentiles in behalf of His name**. First, εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως is somewhat unusual in the Pauline vocabulary. It does surface again in 16:26 at the very end in the *Conclusio* section. But these two instances are exclusive to the entire New Testament.⁵⁹ Out of several grammatically possible nuances of meaning, the most likely idea is that πίστεως is in the genitive / ablative of source function.⁶⁰ This

sioned an apostle.¹⁶⁹ For as Charles Cranfield has pointed out, A statement that Paul has received grace through Christ is scarcely necessary here. What is apposite is simply a statement of his authority in respect to the Gentile world. That he should indicate, however, that he had not received this authority because of any merit of his own would be thoroughly appropriate.¹⁷⁰

"Many interpreters have, in fact, expressly stated that the expression 'grace and apostleship' is a hendiadys.¹⁷¹ And we are in agreement, believing the phrase is best read as 'God's special grace of apostleship'—though most translators, both ancient and modern, have simply rendered it literally (i.e., 'grace and apostleship') and left it for the commentators to interpret."

[Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 78–79.]

⁵⁸The alternative view sometime advocated see grace as what comes to all believers and apostleship as unique to Paul and the Twelve. But this ignores too many contextual signals about the close link between χάριν and ἀποστολὴν in the context here. Not to mention just being a very unnatural combination of concepts as a part of the apostles' elaboration on the Gospel message that God has called him to proclaim. Had this been his intent, one of many very different ways of setting up the Greek would have been used.

⁵⁹"The clause εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως (literally 'unto the obedience of faith'), which appears here in 1:5 and again in 16:26, has proven to be difficult to interpret. Its difficulty arises first of all from the fact that ὑπακοὴ πίστεως ('obedience of faith') is not found anywhere else in any of Paul's other letters—nor anywhere else in the whole of extant Greek literature. There are, of course, other places in Romans where 'faith' and 'obedience' appear in similar contexts and in roughly parallel statements,¹⁷² for faith and obedience are inseparable in Paul's theology. But this specific phrase appears only in the two places in Romans." [Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 79.]

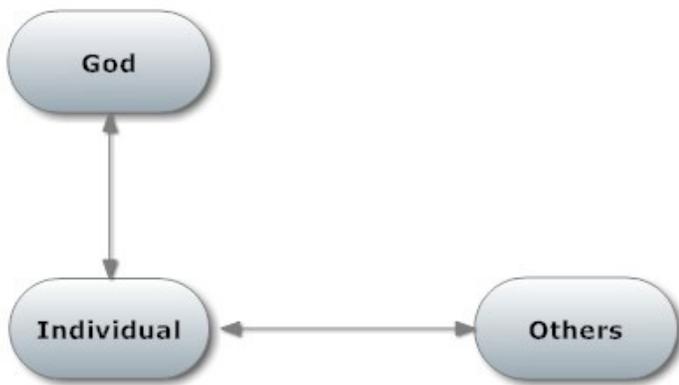
⁶⁰"A number of interpretations have been proposed, with the noun's genitive form understood in the following ways:

1. As an objective genitive: 'obedience to the faith,' 'obedience to the message of faith,' or 'obedience to God's faithfulness as attested in the gospel.'¹⁷³

2. As a subjective genitive: 'obedience that faith brings about' or 'obedience that is required by faith.'¹⁷⁴

3. As a genitive of source: 'obedience that comes from faith' or 'obedience that springs from faith.'¹⁷⁵

**The Vertical / Horizontal Aspects
of
Jewish / Christian Religious Experience**



Beginning with the Decalogue in the Law of Moses, both Judaism and Christianity have distinguished themselves in the religious world with their emphasis upon proper relationship with God also depending upon proper relationships with other people. In other words, religion and behavior are inseparably linked in these two religions. Jesus reaffirmed the concept in the Sermon on the Mount, and the apostles continued that theme in their writings also.

produces the sense of **obedience coming out of faith**. Quite clearly then the divinely established objective for apostolic ministry, particularly for the apostle Paul, is to establish a faith commitment out of which comes ongoing obedience to Christ. Christianity therefore preserves the historic Jewish perspective built into the Decalogue of the Torah: the vertical claim to relationship with God is not valid apart from a parallel commitment to the horizontal relationship to others around you. Obedience to God centers in reaching out to others according to God's commands. Without the latter there is no valid former claim. The two elements of \perp (\vee H) cannot be severed from each other!

Why has Christianity down through the centuries had so much trouble understanding and practising this? The \perp (\vee H) principle, so absolutely basic and fundamental to both the Old and New Testaments, has been twisted, severed, and corrupted in incalculable ways inside Christian teaching. Satan has had a field day in perverting this foundation of the Gospel in order to lead people astray from God's will. Sinful, depraved human nature shuns away from \perp (\vee H) because it demands genuine surrender to God's control and leadership. It cannot be successfully produced out of the sinful human life. Only God's presence and power flowing through the individual to others can enable legitimate obedience (υ πακοή). Human based υ πακοή is a phony counterfeit that is doomed to failure both horizontally and vertically. In Romans this theme of υ πακοή will surface repeatedly: 1:5; 5:19; 6:16 (2x); 15:18; 16:19, 26. As the apostles further clarifies in these amplifications, υ πακοή is the validator of πίστις. This follows exactly James 2:14-26 et als elsewhere in the NT and affirms Jesus' words in Mt. 7: 21, Οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι: κύριε κύριε, εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, **Not everyone saying to me, Lord, Lord, will enter into the kingdom of Heaven, but instead the one doing my Heavenly Father's will.** And as a careful analysis of the Sermon in Matt. 5-7 reveals, τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου is defined in terms of horizontal relationships. The entire literary structure of the Sermon is built upon the \perp (\vee H) foundation from the Beatitudes to the conclusion in 7:21-27.

The extent of inclusion of this apostolic objective is

Paul in Romans speaks of obedience without any explicit reference to faith, 'there is an underlying assumption that it is faith which is the seedbed of all obedience which is acceptable to God.'¹⁸¹ Thus a genitive of source seems most probable here, understanding that Paul has received God's special grace of apostleship in order to bring about 'obedience that comes [or 'springs'] from faith!'"

[Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 79-80.]

4. As an adjectival genitive: 'believing obedience' or 'faithful obedience.'¹⁷⁶

5. As a genitive of apposition or definition (an exegetical genitive): 'faith that consists of obedience' or 'faith that manifests itself in obedience.'¹⁷⁷

"Understanding πίστεως as an objective genitive has failed to carry conviction with most commentators today, simply because in the present context—as well as throughout the rest of Romans—'faith' is presented as 'the lively act or impulse of adhesion to Christ' and not 'a body of formulated doctrine.'¹⁷⁸ In fact, as Adolf Schlatter has rightly observed: 'A gap between faith and obedience occurs ... when the message of God is replaced with a doctrine about God'¹⁷⁹—that is, when the righteousness 'of one who works' is not countered by God's unmerited favor, which is responded to by faith and obedience, but is replaced by the righteousness 'of one who knows, one 'who believes all the articles of the faith.'¹⁸⁰ Further, understanding πίστεως as either a subjective genitive or an adjectival genitive tends to put the emphasis on 'obedience' as a human virtue and to view 'faith' as simply a means for accomplishing that virtue—which is hardly in accord with Paul's central theological convictions, whether Christian or Jewish.

"Most likely, therefore, πίστεως here should be understood as a genitive of source, with the phrase read as 'obedience that comes [or 'springs'] from faith'—though, possibly, as a genitive of apposition or definition, with the phrase understood as 'faith that consists of [or 'manifests itself in'] obedience.' Either is linguistically possible and theologically defensible. Yet Paul's emphasis in Romans, as well as throughout his other letters, is on a lively faith that results in a life of obedience, and not particularly on obedience as the content of faith. As Glenn Davies has pointed out, even when

ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, [among all the Gentiles](#). This emphasis that extends beyond the Jewish people to include all non-Jews in its scope is the radically and controversially new covenant perspective of the NT. The term ἔθνος is used 161 times in the NT, and 29 times in Romans.⁶¹ The singular spelling ἔθνος can on a few occasions refer to the Jewish people as an ἔθνος, [a nation](#), e.g., Acts 10:22; John 11:48, 50ff; 18:35. But the plural spelling (τὰ) ἔθνη uniformly references the people groups beyond the Jews, and corresponds to the Hebrew גּוֹיִם (*goyim*), as reflected in the LXX. The older English word 'Gentiles' has been used to signal this in translation. This English word surfaced in the language in the fourteenth century. *Gentiles* itself is derived from the Latin word *gentium* for nations (the singular *Gentile* from the singular *gentilis* in Late Latin). Thus the influence of the Vulgate on the older English translations surfaces.

The ancient Palestinian Jewish hatred of the non-Jewish world is legendary, and much of it is preserved in the Talmud.⁶² When Christianity, largely under Paul's influence, broke with Judaism over who could be a part of God's people regarding non-Jews, it was the most radical, and controversial 'liberal' action imaginable in Jerusalem and Judaea. It came close to splitting Christianity in half as Acts 15 unquestionably demonstrates at the mid-point of the first century. This narrative in Acts is supplemented by Paul's account of this event in Galatians 2:1-10. In fact, in the last decades of the first century, the breakaway group of the [Ebonites](#) emerged with a very anti-Gentile stance that labeled the apostle Paul the servant of Satan and great corruptor of the 'true teachings' of Jesus. Although the historical data is limited, they appear to have emerged out of the 'Judaizers' who surfaced from the Pharisees inside Christianity at the Jerusalem conference in Acts 15. But after a couple or so centuries they disappear completely.

That opposition to Gentiles becoming Christians without first having to become proselyte Jews could explode in the virtual Gentile free world of Jerusalem and

⁶¹"gentile (from Latin gens, 'nation'), a non-Jew. The distinction has its roots in the OT in the seven nations (Heb. goyim) not driven completely from the land (Josh. 24:11). According [D] to several traditions, the Israelite was enjoined to maintain strict separation from them in matters of religion, marriage, and politics (Exod. 23:28-33; Deut. 7:1-5; Josh. 23:4-13), although, historically speaking, the amount of interchange between Israel and the peoples of the land seems to have been considerable. Only in postbiblical Hebrew did it become possible to speak of an individual 'Gentile' (*goy*) as, after Ezra, the Jewish community began to close ranks in the wake of the Exile." [Paul J. Achtemeier, Harper & Row and Society of Biblical Literature, *Harper's Bible Dictionary* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1985), 338.]

⁶²For an interesting insider appraisal see "Israel and Anti-Gentile Traditions," in [MyJewishLearning.com](#).

Judaea is not surprising.⁶³ Even as long as Christians lived in Jerusalem until a short time after its destruction in 70 AD, the small segment of non-Jews inside Christianity there were proselyte Jews, e.g., the list of leaders given in Acts 6 makes this clear. It was the radical departure with non-proselyte converts to Christianity in Damascus and Samaria that broke the racial barrier about how non-Jews could become accepted Christians. Then add to that Paul's huge influence as an apostle to the Gentiles (cf. Gal. 2:6-10) with the missionary travels all through the northwestern regions of the Mediterranean Sea. This began a rapid shift of Christianity to a non-Jewish dominated religious movement, and so much so that by the end of the century very few Jews were identified with Christianity. In the post-Jewish War (68-70 AD) decades Judaism substantially hardened its opposition to Christianity. And inside Christianity an anti-Semitism began to emerge that exploded into outright Christian persecution of Jews by the middle of the second century. And this in a climate of Roman governmental hostility -- both empire wide and especially regionally -- to both groups. When Christianity gained the upper hand in the fourth century and then emerged as the official and exclusively legitimate religion of the Roman empire, Judaism became the fiercely persecuted enemy of Christianity. Thus here in the 50s of the first century we see the beginnings of this controversial shift into the world of Gentiles under Paul's influence. In no way should Paul be understood to advocate exclusion of Jews from hearing the Gospel and being given the opportunity to convert to Christ. But equally was he a proponent for the same opportunity being given to non-Jews. And conversion for both was on the identical basis of obedience producing faith surrender to Christ, i.e., ὑπακοὴν πίστεως.

Finally this reception of the grace gift of apostleship was ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, [in behalf of His name](#).⁶⁴

⁶³The 'Twelve' apostles in Jerusalem during the 50s and 60s supported Paul's Gentile oriented ministry in part since it was in Diaspora Judaism away from Jerusalem and Judaea. At 'home' the controversy was very minimal since all the available evidence points to the non-Jewish members of the Christian communities there being proselyte Jewish converts before Christian conversion. It was not until after being forced out of Palestine during the Jewish War of 68-70 AD that they had themselves to implement the Gentile inclusiveness into the church stance. From the available evidence both inside and outside the NT, they evidently made this transition without too many problems.

⁶⁴The formulation ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος ('for the sake of his name') is not frequently found in secular Greek;¹⁵⁶ it is also found in Acts 5:41; 9:16; 15:26; 21:13; and 3 John 7, mostly in the context of Christian emissaries who proclaim Christ and suffer on his behalf.¹⁵⁷ In Hebrew thought the 'name' of God 'denotes the personal rule and work of Yahweh' and could 'be used as an alternative term for Yahweh himself.'¹⁵⁸ While Yahweh himself remains in his heavenly court, his name dwells among humans, is present in the

The positive tone of 'for the advantage of' signaled here by the preposition ὑπὲρ stresses that the work of the apostles was to promote positive reception of Jesus Christ among the nations.⁶⁵ The phrase τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ reflects the ancient Jewish perspective of name and person being interchangeable.⁶⁶ Therefore, apostleship is never to be for one's personal advancement. To the contrary, it must always advance Christ and his mission of redemption.

ε3iii) ἐν οἷς ἔστε καὶ ὑμεῖς κλητοὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, among whom you are also called by Jesus Christ.

This relative clause turns a different direction. It stands as a bridge from the *Superscriptio* to the *Adscriptio* sections of the *Praescriptio*.⁶⁷ With the apostol-

temple, and extends divine lordship over the world.¹⁵⁹ In some OT passages the name of Yahweh is hypostasized as an acting subject worthy of honor in its own right, as in Ps 54:1, 'O God, help me by your name, and establish justice for me by your strength,' or as in Mal 1:11: 'For from the rising of the sun to its setting my name is great among the nations, and in every place incense is offered to my name, and a pure offering; for my name is great among the Gentiles, says the Lord of hosts.'¹⁶⁰ The name of Jesus Christ is 'the foundation and theme of proclamation' in missionary contexts, both in Acts' account of Paul's mission to the Gentiles (Acts 9:15) and in the later reiteration of his mission to preach in places where Christ had not yet 'been named' (Rom 15:20').¹⁶¹ [Robert Jewett and Roy David Kotansky, *Romans: A Commentary*, ed. Eldon Jay Epp, Hermeneia—a Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2006), 111.]

⁶⁵"In all likelihood, therefore, when Paul refers to Jesus' name he has in mind what the early Christians confessed in the latter half of the Christ-hymn of Phil 2:6–11: the name 'Lord,' which became rightfully his when 'God exalted him to the highest place and gave him the name that is above every name, so that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is 'Lord', to the glory of God the Father' (as in vv. 9–11)." [Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 82–83.]

⁶⁶"The 'name' is one of the ways in which a person can be known, through which one manifests something of oneself, a means by which one can (as we may say) 'gain a handle' on another—all the more so in the ancient world (see TDNT 5:243, 250–51, 253–54). Hence 'for the benefit of his reputation,' that Christ may be known as the one who fulfills God's covenant purpose in bringing the Gentiles to the obedience of faith (cf. 2:24; 9:17; 10:13; 15:9). Indeed, there may be a deliberate contrast with 2:24: for the Gentiles to fulfill God's covenant purpose in the obedience of faith will enhance God's 'public image,' whereas Jewish failure to fulfill the covenant, through pride and disobedience, reduces God in the eyes of the nations." [James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, vol. 38A, Word Biblical Commentary (Dallas: Word, Incorporated, 1998), 18.]

⁶⁷Such minimizing the lines of demarcation between these two subunits of a letter Praescriptio is quite normal and common in the epistolary deposits of the ancient world. Rigid lines of distinction

ic objectives as advancing the cause of Christ among non-Jews, this statement positions the recipients of this letter among the non-Jews of that ministry.

Does this imply something about the recipients of Romans? That is, were they Gentiles and not Jews? At minimum, it signals that the Christian community at Rome was dominantly non-Jewish. And this is confirmed by 1:13, 14–15 and 11:13, 17–21. The ethnic makeup of the Roman Christians is not highly clear, but this letter centers on the non-Jewish side with even the so-called Jewish section of chapters nine through eleven addressing the issue from a non-Jewish perspective.⁶⁸ To be clear, the Christian community emerged

seldom actually surface. The formal Adscriptio is πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ, κλητοῖς ἀγίοις in v. 7a. Thus the assertion of κλητοὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ including the Romans is the transition element.

⁶⁸"If it is self-evidently necessary to set the letter to Rome within the context of its author's life, it is less clearly necessary on a priori grounds to set the letter to Rome against the background of the history of its recipients, the Christian community in Rome. Paul could, after all, have been writing without any thought whatsoever of the circumstances of the Christian groups in Rome, in which case exegesis could proceed without going into such matters. However, there are various indications within the letter itself that Paul had a fair idea of the character and composition of the Christian groups in Rome. For example, the personal notes such as we find in 6:17 and 7:1, and the assumption that the calumny against Paul would be well known (3:8). And if chap. 16 is accepted as part of the original letter (see chap. 16 Introduction), that would mean that Paul had a number of personal contacts in Rome; through these, as well as through other Christians traveling from Rome by way of Corinth, he must have had at least some idea of the situation in which the Roman Christians lived out their faith.

"Moreover, two basic features of the letter provide a strong prima facie case for further clarification of the historical context of the recipients in Rome. One is the fact that Paul is clearly writing to Gentiles (contra Fahy's recent restatement of an older view). This is obvious from 11:13–32 and 15:7–12 and strongly implied in 1:6, 13 and 15:15–16. The other is the fact that the letter seems to be so dominated by the issue of Jew/Gentile relationships ('to Jew first and also to Greek'—see on 1:16), by questions of identity (who is a 'Jew'?—2:25–29; who are the 'elect' of God?—1:7; 8:33; 9:6–13; 11:5–7, 28–32), and by an understanding of the gospel as no longer limited to Jews as such (chaps. 2–5), but still with the Jews wholly in view (chaps. 9–11), in the hope that both Jew and Gentile can praise God together (15:8–12). The implication, at least, is that Paul was aware of the ethnic composition of the Christian groups in Rome and thought it necessary, through his letter, to provide counsel on these matters—not just practical questions like disagreements over dietary practices (14:1–15:6), but precisely in the matter of how gentile and Jewish Christians should perceive their relationship to each other (so particularly 11:17–24).

"We have little hard evidence regarding the earliest Christian groups in Rome, but the little evidence we have and the wider circumstantial evidence greatly strengthens this preliminary conclusion."

[James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, vol. 38A, Word Biblical Commentary (Dallas: Word, Incorporated, 1998), xlv. An analysis

originally from Jewish pilgrims attending the Jewish festival of Pentecost in Jerusalem (cf. Acts 2:10). About five years after the writing of Romans, when Paul arrives in Rome as a prisoner, the Jewish community is where he turns to first in witnessing (cf. Acts 28:21). Unquestionably the very large Jewish community in Rome had some connections to the Christian community.⁶⁹ But a superficial assessment of this data with conclusions of the dominant Jewish character of the Christian community overlooks a hugely important aspect depicted by Luke about Paul, the apostle to the Gentiles, turning first to the local Jewish synagogues everywhere he traveled. The primary converts won in each of those instances were Gentiles sympathetic to Jewish ways.⁷⁰ The narrative perspective found in Ro-

of this evidence follows the end of the above quote.]

⁶⁹"There were strong links between Jerusalem and Rome, exemplified in the warm relationship between Herod Agrippa I and the imperial family, particularly Caligula and Claudius; the business travel of people like Prisca and Aquila (see on 16:3); the implication of Acts 28:21 that the Roman Jews looked to maintain a correspondence link with the mother country; the movement of temple tax and pilgrim traffic; and the later testimony of regular visits by leading rabbis to Rome (Leon, 35–38; Brown, 96—though the evidence requires careful scrutiny). This fits well with the report of Acts 2:10 that Jews from Rome were among the first audience for the proclamation of Jesus' resurrection, and with the information that the Christian 'Hellenists' in Jerusalem belonged to a 'synagogue of the libertini' (Acts 6:9), which can hardly refer to other than Roman freedmen (the Jews enslaved under Pompey) and their descendants (SVMG 3:133; despite the doubts of Leon, 156–57). It is quite likely then that among the first Greek-speaking Jews to embrace faith in Messiah Jesus were Jews from Rome or having strong connections with Rome. Through such contacts and the normal travel of merchants and others to the imperial capital, the new faith would almost certainly be talked of in the synagogues of Rome within a few years of the beginnings in Jerusalem, and groups would have emerged within these synagogues who professed allegiance to this form of eschatological Judaism. Since Pompey's conquest of the East, the movement of oriental religions to the capital of the Empire was a feature quite often remarked upon by Roman writers. As Juvenal was to put it: 'the Syrian Orontes has long since poured into the Tiber, bringing with it its language and customs ...' (3.62–63; cf. Tacitus, Ann. 15.44.3). Paul, who began his missionary work from Antioch on the Orontes, would not have been the first (Jewish) Christian who saw Rome as an obvious goal and desirable field for preaching." [James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, vol. 38A, Word Biblical Commentary (Dallas: Word, Incorporated, 1998), xlvii–xlviii.]

⁷⁰"The pattern of early Christian evangelism was most probably focused, at least initially, within the synagogues (as most agree; see, e.g., those cited by Hultgren, *Gospel*, 149 n. 47; those who question the Acts evidence on this point include Georgi, *Opponents*, 178 n. 15; Hahn, *Mission*, 105 n. 2; Sanders, *Law*, 186). This again is what we would expect in a movement which saw itself as a form of Judaism; where else should they share their beliefs? The evidence of Acts coheres completely (Acts 11:19–21; 13:5, 14; 14:1; 17:1, 10, 17; 18:4, 19, 26; 19:8). And the strong implication of 2 Cor 11:24 is that Paul maintained a practice of evangelizing

(as apostle to the Gentiles) within a context of Jewish jurisdiction (synagogues), despite being subjected no less than five times to one of the severest punishments permitted to diaspora Jewish communities ('this most disgraceful penalty'—Josephus, *Ant.* 4.238; see further Harvey, "Forty Strokes Save One"). Equally important, such a strategy would be an excellent way of reaching out to Gentiles as well, since most synagogues seem to have had a number of interested or sympathetic Gentiles who linked themselves with the synagogue. The debate here is easily sidetracked into the issue of whether such Gentiles, who had taken on the observance of Jewish custom but stopped short of circumcision, were known by a particular name, 'God-fearers' (in recent years disputed particularly by Kraabel). But there can be no disputing the fact that many Gentiles were attracted to Judaism and attached themselves to synagogue congregations with varying degrees of adherence. Josephus and Philo both speak in undoubtedly exaggerated terms of the considerable attractiveness of Jewish customs, including sabbath and food laws (Josephus, *Ap.* 2.123, 209–10, 280, 282; Philo, *Mos.* 2.17–20; see also on 14:2 and 14:5). Josephus indicates that in Syria substantial numbers of Gentiles had 'judaized' and become 'mixed up' with the Jews during the first century (War 2.462–63; 7.45). Archeological and inscriptional evidence from Asia Minor confirms that Jewish communities were often held in high regard within the cities where they had settled (see particularly Trebilco). And a string of Roman sources confirms that Judaism proved a considerable attraction to many non-Jews within Rome itself (e.g., Plutarch, *Cicero* 7.6; Juvenal 14.96–106; Cassius Dio 67.14.1–3; Suetonius, *Domitian* 12.2; though the extent to which we should envisage an active policy of proselytizing, as Horace, *Sat.* 1.4.142–43, is often assumed to indicate, is another question—see again Nolland, "Proselytism"; I remain almost wholly unpersuaded by Georgi's talk of a "Jewish mission" [*Opponents*, 83–151], but the subject requires fuller treatment than can be given here). Whether they were known as 'God-fearers,' or as we prefer, 'God-worshippers' (following Trebilco), matters little (Kraabel's opposition has been undermined by the discovery of the Aphrodisias inscription—see Reynolds and Tannenbaum, 48–66; see further particularly Siegert; Finn; *GLAJJ* 2:1036; Collins, "Symbol," 179–85; SVMG 3:160–71). What does matter is that there were many God-worshiping Gentiles who attached themselves to Jewish synagogues. Already open to a new and different religion, but unwilling to go the whole way and become proselytes (the typical Greek would regard circumcision as disfiguring), they would be all the more open to a form of Judaism which did not require circumcision and which was less tied to Jewish ethnic identity.

"Something of this in Rome itself is suggested by the comment of Ambrosiaster (fourth century) that Christian Jews passed on the gospel to the Romans in a Jewish context, including observance of the law (text in SH, xxv–xxvi, and Cranfield, 20), though Cranfield justifiably questions whether Ambrosiaster has any substantive historical information to the effect. Brown, however, cites the passage in support of his thesis that 'the dominant Christianity at Rome had been shaped by the Jerusalem Christianity associated with James and Peter, and hence was a Christianity appreciative of Judaism and loyal to its customs' (110–11)—an interesting attempt to give some substance to the otherwise unsubstantiated claim that the churches in Rome were founded by Peter. Whether the evidence will sustain such a developed thesis or not, in the light of the other evidence available the most attractive hypothesis must be that the Christian groups in Rome emerged from within the Jewish community itself, made up, at least initially, of Jews and God-worshiping

mans supports a similar understanding of the composition of the Christian community in Rome.⁷¹ What must

Gentiles (see also Schmithals) who found themselves attracted to faith in Messiah Jesus, and whose meetings in each others' homes would probably not, in the first instance, be thought of as opposed to the life and worship of the wider Jewish community. (The older, more extreme thesis of Baur in his ground-breaking work, that Paul wrote to the Roman Christians as opponents [Paul, 369], can certainly not be sustained.)"

[James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, vol. 38A, Word Biblical Commentary (Dallas: Word, Incorporated, 1998), xlvii–xlviii.]

⁷¹The side issue of the expulsion of Jews from Rome mentioned by the Roman historian Suetonius poses all kinds of difficulties for clear understanding that go beyond the scope of our comments in this commentary. Dunn (WBC) provides a helpful summation:

The famous report of Suetonius, that Claudius "expelled Jews from Rome because of their constant disturbances at the instigation of Chrestus" (Claudius 25.4), also provides important confirmation. It is generally agreed that "Chrestus" must mean "Christ," and that the reference is therefore probably to disturbances among Jews concerning Jesus, that is, to disagreements between Jews who had accepted Jesus as Messiah (Jewish Christians) and Jews who rejected the Christian claims (e.g., Momigliano, 33; GLAJJ 2:114–16; Smallwood, 211; Brown, 100–101; Lampe, 6–7; for an alternative view see Benko, 1057–62). This almost certainly indicates a significant presence of Christian beliefs in Rome before the late 40s, and precisely within the Jewish synagogues, so that onlookers saw the dispute simply as an internal Jewish squabble (cf. Acts 18:15). Indeed, it would appear that the new beliefs had become sufficiently established within the Jewish community (and its penumbra of God-worshippers) to constitute something of a threat, so that by the time of Claudius' expulsion of the Jews from Rome any "honeymoon period" for the new movement was over, and considerable strains had emerged between, on the one hand, the Jews and gentile God-worshippers who professed faith in Messiah Jesus, and, on the other, the Jews (and gentile God-worshippers) who disputed the new movement's claim to be a legitimate expression of Jewish belief and praxis (cf. Acts 28:22).

When the expulsion actually took place is a matter of some dispute. Some relate it to the note of Cassius Dio 60.6.6, to which reference has already been made—that is, A.D. 41 (so Leon, 23–27; GLAJJ 2:116; Luedemann, Paul, 6–7). But Dio explicitly says that Claudius was unable to expel the Jews because of their numbers, and says nothing about disturbances within the Jewish community or caused by Jews. The later date of A.D. 49 is more likely in view of the otherwise dubious report by Orosius, *Adversus paganos* 7.6.15, of an expulsion in that year, which is perhaps supported by Suetonius, since his brief note seems to refer to an action taken by Claudius in the course of his reign (he succeeded Caligula in 41 itself), and by Acts 18:2 (the date 49 fits better with a recent [προσφάτως] arrival in Corinth "from Italy on account of Claudius' command that all Jews should leave Rome"; see further on 16:3). The best solution is probably to see two actions by Claudius, in 41 and 49: the first an early palliative ruling, short-lived and limited in effect; the second more deliberate and drastic after his patience had worn out (presumably the suspected treachery, and subsequent death, of his erstwhile friend Agrippa in the early 40s did not help—Josephus, *Ant.* 19.326–27, 338–50; Acts 12:21–23) and when he was more sure of himself (so Momigliano, 31–37; Bruce, "Claudius," 315; also History, 295–99; Jewett, *Dating*, 36–38; Smallwood, 210–16; Watson, Paul, 91–93). Though whether the latter action was as drastic as Luke suggests (the

not be overlooked is the deep suspicion about and hostility toward Jews, especially those living in Rome, by the political leaders during the first century.⁷² Christi-

typically Lukan "all" of Acts 18:2) is a question posed by the silence of Josephus on the subject, leaving the possibility of an expulsion which aimed primarily to root out the troublemakers (cf. Lampe, 6–7).

[James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, vol. 38A, Word Biblical Commentary (Dallas: Word, Incorporated, 1998), xlviii–xlix.]

⁷²"§2.3 An important feature of the historical context of the recipients of Paul's letter was the ambiguous and vulnerable status of the Jewish community and so also of those still identified with it.

§2.3.1 We have already noted the attractiveness which Judaism evidently exercised on quite a wide social range within Rome (§§2.1 and 2.2.2), something we should bear in mind since it is often overlooked (e.g., Smallwood, 123–24; SVMG 3:150). Nevertheless we do find considerable hostility towards the Jews in the Greco-Roman literature of the period in part at least an expression of the deep suspicion of all foreign cults which we find among the Roman intelligentsia, and partly fueled, no doubt, by that same success of such cults in attracting adherents and converts. So, for example, Cicero speaks of this 'barbaric superstition' inimical to all that is Roman (*Pro Flacco* 28.66–69); according to Seneca, 'the customs of this accursed race have gained such influence that they are now received throughout the world. The vanquished have given laws to their victors' (*De Superstitione*—GLAJJ 1:431); Pliny the Elder designates the Jews as 'a race remarkable for their contempt for the divine powers' (*Nat. Hist.* 13.46—GLAJJ 1:491,493); Martial speaks of 'the lecheries of circumcised Jews' (*Epigrammata* 7.30—GLAJJ 1:525); and Tacitus, of course, is well known for the savagery of his anti-Semitism—"The Jews regard as profane all that we hold sacred ... (and) permit all that we abhor"—and much more in the same vein (*Hist.* 5.4.1—GLAJJ 2:18, 25); see also Smallwood, 123–24. Against such hostility and ill will, exacerbated no doubt by the special protection and degree of preferential treatment given them by earlier rulers (Smallwood, 139), the Jewish community in Rome must have felt itself to be seriously under threat.

§2.3.2 This hostility had expressed itself in several official rulings directed against the Jews—three times that we know of within the lifetime of Paul: the expulsion of Jews under Tiberius in A.D. 19; the withdrawal of the rights of assembly by Claudius in A.D. 41; and the expulsion by Claudius in A.D. 49 (see above §2.2.3). In each case the ruling or edict became a dead letter with the passing of time, and particularly in consequence of the change of ruler (the fall of Sejanus in A.D. 31, and the death of Claudius in A.D. 54—Bruce, *History*, 295, 299). But the shifts and swings in the exercise of Roman imperium were sufficient to drive home the constant danger in which Jew and Christian stood during this period, and within ten years of Paul's writing his letter to Rome the Christians would feel the full and savage impact of Nero's power.

§2.3.3 A third factor to be noted is that in terms of organization the Jewish community in Rome appears to have been very weak. Each of the synagogues seems to have been regarded as an independent unit, the equivalent, for the purposes of the laws governing rights of assembly, of an individual *collegium* or club. Unlike the larger Jewish minority in Alexandria, there seems to have been no single controlling organization which could act on behalf of the Jewish community as a whole, no ethnarch to represent his people before the authorities (see Leon, 168–70; Wiefel, 105–8, with further details). This would naturally leave them in a more exposed position politically, since without the special protection

anity typically was viewed as a subgroup of the Jews by the authorities and would have caught the hostile actions against Jews. But by the mid-50s with Gentiles becoming the dominate element inside the church in Rome, another danger was also emerging: that of being considered a *religio illicita*, a new illegal religion with no official status.⁷³ This exposed participants to the vengeance of local rulers, and particularly so in Rome. Both public gatherings and ownership of property were prohibited. If the political leader suspected the group of some kind of immoral conduct (in Rome's eyes) or plotting against the government, severe action would be taken against such groups. So a very delicate path lay before Christians in Rome.⁷⁴ And Paul was not ignorant

which Julius Caesar and Augustus had accorded them, they would always be vulnerable to preventative or prohibitive measures taken against sects and collegia, even if not directed specifically against them. Insofar as the Christian groups were still identified with or seen as an offshoot of the Jewish community, they would be in a similarly vulnerable position. But equally, insofar as they were becoming distinct from the synagogues and seen to be such, they were in danger of being identified as yet another new sect from the east ('a sect professing a new and mischievous religious belief'—Suetonius, Nero 16.2) and treated accordingly."

[James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, vol. 38A, Word Biblical Commentary (Dallas: Word, Incorporated, 1998), 1–li.]

⁷³"The Christians were not yet clearly distinguished from the wider Jewish community (Paul speaks without awkwardness of 'Abraham, our forefather,' 'our father' [4:1, 12], and assumes a good knowledge of the law [7:1]), and probably therefore shared their ambiguous and vulnerable position. Insofar as they had any legal status, they would meet presumably as a *collegium* or under the auspices of a synagogue. Here the fact that Paul never speaks of the Christians in Rome as a church ('the church in Rome') may well be significant, especially since it is so out of keeping with Paul's usual practice (1 Cor 1:2; 2 Cor 1:1; Phil 4:15; Col 4:16; 1 Thess 1:1; 2 Thess 1:1; cf. Gal 1:2). For one thing, it confirms that the Christians in Rome were too numerous to meet in a single house, but it may also indicate that a more public gathering (ἐκκλησία = 'assembly'; see further on 16:1) was too hazardous to contemplate. And for another, it strongly suggests that the Christian house congregations shared the same sort of fragmented existence as the wider Jewish community. The Christians functioned as several 'churches' in Rome but were not seen as a single entity—and if not by Paul, still less by others. Without a strong and unified political status, and less than ten years since the Jews had been last expelled from Rome, Paul's readership would certainly need to keep in mind the political realities within which they had to live."

[James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, vol. 38A, Word Biblical Commentary (Dallas: Word, Incorporated, 1998), lii.]

⁷⁴For interesting insights into this, trace very closely the wording of mobs against Paul in Acts when making accusations against him before Roman authorities versus when the charges were made before Jewish authorities. Before Roman authorities some kind of criminal actions are made, but before Jewish authorities violations of the Torah are leveled. When the Jewish opponents at Corinth made essentially religious charges against Paul before the Roman governor, this backfired and exploded in their face (cf. Acts 18:12–17).

of this situation. His letter bears marks of his sensitivity, e.g., his selective use of certain terms and avoidance of 'hot button' terms such as ἐκκλησία and ὁ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.⁷⁵

The transitional relative clause here in v. 7a asserts the inclusion of the Romans as Gentiles who are among κλητοὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *the called of Jesus Christ*. The plural predicate adjective κλητοί, from κλητός, -ή, -όν, is built off the verb καλέω meaning to *invite* or *summons*.⁷⁶ In v. 1, Paul used the adjective to refer to the divine summons upon him to be an apostle.⁷⁷ Here it refers to Gentiles invited to become believers, or more precisely in the third use in v. 7 κλητοῖς ἀγίοις, *called holy ones*. The central point of the adjective here is to underscore the divine initiative of God in bringing the Roman believers into the family of God as His people. Human initiative wasn't involved. Rather, God took the initiative in providing the path to redemption and then through the preaching of the apostolic Gospel to invite Gentiles to make that faith surrender that brings His redemption.

⁷⁵Interestingly, some five or so years later after the writing of Romans from Corinth, when Paul arrived in Rome as its prisoner, some segments inside the Roman church were so threatened by his presence as a charged criminal of Rome that they took steps to help guarantee his execution in order to protect themselves from the authorities (cf. Phil. 1:17).

⁷⁶κλητός, ἢ, ὄν (s. καλέω; Hom.; Aeschin. 2, 162; Aelian, NA 11, 12; PAmh 79, 5; LXX; Hippol., Ref. 5, 6, 7) **pert. to being invited, called, invited** to a meal (3 Km 1:41, 49; 3 Macc 5:14) in imagery of invitation to the kgdm. of God **Mt 22:14** (=B 4:14); cp. **20:16** v.l.—Also without the figure consciously in the background called to God's kgdm. κ. ἄγιοι saints who are called (by God) **Ro 1:7; 1 Cor 1:2**; cp. B 4:13 ὡς κλητοί.—Subst. (SibOr 8, 92) κλητοὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ called by Jesus Christ **Ro 1:6** (for the gen. cp. 3 Km 1:49 οἱ κλητοὶ τοῦ Ἀδωνίου). τοῖς κλητοῖς μου ἈρσPtRainer 1. κατὰ πρόθεσιν κ. ὄντες called in accordance w. (God's) purpose **8:28**. οἱ κλητοί those who are called **1 Cor 1:24; Jd 1**. οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ κλητοὶ κ. ἐκλεκτοὶ κ. πιστοὶ **Rv 17:14**. κ. ἡγιασμένοι ἐν θελήματι θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χρ. those who are called and consecrated acc. to God's will through our Lord Jesus Christ 1 Cl ins.—Of calling to an office: κ. ὑπόστολος called (by God) as an apostle **Ro 1:1; 1 Cor 1:1**.—DELG s.v. καλέω. M-M. TW.

[William Arndt, Frederick W. Danker, and Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 549.]

⁷⁷The English 'called of Jesus Christ' is ambiguous while the Greek isn't. κλητός does not have the idea of 'called' in the sense of 'named,' with the idea of giving a name to someone. This would require an entirely different construction in Greek:

33.127 χρηματίζω^b; προσαγορεύω; ὀνομάζω^a: to give a name or title to—'to call, to give a name to, to give a title to.'

χρηματίζω^b: χρηματίσαι τε πρώτως ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοὺς μαθητὰς Χριστιανούς 'it was at Antioch that the disciples were first called Christians' Ac 11:26.

[Johannes P. Louw and Eugene Albert Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains* (New York: United Bible Societies, 1996), 402.]

The construction is echoed in 8:28, as well as in 1 Cor. 1:24 and Jude 1.

The phrase κλητοὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ becomes a virtual label that distinguishes the believing community from other religious groups that were labeled by reference to their patron, and also from the Jews who did not share their beliefs about Jesus.⁷⁸ These κλητοὶ belonged to Jesus Christ, and no one else.

10.3.1.2 Adscriptio, 1:7a πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ, κλητοῖς ἀγίοις, To all God's beloved in Rome, who are called to be saints:

This stands as the formal expression of identification of the recipients of the letter.⁷⁹ It centers on the Christian community in Rome itself rather than linking it to the rest of the Gentile world as the transition relative clause which came in front of it. Three qualifying identifiers are given, but not the more common ἐκκλησία, found at this point in Gal. 1:2b; 1 Thess. 1:1b; 2 Thess 1:1b; 1 Cor. 1:2; 2 Cor. 1:1b (in 5 of the 9 letters addressed to congregations⁸⁰). An analysis of the variety

⁷⁸"κλητοὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, 'called to be Jesus Christ's'—not 'by Jesus Christ,' since elsewhere in Paul it is God who issues the invitation/summons (cf., e.g., 8:30; 11:29; 1 Cor 1:9; see further on 1:1). The Roman believers could be defined as the guests or dependents of Jesus Christ. As a description it marks them off from other cults and groups dependent on named patrons (such groups were a common feature in imperial Rome—see on 16:2), and not least from the Jews who did not share their beliefs regarding Jesus (see on 1:7)." [James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, vol. 38A, Word Biblical Commentary (Dallas: Word, Incorporated, 1998), 19.]

⁷⁹"At last the second part of the standard form of address. As usual the whole community is greeted and not just particular figures seen as representative of the whole, πᾶσιν is given a place of emphasis, possibly suggesting a degree of factionalism (cf. 16:17–20), or at least that there was some tension among the different Christian groups in Rome (see Introduction §3.3 and particularly 14:1–5). That he does not call them 'the church in Rome,' in contrast to his normal practice in his earlier letters (but contrast also Phil and Col), may also indicate that the numbers of believers in Rome were too large for them to meet together all at once, that is, to meet as 'the church in Rome' (contrast the church in Corinth—Rom 16:23); see also Introduction §2.4.3 and on 16:1." [James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, vol. 38A, Word Biblical Commentary (Dallas: Word, Incorporated, 1998), 19.]

⁸⁰ Gal. 1:2b, ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας,

1 Thess. 1:1b, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεσσαλονικέων ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ,

2 Thess. 1:1b, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεσσαλονικέων ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ,

1 Cor. 1:2, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ οὖσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ἡγιασμένοι ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, κλητοῖς ἀγίοις, σὺν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, αὐτῶν καὶ ἡμῶν.

2 Cor. 1:1b, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ οὖσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ σὺν τοῖς ἀγίοις πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ,

Rom. 1:7a, πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ, κλητοῖς ἀγίοις,



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The Roman World During the Reign of Claudius

of *Adscriptio* constructions in the letters of Paul to the different churches reveals considerable creativity in the attribution of qualities to the congregations. Comparison of the *Adscriptio* to the contents in the letter Body reveals a certain appropriateness of the phraseology in the *Adscriptio* to the letter. Interestingly in neither letter -- Romans or Philippians -- with some connection to Rome, nor in the other two also written as a prisoner of Rome, does Paul use the rather loaded secular word ἐκκλησία, thus reflecting some sensitivity about the writing and/or recipient situations. But with the other churches located elsewhere the term dominates the *Adscriptio*.

The three identifying phrase paint a picture of the Christian community in Rome:

πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, to all those in Rome. The inclusive πᾶσιν simply asserts that the letter is intended not to any one segment of a probable very diverse community.⁸¹ It is the only one of the *Adscriptio* expressions

Col. 1:2a, τοῖς ἐν Κολοσσαῖς ἀγίοις καὶ πιστοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ,

Eph. 1:b, τοῖς ἀγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν [ἐν Ἐφέσῳ] καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ,

Phil. 1:b, τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Φιλίπποις σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις,

⁸¹The words πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ('to all those at Rome') constitute the 'recipient unit' of Paul's salutation. They also initiate a series of relative clauses that 'go off at a word' from the word πᾶς ('all') by way of elaborating on several theologically significant matters that had previously appeared in the 'sender unit.' One might see in the apostle's use of πᾶς 'an allusion perhaps to the extensive and straggling character of the Church of the metropolis; or an endeavour to bind together the two sections of that Church.'¹²⁰² But that seems to be an overly suspicious reading of a single word, which, on the face of it, has every appearance of having been included simply to greet in an inclusive fashion all of the letter's addressees." [Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Don-

like this which uses the adjective $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu$.⁸² Very likely this is connected to Romans being a letter of introduction of the apostle who goes out of his way to be inclusive of his potential readers.

The textual evidence for including $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ Ῥώμη , in Rome, is overwhelming.⁸³ But a few of the church fathers in commenting on Romans at 1:7 and 1:15 make not mention of $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ Ῥώμη , thus raising the possibility of it not being in the text they were using. Also a few late isolated Greek and Latin texts (e.g., G; Or^{1739mg}) of Romans do not contain the phrase as well.⁸⁴ But these do not reflect

ald A. Hagner, *New International Greek Testament Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 84.]

⁸²"The place of emphasis is given to $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu$ ('to all'), which continues the theme of inclusivity noted in the earlier citation of the composite confession. This formulation includes both Gentile and Jewish Christians, both those whom he knows in Rome (16:3–16) and those he has not yet met.¹⁷⁴ Since this is the second reference to 'all' in the exordium, the audience is prepared for the most extensive use of this term in any of the Pauline letters.¹⁷⁵ The discourse of Romans is carefully designed to include every branch of the splintered congregations in Rome. The cooperation and support of each group is required if the challenging Spanish mission is to have any chance of success. The definite article goes with 'God's beloved' ($\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$) and with $\omicron\upsilon\delta\iota\sigma\iota\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ Ῥώμη ('to those in Rome') in the attributive position." [Robert Jewett and Roy David Kotansky, *Romans: A Commentary*, ed. Eldon Jay Epp, Hermeneia—A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2006), 113.]

⁸³"The designation 'at Rome' ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ Ῥώμη) is well supported by the manuscript tradition, with the phrase omitted only in the ninth-century bilingual Codex Boernerianus (G 012, both Greek and Latin) and the eleventh-century minuscules 1739 (Category I) and 1908 (Category III)—with its omission being explicitly noted in the margins of these two later minuscule MSS. It is also omitted in it^g, which is a ninth-century recension of the Old Latin. More important, however, is the fact that 'at Rome' is not referred to at all by some of the early commentary writers when dealing with 1:7 and 1:15 — particularly not by Origen (per Rufinus's Latin translation), nor by Ambrosiaster or Pelagius. So it may be inferred that 'at Rome' was not included in the texts used by these commentators.²⁰³ But given its extensive support in the manuscript tradition, the omission of 'at Rome' here in 1:7 (as well as in 1:15) likely occurred either (1) as the result of an accident in transcription, or, more probably, (2) as a deliberate excision to give the letter a more general application.²⁰⁴" [Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, *New International Greek Testament Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 84.]

⁸⁴"The phrase $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ Ῥώμη ('in [or, 'at'] Rome') is well supported by P¹⁰, 26^{vid} and by uncials κ A B C D^{abs1} P Ψ , as well as by minuscules 33 1175 1739 (Category I) and 81 256 1506 1881 1962 2127 2464 (Category II). It is also reflected in versions it^{ar, b, d, o} vg syr^{p, h, pal} cop^{sa, bo}, and is supported by Origen^{gr, lat} Chrysostom Theodoret Ambrosiaster. A few witnesses (G 1739^{mg} 1908^{mg} it^g Origen), however, omit $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ Ῥώμη , 'either as the result of an accident in transcription, or, more probably as a deliberate excision, made in order to show that the letter is of general, not local, application.'¹²" [Richard N.

the original wording of Romans in the Greek.

Rome stood as the imperial capital of the empire during the first century.⁸⁵ It was the source of military power and final political authority over the entire Mediterranean world. In the dictatorial structure of the empire, the emperor stood as the final authority in most matters in the empire. This was particularly true for the imperial provinces under the direct control of the emperor, such as Judaea. Yet, even in the senatorial provinces such as Asia the emperor still exerted considerable influence.

But when the word empire is used, one must not assume any type of political structure or functioning comparable to anything in the modern world. Organizational structures were loosely designed and functioning. In the provinces local customs and structures prevailed with the Romans usually standing in the background with veto power over what local leaders did. The fundamental objective of the Romans was to direct the flow of money and goods into the city of Rome in sufficient quantities. Otherwise, the locals were free to do as they always had done. And this meant many different things, depending upon the heritage and cultural legacies of the region.

Thus the name Ῥώμη contained layers of distinct meaning. At the core Ῥώμη means the geographical city Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, *New International Greek Testament Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 46.]

⁸⁵"**Ῥώμη Rhōmē**; gen. Rhōmēs, fem. proper noun. Rome. Rome in the NT was the capital of the empire in its greatest prosperity and the residence of its emperors. Among the inhabitants were many Jews (Acts 28:17). They had received the liberty of worship and other privileges from Caesar and lived in the district across the Tiber near the Porta Portese. Paul was kept in Rome two whole years, dwelling in his own rented house with a soldier who had charge of him (Acts 28:16, 30). In accordance with the usual Roman custom of treating prisoners, he apparently was bound to the soldier with a chain (Acts 28:20; Eph. 6:20; Phil. 1:16). To those coming to visit him he preached the gospel, and no one forbade him (Acts 28:30, 31). Several of Paul's epistles were believed to have been written from Rome, such as Colossians, Ephesians, Philippians, Philemon, and 2 Timothy, the last shortly before his death on a second and final imprisonment (2 Tim. 4:6). On Paul's approach to Rome he was met by brethren who came out on the Appian Way as far as the little town of Appii Forum (Acts 28:15). In his letter to the Philippians he also refers to the 'palace' or Caesar's court (Phil. 1:13). This probably does not refer to the imperial palace, but to the residence of the Praetorian guards or to a military barrack attached to the imperial house. There were Christians also belonging to the imperial household even during the reign of the cruel Nero (Phil. 4:22). Rome is presented as a persecuting power referred to by the 'seven heads' and 'seven mountains' in Rev. 17:9, and described under the name of 'Babylon' elsewhere in the same book (Rev. 14:8; 16:19; 17:5; 18:2, 21)." [Spiros Zodhiates, *The Complete Word Study Dictionary: New Testament* (Chattanooga, TN: AMG Publishers, 2000).]

in the middle of the Italian peninsulas in the northern Mediterranean. The origins of the city lie in the mythological founding by the god Romulus in the eighth century BCE.⁸⁶ At another level, Ρώμη means the extension of political control and dominance of the Romans over parts of the Mediterranean world. This is known as the Roman Republic.⁸⁷ Then Ρώμη signals the Roman Empire, which in part was of the outcome of enormous material prosperity at the close of the era of the republic in the first century BCE. A series of dictators, some sympathetic to the Senate but others not, centralized control and power into the person of the emperor.⁸⁸

⁸⁶"The foundation of Rome is obscured by legend and the lack of adequate archaeological material to form substantive hypotheses. Tradition accepts the 753 B.C. founding date proposed by the 1st-century B.C. antiquarian, M. Terentius Varro, and links Rome's origin with the legend of its eponymous founder, Romulus (Bloch 1960: 11–92; Alföldi 1965: 101–76). That Rome began as a small pastoral, agricultural settlement of Latins at a ford across central Italy's most important river, the Tiber, seems clear enough. Legends of early conflict with a neighboring village of another early Italic people, the Sabines, are also relatively well confirmed by archaeological evidence (Scott 1929: 21–69; Poucet 1967: 5–136). The synoecism of Latin and Sabine villages produced the town, *Roma quadrata*, ruled by kings. The social system there developed was strongly patriarchal and organized on the basis of families and clans, with their headmen forming an advisory council to the kings, known as the Senate. All Roman citizens, *Quirites*, comprised an assembly called the *Comitia Curiata*, as much a religious body as a civic council. The governmental and societal structure of the monarchical period is best elucidated in the works of Palmer (1970: 67–287) and de Francisci (1959: 25–624)." [John F. Hall, "Rome (Place)," ed. David Noel Freedman, *The Anchor Yale Bible Dictionary* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 5:830.]

⁸⁷"Traditionally established in the year 509 B.C., the Roman Republic, in Latin *res publica* signifying simply 'government' or 'public thing,' was in essence an oligarchy of nobles whose rule continued with little interruption for almost five centuries. After resolving a long protracted struggle between patrician aristocrats and plebeian commoners by temporarily opening in 366 B.C. the ruling oligarchy to the wealthiest and most influential plebeians, an internally unified Rome was able to turn its attention to the rest of the peninsula (Heurgon 1973: 156–221; Raaffaub 1986: 1–377). In rapid succession, Latium, Campania, Umbria, Etruria, and finally an ever resistant Samnium fell to Rome through treaty of alliance or military conquest, and a unified Italian peninsula was prepared to face the growing power in the western Mediterranean of Phoenician Carthage (Salmon 1982: 1–90; Sherwin-White, 3–133)." [John F. Hall, "Rome (Place)," ed. David Noel Freedman, *The Anchor Yale Bible Dictionary* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 5:830.]

⁸⁸"Leaders of the conspirators, Caesarian political lieutenants, and Caesar's posthumously adopted son and heir, Octavian Caesar, either struggled to succeed to Caesar's power or to protect themselves from those who attempted to do so. After several civil wars the protracted military and political struggle came to an end with the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra by Octavian who remained sole claimant to his father's authority. Hailed as deliverer and restorer of peace and order by a Senate now filled with his own supporters, Octavian established a new government with monarchical powers cloaked in traditional constitutional trappings. In return for sharing

Thus Ρώμη often came to designate the emperor who symbolized the full might of the empire.

The mid-first century Rome that Paul experienced was that of a city beginning to experience a level of prosperity and general peace never before known among the Romans. The empire would not reach its high point until the second century AD, but through most of the first it was moving toward it. To be sure, there were scattered revolts, like that of the Jews in 68–70 AD, but these were relatively isolated and minor. Internally, the downfall of Nero in the mid 60s created more serious internal chaos than any revolt among the conquered regions of the Mediterranean. In less than a year in 68 AD Rome went through three emperors before things were hashed out politically and militarily.

One of the more unstable groups of conquered

power with a grateful Senate happy to oversee peaceful non-military provinces while the princeps or emperor retained control of frontier provinces with their troop concentrations, Octavian was rewarded with the title Imperator Augustus Caesar, and received lifetime powers of governance as well as semidivine honors. The empire was thus established and by literary, religious, and artistic propaganda was quickly legitimized and made attractive to Rome's citizens. The much heralded *pax Augusta* did, in fact, provide for an empire at peace for the first time in over a century. Political stability gave rise to economic prosperity, while efficient government in Italy and the provinces won for Augustus the approval of his subjects. Population increased, new cities were established and old cities expanded. In no place was there such a change as in Rome itself where the emperor's building projects transformed the urban area into a beautiful city of marble buildings, monuments, and temples. On a less-extravagant scale the same process occurred not only throughout Italy but also in the provinces where leading citizens were granted Roman citizen rights and romanization was begun in earnest (Syme 1939: 1–568; Jones 1970: 1–189; Taylor 1939: 100–246; Firth 1902: 1–366; Millar and Segal 1984: 1–219).

"Through a complicated process of intermarriage among his descendants and his step-descendants, Augustus provided for a succession designed to remain within the family of the Julians and the Claudians. His immediate four successors—the Julio-Claudian emperors Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero—were, except perhaps for Claudius, poor administrators more concerned with personal indulgence than the improvement of Rome or its empire. However, save for political unrest in the capital, and that largely between several of these emperors and more independent segments of the senatorial class, the empire continued in an expansion cycle characterized by peace and prosperity, so well had Augustus set the proper course. As a result of Nero's excesses and tyrannies revolution came at last. From this civil war emerged a new dynasty, the Flavians, who would rule almost until the beginning of the 2d century A.D. They in turn were succeeded by five emperors elected by the Senate upon their predecessor's recommendation of high moral character and competence to govern. Because such criteria were applied to the designation of new emperors during most of the 2d century, the empire prospered (Garzetti 1974: 3–861; Salmon 1944: 1–366; M. Rostovtzeff 1926: 38–124)."

[John F. Hall, "Rome (Place)," ed. David Noel Freedman, *The Anchor Yale Bible Dictionary* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 5:831–832.]

people were the Jews. Their middle eastern Semitic lifestyle along with their religion made them very different and not able to comfortably fit into the pluralistic and polytheistic world of the Romans. The Diaspora Jews outside Palestine had adapted better than the Hebraistic Jews back home. But still even the Diaspora Jews didn't fit easily into Roman life. Paul belonged to this segment of Jews and this gave him a better chance to function in the world of the Romans. Out of his Hellenistic background and training in Tarsus, he understood well both the Roman and Greek minds. His additional training with Gamaliel in Jerusalem equipped him well to understand the rigid Jewish mind of the Hebraists in Judea. Living as a Diaspora Jew enabled him to bridge both these worlds successfully. Of all of the Christian leaders of the apostolic era, Paul had the broader background of cross cultural experience and perspective which provided him with unique skills in carrying the Gospel to that Roman world.

Some attention already has been given to the situation of the Christian community in Rome, but a few more insights are necessary for understanding Paul's writing strategy to this group. With the beginnings of the church reaching back to Jewish pilgrims in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost (cf. Acts 2:10, καὶ οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι, Ἰουδαῖοί τε καὶ προσήλυτοι, [the Roman visitors, both Jews and proselytes](#)), the Christian community in the city had been in existence since the early 30s, some 20 plus years before the writing of this letter. Historically, neither Paul nor Peter had founded the church in its beginning. Both Jews and Gentile converts from Rome were converted in Jerusalem and carried their new found Christian commitment back home after the end of the Jewish festival of Pentecost. This was prior to Paul's conversion in 33 AD. How the church had evolved from its beginnings to the mid-50s when Romans was composed is not spelled out in clarity apart from a mixture of contradictory and often questionable [church legends](#).⁸⁹ It is not until the second century that

⁸⁹Whatever the means by which Christianity was introduced to Rome, it is widely assumed that it was already known there by the middle of the 5th decade. Suetonius (Claud. 25) tells us that the emperor Claudius 'expelled the Jews from Rome because they were continually rioting *impulsore chresto*.' If *Chrestus* actually refers to Christ, the agitation may have been caused by the incipient Christian community or, perhaps, preaching about Christ. The date of the expulsion of the Jews has minimal attestation, but the relationship of Acts 18:2 with the fairly firm date for the arrival of Gallio in Corinth (Acts 18:12) indicates some time during or prior to the year 49 C.E.

"Paul's letter to the Romans reflects the condition of the Roman church about 56 C.E. The church at Rome met primarily in its house churches. Priscilla and Aquila utilized their house for that purpose (Rom 16:3-5). Verse 16:15 may refer to yet another location. It is not clear when, if ever, the local house churches met as a metropolitan unit (note Col 4:16). The house churches involved

church traditions about Christianity in Rome began to present a more unified portrait. That house churches were the foundation of the community is clear in chapter sixteen. Later on, tradition asserts the presence of some twenty-five house church groups reflecting expansion from a smaller, earlier number. Also the Christian community reflected evidently from its beginnings a wide diversity of Roman society economically, socially, ethnically etc. Both Jews and Gentiles made up the composition of the beginning of the community. Plus a rather wide range of economic diversity was present as well. The community, from all indications, grew rapidly from the outset.

The apostle's sensitivity to this diversity is reflected both directly and indirectly, i.e., by what he says and doesn't say. The unique inclusion of πάντων, [to all](#), reflects a desire to speak to the entire community and not just dominating segments of it.⁹⁰ His avoidance of politically hot button terms such as ἐκκλησία in the formal introduction of the letter (note that five instances are found in the Conclusio, 16:1, 4, 5, 16, 23) also reflects this sensitivity.⁹¹ A letter of introduction essentially soliciting support for an expanded ministry in the western half of the Roman empire would not deliberately seek to offend and rebut significant segments of this congregation. To be sure, Paul did not in any way compromise his Gospel ministry stance, but neither did he go out of his way to offend anyone.

[ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ, God's beloved](#). Only in 12:19 does he repeat the address ἀγαπητοί (vocative of address) to include the entire community. The other five instances reference either the Jewish people (11:28) or individuals (16:5, 8, 9, 12). The verbal adjective ἀγαπητός, -ή, -όν (built from ἀγαπάω) denotes someone dearly loved. Most of the NT uses are the substantival spelling as a form of direct address.⁹² From a literary perspective, the

both Jewish Christians (Rom 4:16) and gentile Christians (Rom 11:13). An onomastic analysis of Romans 16 indicates the presence of all levels of Roman society: slave and/or freed (e.g., Ampliatus [in Roman nomenclature a virtue name, like 'ample,' usually referred to a slave], Urbanus); Jews, Romans, and Greeks (e.g., Andronicus, Junia, Mary); and male and female."

[Graydon F. Snyder, "Christianity: Christianity in Rome," ed. David Noel Freedman, *The Anchor Yale Bible Dictionary* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 1:968.]

⁹⁰Assuming the organizational pattern exhibited by Luke of the Jerusalem Christian community in Acts 15, there would have been at least an informal meeting periodically of those who served as πρεσβύτεροι leaders of each of the house church groups across the city.

⁹¹The likelihood of someone hostile to Christianity reading this would be that only the first part would be read of such a long letter as Romans, and not the entire document.

⁹²Of. in dir. address (Hippol., Ref. 4, 50, 1) ἀγαπητέ dear friend **3J 2, 5, 11** (cp. Tob 10:13); mostly pl. ἀγαπητοί **Ro 12:19; 2 Cor 7:1; 12:19; Hb 6:9; 1 Pt 2:11; 4:12; 2 Pt 3:1, 8, 14, 17; 1J**

vocative plural, and rarely the singular, also function to signal topic or theme shifts. The phrase ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ as a part of the Adscriptio signals all in the Christian community are objects of God's love.⁹³ Even though the non-Jewish readers of Romans might hear echoes of this phrase in some of the pagan literature of the time, the rich Jewish history behind the phrase provides the definitional parameters of meaning of what Paul says.⁹⁴

2:7; 3:2, 21; 4:1, 7, 11; Jd 3, 17, 20; 1 Cl 1:1; 7:1; 12:8; 21:1; 24:1f al.; ἄ. μου 1 Cor 10:14; Phil 2:12; IMg 11:1. ἄνδρες ἀγαπητοὶ dear people 1 Cl 16:17. ἀδελφοί μου ἄ. 1 Cor 15:58; Js 1:16, 19; 2:5; ἀδελφοί μου ἄ. καὶ ἐπιτόθητοι Phil 4:1.—Of members of a Christian group ἄ. θεοῦ Ro 1:7 (cp. Ps 59:7; 107:7; ApocEsdr 1:1 p. 24, 3 [Ezra]). (Παῦλον) τὸν ἀγαπητὸν τοῦ κυρίου AcPI Ha 8, 2." [William Arndt, Frederick W. Danker, and Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 7.]

⁹³"The substantival noun ἀγαπητοῖς ('to those loved') is probably drawn from the Hebrew noun דַּבָּר ('steadfast love,' 'loving kindness'), which is an attribute of God in the OT.²⁰⁷ In Paul's letters the present, active, adjectival participle ἀγαπητός ('loved') and perfect, passive, substantival participle ἡγαπημένος ('those loved') appear repeatedly with respect to (1) the people of faith who are loved by God,²⁰⁸ (2) unbelieving Jews, whom God loves 'because of the patriarchs,'²⁰⁹ and (3) those whom Paul himself loves as believers in Christ and his coworkers.²¹⁰ So common are these expressions for those loved by God that Christians are addressed in many of Paul's letters simply by the vocative plural ἀγαπητοὶ ('loved ones' or 'dearly beloved').²¹¹ It is also noteworthy that here in 1:7 Paul mentions not their love for God but that which is fundamental—God's love for them, God's choice of them.²¹²" [Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 85.]

⁹⁴"The discourse of Romans is carefully designed to include every branch of the splintered congregations in Rome. The cooperation and support of each group is required if the challenging Spanish mission is to have any chance of success. The definite article goes with 'God's beloved' (τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ) and with οὖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ('to those in Rome') in the attributive position. The expressed κλητοῖς ἁγίοις ('called saints') stands in apposition to 'God's beloved.' There are distant parallels to this formula for being loved by God, such as that found in Dio Chrysostom's advice that a wise king should seek to have 'the love of men and gods instead of their hate' (Orat. 3.60) or when the Egyptian king is described as 'beloved by the god Phtha.'¹¹⁷⁶

"The link between God's calling of people and nations to be his beloved that we find in this *exordium*, however, has its roots in Judaism.¹⁷⁷ God elects and loves the patriarchs,¹⁷⁸ Abraham,¹⁷⁹ Joseph,¹⁸⁰ David,¹⁸¹ Jerusalem,¹⁸² and the entire people of Israel.¹⁸³ But it is important to note that this is the only time in the Pauline corpus, indeed in the entirety of ancient literature prior to Paul, that this exact formula is employed.¹⁸⁴ It signals a significant theme developed in the rest of Romans, that God pours out love for those who do not merit it (Rom 5:5–8; 8:31–39; 9:13). This gift of love comes to Jews who are 'beloved on account of the patriarchs' (11:28),¹⁸⁵ as well as to Gentiles (8:35). All of the believers in Rome, no matter what their orientation, are recipients of this boundless love flowing from the Christ event. I think it is significant that Paul places this

The Christian community at Rome stand as objects of God's love. Note this perspective, rather than stressing their love for God. Further, this phrase introduces one of the dominating foundational themes of the letter body. God's righteousness becomes available exclusively through Christ because of God's love, that is, His deliberative commitment to us.⁹⁵

κλητοῖς ἁγίοις, *chosen saints*. This label evolves out of the preceding one. Because God intentionally chose to provide redemption as ἀγαπή, He, in that action, set them apart to Himself as His people who are then committed exclusively to Himself. That is, He chose them to be a people dedicated to Himself and who share in His holiness.⁹⁶ The Hebrew background of the phrase here is quite apparent.⁹⁷ The quasi title tone of the construc-

reference between the formulas 'called of Jesus Christ' and 'called saints' so that it serves as a unification formula. The wording is explicitly inclusive: 'all God's beloved.'¹⁸⁶ This phrase suggests the theological argument of the entire letter, namely that God's love is impartial.¹⁸⁷ No person on earth, whether Greek or Jewish, deserves such love, as 1:18–3:20 argues. Nevertheless, everyone receives such love in Christ, as 3:21–4:25 so eloquently shows. God is no respecter of persons, as 2:11 insists; all have made themselves into God's enemies (5:10), but all are included in the sweep of divine love. The offering of salvation 'to all who believe' epitomizes the argument of Romans (1:16; 3:22; 4:11; 10:4). In this sense, the opening address of Romans sets the tone for the entire letter, offering the most inclusive program for world unification found in the NT. If this gospel is understood and internalized, Paul suggests, the fragmented house churches of Rome would become unified in cooperation while preserving their distinctiveness. They would also be enabled to participate in a credible manner in completing the mission to the end of the known world, symbolized by Spain. When this unifying message is received in faith, the goal of history will be fulfilled and all the nations will praise God for God's mercy, as the climax of the formal argument in chap. 15 proclaims." [Robert Jewett and Roy David Kotansky, *Romans: A Commentary*, ed. Eldon Jay Epp, Hermeneia—a Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2006), 113–114.]

⁹⁵Never forget that ἀγαπάω is overwhelmingly volitional, and not emotional. In ἀγαπάω God neither likes who we are or what we do. Rather, in spite of this, He has made a deliberate commitment to change us through Christ into something positive. Here is the amazing dimension of ἀγαπάω.

⁹⁶As addressed by the gospel and responsive to it, they are 'called' (klētoi, cf. 8:30; 9:24–25). They are 'saints' (hagioi) — not primarily because of the moral quality of their lives but through their membership of a people that is 'holy' because of its closeness and dedication to God." [Brendan Byrne, *Romans*, ed. Daniel J. Harrington, vol. 6, Sacra Pagina Series (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1996), 41.]

⁹⁷"The attributive phrase κλητοῖς ἁγίοις ('called holy ones' or 'holy people') seems to have been drawn from a combination of two Hebrew expressions: (1) שְׂדֵרָה קְדוֹת ("solemn [or 'holy'] assembly"), which the LXX translated κλητὴ ἁγία,²¹³ and (2) עַם קְדוֹשׁ ('people of holiness'), which the LXX translated λαὸς ἁγίος.²¹⁴

"The term ἅγιοι ('holy ones') appears frequently in the OT with reference to celestial beings²¹⁵ and sometimes to God's people in the eschatological future²¹⁶ — though it is not very often used

tion identifies Paul's readers at Rome as God's people set apart to Him. This focused on both Jews and Gentiles, rather than on the Jews in the synagogues across the city. This theme will also be played out through the use of the plural spellings of the adjective ἅγιοι used eight of the twenty adjective uses of ἅγιος, -ία, -ον to refer to the people of God who are believers in Christ: 1:7; 8:27; 12:13; 15:25, 26, 31; 16:2, 15. To distinguish this people focused use rather than referencing objects or the Holy Spirit, most contemporary translators in English use the word 'saints.' But this should not be confused with the much later Roman Catholic tradition of sainthood which limited the term to super pious Christians in Heaven who can supposedly intercede in behalf of folks on earth. Such understanding does not exist inside the New Testament.

The divine action embedded inside ἀγαπητοῖς now becomes κλητοῖς which defines divine love as both a choosing and a summoning of Jews and Gentiles to become His people devoted to Him through Christ. With them He shares His righteousness thus pulling them to Himself in holiness, i.e., ἅγιοις, **the holy ones**.

Thus even in the *Adscriptio*, the limited expansion elements of ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ and κλητοῖς ἅγιοις signal with reference to God's redeemed people in the present.²¹⁷ In the post-biblical Greek writings of the Jewish world, ἅγιοι continues to be used most often with respect to celestial beings²¹⁸ — though, at times, also of redeemed humans.²¹⁹ Philo and Josephus, however, seem not to have used the designation at all, either for angels or for humans. Rabbinic writers appear to have used קדוש (holy) or עמ קדוש ('people of holiness') with respect to God's people only three times.²²⁰ On the other hand, ἅγιοι ('holy ones') is found sixty-one times in the NT and is always employed — or, at least, almost always used (the only possible exceptions being 1 Thess 3:13 and 2 Thess 1:10) — with respect to God's holy people, whether translated as 'saints,' 'his holy ones,' or 'God's holy people.' And this change of usage serves to highlight, as Stephen Woodward has pointed out, the facts that 'in Christ' people 'have been thrust into the final kingdom, ushered into the room of the Holiest, and graced with the unprecedented privilege of the companionship of the Celestial.'²²¹

"Paul's emphasis in his use of κλητοῖς ἅγιοις here in 1:7 is on both (1) his addressees as being 'holy people' in the sight of God²²² and (2) their having been 'called' by God to this status as believers in Jesus.²²³ Further, in that his use of the verb καλεῖν ('to call') always includes the concept of God as the agent in 'calling' people to some purpose or responsibility (see our comments above on 1:1 and 1:6), there is an implied parallel with the emphasis in the OT on God's will and action as being the basis for the lives of God's people.²²⁴ Thus those 'called holy ones' in Paul's letters are those who have been called by God to respond in faith to the person and work of Christ, and so have been given 'in Christ' the status of God's 'holy people.'"

[Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 85–86.]

much of what is yet to come in the letter body. In the grand theme of δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ summarized in 1:16-17 as the thesis of the letter body, how all of this 'fleshes itself out' grows out of the love and calling of God affirmed at the outset of the letter.

10.3.1.3 Salutatio, 1:7b χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. **Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.**

The standard *Praescriptio* formula in the ancient Greek and Latin speaking world was **A ==> B: Greetings**. The *Salutatio* stands as the greetings section.⁹⁸ Paul established a pattern that he basically followed in virtually all his letters.⁹⁹ The formula in Rom. 1:7, χάρις

⁹⁸"Paul concludes his salutation of 1:1–7 to the Christians at Rome with the words χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ('grace to you and peace'). The prescripts of Greek letters normally included the greeting χαίρειν, which is the present, active, infinitive of the verb χαίρω ('rejoice,' 'be glad'). As a colloquial greeting χαίρειν meant 'welcome,' 'hello,' or 'good day'; at the beginning of a letter it meant 'greetings.' At times Greek letters also included in their prescripts a health wish, such as the infinitive ὑγιαίνειν (literally 'to be in good health'; colloquial and epistolary uses: 'good health'), and so would read χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν ('greetings and good health'). Jewish letters usually included in their prescripts some form of the noun 'peace,' either שלום in a letter written in Hebrew or εἰρήνη in a letter written in Greek,²²⁵ coupled with the noun 'mercy' (or 'covenant faithfulness,' 'loving kindness'), either רחמים (or, less frequently, רחמיה, 'compassion') in a letter written in Hebrew or ἔλεος in a letter written in Greek — and so would begin with the traditional Jewish greeting 'mercy and peace.'

"Some letters in the NT have in their salutations the normal Greek greeting χαίρειν, 'greetings';²²⁶ others have the prayer wish χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη πληθυνθείη, 'grace to you and peace be multiplied';²²⁷ and one has ἔλεος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη πληθυνθείη, 'mercy to you and peace and love be multiplied.'²²⁸ In Paul's letters, however, the greeting is expressed in terms of χάρις ('grace') and εἰρήνη ('peace').²²⁹ Thus the typical Pauline greeting is, in reality, a prayer wish: 'May you have grace and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ' — though in wishes expressed in the secular Greek of Paul's day the optative εἴη ('may you,' a second person singular, present, optative of the verb εἶμι, 'I am') seems to have been omitted often."

[Richard N. Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016), 86–87.]

⁹⁹**Gal. 1:3**, χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, **Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.**

1 Thess. 1:1b, χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη, **Grace to you and peace.**

2 Thess. 1:2, χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. **Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.**

1 Cor. 1:3, χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. **Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.**

ὕμῃν καὶ εἰρήνην ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, is repeated verbatim in every letter with the exception of Colossians with omits καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, and the pastoral letters of 1-2 Timothy and Titus which follow a more Jewish tone.

The twin blessings pronounced in prayer format reflect both Greek and Jewish heritages. The *Salutatio* in written letters evolved out of the common oral greeting of friends when meeting. In oral communications χαίρειν was the verbal greeting of a friend, as 2 John 10 signals: εἴ τις ἔρχεται πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ ταύτην τὴν διδαχὴν οὐ φέρει, μὴ λαμβάνετε αὐτὸν εἰς οἰκίαν καὶ χαίρειν αὐτῷ μὴ λέγετε, *when someone comes to you and brings this teaching, do not receive him into your home nor say Hello to him.* From the verbal greeting then comes the most common epistolary greeting of χαίρειν in the large body of Greek letters as reflected in the NT at James 1:1c and Acts 15:23d. A common Jewish epistolary *Salutatio* pattern was “Mercy and peace be with you.” In the Greek writings, the pattern was along the lines of ἔλεος καὶ εἰρήνην μεθ’ ὑμῶν, which translated the terms either τὸν or, less frequently, דַּמְיַן for χάρις, and דּוּלְשׁ for εἰρήνην from either Hebrew or, more commonly, Aramaic.

Out of this dual heritage of the apostle Paul then comes χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη, with χάρις reflecting both the Greek χαίρειν and the Hebrew τὸν, *mercy*. εἰρήνη then especially picked up on the Hebrew דּוּלְשׁ, *shalom*. The Hebrew τὸν is foundational to the Christian interpretation of χάρις. Ingenuously Paul draws upon this hugely rich background to formulate a distinctly Chris-

tian greeting of χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη.¹⁰⁰ As noted above, this pattern dominates virtually all of his letters at the *Salutatio* section.

χάρις, of course, references God’s divine favor expressed in merciful actions toward His people. And εἰρήνη out of the Hebrew דּוּלְשׁ pictures that divine favor producing wholeness and completeness of existence as God’s people. This indeed is true peace, both with God and with others.

The point of origin of χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη is dual also: ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ*. The separation emphasis in the preposition ἀπὸ makes clear what every first century listener to these words would have instantly know. Divine grace and peace are action words and in this construction are seen as flowing from God and Christ to the recipients of the letter specified as ὑμῖν, *to you*.

The dual specification of origin for grace and peace stand as the distinctly Christian formulation of this greeting. Both the Heavenly Father and Jesus the Anointed Deliverer as Lord are essential for such divine favor and wholeness of existence. Never, ever can such be acquired merely by human effort. Never can they be acquired without complete surrender to Christ as Lord in submission of oneself to God. One comes to the Father only through Christ becoming Lord in this person’s life. The repetition of this prepositional phrase ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in all but one of the *Salutatio* of Paul’s letters drives home the huge importance of this point.

2 Cor. 1:2, χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. *Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.*

Rom. 1:7b, χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. *Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.*

Eph. 1:2, χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. *Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.*

Col. 1:2b, χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν. *Grace to you and peace from God our Father.*

Philim. 3, χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. *Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.*

Phil. 1:2, χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. *Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.*

1 Tim. 1:2b, χάρις ἔλεος εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν. *Grace, mercy, peace from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Lord.*

Titus 1:4b, χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν. *Grace and peace from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Savior.*

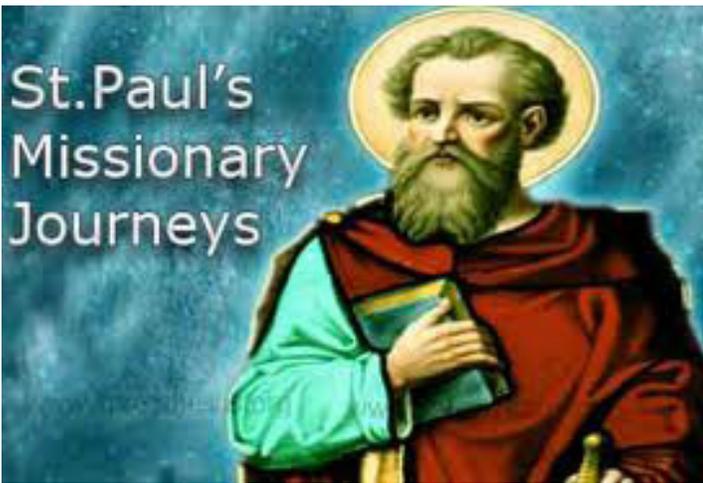
2 Tim. 1:2b, χάρις ἔλεος εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν. *Grace, mercy, peace from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Lord.*

*****Conclusions*****

¹⁰⁰"The third and final part of the normal greeting, with the usual χαίρειν replaced by the already characteristic Christian word χάρις (see on 1:5). If we should rather speak of Paul’s adapting an older Jewish formula, 'Mercy and peace be with you' (Gal 6:16; Jude 2; 2 Apoc. Bar. 78.2; Pol. Phil. inscrip.; Lohmeyer, 159–61; Käsemann with bibliog.; cf. 2 Macc 1:1), the significance still lies in Paul’s use of χάρις rather than ἔλεος (see on 1:5); nor can the similarity in sound to the Greek χαίρειν have been unintentional. We might paraphrase: 'May you know the generous power of God undergirding and coming to expression in your daily life.'

"εἰρήνη, 'peace' — the typical Jewish greeting (as in Judg 19:20; 1 Sam 25:5–6; Dan 10:19 Theod.; Tob 12:17; 2 Macc 1:1; James 2:16). The Hebrew concept of peace (שְׁלוֹמִי) is very positive. The basic idea is something like 'well-being': for the ancient Israelite שְׁלוֹמִי was all that makes for wholeness and prosperity (e.g., Deut 23:6; Pss 72:3, 7; 147:14; Isa 48:18; 55:12; Zech 8:12)—not just 'spiritual' but also 'material' well-being (e.g., Ps 85), and not so much individual as social (as in 1 Kgs 5:12; Zech 6:13); peace as something visible, including the idea of a productively harmonious relationship between people. See TDNT 2:400–420; and see further on 5:1."

[James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, vol. 38A, Word Biblical Commentary (Dallas: Word, Incorporated, 1998), 20.]



What can we conclude from the Praescriptio of Romans? Several things come to mind, among the many possibilities.

1) *Rom. 1:1-7 follow the core structure of an ancient Greek letter Praescriptio.* This clearly signals an interpretation approach based on epistolary understand. So much of the later treatment of Romans even into modern times as a compendium of theology is huge wrong and leads to false understanding of this ancient letter. Even the modified modern form of the Rhetorical Critical approach seeing this as an ancient tractate built around first century Latin and Greek philosophical speeches misses the mark pointedly. Romans is an ancient letter, and must be understood that way.

2) *Further, Romans is a letter of introduction.* As chapter fifteen makes unquestionably clear, Paul is introducing himself to the Christian community at Rome. Having never traveled to the city at the time of the writing of this letter, he seeks to inform the believers that about who he is and what his message of the Gospel is about. His objective with the letter is to help lay a positive foundation for an anticipated mission across the western Mediterranean with Rome as the launch pad

much as Antioch had been for the beginning ministry in the eastern Mediterranean. He wrote the letter while at Corinth, the closest to Rome that he had been up to this point. And it came just before departing to Jerusalem to deliver the relief offering. Immediately afterwards, his plan was to head for Rome with the hope of launching this western Mediterranean ministry from Rome.

To be sure, he had previously met a few of the members and leaders in the church at other places across the Mediterranean in his ministry. This is laid out clearly in chapter sixteen. But the bulk of the church members in Rome did not know the apostle personally. Their opinion of him, if they had one, was based on verbal passing on of people's opinions, some of which were positive and others negative, as Philippians 1:12-26 makes very clear out of his later experience of arriving in the city some five years after the composition of Romans.

As an exclusive letter of introduction, Romans is thus going to stand apart in certain ways from the other Pauline letters in the New Testament. Its more consistent following the foundational theme of *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* (1:16-17) makes it more universal and less circumstantial than the other letters. Only the circular letter of Ephesians approaches this trait, but for very different reasons. Ephesians was intended for a number of churches and as a cover letter for Colossians and Philemon in a bundle of letters delivered to several churches from the coastal city of Ephesus to the interior Lycus Valley churches over a hundred kilometers to the east of the port city of Ephesus. Romans is specifically addressed to one Christian community.

But even as a generalized letter of introduction, the apostle casts the contents of the letter in sensitivity to the very diverse character of the Roman Christian community by this point over a couple of decades into their existence. The many house church groups represented numerous nuanced understandings of the Gospel and of Christianity, especially in its relation to Judaism. Thus as Paul positions himself on the basic understanding of the Gospel, he does so in interaction with many of these diverse perspectives inside the church. To that extent -- as our subsequent exegesis will illustrate -- the letter is customized and personalized for the believers at Rome. Interpretive sensitivity to these traits of the letter are essential to correct understanding.

3) *Paul follows his standard pattern of creative expansion of both the Praescriptio, and also of the Proem that follows.* The core structure that is found in all of his letters exists in Romans as well. Much of the same terminology and phraseology is repeated here. But the expansion elements are distinct and give uniqueness to Romans.

The basic reason for this is that it flows out of his compositional strategy for all his letters. These elements send important signals about the contents of the letter body. The core definition of the Gospel in 1:1b-5, the rich theological labels of κλητοὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ, κλητοῖς ἁγίοις, and χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη lay a conceptual foundation for the entire letter as largely an explanation of these ideas.

Interpretively then this pattern helps us the modern readers of the letter to better grasp the composition of the letter. If we want to know what the bulk of Romans is about, the first seventeen verses give us a rather detailed preview. Plus, just like the original hearers of this letter in the house churches of Rome, hearing and reading these opening words should whet our appetites to learn the full picture of the Gospel that is going to be presented in the letter body.

4) *That preview of the Gospel in the Praescriptio should inspire us greatly.* The Gospel is not primarily a plan of salvation. First and foremost, it is the message of Jesus Christ and the primacy of establishing a relationship with Him through faith surrender. And through Jesus Christ was come into relationship with Almighty God as His people. This yanks us out of this corrupt world into a relationship with God that transcends physical death and enables us to rise about the earthly corruption all around us. The center of the Gospel message is Christ crucified and risen again, as Paul stresses here in the opening of Romans. It is through Christ that God's dynamic grace comes into our lives as a transforming power propelling us into the ministry that God has for each of us. For Paul it was ἀποστολή, [apostleship](#). For each of us it is some aspect of διακονία, [service](#).

It is a disastrous mistake to see the Gospel as just a plan of God. That impersonalizes the Gospel, which is wrong. Instead, Paul reminds us that Gospel is a relationship with God through Jesus Christ. This relationship is vital and vibrant both now and extends through eternity. The infinite resources of God become available through unconditional surrender to Christ. Under God's leadership via the Holy Spirit guiding us, avoidance of dumb headed decisions growing out of our depraved nature can be avoided in favor of those pushing us along God's predetermined path for our life. That path brings the highest quality life possible for human beings on earth. And such is preparatory for an even better life in Heaven in the immediate Presence of God.

The Praescriptio therefore gives us deep insight into this letter and prepares us for the greater details that will follow in the letter body.

