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## K. G. APPLGATE, 'GOD THE FATHER AS GIVER OF LIFE: EXPLORING A PAULINE MOTIF'

Scholarly scrutiny of Paul's theology proper has recently produced a view that Paul's reflections about God are axiomatic. As an exploration of the apostle Paul's creative theologising, this thesis challenges this prevailing view that Paul assumed his theology proper wholesale from Jewish thought that preceded him, especially as propounded in the Old Testament. The thesis investigates how Paul develops the divine fatherhood metaphor established in both Jewish and Greco-Roman sources, and how he intersects the metaphor with concepts of life-giving. The first chapter introduces the state of the question and elaborates the methodology used in the ensuing arguments, where emphasis is given to metaphor theory and Relevance Theory, a framework taken from the field of cognitive linguistics. The second chapter establishes background for the proximity of divine fatherhood and the giving of life, arguing that Paul was the first to intersect these two trajectories begun several centuries previously. Jewish sources from the Old Testament, the deuterocanonical literature, and Second Temple literature are prioritised, though a brief section on Greco-Roman thought is presented. The third chapter examines how Paul relates God as Father to Jesus by analysing those texts where Paul intersects God's paternity with the resurrection of Jesus. The analysis seeks to show that Paul offers a new identity for God as the Father who raised Jesus from the dead. The fourth chapter presents the outworking of this new identity in demonstrating how Paul relates God as Father to those who are 'in Christ' (*ἐν Χριστῷ*), where the thesis seeks to show how the apostle conceives of a derivative sonship that flows from Jesus to those who are in him. A brief conclusion follows with suggested avenues of further research.

GOD THE FATHER AS GIVER OF LIFE

EXPLORING A PAULINE MOTIF

BY

KIRBY GLEN APPLGATE

SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

AT

DURHAM UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

2024

## DECLARATION

This work has been submitted to Durham University in accordance with the regulations for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It is my own work, and no part of it has been previously submitted to the Durham University or in any other university for a degree.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

**N.B.:** Where possible, this thesis has endeavoured throughout to use United Kingdom conventions for spelling, punctuation, and grammar.

The following references were consulted for abbreviation conventions.

- Billie Jean Collins, Bob Buller, John F. Kutsko, et al., eds., *The SBL Handbook of Style*, 2d ed. (Atlanta: SBL, 2014)
- Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, eds., *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4th ed. (Oxford: OUP, 2012)
- Siegfried M. Schwertner, *Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete*, 3d ed. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014)

Abbreviations not listed in the above reference works are provided below:

### *General abbreviations:*

*v.l.* *varia lectio* = variant reading

### *Primary Literature:*

Cleomedes:

*Cael.* *Κυκλικῆς θεωρίας μετεώρων (De motu corporum caelestium)*

Galen:

*Nat. Fac.* *Περὶ φυσικῶν δυνάμεων (De Naturalibus Facultatibus)*

*Sem.* *De Semine*

### *Secondary Literature:*

AIL	Ancient Israel and Its Literature
BibAlex	La Bible d'Alexandrie
CamCP	Cambridge Companions to Philosophy
COQG	Christian Origins and the Question of God
CSDP	Cambridge Studies in the Dialogues of Plato
ECAM	Early Christianity in Asia Minor
GStud	De Gruyter Studium
HTSRSS	HTS Religion and Society Series
Humanora	Humanora, humanistika vetenskaper, socialvetenskaper, teologi/Acta Academiae Aboensis
<i>JSPHL</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters</i>
LBRS	Lexham Bible Reference Series
LBT	Library of Biblical Theology
LIEDS	Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series
LingBSt	Linguistic Biblical Studies



NTMs	New Testament Monographs
NTRs	New Testament Readings
PaulSt	Pauline Studies
PiCC	Paul in Critical Contexts
RUSCH	Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities
SeptCS	Septuagint Commentary Series
StCT	Studies in Continental Thought
SWiC	Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Commentare
<i>VerbVit</i>	<i>Verbum Vitae</i>

***Publishers:***

BUP	Baylor University Press
CoUP	Columbia University Press
CorUP	Cornell University Press
CUP	Cambridge University Press
HUP	Harvard University Press
IUP	Indiana University Press
NDP	University of Notre Dame Press
NUP	Northwestern University Press
OUP	Oxford University Press
PIB	Pontificium Institutum Biblicum
SUP	Scandinavian University Press
UBCP	University of British Columbia Press
UCP	The University of Chicago Press
UCaP	University of California Press
UPA	University Press of America
YUP	Yale University Press

*Pro ecclesia*

‘Zugleich wird die Beziehung der Texte zur gegenwärtig existierenden Kirche mitbedacht, und insofern ist Exegese eine “kirchliche Wissenschaft” – natürlich nicht in dem Sinne, dass sie sich die Inhalte oder gar die Ergebnisse ihres Arbeitens von kirchlichen Instanzen vorgegeben sein ließe, wohl aber in dem Sinne, dass sie den unmittelbaren Bezug ihrer Texte zur gegenwärtigen Kirche erkennt und beachtet’.

—Andreas Lindemann, *Glauben, Handeln, Verstehen: Studien zur Auslegung des Neuen Testaments*, vii.

## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. The *Status Quæstionis* and Recent Scholarship

Exactly where God fits into Paul's creative theologising has either exercised or passed the notice of the apostle's recent interpreters. There seems to be no middle ground: either one claims that Paul pens precious little that is new about God, or that the apostle differentiates his reflections about God significantly from Jewish writings that came before him. Recent scholarship has increasingly viewed theology proper as foundational to Paul's theological programme such as it may be pieced together from the extant letters that bear his name;<sup>1</sup> certainly Paul was no systematician. How Paul assesses this foundational material has however been a point of contention. Is the apostle content to leave the foundation as it lies, confident that he can build his more creative superstructures (e.g., Christology or justification) on what has been passed down to him from his Jewish forebears? Or does Paul realise post-Christophany that even the foundation needs some remodelling?

The uncurious<sup>2</sup> interpreter has typically assigned Paul's reflections about God to theological axioms inherited from the apostle's OT Jewish background,<sup>3</sup> constituting what

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<sup>1</sup> Guthrie and Martin 1993: 355–356, 367; Richardson 1994: 12–18; Dunn 1998: 28–31; Wright 2013: 2.616, 634–43; Schnelle 2014: 423; Sanders 2015: 708 (cf. his earlier statements in idem 1977: 509 and idem 1991: 41); Capes, Reeves, and Richards 2017: 339, 341; Gorman 2017: 166–67; Ware 2019: 11–14.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the interpreter who is not curious with respect to Paul's God-language; framing this as a question of 'scholarly curiosity' is a conceit adapted from Richardson's dissertation published in 1994. I do not use 'uncurious' pejoratively. The interpreters I have in mind are usually keen to showcase other aspects of Paul's thinking, and their scholarly energies and insights are spent, not on Paul's reflections about God, but elsewhere; avoidance of Paul's theology proper is usually seen as fidelity to Paul's own perceived neglect.

<sup>3</sup> Classically stated in Dunn 1998: 28, 'Paul's convictions about God are all too axiomatic. Because they were axioms, Paul never made much effort to expound them'. See further the sources cited in Dunn 1998: 28–29 n. 4.

Andreas Lindemann has called a ‘theological deficit’. In a penetrating and thought-provoking essay originally published in the late 1970s, Lindemann has suggested three reasons for the treatment of Paul’s reflections on God as axiomatic by some of the apostle’s recent interpreters. First, after Paul’s conversion, Jesus dominates Paul’s thought to such a degree that all thought about God retreats to the background. Second, some interpreters have assumed that Paul’s (so-called) doctrine of God possesses no special features but moves entirely in paths prescribed by OT or Second Temple Jewish tradition. Third, since Paul’s addressees were already theistic prior to their conversions, Paul could assume his ‘doctrine’ of God without need for further development.<sup>4</sup>

The modern judgement that Paul’s reflections about God are merely unreflected axioms dates back at least to the turn of the twentieth century. As early as 1904, William Wrede had concluded that on the topic of Paul’s language about God one must keep silent.<sup>5</sup> Wrede argued according to Lindemann’s second reason: Paul had nothing new to say about God that his Jewish predecessors had not said already. A few years later, Adolf Deissmann likewise could find no ‘new features’ in Paul’s reflections about God, only new certainty in the apostle’s conviction of God—Jesus had clarified and solidified Paul’s previously held theological (in the proper sense of the word) beliefs. For Deissmann, Paul’s Christology outshines his theology proper, which is transferred wholesale from his Jewish

---

<sup>4</sup> Lindemann 1999: 11–12. Cf. Flebbe 2008: 1–19.

<sup>5</sup> Wrede 1907: 80. The second edition was published posthumously in Tübingen three years after the Halle edition. Klumbies (1992: 13) notes the precedent of Paul’s theology proper as insignificant established by Baur’s mere two-page treatise on the subject, but Baur’s analysis does not fit neatly into Lindemann’s three reasons. Cf. Baur 1864: 205–207. Baur’s son published this work posthumously from his father’s lecture notes dated 1852 to 1860. On the dating of the original material, see the foreword by Ferdinand Friedrich Baur in Baur 1864: iii–iv. To the interpreters I have included here, Klumbies adds Johannes Weiß, Wilhelm Bousset, and Paul Feine. Cf. Klumbies 1992: 11–19.

upbringing, thereby evoking Lindemann's first two reasons.<sup>6</sup> A forthright conclusion of the axiomatic position is that Paul has no standalone thoughts about God at all, a view akin to that of Rudolf Bultmann, who preferred to glimpse Paul's theological reflections through the prism of anthropology, coupling assertions about God with assertions about humanity and in the process deliberately subsuming the apostle's 'doctrine' of God under the 'doctrine' of man.<sup>7</sup>

More recently, the assertion that Paul's reflections about God are axiomatic has been clearly articulated by James Dunn. In his volume on Paul's theology, Dunn contends that Paul's reflections about God are the obvious starting point for any theological analysis of the apostle's writings because of how frequently Paul refers to God in his letters and because of Paul's own view that God has legitimated his life's work as apostle and missionary to the nations.<sup>8</sup> Dunn also argues that Paul's theological convictions are axiomatic, lacking both development and exposure to view. Aligning himself with Lindemann's second and third reasons, Dunn indicates that Paul's beliefs about God were thoroughly Jewish, certain aspects of which were held in common with the addressees of his letters. According to Dunn, Paul can thus take for granted his statements about God. In a published dissertation on divine impartiality in Rom 2, Jouette Bassler has helped to disambiguate the notion of theological axiom. She deems statements 'axiomatic' if they meet the following criteria: appearance in writings of diverse provenance and genre; flexibility in application to various situations; polemical potential when featured alongside

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<sup>6</sup> Deissmann 1926: 187–89.

<sup>7</sup> Bultmann 1984: 192–93. Cf. Moxnes 1980: 4–5; Klumbies 1992: 19–22. Bultmann emphasised anthropology to the neglect of theology because of his concern not to introduce 'objectifying' language about God that could stand apart from the encounter with God in the kerygma.

<sup>8</sup> Dunn 1998: 28–31. On the frequency of *θεός* in Paul's undisputed letters, cf. Klumbies 1992: 11 n. 2.

other characteristic doctrines; and relative fixity of expression.<sup>9</sup> Bassler's focus is the phrase, 'for there is no partiality with God' (οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν προσωποληψία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, Rom 2.11). Dunn provides a few more examples from Romans: 'God who is blessed forever' ([θεὸς] ὃς ἐστὶν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, Rom 1.25); 'God will judge the world' ([ὁ θεὸς κρινεῖ] τὸν κόσμον, Rom 3.6); 'God who gives life to the dead' ([θεὸς ὁ ζωοποιῶν] τοὺς νεκροὺς, Rom 4.17); and, among other axiomatic statements, God 'who searches the hearts' (ὁ ... ἐραυνῶν τὰς καρδίας, Rom 8.27).<sup>10</sup>

The consignment of Paul's reflections about God to theological axiom has at times fostered the assumption that Paul offers no meaningful contribution to theology in its proper sense as theo-logy, an assumption that is challenged by Bassler at the outset of her dissertation.<sup>11</sup> Others have concurred with the spirit of Bassler's challenge by questioning the assessment of Paul's reflections about God as merely axiomatic. Occasionally, the challenge comes in the guise of describing Paul's contribution to creative theology proper as an economic definition of God—i.e., defining who God is by what God does.<sup>12</sup> For instance, by the middle of the last century certain pockets of Germanophone scholarship had noted the Pauline *novum* of God's role in the resurrection of Jesus. Werner Georg Kümmel insisted that the starting point for understanding Paul's theological thinking even before Christology or justification must be God's action in Jesus, particularly with respect to God's primary role in the resurrection of Jesus, convictions he had already published in

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<sup>9</sup> Bassler 1982: 43–44, 66.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Dunn 1998: 29.

<sup>11</sup> Bassler 1982: 1.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Rowe 2002: 296–99.

seed form by the mid-1940s.<sup>13</sup>

Kümmel's line of thought may be further seen in an article published by Franz Joseph Schierse in the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* in 1960 which summarises 'God' in the Pauline literature and declares that one may profitably read Paul's reflections about God chiefly from the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus.<sup>14</sup> Schierse applies this especially to Paul's teachings on justification and to the apostle's confrontation with what he terms 'Hellenistic Gnostic Wisdom' (original: hellenistisch-gnostische Weisheit). In Paul's teaching on justification, God demonstrates the satisfaction of his wrath and the bestowal of his mercy upon sinners even as he orchestrates the atoning death of his own Son on the sinners' behalf. Through a pair of paradoxes in 1 Cor 1–3—wisdom and folly, strength and weakness—Schierse argues that Paul appeals once more to the nature of God as seen in the Christ event: God subverts the wisdom teachings that were confounding his Corinthian addressees by displaying the folly and weakness of the cross as superior to all human wisdom and strength.

With respect to the resurrection of Jesus, Paul-Gerhard Klumbies has gone slightly further than Kümmel's position by arguing that the reflections about God by the apostle are Christologically interpreted.<sup>15</sup> He proposes a sixfold complex of ideas in which Paul explicates God both soteriologically and Christologically, among which is God as the one

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<sup>13</sup> Kümmel 1969: 133–34, 136–37, 143–44; earlier: idem 1945: 40–68. Cf. Schelkle 1981: 185–88; Schrage 2001: 194–95; more pronounced in an earlier article: idem 1976: 121–54; Reinmuth 2004: 11–16; see further Klumbies 1992: 24–30. Flebbe argues, however, that Kümmel's analysis still belongs to the line of thought begun in Wrede and Deissmann because he subscribes to Lindemann's first reason: Christology in Paul overshadows theology proper. See Flebbe 2008: 11–12. My contention is that Kümmel (and Schelkle after him) both view Paul as innovating (however slightly) in his reflections about God, and thus differ from the previous generations of Germanophone scholarship listed above, esp. in n. 5.

<sup>14</sup> Schierse 1960: 1079–80.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the similar conclusions of Richardson 1994: 304; Starnitzke 2004: 478–92.

who raised Jesus from the dead. For Klumbies, God's raising of Jesus is not an isolated act; Paul is instead interested in the connection to and predictive power of Jesus' resurrection for the future resurrection of himself and his addressees as underscored in 1 Cor 15.12–19, the key text.<sup>16</sup> By prioritising Paul's Christology over his theology proper, Klumbies' work differs from Kümmel and may yet be classified under Lindemann's first reason, but Klumbies' thesis does not fit so easily into Lindemann's schema because Klumbies engages Paul's reflections about God in their own right, rather than assuming or downplaying them.<sup>17</sup>

Though he limited his investigation to Paul's letter to the Romans, in retrospect Halvor Moxnes precipitated a watershed moment in the revival of Paul's theology proper as a viable subject for scholarly endeavour with the publication of his Oslo doctoral thesis as *Theology in Conflict* in 1980. Moxnes approaches Paul's reflections about God as statements embedded in contexts that address real situations faced by the apostle's addressees, rather than as isolated, theoretical expressions. He is especially keen to show how for Paul God's identity is closely bound up with the identity of the early Christians comprised of Jews and gentiles. Where conflicts arose in these early churches, Paul according to Moxnes centres the issues at hand upon the right understanding of God, and how the proper understanding of God affects the unity of the communities the apostle addresses. Crystallising a line of argumentation broached but underexplored in Kümmel's earlier work, the analysis by Moxnes demonstrates that Paul's theology proper may be

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<sup>16</sup> Klumbies 1992: 153–63, 248–50, esp. 249.

<sup>17</sup> Flebbe (2008: 12) has pointed out the similarity of Klumbies' position to that of Udo Schnelle, who characterises Paul's theology proper as a 'decisive structural feature of [his, i.e., Paul's] Christology'. Cf. Schnelle 2014: 325; the original German with emphasis retained is: 'entscheidendes *Strukturmerkmal der Christologie*'.



treated separately from the apostle's Christology.<sup>18</sup>

Although his methods were not quickly utilised in the following years,<sup>19</sup> Moxnes' meticulous work has opened a way for a new generation of scholars to examine afresh Paul's reflections about God. An exhaustive examination of the designations for God in the Judeo-Christian Scriptures (as well as extrabiblical Jewish and Greco-Roman sources) has led Christiane Zimmermann to conclude that Paul's formulaic vision of God as 'the one who raised Jesus from the dead' proves central for Paul's very idea of God.<sup>20</sup> The phrase *ὁ ἐγείρας τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ νεκρῶν* ('the one who raised Jesus from the dead'; cf. Gal 1.1; Rom 8.11) according to Zimmermann derives from Jewish predications of the 'living God' and God 'who gives life to the dead'. Paul gives new raiment to the Jewish predications of God by vesting them with distinctly Christian relevance. Where other writers might prefer the verb *ἀνίστημι* or its substantival form, *ἀνάστασις*, when discussing resurrection (cf. esp. LXX and the earliest attestations for the resurrection of Jesus), Zimmermann argues that Paul opts for the rarer verb *ἐγείρειν* because of his specifically theological interest: the resurrection of Jesus is not an achievement of Jesus, but according to Paul (e.g., in Rom 6) the raising of Jesus is accomplished by the glory of the Father acting on the Son.<sup>21</sup>

Zimmermann has without fanfare substantially refuted the position of those who view Paul's reflections about God as axiomatic. Though she acknowledges that Paul's key phrase designating God as the 'one who raised Jesus from the dead' is derived from an

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<sup>18</sup> Moxnes 1980: esp. 5–9; 283–90.

<sup>19</sup> Richardson publishing fourteen years later can still bemoan the lack of curiosity into Paul's theology proper. Cf. Richardson 1994: esp. 12; Zimmermann 2007: 38, who notes the 'research deficit'.

<sup>20</sup> Zimmermann 2007: 466. Cf. Hill 2015: 52.

<sup>21</sup> Zimmermann 2007: 504, 526–27; cf. 474–76, 496, 505, 521. Cf. Coppens 1976: 334.

axiom ('living God') easily located in the OT,<sup>22</sup> Zimmermann demonstrates that Paul's key phrase is the apostle's own contribution to the distinctly Christian understanding of God. Despite producing a work of breadth and quality, Zimmermann has yet overlooked a crucial dimension to Paul's description of God as 'the one who raised Jesus from the dead', one that is indeed central to her own investigation. Though she occasionally notes the importance for Paul of the resurrection of Jesus for defining the relation between the Father and the Son,<sup>23</sup> Zimmermann does not explore in any depth the precisely paternal colouring that Paul gives to his discussion of God's raising Jesus from the dead. This argument has instead been taken up by Francis Watson in an incisive article published in 2000, several years before Zimmermann's volume appeared.<sup>24</sup> Choosing Dunn as his main discussion partner, Watson rebuts Dunn's position that unlike Paul's views on justification and resurrection, the apostle's thoughts about God are not made explicit in his extant writings. Conversely, Watson contends that Paul indeed speaks explicitly about God precisely in making known his views about justification and resurrection. Watson continues in the line of defining God economically, that for Paul God's action in the resurrection of Jesus—which Watson reminds the reader is a verbal idea necessitating an agent—is bound up with his identity. Here Watson's trenchant analysis comes to the fore: by raising Jesus, God's identity has already been defined with respect to the Son, and 'it is this last divine action alone that finally identifies who God is. It is, we might say, the unsurpassable, definitive divine speech-act of self-identification'.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Cf. God as θεὸς ζῶν in the LXX: Deut 5.26; Josh 3.10; 1 Kgdms 17.36; 3 Kgdms 19.4, 16; Esth 6.13, 8.12q; Pss 41.3; 83.3; Isa 37.4, 17; Dan 6.27; Hos 2.1; Bel 5, 25; 3 Macc 6.28.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Zimmermann 2007: 127, 139–40, 493–94.

<sup>24</sup> Watson 2000: 99–124.

<sup>25</sup> Watson 2000: 111; cf. 113–14. Cf. Holtzmann 1911: 2.103; Hill 2015: 60–61 n. 38.

Watson has advanced in Anglophone circles the scholarly work of Moxnes and those in his line of thought by shedding light upon an empty or false distinction between who God is *in se* and what God does *ad extra*, a distinction not espoused by the apostle Paul according to Watson. For Watson, such a division between being and act is a Platonic imposition; to the contrary, the Jewish ontologies in Paul's background equated the two.<sup>26</sup> Earlier, Schierse had similarly argued (though necessarily too briefly) that who God is and what God does is seen primarily for Paul in the death and resurrection of Jesus, and that Paul's language about God showcases God's identity as evidenced by Paul's declaration in Rom 1.20, for instance.<sup>27</sup> Kavin Rowe has reached similar conclusions, apparently independently of Watson's research.<sup>28</sup> Arguing from Brevard Childs' concept of 'biblical pressure', Rowe deduces that 'the two-testament canon read as one *book* pressures its interpreters to make ontological judgments about the trinitarian nature of the one God *ad intra* on the basis of its narration of the act and identity of the biblical God *ad extra*'.<sup>29</sup> From the view that Paul's economic speech about God leads into deeper understanding of divine immanence, that Paul is in fact concerned with God as he is in himself (or, that Paul creatively theologises about God *in se*), and against the view that Paul's reflections about God are axiomatic, and thus implicit, underdeveloped, or hidden from view, I hope to show by the test case of Paul's writing on God's action in raising Jesus that by writing of God as the Father who raised Jesus from the dead, Paul adds new information about God's identity.

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<sup>26</sup> Cf. Watson 2000: 105–106.

<sup>27</sup> Schierse 1960: 1079–80.

<sup>28</sup> Publishing in 2002, two years after Watson's article appeared in the *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*, Rowe nowhere cites Watson or his earlier work.

<sup>29</sup> Rowe 2002: 308, emphasis retained.

## 1.2. Method

Though my primary training is in the exegesis of biblical texts, to further my contention that Paul introduces a new identification of God as Father in his act of raising Jesus from the dead will require the inclusion of two supports to the exegetical task I have set for myself. The first support will be the select application of recent advances in metaphor theory that are oriented toward biblical texts. The second is the incorporation of certain insights arising from discussions in the area of cognitive linguistic theory. These two supports can illuminate select implicit qualities of the Pauline texts under observation that could not otherwise be accessed by historical-critical exegesis alone. Understanding the probable options for Paul's addressees as they interpreted his letters can bring both focus and clarity to my contentions about the apostle's theology proper.

Studies in metaphor theory abound,<sup>30</sup> but I have chosen two dialogue partners who have tailored their theories of metaphor for distinctly Christian texts. In 1985, Janet Martin Soskice published her Oxford doctoral thesis as *Metaphor and Religious Language*. As her title suggests, Soskice is concerned with what metaphor is and does, and then how metaphor applies to specifically Christian language, particularly to language about God. After summarising a few highlights in the history of metaphor theory from Aristotle to John Locke, Soskice settles on a 'working definition' of metaphor built upon the previous work of Max Black and especially Ivor Armstrong Richards: 'metaphor is that figure of speech whereby we speak about one thing in terms which are seen to be

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<sup>30</sup> Cf. the studies cited in Heim 2017: 3–14, esp. nn. 5–32; Imes 2019: 342–60, with citations.

suggestive of another'.<sup>31</sup> Not primarily a process or mental act,<sup>32</sup> metaphor as primarily a figure of speech must according to Soskice have its definition distinguished from its function. Metaphor works creatively by the union of tenor and vehicle to say 'something that can be said adequately in no other way', yielding an interanimation of terms and generating networks of associations that uncover the reliance of metaphor upon an underlying model or models.<sup>33</sup>

Soskice helpfully defines several terms that I adopt in this thesis. Following Richards' *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, she writes of the tenor of a metaphor as the 'underlying subject', which may or may not be mentioned explicitly in the figure of speech, and the vehicle of the metaphor as the mode in which the underlying subject is expressed.<sup>34</sup> Metaphor as speaking about 'one thing or state of affairs in language suggestive of another' is reliant upon a model, which is according to Soskice the 'regard of one thing or state of affairs in terms of another'.<sup>35</sup> Thus, fatherhood can be a realistic model upon which the biblical authors may base their reflections about God. Soskice labels fatherhood as a paramorphic model for God because the source of the model (the relationship between a human father and son or daughter) differs from its subject (the dealings of God with humanity).<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Soskice 1985: 15, emphasis omitted. Heim (2017: 52) lauds this definition's suitability for exegesis in three ways: its close attention to metaphor as a phenomenon of language; its close attachment of metaphorical meaning to textuality; and its allowance for the presence of metaphor in a wide array of grammatical structures.

<sup>32</sup> Here, Soskice differs markedly from the chief claims of Lakoff and Johnson 2003: esp. 1–6, and those who have adopted their claims (e.g., Tilford 2017: 2–4, 13–17). See Soskice's pointed critique in Soskice 1985: 78–83. Lakoff and Johnson in particular seem to confuse metaphor with model.

<sup>33</sup> Soskice 1985: 47–50; the quotation is from p. 48.

<sup>34</sup> Soskice 1985: 39.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Soskice 1985: 50–51; on divine fatherhood, see p. 55. On speaking about God generally, see pp. 137–41.

<sup>36</sup> Using the terminology of Romano Harré, models where source and subject are the same Soskice calls homeomorphic. Soskice 1985: 102, 109–10, 112.

Partially indebted to Soskice, Erin Heim published her own doctoral thesis (from the University of Otago) in 2017 as *Adoption in Galatians and Romans*, in which she applies metaphor theory to the Pauline *υιοθεσία* language. Heim is concerned to show that metaphorical meaning ‘occurs at the level of a complete utterance rather than an individual word or lexeme’, where there is interplay between a metaphor’s focus (the word being used metaphorically) and its frame (the remainder of the metaphor).<sup>37</sup> Drawing upon Soskice’s working definition of metaphor, Heim analyses the Pauline *υιοθεσία* metaphorical utterances (Gal 4; Rom 8–9) in a variety of ways. She argues that biblical metaphors can have no stable meaning because of the uniqueness of the contexts in which they occur; they are rather like ‘ragged edges’ revolving about a more stable centre. While metaphors necessarily yield a modicum of indeterminacy, the sets of associations evoked by metaphorical language uniquely provide for the biblical reader epistemic access to truth. Via intertextual theory, she investigates Paul’s authorial intent<sup>38</sup> and applies textual restraints to the exegesis of the utterances. Heim evaluates the resonance and emphasis of each indisputably Pauline *υιοθεσία* metaphor before finally pondering how each metaphor contributes to the formation of community identity between the apostle and his auditors.<sup>39</sup>

Both Soskice and Heim have furthered my thinking on how Paul uses metaphorical language. Where metaphorical theory is adduced in this study, I will utilise the terminology developed in their respective theses.<sup>40</sup> I will analyse the phenomenon of

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<sup>37</sup> Heim 2017: 36. The quotation comes from p. 19. Heim borrows the terms ‘focus’ and ‘frame’ from Max Black’s *Models and Metaphors*.

<sup>38</sup> In this way, Heim is not far from the linguistic theories discussed below.

<sup>39</sup> Again following Max Black, Heim notes that for Black strong metaphors are characterised by emphasis—the degree to which the metaphor’s creator will brook no substitutions for the words used—and resonance—the degree to which the metaphor supports implicative elaboration. Cf. Heim 2017: 36.

<sup>40</sup> Examples include: tenor and vehicle; focus and frame; complete metaphorical utterance, etc.

metaphor at the level of utterance, rather than at the level of lexemes. Soskice and Heim are likewise helpful where metaphorical models or formation of community identity are discussed. Metaphor theory by its emphasis on unique styling unavailable to other tropes and by demonstrating the inventive intersection of terms may prove significant for its aid in demonstrating my contention that Paul theologises creatively with respect to his reflections about God as Father, as well as to the derivative sonship of Paul and his readers.

In addition to the findings of metaphor theory, what is further needed to explore the foundations of Paul's theology is a theory of relevance to make explicit any implied connections between the exegesis of Paul's letters and my contention (following Watson) that the raising of Jesus is constitutive for the apostle's identification of God *as Father*. Such a theory has lately been proposed in the field of cognitive linguistics, having migrated into biblical studies—especially those studies pertaining to the New Testament—via several doctoral dissertations and articles beginning in the early 21st century. Observations from a linguistic theory of relevance may be complemented by the findings from metaphor theory.<sup>41</sup>

The seedbed for a theory of relevance may be traced to H. P. Grice, who compiled a decade or more of research into his William James Lectures in 1967, which were published in 1975. In these lectures, Grice proposes that conversation occurs according to the dictates of a *co-operative principle* and certain maxims. He defines the co-operative principle: 'Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which

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<sup>41</sup> In fact, Soskice occasionally bridges metaphor theory and linguistic theory: she uses terminology that comprises the jargon of Relevance Theory (e.g., her use of 'ostension', 1985: 53, 97, 137); she links metaphor theory to Grice's notion of conversational implicature (1985: 168 n. 50), to which Sperber and Wilson's Relevance Theory is indebted.

it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged'.<sup>42</sup> Grice then develops the co-operative principle into a series of maxims in four categories: maxims of quantity, quality, relation, and manner (see Figure 1.1 below).<sup>43</sup> To preserve the application of the co-operative principle and the maxims when they appear *prima facie* to have been violated, Grice suggests the need for sets of additional assumptions and conclusions supplied by the communicator, which Grice calls conversational implicatures. Through implicatures, Grice suggests that communication is possible where there is some way of recognising the intentions of the communicator. Grice greatly aided the development of a theory of relevance by his suppositions of a co-operative principle in communication, buttressed by the nine maxims and conversational implicatures.

Relevance Theory (RT) finds its genesis as a coherent communication theory in the experimental linguistic research of Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson. Collecting several years of previous analysis in their work *Relevance* (released as a second edition in 1995; the first edition was released in 1986), Sperber and Wilson are concerned to provide an inferential process better designed to interpret non-textual utterances as an alternative to the prevalent code model of communication, or semiotics.<sup>44</sup> By developing an inferential process, the authors hope to progress toward a set of warranted conclusions that follow logically from a set of premises.

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<sup>42</sup> Grice 1975: 43. Cf. esp. Sperber and Wilson 1995: 32–34.

<sup>43</sup> The maxims are taken from Grice 1975: 45–46. Grice included maxim (2) to prevent derailment of the conversation from its original purpose or direction.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Pattemore 2004: 22, 'Sperber and Wilson developed RT largely with reference to short utterances of spoken language, in face-to-face contexts, and their spontaneous interpretation'.



Figure 1.1. Nine Gricean Maxims

*Maxims of Quantity*

1. Make your contribution as informative as is required.
2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

*Maxims of Quality: try to make your contribution one that is true*

3. Do not say what you believe to be false.
4. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

*Maxim of Relation*

5. Be relevant.

*Maxims of Manner, relating how what is said is to be said*

6. Avoid obscurity of expression.
7. Avoid ambiguity.
8. Be brief.
9. Be orderly.

Supported by the foundational work of Grice, Sperber and Wilson define several concepts that will figure importantly in the work of later researchers who apply RT to New Testament studies. The authors investigate inferential communication, where the ‘audience infers the communicator’s intention from evidence provided for this precise purpose’.<sup>45</sup> They define at length the concept of manifestness, which describes a fact an individual at a given time can represent mentally and can thereby accept as true or probably true. The set of facts that are manifest to someone is defined as that person’s cognitive environment. A mutual cognitive environment, then, refers to any ‘cognitive environment in which it is manifest’ as to which people share the cognitive environment, and in which every manifest assumption is mutually manifest.<sup>46</sup> Mutual manifestness has

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<sup>45</sup> Sperber and Wilson 1995: 23.

<sup>46</sup> Sperber and Wilson 1995: 41–42. The quotation comes from p. 41.

the advantage of allowing the interpreter to furnish more precise meaning to the notion of overtness—i.e., the lack of concealment in authentic communication—without speculating about the mental states or processes of the communicator. Mutual manifestness may be assumed when the communicator occupies a position of authority over the audience. Finally, behaviour by the communicator intended to draw the attention of the interpreter to some phenomenon is labelled by the authors as ostension.

In addition to the concept of the mutual cognitive environment, I will utilise the principle of relevance, which is the main thesis proposed by Sperber and Wilson. The authors argue that new information may be derived from the combination of new and old premises, the processing of which may elicit a multiplication effect; this effect the authors call relevance. The principle of relevance, therefore, states that ‘an act of ostension carries a guarantee of relevance’ that ‘makes manifest the intention behind the ostension’.<sup>47</sup> To recognise the communicator’s intent behind the ostensive act is to process information efficiently. The communicator may engage in changing, not the thoughts, but the cognitive environment of the audience.

The careful work produced by Sperber and Wilson has filtered down to New Testament studies. The publication of Stephen Pattemore’s Otago doctoral thesis as *The People of God in the Apocalypse* in 2004 advanced the case for RT as a viable method in New Testament studies.<sup>48</sup> Pattemore chooses RT for its accounting of inference over against the code model of communication. Pattemore further contends for the validity of RT in the study and interpretation of ancient texts, not simply as a tool for interpreting

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<sup>47</sup> Sperber and Wilson 1995: 50.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Pattemore 2004: esp. 13–50.

(non-textual) utterances. Pattemore first notes that Sperber and Wilson were not averse to the application of RT to literary texts.<sup>49</sup> Changes of scale and medium from spontaneous conversation to literary text present no problem for the interpreter according to Pattemore. The chief difficulty in applying RT to texts is the change in communication situation. Unlike conversation, literary texts are neither immediate, nor reciprocal; how then can interpreters infer the intentions of the communicator?<sup>50</sup> For Pattemore, context is key, signalling to the interpreter when to expend more processing effort and making possible exegetical interpretations of texts.<sup>51</sup> Treating the ‘text as a record of a genuine communication event’, RT does not divorce the text from authorial intent, but entitles the interpreter who is guided by the principle of relevance ‘to use the text within the mutual cognitive environment’, which leads to positive cognitive effects through the achievement of optimal relevance.<sup>52</sup>

Pattemore then turns to potential methodological pitfalls, arguing first that RT is competent as a tool for literary interpretation where the reader recognizes the writer’s communicative intentions. Pattemore notes that RT does not guarantee the recovery of the writer’s intended meaning, only the writer’s intention to communicate. Pattemore places RT in the context of other linguistic theories applied to biblical studies, notably

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<sup>49</sup> Cf. Sperber and Wilson 1995: 75, where they state, ‘We assume, for instance, that the lengthy and highly self-conscious processes of textual interpretation that religious or literary scholars engage in are governed just as much by the principle of relevance as is spontaneous utterance comprehension’.

<sup>50</sup> See also Pattemore’s answer to the accusation that RT ‘tends to indulge the “intentional fallacy”’ in Pattemore 2004: 23.

<sup>51</sup> Here, Pattemore follows the work of Anne Furlong, who describes context as the concept which ‘includes information drawn from the preceding text, and the situation in which an utterance is made’ (Furlong 1995: 60); exegetical interpretations are reached when the interpreter expends sufficient effort ‘to achieve an optimally relevant interpretation of the text’. Pattemore 2004: 27, emphasis removed; cf. Furlong 1995: 194–98.

<sup>52</sup> Pattemore 2004: 28–29. In addition to Pattemore and Furlong, Fantin (2011: 31 nn. 90–91) also mentions the work of Seiji Uchida and Ian McKenzie in applying RT successfully to texts.

Speech Act Theory, which is complemented by RT's 'search for optimal relevance'.<sup>53</sup> RT, in which implicatures within shared cognitive environments contribute to meaning, also dovetails with intertextuality, especially as developed in the pioneering work of Richard Hays. The complementarity between RT and intertextuality figures importantly for Pattemore's larger foray into Revelation, a document rich in allusive relationships.

Gene Green has applied RT specifically in the Pauline corpus 'as a framework within which we may understand the way words mean in context'.<sup>54</sup> Green arrives at the method of RT through what he calls 'ad-hoc concept construction', where concepts are modified in use. However, Green cautions that word meaning cannot be indeterminate. To prevent the unrestrained assignment of meaning to words thereby making the meaning indeterminate, the principle of relevance constrains the bridging of the gap between the concept behind the word and the ad-hoc concept it expresses.<sup>55</sup> As an example, Green investigates the confession *κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός* ('Jesus Christ [is] Lord') from Phil 2.11. Green aims to demonstrate how Paul modifies the concept *κύριος* ('Lord') in use. The apostle, Green contends, does not simply choose a meaning for *κύριος* from an available semantic range. Rather, in addition to the purportedly usual conceptual schemas one may find in a lexicon, Paul adds to *κύριος* in Phil 2.11 the dimensions of Jesus' divinity, universal rule, and self-humbling. From his investigation, Green concludes that modifications of concept schemas are 'in accordance with the intentions of the speaker or writer (ostensive communication) and are inferred by the hearer or reader (inferential communication)'.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Pattemore 2004: 33.

<sup>54</sup> Green 2007: 800.

<sup>55</sup> Green 2007: 804–807.

<sup>56</sup> Green 2007: 812.

Two other noteworthy studies have followed Green in applying RT to the Pauline epistles. Joseph Fantin likewise examines the lordship of Jesus, esp. in 1 Cor 8.5–6,<sup>57</sup> in his published doctoral dissertation from the University of Sheffield, *Lord of the Entire World*. Fantin is keen to discover how the lordship of Jesus would have been understood in an ancient context by Paul’s addressees. He suspects a latent polemic in the early Christian proclamation of Jesus as *κύριος* against the universal claims of Caesar as preeminent lord over the Greco-Roman world. To aid his case, Fantin applies two complementary principles from RT: relevance and efficiency. Concerning relevance and following Sperber and Wilson, Fantin offers the following dyad: ‘Human cognition tends to be geared to the maximization of relevance’, and ‘Every act of ostensive communication communicates a presumption of its own optimal relevance’. To these, Fantin adds the principle of efficiency: ‘communication generally uses only the word/sentences needed to communicate the information desired in a given context’.<sup>58</sup> Fantin utilises RT to determine the probability that the Pauline polemical use of *κύριος* is a relevant interpretation. Fantin argues that RT can make explicit the implied relation between his ‘historical and lexical research and a possible Pauline polemic against the emperor’.<sup>59</sup>

Finally, Sarah Casson’s revised doctoral thesis appeared in 2019 as *Textual Signposts in the Argument of Romans*. Writing from a background in Bible translation, Casson evaluates the function of the particle *γάρ* in Paul’s letter to the Romans, arguing

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<sup>57</sup> Fantin is particularly interested in the phrase *καὶ εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός* (‘and [there is] one Lord, Jesus Christ’). He cites four other passages of interest: Rom 10.9; 1 Cor 12.3; Phil 2.11; and Eph 4.[5]. Cf. Fantin 2011: 54.

<sup>58</sup> Fantin 2011: 34; cf. 220–23.

<sup>59</sup> Fantin 2011: 36.

that the connective<sup>60</sup> consistently guides Paul's Roman readers as a 'signpost' in drawing inferences that augment the arguments already made by the apostle.<sup>61</sup> Casson utilises procedural meaning, first developed by Diane Blakemore, readied for biblical studies by Stephanie Black.<sup>62</sup> Procedural meaning builds from the distinction between conceptual information and procedural information; the former is interpreted by the reader to construct mental representations, while the latter provides instruction and guidance for the reader toward inferential procedures. Procedural meaning constrains the reader's inferential processes that arise in textual interpretation, thereby reducing ambiguity.<sup>63</sup>

A significant example to test Casson's method is Romans 1.15–18. Beyond traditional readings of Rom 1.15–18 either as thematic statement followed by the heading of Paul's main argument (which Casson rejects), or as programmatic statement of Paul's gospel followed by the apostle's presentation of an opposing gospel (which she allows), Casson argues that the four verses are intimately connected, and are indeed the revealing of Paul's carefully-tailored, context-dependent gospel *in nuce*, intended specifically for his Roman addressees.<sup>64</sup> She simultaneously upholds the programmatic nature of Rom 1.16–17 as glimpsing the developments of Paul's later arguments in the letter. Thus, Romans 1.16–17 inferentially strengthen the previous verse, and are themselves strengthened by Rom 1.18, where God's faithfulness toward his people is disclosed in the divine wrath upon unrighteousness and injustice.

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<sup>60</sup> Casson prefers 'connective' to the traditional 'particle' or 'conjunction' to describe  $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ , citing recent advancements in terminology and communication theory (e.g., RT). Cf. Casson 2019: 1 n. 1.

<sup>61</sup> Casson 2019: 21–25.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Blakemore 1987: esp. 105–44; Black 2002: esp. 259–72.

<sup>63</sup> Casson 2019: 19, 35–40.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Casson 2019: 207–45.

My case builds on the strengths of these previous researches that have applied RT to New Testament studies. I will selectively apply many of the methods from RT discussed above to texts within the Pauline corpus. The shared cognitive environment between Paul and his readers is of keen interest to this thesis. Either Paul's authority is already recognised, or he seeks to exercise it over congregations heretofore unknown to him personally as apostle to the early gentile churches, as he thus testifies in several of his letters.<sup>65</sup> We may assume, therefore, that Paul's assumptions were mutually manifest to his addressees. The principles of relevance and efficiency will weigh heavily in some of the exegetical decisions to be made and in some of the arguments to be proffered. Thus, we will argue on the basis of RT that Paul's readers would infer from the apostle's letters his intention to disclose the constitution of God's fatherhood in acts of life-giving, culminating in the resurrection of Jesus. Of especial import is Paul's use of ad-hoc concept construction, which will figure prominently in the texts that contain *υιοθεσία* language (e.g., Gal 4; Rom 8), and will open the possibility that Paul's readers ultimately would not have interpreted these passages through the lens of institutional adoption practised widely (though diversely) in the ancient world, but through that of a sonship derived from Jesus, the unique Son.<sup>66</sup> Finally, procedural meaning will help to delimit the options Paul's readers would have had at their disposal when they interpreted his letters, particularly those places where Paul writes of God's action in raising Jesus from the dead and what that action means for himself and his readers.

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<sup>65</sup> Cf. Gal 1.1, 11–12, 15–16; 2.2, 7–9; 4.11–20; 1 Thess 1.4–6; 2.1–12; 3.1–12; 5.27; Rom 1.1, 5–6; 11.13–16; 15.15–19. In the disputed letters, cf. Col 1.1, 24–29; 2.1–5; 4.8, 16.

<sup>66</sup> Kaiser approaches ad-hoc concept formation (what she calls 'catachresis') from the side of metaphor theory in her analysis of birth and generation language. Cf. Kaiser 2022: 95–110.

Historical-critical exegesis lies at the heart of this study, and what follows is presented with the aim toward historical plausibility, exegetical responsibility, and being both theologically informed and hermeneutically useful.<sup>67</sup> My evaluations of the evidence seek alignment with a plausible reading of the history in which each text originally appeared.<sup>68</sup> Though traversing a minefield of many potential pitfalls, my concerted—and sometimes lengthy—attention to issues of textual criticism, grammar, syntax, vocabulary, validation, background, and genre (among other exegetical topics) will, I hope, reflect deliberative and responsible decision-making. Engagement with important voices in the study of Paul’s theology has been a humbling task, and my goal has been to draw nuanced conclusions that show awareness and appreciation of those voices even when they are dissonant from my own. Finally, I hope that my arguments and conclusions drawn from a ‘respectful, though not uncritical, reading of Paul’<sup>69</sup> may spur the thinking of later and stronger voices to contribute to the study of the remarkable corpus we call the Pauline letters.

### 1.3. Limitations and Roadmap of this Study

Paul’s textual intersection of divine fatherhood and the resurrection of Jesus is confined almost without exception to the apostle’s undisputed letters.<sup>70</sup> I have focussed my

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<sup>67</sup> Cf. Barclay 2015: 17.

<sup>68</sup> See Fantin 2011: 18–23, on the importance and proper execution of historical-critical methodology in exegesis and the sources he cites there.

<sup>69</sup> Barclay 2015: 17.

<sup>70</sup> By ‘undisputed’, I mean the following letters: Rom; 1 Cor; 2 Cor; Gal; Phil; 1 Thess; Phlm. Cf. Patzia 1993: 85–92, esp. 86. One possible exception is Eph 1.20: “Ἦν ἐνήργησεν [i.e., ὁ θεός ... ὁ πατήρ τῆς δόξης, Eph 1.17] ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ καθίσας ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις, ‘which he [i.e., God ... the Father of glory, Eph 1.17] produced in Christ by raising him from the dead and seating him at his right hand in the heavenly places’.



investigations, therefore, on the undisputed Pauline texts, especially Paul's letters to the Galatians and Romans, since in these two letters one may perceive connections between Paul's intersection of divine fatherhood and the resurrection of Jesus on the one hand, and the derivative sonship that spreads from Jesus by faith to the apostle and his addressees on the other. It is hoped that these connections will prove significant as Paul probes the full meaning for his readers of his own creative theologising about God as Father. I do not focus here on all Pauline texts that use *πατήρ* but only those where there is an explicit or implied collocation between the themes of the Fatherhood of God and life-giving or resurrection. The avoidance of the disputed Pauline letters and of the accounts about Paul in Acts<sup>71</sup> is not meant to be a statement of the worthiness of these books for Pauline study—in fact, I do examine select verses of the hymnic text in Col 1 in the third chapter because this text offers a particular explanatory role for lines of thought that occur in Paul's undisputed letters, and (I hope to show) is seen to be a hinge passage between arguments offered in Rom 1 and their consequences for Paul and his readers that the apostle delineates in both Gal 4 and Rom 8. Certainly, given the thesis I seek to argue, I cannot with any amount of justice appraise the individual cases for or against Pauline authorship in these letters. Rather, I attempt to follow the evidence, which has led me largely toward the undisputed letters and away from the disputed ones.

Paul of course writes in the Greco-Roman<sup>72</sup> context in which he lives, which includes Second Temple Judaism—the specific milieu in which the apostle seeks to situate the gospel he preaches—where his creative theologising about God as Father can often be

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<sup>71</sup> Cf. e.g., Quesnel 2001: 469–81.

<sup>72</sup> By 'Greco-Roman' is meant the Greek-speaking world under the sway of the Roman Empire.

found.<sup>73</sup> The apostle's inclusion of himself and his message in an arc of thought stretching back to the OT prophets has informed my selection of texts to reconstruct the cognitive environment shared by Paul and his addressees with respect to divine fatherhood and resurrection from the dead. In the second chapter, both the divine fatherhood metaphor and the concept of resurrection are analysed across a range of texts sorted in diachronic order, leading to and preparing for their intersection in the writings of the apostle Paul.

Though my analysis is skewed toward OT, Second Temple, and other Jewish writings preceding or contemporary to Paul, I have included a small but important selection of non-Jewish, Greco-Roman texts that discuss with uncommon explicitness and proximity both divine fatherhood and the giving of life from the dead. Ancient, extant literature on the two topics of divine fatherhood and resurrection is copious, but I have searched for the collocation of divine fatherhood and lifegiving. I have further culled my list of texts for analysis based on thematic and content-related aspects centred round the ideas of interest, viz., the divine fatherhood metaphor and the concept of resurrection from the dead.<sup>74</sup> Hence, I have not aspired toward exhaustive analysis of texts that relate divine fatherhood to lifegiving; I do hope, however, that I have chosen for analysis paragons from the voluminous data available. Finally, because of Paul's creative theologising about God *as Father*, I have decided in reconstructing the cognitive environment to give preference to texts whose focus is divine fatherhood; texts discussing resurrection and life-giving are

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<sup>73</sup> Paul can thus write to the Romans in Rom 1.1–2 of the 'gospel of God' concerning his Son, which was promised beforehand through God's prophets in the holy writings [of the OT], and of which he has been entrusted as apostle.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. the similar criteria of Flebbe 2008: 19. Thus, I have excluded from exegetical analysis certain texts from the Pauline letters that contain the term *πατήρ* (and its cognates). These include: Rom 1.7; 15.6; 1 Cor 1.3; 8.6; 15.24; 2 Cor 1.2–3; 6.18; 11.31; Gal 1.3; Phil 1.2; 2.11; 4.20; 1 Thess 3.11; Phlm 3; from the disputed Pauline letters: Eph 1.2–3, 17; 2.18; 3.14; 4.6; 5.20; 6.23; Col 1.2–3; 3.17; 2 Thess 1.1; 2.16; 1 Tim 1.2; 2 Tim 1.2; Titus 1.4.

analysed as needed.

The third chapter is most central to my argument. I scrutinise the texts where Paul intersects concepts of divine fatherhood and the giving of life in the epistles of Galatians, 1 Thessalonians, and Romans with a view to Paul's creative, theological development of God's identity as Father. Attention is given to the cognitive environment shared between the apostle and his addressees, as well as to the implicatures that these shared environments evoke. The chapter closes with a brief discussion of Pauline Christological language in the hymn near the beginning of the disputed letter to the Colossians. In revealing new aspects of God's identity, Paul raises certain questions with respect to God's relationship to those who follow Jesus. How do those who follow Jesus now relate to God as Father? Some of these questions are entertained in the fourth chapter, focussed upon Paul's *υιοθεσία* language in Galatians and Romans. The relationship of Paul and his readers to God as Father is differentiated from that of Jesus, and the Spirit's role in relating followers of Jesus to God as Father is qualified. The thesis ends with a brief tying together of the threads from the arguments pursued in the previous chapters.

#### 1.4. Summarisation of Theses

We will proceed, then, by the testing of a series of interrelated hypotheses, which may be summarised as follows:

- Paul stands at the intersection of a long tradition of development both in God-language (speaking of the deity in terms of fatherhood) and in thoughts concerning life after death (viz., resurrection, or something closely akin to it). Paul's reshaping of God's identity as Father is not for the apostle a departure from his Jewish

upbringing. Rather, there seems to be tolerance and even latitude where one can innovate and yet remain within acceptable bounds of Jewish belief.<sup>75</sup>

- Paul decisively, significantly, and eschatologically identifies the Father as the one who raised Jesus from the dead, building upon the traditional portrayals of paternal creation and life-giving, while simultaneously seeking to move his readers away from those traditional identifiers in favour of the constitution of the Father's identity in his act toward Jesus. Paul's clearer, more expansive Christological statements are mutually interpretative for his subtler statements about theology proper.<sup>76</sup> For instance, by revealing Jesus as 'Son-of-God-in-power' in Rom 1, Paul also subtly alters his view of God to the 'Father-in-power' in the context of the resurrection of Jesus. This is not to say (e.g., with Klumbies) that Paul's theological statements may only be Christologically interpreted, but rather that hermeneutical reciprocity exists between Pauline Christology and Pauline theology proper. While Christological circumscription of Paul's reflections about God may reflect modern preoccupation with the human self, I propose contrary to this possible modern preoccupation that Paul's economic speech about God is actually a point of entry into deeper understanding of the immanent God, that Paul does in fact have something to say about God *an sich*.
- Paul's creative identification of God as the Father who resurrected Jesus raises questions about the relation of God in light of his newly revealed identity to both Jesus and to Paul and his readers. Paul addresses these questions by positing a

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<sup>75</sup> Cf. Schrage 2002: 135–84.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Coppens 1976: 333–34.

sonship that is markedly affected by resurrection, both for Jesus and for those who follow him. Jesus' sonship differs from the sonship of his followers: the sonship of Jesus is unique and primary; the sonship of his followers derives from Jesus. The careful crafting of his views on divine sonship demonstrates that Paul practises ad-hoc concept formation in the way he uses the keyword *υιοθεσία*, and that God's newly-revealed identity as the Father who raised Jesus from the dead decidedly impacts divine sonship so that prior to resurrection, divine sonship is framed as sonship-in-weakness, and after resurrection, it is seen as sonship-in-power, both for Jesus and for those who are 'in' him.

## CHAPTER 2. THE FATHER, THE GIVER OF LIFE, AMONG THE ANCIENTS

### 2.1. Introduction to Jewish Literature

The divine fatherhood metaphor and the concept of resurrection developed independently as early as the Old Testament, the former quite early, the latter, rather late. Their respective paths of development betray convergence, however slight, during the Second Temple period, culminating in their intersection in the writings of the apostle Paul. Others have carefully examined the occurrences of both divine fatherhood<sup>1</sup> and resurrection<sup>2</sup> from their earliest mention in Jewish literature down to New Testament times. But while the development of these two has attracted significant scholarly attention, the subset of texts in which they occur in proximity—what may be thought of as their moments of convergence—remains to be studied.

The present chapter attempts such a study of this subset of texts where the divine fatherhood metaphor and concepts closely akin to resurrection occur in near proximity in pre-Pauline Jewish and Greco-Roman literature. If Paul is the first extant writer to relate God's fatherhood directly to resurrection from the dead, this does not mean that he made this connection in a vacuum. On the contrary, there are several earlier texts which hint that such a connection could be made. In these ancient texts, appeals to divine fatherhood occur in proximity to divine creative power and generation of life, even to delivery from (near-) death. These texts anticipate Paul in other ways. The earliest Jewish texts broach the divine fatherhood metaphor in contexts referring to creation, or the generation of life.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Strottmann 1991; Böckler 2000; Puech 2001; Schelbert 2011.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Avery-Peck and Neusner 2000; Wright 2003; Nickelsburg 2006; Elledge 2017.

Here, Israel's connection to God as Father is conceived solely as a corporate relation, especially where the origin of the nation is in view; only in later texts is this relation individuated, when God becomes like a father to certain of the nation's kings. This special case of Davidic kingship may be pressed by later authors when they seek special dispensation of divine favour, perhaps even the mediation of divine sonship to those outside the regal lineage.<sup>3</sup>

Later Second Temple literature continues to shape the conceptual domain of generative divine fatherhood, extending the metaphor toward divine restoration of life from near death, or the resumption of life after a near-death experience. This development coincides with a proliferation of theories on the resurrection among Jewish authors. Another important step toward the formulation found in Paul's writings comes as some of these texts extend the paternal relation not only to the nation born outside the royal family—there was no king in Israel when many of these texts were composed—but to the individuals within it. This chapter contends: first, that the conceptual domains for the divine fatherhood metaphor are rich and varied prior to the NT; second, that these domains undergo discernible development, broadening with time; and finally, that this broadening is of such a nature that the deployment of the divine fatherhood metaphor in the Pauline epistles occupies space in a likely trajectory begun in the Second Temple period. On this last point, a linear progression from OT to NT is not being proposed, only that divine fatherhood in Paul's writings may be better understood after consulting both the OT and Second Temple literature.

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ps 89.3–4, 15, 18, 49.

## 2.2. Divine Fatherhood in the Old Testament—A Metaphorical Map

The portrayal of the moments of convergence envisioned below commences with a metaphorical map of common cognitive domains around which divine fatherhood in the OT is usually conceived. The map is based on the combination of אב with the divine titles יהוה, אל, אלהים, and אדני (LXX: πατήρ with θεός and κύριος) occurring in the text, places where the structure of fatherhood is mapped periodically onto the structure of divinity; or, to say it another way, where the tenor of God’s relationship with humanity (or some sector thereof) is expressed by the vehicle of fatherhood.<sup>4</sup> The map will provide both a foundation and a *terminus a quo* for Paul’s later intersection of divine fatherhood and resurrection. OT authors occasionally appealed to the divine fatherhood metaphor, though not every occurrence is equally clear. Passages where divine fatherhood is implicit are of little benefit for adjudicating how divine fatherhood was used in OT times. The indirect symbolisation of God as ‘God of the fathers’ is thus passed over.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, though they provide plausible signs that belief in God’s paternity was more widespread than its scant mention in the OT, theophorous names (e.g., אביאל or אליאב) attesting to divine fatherhood are nonetheless excluded. So too are the several occurrences of sonship language ignored when demonstrating mere formal significance: some passages intend only membership in the divine species; others extol moral virtue by equating virtue to divine sonship—both thereby eliminate the concept of fatherhood entirely.<sup>6</sup> A certain

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<sup>4</sup> Where possible, OT Hebrew texts are from *BHQ* (as the most recent critical edition); otherwise, OT Hebrew texts are from *BHS*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Cudworth 2016: 483–91. See also Hamerton-Kelly 1981: 96.

<sup>6</sup> See Quell 1965: 966. On membership in the divine species, see Gen 6.2 (MT: בנייהאלהים; LXX: οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ); Wis 5.5. Cf. Harl 1994: 125; Usue 2005: 810–25. On divine sonship as signaling moral virtue, see Esth 16.16 [8.12q] LXX ([υἱοὶ] τοῦ ὑψίστου μεγίστου ζῶντος θεοῦ).



amount of overlap occurs as the various properties of deity and paternity interact. The research thus proceeds by locating the several passages attesting to the divine fatherhood metaphor as it clusters around certain key themes.<sup>7</sup> One often finds a mixture of these themes in the same passage, and it is not difficult to imagine that those expounded here could easily be divided and further sub-divided. However, as a matter of convenience, the key themes around which most OT appeals to divine fatherhood cluster have been narrowed to just three—divine protection, divine authority, and divine generation.

### 2.2.1. Protection in the Divine Fatherhood Metaphor of the Old Testament

Fatherhood and divinity frequently interact in the domain of protection as expressed through paternal care generally and in the special case of regal adoption. Divine paternal care may manifest itself generally by restoring Israelite exiles to the land promised to their fathers, or by championing those without rights. OT authors also discuss divine protection in contexts either of God's fidelity or of his discipline. While the special case of regal adoption relates God as Father to individuals, the general instances of divine paternal care never do so, but only conceive of God as Father in corporate relationship.

This corporate relation is witnessed in Jeremiah's poetic Book of Consolation. Written in a frame of fatherly love where God will reveal his eternal love for his people through restoration to the land, Jeremiah 31 attests to protection in a divine utterance:<sup>8</sup>

בבכי יבאו ובתחנונים אובלים אוליכם אלי־נחלי מים בדרך ישר לא יכשלו בה  
כי־הייתי לישראל לאב ואפרים בכרי הוא (31.9)

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<sup>7</sup> The chapter thus advances without the intent to exegete exhaustively the numerous texts among ancient writers that discuss divine fatherhood. It is hoped, however, that the texts selected for comment are sufficiently representative of those others that have been regrettably excluded from what follows.

<sup>8</sup> OT Hebrew texts are taken from *BHS* unless otherwise stated.

With weeping they will come and with supplications<sup>9</sup> I will lead them, I will bring them to streams of water in a straight path [in which] they will not stumble, because I have been like a father to Israel, and Ephraim [is] my firstborn.

After recounting his saving action in the past (Jer 31.2), God promises to demonstrate his paternal care over Israel, first by his leading (יבל in the *hiphil* stem) them in tears of joy because of their return from exile.<sup>10</sup> In this new exodus, God will maximise their comfort by choosing a straight path as the route for their return, one of considerable ease in comparison to the previous journey out of Egypt and through the wilderness. Divine motivation derives from long-standing covenantal kinship—God’s abiding fatherhood over Israel, which would likely have served as background to the mutual cognitive environment between author and addressee(s). The characterisation of Ephraim as ‘my firstborn’ (בכרי) is reminiscent of Exod 4.<sup>11</sup> Within the frame of Moses’ return to Egypt to deliver Israel, God there instructs Moses concerning an imminent conversation with Pharaoh for the release of the people. God refers lovingly to Israel as ‘my firstborn son’ (בני בכרי ישראל),<sup>12</sup> commanding Pharaoh to release the nation for divine worship. While the use of בכר for Israel in Exod 4 is contrasted with Pharaoh’s firstborn son (presumably an individual), the father-son relation between God and Israel is understood corporately, signifying Israel’s pre-eminence in acknowledging יהוה and entering into special relationship with him.<sup>13</sup> ‘As such, Israel enjoys God’s devoted care and protection’.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> The LXX reads וּבַתְּחֻנִּים instead of וּבַתְּחֻנִּים as in the MT, offering *καὶ ἐν παρακλήσει*; *contra* Bright 1965: 274. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

<sup>10</sup> Reiter 1960: 302; cf. Holladay 1989: 168, 185.

<sup>11</sup> Exod 4.22. Cf. Allen 2008: 347.

<sup>12</sup> The special designation of God’s ‘firstborn’ (Gk. *πρωτότοκος*) would reverberate down the OT and through the literature of the Second Temple period: e.g., Ps 89.28; Sir 36.11 LXX; Jos. Asen. 21.3; 4Q369 1.ii.6; 4Q418 81 + 81.5.

<sup>13</sup> The understanding of corporate sonship may be implicit in the textual variant of LXX, which reads *τὸν λαόν μου* for בני in Exod 4.23. Cf. Durham 1987: 53, 56; Sarna 1991: 24.

<sup>14</sup> Sarna 1991: 24, who cites in affirmation the medieval commentator Joseph ben Isaac Bekhor Shor.

Elsewhere, ancient Near Eastern ideals accorded the title of ‘father’ to the one who championed those without rights in a protective legal act.<sup>15</sup> The title’s unique application to God in the OT comes in the poignant expression of the ancient and notoriously difficult Psalm 68, characterised by some as a triumphal hymn like the Song of Moses (Deut 32):<sup>16</sup>

(68.6) אבי יתומים ודין אלמנות אלהים במעון קדשו

Father of the fatherless and defender of widows [is] God [who comes from]<sup>17</sup> his holy habitation.

Among many other names attested in this psalm, God (אלהים MT; θεός LXX) is described as ‘father of the fatherless’ (אבי יתומים, Ps 68.6).<sup>18</sup> Leading his people, God rides through the wilderness (Ps 68.5) and comes from his holy dwelling to help those in need. He brings *personae miserae* without family into his sheltering household.<sup>19</sup> Similarly in Isa 63, by calling God ‘Father’ and ‘Redeemer ... from eternity’ (Isa 63.16), the author ‘underscores the intention to motivate [יהוה] to take saving and merciful action, as Israel always hoped he would’.<sup>20</sup>

The biblical authors occasionally express divine, paternal care in the frame of faithfulness. The structure of the passage in Deut 32 that declares God’s fatherhood also juxtaposes his faithfulness and reliability as צור with Israel’s infidelity; צור underlines the unwavering protection of יהוה toward his people.<sup>21</sup> There is a similar juxtaposition in Jer

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Job 29.16; Sir 4.10, where the would-be father to orphans is compared to a ‘son of the most high’ (ὤς υἱὸς ὑψίστου). See also Kraus 1962: 1233.

<sup>16</sup> Albright 1950: 18; Scacewater 2017: 145–151. On the similarity to Deut 32, see Dahood 1968: 133; cf. LePeau 1981: 79, 85.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Dahood 1968: 136–37, on the ׀ preposition; Tate 1990: 163, 176.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Vincent 2001: 44–52, on the variety and significance of divine names in Ps 68.

<sup>19</sup> Hossfeld and Zenger 2005: 164. Cf. Tate 1990: 177; Knohl 2012: 6, 10, who argue this family inclusion extends beyond Israel to include all humanity.

<sup>20</sup> Spieckermann 2014: 81.

<sup>21</sup> Deut 32.4–9. Cf. Grund 2006: 312, esp. n. 36 where she cites Phyllis Trible. The identity of צור with God may be betrayed by the reading θεός in Deut 32.4 LXX.

3, a chapter whose initial verses recall ‘Deuteronomic’ language and concerns.<sup>22</sup> Judah’s idolatry is symptomatic of the nation’s overt infidelity. Severe drought comes over the land during the rainy season, eliciting a hypocritical plea to God, ostensibly for his provision of rain. The question posed in Jer 3.4 immediately follows Israel’s declaration of God as אבי with her labelling of God as ‘close friend’ (אלוף), whose faithfulness is demonstrated by the long-term nature of the friendship (נערי). Thompson notes that the substantive אלוף is a term of variety, perhaps chosen judiciously by Jeremiah to convey ‘the wide range of functions that Yahweh had served since Israel’s youth’.<sup>23</sup>

Fatherly compassion as a manifestation of God’s covenantal relationship to Israel also informs Psalm 89, which recounts God’s address to his faithful followers (חסידי, Ps 89.20) concerning his promise of paternal fidelity to David. The king will experience God’s faithfulness (אמן, Ps 89.25), and will call God ‘my father’ (אבי, Ps 89.27). Divine faithfulness extends to those connected to the Davidic king, to those who worship יהוה (האם יודעי תרועה, Ps 89.16). In like manner Psalm 103 makes a paternal comparison due to divine compassion (רחם, Ps 103.13):

בנים : sons (יראיו) יהוה : those who fear (אב) father : יהוה

Jepsen has demonstrated that the OT usage of the term רחם is mostly applied to God. He argues that in Ps 103, God shows more than mercy; God actually keeps his faithful followers alive.<sup>24</sup> Jepsen’s argument could be supported by the preceding verses, where the

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Cornill 1905: 31; Bright 1965: 23, 26; Allen 2008: 54, who contend that Jer 3.1 approximates Deut 24.1–4. *Contra* Hobbs 1974: 23–29.

<sup>23</sup> Thompson 1980: 192.

<sup>24</sup> Jepsen 1961: 261–62. Cf. Deut 1.31.

psalmist portrays God as the one who both redeems life from the pit (Ps 103.4) and does not give sinners according to their just deserts (Ps 103.10)—implying perhaps that God withholds the death penalty. Those who act in reciprocity by revering God and keeping his covenant will receive back the **חסד יהוה** (Ps 103.17–18).

Divine paternal care is expressed negatively as fatherly discipline (cf. Deut 8.5). Proverbs 3 details how children should treat their father. They are obligated to show trust, to show respect for fatherly wisdom, correction, and authority, and to show filial submission. In instances of waywardness, the text reassures:<sup>25</sup>

(3.12) **כי את אשר יאהב יהוה יוכיח וכאב את־בן ירצה**

For YHWH reprove whom he loves, just as a father<sup>26</sup> [reproves] the son in whom he delights.

Citing a hallmark of Semitic poetry, Böckler argues that **יהוה** zeugmatically functions as the subject of the verb **רצה** in the following colon.<sup>27</sup> If she is correct, this would allow **יהוה** to be much more closely connected to the term **אב** than the **כִּי** preposition may originally indicate. Rather than pointing directly to God, the imagery seems to come from the everyday matter of parental discipline, which serves as the vehicle, mapping a property from the structure of human fatherhood onto the lesser-known structure of divinity. The theme of fatherly discipline occurs elsewhere in the OT. The warmth and paternal care of Jer 31.9 anticipates the remembrance of divine discipline later in the chapter (Jer 31.18, 20). Ephraim had sincerely repented,<sup>28</sup> learning from previous discipline (**יסר**, Jer 31.18) at

<sup>25</sup> The text is taken from *BHQ*.

<sup>26</sup> The LXX emends **וכאב** to **ויכאב**, translating the term by *μαστιγοῖ δέ*. Cf. Fox 2015: 99–100.

<sup>27</sup> Böckler 2000: 182–83. She offers comparison with Job 5.17 as corroborating evidence.

<sup>28</sup> Note the wordplay on **שוב**, which occurs three times in Jer 31.18–20, as well as the phrase **ספקתי עליירך**, a gesture of grief. Cf. Allen 2008: 349.

the hands of **יהיה**, whose rebuke yields to paternal compassion and fondness (Jer 31.20). In a text replete with allusions to divine fatherhood, God executes his paternal duties by warning of impending discipline (the participial form of **גער**, Mal 2.3) even to the offspring of the priests in Mal 2, the climactic conclusion to the divine utterance begun in Mal 1.2.<sup>29</sup>

The relationship between God and certain kings of Israel (or Judah) demonstrates a special case of divine, paternal care, characterised at times as regal adoption. Maintaining preference for metaphorical language over against literal or legal, the reigning monarch was ‘son of God’ by virtue of prophetic utterance. The biblical authors did not base the Father-son relationship between God and king on a mythical begetting, but on an historical and prophetic election, as when Samuel anointed David to be king over Israel (1 Sam 16.1–13). The coronation *Adoptionsformel* of the Davidic king in Ps 2.7 illustrates this point. The immediately preceding verse may imply reciprocity between God and the Davidide: God promises to build a house for David by establishing the Davidic throne (**ואני נסכתי מלכי עליציון**, Ps 2.6), and David’s son will build a house for God by erecting a temple on God’s holy mountain (**הר־קדשי**, Ps 2.6).<sup>30</sup> At the outset of his rule (**היום**, Ps 2.7), the king’s initiation into special relationship with God is compared to a father-son relationship. The king would become ‘son of God’ through his role as the people’s representative before God. This is the significance of **ילד**: the king is not son by nature, nor does his accession to the throne signify sharing in divinity; rather, he is declared son of God by divine volition.<sup>31</sup> Other regal adoption texts refer to the Father-Son relationship

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<sup>29</sup> Note the presence of **ועתה** (Mal 2.1) indicating climax or conclusion. Cf. Verhoef 1987: 173–74; Clendenen 2004: 287.

<sup>30</sup> Thus Wright 2013: 1.99 n. 102.

<sup>31</sup> Noth 1950: 185–87; Dahood 1965: 11–12; Keel 1997: 247–68; Craigie and Tate 2004: 67.

indirectly, usually via the ל preposition. At the establishment of David's reign, 2 Samuel 7 (// 1 Chron 17) reiterates Psalm 2 by describing David's desire to build a temple for God. Summary rejection of that desire precedes the divine promise through Nathan the prophet to build David's house instead:

כי ימלאו ימיך ושכבת את־אבתיך והקימתי את־זרעך אחר־ך אשר יצא ממעיך והכינתי את־ממלכתו :  
(7.12)

הוא יבנה־בית לשמי וכננתי את־כסא ממלכתו עד־עולם :  
(7.13)

אני אהיה־לו לאב והוא יהיה־לי לבן אשר בהעותו והכחתיו בשבט אנשים ובנגעי בני אדם :  
(7.14)

When your days are fulfilled and you lie down with your fathers, then I will raise up [one of] your offspring, who will come out from your [own] loins,<sup>32</sup> after you, and I will establish his kingdom. He will build a house for my name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom forever. I will be like a father to him, and he will be like a son to me; when he commits iniquity, I will reprove him with the rod of instruction and with punishing blows [inflicted by] men.

Böckler has noted the two main streams of thought concerning the picture of God as Father in 2 Sam 7.<sup>33</sup> The first views the image as a valid statement about the nature of Davidic kings, or of an idealised successor, perhaps of a messianic stripe. The second contends that the image serves as a warning or critique of regal behaviour. Both streams contribute to the discussion; they do not seem to be mutually exclusive. The divine promise to build the Davidic house—i.e., to establish his kingdom—narrows to David's seed (זרע, a partial synonym for house), who will be the actual builder of the house for God, viz. Solomon.<sup>34</sup> Singled out for divine sonship via adoption for his construction of the Temple, Solomon would undergo divine discipline (יכה, in the *hiphil* stem) due to his

<sup>32</sup> The term מעה usually denotes the internal organs. The suggestion of the locus of procreation in the male body seems appropriate in this context. See *DCH* 5.382.

<sup>33</sup> Böckler 2000: 211–19.

<sup>34</sup> Kruse 1985: 152–59. Paul will later apply the prophecy of 2 Sam 7 to Jesus in Rom 1.

waywardness.

Despite facing divine discipline, and with his kingdom firmly established (cf. 1 Chron 28.7), the king would enjoy divine protection in additional ways. One may find these promises of divine protection in the context of regal adoption elsewhere, often in very comparable language.<sup>35</sup> In these passages, there is the assurance of rest from enemies; this in turn ensures peace during the king's reign (מסביב מכלי־אויביו לו והנחותי, 1 Chron 22.9; cf. Ps 89.22–24 MT). God guarantees the presence of his faithfulness and love with the king (עמו והסדי ואמונתו, Ps 89.25 MT). By virtue of nearness to God, the king experienced God's paternal care as security and occasional severe reproof (cf. Ps 89.33).

### 2.2.2. Authority in the Divine Fatherhood Metaphor of the Old Testament

Israelite fathers had authority over their children, and paternal authority was seen as the predominant—even exclusive—characteristic of the father-child relationship.<sup>36</sup> Not for nothing was rebellion against one's father a capital crime (Deut 21.18, 21). The priority given to paternal authority was likewise mapped onto the metaphor for divine fatherhood. Divine might and cosmic power accorded readily with Jewish paternal authority—the Father in the heavens ruled with unrestrained sovereignty. God's paternal authority demanded the respect of sons, some of whom relied upon that authority in times of duress. For instance, God commands Pharaoh to release Israel, his 'firstborn son', for service in the desert (Exod 4.22–23; cf. Hos 11.1); this text demonstrates twin strains of authority—

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<sup>35</sup> E.g., 1 Chron 22.10 (לבן יהיהילי והוא לאב ואניילו) reverses the order of 2 Sam 7 and omits one verb; cf. 1 Chron 28.6, where the order of 1 Chron 22.10 is kept with slight variation. Anderson (1989: 122) points out that father-son language was used in transactions of adoption, covenant, and royal grant; he applies all three concepts to 2 Sam 7.14.

<sup>36</sup> So Quell 1967: 971.



divine lordship over world leaders (cf. Ps 2), and the link of sonship to service to the deity.<sup>37</sup>

Pharaoh and others would learn: 'It is foolish, the metaphor teaches, to resist the formative grip of God'.<sup>38</sup>

To be a father was to demand respect from one's children. Malachi 1–2 records God's expectation of honour as a father, prominently displaying his authority over all. Beginning with a maxim, **יהוה צבאות** interrogates the wayward priests:<sup>39</sup>

בן יכבד אב ועבד אדניו ואם־אב אני איה כבודי ואם־אדונים אני איה מוראי אמר יהוה צבאות לכם הכהנים  
בוזי שמי ואמרתם במה בזינו את־שמך :  
(1.6)

A son honours [his] father, and a servant his master. If I [am your] father, where is my honour? And if I [am your] master, where is my reverence? The Lord Almighty says [this] to you priests who despise my name. But you say, 'How have we despised your name'?

The text gives the analogy of divine fatherhood to that of a master who elicits fear from his servants. The epithet 'Lord Almighty' (**יהוה צבאות**) occurs no less than 24 times in Mal 1–3. The precise meaning of **צבאות** is disputed, but most proposals highlight the (military) might or cosmic authority of **יהוה**.<sup>40</sup> The LXX rendering as *παντοκράτωρ* is telling in this regard and has been followed in the above translation. Instead of respecting God as father, the priests despise his paternal authority, shirking their filial responsibilities even though they are indeed sons. God reminds them that he is a great king (**מלך**), reinforcing the image of divine authority that characterises this passage. Rebellion against a father's authority would have astounded onlookers because of its disruption to social order. Overtones of

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<sup>37</sup> The divine imperative **שלה** is followed by ו-consecutive with the jussive of **עבד**, implying purpose. Cf. Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 577, 650. Service may also be linked to sonship in Isa 44.21 LXX, though the term is *παῖς*, which seems to denote a servant, rather than a child of God. If sonship were intended, one could expect familial terms like *υἱός* or *τέκνον*. See further Muraoka 2009: 519–20.

<sup>38</sup> Quell 1967: 971.

<sup>39</sup> The text is taken from *BHQ*.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. the similar conclusions in O'Kennedy 2007: esp. 83–84.

hostility colour the opening of the book of Isaiah where God addresses the heavens and earth to assert such staggering rebellion of sons (בְּנֵי־יְהוָה, ‘a collective image for Israel’,<sup>41</sup> Isa 1.2) against the one who raised them.<sup>42</sup>

Divine, paternal authority is showcased further in the 89th Psalm (LXX: Psalm 88), where the psalmist calls on God as Father, appealing to divine authority when the king’s authority appears to be threatened. The opening hymn of the psalm (Ps 89.3, 6–19) links to the central divine discourse via the theme of Israel’s king.<sup>43</sup> In the ensuing divine utterance (Ps 89.20–38) the king is reminded of divine support and strengthening, including the divine promise to crush the enemies of the king. Being near to God by virtue of regal adoption (perhaps a background concept that contributes to Paul’s creative reinterpretation round those ‘in Christ’ when he engages in ad-hoc concept construction to describe the derivative sonship of himself and his readers in places like Gal 4 and Rom 8) as divine son was thought to guarantee the king’s power and authority. Divine power would redound to regal power, so the logic went.<sup>44</sup> Conversely, the revulsion at apparent divine impotence seems to underlie the appeal to divine fatherhood in the prayer of Isa 63-64, where the authority of God as father is coupled with the property of divine generation (as we shall see below).<sup>45</sup>

### 2.2.3. Generative Divine Fatherhood in the Old Testament

In the Old Testament the paternal conception of God is often paired with the conception

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<sup>41</sup> Williamson 2006: 1.23.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Muraoka 2016: 37–38, who argues that the personal pronoun in the accusative case of Isa 1.2 LXX (μὲ) zooms in on the actor (here, κύριος) and brings out the hostile confrontation.

<sup>43</sup> Hossfeld and Zenger 2005: 410.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Ringgren 1974: 18–19.

<sup>45</sup> Häusl (2004: 270) sees pleading for renewed divine attention. Cf. Spieckermann 2014: 79–80.

of God as creator. This connection continues down at least to the time of the apostle Paul, who also conceives of divine fatherhood in terms of the giving of life (see the discussion in Chapter 3). Surrounding ancient Near Eastern cultures could conceive of father deities as the ‘cause and guarantor of descendants’ for their worshippers.<sup>46</sup> Since the biblical authors proscribed any biological associations, they were free to speak of divine fatherhood in metaphorical language, at times even portraying God in terms reminiscent of those false gods and idols that drew Israel away, to demonstrate his superiority and ‘the inferiority of these pretenders to divinity’.<sup>47</sup>

In the **שיר משה** (Deut 32) an initial question that frames God’s fatherhood over the nation of Israel (**הלוֹא־הוּא אבִיךָ**, Deut 32.6) is followed by a series of assertions.<sup>48</sup> Amidst his dire prediction that after his imminent death, Israel will apostatize, manifesting the nation’s infidelity to God, Moses appeals to divine fatherhood in a passage rich with allusions to the generative capability of the divine Father:<sup>49</sup>

שחת לו לא בניו מומם דור עקש ופתלתל :  
(32.5)

ה־לִיהוּה תגמלו־זאת עם נבל ולא הכם הלוֹא־הוּא אבִיךָ קנך הוא עשך ויכננך :  
(32.6)

They have behaved<sup>50</sup> corruptly toward him. [They are] not his sons; [this is] their defect. [They are] a crooked and perverse generation. Will you repay this to YHWH, you foolish and unwise people? Is he not your<sup>51</sup> father? He generated you. He made you and established you to last.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Assmann 1997: 168–207; Neu 2009: 68. See also 1 Chron 22.9, where יהוה promises David a son whose reign will be under divine protection; Mal 2.15: ancestors sought (**בקש** in the *piel*) children from אלהים.

<sup>47</sup> Knowles 1989: 322; cf. Soskice 2007: 76.

<sup>48</sup> Lundbom 2013: 875.

<sup>49</sup> The text is cited from *BHQ*.

<sup>50</sup> To solve an apparent corruption in the text, Deut 32.5 SP replaced the singular **שחת** of the MT with the plural **שחתו**. The translation has followed this emendation. For a discussion of the syntax and the scandal of this interpretation—that Israel would forfeit sonship because of corrupt behaviour toward God—see McCarthy 2007: 140\*. Cf. Drazin 1982: 271 n. 15.

<sup>51</sup> The singular prefix of MT (**אבִיךָ**) is changed to the plural (**אבוכוֹן**) in Tg. Ps.-J.

<sup>52</sup> See *HALOT* 1.464–65 on the sense of the *poel* of **נוֹךְ** here; cf. Lundbom 2013: 875.

When one considers the evidence from this passage, the metaphor apparently refers to God as creator and founder of Israel, whose generation derives from God's loyal, covenant love.<sup>53</sup>

Some scholars have argued that birth was assumed to be by the mighty effects of God, and have accordingly translated the verb **קנה** as 'to beget', or 'to generate'.<sup>54</sup> Humbert links the verb to the creation of the people, Israel, observing the parallelism among **קנה**, **עשה**, and **אביך**.<sup>55</sup> Vawter challenges this translation, appealing to the ancient versions, which retained the sense of 'to acquire', and connects **קנה** to the term **תגמלו** 'which immediately precedes' **קנה**.<sup>56</sup> The nature of his assertion regarding the position of **תגמלו** is unclear. Other terms are nearer to **קנה**, including **אב**, which does in fact immediately precede the verb. Based on structure, Humbert's parallelism seems more tenable than Vawter's connection with **תגמלו**. One may observe further the sense of the final term in Deut 32.6, the *polel* of the verb **כונן**, which is closely aligned with **עשה**, immediately following it in the text (cf. the ו-consecutive). The collective weight of **אב** combined with verbal elements that bespeak creation suggest a strong connection here between divine fatherhood and generation. To add to this connection, Vawter's position could perhaps benefit from consideration of the designations of God as both **אב** and **צור**, terms significant for the birth metaphor for the nation of Israel.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Cf. Ringgren 1974: 17.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Burney 1926: 161–62; De Saignac 1954: 430, esp. 430–31 n. 1, who translates the verb as *produire*. See also Kraus 1962: 1233. Some have suggested Ugaritic origin for **קנה** (the meaning would then be 'to create') as opposed to Semitic ('to buy' or 'to acquire'), but this distinction is still uncertain as the Ugaritic usage could also signify the act of acquiring.

<sup>55</sup> Humbert 1950: 260.

<sup>56</sup> Vawter 1980: 211. Cf. Quell 1965: 972, who rejects the sense of begetting, but accepts creation.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Grund 2006: 305.

Careful attention to the wider context may bolster the claim of generative divine fatherhood in Deut 32. First, a strange metaphor that comes later in the **שיר משה** further supports the Father's generative capacity: the **צור** (Deut 32.18; cf. Deut 32.4, 15, 30, 31). When the verb **ילד**, of which **צור** is the subject, occurs in the *qal* stem, as it does here, the meaning is parallel to the earlier usage of **קנה**, and may be translated as 'to give birth to', or 'to beget'.<sup>58</sup> While this text has seemingly undergone corruption, the latter half of Deut 32.18 dispels any lingering clouds of doubt by mentioning the God (**אל**) who gave birth to Israel: the verb is the *polet* participial form of **היל**.<sup>59</sup> The unexpected imagery—Grund calls it *erstaunlich*—of the generative **צור** ensures the begetting is not physical, but metaphorical. One final piece of evidence is found toward the end of the song, where **יהוה** himself declares his prerogative both to kill (**מות** in the causative *hiphil* stem) and to give life (**חיה** in the *piel* stem, likewise denoting a causative idea; Deut 32.39).

Outside the Torah, the generative aspect of the divine fatherhood metaphor may be seen in the parallel metaphor of God as **יצר** (Isa 64.7), connected to the image of the sovereign Creator. The sons become the work of God's hands, in the context of pleas for divine mercy, theophany, and intervention on behalf of the people.<sup>60</sup> Recalling the imagery of Isa 45 and in combination with the divine fatherhood metaphor (Isa 63.16), the petitioner reminds **יהוה** that he 'is in the process of making a clay vessel and is hardly in a position to throw away the clay'.<sup>61</sup> With an eye to the future, God should at most compress the clay to form the vessel anew. Malachi 2 witnesses once again the close connection

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<sup>58</sup> HALOT 2.411. Cf. Grund 2006: 307, esp. nn. 9–10; Spieckermann 2014: 75.

<sup>59</sup> Grund (2006: 312) declares this to be indisputable (*unbestreitbar*) evidence that God gives birth.

<sup>60</sup> Häusl 2004: 270–71. The occurrence of **ועתה** at the beginning of the verse may mark the transition to pleading. So Goldingay 2014: 420.

<sup>61</sup> Goldingay 2014: 420–21.

between divine fatherhood and creation. ‘Do we not all have one father?’ the prophet asks. ‘Did not one God (אל) create us?’<sup>62</sup> The occurrence of ברא (Mal 2.10) marks the only instance in the entire book. Israel owes its very existence to God, the authoritative, sovereign Father and Creator.<sup>63</sup>

The debt to divine generativity manifests itself in some passages that treat Israel’s divine sonship (cf. Num 11.12). Isaiah 43 brings together the three major domains of the divine fatherhood metaphor to make explicit God’s special creation of the nation. In a touching monologue, God promises his enduring presence with Israel whom he created and shaped (Isa 43.1). The use of both ברא and יצר reveal God’s authority over the nation. Divine protection is evident when Israel will be safeguarded from threats of water or fire (Isa 43.2). However, the text may contribute uniquely to the domain of divine generation when it applies divine creation directly to Israel’s own being (Isa 43.1, 6–7).<sup>64</sup> God forecasts his demand for the return of his sons and daughters whom he created (ברא), formed (יצר), and made (עשה, Isa 43.7). The theme of familial restoration continues in Hos 2, where the reported speech of God follows harsh judgement in Hos 1.2–9. The divine promise for innumerable progeny will result in calling Israel the ‘sons of the living God’ (בני אליהי, Hos 2.1); the divine title ‘living God’ (אליהי) distinguishes Israel’s deity from idols, as Stuart argues, but also centres the source of the sons’ existence in the divine, generative Father.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> The order is switched in the LXX: Οὐχὶ θεὸς εἷς ἔκτισεν ὑμᾶς; οὐχὶ πατὴρ εἷς πάντων ὑμῶν;

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Clendenen 2004: 322–23, who labels as ‘complementary’ the conception of God as Father and Creator. He notes further that God is the subject of ברא in each of its 45 occurrences in the OT, arguing that the use in Mal 2.10 suggests divine sovereignty and authority over Israel.

<sup>64</sup> Goldingay 2007: 1.272–73, who also notes 17 instances of the ך-suffix in Isa 43.1–5, stressing ‘close personal relationship’.

<sup>65</sup> Stuart 1988: 38.

#### 2.2.4. Conclusion to Divine Fatherhood in the Old Testament

The authors of the OT appealed to divine fatherhood when certain encountered properties of fatherhood and divinity interacted. Common interactional properties expressed by these authors include protection, authority, and generation. Protection manifests itself as divine paternal care and faithfulness, taking on special significance in the relationship between God and king. The structure of authority customarily possessed by Hebrew fathers over their children could easily be mapped onto deity as God commanded respect and was held to be the fountain from which regal power flowed. Divine generation remained metaphorical, recalling the origin of the people and looking to the nation's assured future.

The divine fatherhood metaphor presses several theological points in addition. The fatherhood metaphor discloses divine love, often through acts of goodness and mercy.<sup>66</sup> Psalm 103, according to Spieckermann, intends 'to underscore God's goodness and mercy which exceeds human comprehension'.<sup>67</sup> It is God who 'crowns you with love and compassion' (המעטרכי חסד ורחמים) [עטר in the *piel* stem], Ps 103.4). He is described as compassionate (רחום) and abounding in love (רב־חסד, Ps 103.8). The love of God toward those who revere him (יראיו) draws dual comparison from the psalmist: his love is over them as the heavens are high over the earth (Ps 103.11), and his compassion toward them as a father to his children (Ps 103.13).

Adding to divine love, the fatherhood metaphor communicates divine intimacy. Indeed, the reality of divine intimacy seems to demand kinship imagery, which cannot be

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<sup>66</sup> Cf. Soskice 2007: 1.

<sup>67</sup> Spieckermann 2014: 79.

jettisoned—the father of a child is always just that.<sup>68</sup> By speaking of the tenor of the relationship between God and his people in terms of the vehicles of divine fatherhood and divine sonship, the biblical authors highlighted their familiarity and intimacy with the personal God.<sup>69</sup> In some instances, they implored God to cast off his hiddenness in order to be present with his people once again (cf. Isa 64).<sup>70</sup>

The metaphor of divine fatherhood foregrounds the nearness, or immanence of God. As father, God brings those near who were formerly far off. He advocates for legally normative classification (*Rechtscharakter*) for the helpless, bringing them in from the fringes of society (Ps 68.6).<sup>71</sup> He acts on behalf of those who desire his proximity (יִרְאִיו, Ps 103.13), and places the king as near to himself as possible through the adoption metaphor.<sup>72</sup> On occasion his seeming distance compels petitioners to remind him of his fatherhood (Isa 64.7). The biblical authors expressed their yearning for divine immanence by linking divine fatherhood to God's role as גֹּאֵל (Isa 63.16).

Paternal discipline also occurs in the context of divine love. This is Böckler's point as she endeavours to show that the God who disciplines in the initial half of Prov 3.12 is at once the same God who in the latter half delights in his disciplined child by lovingly attending to his correction, as an ordinary human father would do.<sup>73</sup> The divine love motif continues in texts depicting God as both father and spouse (cf. Jer 3; Mal 2). Ricoeur contends that the mixing of metaphors conjures up thoughts of fidelity. Thus, as father

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<sup>68</sup> Cf. Soskice 2007: 2, 66.

<sup>69</sup> Grund 2006: 317.

<sup>70</sup> Wilke 2014: 116, who notes that in Isa 64.7 the fatherhood and creativity of God is juxtaposed against his absence and aloofness.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Kraus 1962: 1233.

<sup>72</sup> Occasionally, the metaphor is intensified to suggest birth, as in Ps 2.7. Cf. Spieckermann 2014: 75, 79–80.

<sup>73</sup> Böckler 2000: 180–83; cf. Jenni 1997: 12.



and spouse, God may be angry at his children no longer: ‘love, solicitude, and pity carry him beyond domination and severity’.<sup>74</sup>

At times, the biblical authors rhetorically invoked divine fatherhood to urge the repentance of the people in hopes of promised return from exile.<sup>75</sup> Significant conceptual interplay between divine fatherhood and the promise of Israel’s return from exile occurs in Jer 31. Here יהוה promises to bring his children to streams of water (נחלי מים) in a straight path, an expression Holladay interprets as prophetic ‘shorthand for the lovely land to which they would return’.<sup>76</sup> The prayers of Isa 63–64 hearken back to earlier chapters that pledged the restoration of hope to exiles and the return to the gloriously reconstituted holy city. The Father as potter would mould afresh the vessels of clay (Isa 64.7). He who generated life is also the figure of new creation.<sup>77</sup>

Divine, paternal generation in the OT would be a wellspring for writers of non-canonical Jewish literature prior to Paul. Where OT authors limit the application of the metaphor largely to familiar lines of divine creation, the non-canonical writers would be content to develop the metaphor in this domain toward divine delivery from death, or near-death. The writers of extra-biblical literature would thus continue the mingling of domains, blurring the lines between divine protection and divine generation. Canonical authors also restrain generative divine fatherhood to Israel collectively. Earlier passages allude to Israel’s divine generation in the frame of the creation of the cosmos; later passages (e.g., Isa 43.1, 6–7) apply the domain exactly to Israel, emphasising God’s direct,

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<sup>74</sup> Ricoeur 1974: 489.

<sup>75</sup> Hamerton-Kelly 1981: 97.

<sup>76</sup> Holladay 1989: 185.

<sup>77</sup> Ricoeur 1974: 489.

special generation of the nation. Non-canonical writers would broaden the metaphor, relating generative divine fatherhood to individuals within Israel. The metaphorical expansion of generative divine fatherhood in extra-biblical literature evinces a likely trajectory of convergence between divine fatherhood and resurrection from the dead that ultimately anticipates Paul.

### 2.3. Generative Divine Fatherhood in the Second Temple Literature

Generative divine fatherhood in the OT recalls the origins of Israel while simultaneously looking ahead to the nation's assured future. In these passages, God assumes the role of Creator—his is the authority to grant life, and to take it. He is Father, not of the king (though in some cases this is certainly the case: 2 Sam 7; 1 Chron 22, 28; Ps 89), but of the nation, even when the nation is exiled for infidelity. This Father will cause the exiles to return, and mould afresh the vessels of clay. The metaphor in the OT asserts that he who generated life is also the figure of new creation. The Second Temple literature continues this Janus glance in its appeals to generative divine fatherhood. It is argued here that in certain cases of Second Temple literature is seen a metaphorical extension in two directions: the narrowing of the father-son relation from Israel understood corporately to subgroups (even individuals in some cases) within Israel; and to the appeal to generative divine fatherhood, the addition of the notion of delivery from death or near-death. Other examples of Second Temple literature express what amounts to a reaction against the narrowing of the father-son relation to individuals, preferring instead the attribution of the divine fatherhood relation to a plurality. Likewise, some of the Second Temple texts examined below lack the language detailing God's gift of life to those who are dying or

near death—i.e., resurrection language is scarce in these texts. Nonetheless, these rich and varied texts contribute to the divine fatherhood metaphor that intersects with resurrection language in the writings of the apostle Paul. It should be noted that I have arranged the texts in the following sequence: those texts which are transmitted in manuscripts of the LXX (but not the Tanak) are treated first; texts outside the LXX have been arranged according to probable date (from earliest to latest) following consensus where possible.

One could assign this extension quite easily to divine protection or authority, but I have chosen divine generation as the proper domain for two reasons. First, these passages show striking similarities to the way in which generative divine fatherhood is attested in the OT. The appeal to the Father often comes in places where the deity is also described as the ‘living God’ (cf. Tob 13; 3 Macc 6; in the OT, cf. Hos 2). These appeals also occur in proximity to the divine role in creation (see 3 Macc 6; Wis 2; in the OT, cf. Deut 32; Isa 43, 64; Mal 2). They also look forward by their concern with the end state—‘afterlife’ is perhaps too strong a word to use here—of the one(s) perceived to be in filial relationship with God, even as they are looking back toward creation.<sup>78</sup> Second, the passages discussed below portray a sense of the resumption of life, or the restoration of life, which seems to accord best with God’s ability to generate life. That is to say, where canonical authors appeal to God’s paternal generation of life initially in the act of creation, Second Temple authors extend the appeal to a second gift of life to one who is near death.

Nevertheless, like their canonical predecessors, the Second Temple authors

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<sup>78</sup> For instance, cf. the mention of שׂוֹרֵל or ἄδης in Tob 13.2 and Sir 51.6. In a more positive sense of one’s future, see also the reported perspective of the ungodly concerning the beatific end state of the righteous in Wis 2. These glances toward the future are analogous to Moses’ concern for the nation of Israel following his death in Deut 32, or to the divine ingathering in Jer 31.

occasionally blur the boundaries between domains—one writer appeals to generative divine fatherhood in a context that could also be seen in terms of divine protection or authority. The result of such blurring is a hermeneutical dilemma necessitating an interpretative method which could assign the instances of the divine fatherhood metaphor most plausibly to the conceptual domain of generation based on textual and contextual evidence; the method should also account for literary device according to levels of authorial ostension. The proposed methodological schema borrows the concept of ostension from Relevance Theory, developed by Sperber and Wilson for lexical pragmatics (see above, Chapter 1.2). For the purposes of this chapter, ostension denotes authorial intention to make conceptual domains manifest.<sup>79</sup> The proper assignation of conceptual domains can be thought of as falling somewhere along an ostension continuum, with some instances demonstrating the greatest authorial intention to make generative divine fatherhood manifest, and other instances less so.

Semantic, syntactic, and lexico-grammatical devices which most clearly demonstrate authorial ostension might include citation, immediate context, apposition, attribution, predication, and certain subject-verb relations (e.g., when ‘Father’ is the subject of a verbal element that could fall within the generative domain). Quotation formulae generally introduce citations, which can contain extended verbatim quotation from a source text.<sup>80</sup> For the sake of convenience, ‘immediate context’ refers to devices in the same line or verse as the appeal to generative divine fatherhood. By ‘apposition’ is

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<sup>79</sup> Sperber and Wilson 1996: 40, 49. The conceptual domain would be *manifest* to a reader at a given time if and only if the reader is capable at that time of representing it mentally and accepting its representation as true or probably true.

<sup>80</sup> The criteria for determining citation, allusion, and echo derive from Hays 1989: 29–32; idem, 2016: 10–14.

meant substantives in simple apposition across all cases.<sup>81</sup> Instances of apposition, attribution, and predication are to be clearly marked for generative divine fatherhood.

Authorial ostension is less clear in devices which include allusions, near context, near syntactical parallels, and simile. The device of allusion imbeds words from a source text, or ‘explicitly mentions notable characters or events that signal the reader to make the intertextual connection’.<sup>82</sup> Nearness refers to devices which occur in the same thought structure (usually, paragraph) as the instance of the divine fatherhood metaphor. Simile is the trope using ‘like’ or ‘as’ to make an indirect comparison between deity and paternity. Ambiguous instances of apposition, attribution, and predication may also obscure authorial ostension.

Devices which demonstrate authorial ostension least clearly might include possible allusions (what Hays has called ‘echoes’),<sup>83</sup> remote context, remote syntactical parallels, absolute (i.e., otherwise unmarked) uses of the Father designation, and appearances of the Father designation in set formulae. An echo may exhibit only a single word in common with the source text. Yet, an echo may impart semantic nuance and significance beyond a plain reading of the text that would be missed by the inattentive reader. Remoteness refers to devices that occur outside the thought structure of the instance of generative divine fatherhood. The convenience of a continuum does not imply exact correspondence to authorial ostension, and often multiple factors will need to be weighed before making judgements in each instance of the metaphor. In certain cases, multiple, early textual

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<sup>81</sup> Cf. Wallace 1996: 48–49, 94–100, 152–53, 198–99.

<sup>82</sup> Hays 2016: 10. Allusive techniques in the Midrash required only two connected verbal elements from the source text. Such will be the minimum requirement for allusion in this chapter. Cf. Tomson 2015: 437, esp. n. 30.

<sup>83</sup> Hays 1989: 29. However, allusions may be intended by the author, while echoes may not be.

traditions exist for passages that mention generative divine fatherhood. Because these traditions contribute various insights and add nuance to the discussion, each tradition merits separate examination.

### 2.3.1. Tobit 13

The only occurrence of generative divine fatherhood in Tobit appears in the longer song of praise (cf. Tob 13.1; called ‘thanksgiving’ in Tob 14.1) that comprises the sixth formal prayer of the book.<sup>84</sup> Writing as a devout Jew living in the diaspora, Tobit recalls his tale of exile in Assyria. The spectre of death casts a pall over the book. On being discovered by the Assyrian king in the charitable act of burying his Jewish kinsmen,<sup>85</sup> Tobit goes into hiding to avoid his own death sentence (Tob 1.16–20). He wishes for death after hearing false reproaches from his wife (Tob 2.14; 3.6). Tobit’s relative digs a grave for Tobias, Tobit’s son, preparing for his imminent death (Tob 8.9, 15–18); and Tobias’ mother mourns her son, fearing that he has died on a journey (Tob 10.4–5, 7).<sup>86</sup> The realisation that Tobias has been spared through angelic assistance (at the deity’s behest) results in the prayer of Tob 13, where Tobit first delivers a song of praise (Tob 13.2–8), followed by a song of restoration (Tob 13.9–18), specifically for Jerusalem.<sup>87</sup> While Tobit continues the OT practice of applying the divine fatherhood metaphor corporately,<sup>88</sup> the book extends the domain of generation to divine delivery in the face of death. Early versions include

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<sup>84</sup> Indeed, this is the only instance of the divine fatherhood metaphor in the book. However, it could be argued that appeal to fatherhood (both human and divine) occurs at critical junctures in the work (e.g., Tob 5.1; 7.5; 10.9; 11.6, 11).

<sup>85</sup> Alms, which include burying the dead, are described as delivering from death (Tob 4.10; 12.9). Tobit’s custom of giving alms may be another instrument by which God delivers the devout person from death.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Xeravits 2010: 91–93 regarding the emotional toll the episode has on Tobias’ parents.

<sup>87</sup> See also Xeravits 2019: esp. 81–87.

<sup>88</sup> Puech 2001: 291, who argues that Tobit intends only diaspora Jews who will return to God.

Hebrew-Aramaic texts from Qumran, the Greek short recension of Codices Vaticanus (B) and Alexandrinus, Ⓔ<sup>I</sup>, and the long recension in Codex Sinaiticus, Ⓔ<sup>II</sup>.

### 2.3.1.1. Tobit 13 (4Q196, 4Q200)<sup>89</sup>

- (13.1) [ברוך אלהים] חי אשר לכול העולמים היאה מלכותו  
 (13.2) אשר הואה] מכה] [והוא] ה מרחם מוריד עד שאולה תחתיה והואה מעלה מתהו]ם]  
 [ג]דול]ה] ומה אשר יפצה מידו  
 (13.3) הודו לו בני ישראל] אל לפני]  
 [הגוים] אשר אתמה נדחים בהמה  
 (13.4) ושמה ספר]ו את גודלו ורוממו]  
 [אותו לפני כו]ל חי כיא הוא אדניכ]מה] והוא אלה]יכמה]  
 [לכו]ל [עולמים]  
 (13.5) על כל חט]איכוך]

[Blessed be] the living [God] whose kingdom is for all eternity: because he [afflicts and] shows mercy, brings down to lowest Sheol, and brings up from the [gr]eat abys[s]. And who is there who can escape from his hand? Acknowledge him, O sons of Isra[el, in the sight of the sons of the nations], you who are banished among them. And there [recount his greatness before al]l the living, because he is your Lord, he is [your] God ... [for al]l [eternity]. ... [for] your [si]ns.<sup>90</sup>

Though there is no Father designation attested in the extant Hebrew and Aramaic texts of Tobit from Qumran, a few items should be noted nonetheless. If one accepts Fitzmyer's reconstruction, the Greek versions follow these texts quite closely, where generative divine fatherhood is more clearly attested. God\*<sup>91</sup> is described as 'living' (חי, Tob 13.1) and showing mercy (רחם, Tob 13.2). God\* both brings down to the lowest Sheol (the hiphil participle of ירד followed by עד שאול, Tob 13.2) and raises up (the hiphil participle of עלה, Tob 13.2) from the great abyss\*. More explicitly than the Greek, the Hebrew imports a

<sup>89</sup> The Aramaic text comes from 4Q196 (Tob 13.5), and the Hebrew from 4Q200 (Tob 13.1–4), given in Broshi, et al., 1995: 25, 70.

<sup>90</sup> This translation is a lightly redacted conflation of the translations found in Fitzmyer 2003: 306–309 and Vermes 2004: 600.

<sup>91</sup> Reconstructed elements will be followed by an asterisk (\*).

causative idea: God\* causes one to be brought down to Sheol (cf. Tob 3.10, 6.15). These key elements will be considered on the firmer ground of the Greek recensions below.

### 2.3.1.2. Tobit 13 (G<sup>I</sup>)<sup>92</sup>

- (13.1) Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ὁ ζῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ,  
(13.2) ὅτι αὐτὸς μαστιγοῖ καὶ ἐλεᾷ, κατάργει εἰς ᾄδην καὶ ἀνάγει, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὃς ἐκφεύξεται τὴν χειρὰ αὐτοῦ.  
(13.3) ἔξομολογεῖσθε αὐτῷ, οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ, ἐνώπιον τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅτι αὐτὸς διέσπειρεν ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτοῖς·  
(13.4) ἐκεῖ ὑποδείξατε τὴν μεγαλωσύνην<sup>93</sup> αὐτοῦ, ὑψοῦτε αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον παντὸς ζῶντος, καθότι αὐτὸς κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς πατὴρ ἡμῶν εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.  
(13.5) καὶ μαστιγώσῃ ἡμᾶς ἐν ταῖς ἀδικίαις ἡμῶν καὶ πάλιν ἐλεήσει καὶ συνάξει ἡμᾶς ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν, οὗ ἂν σκορπισθῆτε ἐν αὐτοῖς.

Blessed be God who lives forever and [blessed be] his kingdom, because he afflicts and shows mercy, he leads down into Hades and brings up, and there is no one who will escape his hand. Acknowledge him, O sons of Israel, before the nations, for he has scattered us among them; indicate his greatness there, exalt him before all the living, because he is our Lord and God, he himself is our Father forever. And he will afflict us for our injustices, and again he will show mercy and will gather us from all the nations among whom you have been scattered.

Divine fatherhood in Tob 13 is adduced in a context in which God, who is clearly connected to life, delivers from death.<sup>94</sup> The subject of Tobit's blessing is the living God (ὁ θεὸς ὁ ζῶν, Tob 13.1); the participle ζῶν is in apposition to θεός. A syntactical parallel in the near context makes the Father's connection to life explicit: he is ὁ θεὸς ὁ ζῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας (Tob 13.2), and ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς πατὴρ ἡμῶν εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας (Tob 13.4). Clearly marked apposition with the near syntactical parallel suggests rather strong ostension for the domain of generation.

<sup>92</sup> The Greek texts of both G<sup>I</sup> and G<sup>II</sup> are taken from Hanhart 1983: 165–67. English translations for both G<sup>I</sup> and G<sup>II</sup> have followed those of Di Lella 2007: 474.

<sup>93</sup> OL reads *miseriordia*.

<sup>94</sup> Zimmermann 1958: 27.



Further evincing deuterocanonical development, Tobit 13 uses language of divine delivery from the point of death, stopping just short of the language of resurrection.<sup>95</sup> The present indicative *κατάγει* corresponds to the hiphil participle, *מוריד*.<sup>96</sup> Elsewhere in the LXX, the verb expresses the action of God bringing down *εἰς ἄδην* (Tob 13.2).<sup>97</sup> God as Father brings down to the place of the dead, but he also brings up (*ἀνάγω*, Tob 13.2), though the destination in this instance is left unstated. The long recension seemingly bolsters the *κατάγω-ἀνάγω* dynamic with its explanatory phrase, discussed below.

Another factor to the *κατάγω-ἀνάγω* interplay in Tob 13 rests in a possible echo, the Song of Moses (Deut 32). Like Moses, Tobit directs his song toward the people at the end of his life. The lone shared verbal element between Tob 13 and Deut 32.6 is the designation of God as Father.<sup>98</sup> Though verbs differ between the two texts, the *κατάγω-ἀνάγω* dynamic in Tob 13.2 reminds the reader of God who slays and makes alive (Deut 32.39).<sup>99</sup> The allusive strategy in the book of Tobit proposed by Weitzman could augment the case for assigning the domain of generation to Tob 13. By clustering patriarchal allusions in the earlier parts of the work, the book of Tobit naturally concentrates Deuteronomic allusions in the ending hymn to enclose his experiences ‘within pentateuchal bookends’. The book of Tobit alludes to texts whose events occur outside

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<sup>95</sup> However, cf. the remarks of D. N. Freedman related in Moore 1996: 278 n. 185.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Griffin 1984: 239–40; Littman 2008: 149.

<sup>97</sup> E.g., Gen 37.35; 44.29; 1 Kgdms 2.6; 3 Kgdms 2.9; Tob 3.10; Ps 30.18 LXX.

<sup>98</sup> Other elements of the Song of Moses are noteworthy in Tobit’s song. Both employ similarly operating preludes (Deut 31.14–30; Tob 12.16–22): the relation between Raphael and Tobit (or his son, Tobias) is analogous to that between God and Moses, as is the exhortation to ‘write down’ the song. Cf. Weitzman 1996: 50–51. Note the verb *γράφω* in Deut 31.19, 22 LXX and Tob 13.1 in B. The language of greatness and exaltation (Tob 13.4) are analogous to Moses’ command to ascribe greatness to God (Deut 32.3). Cf. Fitzmyer 2003: 307–309. Tobit is also Deuteronomic in its emphasis on the behaviour of God and men, and in its eschatological focus.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Strotmann 1991: 50–51.

the land of Israel to reinforce the notion that God’s care for his people extends beyond geographical borders to places of exile. Like the Song of Moses, Tobit 13 seems to argue that Israel is once again at a turning point in its history when the nation’s sojourn in exile is nearly at an end and return to the land is imminent.<sup>100</sup>

Thus, Tobit directs the father-relation toward the υἱοὶ Ἰσραηλ (Tob 13.3; Heb.: בני ישראל). But it is not Israel in its totality that qualifies as sons of the Father. Rather, Tobit narrows the filial relationship to his fellow Jews in the Diaspora, noting that God ‘has scattered us among them’ (διέσπειρεν ἡμᾶς [i.e., οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραηλ] ἐν αὐτοῖς [i.e., τοῖς ἔθνεσιν]). Tobit modifies the relation further by providing the expectation of return to God by these would-be sons. God will surely turn his face toward those who turn back (ἐπιστρέφω, Tob 13.6) to him. Tobit thus adjures those who would enjoy the intimacy of divine fatherhood: ‘Return, O sinners!’ (Ἐπιστέψατε, ἁμαρτωλοί, Tob 13.8). Strong textual evidence peppered with the language of qualified sonship and coupled with possible Deuteronomic allusion—to a passage patently attesting to the generative Father (Deut 32.6)—gives the domain of generation high plausibility.

### 2.3.1.3. *Tobit 13 (G<sup>II</sup>)*

- (13.1) Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ὁ ζῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ,  
 (13.2) ὅτι αὐτὸς μαστιγοῖ καὶ ἐλεᾷ, κατὰγει ἕως ἄδου κατωτάτω τῆς γῆς, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνάγει ἐκ τῆς ἀπωλείας τῆς μεγάλης, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν, ὃ ἐκφεύζεται τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ.  
 (13.3) ἔξομολογεῖσθε αὐτῷ, οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ, ἐνώπιον τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅτι αὐτὸς διέσπειρεν ὑμᾶς ἐν αὐτοῖς·  
 (13.4) καὶ ἐκεῖ ὑπέδειξεν ὑμῖν τὴν μεγαλωσύνην αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὑψοῦτε αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον παντὸς ζῶντος, καθότι αὐτὸς ἡμῶν κύριός ἐστιν, καὶ αὐτὸς θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ αὐτὸς πατὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ αὐτὸς θεὸς εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.  
 (13.5) μαστιγώσει ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀδικίαις ὑμῶν καὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς ἐλεήσει ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅπου ἂν διασκορπισθῆτε ἐν αὐτοῖς.

<sup>100</sup> Weitzman 1996: 59.

Blessed be God who lives forever and [blessed be] his kingdom, because he afflicts and shows mercy, he leads down as far as Hades in the lowest part of the earth, and he brings up from great destruction, and there is nothing that will escape his hand. Acknowledge him, O sons of Israel, before the nations because he has scattered you among them. Even there he has shown to you his greatness—exalt him even in the presence of all the living because he is our Lord and he is our God, and he is our Father and [our] God forever. He will afflict you for your injustices, and on all of you he will show mercy from all the nations among whom you have been scattered.

Most of the discrepancies between  $\mathfrak{G}^I$  and  $\mathfrak{G}^{II}$  are inconsequential. Important exceptions occur in Tob 13.2. The qualifying phrase ‘to Hades, the deepest part of the earth’ (ἕως ἄδου κατωτάτω τῆς γῆς, modifying κατάγω), makes explicit the destination to which God brings down. The preposition ἕως used with an adverb of place (here, κατωτάτω) indicates that God brings down to the very limit of the place of the dead, explained adverbially as the deepest [part] of the earth. Where ἀνάγω occurs without an object in  $\mathfrak{G}^I$ , the long recension offers the explanatory variant ‘he brings up from great destruction’ (ἀνάγει ἐκ τῆς ἀπωλείας τῆς μεγάλης). The phrase could refer to release from blindness (cf. Tob 12.20). An allusion to 1 Sam 2.6 is not impossible here, though its pregnancy motif diminishes such a connection.<sup>101</sup> To restrict the delivery to healing from blindness also ignores Tobit’s suffering of poverty, loss of independence, and the uxorial insults that drove Tobit to pray for his death (Tob 3.6). Furthermore, ἀνάγω in psalms with κύριος as subject can assume the special connotation of bringing up from ἄδης.<sup>102</sup> Finally, in the long recension ἀπόλεια parallels ἄδης.<sup>103</sup> In the immediate context of casting into ἄδης, Tobit most plausibly praises God for his ability to cause one to be brought up from ultimate destruction—death and its concomitant residence in the place of the dead.

<sup>101</sup> However, one must not miss the theme of childbearing for Tobias’ wife (e.g., Tob 6.18; 10.12).

<sup>102</sup> Ps 29.4 LXX; cf. Ps 70.20 LXX.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Griffin 1984: 240–42.

Although  $\mathfrak{G}^{\text{II}}$  specifies the destinations to which God brings down and from which he brings up, the long recension obscures the connections between divine fatherhood and life made in  $\mathfrak{G}^{\text{I}}$ . The syntactical parallel of Tob 13.4 in  $\mathfrak{G}^{\text{I}}$  is lost in a sea of divine titles in  $\mathfrak{G}^{\text{II}}$ . The long recension thus reduces the marking of *πατήρ*, relegating the generative divine fatherhood metaphor to the least plausible end of the continuum for authorial ostension. Nevertheless, generative divine fatherhood in Tobit glances backward to the corporate relation in the OT while peering forward to later discussions of generative divine fatherhood. Tobit contributes to the development of the metaphor by confining the father-son relation to those Jews in the Diaspora—whom God chastens so that they may return to him—and extending the metaphor to delivery from the point of death.

### 2.3.2. Sirach 51

In common with other texts in the deuterocanonical literature, Sirach often attests to the divine fatherhood metaphor in the conceptual domain of protection. Sirach compares his child to a son of the Most High (*ὡς υἱὸς ὑψίστου*, Sir 4.10) if the child's future conduct is characterised by delivering the poor from oppressors, and by being a father to orphans and a husband to widows. Sirach pleads with God to deliver him from the designs of his enemies and from worldly temptations (Sir 23.1–11), twice appealing to God as Father (*κύριε πάτερ καὶ δέσποτα* [θεεῖ in Sir 23.4] *ζωῆς μου*, Sir 23.1).<sup>104</sup> Although Sirach 23 contains an instance of genitive qualification, it is unclear which vocative is the head substantive.

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<sup>104</sup> Sirach 23 also attests to the conceptual domain of authority: Sirach calls several times for the discipline of God. Doering (2014: 107 n. 5; cf. 128 n. 103) questions the text of Sir 23 as an instance of the divine fatherhood metaphor, suggesting that Hebrew behind *κύριε πάτερ* could be in genitive construct: thus, **לֵאלֹהֵי אָבִי** translated as 'God of my father'.

Nor does ζωή seem easily to belong to the conceptual domain of generation here; the domain of authority or protection is preferred. Divine protection is once more on the lips of the supplicant in Sirach 51. The first section of this prayer (Sir 51.1–10) merits scrutiny because of potential links to the domain of generation.

### 2.3.2.1. *Sirach 51 (MS B)*<sup>105</sup>

- (51.1) כי יראת יי<sup>106</sup> חיים אהללך אלהי ישעי א[...]. יך אלהי אבי :  
 אספרה שמך מעוז חיי
- (51.2) כי פדית ממות נפשי  
 חשכת בשרי משחת ומיד שאול הצלת רגלי :
- (51.3) פציתני מדבת עם משוט דבת לשון ומשפת שטי כזב :  
 נגד קמי הי{ני}תה לי עזרתני כרוב חסדך :  
 ממוקש צופי סלע ומיד מבקשי נפשי :
- (51.4) מרבות צרות הושעתני ומצוקות שלהב[.....]
- (51.5) מכבות אש לאין פחה מרחם [..] ום לאמ[...]  
 משפתי זמה וטפלי שקר וחצי לשון מרמה :
- (51.6) ותגע למות נפשי וחיתי לשאול תחתיות :
- (51.7) ואפנה סביב ואין עוזר לי ואצפה סומך ואין :
- (51.8) ואזכרה את רחמי יי וחסדיו אשר מעולם :  
 המציל את חוסי בו ויגאלם מכל רע :
- (51.9) וארים מארץ קולי ומשערי שאול שועתי :
- (51.10) וארומם יי אבי אתה כי אתה גבור ישעי :
- (51.11) אל תרבני ביום צרה ביום שואה ומשואה :  
 אהללה שמך תמיד ואזכרך בתפלה :

I will celebrate you, O God of my salvation, I will praise you, my God, my Father, I will declare your name, O Fortress of my life, because you snatched my soul from death, you spared my flesh from destruction, and from the hand of Sheol you saved my foot, you protected me from public slander, against the scourge of the tongue, and against the lips of those who pursue lies. You have been for me [a bulwark] against my enemies; you saved me according to your great mercy, from the snare of those who lie in wait on the rock, and from those who wanted my life; you delivered me from numerous dangers, and from the torments of the flame that surrounded me, from the middle of the fire which I had not lit, from the bosom of the abyss ..., from infamous lips, from those who create lies, and from the arrows of the deceptive tongue. My soul touched death, and my life [was] at the infernal Sheol. I turned all around me: [there was] no one to help me; I waited for support:

<sup>105</sup> The text is cited from Beentjes 2006: 91.

<sup>106</sup> This term stands in for the Tetragrammaton יהוה. See Schechter and Taylor 1899: 11.

nothing [happened]. Then I remembered the mercy of God and his eternal pardon, of him who saves those who hope in him, and delivers them from all evil. I raised my voice from the earth, and from the gates of Sheol I prayed; I proclaimed, ‘Lord, you are my Father, the hero of my salvation; do not abandon me in the day of trouble, in the day of desolation and adversity. I will celebrate your name forever, and you I will call in prayer’. Then God heard my voice and listened to my pleas.<sup>107</sup>

Hebrew Sirach 51 appeals to divine fatherhood in contexts of saving the supplicant from the point of death and from his enemies. The Father designation in Sir 51.1 is uncertain. The LXX does not attest it, and the relation between the terms **אלהי אבי** is likely that of genitive construct, as in Sir 23, such that **אבי** is in the genitive rather than in simple apposition: ‘God of my father’ rather than ‘God my father’. The Father designation in Sir 51.10 is more substantial, functioning as the predicate for the pronoun **אתה**, whose referent is the divine diminutive **יִי**.<sup>108</sup>

Even though **גבור** stands in apposition to **אבי**, the designation in Sir 51.10 is vague with respect to authorial ostension because the precise meaning of **גבור** is unclear. From what does YHWH save the supplicant? The near context gives evidence of the deuterocanonical development, where divine fatherhood occurs in proximity to rescue from (near-) death. Thus, YHWH is said to have redeemed the supplicant from death (**ממות**) and from the power of Sheol (**מיד שאול**, Sir 51.2), to have delivered from the enemies who were seeking the life of the supplicant (**מיד מבקשי נפשי**, Sir 51.3) and less certainly, **מרחם** (Sir 51.5).<sup>109</sup> Sirach describes the dire situation in which he found himself (Sir 51.6) before he remembered YHWH’s **חסדים** (Sir 51.8). He then winged his prayer from the underworld (**מארץ**) and from the gates of Sheol (**משערי שאול**, Sir 51.9). Here, **ארץ** signifies

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<sup>107</sup> This translation follows the emendations of Lévi 1901: 218–21.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Puech 2001: 293–94.

<sup>109</sup> MS B is lacunose here. The LXX has rendered this as *ἐκ βάθους κοιτίας ἄδου*.

the underworld because the term is in synonymous parallelism with **שואל**.<sup>110</sup>

However, the Father as **גבור** may also belong to the domain of protection, specifically as deliverer from the slander of the supplicant's enemies (Sir 51.2, 5–6). The two domains of protection and generation appear to work in tandem in Sir 51. Slight preference is given to the domain of generation because the more immediate context surrounding the appositive **גבור** (Sir 51.9–11a) attests to the nuance of deliverance from (near-) death.

### 2.3.2.2. *Sirach 51 (LXX)*<sup>111</sup>

- (51.1) Ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι, κύριε βασιλεῦ, καὶ αἰνέσω σε θεὸν τὸν σωτήρά μου, ἐξομολογοῦμαι τῷ ὀνόματί σου,
- (51.2) ὅτι σκεπαστῆς καὶ βοηθὸς ἐγένου μοι καὶ ἐλυτρώσω τὸ σῶμά μου ἐξ ἀπωλείας καὶ ἐκ παγίδος διαβολῆς γλώσσης, ἀπὸ χειλέων ἐργαζομένων ψευδὸς καὶ ἐναντι τῶν παρεστηκότων ἐγένου βοηθὸς καὶ ἐλυτρώσω με
- (51.3) κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐλέους καὶ ὀνόματός σου ἐκ βρόχων ἐτοίμων εἰς βρῶμα, ἐκ χειρὸς ζητούντων τὴν ψυχὴν μου, ἐκ πλειόνων θλίψεων, ὧν ἔσχον,
- (51.4) ἀπὸ πνιγμοῦ πυρᾶς κυκλόθεν καὶ ἐκ μέσου πυρός, οὗ οὐκ ἐξέκαυσα,
- (51.5) ἐκ βάθους κοιλίας ἄδου καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης ἀκαθάρτου καὶ λόγου ψευδοῦς
- (51.6) καὶ βολίδος γλώσσης ἀδίκου. ἤγγισεν ἕως θανάτου ἡ ψυχὴ μου, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ μου ἦν σύνεγγυς ἄδου κάτω.
- (51.7) περιέσχον με πάντοθεν, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ βοηθῶν· ἐνέβλεπον εἰς ἀντίλημψιν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ οὐκ ἦν.
- (51.8) καὶ ἐμνήσθην τοῦ ἐλέους σου, κύριε, καὶ τῆς εὐεργεσίας σου τῆς ἀπ' αἰῶνος, ὅτι ἐξαιρήσῃ τοὺς ὑπομένοντάς σε καὶ σώσεις αὐτοὺς ἐκ χειρὸς πονηρῶν.<sup>112</sup>
- (51.9) καὶ ἀνύψωσα ἀπὸ γῆς ἰκετείαν μου καὶ ὑπὲρ θανάτου ῥύσεως ἐδέηθην·
- (51.10) ἐπεκαλεσάμην κύριον πατέρα<sup>113</sup> κυρίου μου μή με ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ἐν ἡμέραις θλίψεως, ἐν καιρῷ ὑπερηφανιῶν ἀβοηθησίας·
- (51.11) αἰνέσω τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐνδεδελεχῶς καὶ ὑμνήσω ἐν ἐξομολογήσει.

I will acknowledge you, O Lord [and] King, and I will praise you as God my Saviour. I acknowledge your name, because you have been my protector and helper, and you have redeemed my body from destruction and from a trap of a slanderous

<sup>110</sup> Di Lella 1986: 405; idem, 1987: 566. Cf. *HALOT* 1.90.

<sup>111</sup> The Greek is from Ziegler 1965: 362–64.

<sup>112</sup> The variant ἐχθρῶν appears in 547 aeth, possibly an assimilation to Sir 30.6.

<sup>113</sup> Two minuscule MSS offer variants: *παρά* 755; *θεόν* 336.

tongue, from lips that fabricate a lie, and against those who stand by you have been a help, and you have redeemed me, according to an abundance of mercy and your name, from nooses prepared for food, from the hand of persons seeking my soul, from rather many troubles, which I had, from a choking of a pyre all round and from the midst of fire, which I did not kindle, from the deep of Hades' belly and from an unclean tongue and a lying word and a missile of a tongue of an unrighteous person. My soul drew near to death, and my life was on the brink of Hades below. They surrounded me on every side, and there was no one who helped; I looked for assistance from human beings, and there was none. And I remembered your mercy, O Lord, and your beneficence from of old, because you raise up those who wait for you and you save them from the hand of wicked persons. And I raised up my supplication from the earth, and I begged for deliverance from death. I called upon the Lord, Father of my lord, not to forsake me in days of affliction, in a time of helplessness from acts of arrogance. I will praise your name continually, and I will sing hymns with acknowledgement.<sup>114</sup>

Like the Hebrew text, Greek Sirach 51 clearly attests to the divine fatherhood metaphor only once (Sir 51.10), in the probable context of divine protection and in the possible contexts of generation and authority. The directness of the Hebrew divine fatherhood metaphor stands in stark relief to the LXX, which avoids relating divine fatherhood to the supplicant. Rather than the forthright expression '[I will exalt] YHWH: You [are] my Father' (יְיָ אֱבִי אֲתָהּ, Sir 51.10) of the Hebrew text, the LXX gives 'the Lord, Father of my lord' (κύριον πατέρα κυρίου μου).<sup>115</sup> The term κύριος is the only direct evidence linking the Father designation to the domain of authority, which is quickly subsumed by other domains due to considerations of the immediate context. Instead, the Father as Lord belongs to the commingled domains of protection and generation. The κύριος [καὶ] πατήρ is the accusative subject of the infinitive ἐγκαταλιπεῖν. Elsewhere in Sirach, ἐγκαταλείπω implies personal abandonment, often with the undertone of faithfulness, especially when

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<sup>114</sup> This translation is very lightly edited from Pietersma and Wright 2007: 761.

<sup>115</sup> The LXX also renders אֱלֹהֵי אֲבִי (Sir 51.1) as κύριε βασιλεῦ, omitting fatherhood in favour of monarchy. As noted previously, however, the Father designation in Sir 51.1 (MS B) is debatable. Cf. Nodet 2009: 137–41, who argues that the LXX traces back to the original Hebrew.



God is the subject.<sup>116</sup> The supplicant entreats the Father not to abandon him in days of oppression (ἐν ἡμέραις θλίψεως) and in a time of helplessness (ἐν καιρῷ ἀβοηθησίας, Sir 51.10), suggesting acute distress, both perceived and actual.

The supplicant's distress features prominently in the text, though its extent is debated.<sup>117</sup> Certain features of the text suggest its profundity. The call to God for help comes from the depth (βάθος), a term used in the LXX to indicate calamity (usually expressed as βάθη θαλάσσης), finality, even death.<sup>118</sup> Not entirely without precedent, the vividness of the expression in Sir 51.5 evokes the entrance to the place of the dead in classical literature.<sup>119</sup> Calling to God from the depth of Hades' belly (ἐκ βάθους κοιλίας ᾄδου) suggests that the author is as close as possible to death.<sup>120</sup> The supplicant's request to the Father as Lord thus entails demonstration of divine faithfulness in times of distress based on the Father's previous deliverance of the supplicant from the verge of death.

One must not overlook the overt tones of divine protection throughout the text. The author praises God as σκεπαστής.<sup>121</sup> God has been βοηθός to the author (Sir 51.2 *bis*). He recalls the former mercy and munificence (ἔλεος [καὶ] ἔργασια, Sir 51.8) of God, and ends the passage by recounting divine deliverance from destruction (ἐξ ἀπωλείας) and an evil time (ἐκ καιροῦ πονηροῦ, Sir 51.11).<sup>122</sup> Divine care and protection permeate the text,

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<sup>116</sup> See God as subject in Sir 2.10; 23.1 (where God is called Father); cf. Sir 3.16; 4.19; 7.30; 9.10; 29.14, 16; 51.20. The only impersonal object of the verb is ὁ νόμος θεοῦ (Sir 41.8).

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Zimmermann 2007: 55.

<sup>118</sup> Calamity: Ps 68.3, 15 LXX; Jonah 2.4. Finality: Amos 9.3, Mic 7.19. The connection of βάθος to death (usually expressed as βάθος (τῆς) γῆς) occurs especially in Ezekiel: Ezek 26.20; 31.14; 32.18, 24; see also Wis 10.19.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Aeschylus, *Prom.* 1029 (βάθη Ταρτάρου); Plato, *Leg.* 904d.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Sauer 2000: 346. To say more would approach irresponsibility, owing to the well-established fact of Sirach's avoidance (Elledge labels it 'denial') of the language of resurrection in favour of immortality of the soul. See the recent discussion in Elledge 2017: 92–94.

<sup>121</sup> See Muraoka 2009: 623 on this Septuagintal term.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Strotmann 1991: 89–95.

while melding with rescue from the verge of death. Keeping in mind the entirety of the passage, ἀπωλεία (Sir 51.11; cf. θλίψις and ἀβοηθησία, Sir 51.10) seems to encapsulate the supplicant's experience of near-lethal distress. The author calls on God as Father in Sir 51 for protection, but also like Tobit to relieve his distress unto death.

### 2.3.3. 3 Maccabees 6

The instances of the divine fatherhood metaphor in 3 Maccabees attest to all major conceptual domains, sometimes in the same passage. The Ἰουδαῖοι beseech the Father as the merciful protector, the almighty 'Ruler of every power' (δυναστεύων πάσης δυνάμεως), to deliver them from 'the final destruction' (τὸ πέρας τῆς ὀλεθρίας, 3 Macc 5.5–7). The 'sons of the almighty, heavenly, living God' (υἱοὶ τοῦ παντοκράτορος ἐπουρανίου θεοῦ ζῶντος, 3 Macc 6.28) are those who enjoy the protective stability accorded them by God. Muraoka suggests that the string of 'multiple attributive adjectives ... asyndetically added to a substantive' in 3 Macc 6.28 may indicate hierarchy, with the description of the deity as the 'living God' (ὁ θεός [ὁ] ζῶν) taking primacy of place.<sup>123</sup> When released, these sons erupt in praise of God for having just escaped death (τὸν θάνατον ἐκπεφυγότες, 3 Macc 6.29), a motif already encountered in Sirach and Tobit. In a letter, Ptolemy Philopator acknowledges that God defends the Ἰουδαῖοι 'as a father always comes to the aid of his sons' (ὡς πατέρα ὑπὲρ υἱῶν διὰ παντὸς συμμαχοῦντα, 3 Macc 7.6), bringing the domain of protection to the fore. Similar to these occurrences, the prayer of 3 Macc 6 commences by solemnly addressing God (3 Macc 6.2) then proceeds to make a preliminary request (3

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<sup>123</sup> Thus, 3 Macc 6.28 could be re-written as (τοῦ θεοῦ ζῶντος) + παντοκράτορος ἐπουρανίου, where the post-position of ζῶν is a probable Hebraism. See Muraoka 2009: 443.

Macc 6.3) before recounting several vignettes from the history of Israel displaying the protective might of God on behalf of his people (3 Macc 6.4–8).<sup>124</sup>

- (6.1) Ελεάζαρος δέ τις ἀνὴρ ἐπίσημος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἱερέων, ἐν πρεσβείῳ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἤδη λελογχῶς καὶ πάσῃ τῇ κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀρετῇ κεκοσμημένος, τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν καταστείλας πρεσβυτέρους ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν ἅγιον θεὸν προσηύξατο τάδε
- (6.2) Βασιλεῦ μεγαλοκράτωρ, ὕψιστε παντοκράτωρ θεὲ τὴν πᾶσαν διακυβερνῶν ἐν οἰκτιρμοῖς κτίσιν,
- (6.3) ἔπιδε ἐπὶ Αβρααμ σπέρμα, ἐπὶ ἡγιασμένου τέκνα Ιακωβ, μερίδος ἡγιασμένης σου λαὸν ἐν ξένη γῆ ξένον ἀδίκως ἀπολλύμενον, πάτερ.<sup>125</sup>
- (6.4) σὺ Φαραῶ πληθύνοντα ἄρμασι, τὸν πρὶν Αἰγύπτου ταύτης δυνάστην, ἐπαρθέντα ἀνόμῳ θράσει καὶ γλώσση μεγαλορρήμονι, σὺν τῇ ὑπερηφάνῳ στρατιᾷ ποντοβρόχους ἀπώλεσας φέγγος ἐπιφάνας ἐλέους Ἰσραηλ γένει.
- (6.5) σὺ τὸν ἀναριθμήτοις δυνάμεσι γαυρωθέντα Σενναχηρεῖμ, βαρὺν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέα, δόρατι τὴν πᾶσαν ὑποχείριον ἤδη λαβόντα γῆν καὶ μετεωρισθέντα ἐπὶ τὴν ἁγίαν σου πόλιν, βαρέα λαλοῦντα κόμπῳ καὶ θράσει, σὺ, δέσποτα, ἔθραυσας ἔκδηλον δεικνὺς ἔθνεσι πολλοῖς τὸ σὸν κράτος.
- (6.6) σὺ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν τρεῖς ἐταίρους πυρὶ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐθαιρέτως δεδωκότας εἰς τὸ μὴ λατρεῦσαι τοῖς κενοῖς διάπυρον δροσίσας κάμινον ἐρρύσω μέχρι τριχῶς ἀπημάντους φλόγα πᾶσιν ἐπιπέμψας τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις.
- (6.7) σὺ τὸν διαβολαῖς φθόνου λέουσι κατὰ γῆς ριφέντα θηρσὶ βορὰν Δανιηλ εἰς φῶς ἀνήγαγες ἀσινῆ,
- (6.8) τὸν τε βυθοτρεφοῦς ἐν γαστρὶ κήτους Ἰωνᾶν τηκόμενον ἀφιδῶν ἀπήμαντον πᾶσιν οἰκείοις ἀνέδειξας, πάτερ.

Now a certain Eleazaros, a man well known among the priests of the country, who had already reached old age and been adorned with every virtue throughout his life, restrained the elders around him from calling upon the holy God and said the following prayer: ‘O king, dread sovereign, most high, almighty God, who govern all creation with compassion, look upon the seed of Abraham, upon the children of sanctified Jacob, the people of your sanctified inheritance, strangers in a strange land, who, O Father, are perishing unjustly. When Pharaoh, former ruler of Egypt, was waxing with chariots, conceited in his lawless impudence and boasting tongue, you destroyed him, drowned at sea together with his proud army, and showed forth the light of your mercy on the race of Israel. When Sennacherim, dread king of the Assyrians, gloried in his countless powers and, having already seized control over the entire land by the spear, was poised also to march against your holy city, speaking fiercely with boasting and insolence, you broke him, O Sovereign, displaying your might to many nations. When the three companions in Babylonia willingly gave their lives to the fire so as not to serve vain things, you sprinkled the scorching furnace and rescued them unharmed, even so far as a hair, and sent the flame upon all their enemies. When Daniel, through envious slander, was thrown

<sup>124</sup> The Greek text is that cited from Hanhart 1960: 62–63.

<sup>125</sup> Codex Alexandrinus omits *πάτερ*, an omission adopted by Croy (2006: 24; cf. 99).

to the lions below the earth as food for wild beasts, you brought him up to the light unscathed, and when Jonah wasted away in the belly of the sea monster raised in the depths, you looked to him, O Father, and revealed him to all his relations unscathed'.<sup>126</sup>

The prayer opens with several vocatives in apposition. Strotmann argues that *πάτερ* in 3 Macc 6.3 is used absolutely, expanded neither through apposition nor through attribution.<sup>127</sup> This makes the term unmarked and difficult to assign to a conceptual domain. Septuagintal vocatives are known to govern self-contained, entire clauses.<sup>128</sup> Both cases of the vocative *πάτερ* (3 Macc 6.3, 8) are clause-final, and necessitate looking back into the immediate context of the previous clauses for clues to authorial ostension.

From the preceding clauses, the term *πάτερ* in 3 Macc 6.3 is almost completely unassignable. Absoluteness with its attendant lack of grammatical modifiers means that *πάτερ* has few of the hallmarks essential to categorization. Without any discernible citations or allusions, the discussion must be confined to matters of context. The clause-initial positions of the other vocatives in the near context (*βασιλεῦ*, *ὑψιστε*, *θεέ*, 3 Macc 6.2) argue for their governance of the clause over against the clause-final *πάτερ*. The earlier vocatives would thus more naturally be the subjects of the imperative *ἐπίδε* (3 Macc 6.3) with its successive dependent clauses. The immediate context mentions the unjust perishing of the *σπέρμα Αβρααμ* (3 Macc 6.3), though this is not connected syntactically to *πάτερ*. The near context also references the domain of authority, as God is the governor (the Platonic term *διακυβερνῶν*, 3 Macc 6.2) over the entire creation.<sup>129</sup> Again, however, the phrase is more naturally appositional to the earlier vocatives, and its connection to

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<sup>126</sup> This translation is lightly redacted from that of Boyd-Taylor 2007: 527–58.

<sup>127</sup> Strotmann 1991: 302.

<sup>128</sup> Muraoka 2016: 188 n. 5.

<sup>129</sup> Muraoka (2016: 463) labels *πᾶς* (3 Macc 6.2) as ‘unquestionably attributive’, modifying *κτίσις*.

*πάτερ* is unclear. The preceding context of *πάτερ* (3 Macc 6.3) does not contribute satisfactorily to the assignation of conceptual domains.

Some have argued that the cases of the vocative *πάτερ* serve as framing devices to introduce both the first and second parts of the body of the prayer.<sup>130</sup> The string of vocatives that begin the prayer (3 Macc 6.2) indicate that the occurrences of *πάτερ* in 3 Macc 6.3, 8 are vocatives of redundant address. This special case of the vocative, even when clause-final, can serve as a forward-pointing device.<sup>131</sup> If the vocatives frame the prayer, then they surround a series of allusions which recall God's delivery of Israel (or representatives thereof) from perceived certain death: Pharaoh (3 Macc 6.4; with his *ἄρματα*, see Exod 14), Sennacherib (3 Macc 6.5; as βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων, see 3 Kgdms 18–19; 2 Chr 32), the three in Babylon (3 Macc 6.6; in the *κάμινος τοῦ πυρός*, etc., see Dan 3 LXX), Daniel (3 Macc 6.7; cf. *ῥιπτεῖν εἰς τοὺς λέοντας* in Dan 6), and Jonah (3 Macc 6.8; ἐν [τῇ κοιλίᾳ] τοῦ κήτους, cf. Jonah 2). This claim may be further cemented when one reads later in the chapter that the 'sons of the ... living God' bless him after having just escaped death (3 Macc 6.28–29). While this suggests some plausibility for the domain of generation in that God is called upon actively to oppose death, one should recall that the connection of these allusions to the *πάτερ* vocatives is not grammatical, but tenuously syntactical as forward-pointing framing devices. Such gossamer threads of evidence must be handled cautiously. The assignation of the Father designations in 3 Macc 6 to generation should thus only be made with due reservation.

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<sup>130</sup> Strotmann 1991: 310. Though Croy (2006: 101) ultimately opts for omitting the term in 3 Macc 6.3, he acknowledges that the framing of 3 Macc 6.4–8 with the vocative *πάτερ* argues in favor of the term's originality.

<sup>131</sup> Runge 2010: 117–22, esp. 122 n. 37. It should be noted that while Runge comments on Hellenistic Greek, his sampling population with few exceptions is the Greek of the NT rather than the LXX.

#### 2.3.4. Wisdom of Solomon 2

Protection and authority often mix in Wisdom's portrayals of divine fatherhood. One such case is God's concern to appoint the proper vice-regent to rule over his sons and daughters (*υἱῶν σου καὶ θυγατέρων*, Wis 9.7). God is negatively compared via simile to a father who protects his child by issuing a warning (*ὡς πατήρ*, Wis 11.10). He cares for his sons because he grants them repentance for sins, carefully judging and disciplining them (Wis 12.19–21; cf. Wis 9.4; 19.6). The domain of protection is attested again in Wis 14, where the Father is directly connected to divine providence, since he guarantees the safety of seagoing vessels (Wis 14.3). When venomous snakes were unleashed upon the people (cf. Num 21.4–9), God spared his sons by healing them (Wis 16.10). He teaches his sons, who dispense his word to the world (Wis 18.4), to believe that their preservation is by the very same word (Wis 16.26). Finally, God's discipline of other nations reveals his own people to be one corporate divine son (Wis 18.13).

Appeals to generative divine fatherhood also materialise throughout the book. In a lengthy oration about his own pursuit of wisdom that begins back in the sixth chapter, Solomon implicitly mentions generative divine fatherhood at the commencement of a prayer to God in Wis 9.<sup>132</sup> Technically, the deity's description by Solomon as 'God of the fathers' (*Θεὸς πατέρων*, Wis 9.1) would not qualify as an instance of the metaphor. What comes after, however, is more apt for the domain of generation. Solomon addresses God as 'the one who made (*ὁ ποιήσας*) all things by your word' (Wis 9.1). More specifically, God is the one who constructed (*κατασκευάζω*, Wis 9.2) humanity to rule over the realm he

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<sup>132</sup> The proposed structure follows that of Winston 1979: 9–12.

created.<sup>133</sup> As the paragon who would rule over the rulers, Solomon requests that God not reject him from among his children (*ἐκ παίδων σου*, Wis 9.4). The term *παῖς* can of course mean ‘servant’ rather than ‘child’, but it seems both meanings are in view here. Solomon describes himself as both *δοῦλος* and *υἱός* in the very next verse, seemingly attesting to the two main senses of *παῖς* (Wis 9.5). However, Solomon revisits the sense of ‘child’ when he recalls his own election by God to be ‘judge of your sons and daughters’ (*δικαστῆς υἱῶν σου καὶ θυγατέρων*, Wis 9.7). The language of sonship brings the paternal dimension to a context that easily fits into the domain of generation.

Perhaps generative divine fatherhood is best argued from Wis 2, however. Unlike the instances discussed in the previous deuterocanonical books, God is portrayed as Father ironically in Wis 2 by the ungodly (*ἀσεβεῖς*) who advocate the notion of death as finality by gainsaying the concept of an afterlife, which notion the ungodly claim is held by the righteous (*δίκαιος*). The passage presents the perspective of the ungodly—i.e., not the direct speech of the righteous, but the imagining by the ungodly of what the righteous *would* say. The ungodly consider both the beatific end state about which the righteous boasts and the relationship to God as Father—ostensibly the exclusive perquisite of the righteous—to be false. For the ungodly, it is inconceivable that even in death, God is shown to be the Father of the righteous (cf. their surprise at divine sonship in Wis 5.5).<sup>134</sup> Though it appears to be ironic in its utterances about an afterlife, Wisdom 2 nonetheless continues the OT theme of God as Father of the nation, developing the theme by explicitly

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<sup>133</sup> The presence of the verbs *ποιέω* and *κατασκευάζω* (on this term, cf. Muraoka 2009: 383) echoes the appeal to generative divine fatherhood in Isa 43. To advance the generative imagery, Solomon ascribes the existence of the creaturely realm to direct creation by God—humanity is to rule ‘over the creatures that were made by you’ (*τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ γενομένων κτισμάτων*, Wis 9.2).

<sup>134</sup> Strotmann 1991: 113.

limiting the privilege of filial relationship to the righteous, who may hope in a blessed end despite the possibility of an ignominious death.<sup>135</sup>

- (2.1) εἶπον γὰρ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς λογισάμενοι οὐκ ὀρθῶς ...  
(2.12) ἐνεδρεύσωμεν τὸν δίκαιον, ...  
(2.16) εἰς κίβδηλον ἐλογίσθημεν αὐτῶ, καὶ ἀπέχεται τῶν ὁδῶν ἡμῶν ὡς ἀπὸ ἀκαθαρσιῶν· μακαρίζει ἔσχατα δικαίων καὶ ἀλαζονεύεται πατέρα θεόν.  
(2.17) ἴδωμεν εἰ οἱ λόγοι αὐτοῦ ἀληθεῖς, καὶ πειράσωμεν τὰ ἐν ἐκβάσει αὐτοῦ·  
(2.18) εἰ γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ δίκαιος υἱὸς θεοῦ, ἀντιλήμψεται αὐτοῦ καὶ ῥύσεται αὐτὸν ἐκ χειρὸς ἀνθεστηκότων.  
(2.19) ὕβρει καὶ βασάνῳ ἐτάσωμεν αὐτόν, ἵνα γνῶμεν τὴν ἐπιείκειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ δοκιμάσωμεν τὴν ἀνεξικακίαν αὐτοῦ·  
(2.20) θανάτῳ ἀσχήμονι καταδικάσωμεν αὐτόν, ἔσται γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐπισκοπὴ ἐκ λόγων αὐτοῦ.  
(2.21) Ταῦτα ἐλογίσαντο, καὶ ἐπλανήθησαν· ἀπετύφλωσεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἡ κακία αὐτῶν,  
(2.22) καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν μυστήρια θεοῦ οὐδὲ μισθὸν ἤλπισαν ὁσιότητος οὐδὲ ἔκριναν γέρας ψυχῶν ἀμώμων.  
(2.23) ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἔκτισεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπ’ ἀφθαρσία καὶ εἰκόνα τῆς ἰδίας αἰδιότητος ἐποίησεν αὐτόν· ...

For they said among themselves, not reasoning rightly: ‘... let us lie in wait for the righteous one, ... we are considered by him [to be] base, and he keeps away from our ways as from immorality; he blesses the ends of the righteous ones and boasts that God is his Father. Let us see if his words are true and test the final affairs of his life; for if the righteous one is the son of God, he will help him and will deliver him from the hand of those set against him. With shameful insults and severe torment let us afflict him, so that we might learn his goodness and put his patient endurance to the test; to a shameful death let us condemn him, for according to his words he will be visited [by God]’. They reasoned these things, and they were led astray; for their evil blinded them, and they did not know the mystery of God nor hoped for the reward of piety nor judged the gift [received by] blameless souls. Because God created man [i.e., humanity] for incorruption and made him the image of his own nature.

Upon consideration of the larger context, one could with some justification assign the instance of divine fatherhood in this text to the domain of generation. The first chapter of Wisdom is largely devoted to the author’s warning against unrighteousness and association with the ungodly and their ways. The author admonishes his readers (οἱ κρίνοντες τὴν γῆν,

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<sup>135</sup> The text is cited from Ziegler 1962: 98, 100–101.



Wis 1.1) not to seek death by living in error because God did not make death, and the deity takes no delight in the destruction of the living (Wis 1.13). Death belongs, not to the works of divine creation, but to the sphere of the underworld.<sup>136</sup> Instead of originating death, the author avers that God created (*κτίζω*) all that exists, instilling wholesomeness in the ‘generative forces of the world’.<sup>137</sup> Just prior to Wis 2, the point of view shifts from primordial creation to themes of an eschatological nature. Those same salvation-bringing generative forces stand in opposition to the ‘kingdom of Hades’ (*ᾗδου βασιλειον*, Wis 1.14), which finds no terrestrial quarter due to deathless (*ἀθάνατος*, Wis 1.15), earth-entrenched righteousness.

The conversation among the unrighteous at the outset of Wis 2 turns first to their views of origin and destiny. The unrighteous initially assert the finality of death and the inescapability of Hades (Wis 2.1) before attributing their own existence to chance (the adverb *αὐτοσχεδίως* is used in Wis 2.2). The source of these avowals must be kept in mind because the author—who aligns himself with the righteous—is better able to rebut the contentions that fall from wicked lips. This last claim of accidental generation the author of Wisdom is careful to refute: God is the agent responsible for the well-planned creation (cf. Wis 2.23, discussed below). The author also counters the first claim, averring that the immortal souls of the righteous are ‘in the hand of God’, and they will assuredly be present to judge the nations and rule the people in the day of their visitation (see Wis 3.1–9).<sup>138</sup> The larger context where creation and fate are discussed in some detail set the reader up

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<sup>136</sup> Cf. Blischke 2015: 164–65.

<sup>137</sup> The phrase is: *αἱ γενέσεις τοῦ κόσμου* (Wis 1.14). The phrasing is very slightly adapted from the NETS translation. See also Niebuhr 2015: 9–13.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. Blischke 2015: 166.

for the appeal to generative divine fatherhood in the author's answer to the allegations of the unrighteous at the close of the second chapter.

The appeal to God as Father seems at first glance to be devoid of any richness where the argument of this chapter is concerned. After all, the Father designation (Wis 2.16) as it stands cannot be assigned to any particular domain. One should not miss, however, that appeal to divine fatherhood is ascribed to an individual. The unrighteous report the utterance of the righteous one who boasts that God is his [own] Father.<sup>139</sup> The source of this report may appear problematic: if the unrighteous are the ones making this statement, can its veracity be seriously entertained? The apparent problem resolves itself by two observations. First, the appeal comes in the reported speech of the righteous. It is not the unrighteous who are laying claim to the fatherhood of God; they are merely reporting what they consider to be the boastful assertions of the righteous. Second, when repentance overwhelms the unrighteous (Wis 5.1–13), the author writes that in exquisite reversal, the unrighteous will realise that they themselves were the ones boasting in vain (Wis 5.8). These two factors may help the interpreter to decide the truth of the appeal in Wis 2.16, making the report manifest to the reader. And if true, what was once the privilege only of the nation considered corporately has now extended even to the righteous individual within Israel—God is his own Father.

While the Father designation is unmarked, authorial ostension is more easily discernible in the following attestation to divine sonship (Wis 2.18) where θεός is the subject of two verbal clauses. The first verb, ἀντιλαμβάνομαι, suggests the domain of protection, though generation arguably lurks in the background. Elsewhere in the LXX,

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<sup>139</sup> The verb ἀλαζονεύομαι occurs in the third-person singular in Wis 2.16.

the verb means ‘to hold fast to’ when θεός is the object (cf. Isa 64.6 LXX), or ‘to come to the assistance of’ when θεός is the subject (cf. Isa 63.5).<sup>140</sup> Both senses occur in Isa 63–64, where, it has been argued, the author quite clearly appeals to generative divine fatherhood. The second verb, *ρύομαι*, is complicated by the modifying phrase *ἐκ χειρὸς ἀνθεστηκότων*. The near context helps define the intentions of the ἀνθεστηκότες. Their stated intentions are: to afflict the righteous with ‘insult and torture’ (*ὑβρις καὶ βάσανος*, Wis 2.19); and, to condemn the righteous ‘to a shameful death’ (*θανάτῳ ἀσχήμονι*, Wis 2.20), which accords with the metaphorical portrayal of God as the giver of life—in his delivery, God replaces death at the hands of the unrighteous with life.<sup>141</sup>

Other factors also evince generation. Remarkably, the text claims that God created humanity for incorruption (*ἀφθαρσία*) and in the image of his own nature (*[ἐπ’] εἰκόνα τῆς ἰδίας αἰδιότητος*, Wis 2.23). The use of *ἀφθαρσία* moves near the dynamic contrast of becoming/passing away.<sup>142</sup> The phrase ‘God created humanity for incorruption’ (*ὁ θεὸς ἔκτισεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπ’ ἀφθαρσία*, Wis 2.23) implies according to Hübner that humanity partakes in God’s gracious action (past and present) and participates in the heavenly world (in future).<sup>143</sup> To be more precise one could say that humanity was crafted by God for immortality; in a word, God made humankind to last.<sup>144</sup> Further defining this notion, the

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<sup>140</sup> Cf. Muraoka 2009: 59. It should be noted that θεός is not strictly the subject of *ἀντιλαμβάνομαι* in Isa 63.5, though the reported speech of the deity equates θεός with the non-existent *ἀντιλημψόμενος* whose role God fulfills. See also Winston 1979: 120, who provides other Isaian examples.

<sup>141</sup> Strotmann (1991: 114–15 n. 347) maintains that resurrection is not in view, citing Wis 2.1–5. However, the ironical nature of the text that she cites seems to argue against this. The preface of this very text alerts the reader that the ungodly did not reason rightly in what they proclaimed (*λογισάμενοι οὐκ ὀρθῶς*, Wis 2.1; cf. also their mistaken view in Wis 2.16). More plausibly, immortality of the soul, rather than resurrection, is in view in Wis 2, though the logic supporting Strotmann’s claim is inconsistent.

<sup>142</sup> Hübner 1999: 46–47.

<sup>143</sup> Hübner 1999: 47. He specifies that this participation occurs after the death of the righteous—which is to say, being withdrawn from the perishing world of the unrighteous.

<sup>144</sup> Thus Muraoka 2009: 106, who defines *ἀφθαρσία* as ‘immortality’. See also Blischke 2015: 162–63, who speaks of immortality as man’s destiny in creation (Ger.: *Schöpfungsbestimmung*).

verse ends with an allusion to the creation event in Genesis: ‘and he [i.e., God] created him [i.e., man as representative of humanity] in the image of his [i.e., God’s] own nature’ (καὶ εἰκόνα τῆς ἰδίας ἀϊδιότητος ἐποίησεν αὐτόν, Wis 2.23). Both ποιέω and εἰκών are present in Gen 1.27 LXX, and the clarifying term ἴδιος may represent the ֿ-suffix of the Hebrew *Vorlage* (בצלמו, Gen 1.27 MT).<sup>145</sup> According to the author, the hallmark of the divine image is characterised by eternity (cf. ἀϊδιότης, Wis 2.23). The unrighteous are mistaken: those who belong to the righteous, and are related filially to God, understand that God created humanity to be immortal and eternal; death is reserved for those outside the filial relationship, those in league with the devil (Wis 2.24).

Generative divine fatherhood in the book of Wisdom is a latent trove waiting to be mined. Offering prayer in Wis 9, Solomon the king attests to God’s special creation of humankind to rule over the rest of the creaturely realm, simultaneously remembering his election to reign over these sons and daughters of the deity. Wisdom occasionally displays convergence between divine fatherhood and concepts closely akin to resurrection, moving beyond implicit appeal through sonship (as in Wis 9) to direct designation of God as Father. Examining Wisdom 2 in the frame of its wider context enables the reader to look beneath the surface through to individuated filial relation with God (Wis 2.16) and divine delivery from death or near-death (cf. Wis 2.20). The unrighteous are darkened in their reasoning; they attribute life to mere chance and suppose that death means annihilation. Their futile thinking invites the rebuttal of the author: God created humanity for immortality, fashioning each person with his own eternal image. Despite the idle threats

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<sup>145</sup> On reflexive or possessive pronominal suffixes in construct nouns that are the objects of prepositions, as בצלמו in Gen 1.27, see Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 302–305.

of the unrighteous to deal a shameful death to the righteous, God will preserve the righteous person through the prospect of death. The unrighteous appear to be incensed at the righteous one's boasting that God is his Father (Wis 2.16), but Wisdom insists that they are mistaken. Like other Second Temple authors, the writer of Wisdom narrows the filial relationship to the righteous within Israel—even to the level of an individual—and appeals to generative divine fatherhood in contexts where God delivers from death.

### 2.3.5. Jubilees 1

Only two occurrences (Jub. 1.24–28; 19.29) of the divine fatherhood metaphor in the book of Jubilees are worthy of note, and the occurrence in the prologue aligns most closely to the present argument. However, the metaphor makes an intriguing appearance in Jub. 19. The text innovates with the blessing bestowed upon Jacob, not mistakenly by his father, Isaac—that episode comes in Jub. 26 as a retelling of Gen 27—but deliberately by his grandfather, Abraham.<sup>146</sup> To conclude the word of blessing, Abraham expresses his hope that God may become (from the common verb, *h̄t*) Jacob's father. With Jacob standing in for his descendants, the blessing forms the end of a chiasm begun in Jub. 19.18 and echoes the theme of Israel's election.<sup>147</sup>

The occurrence of the metaphor in the prologue follows as divine response to the prayer of Moses (Jub. 1.19–21), which requests that God create for Israel a pure mind and a holy spirit (Jub. 1.21).<sup>148</sup> Israel's adherence to God and his commands precedes the

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<sup>146</sup> Abraham will bless Jacob again in Jub. 22.

<sup>147</sup> Van Ruiten 2012: 247–48; VanderKam 2018: 601–602.

<sup>148</sup> Cf. Endres 2007: 35–37. Charles (1902: lxxxiv, esp. n. 2) even claims Paul's dependence on the metaphor in the prologue!

revelation that God will relate to Israel as a father to his son(s). The text makes no mention of any regal figure, the expected recipient of such an intimate relationship with God (the purported setting antedates the monarchic period), but expands the divine fatherhood metaphor, not merely to Israel corporately, but to the individuals within the nation. Endres posits on contextual grounds that God as Creator is clearly in view in the prayer, since Moses' petition to the deity to preserve the lives of God's own people immediately precedes.<sup>149</sup>

- (1.24) ወትተሉ ፡ ነፍሶሙ ፡ ኅቤየ ፡ ወበኩሉ ፡ ትእዛዝየ ፡ ወይገብሩ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ ትእዛዛትየ ፡ ወእከውኖሙ ፡ ኣበ<sup>150</sup> ፡ ወእሙንቱ ፡ ይከውኑኒ ፡ ውሉደ ።
- (1.25) ወይሰመዩ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ ውሉደ ፡ ኣምላክ ፡ ሕያው ፡ ወየአምሮሙ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ መልአክ ፡ ወኩሉ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ወያአምሮሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ እሙንቱ ፡ ውሉደየ ፡ ወአነ ፡ ኣቡሆሙ ፡ በርትዕ ፡ ወበጽድቅ ፡ ወአፈቅሮሙ ።
- (1.26) ወአንተ ፡ ጸሐፍ ፡ ለከ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ነገረ ፡ ዘአነ ፡ አየድዐከ ፡ በዝንቱ ፡ ደብር ፡ ዘቀዳሚ ፡ ወዘደኃሪ ፡ ወዘይመጽእ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ በኩሉ ፡ ኩፋሌ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ ዘበሕግ ፡ ወዘበስምዕ ፡ ወበሱባዔሆሙ ፡ ለኢዮቤልምን ፡ እስከ ፡ ለዓለም ። እስከ ፡ ሶበ ፡ እወርድ ፡ ወአኅድር ፡ ምሰሌሆሙ ፡ በኩሉ ፡ ዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ።
- (1.27) ወይቤሎ ፡ ለመልአክ ፡ ገጽ ፡ ጸሐፍ ፡ ለሙሴ ፡ እምቀዳሚ ፡ ፍጥረት ፡ እስከ ፡ አመ ፡ ይትሐነጽ ፡ መቅደስየ ፡ በማእከሎሙ ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለማት ።
- (1.28) ወያስተርኢ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለዐይነ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ወያአምር ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ከመ ፡ አነ ፡ ኣምላክ ፡ እስራኤል ፡ ወአብ ፡ ለኩሎሙ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ ያዕቆብ ፡ ወንጉሥ ፡ በደብረ ፡ ጽዮን ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ወትከውን ፡ ጽዮን ፡ ወኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ቅድስት ።

‘Their souls will adhere to me and to all my commandments. They will perform my commandments. I will become their father, and they will become my children. All of them will be called children of the living God. Every angel and every spirit will know them. They will know that they are my children and that I am their father in a just and proper way and that I love them. Now you write all these words which I will tell you on this mountain: what is first and what is last and what is to come during all the divisions of time which are in the law and which are in the testimony and in the weeks of their jubilees until eternity — until the time when I descend and live with them throughout all the ages of eternity’. Then he said to an angel of the presence: ‘Dictate to Moses (starting) from the beginning of the creation until the time when my temple is built among them throughout the ages of eternity. The Lord will appear in the sight of all, and all will know that I am the God of Israel,

<sup>149</sup> The language of creation is also present. Cf. the two instances of ፈጠረ (‘to create’) in Jub. 1.20, 21 respectively. In the background, Endres suggests both Deuteronomy 9 with Moses recounting his lengthy intercession to prevent the people’s destruction at the Lord’s hand, and Psalm 51 with its language of divine creation of a new spirit to indwell the psalmist. The text is taken from VanderKam 1989a: 5–6. On the place of the prologue in Jubilees, see Monger 2017: 83–112.

<sup>150</sup> MS 12 has ኣምላክ (‘God’) in lieu of ኣበ (‘father’).

the father of all Jacob's children, and the king on Mt. Zion for the ages of eternity. Then Zion and Jerusalem will become holy'.<sup>151</sup>

The prologue is reminiscent of 2 Sam 7, which may serve as the source text. As mentioned earlier, 2 Sam 7 recounts the divine covenant with David where God promises to establish the Davidic kingdom. A key component of the promise is the father-son relationship that God vows to make with David's progeny.<sup>152</sup> Markedly similar language occurs in the prologue to Jubilees, but with one noteworthy difference: in Jubilees, the relationship extends to the nation, and is 'expressive of God's close relationship with all his children, with no distinction made within Israel'.<sup>153</sup>

Other contextual differences obtain.<sup>154</sup> Presumably, there was no king over the nation when Jubilees was written.<sup>155</sup> Furthermore, Jubilees is set in an eschatological frame in which God will purify his people, instilling his holy spirit in them. Nor is the promise of the prologue unconditional as in 2 Sam 7. Rather, it is dependent upon the corporate return to God by the nation.<sup>156</sup> The divine message to Moses at the outset of the prologue reveals the conditional nature of the promise by stressing the pattern of God's rejection by the Israelite nation, followed by the nation's exile and eventual return as the true and faithful people of God (Jub. 1.7–18). The relation between God and 'my people' (Jub. 1.17) transitions to God and 'my children' later in the prologue (Jub. 1.24).<sup>157</sup>

The Father as the 'living God' reflects the translation of the adjective אֱלֹהִים (from

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<sup>151</sup> The translation is that of VanderKam 1989b: 5–6, emphasis original.

<sup>152</sup> The text of 2 Sam 7.14 reads: אֲנִי אֶהְיֶה לָּאָב וְהוּא יִהְיֶה לִּי בֶן.

<sup>153</sup> VanderKam 2018: 160; see also Puech 2001: 296. Note the plural אֲלֹהִים (lit., 'sons', Jub. 1.24); cf. the singular אֱלֹהִים (ל) in 2 Sam 7.14. Cf. the similar extension of divine fatherhood to the nation in Jub. 19.29.

<sup>154</sup> Cf. Strotmann 1991: 233–34.

<sup>155</sup> VanderKam (2018: 25–38) deems the book to be written between the 170s and 125 BCE.

<sup>156</sup> VanderKam 2018: 160.

<sup>157</sup> VanderKam 2018: 160.

the verb ለይወ, ‘to live’). Dillmann and Bezold classify the adjective as strongly active, signifying agency.<sup>158</sup> One could therefore say that the Father is the agent of life, imparting life to whom he wishes. This is quite significant: in Jub. 1 we find the strongly active role of God in the generation of life connected to divine fatherhood. From such classification, one could translate the adjective as the ‘one who lives’. Strotmann has circumvented the Ethiopic, appealing directly to the Hebrew counterpart, אִי. Following Helmer Ringgren, she connects the term to God’s intervening and saving Israel from her enemies. In the absence of a Hebrew *Vorlage* for this verse, it is difficult to evaluate the merits of such a connection.

Strotmann distinguishes between divine designations in the prologue to Jubilees.<sup>159</sup> She argues that ‘God’ (አምላክ) and ‘king’ (ንጉሥ) are titles relating to the nation corporately, while ‘Father’ (አብ) relates to the individual members of the nation. Several factors seem to frustrate her claim. The divine titles occur in series (Jub. 1.28). It is perhaps more reasonable to conclude that these titles refer to one aspect of God’s relation to Israel, rather than attempting to differentiate the elements of the series. Other occurrences of divine sonship language in Jubilees (Jub. 2.20; 19.29) tend to emphasise the corporate nature of the relation between God and Israel. Authorial consistency suggests that such would also be the case in the prologue. Moreover, the references to Israel in the prologue are consistently plural. The description of God as ‘Father’ in Jub. 1.28 surely relates anaphorically to Jub. 1.24–25, where God twice refers to ‘sons’ (‘children’ in VanderKam’s translation, the word is the plural form of ወልድ; *contra* Jub. 2.20; 19.29). We may conclude

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<sup>158</sup> Dillmann and Bezold 1907: §109.3.a, p. 229. VanderKam notes that the language is reminiscent of Hos 2.1 (בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים). See VanderKam 2018: 160.

<sup>159</sup> Strotmann 1991: 233, 245, 252.



that God as the agent and giver of life relates to Israel corporately as a father to his children.

### 2.3.6. 4Q416 2 iii (4QInstruction<sup>b</sup>)

Dated by consensus to the mid-second century BCE, and structurally framed by allusions to the fifth commandment (both in Exod. 20 and Deut. 5), 4Q416 2 iii innovates in the allusion to the Decalogue by the mention of poverty and indigence, repeating characteristic themes begun in the first lines (cf. 4Q416 2.iii.3–8).<sup>160</sup> Lines 15 through 19 are concerned with a child's relationship with parents, an encouragement to filial piety.<sup>161</sup> The fragment continues with advice on marriage, which extends into 4Q416 2 iv.

(frag. 2 iii, line 15) <sup>162</sup>	כבוד אביכה ברישכה...
(2.iii.16)	ואמכה במצעדיכה כי כאב לאיש כן אביהו וכאדנים לגבר כן אמו כי
(2.iii.17)	המה כור הוריכה וכאשר המשילמה בכה <sup>163</sup> ויצר על הרוח כן עובדם ...
(2.iii.18)	גלה אוזנכה ברו נהיה כבדם למען כבודכה וביי[הדר פניהמה
(2.iii.19)	למען חייכה וארוך ימיכה [vacat] ואם רש אתה כשה ]

Honour your father in your poverty, and your mother in your low estate. For as [God] (in some MSS, 'the Father') is to a man, so is his own father; and as the Lord is to a person, so is his mother; for they are 'the womb that was pregnant with you'; and just as He has set them in authority over you and fashioned you according to the Spirit, so serve them, ... they have uncovered your ear to the mystery that is to come, honour them for the sake of your own honour and with [reverence] venerate their persons, for the sake of your life and of the length of your days. [vacat] And if you are poor as we[re ... just as ...]<sup>164</sup>

<sup>160</sup> On the dating, see Elgvin 1997: 183–85; Wold 2016: 329. For the fragment's structure, see Rey 2009: 191.

<sup>161</sup> Goff 2013: 109.

<sup>162</sup> The text is from Strugnell and Harrington 1999: 110. The editors note (1999: 112) that אביהו is a certain reading, though a tear in the MS fragment runs through the word. The beginning of the pericope (at the end of line 15) is supported by Rey 2009: 183.

<sup>163</sup> The term ויצר ('to form', 'to fashion') listed in the critical edition could have י, ו, or ד standing for what the editors have labelled as ר: 'all have the same descender, and most of the top of the letter is lost'. Strugnell and Harrington 1999: 112.

<sup>164</sup> Adapted from Strugnell and Harrington 1999: 113, emphasis retained.

The ‘theological rationale’ for filial piety toward one’s parents is its similarity to honouring God.<sup>165</sup> Where 4Q418 9.xvii.2 has **כאל** (‘as God’), 4Q416 2.iii.16 has the *lectio difficilior* **כאב**. The editors of the critical edition reject the reading in 4Q416 on grounds of unnecessary verbal repetition (cf. the following **אביהו**), tautology (‘like the Father [God?] is to a man, so is his own father’), and scribal error: **כאב** ‘could have been written accidentally under the influence of the following **אביהו**’.<sup>166</sup> The editors further claim that the epithet of ‘Father’ attributed to God is never paralleled with certainty in Biblical Hebrew or in the Second Temple literature. Strugnell and Harrington propose the rabbinical trope **מדות**, juxtaposing two titles for God, **אדנים** and **אל**: ‘a man’s father represents **אל** (God *qua* Creator, Sovereign, and Judge), and his mother (*qua* merciful, loving, and gracious) represents **אדנים** (the non-suffixed form of the plural **אדני**, which itself is the late biblical substitute for, or pronunciation of, **יהוה**)’.<sup>167</sup> The editors’ interpretation has several problems, however: the *lectio difficilior* is not accepted; the two titles are contrasted nowhere else; and, there are no contextual clues suggesting the attributes associated with the titles by the editors.<sup>168</sup>

Rey largely follows the editors here, claiming that God is never referred to as ‘Father’ absolutely, but is only so designated with a personal pronoun (e.g., ‘our Father’) or with the accompaniment of ‘God’ (i.e., ‘God and Father’).<sup>169</sup> He argues that the author places the accent upon the similarity between the relation which man has with God and that which he must maintain toward his parents. The author of 4Q416 wants to signify

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<sup>165</sup> Goff 2013: 110.

<sup>166</sup> Strugnell and Harrington 1999: 120. Cf. Caquot 1996: 14; Goff 2013: 110.

<sup>167</sup> Strugnell and Harrington 1999: 121.

<sup>168</sup> Wold 2004b: 151–52.

<sup>169</sup> Rey 2009: 185, esp. n. 12. He offers as possible exceptions Sirach 23.4 and Wisdom 2.16.

according to Rey that man must have the same relation with his father or mother that he has with God. He must honour his parents as he honours God, because his parents are as God to him.<sup>170</sup>

With its similitive construction, is **כאב** really an absolute designation for God? This exact term is also found in 4Q415 2.ii.1, though lacunae prevent the precise identification of the term's referent there. Wold argues, however, that 4Q416 2 iii is better interpreted in light of 4Q417 2 i, where a possible allusion to Gen 1.26–27 seemingly aligns with a tradition that ascribes the creation of humanity both to God and to angels (where **אלהים** from Gen 1.26–27 = **קדושים** in 4Q417 2.i.17). Wold further notes the cosmological framing of the four columns of 4Q416 and concludes that 4Q416 2.iii.16 refers to the creation of humanity by God (as 'Father', preferring the harder reading **כאב**) and the angels (as 'lords', **אדנים**). The simile of mothers to angels, rather than to **יהוה**, complements the concern elsewhere to explain household order without appeal to Genesis 3.<sup>171</sup> Whether one accepts Wold's intriguing case for the *lectio difficilior*—indeed, regardless of which reading is preferred—the simile relating fathers to God remains intact.<sup>172</sup>

Three important factors argue against detecting divine generation in this fragment. The first factor materialises in the difficult phrase that describes one's parents in lines 16–17: **כי המה כור הוריכה**.<sup>173</sup> The term **כור** ('crucible', 'oven', or 'womb')<sup>174</sup> also seems to apply to both parents in the text. Goff overcomes this difficulty by noting that the subsequent instructions on marriage refer to husband and wife as 'one flesh' (**בשר אחד**, 4Q416 2.iv.4,

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<sup>170</sup> Rey 2009: 186.

<sup>171</sup> Cf. 4Q416 2.iii–iv. See also Wold 2016: 341–45.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. Wold 2004b: 151.

<sup>173</sup> Strugnell and Harrington 1999: 121.

<sup>174</sup> *DCH* 4.377. See also Goff 2013: 111.

a possible allusion to Gen 2.24 where the exact language is used).<sup>175</sup> The term כּוֹר could also be an allusion to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11.8–9 (*Hodayot*), where the term has typically been applied to the womb of a pregnant woman.<sup>176</sup> The second factor is the ambiguous term הוֹרִיכָה, from either הָרָה or יָרָה. While the term could either mean ‘to bear’ (i.e., ‘to give birth to’)—the verb does have the rare masculine subject (Num 11.12; cf. הוֹרִי, ‘the ones who conceived me’, a seeming application to both parents in Gen 49.26)—or, ‘to educate’, the author in a case of deliberate ambiguity could have played upon both meanings of birthing and educating.<sup>177</sup> The third factor concerns the *varia lectio* וַיִּצַר (‘to form, to fashion’, 4Q416 2.iii.17; with יְהוָה or אֱלֹהִים as subject, ‘to create’: Gen 2.7 *BHQ*; cf. Isa 43.7, Jer 1.5). Rey argues against the reading of the verb וַיִּצַר listed in the critical edition on three accounts: (1) being a long letter, ר would have touched the following ע; (2) the pronoun ‘you’ is rarely omitted; and (3) as a grammatical matter, the verb יִצַר is never constructed with the preposition עַל.<sup>178</sup> He proposes instead the reading וַיִּצֹו (*piel*/impf. of the verb צוּה, ‘to command’), which he claims is best paleographically. Contextual grounds further strengthen Rey’s dissent. The verb צוּה would complete the parallelism begun by מִשַׁל, supplementing the domain of parental authority granted by God.<sup>179</sup> The use of צוּה would also form an *inclusio* with line 15 by its allusion to the fifth commandment. However, יִצַר

<sup>175</sup> Goff 2013: 111–12. The allusion may signal authorial ostension. I could not verify Goff’s second argument by reference elsewhere in *4QInstruction*<sup>a</sup> to the concept of the wife’s womb belonging to the husband. He cites 4Q415 9.ii, but perhaps by scribal transposition he intends comment on מוֹלְדִים in 4Q415 2.ix.

<sup>176</sup> Bergmann 2008: 184, 187 esp. nn. 98–99; Goff 2013: 111, esp. n. 54.

<sup>177</sup> *DCH* 2.591–92; 4.291–92; Rey 2009: 189.

<sup>178</sup> Rey 2009: 190. Concerning the third point, he notes (2009: 190 n. 32) two exceptions: ‘En Is 54,17 et Jr 18,11 on trouve יִצַר suivit de l’accusatif puis de עַל dans le sens de “créer quelque chose pour ou sur quelqu’un”’.

<sup>179</sup> The term הַמְשִׁילָמָה is in the *hiphil* stem, meaning ‘to cause to rule’. The subject is אֵל (either as אָב or אֲדֹנָי), and the object of place/thing is the inheritance of the children. See *DCH* 5.536. See also Goff 2013: 112, who agrees with Rey on the reading וַיִּצֹו.

may also be supported by appeal to context and literary analysis. The notion of creation and forming may be argued if one interprets **נור** in the same line as ‘womb’, and if one considers linkage between 4Q416 2.iii.17 and 4Q417 2.i.17, where **יצירי** occurs as ‘his [i.e., God’s; cf. **אל** in 4Q417 2.i.15] fashioning’ or ‘his formation’.<sup>180</sup>

We may tentatively conclude that 4Q416 portrays parents as creators in the image of the Creator, i.e., God the Father.<sup>181</sup> The *lectio difficilior* **נאב** stands in a simile relating God to fathers. The allusion to the fifth commandment occurs in a context that is overtly (pro-)creative. If I have interpreted several difficult terms correctly, then parents are the **נור** that birthed and educated their children; so, too, is one formed (**יציר**) and instructed by God. By passing on knowledge and faith to their children—the second idea highlighted in the passage, an extension of the main idea of lines 12–14—the parents may be closer to the Creator than by the actual act of proper begetting.<sup>182</sup> This means that whether one accepts the reading **יצר** or **צוה**, the proximity of the parents to the Creator is maintained. Though the immediate context seems to share the view of Sirach in rejecting bodily resurrection (cf. 4Q416 2.iii.5–8), elsewhere in *4QInstruction*, the logic of resurrection is likely.<sup>183</sup> Once more, generative divine fatherhood is invoked in relation to small groups, in the case of 4Q416 2 iii, parents and (secondarily) their children.

### 2.3.7. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan

I have chosen from the vast amount of targumim two texts that treat of divine, generative

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<sup>180</sup> Wold 2004b: 159.

<sup>181</sup> Cf. Rey 2009: 191, esp. n. 34, citing similar ideas in Philo, *Spec.* 2.224–25; *Decal.* 50–51.

<sup>182</sup> So Rey 2009: 192.

<sup>183</sup> For example: 4Q418 69.12–14; 126.ii.7–8. See also Elledge 2017: 169–72.

fatherhood. These texts are of interest to our argument not only because of their potential antiquity (though the dating of targumim is fraught with difficulty and is thus a highly disputed exercise—the targumic tradition may be considered to emerge after the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem), but also because of the divergence of their treatment with some of the other selected texts from among the Second Temple literature. Aramaic interpretive translations of the OT with occasional narrative insertions, the early targumim travel in opposite directions relative to the previously indicated trends within the other Second Temple literature in two ways. First, the targumim practise greater restraint in addressing God as Father.<sup>184</sup> Second, in those rare instances where God is addressed as Father, the translators of the targumim seem reluctant to assign the Father-relation to individuals.<sup>185</sup> One may see in these two tendencies the diversity of belief in the Second Temple period, esp. in the earliest targumim. When attempting to date the oldest targumim, generally held to be that of Onqelos and Jonathan, some have opted for a date in the first century CE. However, Levey has argued for the *terminus a quo* of the targum to the Latter Prophets to be comparable to that of the LXX: between 200 and 150 BCE.<sup>186</sup> Targum Jonathan demonstrates the two tendencies of reluctance to address God as Father, and to assign the divine fatherhood relation to individuals in the targum of Malachi.<sup>187</sup>

הא על ברא אמיר ליקרא ית אבא ועבדא למדחל מן קדם רבוניה ואם כאב אנא אן דאתון מיקרין קדמי ואם  
 כרבוך אנא אן דאתון מן קדמי אמר יוי צבאות לכוך כהניא דמבסרין על שמי  
 ואם תימרון במא בסרנא על שמך :  
 (1.6)  
 הלא אבא חד לכולנא הלא אלה חד ברא יתנא מדין נשקר גבר באחוהי לאפסא קימא דעם

<sup>184</sup> Schelbert 2011: 85, 96.

<sup>185</sup> An exception to this is the retention of the singular suffix for אביך in Tg. Onq. Deut 32.6.

<sup>186</sup> Chyet 1998: 97; Schelbert 2011: 72. The discovery of targumim among the literature of Qumran lend further credence to early dating, though these differ from the medieval targumic traditions. Levey argues further (in Chyet 1998: 102) that the *terminus ad quem* cannot be earlier than the Arab conquest of Babylonia in the sixth century CE. See also Fleisher and Chilton 2011: 157–58, who argue for 400 CE as the latest possible date; also favoured by Hayward 2010: 234–58.

<sup>187</sup> The text is taken from Sperber 1962: 3.500, 502.

‘Behold, it is said concerning a son that he is to show honour to the father, and a servant should show reverence to his master. Now, if I am like a father, where is it that you are honouring me? And if I am like a master, where is it that you are showing reverence to me?’ says the Lord of hosts to you, O priests, who despise my name. And if you say, ‘How have we despised your name?’ ... Have we not all one father? Did not one God create us? Why then do we deal deceitfully each with his brother, so as to profane the covenant which was with our fathers?<sup>188</sup>

The targum displays a concern for protecting divine sanctity. For instance, the translation circumvents negative comments about God by re-framing the question ‘where is my glory?’ (אייה כבודי, Mal 1.6, *BHQ*), thereby eliminating an interpretation that supposes the possibility of robbing God of his glory.<sup>189</sup> Likewise, in translation humanity (in this case, the cohort of spiteful priests) is held at one further remove from God: where MT retains the direct metaphor of divine fatherhood, the targum converts the metaphor to simile by the term כאב (‘like a father’, Tg. Ps.-J. Mal 1.6).<sup>190</sup> This perceived remove is more difficult to maintain when one considers the term אבא in Tg. Ps.-J. Mal 2.10, however. Here, we seem to have the ‘Father’ designation directly applied to God. To overcome this difficulty, Schelbert suggests that אבא is applied to God in two different ways: as an address to God, or as a statement or declaration about God, the latter (he argues) being the sense applied in Tg. Ps.-J. Mal 2.10.<sup>191</sup> Others have deemed Schelbert’s solution improbable due to translational limitation.<sup>192</sup> Nevertheless, one may see in several places in Tg. Ps.-J. the abrogation of direct relation to God as Father in favour of similitive language.

<sup>188</sup> The translation is lightly adapted from Cathcart and Gordon 1989: 229–30, 233, and Wold 2004b: 156.

<sup>189</sup> Cf. Cathcart and Gordon 1989: 230 n. 15; Gordon 1994: 128. See also Syr.

<sup>190</sup> Cf. Tg. Ps.-J. 2 Sam 7.14, where the ל preposition (designating ‘for a father’) is changed to the comparative כ preposition (‘as a father’); Tg. Ps.-J. Isa 63.16; 64.7. See also Schelbert 2011: 106–10, who also notes the use of the distancing preposition, קדמי. See also *HALOT* 5.1967; Joosten 2010: 91–93. Whereas MT directly relates God to ‘Father’, the relation is comparative in Tg. Ps.-J.

<sup>191</sup> Schelbert 2011: 110.

<sup>192</sup> Cf. Jeremias 1966: 58–67, esp. 62.

The targum usually opts for terminology that would emphasise the transcendence of God over against his nearness, often changing language that may minimise God's transcendence, esp. with respect to the divine relationship toward humanity.<sup>193</sup> An instance of this emphasis occurs in the section on Deuteronomy.<sup>194</sup>

האפשר דלשום מימרא דיי אתון גמלין דא עמא דהוון טפשיין וקבילו אורייתא ולא חכימו הלא הוא אבוכון  
דיקנא יתכון הוא ברא יתכון ושכליל יתכון (32.6)

Is it possible that for the Name of the Memra of the Lord you are recompensing this nation who was foolish, and, having received the Law, has not become wise? Is it not your Father who acquired you; him who created you and adorned you?<sup>195</sup>

Two items of note in the Deuteronomy targum may be briefly discussed, one primary, and the other secondary. The first noteworthy difference between the MT and the translation is the change from singular suffix (אביך, Deut 32.6, *BHQ*) to plural (אבוכון, Tg. Ps.-J. Deut 32.6). This subtle alteration indicates authorial ostension as an address to the people, rather than to any individual.<sup>196</sup> The consequence of the alteration is that divine transcendence is favoured over divine immanence: God no longer relates as Father to an individual within the Israelite nation but is Father only to the multitude. Paul seems to counteract this trend by his discussion of God's close relation to himself and his readers as Father through connection to Jesus (e.g., in Rom 8). The second noteworthy difference is the interpretative selection of the more explicit, technical verb ברי for the original עשה from MT.<sup>197</sup> This selection carries the more specific nuance of creation, which occurs with some frequency when God is designated as Father. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan thus

<sup>193</sup> See Smolar and Aberbach 1983: 137–50.

<sup>194</sup> The text is cited from Clarke 1984: 249.

<sup>195</sup> The translation is taken from Clarke 1998: 90.

<sup>196</sup> Schelbert 2011: 98.

<sup>197</sup> See also the alteration to עבד in Tg. Onq. Deut 32.6. Cf. Sperber 1959: 1.346.



continues the discussion of generative divine fatherhood, even when the designation of God as Father is comparatively rare, and the Father relation is withheld from individuals in favour of larger groups.

### 2.3.8. Sibylline Oracles 3

Likely dating to the mid-first century BCE,<sup>198</sup> the third Sibyl contains only one passage attesting to generative divine fatherhood, implicitly through appeal to divine sonship. Two major themes coalesce to form the contextual background of the passage. The third book addresses the proper worship of the one God. Positively, this is expressed by the author's communication to God as Creator; negatively, this is expressed as repeated warnings against idolatry.<sup>199</sup> Both facets, positive and negative, resonate through the implicit appeal to generative divine fatherhood beginning at Sib. Or. 3.702. The third Sibyl also exhibits an eschatological character. This is particularly the case in Sib. Or. 3.710–23, a passage whose central motif is described by Buitenwerf as 'God's intervention in world history'.<sup>200</sup> Divine intervention alone would not satisfy the conditions needed for the passage to be deemed eschatological. However, the author of the third book displays a definite concern for the future, and particularly what the future has in store for humanity, whether pious or impious.<sup>201</sup> This concern is evident in the implicit appeal to generative divine

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<sup>198</sup> Collins pinpoints the date of the third book thus, arguing that the book was written no later than the latter years of the first century BCE. Cf. his comments in Charlesworth 1983: 1.354–55. Buitenwerf (2003: 126–30) argues that the work is of Jewish origin, composed between 80 and 40 BCE. *Pace* Nikiprowetzky 1970: 209–12.

<sup>199</sup> See Sib. Or. 3.275–79, 545–50, 601–607. Cf. Buitenwerf 2003: 334.

<sup>200</sup> Buitenwerf 2003: 335, 342.

<sup>201</sup> God's future destruction of sinners and exaltation of the righteous directly relate to Sib. Or. 3.702–709. However, Buitenwerf cautions that the author's main concerns are not eschatological *per se* but are rather moral. See further Buitenwerf 2003: 346, 362–63.

fatherhood, which occurs in the midst of the author's discourse on divine action accomplishing the salvation of the elect (Sib. Or. 3.652–731).<sup>202</sup>

- (3.702) υἱοὶ δ' αὖ μέγαλοιο θεοῦ περι ναὸν ἅπαντες  
(3.703) ἡσυχίως ζήσοντ' εὐφραινόμενοι ἐπὶ τούτοις,  
(3.704) οἷς δώσει κτίστης ὁ δικαιοκρίτης τε μόναρχος. ...  
(3.724) ταῦτα βοήσουσιν ψυχαὶ πιστῶν ἀνθρώπων·  
(3.725) δεῦτε, θεοῦ κατὰ δῆμον ἐπὶ στομάτεσσι πεσόντες  
(3.726) τέρψωμεν ὕμνοισι θεὸν γενετῆρα κατ' οἴκους, ...

But the sons of the great God will all live peacefully around the Temple, rejoicing in these things which the Creator, just judge and sole ruler, will give. ... The souls of faithful men will cry out as follows: 'Come, let us fall on our faces throughout the people of God, and let us delight with hymns God the begetter, throughout our homes', ...<sup>203</sup>

These lines support the third Sibyl's prime consideration: that proper worship is the deity's due. As the object of proper worship, God is duly described. He is the active God who protects, even vindicates his own (Sib. Or. 3.705, 708), while consigning the impious to judgement and death (cf. Sib. Or. 3.669–701). Contrasting with the tableau of summary judgement and execution for the impious is the author's emphasis on divine deathlessness. God is referred to as 'immortal' in poetic terms.<sup>204</sup> He is the 'eternal' (ἀέναιος, Sib. Or. 3.698, 717) God. The author insists on strict monotheism (cf. Sib. Or. 3.629, 760). Mention of the Temple in Jerusalem (Sib. Or. 3.702) corroborates the author's conviction—the one Temple for the one God.<sup>205</sup> The Temple would become the locus of proper worship of the great Creator God by his own sons (υἱοί, Sib. Or. 3.702).

While 'sons of the great God' (υἱοὶ μέγαλοιο θεοῦ, Sib. Or. 3.702) may be the

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<sup>202</sup> The text is from Geffcken 1902: 84–85.

<sup>203</sup> The translation is by Collins in Charlesworth 1983: 1.377–78.

<sup>204</sup> The author refers to God as ἀθανάτοιο (Sib. Or. 3.672, 676, 679), ἄμβροτος (Sib. Or. 3.693), and ἀθάνατος (Sib. Or. 3.709).

<sup>205</sup> Cf. Buitenwerf 2003: 335, 349–53.

author's circumlocution for Jews as opposed to non-Jews,<sup>206</sup> one should not overlook the generative nuances that attend this instance of divine sonship, since they can aid the reader in determining authorial ostension. These sons of the future will live (ζάω, Sib. Or. 3.703),<sup>207</sup> having been sustained by their Creator (κτίστης, Sib. Or. 3.704). The term κτίστης is attested variously throughout the Second Temple literature; when applied to God, it always signifies his role as Creator.<sup>208</sup> It is this Creator God who gives 'these things' (Sib. Or. 3.703)—which must certainly include life, perhaps even restoration of life—to his sons. Buitenwerf argues that this passage (Sib. Or. 3.702–709) is an example of God helping his sons as individuals.<sup>209</sup> If this argument is correct, we find in Sib. Or. 3 the extension of the divine fatherhood relationship, not merely to a corporate body (e.g., the pious), but to the very individuals within it. Still, the third Sibyl does not offer a coherent view on the issue of resurrection. Though it seems that the Sibyl considers as likely some kind of afterlife for the pious, one that takes the form of a return to the Garden of Eden, it is less clear whether this afterlife is along the lines of bodily resurrection, or immortality of the soul, or something else entirely.<sup>210</sup>

Eschatological imagery abounds in the larger context in which the appeal to divine sonship is situated. The author lists a chain of five future events: a king from the east will conquer the world; the Temple will prosper, drawing the envy of rulers who conspire to conquer Jerusalem; God will intervene and punish the impious; God will protect the Jews during the intervention; finally, when confronted by Jewish worship, some non-Jews will

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<sup>206</sup> Thus Buitenwerf 2003: 280.

<sup>207</sup> The abbreviated ζήσονται is written fully as ζήσονται in Φ Ψ.

<sup>208</sup> So BDAG 573. Cf. Sib. Or. 1.158.

<sup>209</sup> Buitenwerf 2003: 335–36.

<sup>210</sup> Cf. Nikiprowetzky 1970: 167–68.

be converted to proper worship of the true God.<sup>211</sup> The last two events have direct bearing on the appeal to divine sonship. After the terrible punishments meted out to the impious, God will exalt the pious and the righteous, even as he destroys sinners. The appeal to divine sonship in the frame of generation and giving of life by God demonstrates perhaps in Sib. Or. 3 early glimpses of God's divine fatherhood becoming individuated.

### 2.3.9. Philo of Alexandria

The writings of Philo of Alexandria present the reader with a bountiful lode—around fifty of his more than seventy treatises have survived—from which to mine the rare theological and cosmological opinions and arguments of a first-century Hellenistic Jew living in the Diaspora. 'Philo constitutes a fixed point of inestimable value in every study of first century Judaism and Christianity, not only because of the volume of his extant writings, but because he can be located precisely in place, time, and social class'.<sup>212</sup> To what extent Philo typifies Hellenistic Jewish thinking is disputed among scholars, however. Philo has been tethered to Jewish mystery religions, Palestinian rabbinic Judaism, Pharisaism, or the Jewish wisdom tradition. Like other Jews of his day, Philo devoted himself to the Scriptures, observed circumcision and the Sabbath, celebrated the feasts, and adhered to the laws regarding food and sexual behaviour.<sup>213</sup> Yet, he incorporates non-Jewish streams into his religious thought and praxis, giving his own brand of Judaism a distinct profile.<sup>214</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> This list is very slightly adapted from Buitenwerf 2003: 344.

<sup>212</sup> Meeks 1976: 44. Because of the vastness of the Philonic corpus, I have only sparingly analysed individual texts, having instead derived representative themes from across Philo's works.

<sup>213</sup> See Philo, *Migr.* 89-93. Cf. Barclay 1998, esp. 540-43.

<sup>214</sup> Sandelin (2014: 46) comments: 'Although Philo's manner of articulating his religion differs from other important trajectories of Judaism in his day, he does not stand isolated from other Jews, either in his thinking or in his way of life'.

The reader who approaches the *Gedankenwelt* of Philo looking for consistency may come away disappointed. Philo's baroque presentation of the *λόγος* serves as an example. Although his inconsistency may at times be explicable,<sup>215</sup> one does well to remember that the writings of Philo are not usually conducive to systematisation.<sup>216</sup> Rather, he composes his thoughts with a view to the explication of Holy Scripture. At times, his writings appear to address the occasional need of the moment. His preoccupation with population control by means of infanticide—often discussed in seemingly unrelated passages—comes to mind.<sup>217</sup> Thus, one may ascertain definite positions in Philo's thought only with some difficulty.

Notwithstanding this difficulty, certain threads do recur throughout his writings. Provided one keeps in mind the caveat of Philo's reluctance to systematise, one may profitably expound upon these threads to portray general themes in Philo's writings. Sandmel makes the point effectively: 'In presenting [facets] of Philo's philosophy, we bring together matters which are ordinarily not brought together by him, but are presented in random ways in his various writings. ... [There] is a risk that is necessary to run in our making his system possibly too neat'.<sup>218</sup> What follows then is intended to be a careful attempt to draw two threads of Philo's thought together—divine creation and human

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<sup>215</sup> Cf. Philo's dual presentation of Joseph in *De Josepho* (positive) and the sustained treatment in *De somniis*, book 2 (negative); other instances of Philo's negative portrayal of Joseph are seen in *Leg.* 3; *Det.* 7; *Sobr.* 14; *Agr.* 56; *Conf.* 71. Philo's purposes are manifestly different in these works, explaining the opposite treatments of the same biblical character.

<sup>216</sup> An exception may be Philo's systematic presentation in the series of texts labeled by Philo scholars as the 'Exposition of the Law'.

<sup>217</sup> For instance, Philo, *Spec.* 3.110–19; *Virt.* 131–33. Rheinartz (2014: 194–95) suggests that Philo expressed his concern for the actual or (more likely) the imminent implementation of such population control practices within his own community. It should be noted that Philo's concerns are expressed in writings intended for a wide readership.

<sup>218</sup> Sandmel 1979: 89.

procreation, themes which Philo links closely and about which he makes largely consistent statements, often without regard to the genre in which he is writing.

The evidence adduced below suggests that Philo holds much in common with his philosophical and medical fellow intellectuals on the subject of human procreation and divine creation. Occasionally, he diverges from the *communis opinio*. The instances of divergence examined below concentrate upon some of Philo's *Grundüberzeugungen* and indicate logical extension by Philo beyond that of other comparable ancient thinkers. These divergences are quite instructive in making comparisons between Philo and the apostle Paul.

### *2.3.9.1. Philo on Human Procreation*

Theories of how human life begins are not uncommon among ancient writers. One finds discussions of conception in the extant writings of Pythagoras, Hippocrates, Aristotle, Galen, the Hebrew Bible, Second Temple literature, and in various other sources. Philo is situated well within this stream of tradition. In *Opif.* 65–67, a treatise now considered to be part of the 'Exposition of the Law' and intended for wide readership, Philo systematically discusses the Genesis 1 account of the creation of humanity. To underscore the exalted place of humanity in the creation scheme, Philo emphasises the order of creation. God made human beings last, who possess the highest nature and thus stand at the apex of divine creative activity. Following this exposition on the created order, Philo like other ancient theorists locates the starting point of life in the seed (*σπέρμα*).<sup>219</sup>

The fundamental conviction that life begins in the *σπέρμα* finds multiform

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<sup>219</sup> In *Prov.* 2.59, Philo calls creation a 'seminal process' (*κατὰ φύσιν σπερματικήν*).

expression throughout Philo's works. On occasion, Philo echoes his Greco-Roman predecessors.<sup>220</sup> He agrees that in human reproduction, the male sows his seed and the female receives the seed. Descendants are thus said to be generated from the seeds of their forebears. Writing perhaps to his widest possible audience, Philo gives the example of the Israelites as those who are moulded bodily from human seeds, accounting for their mysterious generation.<sup>221</sup> Philo illustrates human procreation by appeal to a common pastoral image: like a plough, the man sows the seed into the field of the womb, which keeps the seed safe and moulds it into a human body (cf. *Opif.* 14). By this continual process of bringing living beings into existence, human parents achieve immortality for the race—not an individual, but a collective immortality (cf. *Spec.* 2.225; *Aet.* 69).

When his basic convictions are threatened either by vocal opposition or by adverse behaviour, Philo can respond with hostility. Parallel to his insistence that human reproduction should be for the express purpose of bearing children, Philo scorns engagement in sexual relations for pleasure. In the third book of *De specialibus legibus*, another multi-volume treatise in the 'Exposition' presenting for wide readership Philo's thought at its most systematic, he appeals to the laws concerning sexual intercourse in Lev 18, writing that a man should learn (presumably before coupling with a woman) not to throw away his generative seeds (γονάς) for the sake of untimely and gross enjoyment.<sup>222</sup> The discussion lays the groundwork for Philo's philippic against men mating with barren

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<sup>220</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *Gen. an.* 721b.7–8; 724a.18–21; 729a.10–11, 29–30; 729b.1–3; 730a.27–28; 736b.26–28; 741a.11–13, 14–16; 741b.6–8; 765b.11–15; Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 3.4.3. Galen, though later than Philo, is also representative of this line of thinking. Cf. Galen, *Nat. Fac.* 2.3; *Sem.* 2.2.

<sup>221</sup> Philo, *Mos.* 1.279.

<sup>222</sup> Philo, *Spec.* 3.32. The Greek is: και ἄμα προδιδασκόμενος μὴ ἀτελεῖς γονὰς ἀκαίρου και ἀμούσου χάριν ἡδονῆς προῖεσθαι ...

women. Resorting to a metaphor occurring throughout his writings, he pours his unvarnished reproach upon those lecherous wastrels who plough the hard and stony ground.<sup>223</sup> By this act of impiety—deliberately killing their seed—they prove themselves to be the adversaries of God (*ἀντίπαλοι θεοῦ*). Like Paul, Philo writes of God as hostile toward death and its emissaries (cf. the discussion of Rom 8 in Chapter 4.2.2.2.). Philo’s prohibition breaks with several of his Greek counterparts. The apparent vitriol of Philo here is instructive: he deemed the seed important because it brings about existence and is therefore not to be wasted.

### *2.3.9.2. Philonic Connections from Human Procreation to Divine Creation*

Philo sees a close connection between human procreation and divine creation. In the second volume of *De specialibus legibus*, Philo turns his exegetical attention to the fifth commandment, which, he explains, serves as a boundary between the human and the divine (*μεθόριον ἀνθρωπειῶν τε καὶ θείων*). Fulfilling their parental duties, parents partake of two natures, human and divine. Parents are like God because they have brought non-being into being.<sup>224</sup> In this respect, parents are to their children what God is to the world (cf. *Decal.* 106–108). Parents beget children just as God begets. Parents further reflect their share in the divine nature in two distinct ways. Logically extending his previous point, Philo labels parents as ‘benefactors’ (*εὐεργέται*) who not only give existence to their

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<sup>223</sup> Philo, *Spec.* 3.34: Ὀνειδιστέον καὶ τοῖς σκληρὰν καὶ λιθώδη γῆν ἀροῦσιν ... Philo does however allow one exception: men who married girls too young to bear children, and after discovering too late their wives’ barrenness, refuse to dismiss them. He reserves his contempt for those men who marry women known to be barren, comparing their licentiousness to that of wild pigs or billy-goats (*σῶν ... ἢ τράγων*)!

<sup>224</sup> Philo, *Spec.* 2.229. There is a slight textual difficulty here, however. The text reads: οἱ καὶ μὴ ὄντας εἰργάσαντο. The editor Colson (1937: 448 n. 3; 449 n. b) suggests that the text should be emended to μὴ ὄντας <ὄντας> εἰργάσαντο, which would then read ‘brought them out of non-existence into existence’, rather than the currently clumsy ‘made them to be non-existent’.



children, but much more besides. Parents also receive authority over their offspring, the just grant of perfect (divine) judgement.

Philo's designation of God as the 'Parent of All' (γεννητῆς τῶν ὅλων) is perhaps the human construct writ large (*Mos.* 2.209–10). In *De vita Mosis*, classified as an apologetic text intended for the widest readership of Philo's works, the exegete digresses from the discussion of θεός in Lev 24.15–16 LXX to compare God and parents once more. Philo proceeds by way of *a fortiori*—if a child reveres the names of its parents, how much more should the name of God be revered! The natural segue is thus completed: God is the γεννητῆς τῶν ὅλων.

Philo utilises the comparison between God and parents elsewhere in his writings. Three passages merit attention. In an allegory on the source of human virtue, Philo likens God to human fathers, describing God as the Father who sows good seed and begets all things (*Cher.* 44):

τίς οὖν ὁ σπείρων ἐν αὐταῖς τὰ καλὰ πλὴν ὁ τῶν ὄντων πατήρ, ὁ ἀγένητος θεὸς καὶ τὰ σύμπαντα γεννῶν;

Who then is he that sows in them the good seed save the Father of all, that is God unbegotten and begetter of all things?<sup>225</sup>

Philo's primary concern in this passage is not necessarily divine generative fatherhood.<sup>226</sup> However, the notion of divine generative fatherhood serves his argument when one considers both the contextual frame of Philo's question and the basis for Philo's larger point. The contextual frame in which Philo poses his rhetorical question is quite obviously the procreation of children. In the lines immediately preceding the question, Philo refers

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<sup>225</sup> The text with translation is taken from Colson and Whitaker 1929b: 34–35.

<sup>226</sup> Grelot 1972: 564–74; Janowitz 2011: esp. 355–57.

to a man and a woman coming together to procreate children. Immediately following is Philo's comment on Gen 21.1, where the Lord 'visited her [i.e., Sarah] in her solitude' (ὅτε ὁ θεὸς αὐτὴν μονωθεῖσαν ἐπισκοπεῖ, *Cher.* 45). The import of God's 'visitation' according to Philo is the conception of Sarah's son, Isaac.<sup>227</sup> The basis for Philo's argument, then, is the generative nature of the divine Father. Not only is God as Father the sower (ὁ σπείρων) of intangible virtue, but he is also 'the begetter of all things' (ὁ ... τὰ σύμπαντα γεννῶν), whether tangible or intangible. Philo again assumes divine generative fatherhood in service to his greater argument when writing of the creation of the first man, the archetypal parent of the human race and governor of all sublunar creatures, in *Opif.* 84:

παρ' ἦν αἰτίαν καὶ γεννήσας αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἡγεμονικὸν φύσει ζῶον, οὐκ ἔργῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆ δια λόγου χειροτονία καθίστη τῶν ὑπὸ σελήνην ἀπάντων βασιλέα χερσαίων καὶ ἐνύδρων καὶ ἀεροπόρων·

On this account too the Father, when he [i.e., God the Father] had brought him [i.e., man (ἄνθρωπος) as representative of humanity] into existence as a living being naturally adapted for sovereignty, not only in fact but by express mandate appointed him king of all creatures under the moon, those that move on land and swim in the sea and fly in the air.<sup>228</sup>

Beneath Philo's greater point is an assumption to which Philo brings little elaboration: the Father brings living beings into existence. At least from *Opif.* 65, Philo has been commenting on the order of creational succession; here, he answers the question of humanity's place as the final creational act by referring both to Gen 1.28 and Ps 8.7 LXX, where God places humanity in a position of sovereignty over the earth.<sup>229</sup> At the

<sup>227</sup> Cf. Sigal 1983: 225–26.

<sup>228</sup> The text with translation is taken from Colson and Whitaker 1929a: 68–69.

<sup>229</sup> Intriguingly, by reference to the 'express mandate' (ἡ δια λόγου χειροτονία) Philo primarily appeals to the OT in *Opif.* 84 for humanity's central place in the created order, rather than to Greek philosophy (e.g., Plato's *Timaeus*; Stoicism), to which he has alluded in his earlier answers of this larger section (*Opif.* 65–88)—the possible Stoic technical term ἡγεμονικόν notwithstanding (though Borgen also sees here a paraphrase of Gen 1.26, 28). Cf. Jobling 1977: 53–54; Borgen 1995: 372–75; Runia 2001: 255–56. Cf. Hadas-Label 2012: 128–31.

foundations of Philo’s argument lies divine generative fatherhood consistent with the development of the OT and previous Second Temple literature. Philo refers to the Father absolutely (ὁ πατήρ) and ascribes to the Father the actions of life-giving. The Father brings the man into existence (γεννάω) as a living being (ζῶον). There is a causative element wherein the Father imparts life to the man, and this is so fundamental as to be almost self-explanatory; at least, divine generative fatherhood merits no explanation from Philo. Finally, in a text intended for advanced instruction, Philo applies the fifth commandment directly to God:

πέμπτος δὲ ὁ περὶ γονέων τιμῆς· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἱερός ἔχων τὴν ἀναφορὰν οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὸν σποράς καὶ γενέσεως τοῖς ἄλλοις αἴτιον, παρ’ ὃν μήτηρ τε καὶ πατήρ γεννᾶν ἔδοξαν, οὐ γεννῶντες, ἀλλ’ ὄργανα γενέσεως ὄντες.

The fifth [commandment] is about honouring parents. For this is also holy, not referring to people, but to the One who causes procreation and existence for everything, through whom also the father and mother appear to generate—though they do not actually generate but are instruments of generation.<sup>230</sup>

Again, God is closely related to the parents, and he is the ultimate cause for procreation, existence, and generation. Elsewhere, the Father’s begetting even assumes an allegorical dimension when Philo declares that ‘those furnished with the knowledge of the One are suitably called “sons of God”’.<sup>231</sup> Thus, Philo closely connects human procreation with divine generation, linking God to human parents and assuming the Father’s generative nature when doing so supports a larger argument.

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<sup>230</sup> Philo, *Her.* 1.171–72. All translations are mine unless otherwise stated. Cf. Philo, *Decal.* 106–20; *Spec.* 2.224–48.

<sup>231</sup> Philo, *Conf.* 145: οἱ δὲ ἐπιστήμη κεκρημένοι τοῦ ἐνὸς υἱοῦ θεοῦ προσαγορεύονται δεόντως ...

### 2.3.9.3. Philo on Divine Creation

Divine benefaction lies at the core of Philo's theological construct. Essentially, God loves to give. Speaking to an initiated audience in *Leg.* 1.31–42, Philo allegorises the creation of the man in Gen 2.7. The advanced and sophisticated instruction provided here represents an extension of the *Quaestiones*. In this passage (*Leg.* 1.33–34), Philo proceeds by way of question and answer. He asks why God would deem worthy (ἀξιόω) for divine breath the mind which is earthly, devoted as it is to baser things, yet would pass over for this honour the heavenly mind, which is stamped in his own image.<sup>232</sup> In answer, Philo asserts that God loves to give and bestow good things upon all. Through a divine display intended to encourage humanity's zeal for virtue (ζήλος ἀρετῆς) and participation in the showcased divine wealth, this benefaction is the impetus for the Father's gift of life to creation, manifesting itself in many other ways.

In the context of divine creation, Philo employs various metaphors for God.<sup>233</sup> To refute the fallacy that the world is eternal, and the resultant *Naturverehrung* the fallacy engenders, Philo advocates in *Opif.* 7–12 the shift of adoration to the one who made the world (ὁ κοσμοποιός). He introduces here the primary image of God as Father and Maker ([θεός] ὡς ποιητής καὶ πατήρ).<sup>234</sup> Philo claims to derive the metaphor directly from Moses. Against Bos, who argues for an Aristotelian background to the metaphor indebted to the minority view of the authenticity of *De mundo*, Philo denigrates Greek philosophy and

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<sup>232</sup> The Greek is: διὰ τί ἡξίωσεν ὁ θεὸς ὄλωσ τὸν γηγενῆ καὶ φιλοσόματον νοῦν πνεύματος θείου, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἰδέαν γεγονότα καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ἑαυτοῦ. ...

<sup>233</sup> Caution must be exercised here: Philo prefers to conceive of the transcendent God apophatically, allowing only as a concession the use of positive metaphor to articulate the ineffable.

<sup>234</sup> Philo, *Opif.* 7. Cf. Bos 2003: 312–15; Wyss 2014, esp. 165–66.

its proposal of an eternal cosmos at this point, elevating Moses to a superior philosophical position. According to Philo, Moses understood the dual nature of the universe: the active Cause (δραστήριον αἴτιον) and the passive object (παθητόν). With Moses as his authoritative source, Philo reveals here another essential divine attribute—the incessant activity of God—criticising those who propagate the impious falsehood by postulating in God a vast inactivity (τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ πολλὴν ἀπραξίαν ἀνάγκως κατεψεύσαντο). God further demonstrates the care of the Maker for what he brings into existence. By pointing to God’s providential care for his creation, Philo echoes a distinctly Jewish view of divine fatherhood.

To emphasise the image of God as Father and Maker, Philo rewrites Genesis 2.2, borrowing from the LXX. God did not rest on the seventh day, but rather caused to rest—Philo carefully notes the use of the term κατέπαυσεν, in lieu of ἐπαύσατο—the mechanism through which the world was made. The distinction is an important one because God never ceases to make.<sup>235</sup> Related to the metaphor of God as Maker are the divine roles of Protector, Arbitrator, and Judge. The Father functions like a king to the state—he is the governor and guardian of the world.<sup>236</sup> By bringing living beings into existence, God is the author of life who sometimes begets via his knowledge like a wise architect (cf. *Opif.* 30; *Ebr.* 30). Philo often expresses God’s relation to the world through the divine self-originating power that streams from God and enables life for everything that exists. Philo personalises this final metaphor by calling God ‘the Father who is the author of our being’

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<sup>235</sup> Philo, *Leg.* 1.5–6. See esp. *Leg.* 1.5: παύεται γὰρ οὐδέποτε ποιῶν ὁ θεός, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ἴδιον τὸ καίειν πυρὸς καὶ χιόνος τὸ ψύχειν, οὕτως καὶ θεοῦ τὸ ποιεῖν ... Philo subsumes divine creativity under the term θεός, affirming divine creativity as a knowable aspect of the unknowable God. Otherwise, God alone can apprehend God. See Philo, *Praem.* 40: διότι μόνῳ θέμις αὐτῷ ὑφ’ ἑαυτοῦ καταλαμβάνεσθαι.

<sup>236</sup> Philo, *Prov.* 2.3–4. Wyss (2014: 165) comments: ‘Philon selber verwendet “Vater” als Bezeichnung Gottes häufig, etwa gleich häufig wie ὁ ὢν, τὸ αἴτιον oder ὁ ἡγεμών;’ ...

(τοῦ γεννήσαντος πατρός, *Somn.* 1.35).

The reader may also receive insight into a mechanism of divine creation, the first component of which is the breath of God. The breath (and its related concept, ἀήρ) is understood by Philo to be a vital life force (*Somn.* 1.136). God breathes life into the man. The divine inbreathing into the mind causes the earthly man to become a soul, able from that moment to conceive of God (*Leg.* 1.33–42). The earthly man is thus moulded not only from earth, but also from divine spirit.<sup>237</sup> Indeed, the essence of the human soul is divine spirit (*Spec.* 4.123). Perhaps the most widely recognised component in the Philonic creation mechanism is the λόγος, which figures importantly in Philo’s creation mechanism in two senses. In the first sense, the λόγος is identified with the image of God according to which the heavenly man was created in Gen 1 (cf. *Leg.* 1.92–94). In the second sense, the λόγος is the instrument (ὄργανον) through which God frames the universe (*Cher.* 124–27).

Philo is careful however not to anthropomorphise God too much, lest he transgress his fundamental conviction of divine transcendence. *Legum allegoriae* 1.33–42 once again offers insight. At the encounter of difficulties in the Genesis creation account, Philo refers to the difficult text, rejects any appearance of anthropomorphism, and suggests a suitable, non-anthropomorphic alternative interpretation drawn from contemporary philosophy.<sup>238</sup> Philo finds anthropomorphism regarding divine inbreathing inimical. Hence, when he breathes into the man, God does not use mouth and nostrils.<sup>239</sup> In this way, Philo differs from early Greek cosmology, which freely anthropomorphised deity, and hypothesised

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<sup>237</sup> Philo, *QG* 1.51. The Greek reads: Οὐ γὰρ ἐκ γῆς διεπλάσθη μόνον ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀλλὰ καὶ θείου πνεύματος. See also Wyss 2014: 166 n. 4, 167, who speaks of the ‘zeugenden Gott’.

<sup>238</sup> Tobin 1983: 36–55, esp. 36–44. He characterizes this interpretive process as *ad hoc*.

<sup>239</sup> Philo, *Leg.* 1.36–37. The Greek reads: ἄπιοις γὰρ ὁ θεός, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀνθρωπόμορφος.

about creation not as the result of divine breath, but as a procreative act on a cosmic scale. Instead, Philo betrays his Jewish background, perpetuating the tradition against anthropomorphising found in LXX, Aristobulus (especially fragments 2 and 4), the Targums, the midrashic commentaries, and other Jewish writings. Rather than anthropomorphize God, Philo allegorises, introducing deeper meanings into such texts.

Philo logically extends divine transcendence into the classification of divine creation according to agency. God is wholly other in Philo's construct. Since the Deity does not belong to the sense-perceptible world, it follows that his creation of that world is indirect, accomplished from his divine power, but not through his direct agency. Philo gives the following distinction in *Leg.* 1.41: 'For of the things which come into being some come into being by God and through him, while others come into being by God but not through him'.<sup>240</sup> On occasion, God creates directly. For instance, the heavenly man is not moulded (*πλάσσω*) like the earthly man but created via direct divine agency (cf. *Leg.* 1.88–89). At other times, God creates indirectly, using intermediate agents or attendant circumstances. Human parents, for example, are cited as examples of intermediate agents in the begetting of children. Philo posits putrefaction and perspiration as attendant circumstances utilised by God for the lower orders of creatures such as reptiles (*Prov.* 2.59–61). Concerning other intermediate agents, Hadas-Lebel writes that the 'Father of all things is surrounded with "powers" [*δυνάμεις*] or angels who are continually at his disposal'.<sup>241</sup>

A clearer picture of divine agency in Philo emerges in his proposal of the double

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<sup>240</sup> The translation is slightly modified from that of G. H. Whitaker in Colson and Whitaker 1929a: 173. The Greek is: τῶν γὰρ γινομένων τὰ μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ θεοῦ γίνεται καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ θεοῦ μὲν, οὐ δι' αὐτοῦ δέ ...

<sup>241</sup> Hadas-Lebel 2012: 130.

creation of humankind, an attempt to explain why the narrative occurs twice in Genesis.<sup>242</sup> *De opificio mundi* 134–35 gives perhaps the plainest account. Coming to the interpretation of Gen 2.7, Philo takes the occasion to distinguish between the two creations. On the one hand, there is in Gen 2 the creation of the earthly man (γῆϊνος ἄνθρωπος), the object of sense-perception, made from ὕλη. The earthly man has both body and soul, is differentiated sexually (ἄνῆρ ἢ γυνή), and is mortal by nature (φύσει θνητός). Moulded from corruptible material, the earthly man is inbreathed by God. When God breathes into the earthly man the power of real life, moulding ceases and the earthly man becomes a living soul. God accomplishes this second creation through indirect agency. He instils physical life through a projection of his power (δύναμις) proceeding from himself through the mediating breath (διὰ τοῦ μέσου πνεύματος) into the earthly man (*Leg.* 1.37). Thus, the human being is a dual entity, having a body formed from earth and a soul formed from the upper air, a ‘particle detached from the Deity’.<sup>243</sup>

On the other hand, there is in Gen 1 the creation of the heavenly man (οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος), made in God’s image, an object only of thought (νοητός). This first creation of man, which mirrors the creation of the κόσμος where the intelligible world is created prior to the material world (*Opif.* 15–19), is undifferentiated sexually and incorporeal (ἄσώματος), made from no corruptible or terrestrial substance (cf. *Leg.* 1.31–32: φθαρτῆς καὶ ... γεώδους οὐσίας). God’s impartation of existence is direct. The heavenly man is stamped with the image of God, not moulded. However, one should note that the direct agency of the Father results only in existence confined to the intelligible world. Physical,

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<sup>242</sup> Cf. Tobin 1983: 102–34.

<sup>243</sup> Philo, *Leg.* 3.161. The fuller expression of the Greek reads: ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ αἰθέρος ἐστίν, ἀπόσπασμα θεῖον. The translation is that of G. H. Whitaker in Colson and Whitaker 1929a: 409.



embodied life—life in the sense-perceptible world inhabited by the earthly man—is realised through the indirect agency of God (the Father).

#### ***2.3.9.4. Conclusion to Philo***

Philo's theory of conception may be seen from the ground up. Comparable to the generation theories of his contemporaries, Philo connects the gift of life to the (human) father via the *σπέρμα*. Continuing the development of his construct, he positively compares human parenthood to God. Finally, he expounds upon God as the paternal giver of life. This section has targeted two essential divine attributes which inform many other aspects of Philo's theological programme. Above all, God is the active Cause of the sensible and intelligible world. Philo specifies the divine activity as giving, and he crafts the primary metaphor of God as Father and Maker. God is also transcendent. As wholly other, God is largely unknowable. Philo therefore prefers to proceed along the *via negativa* when theologising, though he occasionally offers positive theological statements.

One may detect the following pentad of development in Philo's theology:<sup>244</sup>

1. Philo commences with the simple premise that *God gives*. Reluctant though he may be to define God positively, Philo marks out divine giving as essential to God's nature. God is essentially active, and divine activity manifests itself through giving. This is uncontroversial. Indeed, the giving nature of the deity is enshrined in many ancient theological constructs, whether Jewish or Greek. Paul would certainly affirm Philo's premise.<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>244</sup> See the warnings about comparisons between Philo and Paul in Barclay 2006: 140.

<sup>245</sup> Barclay (2006: 140) comments: 'Both Philo and Paul consider it the height of impiety to fail to acknowledge the prior gracious action of God', ...

2. The first development of the premise by Philo is that God *the Father* gives. Philo's union of divine fatherhood to divine giving is logically prior even to the content of the gift, or the stated relation between God and his creation. Philo makes this point in *Opif.* 21–22:<sup>246</sup>

εἰ γὰρ τις ἐθελήσειε τὴν αἰτίαν ἧς ἕνεκα τόδε τὸ πᾶν ἐδημιουργεῖτο διερευνᾶσθαι, δοκεῖ μοι μὴ διαμαρτεῖν σκοποῦ φάμενος, ὅπερ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων εἶπέ τις, ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν· οὐ χάριν τῆς ἀρίστης αὐτοῦ φύσεως οὐκ ἐφθόνησεν οὐσία, μηδὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐχούση καλόν, δυναμένη δὲ πάντα γίνεσθαι.

For if one should be willing to search for the cause, for the sake of which this whole was created, it seems to me that the searcher would not be wrong in saying what indeed one of the men of old did say: the Father and Maker is good; for the sake of this, he did not begrudge to a substance (*οὐσία*) a share in his own excellent nature, which having from itself nothing beautiful, yet is able to become all things.

It seems the goodness of the Father and Maker is here portrayed prior to his giving. Moreover, the designation of 'Father and Maker' (*πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν*) appears to be assumed prior to the creative act, though perhaps these priorities should not be pressed too much. That God as Father gives again appears uncontroversial. The fatherhood of God in the act of giving life is common enough among the ancients, particularly the Jews. As will hopefully be shown, divine fatherhood is essential to Paul's argument when he discusses the Resurrection.

3. A second development is that while he does give superabundantly, God the Father also gives circumspectly—that is, *without wasting*. Philo betrays his own unwillingness to conceive of divine gifts as arbitrary or negligent in considering the 'worth' of the recipient—tied to the recipient's capability, and not to deserts—in his description

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<sup>246</sup> The text is taken from Colson and Whitaker 1929a: 18.

of the Father as the discriminate giver.<sup>247</sup> Once more, Philo reflects a common unease among ancient theorists of divine gift. Significant divergence occurs at this juncture, however, between Philo and Paul, who ignores ancient qualms about arbitrariness in divine giving.

4. Attending now to the content of the giving, the third development is that God the Father gives *life* without wasting. At once the *fons (totius) bonitatis*, in the context of creation the Father specifically imbues life. Philo portrays this memorably via the imagery of bringing that which is non-existent into existence (cf. Rom 4.17c, where Paul describes God as [ὁ καλῶν] τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα). He fits reasonably well within the ancient milieu in which he writes, even as he devotes sustained attention to this development that is cursorily treated by other ancient writers. Paul likewise elevates the Father's giving of life. The Father's giving of life in creation would not be anathema to Paul, but the apostle often carries the discussion forward to the giving of life after death (cf. Rom 4.17b: [θεὸς ὁ ζῳοποιῶν] τοὺς νεκρούς) and particularizes it by locating it in the resurrection of Jesus.

5. Philo adds one final element to the original premise: namely, that God the Father gives life without wasting *via indirect agency*. The differing identities of the agents themselves notwithstanding, Paul follows a very similar line in his outworking of the Father's gift of resurrection life to those 'in Christ' through the indirect agency of the Spirit.

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<sup>247</sup> Cf. Barclay 2006, esp. 141–48. Barclay (2015: 237–38) clarifies further that Philo is uninterested in worth, 'especially if "worth" suggests comparability with God or human causation of the gift', ...

### 2.3.10. Conclusion to the Second Temple Literature

From among these texts written in the Second Temple period that I have examined above, three items of note seem to emerge. To varying degrees, the instances of the divine fatherhood metaphor in the Second Temple literature first develop the notion of divine delivery from (near-) death. God as Father is acting in opposition to what certain authors describe as the brink of death (e.g., Tob 13; Sir 51; Wis 2; possibly Sib. Or. 3). Divine opposition to (near-) death may be seen as parallel to earlier OT instances that ascribe to the divine Father the power of generating life. While the fit is not precise, a Second Temple nuance of delivery from (near-) death best fits in the domain of generation rather than protection, the previously normative domain when referencing divine deliverance. The divine fatherhood metaphor in the Second Temple literature continues the senses of generation inherited from the OT, while in some cases possibly opening the way to resurrection language for later writers.

Other texts, however, do not discuss God's gift of life in contexts of death or near-death. Resurrection language is almost completely absent from the Qumran writings.<sup>248</sup> Nor do we find divine generative fatherhood in frames of death or near-death in much of the examined pseudepigraphical literature, the targums, or Philo. This trend of divine generative fatherhood without recourse to resurrection language continues when one examines certain relevant examples from Greco-Roman literature.<sup>249</sup>

The second, noteworthy item is the question of extent of the divine fatherhood

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<sup>248</sup> However, cf. 4QpsEz<sup>a</sup> 2.5–9, which may possibly mention resurrection. See also Zimmermann 2007: 478, who argues one cannot ascertain the affinity of the Qumran community for the idea of resurrection.

<sup>249</sup> Greek gods bringing someone back from the realm of the dead is not wholly unprecedented. Cf. Euripides, *Alc.* 840–54; idem, *Herc. fur.* 719.

relation. Trends in opposite directions emerge. Some texts seem to keep the divine fatherhood relation at some remove. In Jubilees, the author prefers to relate God as giver of life to Israel corporately as father to his children. In Targum Jonathan, the author prefers to couch the divine fatherhood relation in the trope of a simile, rather than using the direct language of both the OT and the deuterocanonical literature. And in Philo, the author writes of divine, paternal gift via indirect or intermediate agency. Still, the third Sibyl represents an innovation from OT sources in opposing this trend by suggesting the possibility of extending the divine fatherhood relation even to individuals (cf. Wis 2; possibly 3 Macc 6).

Thirdly, certain texts from the Second Temple period may also look to parents as representatives of God to their children by appeal to the fifth commandment. 4Q416 frames parents in the divine likeness not merely by birthing their children (thus engaging in the (pro-) creative act of begetting), but even more by instructing their children in the ways of God. Philo focusses on begetting to propose that when parents bring into being that which did not previously exist, they are as God is to the world—parents beget children as God begat the cosmos. Creative and thought-provoking exegesis of OT texts to further define God's relation to humanity as Father finds resonance in the later writings of the apostle Paul.

## 2.4. God as Life-Giving Father in Greco-Roman Sources

Greco-Roman literature forms another component of the cultural domain of Paul's

readers.<sup>250</sup> Although divine generative fatherhood was not unheard of for Paul's Greco-Roman converts, it is more difficult to trace in Greco-Roman literature prior to Paul. One cannot derive divine generative fatherhood from accounts of creation—this is more easily done among Jewish authors—because those writing in Greek were inconsistent in their conclusions. Among the Greeks, there was no fixed idea of a creator of the world or of man, nor of a divinely-caused world origin. Rather, the NT term for 'creator' (κτίστης) was usually reserved for those who founded communities or mysteries, or the term was applied to heroes.<sup>251</sup> 'Creator' thus carried a political connotation that was atypical of Jewish literature, though Jewish writers occasionally used divine creative qualities to prove that YHWH was indeed ruler over all.<sup>252</sup>

Divine generative fatherhood is not completely absent from Greco-Roman extant texts, however. The concept of life-giving may be witnessed from the way deities were named in Greek religion. Furthermore, a choice few texts directly link divine fatherhood with acts of life-giving in Greco-Roman literature. These texts are examined in some detail below because as samples they show that the parallel concepts of divine fatherhood and the giving of life were seemingly quite widespread phenomena not circulating only among Jewish authors. However, one should note that the NT terminology of giving life after or on the verge of death was not used similarly among Greco-Roman writers, where such terms were typically reserved for medical cases, or for a return to temporary life of those

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<sup>250</sup> Greco-Roman background will therefore be an indispensable consideration when reconstructing the cognitive environment shared between Paul and his readers (an important RT tool), discussed at length in chapter 3.

<sup>251</sup> For κτίστης as 'founder': [Ps.?] Aristotle, *Frag.* 484, 507; Diodorus Siculus 5.74.6; *OGIS* 1.111.10; *IG* 12.2.202, 3.1098; 14.1759; *SIG* 2.711.L.5; 2.839.8; SPAW 1903.85; Josephus, *C. Ap.* 2.39; as 'builder', cf. Callimachus, *Aet.* 2.43.62, 69. For κτίστης applied to heroes: *IG* 9.2.1129; *CIG* 2.934 (#3667.1); Mionnet 1833: 146 (#438); Prehn 1922: 2084–85; Head 1967: 512, 514, 516, 579, 621; cf. Strabo 14.1.6; Livy 40.4.9.

<sup>252</sup> Zimmermann 2007: 358–59.

who were exceptions to the rule of death.<sup>253</sup>

#### 2.4.1. Plato

Some Greek authors supposed that the accusative case of the name of Zeus, Ζῆνα, indicates the etymological relation of Zeus' name to life (cf. the inf., ζῆν). This supposition is recounted in some detail in the *Cratylus*, which probably dates to the early 4th century BCE.<sup>254</sup> In *Crat.* 396, Socrates arbitrates a dispute between Hermogenes and the laconic Cratylus about the propriety of names. The conversation progresses to Socrates' inspired conclusion (so opines Hermogenes, *Crat.* 396D) that the etymology of a name 'provides a true description of its referent'.<sup>255</sup> Socrates and the disputants then turn to consider that the names of certain fathers and sons reflect their very nature. An excellent example of the maxim that a father's name is according to his nature (cf. "Εοικεν δέ γε καὶ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ φύσιν τὸ ὄνομα εἶναι, *Crat.* 395A) is the name of Zeus, the father of Tantalus:

ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ ἔστιν οἶον λόγος τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ὄνομα· διελόντες δὲ αὐτὸ διχῆ οἱ μὲν τῷ ἑτέρῳ μέρει, οἱ δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ χρώμεθα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ζῆνα, οἱ δὲ Δία καλοῦσιν· συντιθέμενα δ' εἰς ἓν δηλοῖ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃ δὴ προσήκειν φαμέν ὀνόματι οἴω τε εἶναι ἀπεργάζεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ὅστις ἔστιν αἴτιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ζῆν ἢ ὁ ἄρχων τε καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν πάντων. συμβαίνει οὖν ὀρθῶς ὀνομάζεσθαι οὗτος ὁ θεὸς εἶναι, δι' ὃν ζῆν ἀεὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ζῶσιν ὑπάρχει. (*Crat.* 396A–B)

[F]or the name of Zeus is exactly like a sentence; we divide it into two parts, and some of us use one part, others the other; for some call him Zena and others Dia; but the two in combination express the nature of the god, which is just what we said a name should be able to do. For certainly no one is so much the author of life for us and all others as the ruler and king of all. Thus this god is correctly named, through whom all living beings have the gift of life.<sup>256</sup>

<sup>253</sup> Cf. Theophrastus, *Caus. plant.* 3.22.4; Diodorus Siculus 2.52; Cicero, *Nat. d.* 2.40; Cleomedes, *Cael.* 2.84; Thesleff 1965: 235; Theiler 1982: 1.320; 2.347; Zimmermann 2007: 437–38, 482–83. However, see also Theophrastus, *Caus. plant.* 4.6.4.

<sup>254</sup> So Luce 1964: 152–54; Smith 2022: 659–60. MacKenzie (1986: 124–50) argues that the *Cratylus* is a late work of Plato.

<sup>255</sup> Ademollo 2011: 179. Cf. Ketchum 1979: esp. 142; Barney 1998: 65; Long 2005: 36.

<sup>256</sup> The text and translation come from Fowler 1939: 48–49.

Socrates recounts that Zeus, himself the son of Kronos, is always the cause of all life by recounting the two declensions of the name of Zeus.<sup>257</sup> The first declension is the accusative (or poetic<sup>258</sup>) form of the name of Zeus, Ζῆνα. The initial thread of Socrates' analysis thus connects Zeus to life (cf. the similarity to the infinitive ζῆν, from ζάω), or life-giving. The second declension of the name of Zeus is related to the preposition διά, which Socrates interprets as causal.<sup>259</sup> Though διά can mean 'through' when followed by the genitive case, the term can also mean 'because of' when followed by the accusative case, paralleled nicely by the fact that a variant of Zeus' name in the accusative is Διᾶ.<sup>260</sup> In fact, later in the dialogue (*Crat.* 413A) Socrates claims that he received the knowledge of the etymology of Ζεύς (Δίς) secretly from certain physicists. Socrates thus connects two threads together, causation and life, to describe Zeus as 'the cause of life' (ὅστις ἐστὶν αἴτιος ... τοῦ ζῆν).

Missing from Socrates' analysis of the name of Zeus is of course any explicitly paternal dimension, despite the framing of the etymology in the discussion of the names of fathers and sons. Perhaps Zeus' role as father of both gods and humanity could be assumed by Socrates and the disputants—Zeus' paternity firmly belonged to the

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<sup>257</sup> Though one may readily criticise etymology, the philosophical seriousness of Plato's etymologising has been argued by Barney 1998: 63–98; Sedley 1998: 140–41 (on the etymology of Zeus, see p. 152).

<sup>258</sup> E.g.: Homer, *Il.* 14.157; Hesiod, *Theog.* 479; Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 158; Euripides, *Rhes.* 359; Sophocles, *Phil.* 1324; Aristophanes, *Nub.* 564; Plato, *Euthyphr.* 12A, a quotation uncertainly ascribed to the poet Stasinus.

<sup>259</sup> The method of rehearsing the two declensions of Zeus' name is also seen in Philodemus of Gadara, *Piet.* 4.20–26. See also Ademollo 2012: 233–34, esp. 234 nn. 37–38.

<sup>260</sup> From Δίς: cf. Reeve 1998: 23 n. 35; Sedley 2003: 116; Ewgen 2014: 113, who prefers the genitive meaning ('Zeus is he *through whom* (δι' ὅν) all things have the gift of life', emphasis retained) despite the accusative form.



foundations of Greek civilization.<sup>261</sup> Yet, Plato seems not to emphasise the fatherly relation of Zeus toward humanity in any of his extant writings. The metaphorical emphasis lies on the correspondence between Zeus' name and his function as the author of life. Divine generation is clearly present on the lips of Plato's Socrates; divine generative fatherhood will only be broached by later followers of Socrates' etymologising, the Stoics.

#### 2.4.2. Diogenes Laertius

Diogenes Laertius flourished in the third century CE likely during the middle decades of the Severan Age (190s–230s CE), and purportedly more than a century after the apostle Paul wrote his epistles. Diogenes Laertius is of interest, however, because he reports in his *βίοι* (often without elaboration<sup>262</sup>) on the belief systems, philosophies, even theologies of much older Greek philosophers. To be sure, he devotes numerous pages of his ten-volume work to the colourful aspects of the philosophers he profiles: families, personal character, travels, achievements, students, etc. Of greater import to the present argument is Diogenes Laertius' investigation of the origins and development of ancient Greek philosophy over (roughly) the first three centuries of its theory and practice (cf. Diogenes Laertius 1.1–21). Diogenes Laertius reveals in the seventh volume his intention to transmit the doctrines of the Stoics in the doxography inserted into his life of Zeno of Citium, the Cypriot founder of Stoicism.<sup>263</sup> Eventually, the reporting turns to the theology

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<sup>261</sup> A brief list of foundational texts where Zeus is addressed or described as 'father' (cf. *Zeῦ πάτερ*) may include: Homer, *Il.* 1.503; idem, *Od.* 7.331; Hesiod, *Theog.* 47; idem, *Op.* 143; Aeschylus, *Sept.* 116; Sophocles, *Oed. tyr.* 202.

<sup>262</sup> White (2020: 18) calls the works 'philosophically jejune, long on facts or factoids and snappy vignettes but short on sustained argument or analysis'. Mansfeld (1999: 22), argues that Diogenes Laertius' intention was to inform, rather than to take sides in the arguments he presents.

<sup>263</sup> Diogenes Laertius 7.38; cf. Mansfeld 1999: 25.

proper of the Stoics. We read in book 7, section 147:

Θεὸν δ' εἶναι ζῶον ἀθάνατον, λογικόν, τέλειον [ἢ νοερόν] ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ, κακοῦ παντὸς ἀνεπίδεκτον, προνοητικὸν κόσμου τε καὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ· μὴ εἶναι μέντοι ἀνθρωπόμορφον. εἶναι δὲ [αὐ]τὸν μὲν δημιουργὸν τῶν ὄλων καὶ ὡσπερ πατέρα πάντων, κοινῶς τε καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ τὸ διῆκον διὰ πάντων, ὃ πολλαῖς προσηγορίαις προσονομάζεται<sup>264</sup> κατὰ τὰς δυνάμεις. Δία μὲν γὰρ φασὶ δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα, καὶ Ζῆνα καλοῦσι παρ' ὅσον τοῦ ζῆν αἰτίας ἐστὶν ἢ διὰ τοῦ ζῆν κεχώρηκεν, ... (Diogenes Laertius 7.147)

The deity[, they say,] is a living being, immortal, rational, perfect or intelligent in happiness, admitting nothing evil [into him], taking providential care of the world and all that it contains, but he is not of human form. He is, however, the artificer of the universe and, as it were, the father of all, both in general and in that particular part of him which is all-pervading, and which is called many names according to its various powers. They give the name Dia because all things are due to him; Zeus insofar as he is the cause of life or pervades all life, ...<sup>265</sup>

While some may doubt Diogenes Laertius' reliability,<sup>266</sup> two factors bolster the assignment of this particular quotation to earlier Stoic philosophy, one intrinsic, the other external. First is the change from third-person singular reporting about Zeus to third-person plural words—e.g., the enclitic φασι, as well as καλοῦσι—that convey the teachings about Zeus passed down (presumably) from earlier Stoic philosophers, which may have included not only Zeno, but his followers as well, a hypothesis strengthened by extrinsic evidence in the second factor.<sup>267</sup> The second factor has to do with potential attribution for the quotation.

Diogenes Laertius 7.147 is reproduced in *SVF*2.1021, where the editor Hans von Arnim correctly labels the fragment as belonging to Diogenes Laertius' seventh book. The

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<sup>264</sup> The text edited by Cobet reads the present middle/passive infinitive, προσονομάζεσθαι—Cobet translates the term into Latin as *appellari*. See Cobet 1878: 190.

<sup>265</sup> The text is cited from Dorandi 2013: 560–61. The (lightly adapted) translation is cited from Hicks 1931: 250–51. Cf. the more dynamic translation in White 2020: 309, which immediately links Zeus as 'creator of the universe' with being 'the father of everything'.

<sup>266</sup> Famously in Hope 1930: 204–208. On the recent (at times, turbulent) history of scholarly engagement with Diogenes Laertius, see the comments of Mejer 1992: 3556–60.

<sup>267</sup> Long and Sedley (1987: 1.323) attribute Diogenes Laertius' words to 'the Stoics'. Hahn (1992: 4145–73) argues that the chief text for Diogenes Laertius' doxography was Apollonius of Tyre's life of Zeno, supplemented at the very least by Diocles of Magnesia and Apollodorus of Athens.

second volume of the *SVF*, furthermore, collects the fragments of Chrysippus of Soli, who flourished in the third century BCE.<sup>268</sup> The singling out of Zeus and the attribution of generation to him is also consistent with the ideas of those who influenced Chrysippus.<sup>269</sup> One may reasonably conclude, then, that Diogenes Laertius is drawing from the philosophy of Chrysippus when he recounts the Stoic view of divine generative fatherhood. A corollary follows: the ideas related in Diogenes Laertius 7.147 would likely have been circulating in the Greco-Roman world well before the time the apostle Paul wrote his epistles.

Parallel etymology between the *Cratylus* and the Stoics may betray Stoic reliance upon Plato.<sup>270</sup> Both texts assign the role of author (or cause) of life to Zeus based upon the accusative forms of his name. Both texts, then, may be registered in the domain of divine generation. The Stoic account proceeds slightly further, however, to include the explicit mention of Zeus' divine fatherhood—he is the 'father of all' (πατήρ πάντων). While one may be tempted to link the divine fatherhood metaphor mentioned here with the domain of divine protection (after all, Zeus is the one who takes 'providential care of the world and all that it contains', προνοητικὸν κόσμου τε καὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ), the phrase 'father of all' is more closely connected to Zeus' role as the 'artificer of the universe' (δημιουργὸς τῶν ὄλων).<sup>271</sup> The term δημιουργός can refer to the divine role in creation, which, given the

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<sup>268</sup> Cf. the comments in the preface to the second volume of *SVF* in Arnim 2004: 2.iii. See also the assignment to Chrysippus in the completed indices of the Marcovich edition of Diogenes Laertius by Gärtner 2002: 3.105.

<sup>269</sup> Cf. the memorable line of his teacher, Cleanthes, in which there may be implicit divine fatherhood: 'we are your offspring' (ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος εἶσ', from the *Hymn to Zeus*, in *SVF* 1.537), also with slight variation on the lips of the apostle Paul in Acts 17.28.

<sup>270</sup> Cf. Long 2005: 38–39.

<sup>271</sup> N.B. the intensified comparative conjunction phrase καὶ ὡσπερ linking Zeus' role as δημιουργός with the divine fatherhood metaphor. See also Siebenthal 2019: 425; Rijksbaron and Huitink 2019: 578 (§50.37).

etymology to follow, seems to be the proper sense in this passage.<sup>272</sup> Thus, Diogenes Laertius likely records the Stoic view of Zeus in the specific framework of divine generative fatherhood.

#### 2.4.3. Conclusion to Greco-Roman Literature

The Greco-Roman writings examined above single out Zeus, the putative father of both gods and men, for theological reflection. The concentration upon one deity is consistent with the Jewish writings examined above but is noteworthy given the polytheistic background in which the Greco-Roman authors wrote. The theologising occurs across two major streams of Greek philosophy, one Platonic, the other Stoic. In the Stoic account, the divine fatherhood metaphor is explicitly tied to Zeus, the ‘father of all’; perhaps the Platonists could simply assume Zeus’ fatherhood given the metaphor’s prevalence in texts considered foundational to ancient Greek culture. However, both schools of thought unite—it could be argued one follows the other—about Zeus as the cause of life. These two texts where divine generation is on full display thus serve as pointed examples to show that lifegiving was not an uncommon attribution to (a fatherly) god among Greco-Roman writers. While notions of restored or resurrected life are missing from these texts, nonetheless Zeus (the all-father) as the generative source of life, the cause of all life, is made abundantly clear.

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<sup>272</sup> For example, Xenophon, *Mem.* 1.4.7; Plato, *Resp.* 530A.

## 2.5. Conclusion

My contention has been threefold: first, that the conceptual domains for the divine fatherhood metaphor are rich and varied prior to the writings of the apostle Paul. The metaphor begins in the OT with but a few stock categories, which I have labelled as protection, authority, and (the focal point of this chapter) generation. Second, the divine generative fatherhood metaphor undergoes discernible development in several intriguing directions, broadening with time. Two of these developments are especially important for the analysis of the Pauline literature to follow: the extension of the paternal relation from the nation to individuals within it; and, the restoration of life at the point of (near-) death. Third, the broadening of the metaphor in its development is of such a nature that the deployment of the metaphor in writings of the apostle Paul occupies space in a likely trajectory begun in the Second Temple period. I do not propose here a necessarily linear progression from the OT to Paul, only that divine generative fatherhood in Paul's epistles is better understood by reference to those who treated similar topics before (or in some cases, nearly contemporary with) the apostle. The above collection of relevant texts purports to show that Paul's creative theologising about God, novel though it may have been, was neither wholly unexpected, nor scandalously innovative.

## CHAPTER 3. THE FATHER AND RESURRECTION: A PAULINE MOTIF

### 3.1. Introduction

What are the identifying acts of divine fatherhood? The answer may vary among biblical authors, perhaps along the lines of domains suggested previously (creation, paternal care, authority, and so forth). When the question is put to Paul's writings, the apostle adds one more act. In whatever ways the identifying acts of God's fatherhood were conceived previously—his creation of the *κόσμος*, or his enthronement of a king for Israel, or his protection of his people, or even his special relationship with Jesus during the latter's earthly ministry—important and formative though all such conceptions may be, they culminate for Paul in one defining, paternal act: God's raising Jesus from the dead. They culminate because Paul places himself at the end of a line of thought that stretches back into OT prophecy.

A decisive expansion and reinterpretation may be seen in Paul's intersection of divine fatherhood and the resurrection of Jesus, which Paul places at crucially important junctures in certain letters. For Paul, the claim of the resurrection as a definitive (perhaps even constitutive) paternal act denotes change in the Son's status by means of the resurrection. Natural questions arise over the exact nature of Jesus' sonship, leading to the erroneous conclusion that the resurrection signifies the moment when the Father adopted Jesus as Son, the *terminus a quo* of Jesus' divine sonship. Paul creatively theologises by claiming that the resurrection correlates to a change in status of Jesus' divine sonship, rather than to its point of origin. Via connection to the resurrection, therefore, Paul refers to Jesus, the once and future *θεοῦ υἱός*, as the newly inaugurated 'Son-of-God-in-power'

(Rom 1.4).

Creative theologising does not end at Paul's Christological formulations, however. The apostle extends his creativity to theology proper, where the Father is freshly identified through his action in the resurrection.<sup>1</sup> My central contention in this chapter is that Paul decisively, significantly, and eschatologically identifies the Father as the one who raised Jesus from the dead, building upon the traditional portrayals of paternal creation and life-giving, while seeking to move his readers away from those traditional identifications in favour of the constitution of the Father's identity in his act toward Jesus. In several key passages, Paul shifts his readers' focus away from traditional categories of the Father's identity (paternal care, authority, etc.) toward the Father's role in raising Jesus.<sup>2</sup>

Within the frame of RT, Paul's ostensive communication of the shift to the resurrection as a definitive act for God as Father occurs in several ways. The explicit intersections of divine fatherhood and the resurrection of Jesus in the undisputed Pauline letters find their place in structurally significant sections of each respective epistle. These intersections are at times grammatically linked to an epistle's main themes. Recent scholarly consensus has sourced some of the material surrounding these intersections—though, it is important to note, not necessarily the intersections themselves—to pre-Pauline confessions or hymns. Such attribution can in fact contribute to the argument that

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<sup>1</sup> Indeed, as Hurtado (2010: 3, emphasis retained) following Dahl's earlier work reminds us, 'just about every christological statement is at the same time a profoundly *theological* statement as well'. Cf. Dahl 1991: 154; Richardson 1994: 307, 312.

<sup>2</sup> This is not to dismiss those places where Paul (even in the disputed letters) refers to the Father in more traditional ways. Cf. 1 Cor 8.6 (a possible creedal formulation); 15.24; 2 Cor 1.3; Gal 1.3; Eph 3.14; 4.6; 1 Thess 3.13; 2 Thess 2.16. I contend that Paul adds to the catalogue of 'identifying descriptions' (defined in the discussion on Gal 1, Chapter 3.2) what he considers to be a definitive, significant description of the Father as the one who raised Jesus from the dead—that God's Fatherhood is somehow importantly bound up in his action of resurrecting Jesus.

Paul is shifting the Father’s identifying description away from traditional formulations and toward the resurrection of Jesus. Adding the epithet *πατήρ* to Paul’s gospel assertion that God raised Jesus from the dead<sup>3</sup> would have inferred the shift away from other associations shared by Paul and his readers in their mutual cognitive environment (e.g., Creator, Ruler, Caregiver) toward the fatherly, life-giving act in the resurrection of Jesus. For Paul, God is no longer the distant Father of Creation, nor the still remote Father of the king, nor the nearer Father Caregiver to his own people, but closer still, he is the Father who raised Jesus from the dead. Paul redefines God’s identity round the content of his gospel, viz. ‘Jesus Christ our Lord’ (Rom 1.4).

### 3.2. Galatians 1.1

Παῦλος ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἀπ’ ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι’ ἀνθρώπου ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς<sup>4</sup> τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, ...

Paul regularly places the intersection of divine fatherhood (sometimes implicit) and the resurrection of Jesus in the opening sections of his epistles. In Galatians, Paul inserts the letter’s sole mention of the resurrection into the opening section, which is both rich in the language of divine fatherhood and strategic for the letter as a whole.<sup>5</sup> Paul introduces the Father as the one who ‘raised Jesus from the dead’ (Gal 1.1), who is a source of grace and

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<sup>3</sup> That God raised Jesus from the dead is not a Pauline *novum*. For example, the apostle’s assertion is consistent with the early preaching recorded in Acts. See Acts 2.24, 32; 3.15; 4.10; 5.30; 10.40; 13.30, 33, 34, 37; 17.31.

<sup>4</sup> The words *καὶ θεοῦ πατρός* are omitted in Mcion<sup>Hier</sup>. The view of van Manen (1887: 456–59) that Marcion’s text is the original has not been followed by the scholarly community. The resultant clause, ‘who raised himself [αὐτόν] from the dead’, would be completely foreign to Pauline idiom. Cf. Dunn 1993a: 23 n. 2. However, note the caution given by Baarda 1988: 248–51, who concludes that the reading attributed to Marcion is a *non liquet* for establishing the text of Gal 1.1. The original hand of **κ** reads *αὐτῶν* for *αὐτόν*, giving the sense of ‘who raised from *their* dead’. See Carlson 2012: 83 nn. 83, 93.

<sup>5</sup> Cook has carefully demonstrated how the different parts of the opening section correspond to the major themes throughout the letter. Cf. Cook 1992: 511–19, esp. 515. Using rhetorical criticism, Bryant has argued that the elements (or *membra*, as he terms them) of Gal 1.1 build to a crescendo, bringing full force to the final phrase. See Bryant 2001: 28–29.



peace extended to the Galatian readers (Gal 1.3), and who wills the work of Jesus in giving himself for sins to free Paul and his readers from the present, evil time (Gal 1.4). Whatever one may call this opening section—whether the epistolary prescript, or rhetorical exordium, or greeting, or salutation, or prologue, or something else—Gal 1.1–5 is the very first thing one reads when reading Galatians, and it prepares the reader for what follows. As an example of the strategic importance of the opening section for the rest of the letter, Andrew Boakye has argued that the resurrection of Jesus exerts an influence beyond its single mention, witnessed in the interplay between Paul’s language of life/living and death/crucifixion in the remainder of the letter.<sup>6</sup> Boakye proposes that God’s (i.e., the Father’s) action in raising Jesus undergirds Paul’s argument in those passages which treat ‘the rectification of humanity in terms of life-coming-from-death’.<sup>7</sup> Paul also mentions divine fatherhood in the midst of a lengthy discussion, which includes sonship through Jesus (cf. Gal 3.6–4.30, esp. 4.5–7).

These intertwined concepts, divine fatherhood and the resurrection of Jesus, relate to another major motif in the Galatian letter: viz., the issue of identity.<sup>8</sup> Early on, Paul’s letter, it seems, is devoted to the question of the identity of his Galatian readers. Paul was almost certainly writing against opponents who desired the newly-converted Galatians to become the ‘people of God’ by being circumcised and adhering to (at least some of) the

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<sup>6</sup> Boakye 2017: 1–4, esp. 2 n. 2. Boakye (2017: 4) comments: ‘Jesus was crucified and God raised him; God’s people are those who have shared in the crucifixion, and, through the Spirit, shared in the risen life of Jesus; God’s new world has itself suffered crucifixion and been newly created’. Cf. Nanos 2002: 67–68. Nanos (2002: 152) further argues that the ‘false brethren’ in Gal 2.1ff. are ‘false’ because of their human agency, thus drawing on terminology from Gal 1.1. See also Zimmermann 2013: 19–20.

<sup>7</sup> Boakye lists Gal. 2.19–20; 3.21; 5.24–25; 6.8, 14–15. Cf. Boakye 2017: 16.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Esler 1998: 29–57; more recently, Buchanan 2020: 54–66; idem, 2021: 73–107, 150–83.

law.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, the apostle alternately exhorts and reminds his readers of their recent identity shift on the basis of connection to Jesus. The first chapter alone testifies to Paul's concern about the Galatian identity crisis. The Lord Christ is the one who gave himself for their (i.e., Paul's and his readers') sins to set them free from the present evil age (Gal 1.4). The Galatians had been called in the grace of Christ (Gal 1.6). Paul then illustrates such an identity shift by appeal to his own biography: from a violent persecutor advancing in Judaism and against God's church, to the one proclaiming God's son among the gentiles (Gal 1.13–16)! In fact, from the very start of the letter, Paul guards his own identity by avowing that his apostleship is sourced, not by humans or through a human being, but through Jesus and the Father (Gal 1.1). My proposal, however, is that more than the Galatian identity crisis—i.e., Paul's perception of his readers' forgotten (or, mistaken) understanding of their own (newly Christian) identity—is in view in the letter to the Galatians.

By referring to the Father who raised Jesus from the dead (Gal 1.1), Paul at the outset of the epistle offers his readers a new way of identifying God. A few scholars writing recently on Galatians have recognised this. J. L. Martyn sees reciprocity in Paul's writing: Paul's identity is given by God's sending him; so also 'God's identity is here given by his having raised Jesus from the dead. ... this one God has now identified himself by his act in Jesus Christ, making that act, indeed, the primal mark of his identity'.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, Brigitte Kahl proposes that the act of resurrection both confirms and defines God's

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<sup>9</sup> Barclay (1987: 87–88) labels these proposed tenets of the opponents to be 'certain or virtually certain' or 'highly probable'.

<sup>10</sup> Martyn 1997a: 85.

relationship to Jesus as Father.<sup>11</sup> Richard Longenecker too has argued that Paul’s mention of God the Father as the one ‘who raised him [i.e., Jesus] from the dead’ reveals that Paul thought of God ‘principally in relation to what he accomplished redemptively through the work of Jesus Christ’.<sup>12</sup>

I too would like to examine in more detail the chief evidence for such an identity shift for God the Father wrought by Paul in Gal 1. Fundamentally, Paul’s mention of θεὸς πατήρ presupposes as its referent the God of the OT; Paul would have shared this assumption of reference with his Galatian readers.<sup>13</sup> I noted earlier (Chapter 2.2, above) that the mention of divine fatherhood in the OT revolved around issues such as protection, authority, and generation. It is highly likely that Paul’s readers—especially the Jewish or God-fearing contingent of the readership—may have conjured up such associations from Paul’s mention of θεὸς πατήρ in Gal 1.<sup>14</sup> Viewing the letter in its entirety, Martyn suggests that Paul may have emphasised God’s paternity in relation to the identity crisis to illustrate that the Galatians are the ‘liberated children’ of a gracious heavenly Father, or to contrast divine fatherhood with Abraham’s fatherhood, perhaps a select emphasis of the opponents against whom Paul conceivably drafts his letter.<sup>15</sup>

Whatever the previous associations with God as Father, Paul offers a new mark of

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<sup>11</sup> Kahl 2010: 261–62.

<sup>12</sup> Longenecker 1990: 5; cf. Dunn 1993a: 28; Wagner 2014: 239, 245–46.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Ciampa 1998: 38.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Dunn 1998: 28–50, esp. 43–46, who cites *inter alia* the following contemporary, non-Christian historical and philosophical accounts in support of the notion that generation was associated with the God of the Jews: Philo, *Opif.* 81; *Cher.* 125–26; *Spec.* 1.35. For God as generator in a non-Jewish context, see Seneca (the Younger), *Ep.* 65.[9].

<sup>15</sup> Martyn 1997a: 84. Cf. Longenecker 1990: xcvi. The danger of ‘mirror-reading’ in Galatians has been well-documented, and thus I tread very lightly when making assumptions about Paul’s opponents. See esp. Betz 1979: 6, 56 n. 115; Barclay 1987: 73–93, esp. 80; Vos 1994: 2–3. I also use the conventional term ‘opponents’, though other labels have been proposed. Cf. Barclay 1988: 36 esp. n.1, who suggests ‘agitators’, based upon Paul’s own designation for his opponents, οἱ παράσσοντες (Gal 1.7, 5.10)—also adopted by Wright 2000: 208; Heim 2017: 149–56, esp. 155. See Nanos 2002: esp. 193–99, who suggests the term ‘influencers’.

identity: the Father is the one who raised Jesus from the dead. The participial phrase (τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν) that follows θεοῦ πατρός in Gal 1.1 is what some have called an identifying description: i.e., a commonly-used, participial form in the style of liturgy that marks out one subject from another.<sup>16</sup> First, Paul repeats this description of God at key junctures in other letters.<sup>17</sup> This means that the identifying description of God the Father as ‘the one who raised Jesus from the dead’ can occur in a variety of contexts, and can be used in a variety of applications, while retaining the stability of its referent, viz., God.

In addition to being repeated elsewhere, the description that follows θεὸς πατήρ in Gal 1 is participial. The term ἐγείρω as used here is aorist in form and attributive in function.<sup>18</sup> The participial phrase follows what James Boyer has called the ‘noun + article + participle’ (NAP) classification. Though uncommon for adjectival constructions, this classification for participles is somewhat frequent, especially with nouns that are considered as proper names. By Boyer’s reckoning, the aorist genitive type of this construction is quite usual for the NT.<sup>19</sup> Thus, in its adjectival (i.e., attributive) function, the participial phrase modifies its immediately preceding antecedent, θεὸς πατήρ.

Finally, the identifying description will often occur in a context where the style is liturgical or hymnic. These passages are sometimes debated as having confessional

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<sup>16</sup> See Jenson 2008: 44–45; Hill 2015: 65–66, esp. 66 nn. 10–11. Cf. Schreiner 2010: 72.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Rom 4.24; 8.11 (*bis*); 2 Cor 1.9; 4.14. Among the letters of disputed Pauline authorship, the lone occurrence is Col 2.12. Outside Paul, the participial form of ἐγείρω as an identifying description of θεός occurs elsewhere in the NT only in 1 Pet 1.21. For more references to this construction, see Keener 2019: 50 n. 27.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. BDF §412, p. 212; Wallace 1996: 618; Zimmermann 2013: 17–19. The presence of the article before the participle and the concord of case with θεὸς πατήρ suggest that the participle is functioning attributively, rather than substantively. Thus, the phrase is usually translated as a relative clause in English.

<sup>19</sup> Boyer counts 97 instances of the NAP construction, of which he counts 32 instances in the aorist and 21 in the genitive case. See Boyer 1984: 165, 177. Cf. Hayes 2014: 306.

material in their background.<sup>20</sup> Martyn argues that confessional material lies behind the identifying description based upon its equivalent appearance in other Pauline letters, suggesting the description is a fixed expression. He adds that the ‘ring’ of the description, together with its content, further contribute to the notion of confessional material in its background.<sup>21</sup> I wish to highlight two notable absences that imbue the verse with formal, liturgical style.<sup>22</sup> Firstly, there is a conspicuous lack of articular nouns in Gal 1.1. The only article in the verse belongs to the participle, τοῦ ἐγείραντος, where the article functions anaphorically and indicates the attributive nature of the participial phrase, which modifies θεὸς πατήρ. Secondly, mention of the death of Jesus is missing from Gal 1.1. While these elements (or lack thereof, as in the last two observations) do not in themselves prove the presence of confessional material in Gal 1.1,<sup>23</sup> they may suggest at the least that Gal 1.1 exhibits the compressed, fixed style of liturgy, which further contributes to the suggestion that the participial phrase therein functions as an identifying description of God the Father.

But what exactly is the force of Paul’s identifying description in this act of communication recorded in Gal 1? What are the implications of the identifying description? How might the recipients of Paul’s letter to the Galatians have received the

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<sup>20</sup> On Gal 1.1 as a confessional formula, cf. Mußner 1988: 46; Dunn 1993a: 28–29; Martyn 1997a: 85 n. 12, 87. Schlier (1971: 28 n. 3) considers that the participial phrase is formulaic, yet without being clichéd.

Martyn (1997: 85–87) further sees a formal, liturgical context to Gal 1.1–5. In Gal 1.2, the lean description of the recipients (in contrast to other letters where Paul characterises the recipients with positive modifying phrases; e.g., 1 Thess 1.1; 1 Cor 1.2; Rom 1.7) strikes Martyn as Paul coolly holding his Galatian readers at some remove. This is not surprising, given Paul’s imminent expressed shock in Gal 1.6. Bovon (1995: 1–13, esp. 1–2) proceeds phrase by phrase through Gal 1.4–5, emphasising the confessional nature of these verses by classifying each phrase as Pauline or non-Pauline.

<sup>21</sup> Martyn 1997a: 85. He notes in corroboration that another Jewish confession, the *Amidah*, contains the description of God as ‘the one who raises the dead’.

<sup>22</sup> I am indebted here to the careful work of Jewett 1985, discussed below in Chapter 3.4.

<sup>23</sup> Boakye in particular has noted that the crucifixion of Jesus features quite prominently elsewhere in the letter.

import of this new identifying description of God as Father? The judicious application of Relevance Theory (RT) may serve us in approaching an answer to these questions. RT can help to make explicit the implied non-linguistic detail that would be understood by the original readers' by positing an equation: on one side, the minimum processing effort required by Paul's likely Galatian readers to achieve maximum relevance; on the other, the contextual effects produced by Paul's identifying description.<sup>24</sup> That is to say, Paul's identifying description in Gal 1 (in its explicit statements and its implications) has relevance insofar as it includes both new information and connection to a surrounding context. His identifying description in Gal 1 combines with this context to produce contextual implications, and to strengthen certain existing assumptions among his Galatian readers, while contradicting and eliminating other existing assumptions.

I have already examined in some detail the explicit statements of the identifying description. To draw out what Paul implies in the identifying description, RT initially proposes the definition of a mutual cognitive environment shared between an author and the author's likely readership.<sup>25</sup> There are three major contributing factors to Paul's cognitive environment.<sup>26</sup> The extent to which these factors existed among his readers may serve to determine the mutual cognitive environment between Paul and the Galatians. The first major contributing factor involves Paul's Jewish background, especially his

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<sup>24</sup> The quotation comes from Fantin 2011: 31. See also Pattemore 2004: 31–46.

<sup>25</sup> A cognitive environment for an individual represents that 'set of assumptions that are manifest to an individual at a given time'. Robyn Carston has further defined a mutual cognitive environment as 'a cognitive environment which is shared by a group of individuals and in which it is manifest to those individuals that they share it with each other; every manifest assumption in a mutual cognitive environment is "mutually manifest"'. Likewise, manifestness indicates 'the degree to which an individual is capable of mentally representing an assumption and holding it as true or probably true at a given moment'. For these definitions, see Carston 2002: 376, 378.

<sup>26</sup> Casson 2019: 45–46.

Pharisaic training and knowledge of the Old Testament.<sup>27</sup> The second factor involves Paul's Hellenistic background as a first-century diaspora Jew.<sup>28</sup> The focus for the present argument, however, is on Paul's Christian faith, which serves as the third major contributing factor to the apostle's cognitive environment. Aside from regular references to Χριστός,<sup>29</sup> Paul's Christian faith surfaces in Galatians especially in his use of crucifixion language throughout the epistle. He declares himself to have been crucified with (συσταυρόω, Gal 2.19) Christ. In a sharp rebuke, Paul describes his readers as those before whose eyes Jesus was vividly portrayed (προγράφω, Gal 3.1) as crucified.<sup>30</sup> He announces the end of the scandal of proclaiming a crucified Messiah were he still preaching circumcision (Gal 5.11; cf. Gal 6.12). Those who belong to Christ participate in the crucifixion by putting to death the influence of the flesh (Gal 5.24). Finally, the only basis upon which Paul may boast is the cross of Christ, through which he has been crucified to the world and the world to him (Gal 6.14). Paul also speaks of the danger of not inheriting the kingdom of God (Gal 5.21)—language that is only rarely Pauline, but traditional in the early Church. Craig Keener has further argued that the statement about leaven leavening the whole lump in Gal 5.9 is likely an early Christian proverb, citing its exact appearance only in the letters of Paul or other (later) Christian writings.<sup>31</sup> There is also

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<sup>27</sup> Cf. Dunn 1993a: 6; Martyn 1997a: 39; Keener 2019: 13.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Betz 1979: 14–25; Porter 1993: 100–22, esp. 104; Barclay 1996: 92, 381–95; Weima 1997: 458–68; Kern 1998: esp. 90–99; Tolmie 2005: esp. 31–37; Forbes 2002: 55, 71; Forbes 2013: 124–42. See also Vögtle 1936: 198–227; Betz 1979: 301, esp. nn. 76–79; Young 1987: 150–76; Longenecker 1990: 276; Engberg-Pedersen 2003: 608–33; Goodrich 2010: 251–84; Lanzinger 2016: 200–36; Heim 2017: 130–47.

<sup>29</sup> In Gal 1 alone, Paul refers to Χριστός in Gal 1.1, 3, 7, 10, 12, 22. The occurrence of Χριστός in Gal 1.6 is less textually certain.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. DeSilva 2018: 268, esp. n. 12.

<sup>31</sup> Keener 2019: 463–64, esp. 464 n. 2322. The text is: μικρὰ ζυμὴ ἔλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμοῖ. This exact phrase appears with an introductory formula (οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι) in 1 Cor 5.6. Keener has noted that the exact phrase does not appear in any extant pre-Christian writings, nor do any statements with the combination of the three words μικρός, ζυμή, and ἔλος. These reasons lead Keener to conclude that the proverb is likely an early Christian one.

the mention of the resurrection of Jesus at the outset of the letter (Gal 1.1), a key component in the Christian gospel.

Thus, Paul highlights the Christian faith he shares with his Galatian readers, pinpointing the constituent elements of the Christian gospel by consistently referencing the crucifixion of Jesus and by mentioning his resurrection in a beginning section that frames the remainder of the letter; the resurrection motif may continue in Paul's use of 'life/living' language (from ζάω and its cognates), as some have argued. It is also possible that Paul alludes to early Christian tradition at different points of his letter, whether that be the inclusion of proverbs from among the early churches, or of language derived from early Christian confessional formulae, which seem to evoke certain schemas of disclosure. One such instance centres round Christian teaching of God as Father to the Galatian converts of Paul's initial mission: the inclusion of αββα ὁ πατήρ in Gal 4.6. This verse and its immediate context correlate with the opening section in a few, distinct ways: these passages are the only two places in the Galatian letter where πατήρ-language for God occurs; both also specially contain the idea of sending, whether God sends Paul as an apostle in Gal 1, or God sends first his Son and then the Spirit of his Son in Gal 4 to Paul and his Galatian readers (note the presence of the cognates ἀπόστολος in Gal 1.1 and ἐξαποστέλλω in Gal 4.4, 6); and both indicate receiving from God, whether Paul's reception of his apostleship from God (not people!) in Gal 1, or the reception of the inheritance by Paul and his Galatian readers in Gal 4. These correlations may suggest that Paul's reference to God as Father in Gal 1 anticipates the apostle's record of the Spirit's cry αββα ὁ πατήρ in Gal 4.

The address of God as αββα seems to function as an early Christian idiolect. The



presence of an Aramaic term in the shared cognitive environment between Paul and the Galatians makes little sense for the primarily Greek-speaking Galatian readership unless the designation traces back to the earthly Jesus.<sup>32</sup> Addressing God as  $\alpha\beta\beta\alpha$  was held by the early Christians to represent a hallmark of the prayers of Jesus.<sup>33</sup> The form occurs three times in the NT in different genres, and by different authors, yet without alteration among the occurrences.<sup>34</sup> The term  $\alpha\beta\beta\alpha$  also seems to be emphatic, with the full phrase representing the different elements within the Aramaic form; thus  $\alpha\beta\beta\alpha$  is ‘literally to be rendered “*the father*”’.<sup>35</sup> This signpost which the Spirit cries out in the heart (Gal 4.6) directs the reader back to the identifying description of this same Father in Gal 1. When one comes across the emphatic, *par excellence* exclamation ‘[the] *Father*!’ in Gal 4, one may ascertain which Father is receiving the cry in the heart by the identifying description of Gal 1—the Father who raised Jesus from the dead. The Christian idiolect  $\alpha\beta\beta\alpha \delta \text{ πατήρ}$  in Gal 4 therefore brings out the relevance of the identifying description of Gal 1—that the Father is to be identified most relevantly by his raising Jesus from the dead. This is the Father whom the Spirit addressed by crying out in the hearts of Paul and his Galatian readers.

The opening section of Paul’s letter to the Galatians, therefore, underlines that when the Galatians think of God as their Father, they are to think of the Father as the one whose fatherhood was most importantly revealed precisely by his act of raising Jesus his

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<sup>32</sup> Ruckstuhl 1994: 518. See also Obeng 1988: 364; Dunn 2003: 1.715–16; Zimmermann 2007: 127–29; Szymik 2020: 494–96.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Jeremias 1966: 59. The address of God as  $\alpha\beta\beta\alpha$  seems to be largely absent from other Jewish literature prior to or nearly contemporary with Jesus.

<sup>34</sup> The phrase  $\alpha\beta\beta\alpha \delta \text{ πατήρ}$  occurs in Gal 4.6; Rom 8.15; Mark 14.36.

<sup>35</sup> Barr 1988: 40, emphasis retained. I take the article of  $\delta \text{ πατήρ}$  in Gal 4.6 to be functioning as *par excellence*. Cf. Wallace 1996: 222–23.

Son from the dead. This is the Father of Jesus, who now sends the Galatians the Spirit of his Son (Gal 4.6), and who is identified crucially as Father by his role in the resurrection of Jesus.

### 3.3. 1 Thessalonians 1.9–10

1.<sup>9</sup> αὐτοὶ γὰρ περὶ ἡμῶν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ὅποιαν εἴσοδον ἔσχομεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ πῶς ἐπεστρέψατε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων δουλεύειν θεῷ ζῶντι καὶ ἀληθινῷ<sup>10</sup> καὶ ἀναμένειν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὃν ἤγειρεν ἐκ [τῶν] νεκρῶν, Ἰησοῦν τὸν ῥυόμενον ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς ἐρχομένης.

At the outset of the first epistle to the Thessalonians, Paul creates another intersection between the resurrection of Jesus and the divine fatherhood metaphor. He does so here by implication, writing of ‘his [i.e., God’s] Son ... whom he raised from the dead’ (1 Thess 1.10). The intersection occurs in what is widely held to be a thanksgiving section. A form of εὐχαριστέω (in this case, εὐχαριστοῦμεν) plus the dative direct object τῷ θεῷ begins the section (1 Thess 1.2). The opening verb is modified by three participial phrases: ‘making mention’ (μνείαν ποιούμενοι ..., 1 Thess 1.2), ‘remembering’ (μνημονεύοντες ..., 1 Thess 1.3), and ‘knowing’ (εἰδότες ..., 1 Thess 1.4).<sup>36</sup> Characteristic of other Pauline thanksgivings, 1 Thessalonians 1 ends in eschatological climax.<sup>37</sup> And like its counterparts in the epistolary papyri, the thanksgiving of 1 Thess 1 focusses the situation of the letter by introducing its vital themes.<sup>38</sup> Johannes Munck has noted the former consensus view that 1 Thessalonians 1.9–10 represents a summary of Paul’s missionary preaching to the Thessalonians. Munck

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<sup>36</sup> According to Schubert’s first type of εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving (though his model is not perfectly exact), subsequent modifying participial phrases are a commonplace of Pauline thanksgivings. Schubert 1939: 35; cf. Hooker 1996: 3.443.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. 1 Cor 1.4–9; Phil 1.3–11; 2 Thess 1.3–12. See also Schubert 1939: 4; Hooker 1996: 3.444.

<sup>38</sup> Schubert 1939: 180; Hooker 1996: 3.443.

disagrees, arguing instead that these verses (i.e., 1 Thess 1.9b–10) are a summary, not of Paul’s missionary preaching, but ‘of the subjects with which Paul is going to deal’ at various later stages of the letter itself.<sup>39</sup>

Morna Hooker has taken Munck’s argument even further, applying the summary aspects of 1 Thess 1.9–10 to the entire letter, not just to 1 Thess 4–5 as Munck originally envisioned. She extends Munck’s summary to include 1 Thessalonians 1.9a (*αὐτοὶ γὰρ περὶ ἡμῶν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ὁποῖαν εἴσοδον ἔσχομεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς*), enabling her to show that in 1 Thess 2, Paul reminds ‘the Thessalonians of the manner of his visit to them’, taking up the theme of what happened since that visit in 1 Thess 3.<sup>40</sup> Munck’s argument serves to round out the letter: the themes of serving the living God (1 Thess 1.9b; cf. 1 Thess 4.1–12; 5.12–22) and waiting for the Son who will deliver from wrath (1 Thess 1.10; cf. 1 Thess 4.13–5.11) are taken up throughout 1 Thess 4–5.<sup>41</sup> I take the arguments of Munck and Hooker to suggest that 1 Thessalonians 1.9–10 serve as summarising verses for the remainder of the epistle.

These verses pose some challenges to the exegete. As a preliminary matter, 1 Thessalonians 1.10 presents a text-critical issue: the article in the phrase *ἐκ [τῶν] νεκρῶν*.<sup>42</sup> Weiss concludes that the ‘younger’ codices added the article in this phrase in the Pauline

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<sup>39</sup> Munck 1963: esp. 104–110. The quotation comes from Hooker 1996: 3.447. Cf. Wanamaker 1990: 84–89; Fee 2009: 46; Weima 2014: 115–18. *Pace* Bruce 1982: 17; Holtz 1986: 54–62, who exercises greater caution; Haufe 1999: 23, 28–31; Green 2002: 106; Burchard 2005: 272 n. 1; Shogren 2012: 49–50.

<sup>40</sup> Hooker 1996: 3.445–47. The quotation is from p. 446. Cf. Kim 2005: esp. 519–23.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Zimmermann 2007: 491, who argues that for Paul the resurrection of Jesus is the irrefutable prerequisite of the Parousia awaited by the Thessalonian readers.

<sup>42</sup> According to the textual apparatus of NA<sup>28</sup>, the article is omitted in the following MSS:  $\mathfrak{P}^{46\text{vid}}$  A C K 323 629 945 1881\* 2464 Eus. Best (1986: 85) calls this evidence for its omission ‘hardly sufficient’, though he does not mention  $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$  among the witnesses. The article is included in the following MSS:  $\mathfrak{B}$  D F G I L P  $\Psi$  0278 33 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1739 1881<sup>c</sup>  $\mathfrak{M}$ .

texts; the ‘older’ ones omitted it.<sup>43</sup> I will discuss this issue more fully in dialogue with Paula Fredriksen on Rom 1 (Chapter 3.4, below); Fredriksen argues that the inclusion of the article means that Paul is not referring primarily to the resurrection of Jesus, but to the general resurrection from the dead. In 1 Thess 1.10, the issue seems to be less clouded: one may say with more certainty that the resurrection to which Paul refers is the resurrection of Jesus, and that neither the inclusion nor the omission of the article changes this referent.

Some have advanced the view that these verses record pre-Pauline material. Certainly, there are Pauline distinctives that are notably absent. F. F. Bruce notes that neither the cross nor divine grace are mentioned here.<sup>44</sup> The passage displays a rhythmical structure reminiscent of creedal formulae, which Ernest Best divides into two stanzas of three lines apiece: the first beginning after the verbal clause surrounding ἐπιστρέφω (1 Thess 1.9b), and the second stanza commencing after the clause surrounding ἐγείρω (1 Thess 1.10).<sup>45</sup> The vocabulary is uncharacteristic of Paul: ἀναμένω (1 Thess 1.10), a NT *hapax*, replaces the more familiar compounds of δέχομαι in the Pauline letters; Jesus as ῥυόμενος (1 Thess 1.10) appears where we might otherwise expect a participial form of σώζω.

Others have sought to rebut these three arguments for a non-Pauline origin of this material—viz., rhythmical and hymnic structure, uncharacteristic Pauline vocabulary, and neglect of common Pauline themes. To summarise their arguments, one could begin by

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<sup>43</sup> For instance, the phrase ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν appears in Eph 5.14; Col 1.18. Cf. Weiss 1896: 76–77. See also Gaventa 1998: 20, who notes that Paul usually omits the article from this phrase.

<sup>44</sup> Bruce 1982: 18.

<sup>45</sup> Best 1986: 86.

saying the passage in fact displays some grammatical disruption that would be surprising to find in creedal formulae. At least three places are noteworthy: first, the shift from the second-person to the first-person point of view (cf. *ἐπεστρέψατε* in 1 Thess 1.9 to *ἡμᾶς* in 1 Thess 1.10); second, the rather ‘clumsy’ repetition of the term *θεός* in 1 Thess 1.9; and third, the seeming disruption to the train of thought caused by the clause surrounding *ἐγείρω* (1 Thess 1.10).<sup>46</sup> While the use of *ἀναμένω* in 1 Thess 1.10 is unique, the concept of waiting for the Lord’s return is certainly Pauline (cf. the use of *ἀπεκδέχομαι* in Rom 8.19; 1 Cor 1.7; Phil 3.20). And although Paul prefers *σώζω* and its cognates to *ρύομαι*, nevertheless he occasionally uses *ρύομαι* in discussions of being saved from something.<sup>47</sup> To these rebuttals, I would add that perhaps in the context of the return of Jesus and divine, apocalyptic wrath, one would not expect to find statements about the cross (in light of the anticipated return of the resurrected Son) or the grace of God (in light of divine wrath). Nor would it be necessary for Paul to list all his common themes here, though he does refer both to the death of Jesus (e.g., 1 Thess 5.10, a passage closely related to 1 Thess 1.9–10 in its exposition of the ‘day of the Lord’) and the grace of Jesus (in the closing, 1 Thess 5.28) elsewhere in the letter. Furthermore, the advocacy for pre-Pauline material in 1 Thess 1.9–10 rests on the assumption that these verses reflect a summary of Paul’s missionary preaching, an assumption which I do not espouse. Thus, it is not clear to me that these verses evince pre-Pauline material. What may be said is that Paul is writing here with hymnic style, perhaps using traditional language and elements, while taking these

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<sup>46</sup> This and the following points are nicely distilled in Holtz 1986: 54–64; Wanamaker 1990: 85–88. Wanamaker uses the term ‘clumsy’.

<sup>47</sup> See e.g., Rom 7.24; 11.26 (where Paul quotes Isa 59.20 LXX to describe the *ρύόμενος* in the context of apocalyptic salvation); 2 Cor 1.10; in the disputed Pauline letters, cf. Col. 1.13.

verses as his point of departure for the topics that he will discuss in the remainder of the letter. Whatever their source, Paul uses these words for his own ends to indicate the themes of the epistle and to create an intersection between divine fatherhood and the resurrection of Jesus.

As he does in Galatians, Paul makes several more references to divine fatherhood in 1 Thessalonians. He initially addresses his readers as the church ‘in God the Father’ (ἐν θεῷ πατρί, 1 Thess 1.1). He next recalls his readers’ work of faith, labour of love, and endurance of hope done ‘in the presence of our God and Father’ (ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, 1 Thess 1.3). Two further references to divine fatherhood occur in the apostolic benediction of 1 Thess 3.11–13, where Paul prays that the Father would direct the way of the apostle and his cohort to his Thessalonian readers (1 Thess 3.11), whose hearts may be strengthened to be blameless before the Father (1 Thess 3.13). The references to divine fatherhood in 1 Thess 3 differ from that of 1 Thess 1.9–10 in that they refer to ‘our Father’ (πατὴρ ἡμῶν) in each case rather than the Father of Jesus, and they couple the Father with Jesus as Lord (κύριος) rather than Jesus as Son. Also in parallel to Galatians, reference to the resurrection of Jesus occurs very infrequently in the first letter to the Thessalonians. Aside from reference to the Father’s activity in 1 Thess 1.10 (ὃν ἤγειρεν ἐκ [τῶν] νεκρῶν), the only other clear mention of the resurrection of Jesus occurs in 1 Thess 4.14, where Paul argues from Jesus’ death and resurrection concerning the fate of those believers who have already died. Similar to usage in Galatians, Paul concentrates the divine fatherhood metaphor in the opening section, seldom deploying it elsewhere in the letter. The resurrection of Jesus, too, is rarely mentioned after Paul intersects it with divine fatherhood in the opening thanksgiving section.

However, the relative scarcity of these two concepts belies their influence upon the letter. For instance, Paul’s presentation of divine fatherhood in the letter correlates to the apostle’s own posture as father to his Thessalonian readers (esp. 1 Thess 2.11) in at least two ways. First, Paul’s paternal authority with respect to his readers derives from the Father’s own authority, as though God had delegated the apostle’s authority to him. By turning to the living and true God (1 Thess 1.10), the Thessalonians had placed themselves under divine authority, having been called into God’s kingdom.<sup>48</sup> In turn, Paul demonstrates his delegated authority by his moral instruction of the Thessalonian readers ‘in the Lord’ (1 Thess 4.1).<sup>49</sup> Secondly, Paul’s fatherly affection reflects the divine affection God has for Paul’s Thessalonian readers.<sup>50</sup> Paul initially describes his Thessalonian readers as ‘brothers beloved by God’ (ἀδελφοὶ ἠγαπημένοι ὑπὸ [τοῦ] θεοῦ, 1 Thess 1.4). The apostle later recounts his own affection (along with that of his co-authors, ostensibly) for his readers by using similar terms: they longed for (δμείρομαι, a term of affection, 1 Thess 2.8) the Thessalonians, sharing their own lives with Paul’s readers because the Thessalonians had become dear to Paul and (perhaps) his co-authors (διότι ἀγαπητοὶ ἡμῖν ἐγενήθητε, 1 Thess 2.8).

Following Boakye’s thesis on Galatians, one could say that Paul uses the language of resurrection—stemming from the resurrection of the Son by the Father (1 Thess 1.10)—to undergird other arguments in the epistle. To begin, there seems to be a twofold delivery working through the final verses of 1 Thess 1: God the Father has delivered the Son from death through the act of resurrection, and the Son in turn delivers Paul and his

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<sup>48</sup> Cf. 1 Thess 5.1–12. See also Burke 2003: 133.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Collins 1983: 34; Burke 2003: 137.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Heath 2009: 15.

Thessalonian readers from the wrath to come. Boakye has noted the connection between ‘life/living’ language and the resurrection of Jesus in Galatians (see the discussion in Chapter 3.2, above), and one may note the places where Paul uses similar language in 1 Thess, usually revolving round ζάω and its cognates. Just before his wish prayer to ‘our God and Father’ (1 Thess 3.11, 13), Paul recounts the refreshment given to him and his cohort because of the good news brought by Timothy about the Thessalonians. Paul contrasts the previous affliction experienced by him and his cohort with the life brought about by Timothy’s tidings about the faith of his Thessalonian readers: Paul and his cohort now live if the Thessalonians stand firm in the Lord (ὅτι νῦν ζῶμεν ἐὰν ὑμεῖς στήκετε ἐν κυρίῳ, 1 Thess 3.8). There is perhaps a resurrection motif here in that Paul and his cohort were experiencing affliction (i.e., trending toward death), but now live (again)<sup>51</sup> after the refreshing news brought by Timothy.

Paul certainly relies on the resurrection of Jesus in his argument about the fate of those who have ‘fallen asleep’ before the coming of the Lord (1 Thess 4.13–18). As is his wont, the apostle argues *a fortiori* concerning the belief shared with the Thessalonians in the resurrection of Jesus that God will bring those who sleep (οἱ κοιμηθέντες, 1 Thess 4.14) with Jesus at his coming. That resurrection is in view is further strengthened by Paul’s contrast between ‘we who live’ (ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες, 1 Thess 4.15) and the ‘dead in Christ’ (οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ, 1 Thess 4.16). Paul avers that the latter will rise first, using a common early Christian term (though not typically Pauline) for resurrection (ἀνίστημι, 1 Thess 4.16). Finally, Paul refers to resurrection by assuring his Thessalonian readers that Jesus

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<sup>51</sup> A couple of English translations (NET, NLT) even bring out the sense of ‘live again’, a concept closely akin to resurrection.



died ‘so that whether we are alert or asleep, we will live with him’ (ἵνα εἴτε γρηγοροῦμεν εἴτε καθεύδωμεν ἅμα σὺν αὐτῷ ζήσωμεν, 1 Thess 5.10). Even those who have died will live again because Jesus died (for them)!<sup>52</sup> The influence of divine fatherhood and the resurrection of Jesus (manifested in the hope of future resurrection for those Thessalonians who have already died by the time Paul pens his epistle), which is intersected only once implicitly in the opening thanksgiving section, exerts an outsize influence on the letter.

Paul broaches the issue of identity in at least three ways in the opening thanksgiving section. First, Paul’s readers had already marked themselves out sharply from Thessalonian non-believers to such an extent that his readers likely endured substantial abuse from their non-believing neighbours.<sup>53</sup> Christian Blumenthal goes so far as to call the Thessalonians’ turning from idols to the living and true God a ‘fundamental change of existence’ in Paul’s view.<sup>54</sup> Second, Paul identifies Jesus in several ways in 1 Thess 1.10. He recalls his Thessalonian readers’ conversion which involved their awaiting God’s Son from the heavens (ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, the only place where Jesus is called ‘Son’ in the entire letter). This Son is the same one whom (the relative pronoun ὃν has as its antecedent ‘Son’, being in concord with υἱός in both gender and case) God raised from the dead. Paul names the resurrected Son in the next clause: Jesus, the one who delivers us from the coming wrath.<sup>55</sup> This last phrase (Ἰησοῦν τὸν ῥυόμενον ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς ἐρχομένης) resembles an identifying description (defined in the discussion of Gal 1, Chapter

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<sup>52</sup> LSJ 360 notes that γρηγορέω here signifies life as opposed to death (i.e., the euphemism καθεύδω).

<sup>53</sup> Cf. 1 Thess 1.6, where Paul recalls how his Thessalonian readers had received the word of the gospel ‘in circumstances of considerable affliction’ (ἐν θλίψει πολλῇ); see also 1 Thess 2.13–16. See further Barclay 1993: 513–16; idem, 2011: 184–85; Benson 1996: 143; Still 1999: 208–27; Blumenthal 2005: 96–105.

<sup>54</sup> Blumenthal 2005: 105, where he states: ‘Paulus seinerseits nimmt die Wendung als grundlegenden Existenzwechsel wahr ...’ See also Zimmermann 2007: 399.

<sup>55</sup> Burchard (2005: 273) argues that ‘Jesus’ should come before ‘whom he [i.e., God] raised from the dead’ in translation. However, he can support this position only on extra-textual grounds.

3.2, above). The term *ῥυόμενος* is participial in form and occurs in a passage whose style is liturgical; it marks out Jesus both from the Father who raised him, and from any other purported *ῥυόμενοι* known to Paul and his Thessalonian readers. One may question the propriety of using the term ‘identifying description’ because this participle is not in common usage, however. The only other place Paul uses *ῥυόμενος* is in Rom 11.26, where he quotes from Isa 59.20 LXX, a place in which the participle is applied to God (the Father).<sup>56</sup> In the Pauline epistles, the infrequent verb *ῥύομαι* normally has God (the Father) as its subject.<sup>57</sup> However, given the preceding identifying phrases, the lack of common usage need not disqualify the *ῥυόμενος* clause as an identifying description for Jesus. It also seems in this case that Paul is transferring a role normally reserved for God (the Father) to the Son.

This transfer frees up Paul to relate other ways of identifying God as Father. By the time the Thessalonian readers come to 1 Thess 1.10, the apostle has prepared them already for new thinking about the Father and his identity. At the very beginning, Paul addresses the letter ‘to the church of the Thessalonians in God the Father’ (*τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεσσαλονικέων ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ*, 1 Thess 1.1). This is an unusual expression, apparently reserved only for the Thessalonians in the Pauline literature.<sup>58</sup> Noting the rarity of the expression, Best proposes that *ἐν* has instrumental force here: the Thessalonian church has

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<sup>56</sup> Some believe the participle is applied to Jesus in Rom 11. See e.g., Jewett 2007: 704, with further citations in n. 94; Barclay 2015: 555, esp. n. 80. Others follow Isa 59 in applying *ῥυόμενος* to God (the Father): cf. Gaston 1987: 143, who gives approbation to the earlier work of Krister Stendahl; Stanley 1993: esp. 140–42, who applies it to Yahweh.

<sup>57</sup> In addition to Rom 11.26, cf. 2 Cor 1.9–10 (*θεός*); Col 1.13 (*πατήρ*). Outside the Pauline literature, cf. Matt 6.13 (*πατήρ*); 2 Pet 2.7 (*θεός*). Where God (the Father) is not the explicit subject of *ῥύομαι*, see 2 Tim 3.11, 4.17 (*κύριος*); outside the Pauline literature, 2 Pet 2.9 (*κύριος* [= *θεός*? cf. 2 Pet 2.7]). See also Matt 27.43 (*θεός*), a citation of Ps 22.9 (the Hebrew subject of the equivalent verb is *יהוה*; in Ps 21.9 LXX, the subject is *κύριος*); also note the mention here of Jesus’ reported claim to be ‘Son of God’.

<sup>58</sup> The exact phrase occurs again in 2 Thess 1.1. Cf. the discussion in Bruce 1982: 7; Wanamaker 1990: 70.

been brought into being by God the Father.<sup>59</sup> If Best is correct, Paul may have introduced divine fatherhood in the Thessalonian letter by the familiar conceptual domain of creation or generation. Having thus been founded in (i.e., by) the Father, the Thessalonians are remembered by Paul ‘in the presence of our God and Father’ (ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, 1 Thess 1.3) for the living out of their faith.<sup>60</sup> By implication, Paul next identifies the Father as the one who resurrected Jesus, his Son awaited from the heavens (1 Thess 1.10). The apostle has carefully though briefly laid out the life-giving and -affirming identity of the Father through reference to the Thessalonians’ past (they were founded in the Father, perhaps brought into existence by the Father), their present (for which Paul by remembering their actualised life of faith expresses thanks to the Father), and their future (awaiting the Son from the heavens, raised by the Father, and in whose resurrection life they will ultimately share).

How might Paul’s description of Jesus as God’s ‘Son’ in connection with resurrection from the dead have resonated with the author’s Thessalonian readers? Once again, RT invites us to enquire into the cultural associations that might be shared between Paul and his Thessalonian readers. We are invited to view Paul’s description through Jewish, Greco-Roman, and Christian lenses due to questions about the cultural makeup of Paul’s Thessalonian addressees, and to help us bring to the surface certain subtleties, or implicatures, of Paul’s expression, which I hope to make clear in the ensuing analysis. I would like to begin by noting the elements in the letter from Paul’s Jewish background

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<sup>59</sup> Best 1986: 62–63.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. the phrase ‘your work of faith and labour of love and steadfastness of hope’ (ὁμῶν τοῦ ἔργου τῆς πίστεως καὶ τοῦ κόπου τῆς ἀγάπης καὶ τοῦ ὑπομονῆς τῆς ἐλπίδος, 1 Thess 1.3) with which Paul describes his Thessalonian readers.

with particular attention paid to 1 Thess 1.9–10 and its near context. Although it appears that Paul addresses his readers as (primarily) gentiles (cf. 1 Thess 1.9), there seems to have been a significant Jewish presence in the city of Thessalonica itself when Paul wrote to his readers,<sup>61</sup> and the letter demonstrates several notable items of Jewish background. Scrutinising 1 Thessalonians 1.9–10, Elizabeth Johnson has argued that there is an ‘echo’ (a term she uses interchangeably with ‘allusion’) of the first commandment in Paul’s recollection of the Thessalonians turning to God from idols. Paul’s description of ‘the living and true God’ mirrors two frequent, though separate, descriptions of God in the OT.<sup>62</sup> Though Johnson cautions that Paul’s description does not satisfy the conditions of conscious allusion to the OT, the description nevertheless is ‘simply one of the ways Jews refer to God’. The mention of divine wrath (ἡ ὀργὴ ἡ ἐρχομένη, 1 Thess 1.10; cf. 2.16; 5.9) is also a frequent OT theme.<sup>63</sup> Paul does not seem to reference any of these items of Jewish background explicitly, however. Coupled with the lack of any explicit OT citations in the letter, Paul seems not to assume much depth of knowledge related to Jewish background among his (likely) predominantly gentile readership.<sup>64</sup>

Greco-Roman background, which forms the second component of the shared cognitive environment between Paul and his Thessalonian readers, is more difficult to

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<sup>61</sup> Cf. Blumenthal 2005: esp. 100–104. While Blumenthal admits no archaeological evidence (which he ascribes to the fact that ancient Thessalonica has not yet been fully excavated), he lists as literary evidence the mention of a synagogue in Thessalonica in Acts 17.1, as well as the letter of Agrippa I preserved in Philo *Legat.* 281–82, which mentions (among other locations) Macedonia as a place ‘full of [foreign] Jewish inhabitants’ (μεστὰι τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀποικιῶν). If Macedonia is listed as a homeland for Jews, Blumenthal argues that the inclusion of its chief city (i.e., Thessalonica) can almost be taken for granted.

<sup>62</sup> The descriptions are ‘adjacent’ in Jer 10.10. See Johnson 2012: 145 nn. 14–16 for other OT citations.

<sup>63</sup> Gaventa 1998: 21; Johnson 2012: 147 n. 26.

<sup>64</sup> *Pace* Blumenthal 2005: 104 n. 47, who following Holtz argues that the language of 1 Thess 1.9–10 is very Jewish Greek, to be traced through the early Christians back to the language of the synagogue. From this, Blumenthal concludes that at least some of Paul’s addressees were ‘God-fearers’. This argument also seems to cohere with the treatment of 1 Thess 1.9–10 as a summary of Paul’s missionary preaching, rather than a summary of the major themes of the letter.

trace in the epistle. Although one could predict the lack of OT quotations given the likely composition of Paul's readership, it is curious that there appears to be no citation of Greco-Roman texts whatsoever in the letter either.<sup>65</sup> Nevertheless, 1 Thessalonians 1.9 seems to be a latent rebuke of Greco-Roman religion given from a Jewish perspective. Here, Paul recalls the conversion of his Thessalonian readers: they turned 'to God from idols to serve the living and true God' ([ἐπεστρέψατε] πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων δουλεύειν θεῷ ζῶντι καὶ ἀληθινῷ). Inscriptional evidence from first-century Thessalonica seems to reveal diverse devotional and cultic practices among the residents of the city. In addition to epigraphs declaring devotion to various gods or goddesses, there are even inscriptions devoted to the 'highest God'.<sup>66</sup> If one equates these εἰδῶλα with Greco-Roman religion,<sup>67</sup> then Paul recounts positively the Thessalonians' turn from one sort of cultic practice to another in the testimony of those throughout Macedonia and Achaia (cf. 1 Thess 1.7): the Thessalonian converts quit worshipping the gods of Greco-Roman religion in favour of worshipping the living, true God. This abandonment of the gods, perhaps more than any other factor, led to the reported social harassment of Paul's Thessalonian readers at the hands of their συμφυλέται.<sup>68</sup> Perhaps Paul hints at awareness of the religious environment in Thessalonica, though his assessment thereof is thoroughly Jewish.

The final component in the shared cognitive environment between Paul and his

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<sup>65</sup> Classically stated in Milligan 1908: lv; cf. Gupta 2019: 36.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. *IG* 10.2.1.68, which is addressed to Θεὸς Ὑψίστος. See also the inscription in Nigdelis 2006: 168–78. Nigdelis (2010: 18) considers such inscriptions as originating among those 'Thessalonians with monotheistic beliefs'. He further argues (2010: 22 n. 55) that these monotheists were quite numerous in comparison with other voluntary associations in first- and second-century Thessalonica.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Barclay 1993: 514–16; idem, 2011: 184. See also Still 1999: 255–60.

<sup>68</sup> However, see other possible sources for the Thessalonian θλιψίς in Still 1999: 228–67.

Thessalonian readers is the presence of their mutual Christian faith in the letter. Nijay Gupta, following George Milligan and his successors, has outlined a few places in the letter where Paul seems to allude to dominical sayings as recorded in the Gospels (esp. 1 Thess 4.15–17; 5.1–7), which correspond to certain elements of Matt 24.<sup>69</sup> Following Munck’s line of thought, these passages correspond back to 1 Thess 1.10, which provides *in nuce* the statement of those themes that Paul will expound toward the close of the epistle. In addition to these dominical sayings, Paul attributes to the living and true God the resurrection of his Son from the dead (1 Thess 1.10). If scholarly consensus is correct, Paul is likely proposing that the Father has achieved for the Son what is strictly impossible—bodily resurrection seems to have been largely an impossible concept, particularly for (Hellenistic) Greek audiences.<sup>70</sup> Reading Paul’s other letters, one may note that the apostle engages in ad-hoc concept formation in the way he writes about resurrection; he diverges further from usual Hellenistic sentiment on bodily resurrection in two key ways. First, he seems to hold the view that one is resurrected into a new (i.e., qualitatively different) body.<sup>71</sup> Secondly, he espouses the permanence of Jesus’ resurrection—Jesus was raised never to die again.<sup>72</sup> That gods may occasionally raise their children from the dead was not completely unattested in Greek literature.<sup>73</sup> However, such raising was generally understood as a ‘temporary reprieve’ from one’s ‘final lot’.<sup>74</sup> That is to say, instances within Greek literature suppose that those children of the gods who were restored (i.e.,

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<sup>69</sup> Gupta 2019: 36–39. Cf. Keesmaat 2006: 204–208.

<sup>70</sup> Representative of this view are Wedderburn 1987a: 181–211 (with exceptions); Vorster 1989: 170; Wright 2003: 32–38.

<sup>71</sup> See esp. 1 Cor 15.35–44.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Rom 6.10, where Paul uses ἐφάπαξ to describe Jesus’ death. See also Rom 8.34; 14.9; 2 Cor 5.15; 1 Thess 4.14.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Euripides, *Herc. fur.* 718–19.

<sup>74</sup> So Wedderburn 1987a: 183.

resurrected) to earthly life would eventually die again.

Paul therefore distinguishes to his Thessalonian readers the Father as the one who resurrected Jesus by linking Jesus' sonship (or, his relation to God as Father) to his own resurrection. The apostle gives these distinctions in verses that summarise and reveal the motifs to be discussed in the remainder of the epistle. The two themes of divine fatherhood and the resurrection of Jesus also undergird some of Paul's remaining arguments, reverberating throughout the letter: Paul links the Father to his readers' past, present, and future, while imitating the fatherhood of God in his own stance toward his readers; the theme of resurrection, too, seems to be closely linked to Paul's language of refreshment at Timothy's tidings, and certainly the resurrection of Jesus informs Paul's statements about the fate of those believers who have already died from among the addressees. Finally, I have argued RT shows that, while Paul approaches his (presumably) gentile readership largely from a Jewish perspective, he singles out the Father in a veiled critique of Greco-Roman religion (prevalent in first-century Thessalonica), showing the Father to be the one who raised his Son from the dead, a fantastical concept when one considers the Hellenistic literary environment in which Paul wrote his letter. Paul places at the heart of the saving, life-giving message of the gospel the raising of Jesus *qua* Son. It is here that the definition of God as Father also takes special resonance and significance, having repercussions throughout the theology of the letter. Yet, the Father's implicit role in the resurrection of Jesus is given a concrete reference-point right at the centre of Paul's good news.

### 3.4. Romans 1.3–4

1.<sup>3</sup>· περί τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, <sup>4</sup>· τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν,  
...

Once more, Paul opens the letter to the Romans by intersecting divine fatherhood and the resurrection of Jesus. Various labels as the prescript, or *superscriptio*, or *exordium*, the opening section of the epistle is acknowledged by consensus as strategically important for what follows. Whether his convention is Jewish or Greek, Paul here transforms normal letter writing convention from mere protocol outside the letter's context to a series of statements programmatic for and integral to the letter.<sup>75</sup> In addition to its significance for the letter's macrostructure, the opening section displays an internal order that reveals the consequential nature of Paul's gospel given in Rom 1.3–4. Michael Wolter conceives of the letter's opening as a series of concentric circles: the middle circle is the content of the gospel (Rom 1.2–4), while the outer circles define Paul's own apostolic self-understanding (Rom 1.1, 5–6).<sup>76</sup> If Paul's expanded letter opening functions both epistolarily and rhetorically, one could argue that it is in Rom 1.3–4 where the apostle summarises the message of the entire epistle.<sup>77</sup>

For example, themes broached in this opening section extend even to the end of

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<sup>75</sup> Cranfield 1975: 1.48. Cf. Dunn 1988: 1.5, citing van der Minde 1976: 38; Jervis 1991: 42; Jewett 2007: 96.

<sup>76</sup> Wolter 2014: 77, 82. Thus, he sees a break between the middle circle (Rom 1.2–4) and the outer circles, achieved in the switch from first person plural inclusive 'our Lord' (κυρίου ἡμῶν, Rom 1.4b), in which presumably Paul invites his readers to share his confession, and the first person plural exclusive 'we received' (ἐλάβομεν, Rom 1.5a) in which Paul distances himself from his readers through his exclusive claim to apostleship. Paul furthers the distinction when he refers to the Romans as 'you' by their inclusion 'among all the gentiles' (ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, Rom 1.5b).

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Byrskog 1997: 39–41; Kirk 2008: 33–39, esp. 37–38; Twelftree 2019: 157–64, esp. 157–58 n. 189. Cf. Campbell 2005: 80–81, 253 n. 36 for the importance of these verses for the argument of the epistle.



the letter.<sup>78</sup> Of particular interest is the intersection of divine fatherhood and the resurrection of Jesus, both themes recurring throughout the letter. Paul mentions God as Father several times, sometimes explicitly, sometimes implicitly. Paul presents to his readers God both as the Father of Jesus, and as the divine Father of the apostle and his readers—in the latter case, alternately using the plural forms *υἱοί* and *τέκνα* in texts concentrated in Rom 8–9 (see details in Table 3.1, below). He likewise mentions resurrection in several places. Paul refers either to the resurrection of Jesus, or to his own future resurrection and that of his readers (see the details in Table 3.2, below). The question is how these two themes might be connected to one another, and what such a connection might reveal about Paul’s theology proper. The way I hope to approach these questions is first by examining the immediately preceding context and showing how Paul’s argument includes issues relating directly to the identity of the ‘Son of God’ (*υἱὸς θεοῦ*, Rom 1.4). Then I will examine how these issues relate indirectly to the identity of the Father before positing a possible mutual cognitive environment between Paul and his Roman readers through the selective application of RT.

The content of Paul’s gospel (Rom 1.3–4) falls within a series of statements that develop and modify the phrase ‘gospel of God’ (*εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ*, Rom 1.1).<sup>79</sup> Internal evidence shows that Paul considered himself to be faithful to certain lines of thought begun by the OT prophets.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> For instance, Michael Wolter has linked the terms *εὐαγγέλιον* and *Χριστός* (significant for Rom 1.1–4) to Rom 15.19. See Wolter 2014: 76. Cf. du Toit 1989: 199–200. John Barclay further notes the ‘specifically Jewish context’ of the frame of Rom 1 and 15. See Barclay 2015: 459–60.

<sup>79</sup> See Figure 3.1, below. Cf. Bates 2015: 107.

<sup>80</sup> By ‘lines of thought’ is meant, for example, the proclamation of good news, the resurrection and divine sonship of the Messiah, Paul’s own personal descriptors, etc. See also Zimmermann 2013: 16; Eastman 2022: 58–81.

Table 3.1. Mention of Divine Fatherhood in Paul's Letter to the Romans.		
Type and Details of Mention		Location in Romans
<i>God as Father of Jesus:</i>	Explicit: πατήρ modifying θεός	1.7; 6.4; 8.15; 15.6
	Implicit: God as Father of Jesus via the phrase υἱός θεοῦ	1.4
	Implicit: God as Father of Jesus via the phrase υἱός αὐτοῦ (αὐτός = θεός)	1.9; 5.10; 8.29; cf. τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱόν, 8.3; cf. τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ, 8.32
<i>God as Father of Paul and his Roman readers:</i>	Implicit: Paul and his readers as υἱοὶ θεοῦ	8.14; 8.19; cf. 9.26 (a quotation of Hos 2.1 LXX)
	Implicit: Paul and his readers as τέκνα θεοῦ	8.16 (cf. 8.17), 21; cf. [τὰ] τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ, 9.8

One sees this in Paul's letter to the Romans, to the first chapter of which I would like here to devote careful attention. At the outset, Paul expresses the apparent desire to establish his gospel's continuity with OT scripture.<sup>81</sup> He initially modifies the 'gospel of God' (εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ, Rom 1.1) with the following phrase: 'which was promised beforehand through his prophets in the holy writings' (ὃ προεπηγγείλατο διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν γραφαῖς ἁγίαις, Rom 1.2). One should note that Paul does not argue for the content of the

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<sup>81</sup> Cf. Kirk 2008: 38.

gospel he preaches already having been proclaimed in the OT.<sup>82</sup> Rather, his point is that the gospel he proclaims now, which was promised beforehand in the OT, is in continuity with what was expressed through the prophets in the holy writings.<sup>83</sup> So then, the message Paul preaches is first promised, though not defined in any detail, in the earlier scriptures.

Avoiding the direct assumption of OT prophecy, Paul seems rather to reinterpret the OT creatively. Paul's creative innovation and his situating of the gospel he preaches in continuity with the OT are not mutually exclusive phenomena. It is likely that Paul is retelling some of the OT story through the lens of Jesus' resurrection. Two likely allusions—again at the beginning of Paul's letter to the Romans—may illustrate this claim. The first is a probable allusion to 2 Sam 7.12–14 LXX (cf. Table 3.3 toward the end of this section). Verbally, this occurs by the proximity of the terms σπέρμα, Δαυιδ,<sup>84</sup> and ἀνίστημι/ἀνάστασις. Furthermore, the coherence of Paul's style in the coupling of the phrases ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυίδ and ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν emerges because Paul has transferred to the resurrection of Jesus the prophecy by Nathan that God will raise David's seed.<sup>85</sup> The second is a possible allusion to Ps 2.7 LXX, where verbal correspondence occurs between the phrase Υἱός μου and υἱὸς αὐτοῦ (Rom 1.3). Later interpreters of Romans seem to see the same allusion—perhaps this explains the curious variant γεννωμένου [= γεγέννηκα] for γενομένου,<sup>86</sup> where a small number of copyists sensed Psalm 2 and its language of

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<sup>82</sup> Hence the use of the word προεπαγγέλλομαι, which connotes the idea of promise, but not proclamation. Cf. BDAG, s.v. προεπαγγέλλω, p. 868. Wolter 2014: 84–85.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Schneider 1967: 360; Wolter 2014: 84–85.

<sup>84</sup> In 2 Kgdms 7.12, Δαυιδ serves as the antecedent for the double occurrence of the pronoun σύ.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Dunn 1988: 1.23; Juel 1988: 18; Wolter 2014: 86. The eschatological reinterpretation of 2 Sam 7.12–14 LXX is evident already in the literature of Qumran (e.g., 4Q174 3.10–13; see Allegro 1956: 176–77; idem, 1968: 53–55), thus preceding Paul.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. n. 128 below for details. The variant could of course be explained away as homophony, itacism, or some other similar scribal error.

begetting in the background of Paul's description of the Son in Rom 1.3. Conceptually, Paul links Romans 1 to Ps 2 by outlining Jesus' entrance into a new (form of) divine sonship. The psalmist records his own new, divine sonship by the Lord's declaration; Paul creatively reinterprets this as a new degree of sonship and applies it to Jesus, who becomes Son-of-God-in-power by virtue of his resurrection (Rom 1.4). Thus, through creative reinterpretation of certain salient OT passages, Paul considers the gospel he preaches to be very similar to the messages of the OT prophets, yet new because it is defined in terms of the resurrection.

Paul's creative interpretation extends to the personal stamp he places upon his gospel message written in continuity with the OT prophets. Though the apostle elsewhere insists he received the gospel he preaches by direct revelation from Jesus (e.g., Gal 1.11–12; cf. 1 Cor 15.3–4), in Rom 1 he places his own indelible mark upon the definition thereof. He crafts a 'very personal statement' in this opening section, intended to be understood as his own by his readers.<sup>87</sup> Paul envelops the definition of the gospel he preaches with his own apostolic self-understanding (Rom 1.1, 5–6), an understandable theme if, as many have supposed, Paul seeks to bring the Roman congregation—in predominantly gentile territory—under his missional auspices. As the 'slave of Christ Jesus' (δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, Rom 1.1, the initial descriptor after his own personal name), Paul places himself in line with the other OT prophets whom God sent to the nations so that he might garner acceptance of his own apostolic authority by his Roman readers.<sup>88</sup> He alters normal letter writing convention by significantly expanding the introductory

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<sup>87</sup> Dunn 1988: 1.7.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Roura Monserrat 2015: 19–20.

section, keeping his personal statement in accordance with the OT by infusing it with key OT phrases reimagined around the risen Jesus.

One such phrase occurs in Rom 1.3, where Paul describes the Son with these words: *τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα*. Several have viewed this phrase as linked to Jesus' humanity, a reference to his Jewish heritage and Messianic credentials.<sup>89</sup> The counterpart in Rom 1.4 (*τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν*) would thus emphasise the divinity of Jesus, a testament to his heavenly destiny. Yet, such a view would set the second phrase over the first, wherein Jesus transcends the limitations of his role as Jewish Messiah to be manifested as the Son of God for the world.<sup>90</sup> By adding the phrase *κατὰ σάρκα*, Paul according to this view staves off potential embarrassment over Jesus' Jewish origins: Jesus is the seed of David merely according to the flesh, with all its associated negative connotations.

However, the second phrase describing the appointment as Son does not diminish the first; rather, the second phrase interprets the first.<sup>91</sup> Paul references Jesus as 'seed of David' neither to indicate Chalcedonian categories of Jesus' humanity and divinity, nor to distance Jesus from his Jewish genealogical origins in an attempt to curry favour with (perhaps) his predominantly gentile readership. Instead, the apostle demonstrates that in fact the OT promises concerning the gospel he preaches have been realised in Jesus, the Davidide who has been appointed Son-of-God-in-power. That is to say, Jesus is not for Paul just any descendant of David, but the one whose resurrection and appointment had

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<sup>89</sup> For example, Cranfield 1975: 1.60; Dunn 1988: 1.13.

<sup>90</sup> So Dunn 1988: 1.24. However, cf. Paul's own usage of the phrase in Rom 9.5, where 'the Christ according to the flesh' (*ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα*) is listed among the privileges of Israel. Ehrman (1993: 99 n. 8) goes so far as to reject both *κατὰ* phrases as original to Paul.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Johnson 2017: 489.

been foreseen in the salvation history of Israel as told by the prophets in the holy writings.<sup>92</sup>

Type and Details of Mention		Location in Romans
<i>The Resurrection of Jesus:</i>	ἀνάστασις	1.4 <sup>94</sup> ; 6.5
	ἐγείρω (and its cognates)	4.24–25; 6.4, 9; 7.4; 8.11 ( <i>bis</i> ), 34; 10.9
	ζάω (and its cognates)	cf. 14.9, where a few MSS have ἀναζάω <sup>95</sup>
<i>The [future] resurrection of Paul and his readers:</i>	ἀνάστασις	Cf. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως [τοῦ Χριστοῦ (6.4)] ἐσόμεθα, 6.5
	ζάω (and its cognates)	8.11 (ζωοποιέω); cf. πιστεύομεν ὅτι καὶ συζήσομεν αὐτῷ, 6.8; cf. ὁ δὲ ζῆ, ζῆ τῷ θεῷ, 6.10, though this may refer to Χριστός (6.9) rather than Paul and his readers

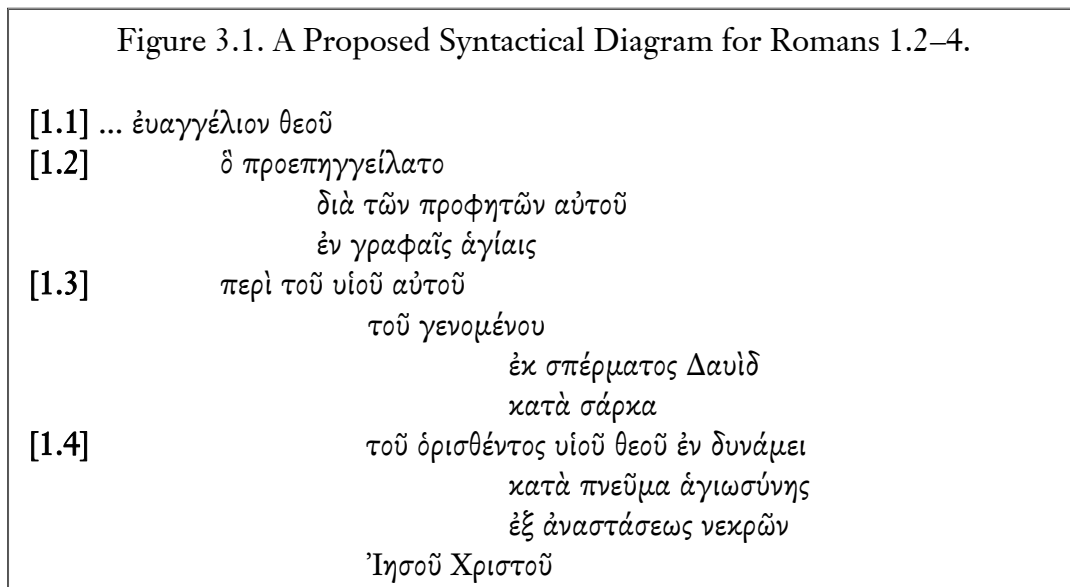
Thus, *κατὰ σάρκα* is not a negative Pauline redaction per se, but a way of designating the reality of Jesus available to human perception, just as *κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγιωσύνης* (Rom 1.4) represents reality from the Father's perspective.<sup>93</sup> Paul's opening statements in his letter to the Romans (discussed in this section, below) seem to situate Paul in continuity with the OT prophets. Yet, the apostle does not assume their message wholesale; rather, he expands and reinterprets the message of holy writ.

<sup>92</sup> I am here indebted to the careful exegesis of Wolter 2014: 86–88.

<sup>94</sup> Pace Fredriksen 2017: 133–45. See the discussion in this same section, below.

The apostle’s development serves to identify and demarcate his gospel (and the content thereof) from others. The ‘gospel of God’ which Paul preaches concerns the ‘Son’ of God (Rom 1.3). Presumably, there were many claimants to the title ‘Son of God’, which would necessitate Paul’s identification and demarcation of the particular son of God around whom the apostle’s gospel centred.<sup>96</sup> As he does in Gal 1, Paul also resorts to identifying descriptions to single out the ‘Son of God’ around whom his gospel is centred in Rom 1. One of these identifying descriptions concerns the resurrection of Jesus: ‘appointed Son-of-God-in-power according to the Spirit of holiness [as evidenced] by [his] resurrection from the dead’ (τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν, Rom 1.4). The phrase meets most of the criteria for classification as an identifying description. First, it is participial in form.<sup>97</sup>

Figure 3.1. A Proposed Syntactical Diagram for Romans 1.2–4.



Secondly, the phrase occurs in a passage noted for its liturgical style. Concerning the

<sup>94</sup> Pace Fredriksen 2017: 133–45. See the discussion in this same section, below.

<sup>95</sup> *pc.* For details, see Tischendorf 1872: 2.439.

<sup>96</sup> Notably, some Roman emperors assumed the title ‘divi filius’. See Peppard 2011a: esp. 46–49.

<sup>97</sup> The term ὀρισθέντος as the preceding, concordant article suggests is the masculine genitive singular aorist passive participle of ὀρίζω.

background material for this passage, the majority view seems to affirm that Paul is quoting from a hymn, or some other liturgical material, in these verses. Chief among those in support of sources prior to Paul is Robert Jewett, who has worked out a tradition history for the supposed pre-Pauline material in noteworthy detail.<sup>98</sup> He lists the many observations that have led to the conclusion in favour of pre-Pauline material, though not all these observations are of equal weight.<sup>99</sup> I will say more about the discussion regarding background material when I examine the passage in light of RT.

Thirdly, the phrase marks out one subject from another, meeting another criterion for consideration as an identifying description. Paul does not simply refer to one ‘Son of God’ over against another. Rather, he singles out ‘Jesus Christ our Lord’ (Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, Rom 1.4) who has been appointed ‘Son-of-God-in-power’ as evidenced by his resurrection from the dead. Recent interpreters have similarly argued that the resurrection of Jesus inaugurates a new status or function for Jesus.<sup>100</sup> For example, Daniel Kirk supports this claim by lexical investigation of the term *ὀρίζω*, concluding that synchronic and diachronic analysis, and especially usage in the NT, favour the meaning of

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<sup>98</sup> See esp. Jewett 1985: 99–122; idem, 2007: 97–108.

<sup>99</sup> A summary list from his commentary contains the following observations: <sup>i</sup> the participial constructions in Rom 1.3b and Rom 1.4a are typical of confessional material found elsewhere in the NT; <sup>ii</sup> participles at the beginning of subordinate clauses indicate citation of traditional material; <sup>iii</sup> the parallelism in Rom 1.3–4 indicates a careful, solemn composition that is ‘typical of liturgical use’; <sup>iv</sup> there is a lack of articular nouns; <sup>v</sup> there is the presence of non-Pauline terms; <sup>vi</sup> *ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν* means resurrection in a general sense elsewhere in Paul, while here the phrase references the resurrection of Jesus; <sup>vii</sup> there is uncharacteristic use of *σάρξ* and *πνεῦμα*; <sup>viii</sup> there are disparities with Paul’s own theology (such as mention of Jesus’ Davidic descent); <sup>ix</sup> there is no mention of Jesus’ death or the cross; <sup>x</sup> the confession sounds an adoptionist tone, where Paul usually favours pre-existence; <sup>xi</sup> Paul’s introduction of Rom 1.3–4 is comparable to 1 Cor 15.1–4, which is considered traditional material; <sup>xii</sup> a smooth transition would result if Rom 1.3–4 were deleted. See Jewett 2007: 98.

<sup>100</sup> Kirk (2008: 40 n. 31) provides a list of recent interpreters who hold this view, to which I would add Wolter 2014: 90; Moo 2018: 47–48.



‘to appoint’ or ‘to set apart for’, rather than ‘to declare to be (something)’.<sup>101</sup> Kirk does not closely investigate the modifying phrase ἐν δυνάμει, however.<sup>102</sup> Nonetheless, Kirk’s view that the resurrection of Jesus is the point from which Jesus enters into a new mode of spiritual existence is likely correct. Thus, it is my position that Jesus undergoes an exaltation of status by virtue of his resurrection, but not an essential change: he is now ‘Son-of-God-in-power.’<sup>103</sup>

These two concepts—‘Son of God’ and ‘in power’—are linked in ‘an informally descriptive quasi-title’ that marks out Jesus from other so-called υἱοὶ θεοῦ.<sup>104</sup> Such an assertion requires that ἐν δυνάμει modify υἱὸς θεοῦ (adjectival) rather than ὀρισθέντος (adverbial). From classical usage, the phrase ἐν δυνάμει occurs within the articular phrase when modifying an articular participle.<sup>105</sup> For the current example, one might expect the rendering τοῦ ἐν δυνάμει ὀρισθέντος were classical convention followed by Paul. This construction is quite rare, however; indeed, the adverbial function of ἐν δυνάμει modifying a participle would only occur in Paul’s letters at Rom 1. The likelier option is that the phrase ἐν δυνάμει modifies the immediately preceding noun phrase, υἱὸς θεοῦ (Rom 1.4). Matthew Bates has argued for the adjectival function (against the adverbial) of the phrase on two counts. First, the adjectival use of the phrase preserves a chiasmic structure in Rom

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<sup>101</sup> Kirk 2008: 39–44, esp. 40–41. Several recent interpreters align with Kirk’s conclusions. Cf. Cranfield 1975: 1.61; Wolter 2014: 90; Moo 2018: 46. A few MSS (Lat *pc*) read προορισθέντος in Rom 1.4. See Cranfield 1975: 1.61 n. 1; Longenecker 2016: 46.

<sup>102</sup> I take the phrase as modifying υἱός, rather than ὀρισθέντος, for reasons of proximity and concord. I will discuss these decisions presently, below. So Barrett 1962: 71; Cranfield 1975: 1.62; Käsemann 1980: 12, who notes that taking the phrase with the verb ‘would clash with the κατά construction’; Dunn 1988: 1.14; idem, 2009: 2.217; Burke 2006: 104; Wolter 2014: 90; Bird 2017: 11–23; Moo 2018: 46. *Contra* Sanday and Headlam 1902: 9; Jewett 2007: 107; Morais 2019: 26–29.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Harris 2012: 111–12.

<sup>104</sup> The quotation comes from Bates 2015: 125, emphasis omitted.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* 4.4.5.7; Aristotle, *De an.* 402a.25. In the NT, see 1 Pet 1.5.

1.3–4 (see Figure 3.2, below) that the adverbial use of *ἐν δυνάμει* would interrupt.<sup>106</sup> Second, similar ideas of the resurrection inaugurating for Jesus a new status are present elsewhere in Paul’s letters. Most notable are two examples from Romans: one in Rom 8.34, where the resurrection is cited in evidence for Jesus’ seat of honour at God’s right hand as the one who both condemns and intercedes; the other is in Rom 15.12, ‘where the raising up (resurrection) of a Davidide leads to his universal rule’ in a passage that I have already indicated may be structurally tied to Rom 1.<sup>107</sup>

Figure 3.2. A Chiasm in Romans 1.3–4. <sup>108</sup>	
3b	Participle
3c	ἐκ clause
3d	κατὰ clause
4ab	Participle + υἱοῦ θεοῦ + <u>ἐν δυνάμει</u>
4c	κατὰ clause
4d	ἐκ clause

The judicious use of RT may help us better understand how Paul’s Roman readers could have responded to Paul’s connection of Jesus the Son to resurrection in Rom 1.3–4. Once again, I wish to focus the discussion upon Christian background material.<sup>109</sup> Several Christian themes pervade Rom 1.3–4. Some have to do with (perhaps) Christian phrases and terms, while others are concerned with Paul’s source material in writing these verses. I have noted the recent majority opinion on pre-Pauline confessional material as

<sup>106</sup> Notions that the inclusion of *ἐν δυνάμει* would disrupt parallelism in Rom 1.3–4 have been rebutted by Johnson 2017: esp. 482–90.

<sup>107</sup> The participial descriptor in Rom 15.12 is *ὁ ἀνιστάμενος* (from *ἀνίστημι*), a quotation of Isa 11.10 LXX. The quotation above is from Bates 2015: 125. See also n. 78, above.

<sup>108</sup> This figure is reproduced from Bates 2015: 125, emphasis retained.

<sup>109</sup> For Greco-Roman background considerations, which could be quite significant in a letter to believers in Rome, see Scott 1992: 223–44; Burke 2006: 102–107; Barclay 2011: 364; Peppard 2011a: 133–60; Whittle 2019: 158–70; Harrison 2021: 399–414.

background for Rom 1.3–4. Such opinion is not unanimous, however. Vern Poythress entertains the idea that Paul may have composed these verses *ex tempore* using some traditional expressions.<sup>110</sup> Wolter likewise marshals a three-pronged argument, stating that all attempts at reconstruction of any pre-Pauline confession behind Rom 1.3–4 must end in failure: (a) first, because Paul’s redactions or additions cannot be identified with any degree of certitude; (b) second, because one cannot rule out that Paul has shortened traditional material, or perhaps has even omitted certain formulae; (c) and third, because one cannot really separate Paul from ‘the Tradition’, so closely are they connected to one another.<sup>111</sup> Douglas Moo concludes: ‘we should be cautious about drawing exegetical conclusions from this necessarily uncertain hypothesis. The meaning of these verses, then, is to be determined against the background of Paul and his letters, not against a necessarily hypothetical traditions-history’.<sup>112</sup> Indeed it seems safest to remain agnostic about the question of confessional material in the background of Rom 1.3–4, and I take the points of Poythress, Wolter, and Moo. Theoretical reconstructions of pre-Pauline confessional sources for the content of the Pauline gospel (Rom 1.3–4), no matter how well-devised, can only be espoused with a great deal of uncertainty. Thus, I am content to leave the question of pre-Pauline material behind Rom 1.3–4 open in the absence of more decisive evidence. One thing is clear, however, in light of this discussion: Paul is writing these verses in a compressed style founded mostly upon substantives and prepositions, largely devoid of adjectives, and perhaps reminiscent of early Christian confessional formulae.

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<sup>110</sup> Poythress 1976: 180–83. Cf. Davies 1990: 22–23; Bates 2015: 114–26. The most thorough refutation of Rom 1.3–4 as pre-Pauline material that I have seen comes in Scott 1992: 229–36.

<sup>111</sup> Wolter 2014: 78. Cf. similar warnings in Byrskog 1997: 41. On shortening traditional material, see the solution offered in Schneider 1967: 362.

<sup>112</sup> Moo 2018: 43–44. Cf. the summary remarks of Scott 1992: 236.

Other Christian phrases and terms seem to surface in the text. Perhaps the thorny prepositional modifier *κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης* (Rom 1.4) is one; this phrase has exact correspondence only to pseudepigraphic literature, and several recent interpreters have understood it as a reference to the Holy Spirit.<sup>113</sup> However, Paul elsewhere refers to the Holy Spirit without recourse to the term *ἁγιωσύνη*.<sup>114</sup> The lack of the term could be explained away by positing a creedal formula that Paul cites in Rom 1, though this proposition as we have seen has its own set of problems. Paul does indeed use the term elsewhere, where *ἁγιωσύνη* seems to connote an ethical character, applying it, not to the divine realm, but to personal holiness.<sup>115</sup> The only exact parallel occurrence is in T. Levi 18.11: ‘and the spirit of holiness will be upon them’ (*καὶ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης ἔσται ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς*),<sup>116</sup> though this Christian superstrate likely postdates Paul’s letters.<sup>117</sup>

The other major Christian phrase in this text concerns the resurrection of Jesus himself, which Paul uses as an interpretative lens: *ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν* (Rom 1.4). Daniel Kirk has argued that the resurrection of Jesus in Rom 1.4 is the ‘hermeneutical key by which the prophetic voices of the Jewish Scriptures are to be understood’.<sup>118</sup> One instance

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<sup>113</sup> Representative of this view, Schneider has linked the phrase to the Holy Spirit poured out by Jesus at Pentecost, as disclosed in Peter’s sermon from Acts 2. He also notes that *πνεῦμα* in the kerygmatic sections of Acts refers only and solely to the Holy Spirit. See Schneider 1967: 373, 377–81, 386 n. 2.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Novenson 2012: 170.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. 2 Cor 7.1; 1 Thess 3.13. See also Schneider 1967: 377 n. 1. The preposition *κατὰ* here likely denotes relationship and could be translated ‘with respect to’. BDAG, s.v. *κατά*, p. 513.6.

<sup>116</sup> Though determining the origins of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is fraught with difficulty, Jeffrey Lamp has noted conceptual similarity between T. Levi and Paul. Cf. Lamp 2003: esp. 414–16. Baker lists Ps 51.11 [50.13 LXX] and Isa 63.10–11 as parallels, but these are inexact: the texts do not appear to have *ἁγιωσύνη* in their MS record, preferring the cognates of *ἅγιος* instead. See Baker 2013: 154. The Greek text is taken from De Jonge, et al., 1978: 49. Cf. Charles 1908: 64. The text reads *πνεῦμα ἅγιον* in *ξ*, *πνεῦμα ἁγίω* in *g*. On the occurrence of the parallel Hebrew phrase, *רוח קדש*, in the literature of Qumran, see Novenson 2012: 170 n. 134.

<sup>117</sup> For this point, I am indebted to Jan Dochhorn. Some have suggested that the Christian interpolations of T. Levi likely belong to a later period of Christianity, noting some commonalities with Hippolytus (flor. early third century CE).

<sup>118</sup> Kirk 2008: 45.

discussed above is Paul's use of the phrase *ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ* (Rom 1.3), which (following Wolter et al.) I argued can only be sufficiently understood when interpreted by the resurrection of Jesus. Kirk further argues that the resurrection of Jesus reconfigures God's justice and the vindication of his people. Because Jesus alone is raised, his resurrection 'exacerbates the theodicy problem' that in Jewish minds resurrection was supposed to solve.<sup>119</sup> Instead, Paul reinterprets the OT in light of the resurrection of Jesus, arguing (according to Kirk) that the resurrection of Jesus is a testimony of God's faithfulness to his people, who have been redefined round the risen Jesus.<sup>120</sup> Kirk thus concludes that Paul in Romans rereads the OT through the lens of the resurrection of Jesus which displays God's faithfulness to the newly redefined people of God comprised of both Jews and gentiles.

Reminiscent of Pauline usage elsewhere,<sup>121</sup> the phrase in Rom 1.4 has occasioned debate about whether it is borrowed from earlier tradition. Robert Jewett contends that the phrase is primitive, referring to resurrection generally, rather than to the specific case of the resurrection of Jesus.<sup>122</sup> If one assigns Paul's preferred construction when referring to the resurrection of Jesus (*ἐγείρω + ἐκ νεκρῶν*) to a later stratum of Christian expression, then Jewett's allegation of primitiveness is quite likely. However, his contention that

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<sup>119</sup> Kirk 2008: 45, 47, who ties the vindication inherent in Rom 1.3–4 to the more overt statements in Rom 1.16–17. Cf. idem, 49: '(1) the Scriptures of Israel contain the prepromise of the gospel; (2) the content of that scriptural witness is the resurrection of Jesus; (3) the resurrection itself thus demonstrates God's action in fulfilling his promises; (4) the gospel displays the (resurrection-[1:4]) power of God; and (5) this act of God is for Jew and Gentile alike'. Defining God's righteousness as his faithfulness to the promises he made in the OT, Kirk (2008: 47) elaborates: 'God's righteousness is unveiled, not in a general resurrection of the just and the unjust or in a resurrection of all the faithful law-keeping Israelites, but in the resurrection of the one who showed his justice by becoming faithfully obedient unto death'.

<sup>120</sup> Kirk 2008: 45–46.

<sup>121</sup> Rather infrequent in the Pauline letters, the analogue *ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν* is concentrated in 1 Cor 15 (15.12, 13, 21, 42).

<sup>122</sup> Jewett 2007: 105.

ἀνάστασις in Rom 1.4 refers to resurrection generally merits deeper examination, in part because reference to a general resurrection in Rom 1.4 could strip the term of its interpretative value for several other Pauline arguments in the letter and of its specifically Christian content; a reference to general resurrection could also call into question any specific connection posited between divine fatherhood and the resurrection of Jesus in Romans.

Paula Fredriksen has taken Jewett's argument further to suggest that ἀνάστασις in Rom 1.4 must refer to the general resurrection of the dead. From this, she concludes that the resurrection of Jesus is not unique for Paul at all, but merely the first in a series that will culminate in the general resurrection of the dead in the Eschaton.<sup>123</sup> She grounds her argument by conflating the terms 'Son', 'Christ', and 'Lord', and by noting the Pauline style which omits the preposition ἐκ.<sup>124</sup> She brings in Augustine's reading of Rom 1 as corroboration. Fredriksen's position on the referent of ἀνάστασις in Rom 1.4 may be rebutted in the following manner.<sup>125</sup> Stylistically, many have noted the summary, creedal formulation of these verses. Certainly, the style of Rom 1.3–4 is compressed, devoid of any adjectives and most articles, and largely structured round nouns with accompanying prepositional phrases. For Paul to refer to the resurrection *from the dead* (i.e., to the general resurrection in the Eschaton) would require greater precision in his language, a precision which he is capable of elsewhere in his corpus. In Phil 3.11, for instance, Paul refers to the general resurrection: 'if somehow I may attain to the resurrection from the

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<sup>123</sup> See esp. Fredriksen 2017: 133–45.

<sup>124</sup> She seems to expect the following phrase: ἐξ ἀναστάσεως ἐκ νεκρῶν.

<sup>125</sup> I am deeply indebted here to John Barclay, who gave several insights into this verse via personal conversation.

dead' (εἴ πως καταστήσω εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν). Thus, more than the preposition ἐκ is required for the phrase to meet Fredriksen's threshold; in fact, when discussing the general resurrection of the dead Paul never seems to append the phrase ἐκ νεκρῶν to the noun ἀνάστασις without inserting the anaphoric article before the phrase.<sup>126</sup> One should not expect the precision typical for Paul's reference to the general resurrection in the compressed environs of Rom 1.3–4.

Table 3.3. Verbal Correspondences between Select OT Texts & Rom 1.3–4.	
<p>2 Kgdms 7.8 LXX (cf. 7.5): καὶ νῦν τάδε ἐρεῖς τῷ δούλῳ μου <u>Δαυιδ</u></p> <p>2 Kgdms 7.12 LXX καὶ <u>ἀναστήσω</u> τὸ <u>σπέρμα</u> σου [i.e., <u>Δαυιδ</u>] μετὰ σέ,</p>	<p>Rom 1.3–4 περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ <u>γενομένου</u><sup>127</sup> ἐκ <u>σπέρματος Δαυιδ</u> κατὰ σάρκα, τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης ἐξ <u>ἀναστάσεως</u> νεκρῶν, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν,</p>
<p>Ps 2.7 LXX διαγγέλων τὸ πρόσταγμα κυρίου Κύριος εἶπεν πρὸς με <u>Υἱός μου</u> εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον <u>γεγέννηκά</u> σε·</p>	

Instead, the style is in summary form, delineating the beliefs about the Son held in common between Paul and his Roman readers, suggesting the referent is not to resurrection generally, but specifically to the resurrection of Jesus, as the consensus of early Greek commentators of Romans contends.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>126</sup> Augustine, who read and commented in anarthrous Latin, would not have been aware of the nuances presented by that Greek innovation, the article.

<sup>127</sup> The correspondence here is inexact since γεννάω ≠ γίνομαι. However, a possible allusion to Ps 2.7 LXX occurs in the presence of the variant γεννωμένου in certain later MSS of Rom 1.3 (e.g., 61 441); cf. Augustine, *Faust.* 11.4. See the fuller MS listing in Tischendorf 1872: 2.364.

<sup>128</sup> Origen and Chrysostom agree that Paul is referring to the resurrection of Jesus in Rom 1.4, though

### 3.5. Romans 6.3–4

6.<sup>3</sup> ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι, ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν;  
4<sup>4</sup> συνετάφημεν οὖν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἰς τὸν θάνατον, ἵνα ὡσπερ ἠγέρθη Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς, οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσωμεν.

Structurally and thematically, Rom 6.4 has presented some challenges for interpreters of Paul, particularly with respect to the issue of baptism. How exactly does baptism function for Paul in Rom 6? Perhaps few recent interpreters would claim outright that in Rom 6.3–4 one may find a summary of Paul’s teaching about baptism. However, it can be very tempting to freight these two verses with just such a summary.<sup>129</sup> In Rom 6.3–4, one finds ‘the most specific information on Paul’s perception of baptism’.<sup>130</sup> By making enquiry into his readers’ ignorance (or lack thereof: ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι ..., Rom 6.3), Paul seems to be recounting common instruction about baptism shared between the apostle and his readers.<sup>131</sup> But is Paul really taking the occasion of Rom 6.3–4 to teach his readers about baptism? What seems more likely is that these two verses are in the stream of thought that seeks to answer the question posed at the end of Rom 6.1—‘shall we continue in sin, that

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Origen’s commentary is no longer extant in Greek; the earliest copy seems to be Rufinus’ translation in Latin. Somewhat later than Origen, Peter of Alexandria writing on the Resurrection in Coptic in (probably) the early fourth century CE referred to Jesus as being from David’s bloodline (only the Latin is extant; here, *a sanguine David*) and referred to Jesus’ changed state after his resurrection (Latin: *verum et post resurrectionem immutatus apparuit*). For the Latin text of Peter’s *De resurrectione*, see Pitra 1883: 4.428. Theodoret, following Chrysostom, adds this final phrase in his discussion of Rom 1.4: *μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. See *MPG* 82: col. 51 B15–C1; see esp. Lorrain 2018: 303–308. Photius of Constantinople, though writing much later (in the 9th century), comments thusly: ‘Now of the resurrection he says, our Lord Jesus Christ arose’ (*Ἀναστάσεως δὲ φησιν, ἧς ἀνέστη ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*). Cf. Staab 1933: 470. Though less explicit, cf. Ign. *Smyrn.* 1.1–2. Apollinaris and Pelagius are unclear. Apollinaris’ extant commentary is quite fragmentary. Pelagius, who knew Greek (unlike Augustine), apparently based his commentary on a Latin text. See De Bruyn 1993: 168.

<sup>129</sup> This seems to be a common premise behind several articles: Petersen 1986: 217–26; Wedderburn 1987b: 53–72; Betz 1994: 85; Esler 2003: 212. Cf. Eckert 1987: 204, who comments: ‘Der Text [i.e., Rom 6.1–11] gilt weithin als locus classicus des paulinischen Taufverständnisses und hat ohne Zweifel als letztes Wort des Apostels zur Taufe sein Gewicht’.

<sup>130</sup> Mortensen 2018: 216–17.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Moo 2018: 384.



grace may increase’? (ἐπιμένωμεν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, ἵνα ἡ χάρις πλεονάσῃ;)—a stream that runs at least into Rom 7.<sup>132</sup> It seems less likely that Paul would interrupt his train of thought to expound upon the institution of baptism, especially if that institution were intended to serve a greater rhetorical aim. This rhetorical dimension given to baptism provides another instance of ad-hoc concept construction by Paul. Baptism, then, is not a subject for interpretation in Rom 6.3–4, but a means of interpretation instead.<sup>133</sup> Wolter goes on to argue that Paul will not clarify the meaning of baptism here, but with the help of baptism will make clear why Paul’s Roman readers have died to sin and no longer live in it (Rom 6.2). Using baptism as a vehicle, Paul divides the life of the baptised into a pre-Christian ‘before’ and a Christian ‘after’.

Therefore, rather than seeing Rom 6.2–11 as a summary of Paul’s teaching on Christian baptism, perhaps a better way forward is to understand the passage as Paul’s identification of those who are baptised. As he described the set of continuities that constituted the Christian identity of his addressees, Paul also defined boundaries that divided the present identity of his Roman readers from their past. For instance, among his gentile readers, Paul could indicate the boundary between those readers’ collective past—characterised as it was by social or cultural immorality, enslavement to the ‘flesh’, darkness, the ‘world’, and so forth—and their present reality in Jesus. According to Judith Lieu, baptism was for Paul the ‘primary symbol of crossing the boundary’ between this gentile

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<sup>132</sup> Cf. Boers 2001: 664–71; Wolter 2014: 366. Gagnon (1993: 156–59) posits that Rom 6.1–7.6 is also dependent on the question posed in Rom 6.15, which I would argue points back in both form and content to the question of Rom 6.1.

<sup>133</sup> Classically stated in Marxsen 1964: 169–77; cf. Thyen 1970: 194–217, esp. 194–96. Wolter (2014: 370) differentiates by stating that baptism is not an *Interpretationsgegenstand*, but an *Interpretationsmittel*.

past and Christian present.<sup>134</sup> She argues that Paul invests the symbol of baptism ‘with the imagery of non-negotiability’ of death and burial. Though Paul apparently conceived of a continuity between his readers’ past and present, nevertheless he characterises a profound break between that past and present as a ‘death’.<sup>135</sup> Paul links the death and life of the baptised with the death and resurrection of Jesus, a link mediated through baptism, which Paul makes explicit in Rom 6.2–4.<sup>136</sup> The language of baptism ‘into Christ Jesus’ ([ἐβαπτίσθημεν] εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, Rom 6.3) portrays entry for the baptised into a life of union with Jesus and his death and resurrection.<sup>137</sup> Formerly, Paul and his readers lived in sin (Rom 6.1), but now they have died to it (Rom 6.2). Thus, the apostle takes it upon himself to characterise their new life—their identity—which is mediated through baptism, as a saturation into Jesus, and by extension, into his death and resurrection. The assumption of the new identity is complete for Paul’s readers: having been immersed into Jesus, they have gone down as it were with Jesus into death—evidenced by sharing in his grave through burial (‘therefore, we have been buried with him through baptism into death’, συνετάφημεν οὖν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἰς τὸν θάνατον, Rom 6.4)—and have been created anew through participation in his resurrection life, to be delivered from incorruption just as Jesus was ‘through the glory of the Father’.<sup>138</sup>

This new identity is of course bound up with Jesus, characterised by a sharing in the key events of his death and resurrection. The presence of *συν*- compounds in the near

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<sup>134</sup> Cf. Lieu 2004: 98–146. On Rom 6 specifically, see p. 130, whence comes the quoted phrases. See similar ideas expressed in Taylor 2008: 47–48.

<sup>135</sup> Thus, Wolter 2014: 366.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. Schlier 1956: 48; Wolter 2014: 367.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. Morales 2021: 469.

<sup>138</sup> Classically stated in Schlier 1956: 48–49. See also Blackwell 2010: 294–97.

context illustrates this quite convincingly. Sharing in Jesus' death has been demonstrated by the co-burial of Paul and his readers through baptism into death (the passive of *συνθάπτω* in Rom 6.4 indicates that those who have been baptised into Jesus have also been buried with him). The baptised are thus to be newly identified with the 'likeness of his [i.e., Jesus'] death' (*σύμφυτοι*<sup>139</sup> ... *τῷ ὁμοιώματι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ*, Rom 6.5). Not only is there a participation in the fact of Jesus' death, but there is also participation in the way in which Jesus died. Paul reminds his readers that 'our old nature has been crucified with' Jesus (*ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος συνεσταυρώθη*, Rom 6.6). Paul and his readers may also anticipate sharing in Jesus' resurrection life as a consequence of their dying with him: 'now if we have died with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him' (*εἰ δὲ ἀπεθάνομεν σὺν Χριστῷ, πιστεύομεν ὅτι καὶ συζήσομεν αὐτῷ*, Rom 6.8). The adjunctive uses of *καί*<sup>140</sup> in Rom 6.4–5 further illustrate the identity of the baptised in Jesus. The resurrection of Jesus implies new life for Paul and his readers ('so then we also should walk in newness of life', *οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσωμεν*, Rom 6.4), a life they can expect to be inaugurated at some time in the future through a resurrection like Jesus' ('we shall also be of [Jesus'] resurrection', *ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐσόμεθα*, Rom 6.5). Thus, Paul ties together the concepts of life (or living) with the resurrection of Jesus, such that the future, general life-giving that he and his readers may expect from God the paternal life-giver finds its type in the specific act of paternal life-giving, the resurrection of Jesus.

Jesus himself comes into clearer focus as Paul expounds further both upon his resurrection and upon the identity of the agent of Jesus' resurrection, viz., the Father, in

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<sup>139</sup> BDAG, s.v. *σύμφυτος*, p. 960, gives the primary gloss of *σύμφυτος* as 'identified with'.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. BDF §442, p. 227.

Rom 6.4. Earlier, Paul could write of the resurrection as inaugurating a new status for Jesus: he is identified as the one who is now ‘Son-of-God-in-power’ in connection with his resurrection from the dead (Rom 1.4). There, Paul speaks of the resurrection of Jesus as *ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν*, a seemingly primitive phrase; in Rom 6, the apostle reverts to the more familiar Pauline phrase *ἠγέρθη* (from *ἐγείρω*) *ἐκ νεκρῶν*,<sup>141</sup> where he details the mechanism of the resurrection—Jesus was raised ‘through the glory of the Father’ (*διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς*, Rom 6.4). The term *δόξα* occurs 22 times in Romans and has many possible referents. Some recent commentators have considered a link between the ‘glory’ of God and the power of God.<sup>142</sup> Daniel Jackson has shown that some commentators base the linkage in part upon Pauline idiom in 1 Cor 6.14 (‘Now God both raised the Lord and will raise us through his power’, *ὁ δὲ θεὸς καὶ τὸν κύριον ἠγειρεν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐξεγερεῖ διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ*).<sup>143</sup> Others have connected glory to ancient Greco-Roman systems of honour and shame.<sup>144</sup> Jackson instead connects the term *δόξα* with divine presence: Paul refers to divine glory against the background of the manifestation of divine presence in the OT, particularly at Sinai. Ben Blackwell applies literary analysis to the occurrences of *δόξα* in Romans. He argues that *δόξα* functions for Paul as polysemy dependent upon literary context. Specifically for Rom 6.4, Blackwell ties *δόξα* to incorruption: ‘As the personified agent of God, glory not only brings new life to Christ, but also to believers’.<sup>145</sup> I concur with Jackson and Blackwell that Paul’s use of *δόξα* here indicates divine agency,

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<sup>141</sup> Cf. Rom 6.9; 7.4; 8.11; 10.9; Gal 1.1; 1 Thess 1.10; in the disputed Pauline letters, see Eph 1.20; Col 2.12; 2 Tim 2.8.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. Michel 1955: 130 n. 3; Schnackenburg 1955: 40; Cranfield 1975: 1.304–305; Moo 2018: 391 n. 376. See further references in Jewett 2007: 399 n. 79.

<sup>143</sup> Jackson 2018: 181.

<sup>144</sup> Recent examples include Blackwell 2010: 293–94; Goranson Jacob 2018: 98.

<sup>145</sup> Blackwell 2010: 296.

and is thus linked to the divine presence of the Father, a usage that is reflective of the occurrences of *δόξα* elsewhere in Romans.<sup>146</sup> It seems that Paul is saying Christ has been raised from the dead by the divine presence (i.e., glory) of the Father. Romans 6.4 is therefore a more explicit rendering of Rom 1.3–4, where Paul implies that the Father raised the Son from the dead: Paul has identified more explicitly than in Rom 1 the agent responsible for the resurrection of Jesus.

Here we have another echo of Rom 1, where the Father-Son relation is implied through Paul's explicit mention of one party—in the case of Rom 6.4, only the Father is mentioned. Where one might expect the Son as the object of the Father's raising, Paul instead writes that Christ was raised by the glory of the Father. Why does Paul use *Χριστός* rather than *υἱός*, especially when listing the mechanism of the resurrection of Jesus as the 'glory of the Father'? Of course, there is no certain way of answering this question, though Pauline style elsewhere may give clues to the use of *Χριστός* in Rom 6.4. Paul goes on to write that he and his readers have had their old nature crucified with (*συσταυρώω*, Rom 6.6) Christ. The inclusion of the crucifixion, and 'cross' language more generally, seems to have for Paul a specifically messianic connection. For example, when writing about the 'cross', Paul usually refers to 'the cross of Christ' (*ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ*).<sup>147</sup> Similarly, *Χριστός* is often the subject or object of *σταυρώω* and its cognates in Paul's letters.<sup>148</sup> In addition to the imagery of the cross, the combination of *ἐγείρω* + *ἐκ νεκρῶν* in Romans

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<sup>146</sup> See e.g., Rom 3.7, 23; 5.2; 9.4, 23; 11.36; 15.7; 16.27. Cf. Grindheim 2017: 457–62.

<sup>147</sup> See e.g., 1 Cor 1.17; Gal 6.12; Phil 3.18; cf. Gal 6.14; Phil 2.8; in the disputed Pauline letters, see Eph 2.16; Col 2.14.

<sup>148</sup> See 1 Cor 1.23; Gal 2.19; 5.24; cf. Rom 6.6; 1 Cor 1.13; 2.2; 2 Cor 13.4; Gal 3.1; 6.14. An exception to this is 1 Cor 2.8, where the object of *σταυρώω* in the active voice is 'the Lord of glory' (*ὁ κύριος τῆς δόξης*).

seems also to have a specifically Christological connection for Paul.<sup>149</sup> Messianic ties to divine sonship extend at least as far back to Ps 2, where earthly authorities conspire against ‘the Lord and his anointed one’ (ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ χριστὸς αὐτοῦ, Ps 2.2 LXX), to the latter of which the Lord will declare, ‘You are my Son, today I have begotten you’ (Υἱὸς μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε, Ps 2.7 LXX). Paul also reserves for Jesus the singular term υἱός in Romans.<sup>150</sup> Jesus as Son is the focus of the gospel proclaimed by Paul (Rom 1.9). His death as Son reconciled Paul and his Roman readers to God (Rom 5.10, in a subsection where it seems the initial subject Χριστός = υἱός). Paul’s reference to Jesus as Son is most concentrated in Rom 8. Here, Paul recounts how God (the Father) sent his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh to condemn sin (Rom 8.3), conforming those whom God foreknew to the image of his Son (Rom 8.29), whom God did not withhold, but freely gave to all (Rom 8.32). Keeping the Christological connection to both crucifixion and resurrection in view, Paul mentions the raising of Χριστός by the explicit, glorious agency of the Father. The apostle connects the resurrection of the Messiah to divine sonship implicitly by referencing the Father as the one who raised Christ from the dead; in this connection of messiahship and divine sonship, Paul joins Jewish conceptions stretching at least as far back as Ps 2. In his implicit allusion to the Father-Son relation, Paul seems to draw his reader back to Rom 1, where he explicitly expounds upon the resurrection of Jesus as Son.

RT may serve in further shoring up the tie between Rom 6 and Rom 1. As he does

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<sup>149</sup> In addition to Rom 6.4, cf. 6.9; 7.4; 8.11; 10.9. See also Kramer 1966: 19–38; Hurtado 2016: esp. 111–13.

<sup>150</sup> Paul deploys the plural υἱοί in reference to himself and his readers. See Table 3.1, above. On the tie between Χριστός and υἱός in Rom 1, cf. Novenson 2012: 167–72; see also Hooker 2001: 299–301, and note the details in 299 n. 15.

in Rom 1, Paul writes in a liturgical, almost creedal style, though the phrases should not be traced to others.<sup>151</sup> Wolter argues that Paul's use of βαπτίζειν is metaphorical, connoting a *pars pro toto* designation for an entire complex of ritual actions. Nor is the noun form βάπτισμα used in the whole of pre-Christian Greek language and literature prior to its appearance in the NT, perhaps occurring for the first time in Rom 6.4.<sup>152</sup> More importantly, Paul's explicit mention of the resurrection of Jesus through 'the glory of the Father' (ἡ δόξα τοῦ πατρὸς, Rom 6.4) draws his readers back to the opening section of the letter. It is there that Paul initiates discussion of the Father-Son relation: the apostle proclaims as the content of his gospel the Son, whose resurrection is linked to a new status, his appointment as 'Son-of-God-in-power' (Rom 1.4). What was initiated by the identity of the newly inaugurated Son in Rom 1 is completed in Rom 6 by the explicit mention of the Father whose glory raises the Christ (i.e., the 'Son' of Rom 1) from the dead. In relation to his powerful resurrection of Jesus, the divine Son and Messiah, God is finally and decisively revealed as the Father-in-power.

Taking the occasion of Christian baptism as the metaphorical vehicle for constructing the identity of his baptised Roman readers, Paul the apostle defines the new, Christian identity of his readers around Jesus, the risen Christ. Paul then makes explicit the agent of Jesus' resurrection: the Father raised Christ through the personified agent of his glory, which gives life to Jesus the Son in the resurrection and will give life to Paul and his readers in the future because of their connection to the Son. RT further helps one see that Paul closes the loop on the Father-Son relation begun implicitly in Rom 1 and ended

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<sup>151</sup> *Contra* Jewett 2007: 399, esp. n. 74.

<sup>152</sup> So argues Wolter 2014: 371. This lends further support to βάπτισμα as an instance of Pauline ad-hoc concept construction.

by the explicit mention of the Father as the agent of the Son's resurrection.

### 3.6. Colossians 1.18–20

1.<sup>18</sup> καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ὃς ἐστιν ἀρχή, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, ἵνα γένηται ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτὸς πρωτεύων, <sup>19</sup> ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ εὐδόκησεν πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα κατοικῆσαι <sup>20</sup> καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ ἀποκαταλλάξαι τὰ πάντα εἰς αὐτόν, εἰρηνοποιήσας διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ, [δι' αὐτοῦ] εἴτε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἴτε τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

Four key passages in the undisputed Pauline epistles have marked Paul's intersection of divine fatherhood and the resurrection of Jesus. Although earlier (in Chapter 1.3), I noted that the evidence for this intersection is largely confined to the undisputed Pauline letters, introducing a text from the disputed letter to the Colossians can help us to find similar connections between Jesus' sonship (and implicitly via the term *πρωτότοκος* (discussed below), divine fatherhood) and lifegiving made in ways that parallel and anticipate arguments I will make in the next chapter regarding Paul's conceptions of how the Father relates to believers through the Son. In Col 1, the author of Colossians<sup>153</sup> bridges together the notion of Jesus as 'Son-of-God-in-power' (Rom 1.4) and the derivative sonship that believers receive from the Father through Jesus by the description of Jesus as 'firstborn from the dead' (*πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν*, Col 1.18; cf. Col 1.15). Here in Col 1, an early stream of Pauline thought expands the concept of Jesus as 'Son-of-God-in-power' by fixing Jesus' place at the forefront of resurrected sonship-in-power. The pre-eminence of Jesus is established by connection to Rom 1 via sonship language and by delineating Jesus' role in the future resurrection of believers as 'firstborn', a term that both reinforces Jesus'

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<sup>153</sup> The debate about the Pauline authorship of Colossians is beyond the scope of this chapter. To navigate a course between those who accept Pauline authorship of the letter, and those who reject it, I will refer both to the 'author of Colossians' and to the letter belonging to 'an early stream of Pauline thought'.



sonship (Col 1.13) and directs attention implicitly to God's fatherhood in the larger context (explicitly affirmed in Col 1.2, 3, 12).

Colossians 1 is related to Rom 1 textually by both subject matter and style. Written in a compressed, liturgical style, the text of Col 1.15–20 like Rom 1 is a vivid and poetic portrayal of Jesus the Son.<sup>154</sup> The initial relative pronoun, the masculine *ὃς* (Col 1.15), refers back to the only mention of Jesus as *υἰός* in Col 1.13, which treats of the transferral of author and addressees by the Father to 'the kingdom of the Son of his love' (*ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ*).<sup>155</sup> Structurally, the text of Col 1.15–20 is divided into two parts, both beginning with the formula 'who [or, he] is' (*ὃς ἐστίν*, Col 1.15, 18), and both functioning anaphorically with respect to Col 1.13 and the mention of Jesus as *υἰός*.<sup>156</sup> Thus, the latter part of the hymnic text in Col 1.18–20 like the elaboration of Paul's gospel in Rom 1 provides a colourful and theologically-rich description of Jesus as Son.

A second textual link occurs with the inclusion of the phrase 'from the dead' (*ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν*, Col 1.18; cf. *ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν*, Rom 1.4). I argued earlier (see Chapter 3.4, above) that the use of the phrase in Rom 1.4 distinguishes the resurrection of Jesus from all other resurrections, especially the general resurrection of the dead in the future (*pace* Fredriksen). The phrase in Col 1.18 occupies a similar, discriminating role in that it too distinguishes Jesus from the class of the dead. Jesus was dead following his crucifixion, but

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<sup>154</sup> Regrettably, we must also leave aside the form-critical question of Col 1.15–20 as the citation of an early Christian hymn (or creed, or confession). The text as we have it functions integrally (as others since at least Norden in 1913 (cf. *idem*, 1956: 250–54) have argued; see nn. 160–62, below) to several arguments developed later in the letter.

<sup>155</sup> The unusual construction has been considered a Semitism, where one might expect the adjective *ἀγαπητός*, in lieu of the genitive of quality (or, attributive genitive), *ἀγάπης*. Cf. Moule 1957: 58; BDF §165, pp. 91–92; Dunn 1996: 79; Sumney 2008: 57. Nevertheless, the construction appears to be textually certain and likely distinguishes Jesus' sonship from all others. On *ὃς* referring back to the Son in Col 1.13, cf. Lightfoot 1904: 140; Dunn 1996: 87; Foster 2016: 177; Feník and Lapko 2019: 44.

<sup>156</sup> Fowl 1990: 103, with caveats; Wilson 2005: 126–27; cf. Sumney 2008: 61, 72.

is now raised; no longer being dead, he is marked out from the remainder of the class of dead persons in whose company he belonged prior to his resurrection. Jesus' distinction from the rest of the dead is seen partly by his designation as 'firstborn' (*πρωτότοκος*, a term which we shall shortly discuss), which prioritises Jesus as the first resurrected being.<sup>157</sup> Grammatical matters also support the discriminating role of the phrase. Jesus as firstborn *ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν* signals a partitive idea, that the dead represent the group of which Jesus is an exemplar.<sup>158</sup> Resurrection is implicit in Col 1.18, though the concept is made explicit elsewhere in the letter.<sup>159</sup>

Finally, the hymnic text in Col 1.15–20 is linked to Rom 1 by its similar epistolary function. A thread in recent scholarship has labelled the hymnic text as a foundation upon which other parts of the letter build. Stephen Fowl contends that the arguments in Col 2.8–23 are drawn directly from Col 1.15–20, thus countering false teaching encountered in the congregation to which the epistle is purportedly addressed.<sup>160</sup> Christian Stettler has noted several passages in the epistle that develop themes from Col 1.15–20.<sup>161</sup> Matthew Gordley ventures further by specifying 25 places in the hymnic text that are alluded to elsewhere in the letter, culminating in Col 3.16.<sup>162</sup> The hymnic text in Col 1.15–20 like the elaboration of Paul's gospel in Rom 1 is seen to be foundational to the remainder of

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<sup>157</sup> So Foster 2016: 194.

<sup>158</sup> BDF §164, pp. 90–91, who note that in Hellenistic Greek, greater use of the preposition *ἐκ* + gen. was gradually reducing the use of the simple case to denote the partitive genitive; cf. Siebenthal 2019: §183d, p. 263.

<sup>159</sup> Cf. Col 2.12, where God is described as 'the one who raised' (*ὁ ἐγείρας*) Jesus from the dead, a construction that is distinctively Pauline; cf. Col 3.1, where the protasis of the first-class conditional statement refers to the possibility of having been raised with Jesus (*συνεγείρω*).

<sup>160</sup> Fowl 1990: 123–54.

<sup>161</sup> Stettler 2000: 75–76.

<sup>162</sup> Gordley 2007: 264–68, esp. 264 and the literature he cites there. See also *idem*, 2018: 111–43; Copenhaver 2014: 235–55.

the letter. Thus, the connection between Col 1 and Rom 1 is forged both textually—with sonship language, liturgical style, and the occurrence of the phrase ‘from the dead’ (ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, Col 1.18)—and functionally, as the hymnic text in Col 1.18–20 expands upon Jesus’ ‘Sonship-in-power’ first mentioned by Paul in Rom 1.

In Col 1, one key expansion of Rom 1 occurs in Jesus’ role as ‘firstborn’ (πρωτότοκος, Col 1.18; cf. 1.15) in the future resurrection, the conceptual locus of the phrase ‘firstborn from the dead’.<sup>163</sup> What is the benefit of referring to Jesus as ‘firstborn’ in this verse? What is the relation of the term πρωτότοκος to Jesus as κεφαλή? And what precisely is the significance of the term πρωτότοκος? Taking these questions in turn, one benefit of describing Jesus as ‘firstborn’ is the metaphorical emphasis achieved by the term, whereby no substitute may be had.<sup>164</sup> Jesus as ‘firstborn’ is a choice description because πρωτότοκος helps to intersect several important concepts made manifest in the near context of Col 1.15–20. The addressees of the epistle are reminded immediately prior to the hymnic text of their share in the ‘inheritance’ (κληρος, Col 1.12), which is tied in certain places to the ‘firstborn’. For instance, the pre-eminence of the firstborn son as heir is outlined in some papyri—not necessarily as sole heir, but especially as representative of his other siblings during probate.<sup>165</sup> Aside from the use of κληρος in Col 1.12, one further link to inheritance is the mention of ‘the kingdom of the Son of his [i.e., God the Father’s] love’ (ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ, Col 1.13); Paul in the undisputed letters often ties his scant use

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<sup>163</sup> I will subordinate Käsemann’s provocative suggestion (and the swath of scholarship that has followed it) that the proper locus of the hymnic text is the Gnostic redeemer myth to unmistakable early-Christian and OT contexts. On this, see Lohse 1971: 45, 56; Fowl 1990: 114; Niles 2021: 406–407. *Pace* Käsemann 1964: 154–59; earlier in idem 1949: 133–48.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. Black 1962: 29–30.

<sup>165</sup> Mitteis and Wilcken 1963: 2.1.133–34.

of kingdom language to inheritance through the agency of the Spirit.<sup>166</sup> Through inheritance, the ‘firstborn’ is also linked to the bequeather, i.e., the Father.

Although God as Father occurs occasionally in Colossians, clustering esp. in the first chapter,<sup>167</sup> the only mention in the epistle of Jesus as ‘Son’ occurs in Col 1.13. The brief mention of sonship language is a significant point of departure to expand upon Jesus’ sonship by reference to his status as ‘firstborn’. The connection between πρωτότοκος and sonship stretches back at least to the Torah, where Moses reports to the Pharaoh YHWH’s description of Israel as his ‘firstborn son’ (בני בכרי; LXX: Υἱὸς πρωτότοκός μου, Exod 4.22). Paul also connects Jesus’ sonship to his status as firstborn, underscoring his position among ‘many brothers and sisters’.<sup>168</sup> Though rare, ‘firstborn’ can also be associated with sonship outside the biblical literature.<sup>169</sup>

A third intersection occurs with the concept of Jesus as the ἀρχή (Col 1.18), a term immediately preceding his description as πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν. Early usage of the term ἀρχή suggests its marking not merely a beginning point in time, but the first link in a causal chain.<sup>170</sup> Precedence also exists for ἀρχή acquiring nuances of authority and rule, as is seen in the hymnic text where Jesus’ agency in creation extends to the ἀρχαί (Col 1.16). Scholarship is divided as to the precise nuance for ἀρχή in Col 1.18: is temporal priority,

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<sup>166</sup> See Dunn 1996: 79, with the references listed there.

<sup>167</sup> Col 1.2, 3, 12; 3.17. Cf. Col 2.2 *v.l.* (the cognates of) πατήρ in  $\aleph^{*2}$  A C D<sup>2</sup> K L  $\Psi$  048<sup>vid.</sup> 075 0208 0278 104 365 630 945 1175 1505 vg<sup>cl.</sup> ww. st. mss sy<sup>p.h.\*\*</sup> sa<sup>mss</sup> bo<sup>ms</sup>  $\mathfrak{M}$ .

<sup>168</sup> Rom 8.29: ὅτι οὓς προέγνω, καὶ προώρισεν συμμόρφους τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πρωτότοκον ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. ‘those whom he [i.e., God the Father; cf. Rom 8.28] foreknew, he also predestined to be conformed to the image of his Son, so that he might be firstborn among many brothers and sisters’. Both firstborn and εἰκὼν language (Col 1.15) link Col 1.15–20 textually to Rom 8.29.

<sup>169</sup> For example, the relation of πρωτόγονος (closely akin to πρωτότοκος; cf. Sir 36.11 *v.l.*: πρωτότοκος for πρωτόγονος) to sonship in Philo, *Conf.* 146; cf. *CIG* 3823, where one called Sextus Valerius Zosimus from Cotyaeum in the northern reaches of Phrygia (Colossae was due south in the same district) is described as πρωτόγον[ος] τ[ῶν] τέκν[ω]ν.

<sup>170</sup> Homer, *Il.* 11.602–605; 21.114–17; idem, *Od.* 8.81–82; 21.1–4, 31–35; Hesiod, *Theog.* 43–45, 154–56; cf. Classen 1996: 20–24.

or source, or authority in view here?<sup>171</sup> Perhaps a way forward is to see the term as signifying the status of Jesus. By referring to the Son by use of the multivalent (and thereby, perhaps underdetermined) term ἀρχή, the author of Colossians can attest to both the priority and supremacy of Jesus. Contextual clues from other parts of the hymnic text may further contribute to such an attestation using similar status-elevating language. In the immediately preceding verse, Jesus is said to be ‘before all’ (πρὸ πάντων, Col 1.17), which likely refers to temporal priority, though antiquity and pre-eminence often coincided.<sup>172</sup> Jesus is referred to as ἡ κεφαλή (Col 1.18a), whose precise meaning though disputed conveys undertones of high status. The most convincing evidence of status-elevating language occurs in the use of the participle πρωτεύων at the end of Col 1.18, a term whose meaning quite clearly speaks to the attainment of the highest rank within a group.<sup>173</sup> These three concepts—inheritance, sonship, and pre-eminence—are most ably linked by the use of πρωτότοκος, a term meriting no substitution and requiring the least amount of processing effort for the ancient reader when the three concepts are so conjoined.<sup>174</sup>

The choice of πρωτότοκος is very likely coloured by its prevalence in the LXX, where it occurs more than 100 times, almost always translating the Hebrew term, בְּכֹר.<sup>175</sup> Outside the LXX, πρωτότοκος is quite rare in literature preceding Colossians; πρωτόγονος

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<sup>171</sup> Representative of the temporal priority position, see Fowl 1990: 113–14; of source, Sumney 2008: 72; of authority, Gordley 2007: 223.

<sup>172</sup> The phrase πρὸ πάντων can indicate pre-eminence in rank. See Jas 5.12; 1 Pet 4.8; Did. 10.4.

<sup>173</sup> LSJ, s.v. πρωτεύω, p. 1544; BDAG, s.v. πρωτεύω, p. 892; Diggle 2021: 2.1234.

<sup>174</sup> For πρωτότοκος indicating privilege (πρωτόγονος does not attest such a nuance), see Michaelis 1968: 872.

<sup>175</sup> Paul uses πρωτότοκος of course (Rom 8.29), but Colossians is written from a stance of unfamiliarity between author and recipients (cf. Col 1.4), making Pauline usage more difficult to connect to the Colossian usage. That is, it seems reasonable to conclude that the recipients of the Colossian epistle had greater knowledge of the LXX than of Paul’s letters.

is not much more prevalent, and it occurs only twice in the LXX (Mic 7.1; Sir 36.11). Is the appearance of the Septuagintalism *πρωτότοκος* in the shared cognitive environment between author and auditor surprising? I propose a negative answer to this question for the following reasons. Jewish settlement in the Lycus valley probably occurred at least a century or two before Colossians was written.<sup>176</sup> Significant participation in the Temple tax by Jewish residents of the Lycus valley is also attested.<sup>177</sup> Internally, mention of the Colossians keeping a ‘feast, or new moon, or Sabbath’ (έορτή ἢ νεομηνία ἢ σάββατον, Col 2.16) suggests measurable Jewish influence in Colossae at the time the epistle was written.<sup>178</sup> The reference to ‘psalms, hymns, and songs’ (ψαλμοὶ ὕμνοι ᾠδαί) in Col 3.16 may reflect ‘the close association of the terms ... already adumbrated in the psalm texts of the Septuagint’.<sup>179</sup> Sepulchral inscriptions in the Lycus valley indicate that the Jews who settled there had some facility with the Greek language.<sup>180</sup> A rare inscription from Laodicea alludes to Deuteronomic curses.<sup>181</sup> Jews memorialised in inscriptions ‘bore indigenous [i.e., Greek] names’.<sup>182</sup> The combination of Jewish piety with Greek language proficiency rules out the verdict that the presence of the Septuagintalism *πρωτότοκος* in

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<sup>176</sup> Treblico 1991: 5–36; Barclay 1996: 261–64. Conclusions are drawn from the evidence of the nearby cities of Laodicea and Hierapolis since Colossae remains unexcavated. On the similarity of the Jewish communities of Laodicea and Hierapolis with that of Colossae, see Huttner 2013: 78.

<sup>177</sup> Cicero, *Flac.* 68–69; see also Huttner 2013: 70–72, esp. the citations in 70 n. 299.

<sup>178</sup> On Col 2.16, see Barclay 1996: 415–16. The ‘Jew’ (Ιουδαῖος) is also listed in a table of identities in Col 3.11.

<sup>179</sup> Huttner 2013: 137.

<sup>180</sup> The 23 inscriptions from Hierapolis listed in Miranda 1999: 114–32 are entirely in Greek, though slightly later than Paul (2d–3d centuries CE)—nevertheless, the inscriptions are likely reflections of the Jewish cultural situation in the Lycus valley in Paul’s own day. On the difficulty of finding first-century inscriptions in Colossae due to seismic activity and erosion, see Canavan 2012: 15, 21.

<sup>181</sup> Huttner 2013: 247, esp. n. 212. The use of LXX in Colossae is difficult to characterise in part because there are no direct citations from it in the epistle, though there are a few allusions (e.g., Col 2.3, 11, 22; 3.20). However, the mention in Greek of Deuteronomy in the burial inscription from Laodicea may signal some familiarity with the LXX. See also Rajak 2009: 210–38, esp. 230–31.

<sup>182</sup> Ameling 2009: 215–16.

the shared cognitive environment between author and the Colossian recipients is an anomaly. The choice of *πρωτότοκος* may also have had special resonance for the Colossians, who dwelt in a centre for wool production; the term is often used of the firstborn from the flock.<sup>183</sup> We can conclude with some confidence that the Colossian readers would have received the term *πρωτότοκος* with minimal processing effort, and that there could be no other word so aptly suited to the author's purposes.

Having established the metaphorically emphatic use of *πρωτότοκος*, the significance of the term and its relation to Jesus' primacy of place for resurrected sonship-in-power continues the theme of Jesus' priority of rank and supremacy.<sup>184</sup> His primacy over those who will be resurrected in future is coloured by his relation to the body, i.e., the church; the ending of the first part of the hymnic text states, 'and he is the *κεφαλή* of the body, the church' (*καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλή τοῦ σώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας*: Col 1.18a).<sup>185</sup> Another multivalent term, *κεφαλή* usually refers to the physiological head, especially as distinguished from the body; both terms (*κεφαλή* and *σῶμα*) occur in Col 1.18a. Anthony Thiselton in a thorough survey has concluded that the term *κεφαλή* typically signifies either headship, source (though this particular signification is highly disputed), or pre-eminence.<sup>186</sup> Taking Thiselton's advice that multiple meanings should be consulted when interpreting the term *κεφαλή*, one may see the nuance of pre-eminence in each of the three listed possibilities. The metaphorical use of *κεφαλή* further contributes to this sense of

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<sup>183</sup> Cf. in the LXX: Gen 4.4; Exod 34.19; Lev 27.26; Num 18.17; Deut 12.6; 2 Esd 20.37. In extra-biblical literature, cf. the similar *πρωτοτόκος* in Homer, *Il.* 17.5; Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 546a.

<sup>184</sup> Cf. Fowl 1990: 108.

<sup>185</sup> The genitive *ἐκκλησίας* is to be treated as simple apposition, equalling the previous genitive to which it relates, *σώματος*. Thus, 'church' = 'body' here, and it is this particular body to which the author of Colossians relates Jesus as *κεφαλή*. Cf. 1 Cor 12.15–23; Foster 2016: 192–93; Wallace 1996: 99.

<sup>186</sup> Thiselton 2000: 812–22; cf. Horrell 1996: 170–72.

pre-eminence, where synecdoche or primacy are the usual senses of such use.<sup>187</sup> That is to say, when *κεφαλή* is used metaphorically, the term conveys either primacy of the one to whom it is applied, or the term represents the whole of which it is a part. Synecdoche is, however, quite unlikely; Jesus as part for the whole of the church makes little sense in the present context. Primacy seems to be the most likely force of the term *κεφαλή*, and this buttresses the sense of pre-eminence given by the use of *πρωτότοκος*. Thus, Jesus as ‘firstborn’ is supreme over those in the church who will be resurrected in future.<sup>188</sup>

Further consideration that the hymnic text relates Jesus as ‘firstborn’ to priority of time (cf. *πρὸ πάντων*, Col 1.17) and to having first place in everything (cf. *πρωτεύω*, Col 1.18) solidifies the notion that ‘firstborn’ indicates priority of rank or supremacy. Procedural reading can also aid the interpreter in processing authorial ostension with respect to the significance of *πρωτότοκος*. In this case, procedural information may help to constrain the interpretation of Jesus as ‘firstborn from the dead’ (*πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν*, Col 1.18) by the inferential strengthening that comes with the use of certain connectives. The procedural information of interest follows in Col 1.19: ‘for in him all the fulness was pleased to dwell’ (*ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ εὐδόκησεν πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα κατοικῆσαι*). Procedural reading allows that a text segment is interpreted by the segment nearest to it in discourse.<sup>189</sup> For our purposes, this means that Colossians 1:19 may have information determined by the interpretation of Col 1.18.<sup>190</sup> These two verses (or text segments) are joined by the connective, *ὅτι*, which may often function causally, though in certain instances can adopt

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<sup>187</sup> Perriman 1994: 616–19; *pace* Murphy-O’Connor 1980: 492.

<sup>188</sup> An undisputed Pauline parallel is instructive here: Paul also views Jesus as supreme in the resurrection as the ‘firstborn among many brethren’ (*πρωτότοκος ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς*, Rom 8.29; cf. 1 Cor 15.20).

<sup>189</sup> Blakemore 1987: 117.

<sup>190</sup> Bammel 1961: 89, who argues for agreement (in chiasmic relationship) between the two verses.



a subordinating function akin to the traditional interpretation of another particle, *γάρ*.<sup>191</sup> Whether one opts for the causal sense, or the subordinating, explanatory sense, the connective *ὅτι* offers here further justification for the supremacy of Jesus portrayed already in the previous clauses.<sup>192</sup>

The *ὅτι*-clause in Col 1.19 limits the reader's implicatures of Jesus as 'firstborn from the dead' by speaking of God's investiture of his fulness in Jesus, once again indicating Jesus' supremacy and priority of rank. Whose fulness is in view here can be answered later in Col 2.9, where similar phrasing to Col 1.19 explains to the reader that 'all the fulness of deity' (*τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος*) dwells bodily in Jesus. Some of the murkiness, then, is dispelled by Col 2.9, which acts as a control on the interpretation of Col 1.19: Jesus is indwelt by all of God's divine fulness. One need not resort to an exclusively Stoic background for the term *πλήρωμα* because there is Jewish precedent for divine filling.<sup>193</sup> The divine infilling sets Jesus apart from the rest of humanity in his own place of supremacy. As confirmed by his resurrection (and the connection between Rom 1 and the hymnic text in Col 1), Jesus is the pre-eminent Son-of-God-in-power.

But Jesus' sonship is not static—it extends in a similar form to other sons. One final piece of procedural information in the hymnic text hints at this extension, framing it in terms of reconciliation. The description of Jesus as 'firstborn from the dead' in Col 1.18 is conjoined to the utterance in Col 1.20 (via the connective *καί*), offering a causal

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<sup>191</sup> BDF §456.1, pp. 238–39. On *ὅτι* as causal, see Fowl 1990: 114; Sumney 2008: 74; Foster 2016: 195, who translates the particle as 'because', although he argues that the verse serves as an explanation of Col 1.18; on subordination (i.e., *ὅτι* ≅ *γάρ* and is usually translated 'for'), see Lohse 1971: 56; Dunn 1996: 99, though he also mentions the causal element; Barclay 1997: 61; Wilson 2005: 123.

<sup>192</sup> Munderlein 1962: 265; Jeal 2011: 292–93.

<sup>193</sup> Cf. Jer 23.24: 'Do I not fill heaven and earth? says the Lord'. (LXX: *μη οὐχὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐγὼ πληρῶ; λέγει κύριος*); see also Ps 138.7 LXX: David asks, 'where can I go from your Spirit'? (*ποῦ πορευθῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός σου ...* ;).

connection between the two text segments in which the implicatures of the latter are constrained by the interpretation of the former (i.e., what significance could be implied from Jesus as ‘firstborn from the dead’).<sup>194</sup> What this means in application should now be teased out. The final clause of the hymnic text states: ‘and through him to reconcile all things to him, having made peace through the blood of his cross, [through him] whether things on the earth or things in the heavens’ (*καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ ἀποκαταλλάξαι τὰ πάντα εἰς αὐτόν, εἰρηνοποιήσας διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ, [δι’ αὐτοῦ] εἴτε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἴτε τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, Col 1.20*). The neologism *ἀποκατάλλασσω* (considered a Pauline invention) intensely portrays the agency of Jesus in the divine reconciliation of heavenly and earthly things following a period of multiform estrangement (e.g., from God and from one another).<sup>195</sup>

The universal facet of the reconciliation in Col 1.20 is localised to the Colossian recipients in Col 1.22, where the same language describes the restoration of the Colossian readers who were formerly ‘alienated and hostile in mind in evil works’ (*[ὕμᾱς ποτε ὄντας] ἀπηλλοτριωμένους καὶ ἐχθροὺς τῇ διανοίᾳ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς πονηροῖς, Col 1.21*), but are now those whom Jesus ‘has reconciled in the body of his flesh through death’ (*[γυνὴ δὲ] ἀποκατήλλαξεν ἐν τῷ σώματι τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ θανάτου, Col 1.22*). I wish to emphasise here that these final verses (Col 1.20–22) relate Jesus to the Colossian readers, who collectively are the specific targets of the divine reconciliation to Jesus.<sup>196</sup> God (the Father)

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<sup>194</sup> Cf. Blakemore 1987: esp. 111–25.

<sup>195</sup> Hoehner 2002: 381–82; Turner 2006: 42–43.

<sup>196</sup> This assumes the referent of *εἰς αὐτόν* (Col 1.20) is Jesus. Were God (the Father) in view here, one might expect the reflexive *εἰς ἑαυτόν*; if Jesus is in view, however, the ‘triple parallel’ of ‘in him’ (*ἐν αὐτῷ*, Col 1.19), ‘through him’ (*δι’ αὐτοῦ*, Col 1.20), and ‘to him’ (*εἰς αὐτόν*, Col 1.20) remains intact. See further Dunn 1996: 83.

has reconciled all things (and specifically, the Colossian readers, Col 1.22) to Jesus, who has made peace ‘through the blood of his cross’ (διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ, Col 1.20), a graphic reminder of the crucifixion and death of the Son. But Jesus is also ‘firstborn from the dead’, that is, his is the primacy of place for resurrected sonship-in-power. And since it is part of the explanation through procedural reading of Jesus’ designation as ‘firstborn from the dead’, the reconciliation draws attention to the exchange of Jesus’ death for the extension of resurrection life to the Colossian recipients, what is tantamount to ‘Christ among you, the hope of glory’ (Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, ἡ ἐλπίς τῆς δόξης, Col 1.27). Paul elaborates for his Roman readers that those in the Son’s image are so conformed that he might be ‘firstborn among many brethren’ ([εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν] πρωτότοκον ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, Rom 8.29). In both Rom 8.29 and Col 1.18, the uses of πρωτότοκος are inclusive, indicating that Jesus’ resurrection ‘inaugurates the possibility of resurrection for others’.<sup>197</sup>

An early stream of Pauline thought in Col 1 emphasises Jesus’ role in the future resurrection, noting that Jesus’ sonship would be extended (in a like form; the differences in sonship between Jesus and those ‘in him’ will be discussed in Chapter 4.2.1.2; 4.2.2.1, below) to those who have undergone divine reconciliation to Jesus. Other textual connections may emerge initially when discussing the hymnic text of Col 1.15–20, but I have sought to show that a link to Rom 1 can be forged, thereby establishing ties with sonship-in-power (the Pauline concept from Rom 1) and the hymnic portrayal of Jesus as pre-eminent in Col 1.<sup>198</sup> The many elements discussed above that contribute to the elevation of status for Jesus fix the Son’s place at the forefront of divine sonship-in-power,

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<sup>197</sup> Foster 2016: 180.

<sup>198</sup> Other ‘hymns’ (e.g., Phil 2.6–11; 1 Tim 3.16) are usually referenced in connection to Col 1.15–20.

confirmed by his resurrection.<sup>199</sup> The pre-eminent Son-of-God-in-power is then joined by the ending verses of the hymnic text to those among whom he is (cf. Col 1.27)—specifically, the Colossian readers. This union of Jesus with the Colossian readers is established through reconciliation language, which entails the exchange of Jesus’ death on the cross (made vivid via the metonymy of blood, Col 1.20) for resurrection life.<sup>200</sup> Therefore, a line is drawn in the hymnic text of Col 1.18–20 between Jesus as the ‘Son-of-God-in-power’ and the derivative sonship that those associated with Jesus receive from the Father through the Son’s agency by his description as ‘firstborn from the dead’.

### 3.7. Summary and Conclusions

In several texts, some serving key strategic roles in their respective epistles, Paul makes central for his theology proper the designation of God as the Father who raised Jesus from the dead. I have treated the texts containing these designations more or less in date order according to scholarly convention. Identity is a key concern of these passages, whether of Paul himself, his readers, Jesus, or God the Father. My contention has been the following: whether explicitly or implicitly, Paul is picking out the Father as the one who raised Jesus from the dead. In doing so, the apostle offers his readers a new and important way to conceive of the fatherhood of God. That is to say, for Paul divine fatherhood is importantly revealed in the act of the resurrection of Jesus, and he passes this revelation

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<sup>199</sup> I duly note Foster’s conclusions (2016: 194–95), though some of his premises are beyond the arguments presented here: ‘By making these two aspects [i.e., Adam Christology in the first part of the hymnic text, and the Christology of the Cross in the second part] conjoint the author may seek to avoid any misunderstanding that the Son only gained preeminence through his resurrection. Rather, he occupied that role from the very beginning of creation. What the resurrection does is to re-establish or confirm that he is the one who retains such a priority of status’.

<sup>200</sup> On the connection between Jesus’ resurrection and Pauline readership, see Zimmermann 2007: 496.

on to his readers. God proved himself, in other words, to be the Father of the Son in the resurrection; the decisive act of the Father on the Son is the resurrection of Jesus.<sup>201</sup> More than that, it is possible to speak of new status for both Father and Son that is confirmed by the resurrection: God's power and identity as Father (he may now be said to be the 'Father-in-power') is newly revealed in the resurrection of Jesus, who is himself 'in power' in a way that he was not prior to his own resurrection.

The novel identification of God's role as Father in the resurrection of Jesus presents certain problems that Paul seems to anticipate. First-century bestowals of new forms of sonship were usually accomplished through the institution of adoption. Paul's readers may naturally have assumed that Jesus' sonship was adoptive in character. I have argued (see esp. Chapter 3.4, above) that Paul refers, not to a new origin of sonship, but to a new status of sonship conferred upon Jesus with respect to his resurrection. Paul therefore averts potential confusion by referring to Jesus *post resurrectionem* as 'Son-of-God-in-power'. As the Father gives life to the Son in the resurrection, the implications of this supreme life-giving act will redound to those 'in Jesus', resulting in the attainment of a sonship like that of Jesus. The apostle will engage in ad-hoc concept formation by applying language normally reserved for the institution of adoption to himself and his hearers who are connected with Jesus.<sup>202</sup> Connection to the resurrection of Jesus enables Paul to redefine God's fatherhood round the gospel which Paul preaches, while anticipating discussion of the sonship (*υιοθεσία*) of all who are in Christ.

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<sup>201</sup> Zimmermann 2007: 139–40. In fact, she argues later (2007: 505) that on the basis of Gal 1.1, the resurrection constitutes the relationship between Father and Son.

<sup>202</sup> Paul will connect those 'in Christ' (*ἐν Χριστῷ*) to sonship (*υιοθεσία*, see e.g., Chapter 4.2.2.1, below).

## CHAPTER 4. DIVINE FATHERHOOD AND THE SONSHIP OF BELIEVERS IN PAUL

### 4.1. Introduction

How are the language of divine fatherhood and the language of the sonship of believers related to acts of life-giving in the undisputed writings of the apostle Paul? In the previous chapter, I attempted to show how Paul intersects the language of divine fatherhood with language of the resurrection of Jesus, thereby bringing into the foreground his identification of the Father as the life-giver, specifically as the one who raised Jesus from the dead. In doing so, the apostle focusses upon the relation between God and Jesus, an essential component of his theology. However, the Father-Son relation that obtains between God and Jesus creates certain accidents<sup>1</sup> for the apostle himself and for his readers. When he writes of God's relation toward himself and his readers, Paul uses similar language to the description of the relation between God and Jesus—that of life and death, of fatherhood, even of resurrection. What follows will examine in some detail those places where Paul deploys similar imagery of divine fatherhood and the resurrection of Jesus, applying that imagery and language to himself and to his readers, as centred round the weighted word, *υιοθεσία*.

The term *υιοθεσία* has engendered significant debate both as to its significance in Paul's letters and as to its best available translation. There are two main lines of thought concerning these questions. After exploring each line, I will draw some preliminary conclusions before turning to the exegesis of those passages in Paul's undisputed letters

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<sup>1</sup> 'Accident' is used in the philosophical sense of that which is not essential, but derivative.

that contain the term. To begin the exegetical section, I will examine Galatians 4, which contains the earliest instance of *υιοθεσία*-language in the Pauline letters.<sup>2</sup> I will then move on to a Pauline cluster of *υιοθεσία*-language in Rom 8–9. In both Gal 4 and Rom 8–9, I will apply Relevance Theory (RT) before drawing conclusions and offering some possible avenues for further research.

#### 4.1.1. The Significance of *Υιοθεσία*

What precisely are we to understand by Paul's use of the term *υιοθεσία*? Several of Paul's recent interpreters have concluded or assumed that the best equivalent of the Greek term is the word 'adoption', which is typically understood as the legal institution of becoming an heir in the ancient world, whether Greek, Roman, or Jewish.<sup>3</sup> James Scott in his seminal monograph on the term gives two primary reasons for concluding that 'adoption' is the best equivalent available: first, because of explicit definitions given in ancient Greek lexica; and second, because the Pauline phrase *ἀπολαμβάνειν τὴν υιοθεσίαν* (Gal 4.5) is paralleled elsewhere in Hellenistic literature. His first reason is complicated by the fact that most of the lexica he cites postdate Paul.<sup>4</sup> This would seem to suggest that the definition(s) for

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. Scott 1992: xv. See also Bernier 2022: 145–82.

<sup>3</sup> Payot and Roulet 1987: 100, 105–108; Scott 1992: 55, 267; Martyn 1997a: 390–91; Burke 1998: esp. 314–18; idem, 2001: 119–33; idem, 2006: 21–22; idem, 2008: 259; Dunn 1999: 83 n. 2; Johnson 2002: 309–310; Walters 2003: 42–76, esp. 55–66; Kirk 2004: 241; Rhoads 2004: 291; Watson 2005: 6–7; Aranda 2006: 604–605; Johnson Hodge 2007: 31, 50–51, 68–72; Peppard 2011b: 95–102; Macaskill 2013: 221–25; idem, 2014: 97–99; Eastman 2014: 118; Kim 2014: 133; Longenecker 2014: 71, 74–77; Vanhoozer 2014: 21; Venter 2014: 286; Barclay 2015: 285 n. 29, 301, 303, 310 n. 43, though Barclay is careful about committing himself to either side of the debate—he is clearer about favouring *υιοθεσία* as 'adoption' in idem 2017: 362–69, esp. 363, 368; Lewis 2016: 2; Robinson 2016: 125–41; Thiessen 2016: 111, 118, 213 n. 1; Trick 2016: 151–61; Wehrle 2016: 26–28, with caveats; Berthelot 2017: 47; Coulson 2017: 87; Glass 2017: 48–50; Heim 2017: 21, 58, 112–47; Kowalski 2018: 648–53; idem, 2020: 56; Krahn 2018: 87–280; McCaulley 2019: 185–87; Rambiert-Kwaśniewska 2020: 209; Szymik 2020: 498; Kim 2021: 12–13, 165, 179–81.

<sup>4</sup> One exception may be Ptolemy of Ascalon whom Scott (following Stephanus) considers likely a student of Aristarchus of Samothrace (d. 140s BCE); cf. West 2001: 82. Scott (1992: 52 n. 243) acknowledges the

υιοθεσία had stabilised only after the apostle had ceased writing letters. His second reason is complicated by the lack of any exact lexical parallel in Hellenistic Greek.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps Scott is correct that ‘the articular τὴν υιοθεσίαν with a verb of receiving or accepting refers to a *particular* adoption by someone’, indicating that Paul’s use in Gal 4 indeed refers to adoption, though lexically there is only a modicum of evidence.<sup>6</sup>

A few scholars have pushed back on the rendering of υιοθεσία as ‘adoption’, however; alternatives offered include ‘sonship’, or ‘filial status’.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps the most recognised proponent of υιοθεσία as ‘sonship’ rather than ‘adoption’ in Paul’s usage is Brendan Byrne. He has suggested that for Paul υιοθεσία, rather than denoting the process of adoption, instead refers to the enduring status of a son.<sup>8</sup> Byrne arrives at this conclusion by a lengthy examination of the Jewish sonship metaphor as attested in the OT and the Second Temple literature. Problematic for Byrne is the lack of attestation for υιοθεσία from the Jewish background literature he examines. To solve this absence, Byrne surmises that without words such as υιότης (attested only after Paul), the term υιοθεσία could have had the double meaning of both the process of adoption and the status of sonship. Choosing to emphasise the latter meaning, Paul (according to Byrne) borrows this term from Greco-

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difficulty of dating Ptolemy with precision. *Contra* Albrecht Dihle (PW 23: 1863), who classifies Ptolemy as ‘considerably younger’ (Ger.: *erheblich jünger*) than Aristarchus’ students. Cf. Baeye 1882: 2–6, who dates Ptolemy either to the late first century BCE, or to the early first century CE; Geiger 2012: 186–87. If Ptolemy is Paul’s contemporary, Scott’s claim (1992: 53, emphasis omitted) on the basis of ancient lexica that ‘υιοθεσία is in common use and unequivocal in meaning [prior to Paul]’ may be called into question.

<sup>5</sup> Scott admits as much. The only known ‘directly comparable’ expression is δέχεσθαι τὴν υιοθεσίαν (Nicolaus of Damascus, *Vit. Caes.* 55) referring to the testamentary adoption of Octavian by Julius Caesar. See Scott 1992: 54 (where he gives the quotation from the surviving fragments of Nicolaus), 176.

<sup>6</sup> Scott 1992: 176, emphasis retained.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Byrne 1993: 293, ‘sonship’; idem 1996: 249–50, ‘filial status’ and ‘sonship’; Scholtissek 2000: 201, ‘Sohnschaft’; Polaski 2005: 88, ‘sonship’; Mundhenk 2008: 170, ‘be recognized as God’s sons’; Gianoulis 2009: 74, ‘sonship’; Landmesser 2018: 2.139, who suggests ‘Kindschaft’; Kim 2021: 181, ‘sonship’, though he notes the close linkage of the term to ‘adoption’; Ringleben 2022: 162, ‘[die wahre] Gotteskindschaft’.

<sup>8</sup> Byrne 1979: 79–81.



Roman legal jurisprudence to extend the Jewish sonship metaphor, which Byrne characterises as a ‘traditional way of speaking’ about God’s relation either to Israel (and the individual members of Israel) or to Paul’s readers as sons.

Those who have followed Byrne’s position more closely than Scott’s argue that the Pauline *υιοθεσία*–metaphor is anomalous. For instance, Paul’s use of the term seems not to be linked to the gender of those receiving *υιοθεσία*.<sup>9</sup> In Rom 8, Paul reminds his Roman readers of their reception of the ‘spirit of *υιοθεσία*’, the same spirit serving as a fellow witness that Paul and his Roman readers are the ‘children of God’ (*τέκνα θεοῦ*, Rom 8.16). Where one might expect the usual gendered noun *υἱός* in the context of ‘adoption’ language, Paul uses instead a gender-neutral term, *τέκνον*.<sup>10</sup> This is curious because with very few exceptions only sons were adopted, especially when the purpose of the adoption was to establish heirs. Why then does Paul not consistently refer to himself and his auditors as ‘sons’, rather than ‘children’?

Other anomalies obtain. In the Pauline scheme, slaves would be ‘adopted’ in the presence of a legitimate heir who is already in place—Jesus, the unique Son.<sup>11</sup> In fact, adoptees provided ‘a legal and socially-accepted stand-in for a natural son’,<sup>12</sup> though in Paul’s reckoning Jesus is already in place and thus the Father would need no proxy.

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<sup>9</sup> Indeed, the corresponding phrase for the bestowal of daughterhood (or, the adoption as daughters), *κατὰ θυγατροποίησιν*, is attested in certain pre-Pauline inscriptions. Cf. Deissmann 1897: 67; Walser 2004: 101–106; Johnson Hodge 2007: 69. Crucially, the bestowal of daughterhood would not have included access to the inheritance. See Polaski 2005: 71, 89.

<sup>10</sup> Paul also adds to the quotation of 2 Sam 7.14 (widely believed to be an *Adoptionsformel*) the words *καὶ θυγατέρας* in 2 Cor 6.18. Cf. Kirk 2004: 241 n. 1, who cites Watson 2001: 53–56. On 2 Sam 7.14 as *Adoptionsformel*, see Scott 1992: 96–117.

<sup>11</sup> Against the adoption of (manumitted) slaves in the Roman world, see Lindsay 2009: 125–27; Kim 2014: 133–34; 140–42. Kim (2014: 141) argues further that in Rom 8, Paul ‘depicts God as adopting complete strangers’, a phenomenon totally foreign to ancient adoption practice. An allegorical exception to this rule is given by Rollins 1987: 108, who cites Herm. Sim. 5.2.7.

<sup>12</sup> Heim 2017: 143. Cf. Johnson Hodge 2007: 31.

Furthermore, Paul seems already to have labelled as sons those receiving *υιοθεσία*. For instance, in Gal 3–4, Paul apparently addresses his Galatian readers as sons (Πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, Gal 3.26), comparing them to heirs of minority age who enter the full rights and privileges of sonship ‘at the time set by the father’, i.e., at their reception of *υιοθεσία* ([ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ] ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν, Gal 4.5). Thus, if the apostle uses *υιοθεσία* as ‘adoption’ here, it seems to me that he would be addressing his auditors as sons logically prior to their ‘adoption’, a non sequitur.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, Roman adoption typically involved the transfer of a son from one *paterfamilias* to another.<sup>14</sup> In Paul’s letters, it is not clear who the former *paterfamilias* might be. One might expect some other figure as a contrast with God (the Father), but in the frames of the *υιοθεσία* passages, Paul does not offer such a figure. To be sure, contrasting figures abound: in Rom 8, one finds a dichotomy between flesh and Spirit; in Gal 3–4, between sin and law—but neither presents a definitive foil for God (the Father). Finally, Paul’s deployment of the metaphor does not factor in the potential death of the testator, i.e., the Father.<sup>15</sup>

Those who favour translating *υιοθεσία* as ‘adoption’ seem to offer a prescriptive analysis of the term, arguing from a position of how the word ought to be used in Paul’s letters. Their rejection of translating *υιοθεσία* simply as ‘sonship’ springs at least in part from the well-founded wish to avoid the abundance of more general sonship material, allowing them instead ‘to focus on “adoption” wherever it occurs in relevant primary

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<sup>13</sup> So Mundhenk 2008: 170–71, 176.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Heim 2017: 247.

<sup>15</sup> Adoption *inter vivos* was common enough in Greco-Roman practice, albeit with the intent of ‘securing care’ for the adoptive father as he approached the end of life. So Scott 1992: 4–5, 10.

sources'.<sup>16</sup> Nonetheless, I much prefer to offer a description of how Paul uses the term in fact. The apostle borrows a term that is usually (though, I would hasten to point out, not always) found in the context of adoption, and this does not seem to be the central thrust of his usage for the term. Rather, Paul seems to privilege other nuances to *υιοθεσία* above what many consider the normal usage of the term.<sup>17</sup>

Certainly, Paul's usage of the term *υιοθεσία* accords with a significant facet of adoption practice common in his own time: namely, connection to the inheritance.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps this is the chief Pauline link to the term's usual meaning, where all other tethers to the term's normal deployment (e.g., with respect to issues of gender, slavery, legal status, death of the testator, etc.) have been muted or dissolved outright. While the process of adoption is almost certainly behind Paul's usage, this is not where the apostle weights the term. Out of due caution, one should probably not jettison the careful lexical investigations of Scott (and others) pertaining to *υιοθεσία*. However, the many anomalies of Paul's several usages (coupled with the fact that Paul is the first to use the term in a theological context)<sup>19</sup> render the ancient lexica of little aid to resolve the matter, instead suggesting a verdict that when the apostle Paul uses the term *υιοθεσία*, its range of meaning only partially overlaps with the institution of adoption as expressed in an ancient form

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<sup>16</sup> Scott 1992: xiii–xiv; the quotation comes from p. xiv. Thus, Scott (et al.) could restrict the scope of study to the topic of interest, viz., adoption. To address 'sonship' more generally might require one to treat topics only tangentially (or not at all) related to 'adoption', e.g., son as 'student', or 'son of God' as one having superhuman abilities, etc. Cf. e.g. the sizable bibliography on *υιός* in *TDNT* 8.334.

<sup>17</sup> Paul's idiosyncratic usage of the term in my opinion thwarts the well-meaning strategy of beginning analysis of Pauline usage of *υιοθεσία* from the 'conventional use' of the term in Greco-Roman sources. Cf. Heim 2017: 117–22.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Johnson Hodge 2007: 29–31; Peppard 2011a: 135–40.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Scott 1992: 148 n. 96 (where he mentions 'the fact that the theological use of *υιοθεσία* is first found in Paul'), 175.

(whether Greco-Roman, Jewish, or something else).<sup>20</sup> That is to say, Paul rather seems to pick and choose from what was likely a well-known institution in order to suit his own metaphorical construction.<sup>21</sup>

As a working hypothesis, I would like to look at Paul's own peculiar emphases, wherein one might say that by *υιοθεσία* the apostle engages in ad-hoc concept formation, describing the status of one recognised as 'son', and consequently as 'heir'. Paul does not seem to emphasise the legal act or process of adoption, or even the mechanism for becoming a son; rather, his focus is upon one's status as son.<sup>22</sup> Adoption is not for Paul the source for sonship—i.e., his own and that of his readers. Their sonship has instead come about through a gift of life, whereas adopted children are already alive. Yet, as we shall see below, Paul situates his *υιοθεσία* language in contexts of life-giving.

Paul connects the term *υιοθεσία* to the status of Israel in Rom 9.4, a verse some have seen as interpreting the previous uses in Rom 8, especially in terms of the giving of life.<sup>23</sup> To lend credence to its role as hermeneutic lens, *υιοθεσία* in Rom 9.4 is apparently given special priority by the apostle over the previous discussions in Rom 8. That Paul would frame Jewish *υιοθεσία* prominently over that of the gentiles should come as no surprise—even though *υιοθεσία* as applied to Paul and his Roman readers is discussed first in Rom 8. Several times throughout the letter, Paul prioritises the Jew over the 'Greek' gentile, often through the syntagm 'the Jew first, and also the Greek'.<sup>24</sup> Priority may be glimpsed further

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<sup>20</sup> Even Scott (1992: 55) warns that 'it must be emphasized that Paul's religious use of *υιοθεσία* is unparalleled'.

<sup>21</sup> Heim (2017: 280) comes close to the position I wish to argue: 'one possible explanation for Paul's use of *υιοθεσία* as a term for Israel's sonship is that Paul has coined a new term that possibly reinterprets facets of the framework of sonship constructed by the "Israelite sonship" metaphors in the Old Testament'.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Gianoulis 2009: 74 n. 17; Kim 2014: 137.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Gaventa 2010: 257–58; Kim 2021: 205–38.

<sup>24</sup> This phrase (Ἰουδαίος τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἕλληνα) is used throughout Romans, not always positively. See Rom

in the primacy of place given to *υιοθεσία* in Rom 9.4, where it leads a list denoting the privileged status of Israel that includes ‘the glory’ (*ἡ δόξα*), ‘the covenants’ (*αἱ διαθήκαι*), ‘the giving of the law’ (*ἡ νομοθεσία*), ‘the temple worship’ (*ἡ λατρεία*), ‘the promises’ (*αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι*), and even ‘the patriarchs’ (*οἱ πατέρες*, Rom 9.5).<sup>25</sup> At the head of this list, Paul’s use of *υιοθεσία* sounds a distinct note both in terms of its unique grammatical construction and in the place Paul affords the term in the history of Israel.

The apostle refers to the term *υιοθεσία* with the definite article in Rom 9.4, the only place he does so in Romans.<sup>26</sup> The article may be functioning anaphorically, referring back to the occurrences of *υιοθεσία* in Rom 8. Perhaps *ἡ δόξα*, the following term in Rom 9.4, also functions anaphorically: *υιοθεσία* is the primary subject of Rom 8.12–17, while *δόξα* governs the following section, Rom 8.17–30.<sup>27</sup> More likely, however, Paul uses the article *par excellence* in the construction *ἡ υιοθεσία* in Rom 9.4. One could say that of all the ways God (the Father) relates to humanity, the best of this class of filial relations is Israel’s relationship to God as sons.<sup>28</sup> The *υιοθεσία* of Israel as *par excellence* (or, best of its class) may be further demonstrated in two ways peculiar to Rom 9. First, Paul’s previously

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1.16; 2.9–10; 3.9, 29; 9.24; 10.12; cf. Gaventa 2010: 256. Kim (2021: 228–29) suggests that the prioritisation scheme in Romans (i.e., Jew first, and [then] also Greek) may further include the manifold ‘advantage’ (*τὸ περισσόν*, Rom 3.1–2), and the reference to Israel as the ‘natural branches’ (*οἱ κατὰ φύσιν κλάδοι*, Rom 11.21) in contradistinction to the gentiles as the wild olive tree ingrafted.

<sup>25</sup> Readers of Paul from differing perspectives have concluded that Rom 9.4–5 is a list denoting the privileged status of Israel. Cf. Watson 1986: 161; idem 2015: 259–60; Wright 2013: 2.1012; Barclay 2015: 383; Fredriksen 2017: 35; Heim 2017: 251–52; Kim 2021: 205–208. Grammatically, the polysyndeton in Rom 9.4–5 imbues this list denoting privileged status with dignity and rhetorical abundance. Cf. BDF §460.3, pp. 240–41; Robertson 1934: 427.

<sup>26</sup> A few MSS lack the article: among the majuscules, A F G. Codex Alexandrinus deletes the entire verse, on which see Porter 2002: 414, who hypothesizes a rhetorical scribal agenda. Paul also uses an articular form in Gal 4.5.

<sup>27</sup> Indeed Wright 2013: 2.1012–13 has argued that most of the items in the list of privileged status have already been discussed by Paul in Rom 5–8.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Jewett 2007: 563; Heim 2017: 257–62, where she suggests the tenor of *υιοθεσία* in Rom 9.4 is ‘Israel’s ongoing covenant relationship’ with God.

highlighted prioritisation scheme (i.e., Jews then Greeks) can make sense of the elevation of Israel's relationship to God over all others.<sup>29</sup> Second, *υιοθεσία* in the list of Israelite privilege is to be viewed with greater priority than all others because Israel is the source of divine sonship that comes to the rest of the world, since the Israelites are those 'from whom is the Christ according to the flesh' (*ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα*, Rom 9.5).<sup>30</sup> Those in Jesus derive divine sonship from him, the unique Son, who himself comes from Israel.

Paul gives *υιοθεσία* priority even over the other privileges that Israel has enjoyed. The apostle may list the term first in the privileges of Israel because of its importance for the succeeding argument of Rom 9.<sup>31</sup> The term heads the list in part because it serves as the interpretative prism through which one may look back to the occurrences of the term in Rom 8, and forward to God's future for Israel, a future that involves the restoration to life. Paul uses the hinge of *υιοθεσία* to indicate Israel's special relationship to God, a relationship he subsequently qualifies with God as Creator.<sup>32</sup> Paul establishes in Rom 9–11 'that the only Israel that exists is the one God brought into being through promise and call'.<sup>33</sup> The apostle intertwines the concepts of life-giving and calling especially in the verses that immediately follow Rom 9.4.

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<sup>29</sup> Cf. the presence of Jewish prioritisation language in the larger context of Rom 9–11 (esp. Rom 9.24; 10.12) against which Paul is reacting in light of the death, resurrection, and subsequent lordship of Jesus. On the Pauline reaction against Jewish priority (in Rom 2), see further Barclay 1998: 544–46.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Fredriksen 2017: 148–51.

<sup>31</sup> Elsewhere in Romans, Paul may list the most important element of a series first. For example, he lists *τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ* first perhaps because 'the oracles of God' (Rom 3.2) are the most important of the benefits of being a Jew. This conclusion is strengthened by the presence of the adverb *πρῶτον* in Rom 3.2b, a term missing in the list of Rom 9.4. Nonetheless, Rom 9 recalls Rom 3.2 through the phrase *ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ* (Rom 9.6). Cf. Gaventa 2010: 258, esp. n. 15.

<sup>32</sup> Gaventa 2010: 257, 259; Heim 2017: 280.

<sup>33</sup> So Gaventa 2010: 260, emphasis omitted. In this she follows Martyn 1997b: 173.

In the argument that succeeds the list of Israelite privileges (Rom 9.6–29), Paul mentions ‘calling’ (through his term of choice, *καλέω*) five times. Some recent interpreters of Paul have contended that the apostle’s usage of the word *καλέω*, a term little used elsewhere in Romans, in Rom 9.6–29 recalls the original appearance of the term in Rom 4.17.<sup>34</sup> Paul writes in that passage of God ‘who gives life to the dead and calls into being what does not exist’ ([θεός] τοῦ ζωοποιούντος τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ καλοῦντος τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα, Rom 4.17b). God’s ‘calling-into-being’ in Rom 4.17 anticipates the apostle’s similar usage in Rom 9.6–29. By the language of calling, Paul refers to the creation of Abraham’s offspring through Isaac in Rom 9.7; he differentiates ‘works’ (*ἔργα*) from God who calls in the discussion of God’s promise—the divine initiative to life-giving<sup>35</sup>—to barren Rebecca concerning the sons she would shortly birth in Rom 9.12; and, he links the calling-into-being of Israel (see esp. Rom 9.6–13) to that of the ones formerly ‘not my people’, the gentiles, in Rom 9.24–26.<sup>36</sup> Paul’s language of ‘calling-into-being’ reaches its crescendo in Rom 9.26, where the apostle quotes from Hos 2.1 LXX, noting that those who were ‘not my people’, Jews and gentiles alike, ‘will be called the sons of the living God’ (οὐ λαός μου ὑμεῖς, ... κληθήσονται υἱοὶ θεοῦ ζῶντος, Rom 9.26b). Bringing his argument full circle, Paul using the language of ‘calling-into-being’ argues the Jews’ transition of status from ‘not the people of God’ to sons of the living God, underscoring both the life-giving God and completing the frame of Israel’s status as sons begun in Rom 9.4 by heading the list of

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<sup>34</sup> Gaventa 2010: 260, esp. n. 23 on the scarcity of ‘calling’ language in Romans; Kim 2021: 217–24. The noun *κλητός* occurs in Rom 1.1, 6.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Watson 2015: 185–91 on divine versus human initiative in Paul’s reading of the Abrahamic narrative in Rom 9 (and other places).

<sup>36</sup> This sentence is heavily indebted to the careful exegetical work of Gaventa 2010: 260–67.

Israelite privileges with *υιοθεσία*.<sup>37</sup> Ultimately, Paul will predict the life-giving God's acceptance of Israel, which he equates to 'life from the dead' (*τίς ἢ πρόσληψις εἰ μὴ ζωὴ ἐκ νεκρῶν*; Rom 11.15). Thus, Paul frames Rom 9–11 with *υιοθεσία* at the beginning as the hinge and hermeneutical prism of what those in Jesus presently enjoy, and of what will come to Israel: acceptance at the end by God (the Father) as life from the dead, the expected characteristic of Israel's status as the son ever called into being by God (the Father).

My hypothesis is therefore that Paul's use of *υιοθεσία* represents the status of those who have access to and participation in divine sonship, a hypothesis which I shall check against the available textual data of Paul's undisputed writings in what follows. If the best available gloss for this phenomenon is 'adoption', well and good; but I would propose that Paul's usage—and it is the apostle's own deployment of the term with which I am concerned here—is better served by a translation such as 'sonship' without all the other attendant features of ancient adoption practice that previously freighted the term *υιοθεσία*. I realise this is quite a departure from what has become a consensus view on the meaning of *υιοθεσία*, and I shall attempt in what follows to demonstrate that Paul only partly addresses the salient features of ancient adoption practice as we now understand them. In other words, as Rom 9.4 suggests, even if *υιοθεσία* does often signify 'adoption', Paul picks out from the term the more limited meaning 'sonship', because his focus is not on the process or act of adoption-into-sonship, but on the resulting status of sonship.

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<sup>37</sup> Kim 2021: 234.



## 4.2. Exegesis

What follows is a detailed analysis of how Paul writes of the Father's relation to those 'in' Jesus, sometimes employing the device of metaphor. Through his use of *υιοθεσια* language, Paul adds to the Father's identity as the one who raised Jesus from the dead by focussing on the Father's relation to Paul and his readers. The Father brings life to Paul and his readers by extending sonship derived from the resurrected Son-of-God-in-power through the Spirit. These conclusions may be prised out from Paul's rather tight logical constructs, often accompanied by the modification of terminology as he is using it, as well as subtlety, where key points may be overlooked, or in one's haste, missed completely. Therefore, these passages beckon the interpreter to serious engagement and slow digestion of what the apostle has to say.

### 4.2.1. Galatians 4

Galatians, it has been said, is Paul 'in full flood'.<sup>38</sup> What drove the apostle to such heights of pique were the presence and teaching among his Galatian readers of certain opponents, whose beliefs John Barclay has neatly summarised: as fellow Christians, Paul's opponents 'wanted the Galatians to be circumcised and to observe at least some of the rest of the law, including its calendrical requirements'; they questioned 'the adequacy of Paul's gospel and his credentials as an apostle'. It is likely that Paul's opponents attracted and persuaded many within the Galatian congregation(s).<sup>39</sup> In part, these opposing doctrines led Paul to

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<sup>38</sup> Dunn 1993b: xiii.

<sup>39</sup> Barclay 1987: 86–89 (the quotations are from p. 88). The list compiled by Barclay could hardly be a full summary of the opponents' teaching, but only of those topics to which Paul chose to respond. From Barclay's results, I have included only those items which he deems 'Certain or Virtually Certain'.

pen the letter to the Galatians. Certainly, these opposing doctrines form the motifs against which the apostle chooses to respond in the middle of his letter. Of particular interest are the apostle's arguments and responses against the claim that the gospel he originally preached to his Galatian auditors was inadequate.

Paul offers in Gal 3–4 an apology for the gospel he preaches.<sup>40</sup> Betz calls Galatians 3–4 the 'proofs' section (*probatio*), which substantiates the arguments broached at the end of Gal 2, couched in a remembered personal rebuke of the apostle Peter.<sup>41</sup> There Paul stakes out points of agreement between himself and his perceived opponents. The first point of agreement has to do with the heritage of Paul and (perhaps)<sup>42</sup> his opponents. Paul states, 'We ourselves are Jews by birth and not Gentile sinners' (Gal 2.15, NRSV).<sup>43</sup> The second point of agreement refers to the means of justification in response to the gospel that Paul preaches. The apostle writes: εἰδότες [δὲ] ὅτι οὐ δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Gal 2.16a).<sup>44</sup> Opinions diverge, however, beyond these two points. Paul apparently suspects a claim that the gospel he preaches is incomplete.<sup>45</sup> He defends the gospel he preaches against such a charge by way of argument about how God (the Father)<sup>46</sup> has related to Paul's Galatian readers. His defence explores the topics of the Galatians' reception of the Spirit (Gal 3.1–5), the divine blessing of Abraham and

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<sup>40</sup> Cf. Martyn 1997a: 25–26; De Boer 2011: 12; Moo 2013: 177–79; Keener 2019: 203–205.

<sup>41</sup> Betz 1979: 113–14. Cf. Longenecker 1990: 97–98; Oakes 2015: 24–27, esp. 25; De Silva 2018: 263–64; Moore 2022: esp. the bibliography on p. 462 n. 10.

<sup>42</sup> Barclay (1987: 88) considers the Jewish heritage of the opponents 'highly probable'.

<sup>43</sup> The Greek is: Ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί.

<sup>44</sup> A partial English translation runs thus: 'Knowing that one is not justified ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, but rather διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ'. The untranslated phrases have engendered significant debate in recent NT scholarship beyond the scope of our argument. For further information, see e.g. Hooker 1989: 321–42; Schreiner 1993: 975–79; Hays 2002a: 141–56; Owen 2007: esp. 562–66; Easter 2010: 33–47.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Vos 1994: esp. 2.

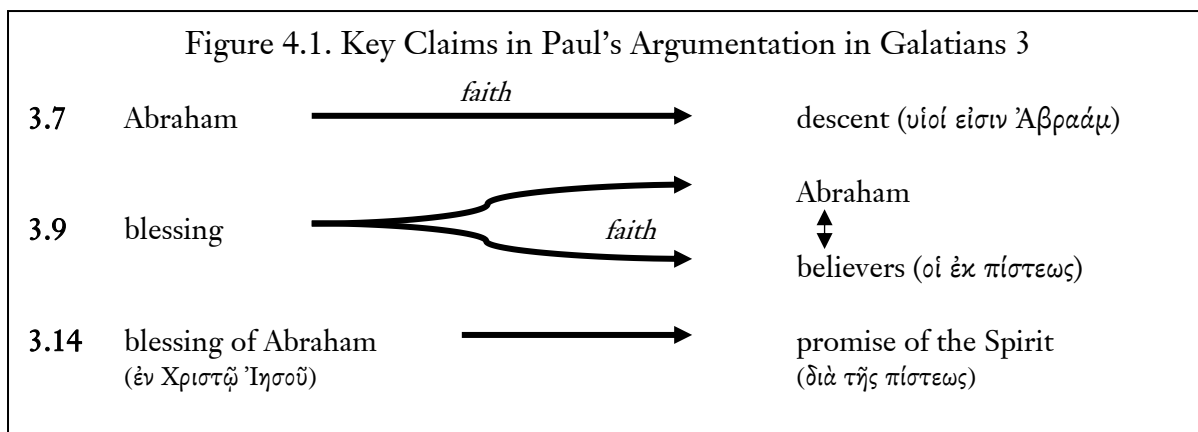
<sup>46</sup> Divine fatherhood is of course mentioned only in Gal 1.1 and Gal 4.6, but these references are so dominating on the landscape of the letter, that I treat all references to 'God' (θεός) in Galatians as implicit references to these two explicit mentions.

its present application to the Galatian congregations (Gal 3.6–14), and finally two illustrations in which Paul tells his Galatian readers what time it really is. In Gal 3.15–29, Paul first declares that God’s promise to Abraham in due time has extended to those who are ‘one in Christ Jesus’ (πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἰς ἔστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, Gal 3.28). Reaching the climax of his argument, the apostle then recounts how God (the Father) in the fulness of time has redeemed Paul and his readers from slavery into freedom by the sending of the Son and the agency of the Spirit (Gal 4.1–7).

Critically at stake in his defence of the gospel is the identity of Paul’s readers. Interspersed in the discussion of the identity of the justified are elements of life-giving. Paul connects δικαιοῦν and its cognates to the giving of life in three key places in Gal 2–3. The apostle begins by presuming a point of agreement: that the ἔργα νόμου are negated as a viable means of justification (Gal 2.16a).<sup>47</sup> Paul concludes that death to the law results in life (through Christ) to God (Gal 2.19–20). Repeating the point of agreement concerning the non-viability of the law to justify, a position described as ‘evident’ (δῆλος, Gal 3.11), Paul counters with the quotation of Hab 2.4 LXX: the righteous shall live, not by law, but by faith. Paul remarks on the intimate connection between righteousness and life once more in Gal 3.21b: ‘for if a law with the ability to impart life had been given, then righteousness would indeed be from the law’ (εἰ γὰρ ἐδόθη νόμος ὁ δυνάμενος ζωοποιῆσαι, ὄντως ἐκ νόμου ἂν ἦν ἡ δικαιοσύνη). Where Paul discusses the righteous in Gal 2–3, one may see that the presence of life is indispensable to the righteous one’s identity.

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<sup>47</sup> The text is: εἰδότες [δὲ] ὅτι οὐ δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, ... (‘knowing that one is not justified ἐξ ἔργων νόμου’, ...).



What further constitutes the sons of God as the ones justified (οἱ δικαιωθέντες), a part of whom Paul urges his readers to remain? On the one hand, Paul rebuts a claim that the ἔργα νόμου (Gal 3.2) are still requisite in marking the identity of the ones justified after the resurrection of Jesus (Gal 3.1–5). The central issue in this section is the reception of the Spirit by the Galatians. Paul enquires of his Galatian readers whether their reception of the Spirit was accomplished ἐξ ἔργων νόμου (Gal 3.2). The apostle expresses concern that his readers are turning from their beginnings ‘in the Spirit’ to an end ‘in the flesh’ (ἐναρξάμενοι πνεύματι νῦν σαρκὶ ἐπιτελεῖσθε; Gal 3.3b). Paul then addresses the issue of descent as related to the identity of the justified. While Paul would agree that Abrahamic descent is necessary,<sup>48</sup> the apostle scales the claim of descent from Abraham to descent from God as further identifying the justified. Paul makes several key claims about the identity of the ones justified (represented graphically in Figure 4.1, above): descent from Abraham is by faith (Gal 3.7); blessing comes to believers (οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, Gal 3.9) who are linked to Abraham in faith; and, in Jesus the blessing of Abraham results in the promise of the Spirit through faith. These three markers—descent from Abraham, participation in

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Gal 3.29: ‘and if you are of Christ, then you are Abraham’s descendants, heirs according to promise’ (εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ, ἄρα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ σπέρμα ἐστέ, κατ’ ἐπαγγελίαν κληρονόμοι).

the Abrahamic blessing, and the presence of the promised Spirit—are fundamental components for identifying the ones justified. At the end of Gal 4, Abraham figures prominently again as Paul dismantles an argument that circumcision identifies the justified (Gal 4.21–31). Paul refers to Gen 17 and concludes that, despite Ishmael’s own circumcision by Abraham, Ishmael as the son of the flesh is excluded from identification with the justified.<sup>49</sup> Negating the claims of his opponents (whether those claims are real or perceived), Paul at the climax of the argument answers the crucial question of the identity of the justified by introduction of the *υιοθεσία* metaphor (esp. Gal 4.1–7).

#### *4.2.1.1. The Υιοθεσία Metaphor in Galatians 4*

The *υιοθεσία* metaphor in Gal 4 has been called ‘the principal argument’ and the ‘crowning theological statement’ of Paul’s letter to the Galatians.<sup>50</sup> The centrality of this metaphor is denoted by Paul’s tone. The apostle expresses measurable emphasis in deploying the *υιοθεσία* metaphor.<sup>51</sup> Max Black has defined metaphorical emphasis as ‘the degree [to which the metaphor’s] producer will allow no variation upon or substitute for the words used’.<sup>52</sup> Mining the Jewish background materials for similar divine sonship metaphors, Paul had at least three other words he could have used and thus remained consistent with the metaphor’s Jewish development: *υιός* [θεοῦ], *πρωτότοκος*, or *μονογενής*.<sup>53</sup> The first two terms

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<sup>49</sup> Cf. Tedder 2020: 81–85.

<sup>50</sup> In order of quotation: Johnson 2002: 309; Heim 2017: 156 (note esp. the citations in n. 38). Cf. Payot and Roulet 1987: 100, who term the metaphor section ‘one of the nerve centers’ of Galatians.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Barclay 1987: 84.

<sup>52</sup> Black 1993: 26.

<sup>53</sup> These words appear in various OT and intertestamental sources, from which I am listing a select few: *υιός* (Exod 4.22; Ps 2.7; Prov 3.12; Sir 4.10; Jos. Asen. 21.4; 4Q504 III, 6 [בני, ‘my son’]); *πρωτότοκος* (Exod 4.22; Jer 38.9 LXX; Pss. Sol. 18.4; cf. Sir 36.11 LXX [πρωτόγονος]; 4Q504 III, 6 [בכור, ‘my firstborn’]); *μονογενής* (Pss. Sol. 18.4; cf. 4 Ezra 5.28). Cf. Heim 2017: 265.

Paul reserves for Jesus; he will occasionally use the plural *υἱοί* for himself and his readers, and he uses the singular only in Gal 4.7 and then without the qualifier *θεοῦ*.<sup>54</sup> The term *μονογενής* is absent from all of Paul's extant letters. I am seeking to show that Paul uses *υἰοθεσία* to denote the status of those who have access to and participation in divine sonship. A better term for the status of a son, as Byrne has noted, is *υἰότης*, though this term is not extant among Paul's contemporaries, and thus was very likely unavailable to the apostle himself.<sup>55</sup>

Paul engages in an RT device that Gene Green has labelled 'ad-hoc concept construction' by modifying *υἰοθεσία* in use.<sup>56</sup> What one might expect (and indeed, what recent interpreters have sometimes assumed) is that Paul would import wholesale from ancient institutions of adoption the significance of *υἰοθεσία*. But Paul does something unexpected. From the various conceptual models that undergird *υἰοθεσία* (e.g., adoption, change of status, inheritance, etc.), Paul can tailor the term *υἰοθεσία* to suit his own purposes in writing to the Galatian churches. The terms *υἰός* [*θεοῦ*], *πρωτότοκος*, and *μονογενής* rely upon quite different conceptual models than *υἰοθεσία*, and this may explain why Paul relies upon one term and its model(s), but not the others. Furthermore, Paul's argument is framed in the language of inheritance: Paul is concerned for instance with the Abrahamic promise of the Spirit to his Galatian readers. Therefore, with its nuances of sonship, status, and inheritance, no other term could achieve what Paul achieves by using *υἰοθεσία* in the metaphor of Gal 4.5. Heim further notes the conceptual and theological

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<sup>54</sup> Thus, we can say with a measure of certainty that Paul reserves the phrase *θεοῦ υἰός* (and its cognates) for Jesus alone. Perhaps to conform to usual Pauline usage, *syr<sup>p</sup>* reads 'sons' (ܘܨܝܝܢ) in both instances of Gal 4.7. See Kilgour 1920: 116.

<sup>55</sup> Byrne notes the earliest occurrence of *υἰότης* in Origen, *Or.* 22.4. See Byrne 1979: 80 n. 6.

<sup>56</sup> Green 2007: 804-807.

importance when she comments that the *υιοθεσία* metaphor ‘is the culmination of the Son’s mission of redemption’, combining ‘the actions of the Father, Son, and Spirit within a single metaphor (*υιοθεσία*) that is grounded in the believers’ reception of the Spirit’.<sup>57</sup> Thus, we may reasonably conclude that by emphasis, as well as by conceptual and theological significance, Paul makes central the ad-hoc *υιοθεσία* metaphor.

To clarify my forthcoming analysis, I need at this juncture to define the form and the function of the *υιοθεσία* metaphor. Following Janet Martin Soskice and Erin Heim, what I mean by Paul’s ‘*υιοθεσία* metaphor’ is the occasion in the letter where Paul writes about the Father bringing Paul and his Galatian readers into new relationship with him in terms which are said to be evocative of the metaphor’s vehicle, the term *υιοθεσία*.<sup>58</sup> Noting the potential pitfalls of discussing the ‘metaphorical meaning’ of *υιοθεσία* in Gal 4,<sup>59</sup> I will follow Heim in distilling the metaphor down to the exact phrase *ἵνα τὴν υιοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν* (Gal 4.5b), which Heim terms the ‘complete metaphorical utterance’.<sup>60</sup> Expanding the focus from *υιοθεσία* to the fuller phrase in Gal 4.5b will foster analysis of

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<sup>57</sup> Heim 2017: 156.

<sup>58</sup> Soskice 1985: 15; Heim 2017: 176. In metaphor theory, ‘tenor’ and ‘vehicle’ by way of reminder are corresponding terms. Dawes has defined the ‘tenor’ of a metaphor as ‘the subject upon which it is hoped light will be shed’. In my proposed schema, the ‘tenor’ in Gal 4 is ‘the Father bringing Paul and his Galatian readers into new relationship with him’. The ‘vehicle’ of a metaphor according to Dawes is ‘the subject to which allusion is made in order to shed that light [upon the tenor and the subject it represents]’. Dawes 1998: 27. Cf. Heim 2017: 42.

<sup>59</sup> Among the pitfalls are the requirement that lexemes be indeterminate, as well as term-for-term substitution. An example from Black (1993: 21f.; the metaphor traces at least back to Plautus, *Asin.* 495) can illustrate both pitfalls I have referenced. ‘Man is a wolf’ (Plautus: *lupus est homo*) cannot generate metaphorical meaning at the level of words because both ‘man’ and ‘wolf’ retain their own discrete meanings; i.e., neither word has an indeterminate meaning; however, the versatility of metaphor is linked to its natural indeterminacy. The interpreter who insists on words themselves having metaphorical meaning is likewise constricted to pondering just exactly in what ways ‘wolf’ (and its attendant qualities) can be equated to ‘man’ (and its attendant qualities). In this discussion, I am indebted to Heim 2017: 34–36, 38–42.

<sup>60</sup> Heim 2017: 165. In this she follows Soskice 1985: esp. 45–46. Heim is careful to note that the *υιοθεσία* metaphor in Gal 4.5 is not in isolation but is related grammatically and conceptually to a cluster of metaphors in Gal 4.5–7.

the metaphor's 'interplay between focus and frame', by which is meant how *υιοθεσία* as the vehicle of the metaphor interacts with its immediately surrounding context, thus producing meaning.<sup>61</sup>

The tenor of the *υιοθεσία* metaphor—the Father bringing Paul and his Galatian readers into new relationship with him—contributes to defining the function of the metaphor. Marinette Payot and Philippe Roulet have argued that the metaphorical language in Gal 3–4 has a dual function. First, Paul uses metaphorical language to evoke relationships. Payot and Roulet point to Gal 3.26, where they argue Paul infers that all who are sons of God are sons through faith in Jesus.<sup>62</sup> Second, Paul uses metaphorical language here to define a legal status or condition, as he does (according to Payot and Roulet) in Gal 3.29, where the apostle claims Abrahamic descent and inheritance according to divine promise for his Galatian readers.<sup>63</sup> Payot and Roulet further argue that this dual function reaches its climax at Paul's exclamation that each of his Galatian readers is no longer a slave, but a son (Gal 4.7a), just after the instance of the *υιοθεσία* metaphor in Gal 4.5.<sup>64</sup> I would counter that Paul is not necessarily interested in the legal aspects that normally attend the term *υιοθεσία*, since he uses the term in an anomalous, ad-hoc way, as I have argued above. Paul does seem, however, to link the function of the *υιοθεσία* metaphor to the status as sons of his Galatian readers. In a similar way, Heim argues that the *υιοθεσία* metaphor functions as Paul's rebuttal to claims of an alternate spiritual

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<sup>61</sup> Cf. Heim 2017: 36.

<sup>62</sup> Πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. Some have interpreted the final clause in Gal 3.26 as objective due to the *πίστις ἐν Χριστῷ* language (faith in Christ, as opposed to the faithfulness of Christ). See Payot and Roulet 1987: 105–106. Others have argued that since Paul never uses the preposition *ἐν* with the verb *πιστεύω*, the meaning is agentive ('through Christ Jesus'). Cf.  $\text{B}^{46}$ , which reads *διὰ πίστεως Χριστοῦ*; Betz 1979: 186; Martyn 1997a: 375; De Boer 2011: 242.

<sup>63</sup> Gal 3.29b: ἄρα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ σπέρμα ἐστέ, κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν κληρονόμοι. Cf. Heim 2017: 166.

<sup>64</sup> ὥστε οὐκέτι εἶ δοῦλος ἀλλ' υἱός.





ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ('God sent his Son', Gal 4.4).<sup>68</sup> Paul ties the υἰοθεσία metaphor precisely to the sending of the Son, establishing the logical priority of the sonship of Jesus: Jesus is 'sent' as Son 'in order that we might receive υἰοθεσία'. The language of Gal 4.4 is reminiscent of the language of gift. In the sending of Jesus, the Father gives the Son; in the mission of Jesus, the Son gives himself and is received with his work by Paul and his Galatian readers (note the verb of reception, ἀπολαμβάνω, Gal 4.5).<sup>69</sup> As a description of the 'Christ-gift', God sends his unique Son, whom Paul discusses first, adding a couple of modifying phrases at the close of Gal 4.4. First, Jesus is 'born of [a] woman' (γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός, Gal 4.4c). This phrase as applied to Jesus is unique in Paul's letters.<sup>70</sup> Interpreters of Paul have generally understood this phrase as denoting certain qualities of the Son sent by the Father, especially the Son's assumption of humanity.<sup>71</sup> Richard Hays questions whether the phrase γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός truly qualifies the noun υἱός.<sup>72</sup> To qualify the Son, Hays argues the phrase would necessarily describe the Son's state of being. For describing states of being, one would expect the participle ὄντα. The participle that Paul uses in Gal 4.4, γένομενος, refers not to states of being, but to change, which Hays phrases in terms of movement. Giving γένομενος its due weight, Hays interprets the phrase as the Son's movement from the heavenly realm to the earthly.<sup>73</sup> It

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<sup>68</sup> Lightfoot (1890: 168) noted a chiasm that directly related the υἰοθεσία-clause in Gal 4.5 to the main verbal phrase in 4.4. Cf. Longenecker 1990: 166.

<sup>69</sup> This is developed further in Barclay 2015: 388–410, esp. 408; cf. L&N §57.128, p. 572.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Longenecker 1990: 166, who labels the phrase *hapax legomenon*.

<sup>71</sup> This interpretation goes back at least to Eusebius, *Marc.* 1.27; Tischendorf also mentions Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Methodius of Olympus. Harink (2017: 109) describes the phrase as 'the fullness of the divine embrace of human nature'; cf. Scholtissek 2000: 200–201; Ringleben 2022: 154–58. For background literature denoting the phrase as a Jewish circumlocution for human birth, see Dunn 1993a: 215; Keener 2019: 337 n. 1150.

<sup>72</sup> Pace Dunn 1989: 40.

<sup>73</sup> Hays 2002a: 96–97, esp. n. 64; cf. Ringleben 2022: 155 n. 52. Ringleben (2022: 151–54) calls this the Son's coming from afar.

strikes me, however, that the rarer Pauline expression is not *γενόμενος*, but *ἐκ γυναικός*, which Hays' interpretation does not fully incorporate.<sup>74</sup> Neither are the two interpretations (the classical interpretation and Hays' own) mutually exclusive. To accommodate the full phrase, I would suggest that Paul is referring here to the Son's change from the divine realm to the human. The phrase contributes to the process of Jesus identifying with humanity.

The second modifying phrase of Gal 4.4, *γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον* ('born under the law', Gal 4.4d), locates the sending of the Son within a specific timeframe with a particular purpose (cf. *ἡ προθεσμία τοῦ πατρὸς*, Gal 4.2)<sup>75</sup> and within a particular line of descent. Again, Paul is keen to show his readers what time it really is. The sending of the Son is stated just after the temporal clause of Gal 4.4a, which begins with the temporal conjunction *ὅτε* and gives the time of the action.<sup>76</sup> Paul's letter oscillates between the present time and its implications for his Galatian readers on the one hand, and the past (cf. *τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου*, 'the fulness of time',<sup>77</sup> Gal 4.4a) that has helped to usher in the present time—i.e., the time ushered in by the Father's sending of the Son and commencing with Jesus' death

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<sup>74</sup> Paul uses *γενόμενος* to refer to the birth of Jesus in two other places: in Rom 1.3, where one finds the only other combination of *γενόμενος* + *ἐκ* in Paul's letters, and which focusses upon the object of the phrase in identifying Jesus as the Davidide whom God raised in fulfilment of Nathan's prophecy in 2 Sam 7, as I have argued previously (see Chapter 3.4, above); in Phil 2.7, which Hays mentions, and which also identifies Jesus with humanity—Jesus is *ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος*.

<sup>75</sup> Though I am mindful of root fallacy, it is intriguing that Chantraine (1999: 432) lists *προθεσμία* as a derivative of *θεσμός*, whose relationship to its root, (*προ-*)*τίθημι*, he says, is 'obvious' (French: *évident*); however, I am not making a claim on word meaning (thus, avoiding root fallacy), merely on word history. Cf. Beekes 2010: 1.543. Nevertheless, the time set by the Father provides the beginning of the frame with the theme of purpose, which is taken up by both *ἵνα*-clauses in Gal 4.5. Cf. Moo 2013: 263–66.

<sup>76</sup> 'But when the fulness of time came', ... (*ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου*, ...). Cf. BDF §455, pp. 237–38; Wallace 1996: 677. Ringleben (2022: 145–46) argues that *ὅτε* expresses that only then (and not before) could the Father send the Son.

<sup>77</sup> See Rambiert-Kwaśniewska 2020: 208–11, who interprets this phrase as the end of the law's domination, set in motion by the pivotal moment of history when the Father sends the Son. Cf. Martyn 1997a: 389; De Boer 2011: 262.

and resurrection—on the other. By referring to the Son as *γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον*, the apostle reminds his readers that Jesus came into human existence (and therefore, temporality) during the period of the old covenant between Israel and God, characterised as it was by living under law, not yet having the possibility of living by faith in the resurrected Jesus.<sup>78</sup>

Several recent interpreters have suggested that the phrase *γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον* relates to Jesus’ role in redemption.<sup>79</sup> Immediately after the phrase, the apostle gives the purpose of the Son’s entrance into human existence under law: ‘in order that he [i.e., the Son] might redeem those under law’ (*ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ*, Gal 4.5a). Some interpreters of Paul have reasoned that the participial phrase to end Galatians 4.4 and the *ἵνα*-clause to begin Galatians 4.5 are closely related on account of proximity and the use of *ὑπὸ νόμον* language, forming the inner part of a chiasm:<sup>80</sup>

[4.4b]	ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ,	<b>A</b>
	γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός, γενόμενον <u>ὑπὸ νόμον</u> ,	<b>B</b>
[4.5]	ἵνα τοὺς <u>ὑπὸ νόμον</u> ἐξαγοράσῃ	<b>B’</b>
	ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν.	<b>A’</b>

Among those who have stressed the link to redemption of the phrase *γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον*, some have argued that Jesus’ perfect obedience to the Father, or simply his subjection to the law, allows Jesus by his death and resurrection to effect redemption from the law for the rest of those who are ‘under law’.<sup>81</sup> In a similar vein, Todd Wilson argues that Paul

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Greene-McCreight 2022: 37; Ringleben 2022: 149, 159. Cf. the earlier covenantal language in Gal 3.15–18, where the term *διαθήκη* occurs twice (Gal 3.15, 17; cf. 4.24). Betz (1979: 207–208) argues that the phrase speaks further of Jesus’ identification with humanity—Jesus as born under human law, though he specifies the law as Torah. This is also stated classically in Hooker 1971: 351 n. 1; cf. Martyn 1997a: 390.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Dunn 1993a: 216; Schreiner 2010: 270; De Boer 2011: 263–64; Moo 2013: 265–66; De Silva 2018: 355; Osten-Sacken 2019: 191–93. Detailed discussion about Paul’s use of the verb, *ἐξαγοράζω*, follows later in this section.

<sup>80</sup> Discourse analysis from various approaches has yielded similar structural results. See, for example: Pelsler, du Toit, Kruger, et al.: 1992: 24; Hong 1993: 47–48; Yoon 2019: 154, 166–67.

<sup>81</sup> For Jesus’ perfect obedience to the Father, see Longenecker 1990: 171–72; Löhner 2002: 340. For Jesus’ participation in subjection to the law, see Dunn 1993: 216; Keener 2019: 336–38.

uses the phrase *ὑπὸ νόμον* in Galatians as a kind of shorthand for ‘under the curse of the law’, referring back to Gal 3.13 (‘Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, becoming a curse for us’; *Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα ...*). Paul (according to Wilson) reckons that by taking on the curse, Jesus can thus redeem his fellow humanity under the curse of the law.<sup>82</sup> While one may quibble about Jesus’ stance toward the law in his own time, by the phrase *γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον* Paul appears both structurally and thematically to relate the Son’s coming into existence under law to his role in redeeming those under law.

The majority view regarding the interpretation of *γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον* seems to be that by being ‘born under the law’, Jesus participates in the peculiar human experience of the Jews.<sup>83</sup> To this interpretation I would like to stress two additional details regarding the Son: this interpretation places Jesus in the line of Abraham, reinforcing Paul’s earlier arguments (Gal 3.6–18), and allowing the blessing promised to the patriarch to ‘flow forth’ to the gentiles through Abraham’s seed, Jesus;<sup>84</sup> and, relating back to the earlier participial phrase (*γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός*, Gal 4.4c), the interpretation indicates the Son’s identification with a particular family of humanity, the family of blessing.<sup>85</sup> In stressing this further identification of Jesus with the family of Abraham, I will argue that Paul makes possible the concept of Jesus as the source of sonship for the apostle and his Galatian readers.

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<sup>82</sup> Wilson 2005: 372–73.

<sup>83</sup> De Silva 2018: 355. See also Betz 1979: 207–208; Longenecker 1990: 171–72; Dunn 1993a: 216; Scholtissek 2000: 201; Keener 2019: 336–38.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. De Silva 2018: 355. Others have noted specific similarities (e.g., the language of redemption; the presence of the aorist participle *γενόμενος*; the successive *ἵνα*-clauses denoting purpose) between Gal 3.13–14 and Gal 4.4–5. See Lyonnet 1961: 88; Blank 1968: 260–62; Hays 2002a: 75–77; Moo 2013: 212.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Betz 1979: 207–208; Greene-McCreight 2022: 36–38.

The participial phrases at the end of Gal 4.4 reveal one line of Paul's logic: that Jesus comes into the realm of human existence and identifies himself as human, receiving in himself the common humanity of those he seeks to redeem. And all of this, according to the apostle, is initiated by the Father when he sends the Son at the apposite moment (i.e., 'in the fulness of time'). Though Paul initially presents Jesus as the object of God's sending, of God's gift, Hays has argued through narrative analysis that the Son 'assumes the role of Subject'.<sup>86</sup> He acts to fulfil the mission on which God (the Father) sent him. In the process, the Son engages in the act of self-giving (mentioned earlier by Paul in Gal 2.19–20). This mission is a life-giving one,<sup>87</sup> described by Paul in two ways as the purpose of the Father's sending of the Son, and thus the purpose of the Son's mission: redemption for those under the law, and reception (by those same ones under the law) of sonship. The first clause, pertaining to redemption, aligns with a negative axis in Paul's logic where the apostle relates the law to curse, sin, and ultimately death.<sup>88</sup> The second clause, which contains *υιοθεσία* language, corresponds to an opposite, positive axis in Paul's logic where the apostle relates inheritance to justification, the reception of the Spirit, blessing, the promise(s), and ultimately life. Therefore, Jesus receives humanity and special location within the family of blessing, the family of Abraham, but he also gives, and his gift may be perceived as life-giving, culminating in a sonship like his.

As Paul transfers the action from the Father to the Son, the apostle writes first that Jesus came born of woman and under law 'in order that he might redeem those under the

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<sup>86</sup> Hays 2002a: 96. Cf. Wilson 2005: 371 esp. n. 24.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Ringleben 2022: 163–66.

<sup>88</sup> Gal 2.19; 3.10–12, 19, 21. See also Boakye 2017: 112–17, 140–57. Paul esp. ties the law to dying (*ἀποθνήσκω*) in Gal 2.19, 21.

law’ (ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ, Gal 4.5a). Paul uses similar language in Gal 3.13, a connection several have noted.<sup>89</sup> Here, Paul states that ‘Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law by becoming a curse for us, as it is written: “Cursed is everyone who hangs upon a tree”, ... (Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρης τοῦ νόμου γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρη, ὅτι γέγραπται· ἐπικατάρητος πᾶς ὁ κρεμᾶμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου, Gal 3.13, emphasis retained from NA<sup>28</sup>). Of the many noteworthy elements in this verse, I would like to analyse two that have direct bearing on Gal 4.5: the term ἐξαγοράζω; and the description of the κατάρη τοῦ νόμου. I will analyse these elements in reverse order.

To what does the term κατάρη refer in Gal 3.13?<sup>90</sup> Recent suggestions have included national exile for Israel,<sup>91</sup> failure to observe the (Mosaic) law,<sup>92</sup> even humiliation at the hands of one’s fellow Jews.<sup>93</sup> The many creative suggestions are helpful in their way, and their variance only reinforces the fact that Paul provides no clear referent for κατάρη. However, the immediate context, as well as the citation of Deut 21, seems to suggest that Paul closely links the κατάρη τοῦ νόμου to the language and imagery of death, specifically to the crucifixion of Jesus.<sup>94</sup> Paul writes Galatians 3.13 in the midst of a very compressed, asyndetic syllogism—some have admitted logical gaps in Paul’s thinking—that contrasts

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<sup>89</sup> Note the literature cited above in n. 84.

<sup>90</sup> The term also occurs in Gal 3.10. I disagree with Brondos 2001: 22, who argues the ‘curse’ in Gal 3.10 and the ‘curse’ in Gal 3.13 are different curses. The term seems to be functioning metonymically: the ‘curse’ thus stands in for the one who has become the embodiment of the ‘curse of the law’, viz., Jesus.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Wright 1992: 137–56. Hunn (2018: 142–44) seeks to rebut Wright’s position by pointing out that national exile would have made little sense to Paul’s Galatian readers.

<sup>92</sup> Moo 2013: 210.

<sup>93</sup> Streett 2015: 202–205.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Martyn 1997a: 318; Mayordomo 2005: esp. 147–48. More specifically, by ‘curse’ Paul is referring to Jesus’ embodiment of the ‘curse of the law’, powerfully demonstrated in his death by crucifixion. Death by crucifixion would likely have been an anachronism when considering the original audience of Deut 21.23, but would have been a likelier referent in Second Temple interpretation (cf. Philo, *Spec.* 3.152), and esp. among Paul’s Galatian readers when describing Jesus.

not only faith and the law but also life (or blessing) and the curse.<sup>95</sup> Life is emphasised by the apostle when he cites in the immediately preceding verses two OT texts where the verb ζάω prominently features.<sup>96</sup> In Gal 3.11b, Paul quotes from Hab 2.4: ‘the righteous will live by faith’ (ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται). In the next verse, he cites from Lev 18.5: ‘the one who practises these things will live by them’ (ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς, Gal 3.12b). Following these two citations, the apostle writes of Jesus redeeming from the curse of the law by becoming a curse ‘for us’.<sup>97</sup> Jesus becoming the curse ‘for us’ is linked by the apostle to Jesus’ death, reflecting Paul’s interpretation of Deut 21, not as death by hanging, but as death by crucifixion.

What Paul seems to portray is asymmetrical exchange between Jesus and ‘us’, i.e., (in most cases) Paul and his Galatian readers.<sup>98</sup> Identifying with humanity in its frailty (cf. γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον, Gal 4.5; ‘under the law, we were held in custody, being imprisoned’, ὑπὸ νόμον ἐφρουρούμεθα συγκλειόμενοι, Gal 3.23),<sup>99</sup> Jesus assumes the curse of the law, which had originally been the fate of others (‘for as many as are ἐξ ἔργων νόμου are under a curse’, Ὅσοι γὰρ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου εἰσὶν, ὑπὸ κατάραν εἰσὶν· Gal 3.10). In this asymmetrical exchange,

<sup>95</sup> So Burton 1921: 163–77; Brondos 2001: 3; Silva 2001: 253, 261–64; Sprinkle 2008: 137. Cf. Martyn 1997a: 365–66. In addition to the conceptual contrasts between faith and law, life and curse, the contrastive conjunction ἀλλά occurs halfway into Paul’s argument, in Gal 3.12b.

<sup>96</sup> The only shared term between Paul’s citations from the two OT texts (excluding the article, ὁ), the verb ζάω in both Hab 2 and Lev 18 translates the Hebrew verb *חיה*, ‘to live’. Cf. *DCH* 3.205–206; Sprinkle 2008: 31–33, 139, who thinks of physical life as an aspect of the eschatological life to which Paul refers; Hunn 2009: 228–30.

<sup>97</sup> The identity of ‘us’ in Gal 3 has sparked much debate, with answers ranging from Jews only, to gentiles only, or to some combination of both. For a brief overview, see Hunn 2018: 148–50. This question is beyond the scope of the present argument; however, tentatively I have opted to view the first-person, plural pronouns as Paul and his Galatian readers, unless there is decisive evidence to the contrary (e.g., Ἡμεῖς = Ἰουδαῖοι in Gal 2.15).

<sup>98</sup> I understand the referent for ἡμεῖς in Gal 3.13 to be the same as the referent for λάβωμεν in Gal 3.14 and ἀπολάβωμεν in Gal 4.5: viz., Paul and his Galatian readers. Cf. Yoon 2019: 204, esp. n. 8; 209 n. 24. For an alternative view, cf. Hooker 1971: 350.

<sup>99</sup> Osten-Sacken 2019: 191.



Jesus offers the blessing of Abraham and the promise of the Spirit. Paul writes to his Galatian readers, ‘[Christ redeemed us ...] in order that the blessing of Abraham might come to the gentiles in Christ Jesus, so that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith’ ([Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ...] ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ γένηται ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος λάβωμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως, Gal 3.13a, 14). In fact, Jesus becomes the blessing, which allows him to bring blessing to others.<sup>100</sup> If the same logic holds, then the blessing about which Paul writes is linked to the opposite of the curse and its attendant imagery: Jesus becomes the curse and is put to death by crucifixion; by the Father raising him from the dead (Gal 1.1), Jesus overcomes the curse and becomes the blessing. In the blessing, then, we can expect a connection to the imagery of life, with which Paul describes the identity of the justified (Gal 3.11). By becoming the blessing, Jesus shares with ‘us’ his life that has overcome the curse.<sup>101</sup> To restate: Jesus receives human weakness and the curse—pointedly portrayed by his crucifixion—and gives in redemption the blessing of Abraham and the promise of the Spirit to Paul and his Galatian readers through faith.

The language of redemption points us forward to Gal 4.5, where Paul states that God (the Father) sent his Son to redeem (ἐξαγοράζω) those under law, so that ‘we’ might receive υἰοθεσία. The rarely attested verb, ἐξαγοράζω, usually refers to buying or purchasing in extra-biblical Greek literature contemporaneous with or prior to Paul.<sup>102</sup> In Paul’s

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<sup>100</sup> Hooker 1971: 351.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Hooker 1971: 352, ‘Christ shares our experience, in order that we might share his’ ...

<sup>102</sup> Lyonnet 1961: 85–88. Examples include Polybius 3.42.2; 30.31.6; Plutarch, *Crass.* 2.4; and in the obscure periegete, Heraclides Criticus (3d century BCE; often falsely attributed to Dicaearchus of Messana), *Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πόλεων*, 1.22; though the instance in Heraclides does indeed connote the idea of deliverance from some penalty, rather than strictly purchasing. On Heraclides and Dicaearchus, see Keyser 2001: 371.

writings, the verb is narrowed via ad-hoc concept formation from the more general semantic field of purchasing to the more concrete concept of redemption; outside of Paul such concreteness for the term proves to be exceptionally rare.<sup>103</sup> In still more concrete terms, Jesus redeems Paul and his Galatian readers by securing their deliverance from the curse of the law, where the ‘curse’ is linked to death.<sup>104</sup> This is essentially another way of conveying what the apostle wrote in Gal 3.13: by his act of redemption Jesus delivers others from the deadly curse, and offers in its stead a replacement—not in this instance a blessing or the Spirit (as in Gal 3), but *υιοθεσία*, which is hereby related to life-giving. In the twin purpose of the sending of the Son, on the one hand ‘we’ experience the removal of the curse of the law—tied to death—and on the other, the reception<sup>105</sup> of *υιοθεσία*—tied to the replacement of the fatal curse of the law.

Relevance Theory (RT) can help at this juncture to make explicit the implied connections between *υιοθεσία* and life-giving (esp. in its contrast to death) available to Paul’s Galatian readers. RT suggests that every act of ostensive communication presumes maximum relevance by the communicator and minimum processing effort on the part of the addressee.<sup>106</sup> Consulting the immediate context first when attempting to make sense of Paul’s *υιοθεσία* utterance in Gal 4.5 will aid the interpreter in determining what may be

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<sup>103</sup> Lyonnet puts forward only two extra-biblical instances of the possible meaning ‘to redeem’ for *ἐξαγοράζω*, both in Diodorus Siculus: 15.7.1 (which Lyonnet accepts); and 36.2.2 (which he rejects in favour of ‘to buy’). The nuance ‘to redeem’ for *ἐξαγοράζω* is listed neither in the *Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek* nor in the *Cambridge Greek Lexicon*; only tangentially in BDAG, which prefers the gloss ‘to secure deliverance of’.

<sup>104</sup> BDAG, *s.v.* *ἐξαγοράζω*, p. 343.

<sup>105</sup> BDAG, *s.v.*, *ἀπολαμβάνω*, p. 114, which offers the gloss ‘to obtain [something] from a source’ for the instance in Gal 4.5.

<sup>106</sup> Sperber and Wilson (1995: 49) define ‘ostension’ as: ‘behaviour which makes manifest an intention to make something manifest’. On the main contention of RT (i.e., relevance and efficiency), cf. Sperber and Wilson 1995: 158, 185.

the minimum processing effort on the part of Paul's Galatian readers.<sup>107</sup> Various connections to *υιοθεσία* could be proposed,<sup>108</sup> but two particular links stand out when examining the text surrounding the *υιοθεσία* metaphor in Gal 4.5—the links to *υιοθεσία* of inheritance and of the label 'son(s)'.

Inheritance has been conventionally linked to *υιοθεσία*.<sup>109</sup> Paul forges this link when he writes in Gal 4, 'So then, you are no longer a slave, but a son; and if a son, an heir also through God' (ὥστε οὐκέτι εἶ δοῦλος ἀλλ' υἱός· εἰ δὲ υἱός, καὶ κληρονόμος διὰ θεοῦ, Gal 4.7). More immediately, he also writes of the reception (*ἀπολαμβάνω*) of *υιοθεσία*, where similar reception terminology is employed by (near-) contemporary writers regarding inheritance.<sup>110</sup> Proximity to the *υιοθεσία* utterance in Gal 4.5 and shared terminology make inheritance a likely link to *υιοθεσία* when determining minimal processing effort on the part of Paul's Galatian readers. The inheritance language of Gal 4.7 refers the reader back to Gal 3, where Paul situates his discussion of inheritance in recurring, multifaceted sets of 'polarities', some of which are borne out of Paul's remembered disagreement with Peter in Gal 2.<sup>111</sup>

Though Galatians is rife with these polarities, those of interest for our present argument come just after the points of shared agreement in Gal 2.16 when Paul raises

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<sup>107</sup> See Sperber and Wilson 1995: 187.

<sup>108</sup> Heim (2017: 129) offers the following list of potential connections: establishing kinship apart from birth, transfer from outside the family to inside the family, guarantee of inheritance, perpetuating the genius of the paterfamilias, or means of transferring imperial power.

<sup>109</sup> For example, Byrne 1979: 97–103; Scott 1992: 7, 13; Lindsay 2009: 35, 48–54, on Greek adoption practices; Heim 2017: 23, 129, 135–45.

<sup>110</sup> In the LXX, see Josh 18.7; 1 Macc 2.56; Tob 6.13 (in the codices Vaticanus and Alexandrinus). In the NT, see Heb 9.15; 11.8. An extra-biblical source is Epictetus, *Diatr.* 2.7.9. The sources cited typically prefer the parent verb *λαμβάνω*, rather than *ἀπολαμβάνω*, whose connection to inheritance language occurs largely after Paul's lifetime.

<sup>111</sup> On these 'polarities', see Barclay 2015: 253–54.

divergent opinions concerning the means by which one is identified as justified or righteous.<sup>112</sup> (The two terms ‘justified ones’ (δικαιωθέντες) and the ‘righteous’ (δίκαιος) seem to be used by Paul almost synonymously in Gal 3; in any case, both terms belong to the same word family.<sup>113</sup>) Within Gal 3, the polarities which garner the most mentions are: (the reception of) the Spirit versus the (ἔργα) νόμου (Gal 3.2–3, 5, 14);<sup>114</sup> and the blessing versus the curse (Gal 3.9–10, 13–14). Each pole of the most mentioned polarities in Gal 3 may be characterised further as positive (e.g., Spirit and blessing) or negative (e.g., law and curse) and amalgamated into axes (see Figure 4.2, below). To the positive axis, Paul adds the following concepts in Gal 3: the promise, seemingly in polar opposition to the law (Gal 3.14, 16–19, 21–22, 29); and inheritance<sup>115</sup> (Gal 3.15, 18, 29). Paul finally adds both redemption and υἰοθεσία in Gal 4.

Thus, when υἰοθεσία in Gal 4 refers the reader back to Gal 3 via the inheritance, there is an encounter with a nexus of terms—promise, blessing, and the Spirit—that has grown out of Paul’s original discussion of how one is justified (Gal 2.16).<sup>116</sup> Paul uses this network to describe further the identity of those justified. The ones who are justified or righteous are according to Paul the same ones who have received the Spirit, the same ones who are blessed with Abraham, the same ones who have received the promise(s), and the same ones who have been granted the inheritance. All of this builds upon the ‘revivification framework’ of Gal 2.19–20 where the transformation of identity is described in terms of

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<sup>112</sup> Cf. Murray 2012: 78, 112, on ἐκ and διά as prepositions of means in Gal 2.16.

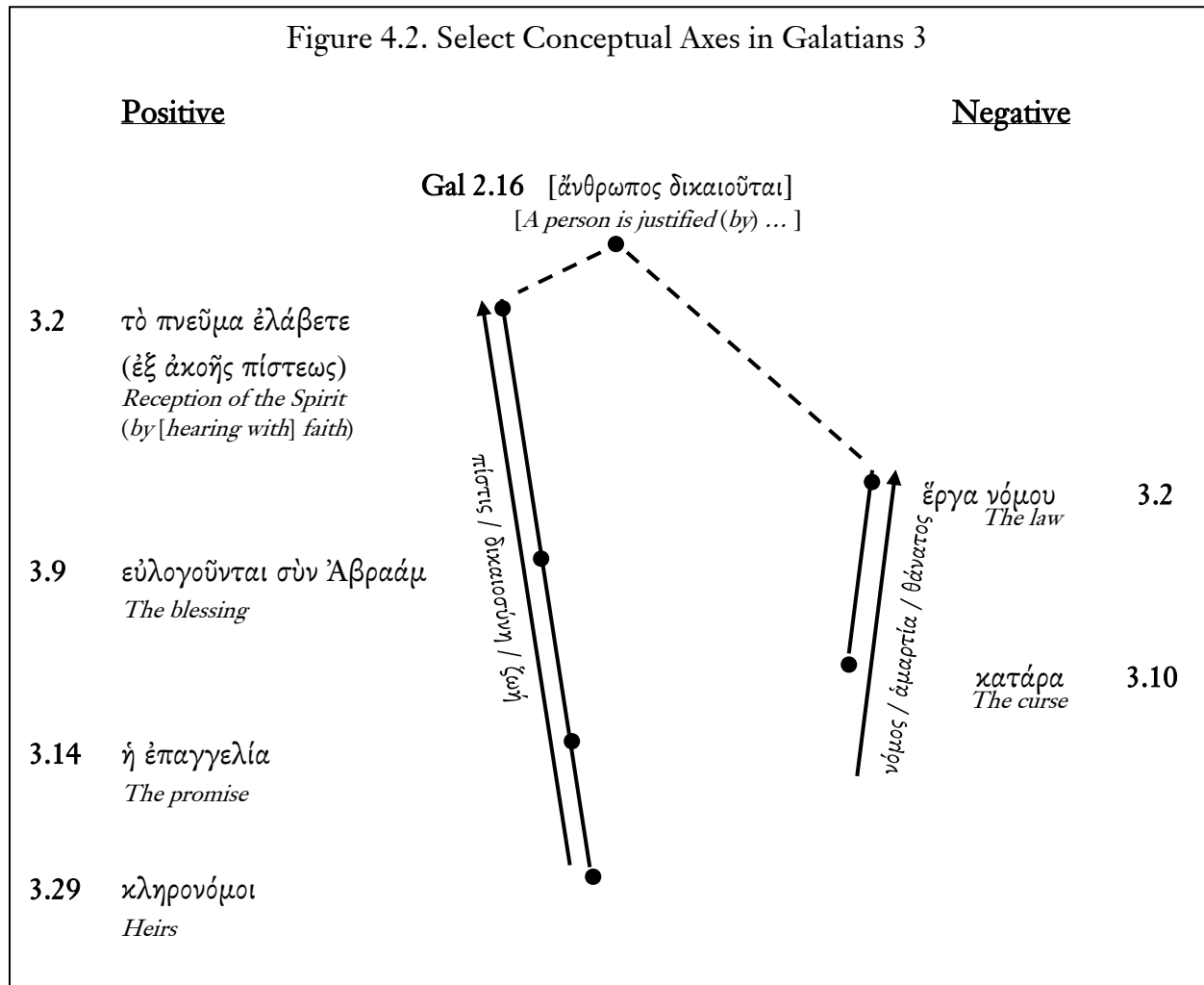
<sup>113</sup> Cf. L&N §§34.46–47, pp. 452–53.

<sup>114</sup> To both sides of this polarity should be added two important attendants: to the Spirit, ἀκοή πίστεως (‘hearing with faith’); to the law, σάρξ (the ‘flesh’).

<sup>115</sup> There is perhaps implicit polarization of inheritance and ‘nullification’ (ἀθέτησις; cf. ἀθετέω in Gal 2.21; see esp. Gal 3.15).

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Fatehi 2000: 216–19 on the close interrelationship of Gal 2, 3, and 4, and esp. how Gal 4 is closely linked to the ‘living’ motifs in Gal 2.19–20.

the imagery of life and death.<sup>117</sup> Death comes through law, and as Andrew Boakye has demonstrated, ‘life to God’ is shorthand for resurrection. Paul refers here to present animation by the risen Jesus, which propels his discussion of the identity of the justified in the subsequent chapters.



Because the identity of the justified is interspersed with elements of life-giving for Paul (Gal 2.19–20; 3.11, 21), a point the apostle emphasises by the consensus that none is justified by the law, life-giving is also therefore a critical accompaniment to the further descriptions of the justified or righteous in Gal 3–4. The positive axis is importantly

<sup>117</sup> The language of ‘death’ or ‘crucifixion’ occurs four times in Gal 2.19–21: ἀποθνήσκω (bis, Gal 2.19, 21); συσταυρόω (Gal 2.19); and figuratively, παραδίδωμι (Gal 2.20). Likewise, the verb ζῶ occurs five times in Gal 2.19–20. See Boakye 2017: 106–10.

correlated with the impartation of life for the righteous. So then, when Paul's readers were informed that they had received *υιοθεσία* as the fulfilment of Jesus' sending by God (the Father), minimal processing effort was required to connect the concept of receiving *υιοθεσία* with the inheritance and the positive-axis terms of Gal 3. As descriptors of the justified or righteous, the positive-axis terms accompanied the giving of life, allowing Paul's Galatian readers efficiently to connect the giving of life with their reception of *υιοθεσία*.

Finally, Paul establishes a link between *υιοθεσία* and the label 'son(s)' in Gal 4.6–7. This link occurs in the context of the mission of Jesus, the Son sent by God (the Father). In fact, *υιοθεσία* in tandem with redemption is seen as the ultimate fulfilment of Jesus' sending. The Son is sent ultimately so that 'we might receive *υιοθεσία*', Paul writes in Gal 4.5. Immediately after, Paul references and relays the result of the sonship of his Galatian readers. He writes, 'Because you are sons, God sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts crying, "Abba Father"'! ("Οτι δέ έστε υιοί, έξαπέστειλεν ό θεός τò πνεϋμα τοϋ υιοϋ αϋτοϋ εις τας καρδιας ημῶν κρᾶζον· αββα ό πατήρ, Gal 4.6). The link to sonship is made even stronger by appeal to divine fatherhood. As a result of *υιοθεσία*, Paul and his Galatian readers are now sons, and may freely relate to God as Father through the Spirit. In relating to God as Father, the incipient *υιοί* imitate Jesus by their address of God both as Abba and as Father.<sup>118</sup>

Not only that, but Paul and his Galatian readers 'receive' *υιοθεσία* from Jesus. The term *ἀπολαμβάνω* is an intriguing one. BDAG gives the gloss 'to obtain [something] from a source' (BDAG, 115). Jesus is the source of *υιοθεσία*, which begs the question, 'What

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<sup>118</sup> Cf. Dunn 1973: 54; see also Chapter 3.2, above.

exactly does Jesus provide for Paul and his Galatian readers?’ In this instance, adoption would not make much sense, because Jesus would not be in the normal position of adopting; if the metaphor were to make sense, Paul would place God (the Father) in this position. I propose that Jesus as source of *υιοθεσία* imparts to Paul and his Galatian readers a sonship like his. Jesus possesses the prior sonship in that he is sent from the Father to impart sonship to Paul and his Galatian readers. Paul and his Galatian readers imitate the sonship of Jesus by addressing God in the language and style of Jesus. Finally, the verb used to impart *υιοθεσία* contains the idea of source, with Jesus as the subject of the verb. Paul and his Galatian readers derive their sonship from Jesus, the Son sent by God.

#### *4.2.1.3. Sonship and the Sending of the Spirit*

The Spirit’s role in the divine sonship of those ‘in Christ’ has elicited differing views among recent interpreters of the apostle Paul. A strand of Pauline scholarship seems to argue that divine sonship is tantamount to the reception of the Spirit.<sup>119</sup> Grammatically, the equation of the Spirit’s reception with sonship is possible by reading the term *υιοθεσία* (in the phrase *ἀλλ’ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα υιοθεσίας*, Rom 8.15) as a genitive of apposition, rendering the phrase ‘but you received the Spirit, that is to say, sonship’.<sup>120</sup> The difficulty of this grammatical solution is that one must equate the full verb phrase—rather than simply the noun *πνεῦμα*—with the genitive *υιοθεσίας*, so that the approximate equality would follow:

*ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα ≅ υιοθεσία*

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<sup>119</sup> Cf. Dunn 1999: 84; Kim 2014: 140, who writes, ‘believers ... become sons of God in the way they receive the spirit of adoption’, ...

<sup>120</sup> On the genitive of apposition, cf. BDF §167, pp. 92–93; Wallace 1996: 95–100.

by which is meant that receiving the Spirit is (approximately) equal to *υιοθεσία*. However, the likelihood of this (approximate) equation is reduced due to the nature of the genitive of apposition. Normally, the genitive of apposition only relates to the head noun (in the case of Rom 8.15, *πνεῦμα*), so that *υιοθεσία* in genitive apposition to *πνεῦμα* would render the phrase ‘the Spirit, which is sonship’ rather than conveying the fuller, verbal idea ‘the reception of the Spirit, which is sonship’.<sup>121</sup>

Another way of linking the sonship of Paul and his addressees largely to the reception of the Spirit is to posit Jesus’ sonship as the pattern with respect to the Spirit for the sonship of Paul and his readers. If the sonship of Jesus is constituted and determined by the Spirit, and Jesus’ sonship is the paradigm for the sonship of Paul and his readers, then it logically follows that the sonship of Paul and his readers is also constituted and determined by the Spirit. James Dunn has argued thus by reducing<sup>122</sup> Paul’s understanding of Jesus’ sonship to (the reception of) the Holy Spirit, when he writes: ‘Jesus’ possession and experience of the Spirit is what Paul called Jesus’ sonship ... The “deity” of the earthly Jesus is a function of the Spirit, is, in fact, no more and no less than the Holy Spirit’.<sup>123</sup> Then, with the broader NT understanding of Jesus as both *ἀρχηγός* (outside the Pauline corpus) and *ἀπαρχή* (cf. 1 Cor 15.20, 23) for those who follow him, one may naturally conclude that the sonship of Jesus’ followers—viz., Paul and his addressees—is likewise ‘no more and no less than the [reception of] the Holy Spirit’.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> The genitive of apposition is an adjectival construct, not an adverbial one. For further discussion, see n. 228, below.

<sup>122</sup> Dunn is careful to offer caveats regarding anachronism and the later theological debates over Trinitarian orthodoxy—he claims for example that Paul would have used different wording had he been writing during the later Sabellian controversies.

<sup>123</sup> Classically stated in Dunn 1973: 58.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Scott 1992: 260–63; Wenham 1995: 346–48. Arguing thus would suggest that other entailments of



To make sonship equivalent with (the reception of) the Spirit, however, does not quite do justice either to Paul's argument, or to the role of the Spirit in Gal 3–4. If sonship amounts to the reception of the Spirit, why would Paul opt for the term *υιοθεσία*? In terms of RT, *υιοθεσία* for the reception of the Spirit would require too much processing effort on the part of Paul's addressees. Metaphorically, *υιοθεσία* does not seem to conjure mental simulations of the Spirit, but rather inheritance, status, and (ultimately) life. It seems to me that identifying sonship with the reception of the Spirit diminishes the explanatory power of *υιοθεσία* in Gal 4. If sonship amounts to the reception of the Spirit, Paul would then be conflating too closely Jesus' experience of the Spirit with his own experience and that of his readers. Rather, Paul avoids such conflation by referring to the Spirit as the Spirit of Jesus (i.e., 'the Spirit of his Son', Gal 4.6), keeping the Spirit and Jesus to one side of the proverbial ledger, and Paul and his addressees to the other. Nor would Jesus have any 'intrinsic qualities as God's Son' if his sonship is constituted and determined by the Spirit.<sup>125</sup>

Lastly, the identity of sonship with the reception of the Spirit seems to confuse the Spirit's role in Paul's discourse. It is not the Spirit, but God (the Father) who takes the initiative and wilfully brings Paul and his readers into new relationship with him as sons. Important though the reception of the Spirit for the identity of the justified may be, Paul writes of the Spirit as the intermediate agent, and not the ultimate agent, of the sonship mediated to the apostle and his readers. Thus, to paint Paul's varicoloured portrayal of the derived sonship of his addressees with the monochrome palette of the reception of the

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Pauline divine sonship (e.g., the inheritance and change of status) also essentially equal the reception of the Spirit.

<sup>125</sup> The quoted text is that of Coulson 2017: 78.

Spirit is to underplay key elements of the apostle's argument. Indeed, Paul links the Spirit to sonship at a considerable remove (Gal 4.6) from his commencement of the topic of sonship in Gal 2.<sup>126</sup> When Paul at last emphasises the link between the Spirit and the sonship of himself and his addressees in Gal 4, it seems best to say that this reception of the Spirit is the evidence of the sonship of Paul and his readers, rather than its equal.<sup>127</sup>

An important facet of the Spirit's evidentiary role further defines the mediating agency of the Spirit in the sonship of Paul and his Galatian readers. One should note that Paul portrays God (the Father) as the initiator of sonship, and that God initiates sonship through the Spirit.<sup>128</sup> If the Spirit does not wilfully make sons of Paul and his addressees, nonetheless the Spirit is active as the binding and transferring agent of Paul and his addressees from their former status as slaves to the status of divine sons. The metaphorical language suggests that sonship is not a natural filiation or an attribute rightfully belonging to Paul and his Galatian readers.<sup>129</sup> Sonship is derived from the Father's own Son, Jesus. Therefore, the reception of the Spirit means that the Spirit binds Paul and his Galatian readers to Jesus, uniting the cry of their hearts and effecting the transference to sonship that Paul describes via metaphorical language.<sup>130</sup> The Spirit brings Paul and his Galatian readers from the status of slaves to the status of sons. The result of the sending of the Spirit by the Father into the hearts of Paul and his Galatian readers is that they are no longer slaves, but sons!<sup>131</sup> The Galatians have been transferred out of their former status

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<sup>126</sup> Cf. Gal 2.20d, where Paul writes of living in the Son of God by faith: ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῆ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ.

<sup>127</sup> So Burke 1998: 317 n. 28; Fatehi 2000: 217.

<sup>128</sup> Paul conceives of the Father's initiative by use of his sending language. God sent his Son in order that we might receive υἰοθεσία (Gal 4.4–5), and God sent the Spirit who inspires the 'Abba!' cry.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Dunn 1999: 83.

<sup>130</sup> Payot and Roulet (1987: 106) comment: 'L'Esprit ... nous lie au Christ ("en Christ", Ga 3, 26.28) de telle manière que l'attribut qui vaut pour le Christ: "Fils", devient vrai pour nous'.

<sup>131</sup> Gal 4:7a: ὥστε οὐκέτι εἶ δοῦλος ἀλλ' υἱός. Cf. similar language in Rom 8.15. See also Kim 2014: 140–42.

into their current filial status by the Spirit, the intermediate agent who binds the slaves—*cum*—sons to Jesus.

Paul binds Jesus and the Spirit closely together by his description of the Spirit as ‘the Spirit of his [i.e., (God) the Father’s] Son’ (τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, Gal 4.6). Aligned closely with the earlier arguments of Max Turner, Mehrdad Fatehi contends that ‘the Spirit of his Son’ refers to the Spirit’s ‘capacity of mediating the risen Son’s active presence and power’, rather than demonstrating the imprint of the character of Jesus upon the Spirit, and consequently, upon those in whom the Spirit works and in whose hearts the Spirit cries the ‘Abba!’ cry in close imitation of Jesus.<sup>132</sup> By linking the Spirit’s description in Gal 4.6 to the programmatic statements of Gal 2.15–21 (esp. Gal 2.19–20), Fatehi maintains that the risen Jesus lives the resurrection life in Paul and his Galatian readers through the mediating indwelling of the Spirit. The mediation of the risen Jesus’ presence by the Spirit is further developed according to Fatehi in Paul’s declaration that his Galatian readers have ‘put on Christ’ in Gal 3.26–29. Lastly, Fatehi rightly notes the source of the ‘Abba!’ cry—the Spirit.<sup>133</sup> That the Spirit addresses God as Father could make Paul vulnerable to the charge of confusing the roles of Son and Spirit as they relate to the Father. Fatehi claims Paul’s avoidance of such a charge by stating that the Son is the one making the cry through the mediating presence of the Spirit.

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<sup>132</sup> Fatehi 2000: 216, emphasis omitted. See further Turner 1994: 433–34; Fatehi 2000: 215–20. I too am dubious that Paul’s primary reference is to Jesus somehow defining the Spirit; *pace* Dunn 1989: 145–46. However, elsewhere Dunn argues not so differently than (though also not as precisely as) Turner and Fatehi. Cf. Dunn 1973: 66, where he writes that after the resurrection, Jesus ‘continues to be present with his disciples as Spirit’.

<sup>133</sup> The neuter participle κρᾶζον, usually translated ‘crying’, accords with the neuter noun πνεῦμα to which it refers. Cf. De Boer 2011: 266. However, Paul’s attribution of the cry to the Spirit need not indicate that Jesus is behind the cry, rather than the Spirit. By κρᾶζω may be meant the Spirit’s inspiration of the cry to the Father within the hearts of the newly related ‘sons’. See further Schlier 1971: 198–99 n. 2; Dunn 1999: 85, 91; *pace* Fatehi 2000: 219–20.

Fatehi has done well in emphasising the living (i.e., resurrected) Jesus behind Paul's phrase 'the Spirit of his Son' and in connecting this phrase to the relevant passages in Gal 2–3, especially to the motifs of life-giving in Gal 2.19–20. However, it is not clear to me that Fatehi's view of the Spirit as mediator of the living Jesus' presence is somehow contradictory to or exclusive of the view that the Spirit is the channel of Jesus' imprinting upon the 'sons', as Fatehi maintains. Rather, it seems both views could be complementary. In God's (i.e., the Father's) sending of the Spirit as a result<sup>134</sup> of Galatian sonship ('Ὅτι δέ ἐστε υἱοί, ἐξῆπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ ...', Gal 4.6), Jesus instils his character through the indwelling presence of the Spirit to the 'sons' who derive their sonship from him, the unique Son. Evidence may be adduced for Jesus imprinting his character upon the 'sons' through the Spirit: the 'sons' may now address God in the same fashion as Jesus (αββα ὁ πατήρ, Gal 4.6; cf. Mark 14.36 parr.);<sup>135</sup> Paul's Galatian readers may now enjoy the classification of 'son' with the concomitant rights to the inheritance, shared with Jesus (Gal 3.29; 4.7, 30); and Paul can speak later to his Galatian readers of Jesus being 'formed in you' (μέχρις οὗ μορφωθῆ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, Gal 4.19b).<sup>136</sup> Both claims can be true simultaneously: Jesus imprints his character upon the Galatians through the Spirit, and the Spirit mediates Jesus' presence to the Galatian sons.

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<sup>134</sup> God's sending of the Spirit follows the ὅτι-clause that begins Gal 4.6. Cf. Moule 1959: 147; Moulton, Howard, and Turner 1963: 3.345; Zerwick 1963: §419, p. 143; Klaiber 2013: 126; von Siebenthal 2019: §277, pp. 517–19.

<sup>135</sup> Only Mark includes the Aramaism ἄββα, which appears to be textually certain. The other parr. include the vocative πάτερ.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. Zimmermann 2013: 76, who writes: 'Den Identitätswechsel zu Söhnen Gottes und die Integration in die Gottesfamilie verdeutlicht Paulus in Gal 4,1-7, indem er nun ausführt, dass die Glaubenden nicht nur "in Christus" und mit Christus "umkleidet" sind, sondern dass sie zugleich den Geist (Christi) in sich aufgenommen haben und durch dieses "in Christus"-Sein und die Aufnahme des Geistes im Herzen nun wirkliche, weil mündige "Kinder Gottes" sind, die Gott als "Vater" anrufen'.

#### 4.2.2. Romans 8

Romans 8 is like Galatians 4 in certain ways.<sup>137</sup> Paul repeats in Rom 8 a ‘pattern of thought’ first established in Gal 4: God sends his Son to ameliorate the circumstances of the human condition.<sup>138</sup> In both places, the Father ‘sends’ (aorist forms of ἐξαποστέλλω in Gal 4.4, πέμπω in Rom 8.3) the Son. The Son of the Father assumes certain characteristics of fallen humanity: he is ‘born of a woman’ (γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός) in Gal 4.4, and ‘in the likeness of sinful flesh’ (ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας) in Rom 8.3. Leander Keck reveals the larger pattern in these two chapters:

sending of the Son → soteriological result → ‘sons of God’ → Abba → heirs

Paul expands the pattern in Rom 8 by his discussion of life by the Spirit, and of the shared inheritance with Jesus. Keck concludes that in Rom 8, Paul appears ‘to appropriate a traditional way of speaking about God’s Son, as well as to rework his own pattern of thought’<sup>139</sup> first outlined in Gal 4.

Interpreters have usually placed Romans 8 in a larger section (Rom 5.1–8.39) which treats of the life of those who have been justified in Jesus. In fact, some have seen Rom 8 as the resumption of ζήσεται in the quotation of Hab 2.4 (Rom 1.17), a quotation regarded by some as thematic for the whole epistle.<sup>140</sup> Generally, interpreters divide Romans 8 into three or four subsections. The first (and by some reckonings, a second) subsection (Rom 8.1–17) contrasts the flesh and the Spirit, who is introduced as the ‘Spirit of life’ (Rom 8.2)

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<sup>137</sup> Cf. Payot and Roulet 1987: 125–27; Moo 2013: 264.

<sup>138</sup> This paragraph is indebted to Keck 1980: 44–45.

<sup>139</sup> Keck 1980: 45.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. Byrne 1979: 87–91, esp. 88 n. 33. Paul also quotes from Hab 2.4 in Gal 3.11, a pattern of thought resumed in the discussion of sonship in Gal 4.

and linked with the ‘sons of God’ (Rom 8.14) in Jesus. The second (or third) subsection (Rom 8.18–30) discusses the hopeful suffering of the ‘children of God’ which will lead ultimately to their glory with Jesus, the unique Son. The final subsection concludes the argument of the larger section (Rom 5.1–8.39) in a discourse on the secure position of the ‘children of God’ in Jesus.<sup>141</sup>

The opening theme of Rom 8 sounds from its first verse: ‘there is no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus, for the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has freed you from the law of sin and death’ (Οὐδὲν ἄρα νῦν κατάκριμα τοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. ὁ γὰρ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἠλευθέρωσέν σε ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἀμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου, Rom 8.1–2).<sup>142</sup> One may detect life-giving motifs at the outset: Paul declares *no κατάκριμα*, a word that Frederick William Danker interprets as the pronouncement of a death sentence.<sup>143</sup> One should not rule as accidental the fact that the opening statement of Rom 8 closely follows Rom 7.24b;<sup>144</sup> Paul answers the question of the second with the

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<sup>141</sup> Representative of this structural layout are Cranfield 1975: 1.28–29; Jewett 2007: viii; Moo 2018: 316–23.

<sup>142</sup> I will discuss Rom 8.2 in some detail in Chapter 4.2.2.1, below.

<sup>143</sup> Citing Roman jurisprudence, Danker argues that Paul’s use of *κατάκριμα* in Rom 5.16, 18 encompasses both the Roman legal concepts of *condemnatio* and *actio iudicati*, i.e., pronouncement and execution of the sentence. See Danker 1972: 105–106, esp. n. 3. Cf. *TDNT* 3.951–52; Keck 1980: 42, where he refers to *κατάκριμα* as God’s ‘negative verdict on human life’; Jewett 2007: 472; Venter 2014: 292; Kowalski 2021: 263, who ties the freedom from *κατάκριμα* to an implication of ‘eternal life and resurrection’.

<sup>144</sup> τίς με ῥύσεται ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ θανάτου τούτου; The issue of which substantive the demonstrative pronoun modifies may rest upon its function. If οὗτος is functioning here anaphorically, then the previous context (where Paul develops body-like imagery though without using the actual word *σῶμα*; cf. esp. Rom 7.23, in which Paul might intend μέλη [τοῦ σώματος]; in Rom 7.14–23 some have posited that σάρξ = *σῶμα*) dictates the translation of the final phrase as ‘this body of death’; cf. Cranfield 1975: 1.366–67; Wolter 2014: 462 n. 75. If, however, the pronoun functions proleptically, the mention of *κατάκριμα* in Rom 8.1 and the successive life-and-death contrast imagery may necessitate the translation as ‘the body of this death’; so Moulton, Howard, and Turner 1963: 3.214, where Turner treats the construction as a Semitism. The term *θάνατος* also occurs in Rom 7.5, 10, 13 (*bis*). In any case, Paul relates *σῶμα* and *θάνατος* closely enough that one may claim credibly that Rom 7.24 falls within a passage freighted with death imagery to which *κατάκριμα* (as ‘death sentence’) in Rom 8.1 contributes. Cf. Stowers 1994: 282; Longenecker 2005: 88–93; Giesen 2009: 183; Eastman 2014: 109, who writes: ‘the singular “you” [σε] in 8.2 must be given its due force; the deliverance from condemnation brings good news precisely to the singular “I” that laments in Rom 7:7–24, crying out, “Who will deliver me from this body of death?”’ See also King 2017: 262–64.

statement of the first. Those who are ‘in Christ Jesus’ (Rom 8.1) receive deliverance from the ‘body of death’ (Rom 7.24b) in the form of a nullification of the *κατάκριμα*.<sup>145</sup> The ‘body of death’ imagery that concludes Rom 7 evokes for Christian Grappe the cry of despair of those in the first Adam, which Paul transforms into the cry of deliverance for those in the second Adam, viz., Jesus.<sup>146</sup> Instances of life-giving continue throughout the remainder of Rom 8. The triadic nature of these motifs is what I would like to emphasise in the following discussion, especially as these motifs relate to: (i) identifying descriptions for the Father; (ii) Paul’s portrayal of the Spirit’s role in resurrection and similar life-giving; and particularly (iii) the sonship both of Jesus and of the apostle and his addressees. Following the opening statement of Rom 8.1–2, we shall see that Paul treats his readers to a series of contrasts in which the life-giving Father offers decisive victory over death to those who participate in the benefits of his Son. But first we need to clarify more precisely how Paul portrays the relationship between Jesus as Son and the sonship of Paul and his readers. Only after we have clarified this matter will it be possible to discuss how life-giving is integral to the discussion of Rom 8.

#### *4.2.2.1. Sonship Derived and Distinguished*

The final phrase of Rom 8.1 (ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ) has occasioned voluminous scholarship, the meticulous analysis of which goes well beyond the scope of this chapter. Nonetheless, close examination of the ‘in Christ’ motif in Rom 8 is important for my argument at this juncture

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<sup>145</sup> Some have argued that to be ‘in Christ’ is to be cut off from the former existence dominated by sin and death. Cf. Grappe 2002: 488, citing the work of Brendan Byrne. Cf. Byrne 1996: 235.

<sup>146</sup> Grappe 2002: esp. 475, where Grappe links this transformation with the creative act of God, ‘[qui] donne au premier homme, corps mort, d’accéder à la vie’. Cf. Vollenweider 1989: 346.

because Paul links the phrase to the relation of himself and his readers to God as Father. Rather than wade into an extended discussion of ‘in Christ’ language in Paul’s letters, I would like to focus upon two recent proposals: what has been called the ‘encheiristic’<sup>147</sup> use; and the more widely-held participation/union use. In a recent monograph, Teresa Morgan has argued that Paul’s ‘in Christ’ language can best be interpreted as ‘in the hands of Christ’: those who are ‘in Christ’ are his responsibility, under his authority, or in his care. Morgan sees the ‘in Christ’ language of Rom 8 as closely linked to similar language and themes in Rom 6–7. The corollary of the life ‘in Christ’ that Paul and his readers now experience is that they have died to the (for Morgan, Mosaic) law, which had formerly held sway over them. Paul and his readers are hence freed to serve (i.e., ‘bear fruit to’) God, a connection Morgan draws from Rom 7.4: ‘so then, my brothers and sisters, you also were put to death to the law through the body of Christ, so that you might belong to another—that is, to the one raised from the dead—in order that we might bear fruit to God’ (ὥστε, ἀδελφοί μου, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐθανατώθητε τῷ νόμῳ διὰ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς ἑτέρῳ, τῷ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγερθέντι, ἵνα καρποφορήσωμεν τῷ θεῷ). Morgan argues that the ‘encheiristic’ use of Paul’s ‘in Christ’ language ‘makes good sense’ in light of this context of service, therefore translating Rom 8.1 as ‘there is no condemnation for those who are in the hands of Christ Jesus’.<sup>148</sup> Her argument comes to a natural conclusion in her treatment of Rom 8.2: ‘By living in Christ’s power and under his authority, the Romans

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<sup>147</sup> This adjective is close to the Greek ἐγχειρέω, a Septuagintal verb occurring in LXX at 2 Chr 23.18; Jer 18.22; 28.51. Morgan notes the proximity of the adjective to the phrase ἐν [τῇ] χειρὶ [τοῦ/τῆς] (‘in [the] hand [of]’; the plural is ἐν [ταῖς] χερσὶ(ν) [τῶν], ‘in [the] hands [of]’). On the choice of ‘encheiristic’, see Morgan 2020: 14.

<sup>148</sup> Morgan 2020: 84.



are freed from the law and empowered to serve Christ'.<sup>149</sup>

Morgan's position is to be commended. She has, for instance, drawn attention to the influence of Deissmann on later interpreters of 'in Christ' language in the letters of Paul (whether or not his negative bias toward the 'encheiristic' meaning of the preposition ἐν is responsible for its enduring neglect). I welcome her contention that Paul's usage of ἐν (+ the dative) can be compared profitably with that of his contemporaries. Her advocacy of the 'encheiristic' meaning also gives good sense to some passages that could otherwise be murky to interpreters. For instance, Paul writes in 2 Cor 13.4b, 'for we also are weak in him [i.e., Jesus], but in our dealings with you, we will live with him by the power of God' (καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀσθενοῦμεν ἐν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ ζήσομεν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς). What Paul means by being 'weak in' Jesus is not exactly clear.<sup>150</sup> To this interpretive conundrum, Morgan offers the following interpretation based upon the 'encheiristic' reading: 'it is because he will live, and, in fact, already lives in Christ's hands and allows himself to be weak in relation to Christ's power and authority, that Paul is able to exercise authority over the Corinthians for their good'.<sup>151</sup> Nonetheless, Morgan leaves a few important questions unanswered. It seems to me that the advocate of the 'encheiristic' reading should seek to explain who Jesus is, what space he inhabits or what is the realm over which he exercises dominion, what responsibility he shoulders, and what care and power he exercises. Morgan's argument could benefit from answers to such questions.

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<sup>149</sup> Morgan 2020: 84.

<sup>150</sup> Paul's meaning is further obscured by a variant reading: σὺν αὐτῷ is read in **⊗** A F G pc r sy<sup>p</sup> bo. The reading ἐν αὐτῷ has the stronger external support and is found in B D K L P Ψ 0243 0278 33 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1739 1881 2464 **Ⓜ** ar vg sy<sup>h</sup> sa Ambst. The first reading can also be explained as assimilation to σὺν αὐτῷ near the end of the verse. See further Harris 2005: 905 n. f.

<sup>151</sup> Morgan 2020: 147.

Hers is not the only contemporary view of ἐν Χριστῷ in Paul's writings, however.

The participatory nature of 'in Christ' language (esp. in Rom 8) has been well-documented in the secondary literature.<sup>152</sup> Though the adherents of participation or union vary widely in their conclusions, some preliminary points of consensus may be mentioned.<sup>153</sup> By 'participation in Christ' is generally meant participation in or union with the person of Jesus (upon which Romans 8 offers some intriguing developments), though other elements of participation may obtain, such as participation in Jesus' 'body', or participation in Jesus' 'narrative'.<sup>154</sup> Furthermore, most interpreters who favour participation or union reject meanings that seek to dissolve the personal distinctions between Christ and those 'in' him. In general, their interpretations require a locative (or, occasionally an instrumental) function for ἐν. Campbell is representative of the locative view when he argues that to be 'in Christ' means to be located in the 'sphere' or 'realm' of Christ as key concepts for Paul's use of the phrase.<sup>155</sup> Campbell intends that participation in Christ signifies living 'within the spiritual sphere of [Christ's] dominion' wherein those who are 'in Christ' are characterised by submission to his lordship.<sup>156</sup>

Morgan challenges the prevailing participatory view of Paul's 'in Christ' language by scrutinising its philological basis, which she traces back to Deissmann. She believes

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<sup>152</sup> Recent examples include Campbell 2009: 66–67, 817–20; Gorman 2009: esp. 40–103; Campbell 2012: 29–30, 412–14, where he posits the replacement of 'participation' with the fuller 'union, participation, identification, incorporation'; Macaskill 2013: 219–50; idem, 2014: 95–99; Wright 2013: 2.825–35 (where he prefers the figure 'incorporative' in lieu of strictly 'participatory'), 2.857 n. 239; Eastman 2014: 113–16; Vanhoozer 2014: 6–7; Barclay 2015: 347, 367; Watson 2016: 33; McCaulley 2019: 144–90.

<sup>153</sup> Adherents may use both 'participation' and 'union' to describe their position because the former captures dynamic elements that the phrase can convey, while the latter represents static elements.

<sup>154</sup> Cf. Campbell 2012: 408 n.5 (and the sources he cites there), 413; Harris 2012: 122–31.

<sup>155</sup> Campbell 2012: 73, 119–20, 408. Here, Campbell (2012: 408) defines the 'realm of Christ' as 'an eschatological entity in which the future age of righteousness has broken into the present world, set in opposition to the realm of sin and death'.

<sup>156</sup> Campbell 2012: 408.

Deissmann’s judgment of the ‘encheiristic’ reading as ‘specialized, rare, or simply a minor form of the psychological meaning’ of ἐν has unduly influenced later interpreters of Paul.<sup>157</sup> Morgan’s claim of Deissmann’s philological influence on later interpreters is, however, difficult to assess. Certain current trends seem to point in the opposite direction to Morgan’s argument. For instance, a recent collection of essays on ‘in Christ’ language in the writings of Paul devotes but one page to Deissmann—one page, I might add, where pains are taken to reject his philological understanding of ‘in Christ’.<sup>158</sup> To be sure, recent interpreters of Paul have largely ignored the ‘encheiristic’ reading of ἐν, but it is not clear to me that philological reasons are responsible for their disregard, nor that Deissmann is behind it.<sup>159</sup> It seems to me rather that Deissmann is the source for modern, critical analysis of the phrase ἐν Χριστῷ, of which his philology formed a part, and that his work spurred later interpreters to conduct their own analyses and form their own conclusions.

Morgan further argues that recent participation/union interpretations of Paul’s ‘in Christ’ language ‘suffer from two difficulties’: first, ‘in Christ’ as participation or union with the person of Christ has little explanatory power; second, to justify the participation/union reading some interpreters have broadened the idea to such an extent that it becomes empty of any distinctive content.<sup>160</sup> I tend to agree with her framing of the

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<sup>157</sup> So Morgan 2020: 17. Morgan (2020: 15) writes that in Deissmann’s taxonomy, ἐν assumes a ‘psychological’ meaning when the action of the ἐν–phrase takes place in one’s own mind. Deissmann provides a psychological example of ἐν (with which Morgan concurs) from Xenophon, *Anab.* 1.5.17: ‘On hearing these words Clearchus *came to his senses*, and both parties ceased from their quarrel and returned to their quarters’ (ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο καὶ παυσάμενοι ἀμφοτέροι κατὰ χώραν ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα). The citation with translation comes from Brownson 1998: 98–99, emphasis added.

<sup>158</sup> Vanhoozer 2014: 5, who eschews Deissmann’s consistently locative interpretation of ‘in Christ’ language in Paul as curious and stilted. Nor does Campbell mention Deissmann’s philology in his analysis of Deissmann’s position. See Campbell 2012: 32–34.

<sup>159</sup> In fact, according to Morgan (2020: 17), most interpreters of Paul have rejected Deissmann’s own reading of ἐν Χριστῷ in Paul, finding Deissmann’s interpretation unconvincing.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. Morgan 2020: 8, where she gives the following examples: ‘in Christ’ includes ‘being with Christ, in faith, in the church, in the people of God, in a body, a marriage, or a temple’.

first difficulty: to participate in some *thing* is understood readily enough; to participate in someone evades explanation, and Morgan has rightly called attention to this void in the secondary literature. Her argument is, however, itself in danger of succumbing to the second difficulty: she has sometimes made the ‘encheiristic’ reading so inclusive as to become almost a cypher.<sup>161</sup> But this proclivity to broadening the concept of ‘in Christ’ may be due to three factors: the uncanny flexibility of the preposition ἐν, the nature of exegetical investigation, and deliberate ambiguity on the part of the apostle Paul.<sup>162</sup> To confine the meaning of ‘in Christ’ to a narrow set of meanings has proven to be quite an undertaking. Perhaps Paul uses the ambiguity of ‘in Christ’ language deliberately and to his advantage, capturing several ideas in a single phrase.<sup>163</sup>

Both the ‘encheiristic’ reading and the participation/union reading of ἐν Χριστῷ have their merits, and I would like to select from their respective strengths to suggest another way of reading the phrase as it pertains to Rom 8, drawing from the immediate context what the phrase may describe. I suggest that the phrase ‘in Christ’ at least partly describes participating in Jesus’ identity as Son, i.e., participation in his sonship.<sup>164</sup> Those whom Paul labels as ‘in Christ Jesus’ in Rom 8 have a new identity that corresponds to

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<sup>161</sup> For example, Morgan 2020: 84, where in her discussion of Rom 8, she argues that those who are ‘in the hands of Christ Jesus’ are ‘living in Christ’s power and under his authority’, which seems to me a slight broadening of the term and a conflation of two distinct meanings.

<sup>162</sup> Thus, I question Morgan’s ‘assumption that the phrase [ἐν Χριστῷ] means something *per se*’, if by this she means the phrase has one meaning *in itself* (Morgan 2020: 10, emphasis retained). Rather, Paul seems to use the phrase multifunctionally, and sometimes with deliberate ambiguity. See the conclusions of Campbell 2012: 68–73. On the plasticity of ἐν, see also Murray 2012: 116–17, who cites 2 Cor 6.4b–7a and 1 Tim 3.16 as illustrative passages for the versatility of the preposition.

<sup>163</sup> Cf. similar ambiguity in Paul’s use of ἐν κυρίῳ in Rom 14.14. Paul does not necessarily explain what he means by ἐν Χριστῷ; i.e., he does not define the phrase. Rather, he describes different aspects of the phrase, which can be determined contextually.

<sup>164</sup> I wish to stress that I am applying my suggested reading only to the context of Rom 8, though it could pertain to other places in the NT. After all, I have just mentioned that the phrase may contain several ideas simultaneously.

that of Jesus, which the apostle describes in part by a cluster of compounds constructed from the preposition *σύν*, especially first-person plural *συν-* verbs and plural *συν-* substantives and adjectives: they are the fellow heirs of Jesus, participating in his own inheritance as Son (*συγκληρονόμοι Χριστοῦ*, Rom 8.17); they also share in his own suffering and glorification (*συμπάσχομεν ... καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν*, Rom 8.17);<sup>165</sup> they are conformed to the image of the Son (*συμμόρφους*, Rom 8.29);<sup>166</sup> they will receive the gifting of all things with the Son, whom God (the Father) has already given and did not spare (*ὅς [i.e., ὁ θεός, Rom 8.31] γε τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πάντων παρέδωκεν αὐτόν, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα ἡμῖν χαρίζεται*; Rom 8.32); and they share (*αββα ὁ πατήρ*, Rom 8.15) in what may be understood as Jesus' own 'vocative communication with God'.<sup>167</sup> By this construction, one can discern in Paul's argument a directional flow—the new identity which the apostle and his readers now enjoy comes to them from Jesus. That is, the sonship of Paul and his readers (and the attendant blessings thereof—divine heritage, glorification, conformation, etc.) derives from Jesus and sharing 'in' him.<sup>168</sup> In what follows, my aim is to buttress my suggestion that Paul and his readers are 'in Christ' in the sense that their sonship has derived from Jesus by close examination of relevant data from Rom 8.

The correspondence between the identity of Jesus and those who are 'in' him is

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<sup>165</sup> Rom 8.17: 'And if children, [we are] heirs also—heirs of God and fellow-heirs of Christ, if indeed we are suffering with him [i.e., Christ] in order that we might also be glorified with him' (*εἰ δὲ τέκνα, καὶ κληρονόμοι κληρονόμοι μὲν θεοῦ, συγκληρονόμοι δὲ Χριστοῦ, εἴπερ συμπάσχομεν ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν*).

<sup>166</sup> Rom 8.29: 'Those whom he [i.e., God (the Father)] foreknew, he also predetermined as conformed to the image of his Son, in order that he [i.e., the Son] might be the firstborn of many brethren' (*ὅτι οὗς προέγνω, καὶ προώρισεν συμμόρφους τῆς εἰκόνας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πρωτότοκον ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς*).

<sup>167</sup> Rom 8.15: 'For you did not receive a spirit of slavery again to fear, but you received the Spirit of sonship by which we cry, "Abba, Father"'! (*οὐ γὰρ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα δουλείας πάλιν εἰς φόβον ἀλλ' ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα υἱοθεσίας ἐν ᾧ κράζομεν· αββα ὁ πατήρ*). Cf. Macaskill 2014: 97.

<sup>168</sup> Cf. Thiessen 2016: 213 n. 1. The sharing is not one-sided with Paul and fellow believers 'in Christ': it is also about 'Christ in you' (*Χριστός ἐν ὑμῖν*, Rom 8.10).

inexact; one might even say the correspondence is asymmetrical. Both Jesus and those ‘in’ him indeed are sons, but to Jesus Paul never applies the term *υιοθεσία*—for the apostle, Jesus is simply *υιός*.<sup>169</sup> Paul may be subtly appealing to a minor connotation of adoption language. Occasionally, ancient writers used language of adoption as shorthand for ‘second-handedness’ or derivation. Plutarch, Paul’s near-contemporary, compares knowledge that one gains secondarily from the original discoverer to the parent who adopts a child: ‘but the one who acquires it [i.e., knowledge of what is true] is rather he who is not sure that he possesses it, and he acquires what is best of all, just as he who is not a parent himself adopts the child that is best’.<sup>170</sup> Likewise, Philostratus of Athens, though he wrote much later than Paul (likely in the early third century CE), uses adoption imagery in a similar way: ‘Well, if you love the wisdom invented by the Indians, do you name it not by its natural fathers but by its adoptive ones?’<sup>171</sup> Philostratus compares to adoptive fathers those who did not invent the wisdom, but received it secondarily from the source. Although the passages cited above reference derivation chiefly with respect to the concerns of fathers, Paul applies *υιοθεσία* language to the perspective of sons.<sup>172</sup> In doing so, and aside from the primary importance of *υιοθεσία* denoting the new status of Paul and his

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<sup>169</sup> Paul frames his discussion with the description of Jesus as *υιός*: Rom 8.3, 29, 32. Cf. Heim 2017: 20, who notes that ‘Paul reserves the term *πρωτότοκος* (firstborn) for Christ in Romans 8:29’. See also Macaskill 2014: 97–98, who further notes that the identification of those *ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ* with the identity of Jesus is never expressed in terms of Jesus’ own baptism.

<sup>170</sup> Plutarch *Quaest. plat.* 1.3: *λαμβάνει δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ μὴ πεπεισμένος ἔχειν, καὶ λαμβάνει τὸ βέλτιστον ἐξ ἀπάντων, ὥσπερ ὁ μὴ τεκῶν παῖδα ποιεῖται τὸν ἄριστον.* The quotation and translation are from Cherniss 1976: 13.1.26–27. The language Plutarch uses for adoption is not *υιοθεσία*, but the verb *ποιέω*. Plutarch’s writings span from c. 68–116 CE. See Jones 1966: esp. 70–73.

<sup>171</sup> Philostratus *Vit. Apoll.* 6.11.9: *σοφίας οὖν ἐρῶν, ἣν Ἴνδοι εὗρον, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν φύσει πατέρων ὀνομάζεις αὐτήν, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τῶν θέσει;* The quotation and translation are from Jones 2005b: 2.126–27. The language Philostratus uses for adoption is the term *θέσις*. On the dating of Philostratus’ *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, see Jones 2005a: 1.2–3. On the second-hand connotation of adoptive language, see further Scott 1992: 55–56.

<sup>172</sup> The sense of an adoptive father choosing a son from someone else (e.g., his birth parents) is absent in Paul’s discussions about the Father.

hearers as sons and heirs, perhaps the apostle chooses *υιοθεσία* language to denote the derived nature of the sonship he and his auditors now enjoy through Jesus, the unique Son. That is, Paul and his Roman readers receive sonship derivatively from God (the Father) through Jesus, a nuance Paul can adapt from similar (though limited) use of adoption language.

The relationship of Jesus to the Spirit and to the Father also differs qualitatively from those who are ‘in’ him. The inaugural pairing of Jesus and the Spirit in Rom 8 comes in the difficult phrase ‘the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus’ (ὁ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, Rom 8.2). My primary concern with this phrase is the precise nature (so far as it can be traced out) of the relationship of πνεῦμα with Ἰησοῦς.<sup>173</sup> The exact referent of the prepositional phrase ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ is unclear, but two options have generally presented themselves: one adverbial, the other adjectival (of which there are at least two further options): the readings could be either ‘the law of the Spirit of life has freed you in Christ Jesus’ (adverbial), or ‘the law of the Spirit of life—the life that is in Christ Jesus—has freed you’ (adjectival), or again ‘the law of the-Spirit-of-life-in-Christ-Jesus has freed you’ (adjectival).

Concerning the adverbial option, the first potential referent is the immediately following verb, ἐλευθερώω. On certain occasions where the apostle uses the shorter phrase ἐν Χριστῷ adverbially, it can precede the verb (or verbal element) that it modifies, as it does

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<sup>173</sup> I am cognizant of the debate surrounding the meaning of νόμος, as well as the textual variant in Rom 8.2. I will address these issues only insofar as they impinge on the fundamental argument I am setting forth here. For greater detail on these particular issues, see e.g., Keck 1980: 41–57; *ibid*, 2005: 196–97, where some of his earlier opinions have changed; Jewett 2007: 480–81.

in Rom 8.2.<sup>174</sup> Furthermore, the liberation seems to be accomplished by the sending of the Son in Rom 8.3, which is joined to the preceding verse by the connective *γάρ*.<sup>175</sup> Concerning the adjectival option(s), the second potential referent is the full phrase which *ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ* follows, *ὁ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς*, or some part of this phrase.<sup>176</sup> Rather than stressing the connection between Rom 8.2 and 8.3, which accords with the view that the phrase is adverbial, Rom 8.2 as a matter of context seems more naturally to follow as an explanation or justification of Paul's statement in Rom 8.1.<sup>177</sup> Moreover, the nearer parallel of Rom 6.23 (*τὸ χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ ζωὴ αἰώνιος ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*) with its adjectival use of the phrase 'in Christ Jesus' favours slightly an adjectival use of the phrase here in Rom 8.2; a more remote, less exact parallel exists for the adverbial usage of the phrase in Rom 5.21 (*οὕτως καὶ ἡ χάρις βασιλεύσῃ διὰ δικαιοσύνης εἰς ζῶν αἰώνιον διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*).<sup>178</sup>

These points lead me slightly to prefer the option that *ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ* modifies the phrase that comes immediately before it. In fact, Paul may be looking backward to

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<sup>174</sup> Cf. 1 Cor 15.19, where the phrase precedes the participle, *ἠλπικότες*; 2 Cor 2.17; 12.19. On the usual construction of an adverbial phrase following the verb or verbal element, cf. Campbell 2012: 145, 154–57.

<sup>175</sup> Cranfield 1975: 1.375.

<sup>176</sup> Some have taken the phrase to modify *ἡ ζωή*; for a list of such proponents, see Cranfield 1975: 1.374 n. 3, to which I would add Morgan 2020: 84. For the phrase to follow *ἡ ζωή*, and in order to avoid ambiguity, one might expect the addition of the feminine genitive article: *ὁ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*. Cf. Rom 7.5; 8.39; 2 Cor 9.3; BDF §269. Exceptions to such an addition might include Phil 3.14; 4.7. Others take the phrase to modify *ὁ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος*; for a list of proponents, see Jewett 2007: 481 n. 46. Keck (1980: 50) relates the phrase to the fuller noun phrase *τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ζωῆς*; cf. Jewett 2007: 481. Those espousing the full phrase include: Kuss 1959: 2.490; Schlier 1977: 239; Vollenweider 1989: 346 n. 298; Byrne 1996: 235; Bertone 1999: 77; Haacker 1999: 187; Coppins 2009: 137; Campbell 2012: 127–29; Landmesser 2018: 2.138–39. See further Moo 2018: 496 n. 891; Kowalski 2021: 263 n. 37.

<sup>177</sup> Cf. NA<sup>28</sup>, which provides a textual break between Rom 8.2 and Rom 8.3, suggesting that Rom 8.1 and Rom 8.2 belong together, separated slightly in thought from Rom 8.3; Byrne 1979: 92; Giesen 2009: 182, 186–87; Wolter 2014: 473. Though Giesen (2009: 186) takes the phrase adverbially, he seems to keep the full phrase together (2009: 192; cf. 209–10): 'Deshalb formuliert er [i.e., Paulus] mit Bedacht: "das Gesetz des Geistes in Christus Jesus" oder besser "durch Christus Jesus hat dich der Geist befreit"'.  
<sup>178</sup> Cf. Wolter 2014: 474.



Rom 1.4 (as I shall contend below with respect to Rom 8.23) where I have argued he strings together a new title for Jesus: from his resurrection, Jesus is now ‘Son-of-God-in-power’. Perhaps here also Paul is formulating a new title for the Spirit who is closely linked to Jesus as ‘the-spirit-of-life-in-Christ-Jesus’. If I have chosen correctly, Paul seems to indicate that the Spirit is operating here ‘in Christ Jesus’, thereby linking Jesus and the Spirit in a way that is unlike the connection of the Spirit to Paul and his auditors.<sup>179</sup> Constantine Campbell even posits a parallel between ‘the Spirit and Christ’ on the one hand, and ‘sin and death’ on the other. Elsewhere, Paul regards sin as both the instrument and servant of death.<sup>180</sup> In parallel fashion, Campbell supposes that the Spirit is functioning for Paul in Rom 8.2 as the instrument and servant of Jesus.<sup>181</sup> Paul can elsewhere attribute to Jesus the action of liberation. The apostle’s opening words in Gal 5 come readily to mind: ‘For freedom Christ set us free’ (Τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἡμᾶς Χριστὸς ἠλευθέρωσεν). When Paul writes of his audience’s freedom from sin and death in Rom 8.2, perhaps the Spirit’s affinity is classed under the auspices of Jesus the liberator. To operate ‘in Christ’, then, may mean that the Spirit who gives life is the proximate agent of Jesus—so closely linked to Jesus in his role as liberator is the life-giving Spirit that the Spirit’s connection to liberation is said to be ‘in Christ Jesus’.

Paul relates Jesus and the Spirit even more closely in Rom 8.9c: ‘but if anyone does

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<sup>179</sup> Cf. Lohse 1973: 279–80; Bertone 1999: 80; McFadden 2009: 496; Kowalski 2021: 263, 267, who argues that Paul ‘presents Christ as a space within which the Spirit acts’. However, it is not clear to me that the adverbial use of the phrase would negate my conclusion that the Spirit is operating ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

<sup>180</sup> Cf. Rom 5.12: ‘For this reason as through one man sin entered into the world and through sin death, and thus death spread to all people because all sinned’ ... (Διὰ τοῦτο ὡσπερ δι’ ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου ἡ ἁμαρτία εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἰσῆλθεν καὶ διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ θάνατος, καὶ οὕτως εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὁ θάνατος διῆλθεν, ἐφ’ ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον). Later, Paul will write of sin exercising dominion in death (ἐβασίλευσεν ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ, Rom 5.21).

<sup>181</sup> Campbell 2012: 128–29.

not have the Spirit of Christ, that person does not belong to him [i.e., Christ]’ (εἰ δέ τις πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει, οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ).<sup>182</sup> Once again, Paul writes of the Spirit’s relation to Jesus asymmetrically from that of the Spirit’s relation to Paul and his readers. The Spirit is ‘of Christ’ in a way that Paul does not speak about himself or his readers in Rom 8, but in precisely the same way that he speaks of God in the immediately preceding phrase when he describes the Spirit as πνεῦμα θεοῦ (‘Now you are not in the flesh but in the Spirit, if indeed the Spirit of God dwells in you’; Ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐστὲ ἐν σαρκὶ ἀλλ’ ἐν πνεύματι, εἴπερ πνεῦμα θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν, Rom 8.9a–b).<sup>183</sup> Paul seems to be arguing from two different directions. Where Jesus is concerned, Paul argues that the resurrection of Jesus is a prerequisite for the Spirit’s activity among his Roman readers. Yet, concerning his Roman readers, Paul argues conversely that the Spirit is the agent and conduit of their resurrection life.<sup>184</sup>

In fact, Gordon Fee has appealed to the broader context of Romans to argue that what Paul predicates of Jesus in Rom 6 he then applies to the Spirit in Rom 8. Fee singles out the ‘linguistic ties’ between Rom 6.4–14 and Rom 8.9–11. Two instances especially relate Jesus in Rom 6 to the Spirit in Rom 8. According to Fee, the first link occurs between

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<sup>182</sup> For other ‘christological’ definitions of the Spirit in Paul’s letters, cf. 2 Cor 3.17–18; Gal 4.6; Phil 1.19. See also Fee 1994a: 313; Wolter 2014: 487 n. 76.

<sup>183</sup> This is akin to Vollenweider’s designation of the Spirit as ‘der Geist Gottes bzw. Christi’. See Vollenweider 1996: 168–69, 173–76; earlier, Barrett 1991: 149. This is not, however, to imply an identification between the Spirit and Christ (Paul is not saying that Χριστός = πνεῦμα). Cf. Bouttier 1962: 84 n. 65; Dunn 1973: 58, though I do fundamentally disagree with Dunn when elsewhere he writes of Jesus’ relation to the Spirit as distinct from the Father’s relation to the Spirit; Turner 1975: 64; idem 1994: 431–33; those cited in Fatehi 2000: 204–205.

One should note, however, that Paul elsewhere speaks of ‘spirit’ in terms of ‘my spirit’ and ‘your spirit’. Examples include 1 Cor 5.4 (καὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πνεύματος) and 1 Cor 16.18 (ἀνέπαυσαν γὰρ τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὑμῶν), though these uses seem more anthropological than theological.

<sup>184</sup> Cf. Fatehi 2000: 206–209, where he argues that Paul’s purpose in writing of the πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ is ‘to connect the work of the Spirit to the Roman Christians’ belonging to Christ and his dwelling within them as *Christians*’ (Fatehi 2000: 207, emphasis retained), and at last to bring the work of Christ and the work of the Spirit together.

‘the Spirit is life because of righteousness’ (his translation; the Greek is: τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωὴ διὰ δικαιοσύνην, Rom 8.10c) and the phrase, ‘but present yourselves to God as alive from the dead and your members as tools of righteousness to God’ (ἀλλὰ παραστήσατε ἑαυτοὺς τῷ θεῷ ὡσεὶ ἐκ νεκρῶν ζῶντας καὶ τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν ὄπλα δικαιοσύνης τῷ θεῷ, Rom 6.13b). The second, more explicit link is between ‘he who raised Christ from the dead shall also give life to our mortal bodies’ (Fee’s translation; the Greek is: ὁ ἐγείρας Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ζωοποιήσει καὶ τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὑμῶν, Rom 8.11b)—where Paul speaks of the Father to whom the Spirit belongs—and ‘Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father’ (Fee’s translation; the Greek is: ἠγέρθη Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς) in Rom 6.4b, as well as the phrase, ‘if we died with Christ ... we shall live with him’ (Fee’s translation; the Greek is: εἰ δὲ ἀπεθάνομεν σὺν Χριστῷ, [πιστεύομεν ὅτι καὶ] συζήσομεν αὐτῷ) in Rom 6.8. Fee concludes that Paul is tying together both the work of the Spirit and of Jesus and the righteous living and final inheritance effected by the Spirit and by Jesus.<sup>185</sup>

Perhaps Paul writes of the Spirit belonging to Jesus in the same way that having the Spirit who belongs to Christ is a criterion of belonging to Jesus for Paul’s unidentified subject (τις, Rom 8.9c). To state it positively, the one who himself belongs to Jesus has the Spirit who belongs to Jesus.<sup>186</sup> The greater point, however, is that Paul writes of Jesus, the Spirit, and God (the Father) in a way here that he does not write of himself and his

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<sup>185</sup> Fee 1994a: 323–26, esp. 323–24 n. 46; cf. Kowalski 2021: 266, who sees the theme of connection to Jesus through baptism and (future) resurrection in Rom 6 carefully developed in Rom 8 by Paul’s introduction of the figure of the Spirit.

<sup>186</sup> Thus, I am proposing that Χριστοῦ and αὐτοῦ have the same genitival force in Rom 8.9, i.e., each is in the common category, genitive of possession. Cf. Fee 2007: 269–70. In this case, the second (αὐτοῦ) defines the force of the first (Χριστοῦ). One should not press too much the sense of the Spirit’s belonging to Jesus. Cf. Wallace 1996: 82. Other possible options include the genitive of origin, such that the Spirit is ‘from’ Christ in similar fashion to the Spirit’s being ‘from’ God (the Father). See for example Barrett 1991: 149; Fee 1994b: 517, 547–48; Fatehi 2000: 201–202; Coulson 2017: 79, 85. These two options (possession and origin) do not necessarily negate one another.

auditors. Reflecting on this divide, Max Turner has expounded the phrase ‘Spirit of Christ’ to mean ‘the Spirit who mediates the presence, character, redemptive activities, and rule of Jesus Christ, in a way analogous to that in which he mediates God’s [presence, character, etc.]’.<sup>187</sup> Jesus and the Spirit also share the apostle’s description as being in some sense ‘in’ his readers, though Paul is careful to distinguish that the Spirit ‘dwells in’ (οἰκέω ἐν) Paul’s readers, a feature conspicuously absent with respect to Jesus in the discussions of Rom 8.<sup>188</sup>

Asymmetry extends to Paul’s outworking of the relation between Jesus and the Father in Rom 8. While it is true that both Jesus on the one hand and Paul with his readers on the other are ‘sons’ (Paul seems to include himself in the ‘Abba’ cry, κράζομεν, Rom 8.15; cf. Table 3.1, in Chapter 3.4, above), Jesus’ sonship is described uniquely by Paul: Jesus is the Father’s ‘own’ Son, expressed by the adjective ἴδιος and the reflexive pronoun ἑαυτοῦ.<sup>189</sup> Near the beginning of Rom 8, Paul writes that ‘God sent his own Son’ (ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν πέμψας, Rom 8.3). Toward the end of Rom 8, Paul calls to his readers’ attention God ‘who did not spare his own Son’ ([ὁ θεός, Rom 8.31] ὅς γε τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο, Rom 8.32). The apostle thus builds a frame (visually represented in Figure 4.3, below) of Jesus’ sonship round the discussion of the sonship particular to Paul and his

<sup>187</sup> So Turner 1994: 433–34, arguing from similar usage in Second Temple and rabbinic literature.

<sup>188</sup> Rom 8.9b: εἴπερ πνεῦμα θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν ...; Rom 8.10: εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, ...; Rom 8.11a: εἰ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα ... οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν, ...; Rom 8.11b: ... διὰ τοῦ ἐνοικούντος (from the cognate ἐνοικέω) αὐτοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ὑμῖν. Only once is Jesus said to be simply ‘in’ Paul’s readers (Rom 8.10); cf. Vollenweider 1996: 174. However, the dialectic of Paul’s readers ‘in’ Jesus and he ‘in’ them corresponds to that of the Spirit—Paul’s readers are said to be ‘in’ the Spirit (ἐν πνεύματι, Rom 8.9) even as the Spirit dwells ‘in’ them. The closest link between Jesus and explicit indwelling in the Pauline corpus of which I am aware comes in Col 3.16, where ‘the word of Christ’ (N.B.: *not* Jesus himself) is to dwell in the addressees: Ὁ λόγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνοικεῖτω ἐν ὑμῖν πλουσίως. Paul does of course say that ‘Christ lives in me’ (ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός, Gal 2.20b), though one could argue this is a slightly different nuance than indwelling. Others have, however, argued that in fact Paul implies the indwelling of Jesus: see now Fatehi 2000: 213–15; Rabens 2013: 85; Kowalski 2021: 264.

<sup>189</sup> On the occasional proximity of meaning for these two terms (i.e., cases where ἴδιος = ἑαυτοῦ), see Robertson 1934: 691–92; Moule 1959: 121; Moulton, Howard, and Turner 1963: 3.191, esp. the sources cited in n. 2; cf. Moo 2018: 501 n. 912. Cf. 1 Cor 7.2: διὰ δὲ τὰς πορνείας ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐχέτω καὶ ἑκάστη τὸν ἴδιον ἄνδρα ἐχέτω.

readers in a way that emphasises the unique relation of Jesus to the Father and excludes all other ‘children’, whether designated as υἱοί (Rom 8.14) or τέκνα (Rom 8.16).<sup>190</sup> Joseph Fitzmyer argues that by so designating Jesus as God’s ‘own’ Son, Paul ‘highlights the divine relationship of Jesus to the Father and the divine origin of the task to be accomplished by one in close filial relationship with God. Implied is the unique bond of love between the two’.<sup>191</sup> Jesus is emphasised above all other ‘sons’ as being God’s ‘beloved’ and ‘most precious’, as being God’s ‘own’.<sup>192</sup>

So then, I propose that Paul makes a two-pronged argument in Rom 8. In a similar way to the work of Grant Macaskill, I would submit that the first fork of Paul’s argument implies that the sonship of Jesus is determinative for the sonship of those who are ‘in’ him. This is one of the primary effects of Paul’s participatory language when he writes of himself and his auditors as being ‘in’ Jesus: that is to say, the apostle and his readers are ‘sons of God’ because they participate derivatively in the sonship of Jesus. The second prong of Paul’s argument is that in the midst of correspondence, asymmetry exists between

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<sup>190</sup> Whether the two terms *ἑαυτοῦ* and *ἴδιος* function in the same way (i.e., reflexively: Jesus and the Father participate in one another through relation as Father and Son; perhaps one might even say that what the Father is or has, Jesus also is or has), or in different ways (*ἑαυτοῦ* as reflexive, intensifying the Father’s relation to Jesus as Son; *ἴδιος* as possessive, such that Jesus in some sense belongs to the Father as Son—cf. *ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ*, Rom 8.29; Gaugler refers to Jesus as *sein* [i.e., *des Gottes*] *Eigentum*—see Gaugler 1958: 1.260), they are terms of emphasis demarcating Jesus’ sonship from all others, including that of Paul and his readers. Cf. Moulton, Howard, and Turner 1963: 3.190–92; Cranfield 1975: 1.379. Segal (1984: 169–84) stresses that Paul (and others, esp. in the rabbinical tradition) interpreted the phrase ‘God’s own Son’ on the basis of the Akedah in Gen 22; cf. Dahl 1969: 15–29. However, the Akedah tradition (early third century CE) seems to have generated some time after Paul wrote, and I do not think (*pace* Segal 1984: 169) that Paul is placing Jesus’ uniqueness as Son in the background.

Furthermore, because Paul’s concept of divine inheritance is inclusive of gender, he can refer to himself and his readers—the ‘heirs of God’ and ‘fellow-heirs of Christ’ (*κληρονόμοι θεοῦ [καί] συγκαληρονόμοι Χριστοῦ*, Rom 8.17)—as ‘children of God’ (*τέκνα θεοῦ*, Rom 8.16; cf. Rom 8.17) as well as ‘sons of God’ (*υἱοὶ θεοῦ*, Rom 8.14): the latter phrase, *de rigueur* in discussions of ancient inheritance, beckons Paul’s auditors to the apostle’s novel conception of the former, viz., that both sons *and daughters* (as *τέκνα*) are the divine heirs with Jesus. Cf. Kuss 1959: 2.606; Mundhenk 2008: 172.

<sup>191</sup> Fitzmyer 1993: 484.

<sup>192</sup> Thus, Gaugler 1958: 1.260: ‘Gott sendet sein Liebstes, sein Kostbares zu uns’, ...

Jesus and those ‘in’ him—there are in effect two classes of sonship: that of Jesus, the Father’s ‘own’ Son, and that of the ones ‘in Christ Jesus’, where the second is derived from the first. Harkening back to themes first broached in Rom 6, Paul orchestrates a pattern for himself and his readers—that of baptism, Spirit, then sonship—a pattern he alters (no mention of baptism; sonship, then Spirit) for Jesus.

Figure 4.3. The Frame of Jesus’ Unique Sonship in Romans 8

- 8.3      ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν πέμψας
- 8.14     οὗτοι υἱοὶ θεοῦ εἰσιν
- 8.15     ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα υἰοθεσίας ἐν ᾧ κράζομεν· αββα ὁ πατήρ
- 8.16     ἐσμὲν τέκνα θεοῦ (cf. 8.17)
- 8.19     ἡ γὰρ ἀποκαταδοκία τῆς κτίσεως τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεκδέχεται
- 8.21     ... εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ
- 8.23     ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς στενάζομεν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι
- 8.29     καὶ προώρισεν συμμόρφους τῆς εἰκόνης τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ
- 8.31–32   ὁ θεός ... ὅς γε τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο

Paul further demarcates the relation of Jesus to the Spirit and to the Father from that which the apostle and his auditors experience. Paul links the Spirit to Jesus in strikingly different ways than he writes of the Spirit’s relation to himself and his readers. The apostle and his readers share ‘in’ both Jesus and the Spirit; they derive their sonship from Jesus, and the indwelling Spirit serves as a guarantee of their future resurrection, for instance. However, Paul does not write here of Jesus being ‘in’ the Spirit. Likewise, the relation of Jesus to the Father is differentiated from that of Paul and his readers. Jesus’ relation to the Father frames the derived sonship of the apostle and his auditors, and Paul uniquely describes Jesus’ relation to the Father as being the Father’s ‘own’. Those who are

‘sons’, then, derive their sonship from Jesus and experience a kind of sonship that differs qualitatively from Jesus, the unique Son.

#### *4.2.2.2. The Father as Life-Giver and the Identifying Descriptions*

As we re-focus our attention on the importance of life-giving in Rom 8, a curiously subtle way in which the apostle Paul demonstrates the life-giving nature of God (the Father) occurs in the logic of Rom 8.6–7.<sup>193</sup> In Rom 8.6a, Paul makes the following entailment: ‘the mindset of the flesh is death’ (τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς θάνατος). We may thus represent the entailment:

τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς = θάνατος

In the following verse, Paul describes the very same phrase as ‘enmity with respect to God’ (τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς ἔχθρα εἰς θεόν, Rom 8.7a). One explanation for such enmity of course comes in the following phrase introduced by γάρ: ‘for it (i.e., τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς) does not submit to the law of God, indeed it is not able to do so’ (τῷ γὰρ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐχ ὑποτάσσεται, οὐδὲ γὰρ δύναται, Rom 8.7b–c). However, the presence of the inferential conjunction διότι in Rom 8.7a initially points the reader back to the previous entailment in Rom 8.6a, furthering the logical point with a new entailment in Rom 8.7a:

τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς = ἔχθρα εἰς θεόν

Placing these two entailments in transitive relation, then, we may write transitively a third entailment that more clearly highlights the life-giving nature of God (the Father):

θάνατος = ἔχθρα εἰς θεόν

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<sup>193</sup> Cf. Venter 2015: 1, 3, who via structural analysis of Rom 8.6–7 approaches the line of thought I am propounding here.

The apostle seems to convey that death characterises that which is hostile toward God (the Father), or that death characterises that which sets itself up as an enemy of God.<sup>194</sup> If we follow the logic to its conclusion, the converse holds that what is allied with God (the Father) is characterised by life, or the giving of life. Of course, the explicit statement of the immediately preceding phrase in Rom 8.6b is that the mindset of the Spirit (not the Father) is life and peace: τὸ δὲ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος ζωὴ καὶ εἰρήνη. However, Paul closely relates the Spirit to the Father, particularly highlighting the respective life-giving activity of each. Paul calls the Spirit the ‘Spirit of God [the Father]’ (πνεῦμα θεοῦ, Rom 8.9b), suggesting that the Spirit belongs (or is very closely connected) to both the Father and the Son. Paul also writes of ‘the Spirit of the one who raised Jesus from the dead’ (i.e., the Spirit of the Father; τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐγείραντος τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ νεκρῶν, Rom 8.11a) who will act as the intermediate agent for the Father’s resurrection of Paul and his Roman readers.

The subtleties of the Father’s life-giving in Rom 8.6–7 are anticipated in the logic of Rom 8.3, whose ‘essential background’ is the graphic description of the human plight in Rom 7.7–25.<sup>195</sup> Paul writes, ‘for [because of] the impossibility [of condemning sin] for the law in that it was weakened through the flesh, God sending his own Son as a sacrifice for sin in the likeness of sinful flesh condemned sin in the flesh’ (Τὸ γὰρ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου ἐν ᾧ ἡσθένει διὰ τῆς σαρκός, ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν πέμψας ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας καὶ

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<sup>194</sup> One further connection is noted by Potgieter 2020: 173, where ἔχθρα is in opposition to εἰρήνη, which is coupled with ζωὴ in Rom 8.6b. Likewise, the one who ‘sees what is the mind[set] of the Spirit’ is ‘the one who searches the hearts’, another participial descriptor of God (ὁ δὲ ἐραυνῶν τὰς καρδίας οἶδεν τί τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος, Rom 8.27a). This is yet another connection of the Father to the Spirit, and thus to life by the only other use of φρόνημα in the NT. On the link of the Spirit to life, cf. Kowalski 2020: 50–56. See also Keener 2008: 224–25.

<sup>195</sup> Byrne 1979: 86–87.



περὶ ἁμαρτίας κατέκρινεν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐν τῇ σαρκί, Rom 8.3).<sup>196</sup> Here the apostle creatively brings to a logical conclusion the plight he has just described in Rom 7 by developing the concept of impossibility (via the substantival use of the adjective, ἀδύνατος).<sup>197</sup> That is, the achievement of life through the law proved to be an impossibility.<sup>198</sup> God overcame the impossibility by sending his own Son—in other words, in his capacity as Father, God extends life to those previously under law but now ‘in Christ’, overcoming the former impossibility by sending Jesus, his unique Son.

In the third chapter (see Chapter 3.2, above), I attempted to demonstrate how certain identifying descriptions of God as Father contributed to Paul’s portrait of divine fatherhood, specifically with respect to the dimension of God as life-giver. The apostle continues this practice of using identifying descriptions for God (the Father) tied to life-giving in Rom 8.11: ‘Now if the Spirit of the one who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you, the one who raised Christ from the dead will also give life to your mortal bodies through his Spirit who dwells in you’ (εἰ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐγείραντος τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ νεκρῶν οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν, ὁ ἐγείρας Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ζωοποιήσῃ καὶ τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὑμῶν διὰ τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος αὐτοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ὑμῖν). Here, God (the Father) is alternatively ‘the one who raised Jesus from the dead’ (ὁ ἐγείρας τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ νεκρῶν, Rom 8.11a) and ‘the one who raised Christ from the dead’ (ὁ ἐγείρας Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, Rom 8.11b), the apostle making an apparent equality by substitution of the terms ‘Jesus’ and ‘Christ’ (i.e., Ἰησοῦς = Χριστός).

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<sup>196</sup> Ὁν περὶ ἁμαρτίας (‘as a sacrifice for sin’) conforming to both LXX and NT usage, see Harris 2012: 182–83.

<sup>197</sup> BDF §263.2, p. 138.

<sup>198</sup> Cf. Rom 7.9–10: ‘Now I was alive once apart from the law, but when the commandment came, sin came alive again, but I died, and it was found in me [that] the commandment which was for life, this [commandment was actually] for death’ (ἐγὼ δὲ ἔζων χωρὶς νόμου ποτέ, ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς ἐντολῆς ἡ ἁμαρτία ἀνέζησεν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπέθανον καὶ εὐρέθη μοι ἡ ἐντολή ἡ εἰς ζωὴν, αὕτη εἰς θάνατον).

The identifying descriptions of Rom 8.11 may be profitably compared to those Paul uses elsewhere in his undisputed writings (e.g., in Gal 1.1; cf. esp. Chapter 3.2, esp. n. 17). Without rehearsing the qualifiers for an ‘identifying description’, I would simply note the marked similarities: that again here in Rom 8.11, Paul refers to God (the Father) by the aorist participle of ἐγείρω; that Jesus (or Christ) is the object of the Father’s action; and that the domain of the Father’s action is ‘from the dead’ (ἐκ νεκρῶν). Strikingly different than the other occurrences, however, is that Paul adds to the identifying descriptions in Rom 8.11 another entity, viz., the Spirit (τὸ πνεῦμα, Rom 8.11a).<sup>199</sup> In this addition, one may note yet another difference between the unique sonship of Jesus on the one hand, and the derived sonship of Paul’s readers on the other: in the first phrase of Rom 8.11a, the Spirit relates to the latter, God (the Father) to the former. The Spirit is assumed to ‘dwell in/among you’ (εἰ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα ... οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν, Rom 8.11a), while God (the Father) has already raised Jesus from the dead. The protasis of the conditional statement in Rom 8.11, then, is that God (the Father) will secondarily<sup>200</sup> give life to Paul’s readers through the intermediate agency of the Spirit (διὰ τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος αὐτοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ὑμῖν, Rom 8.11b) on the condition that the Spirit dwells in them. The Spirit’s agency in the giving of life is reserved only for Paul’s readers; only God (the Father) is said to be active in raising Jesus in Rom 8, not the Spirit.<sup>201</sup> Thus, Paul argues by way of identifying description that God (the Father) gives life: first, by direct action to Jesus (or Christ);

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<sup>199</sup> Cf. Kowalski 2020: 47, on the introduction of the Spirit in Rom 8.

<sup>200</sup> As their sonship is derived from Jesus, so too is the giving of life (resurrection) for Paul’s readers secondary, both in a logical sense—Jesus is raised (cf. Jesus as πρωτότοκος in Rom 8.29) before those ‘in’ him can be raised—and in a temporal sense—Jesus has already been raised (aorist participles usu. indicating antecedent time; cf. Wallace 1996: 555), but Paul’s readers have yet to experience the giving of life (the future of ζωοποιέω is used in Rom 8.11) from God (the Father).

<sup>201</sup> *Contra* Scott 1992: 262 n. 147; Hill 2015: 159–62; Kowalski 2018: 646. I submit that in Rom 8, Paul does not write about the Spirit partaking in the resurrection of Jesus.

second, to Paul's readers by indirect agency through and on condition of his indwelling Spirit.

#### *4.2.2.3. Sonship Related to Life-giving*

Interspersed throughout Rom 8 are subtle links between sonship and the giving of life. Three instances are of particular import for my argument, one relating to Jesus as Son, and two relating specifically to the term *υιοθεσία*. In the first instance, we must travel back to the difficult phrase of Rom 8.2: *ὁ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*. In my earlier discussion (see Chapter 4.2.2.1, above), I was concerned with how *Ἰησοῦς* relates to *πνεῦμα*. There I concluded (admittedly somewhat tentatively) that Paul suggests the Spirit is operating 'in Christ Jesus'. Now, I am interested in the referent of *ἡ ζωή*: does the term relate to the preceding genitive (i.e., *πνεῦμα*), or to the object of the following prepositional phrase (i.e., *Ἰησοῦς*)? Marcin Kowalski has noted recently that the ambiguous placement of the expression 'suggests that the new life is a gift of both the Son and the Spirit'.<sup>202</sup> However, for the sake of argument, let us assume that the expression relates to the Spirit—at the very least, concord of case would favour this assumption. If my earlier conclusion stands, that the Spirit is operating in Jesus, then Kowalski's suggestion likewise stands: life is related not only to the Spirit, but also to the Son in whom the Spirit operates.

The second instance also occurs in familiar territory. In Rom 8.11, the apostle writes that 'he who raised Christ from the dead will give life to your mortal bodies also' (*ὁ ἐγείρας Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ζωοποιήσει καὶ τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὑμῶν*, Rom 8.11b). This phrase comes near the very end of a lengthy passage that began with the declaration of no

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<sup>202</sup> Kowalski 2021: 263. However, cf. Morgan 2020: 84, who links *ζωή* to *ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*.

condemnation for those ‘in’ Jesus, since sin had already been condemned in the flesh when the Son was sent from God (ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν πέμψας ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας κατέκρινεν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐν τῇ σαρκί, Rom 8.3). Jesus, the Son who was sent from God (the Father) was also raised by God (the Father); and just as Paul’s auditors will experience no condemnation because they are ‘in’ Jesus—they will be spared a death sentence in spite of sin—so also will they be given life from God (the Father) who likewise raised Jesus from the dead because they are ‘in’ Jesus as derived sons. Paul writes of the ‘body’ (σῶμα; the only plural form occurs in Rom 8.11) in the life-and-death dynamic he explores near the middle of Rom 8. Earlier in his discussion, Paul links the body closely with death, sin, and the flesh.<sup>203</sup> The turn toward linking the body with life comes in Rom 8.11 and continues in Rom 8.13, where Paul avers that ‘if by the Spirit you put to death the misdeeds of the body, you will live’ (εἰ δὲ πνεύματι τὰς πράξεις τοῦ σώματος θανατοῦτε, ζήσεσθε). He further explains by recourse to sonship in Rom 8.14: ‘for as many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are the sons of God’ (ὅσοι γὰρ πνεύματι θεοῦ ἄγονται, οὗτοι υἱοὶ θεοῦ εἰσιν). Paul thus links sonship with the giving of life from God and his Spirit by way of his discussion about the body.

However, a more explicit link exists between the sonship of Paul and his readers and the giving of life from God (the Father). In Rom 8.23, Paul writes, ‘we ourselves also groan inwardly while we await sonship, the redemption of our body’ (ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς στενάζομεν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι, τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν). The term υἰοθεσία is described as *lectio difficilior* because of a seeming logical impossibility: sonship according to Paul comes through the possession of the Spirit; if Paul and his readers

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<sup>203</sup> Cf. Rom 7.24; 8.10.

already possess the Spirit (cf. *ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἔχοντες*, Rom 8.23b), how can the apostle imply that they must ‘await’ (*ἀπεκδέχομαι*) sonship?<sup>204</sup> James Swetnam attempts to resolve the difficulty by positing another meaning for the participle *ἀπεκδεχόμενοι*. Paul and his readers are not ‘awaiting’ sonship, according to Swetnam. Rather, they ‘arrive by inference’ at the fact of their sonship because of their possession of the Spirit.<sup>205</sup> While this meaning for *ἀπεκδέχομαι* is attested prior to Paul, it is very rare, and it seems to ignore the earlier and more clearly futuristic sense of *ἀπεκδέχομαι* in Rom 8.19.<sup>206</sup>

There may be a better way to resolve the difficulty without either excising *υἰοθεσία* or resorting to a rare meaning for the participle.<sup>207</sup> I propose that Paul and his readers are indeed awaiting divine sonship while simultaneously living as sons of God in current possession of the Spirit. How can this be? Paul is here repeating a pattern he ascribes first to Jesus in Rom 1. There, Jesus was the Son of God (in weakness, as it were) who was appointed ‘Son-of-God-in-power’ by virtue of his resurrection from the dead (Rom 1.3–4). Paul and his readers follow suit: theirs is a sonship derived from Jesus in whose steps they tread. They currently experience divine sonship through their reception of the Spirit, but it is sonship-in-weakness. They eagerly await the full realisation of their divine sonship (in power, as it were) at the redemption of their body.<sup>208</sup>

The phrase *τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν* in Rom 8.23 serves as an ‘explicative

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<sup>204</sup> Cf. Benoit 1951: 275; Swetnam 1967: 103; Jewett 2007: 505 n. i.; Heim 2017: 230. The term *υἰοθεσία* is omitted in  $\mathfrak{P}^{46\text{vid}}$  D F G 614 d f g o t Ambst. The preponderance of witnesses includes the term.

<sup>205</sup> Swetnam 1967: 105–108.

<sup>206</sup> For an attestation of this meaning prior to Paul, cf. Hipparchus, *τῶν Ἀράτου καὶ Εὐδόξου φαινομένων ἐξηγήσεως*, 1.7.7, cited by Swetnam 1967: 104 n. 4.

<sup>207</sup> Jewett (2007: 505 n. i) prefers to omit *υἰοθεσία*.

<sup>208</sup> Cf. Dunn 1999: 83.

apposition' to *υιοθεσία*.<sup>209</sup> But the meaning of this phrase is not exactly clear. The singular instance of 'body' seems to negate a link to individual resurrection. However, motifs of life-giving may be evinced from similar 'body'–language in Rom 8, from the nature of the term *ἀπολύτρωσις*, from the proposed corresponding pattern of sonship that exists between Jesus and those 'in' him, and from the movement of dissimilarity to greater similarity between the 'sons' and the 'Son' toward the end of Rom 8. Earlier, Paul establishes the connection between life or life-giving and the body or bodies of his auditors. His Roman readers in whom the Spirit of God dwells may expect that God who raised Jesus from the dead will give life to their mortal bodies also in the resurrection to come (Rom 8.11), and that they will live presently—if by the same indwelling Spirit they put to death the misdeeds of the body (Rom 8.13).

Furthermore, *ἀπολύτρωσις* signifies the freeing of the body from its earthly limitations, the most decisive limitation being death.<sup>210</sup> Prior to expounding *υιοθεσία* by the phrase 'the redemption of our body', Paul writes of the current decrepit state of creation: 'For the creation was subjected to futility, not willingly, but because of the one who subjected it, in hope that the creation itself might also be freed from the enslavement of corruption to the freedom of the glory of the children of God' (τῇ γὰρ ματαιότητι ἣ κτίσις ὑπετάγη, οὐχ ἑκοῦσα ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ὑποτάξαντα, ἐφ' ἐλπίδι ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ ἣ κτίσις ἐλευθερωθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ, Rom 8.20–21).

The noteworthy phrase 'the enslavement of corruption' (ἡ δουλεία τῆς φθορᾶς) expresses

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<sup>209</sup> So Swetnam 1967: 106. See also Cranfield 1975: 1.419; Jewett 2007: 519; Burke 2008: 286; Moo 2018: 543; *contra* Benoit 1951: 279; Heim 2017: 212–13. Heim's separation of the *ἀπολύτρωσις*–phrase from the *υιοθεσία*–phrase is unwarranted on grammatical and contextual grounds, as I will argue further below.

<sup>210</sup> BDAG, *s.v.* *ἀπολύτρωσις*, p. 117. Cf. the gloss 'deliverance' in LSJ, *s.v.* *ἀπολύτρωσις*, p. 208; Levison 1959: 281. See also Barclay 1964: 195, who argues that the term in Rom 8.23 looks 'forward to a re-created life'.

the idea of perishability.<sup>211</sup> The inability of all creation to overcome this perishability—that is, to be enslaved to corruption—elicits within the creation a groaning shared by Paul and his readers.<sup>212</sup> Awaiting sonship is a concomitant of groaning.<sup>213</sup> Via shared groaning, Paul links the corrupted and perishable creation with the expectation of sonship, which is further explained as the freeing (or redemption) of the body. I conclude, therefore, that Paul is writing of *υιοθεσία* as the freedom from perishability, the freedom from death. Freedom from the clutches of death is hinted at earlier when Paul writes that ‘the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has freed you from the law of sin and death’ (Rom 8.2).<sup>214</sup> To be free from the body’s limitations, then, is most importantly to be free from death, freeing one we might say to embrace the life given by God (the Father).

Finally, as I have argued above, Jesus’ sonship is determinative for the sonship of Paul and his readers—two distinct sonships that move toward greater similarity as Rom 8 draws to a close. A question arises from the interpretation of Rom 8.23 that sonship determined by and derived from Jesus may contribute to answering: how are the *θεοῦ υιοί*, so designated by their reception of the Spirit, still awaiting sonship? For the view that *υιοθεσία* is ‘adoption’, the question poses a problem that is practically insurmountable, since (to my knowledge at least) there is no record of a two-stage adoption in antiquity.

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<sup>211</sup> Holtz 1993: 423.

<sup>212</sup> Cf. Rom 8.22–23: ‘For we know that all creation has been murmuring a groan in common pain until now; and not only the creation, but also we ourselves, who have the first fruits of the Spirit, we ourselves also groan while we await sonship, the redemption of our bodies’ (*οἶδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις συστενάζει καὶ συνωδίνει ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν· οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἔχοντες, ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς στενάζομεν υιοθεσίαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι, τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν*). Overcoming impossibility via the instantiation of life resumes a motif begun in Rom 8.3.

<sup>213</sup> I understand the plural present participle *ἀπεκδεχόμενοι* to be contemporaneous with the plural present verb *στενάζομεν*. See further Robertson 1934: 1115–16; Wallace 1996: 625–26. I also define *ἀπεκδέχεσθαι* as ‘to await eagerly’. Cf. BDAG, *s.v.* *ἀπεκδέχομαι*, p. 100; *contra* Swetnam 1967: 104–107.

<sup>214</sup> In modern critical scholarship on Paul, the connection between *ἀπολύτρωσις* and *ἐλευθερώω* is noted as early as Deissmann 1909: 246.

No one in the ancient world who was already adopted was awaiting further adoption by the original adopter. Yet, Paul writes that those who have the first fruits of the Spirit (i.e., already υἱοί according to Rom 8.14–17) are also awaiting υἰοθεσία. The verb ‘to await’ (ἀπεκδέχεσθαι) occurs regularly in the latter verses of Rom 8: the whole of creation eagerly awaits the revealing of the sons of God (ἡ γὰρ ἀποκαταδοκία τῆς κτίσεως τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεκδέχεται, Rom 8.19); Paul recounts that we wait patiently when we hope for what we do not currently see (εἰ δὲ ὁ οὐ βλέπομεν ἐλπίζομεν, δι’ ὑπομονῆς ἀπεκδεχόμεθα, Rom 8.25). In Rom 8.23, Paul again uses ἀπεκδέχομαι to describe how he and his readers are eagerly awaiting υἰοθεσία.

Although I have found no evidence elsewhere of a second adoption, there is precedent for a second sonship in Paul’s letter to the Romans. I submit that as he does in Rom 1, Paul is writing of a different kind of sonship that is attained after the life-giving act of resurrection. While Jesus’ sonship is couched in terms of his bodily resurrection most explicitly in Rom 1, Paul does mention Jesus’ resurrection twice in Rom 8.11. The logic, then, of Rom 8.23 is that just as Jesus attained a new and better status of sonship through an act of life-giving—viz., resurrection by the Father—so too will the sonship status for Paul and his readers (derived from Jesus) achieve its completion through an act of life-giving, which the apostle describes as ἡ ἀπολύτρωσις τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν—viz., resurrection by the Father.<sup>215</sup>

The similarity of entry into the heightened status of sonship for Paul and his readers on the one hand, and for Jesus on the other, marks a flow of thought from dissimilarity to similarity between Jesus and those whose sonship derives from him.

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<sup>215</sup> Cf. similar conceptual linkage in Kirk 2004: 241–42.



Kowalski describes this as ‘assimilation’ to Jesus.<sup>216</sup> Despite how Paul might distinguish between his own sonship (and that of his readers) and the sonship of Jesus (as I have argued above), those ‘in’ Jesus have a new mindset inculcated in them (cf. φρονέω, and esp. φρόνημα, in Rom 8.5–7, 27); they are expected to have the πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ and thereby in some sense belong to Jesus (stated negatively in Rom 8.9); they address the Father in Jesus’ own fashion (Rom 8.15); finally, they are destined to be ‘conformed to the image of his Son’ (συμμόρφους τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, Rom 8.29).<sup>217</sup> In Rom 8.29 we find the culmination of the similarity between the Father’s own Son and the derived sons—it is a similarity that does not venture into equality, but correspondence.<sup>218</sup> The expectation of sonship-in-power, entered into by a life-giving act, is thus a source of their groaning (στενάζω, an activity in common with creation personified). Paul’s chain of reasoning may be thus explained: until he and his auditors have put on the new sonship (i.e., sonship-in-power at the future restoration), they groan because while they see their full sonship-via-ἀπολύτρωσις ahead, they are as yet unable to attain it. Rather, they are subject to suffering with Jesus (his crucifixion preceded his resurrection) before they partake of the ‘glory about to be revealed in’ them (ἡ μέλλουσα δόξα ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς, Rom 8.18).<sup>219</sup>

Sonship is thus related to life-giving in Rom 8. The ‘Spirit of life’ operates in the realm of the Son. The ‘sons of God’ (υἱοὶ θεοῦ, Rom 8.14) are those whose ‘mortal bodies’ (θνητὰ σώματα, Rom 8.11) will be made alive through the indwelling Spirit of the one who

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<sup>216</sup> Kowalski 2021: 265–70.

<sup>217</sup> The Son’s present form is according to Paul as a resurrected body. Union with Jesus’ resurrection is broached by Paul as far back as Rom 6.5, which in the NRSV reads: ‘For if we have been united with him in a death like his, we will certainly be united with him in a resurrection like his’. The original is: εἰ γὰρ σύμφυτοι γεγόναμεν τῷ ὁμοιώματι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐσόμεθα.

<sup>218</sup> Thus, Kürzinger 1958: 296, who prefers to translate σύμμορφος as ‘Angleichung’ rather than ‘Gleichgestaltung’. *Contra* Niemand 2018: 92–101, esp. 94–97.

<sup>219</sup> Cf. Kowalski 2021: 271.

raised Jesus from the dead. There is a sonship to be fully realised at ‘the redemption of our body’ (Rom 8.23), conceptually linked to Jesus’ own entrance into sonship-in-power, viz., the life-giving act of resurrection by the Father. The detection of life-giving motifs in divine fatherhood and divine sonship in Romans we have already seen. With Rom 8 comes the introduction of a new life-giving actor, the Spirit.

#### *4.2.2.4. The Role of the Spirit in Resurrection and the Giving of Life*

One important distinction between the sonship of Jesus and the derived sonship of Paul and his readers regards the agency of the Spirit in resurrection. In Rom 8, Paul does not write of the Spirit’s agency in the resurrection of Jesus, though some have argued in the opposite way, particularly with respect to Rom 8.11.<sup>220</sup> John Coulson has summarised one such line of argument (viz., that of Peter Stuhlmacher): Jesus is the ‘real representative’ of the Spirit, having ‘led the way for his people with respect to the Spirit. Thus, it is assumed that Christ was raised through the Spirit, just as believers will be’.<sup>221</sup> Scott has argued similarly that ‘participating in the sonship of the messianic Son of God by means of the Spirit’ implies not only that Jesus pioneers the shared experience of the Spirit for Paul and his readers, but that Jesus and Paul (with his readers) share in the resurrection experience so completely that Rom 8.11 also implies Jesus’ resurrection by means of the Spirit.<sup>222</sup> On the contrary, I have argued that while the sonship of Jesus is similar to that of Paul and his readers, the apostle frames the unique sonship of Jesus asymmetrically to that of the

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<sup>220</sup> I have noted some recent proponents in n. 201, above. See also Dunn 1998: 143; Stuhlmacher 1998: 112. Dunn is however careful to note Paul’s evasion of Jesus’ resurrection by the Spirit in Romans; cf. Dunn 1989: 144. See further citations in Fatehi 2000: 204–205, and in Coulson 2017: 91, who both argue against the Spirit’s role in the resurrection of Jesus in Rom 8.

<sup>221</sup> Coulson 2017: 91.

<sup>222</sup> Scott 1992: 256–66 (the quotation is from p. 265).

derived sonship of Paul and his readers. And this holds true, I maintain, to the mode of resurrection described in Rom 8. So then, I take the *διά*-phrase of Rom 8.11 to modify, not the participial identifying description *ὁ ἐγείρας*, but the main verb of Rom 8.11b, *ζωοποιέω*. That means the intermediate agency of the Spirit functions in the making alive of the mortal bodies of Paul’s auditors, not in the previous raising of Jesus by the Father.<sup>223</sup>

Not linking the Spirit, then, to the resurrection of Jesus, Paul does give to the Spirit a place of prominence in the future resurrection of the apostle and his Roman readers. Like the role Paul assigns in Gal 4, the Spirit is the intermediate agent of the Romans’ future resurrection. ‘The one who raised Christ from the dead will make alive your mortal bodies also’, writes Paul, ‘through his indwelling Spirit’.<sup>224</sup> The Spirit also superintends

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<sup>223</sup> The accusative phrase *διὰ τὸ ἐνοικοῦν αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα* denoting the indwelling Spirit as reason or cause for the Father’s future giving of life to Paul’s readers is found in B D F G K L P\* Ψ 6 33 181 323 330 424 451 459 720 917 945 1175 1241 1398 1678 1739 1751 1845 1846 1874 1881 1908 1942 2138 2197 2200 2344 2464 2492 2516 2523 2544 2718 ℞ ar b d g o vg sy<sup>p</sup> Ir<sup>lat</sup> Hipp<sup>sy</sup> Or<sup>gr, lat</sup> Meth Did<sup>lat</sup> Chr Tert Hil Ambst Ambr Hier Pel *pc*. The genitive phrase *διὰ τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος αὐτοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ὑμῖν* denoting the indwelling Spirit as intermediate agent in the Father’s future giving of life to Paul’s readers is found in ⋈ A C<sup>e</sup> P<sup>e</sup> 5 69 81 104 218 256 263 326 436 441 467 621 623 915 1243 1319 1505 1506 1563 1573 1718 1735 1852 1875 1959 1962 2110 2127 2495 /59 /147 /249 *alf mon sy<sup>h</sup> sa bo arm eth geo slav Cl Hipp Meth Ath Ps-Ath Bas CyrJ Did<sup>lat</sup> Did<sup>dub</sup> Epiph Cyr Ambr Prisc Hier pc*. The external evidence is strong and early for both readings and cannot of itself offer a conclusive decision. However, see Metzger 1994: 456, who notes the UBS<sup>4</sup> grading of ‘B’ for the genitive reading (an upgrade from the UBS<sup>3</sup> grading of ‘C’; like the 4th ed., UBS<sup>5</sup> also gives a grade of ‘B’ for the reading), indicating ‘that the text is almost certain’ (Metzger 1994: 14\*; *pace* Fee 1994b: 543 n. 205). Metzger further notes the decisive stroke for the Committee’s preferred genitive case reading: the combination of text-types, positive for the genitive reading (strong representation from Alexandrian, Palestinian, and Western readings), but negative for the accusative reading (the diminishing of B when associated with D G). Transcriptional probability suggests that scribal assimilation may explain the change from genitive to accusative to fit the uses of *διά* in the previous verse (*διὰ ἁμαρτίαν* and *διὰ δικαιοσύνην*, Rom 8.10). Intrinsic probability also favours the genitive reading; for instance, Paul identifies the Spirit with life (e.g., *τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωή*, Rom 8.10), preparing the reader for the Spirit’s agency in resurrection in Rom 8.11. The alteration from accusative to genitive is more difficult to explain, though concern for orthodoxy may have influenced the change in order to emphasise the Spirit’s divinity and personality. In any case, it should be noted that whatever reading is selected—whether the Spirit is the intermediate agent of or the ultimate reason for the future resurrection of Paul and his Roman readers—has little bearing on my larger point: viz., the (lack of) the Spirit’s role in the resurrection of Jesus in Rom 8. See further Cranfield 1975: 1.391–92, esp. 392 n. 2; Jewett 2007: 475 n. j; Venter 2014: 296, esp. n. 43; Hill 2015: 160–61; Moo 2018: 494 n. 883.

<sup>224</sup> Rom 8.11b: *ὁ ἐγείρας Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ζωοποιήσει καὶ τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὑμῶν διὰ τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος αὐτοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ὑμῖν*. The preposition + gen. typically expresses intermediate agency. Cf. Robertson 1934: 582–83; Wallace 1996: 368–69; Harris 2012: 70–72. The preposition *διά* can express ultimate agency (as in the

the transference of Paul and his Roman readers from one sonship to another. Dunn has come quite close to this when he writes of the Spirit defining the ‘process which moves believers from one “adoption” to another’.<sup>225</sup> Dunn contends that the beginning of the process (the mention of the Spirit and *υιοθεσία* in Rom 8.15) ‘establishes the status of sonship’, while the final stage of the process (*υιοθεσία* in Rom 8.23) occurs in the future at the resurrection of the body.

I would like to refine Dunn’s position on two points. First, this is not a two-stage adoption that Paul posits for the first time in Rom 8. Rather, the apostle is repeating an earlier pattern of sonship that began with his description of Jesus in Rom 1.3–4. In that text, I have argued that Paul envisions a sonship-in-weakness during Jesus’ earthly life and ministry (entering into a new state of being as seed of David according to the flesh), followed by sonship-in-power with his resurrection from the dead.<sup>226</sup> I propose that Paul repeats that vision in Rom 8, where the Spirit leads Paul and his Roman readers inexorably from their current sonship-in-weakness (cf. Rom 8.15, 18–27) to their ultimate sonship-in-power at the future resurrection (esp. Rom 8.23). Theirs is a sonship derived from Jesus, and the same pattern that characterises his sonship (transference from weakness to power by resurrection) is imprinted on that of Paul and his Roman readers. My second point of refinement is to suggest that the Spirit is the proximate agent of this transference. The Spirit neither initiates nor (in the related sense of initiation) defines the transference of

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phrase *κληρονόμος διὰ θεοῦ*, Gal 4.7; cf. BDF §223.2, p. 119), but this is not the case in Rom 8.11 where the ultimate agent is contextually given as *ὁ ἐγείρας*. The Spirit is thus the intermediate agent in Rom 8.11.

<sup>225</sup> Cf. Dunn 1999: 85–86.

<sup>226</sup> See Chapter 3.4, above.

Paul and his Roman readers from sonship-in-weakness to sonship-in-power.<sup>227</sup> Rather, the Spirit acts on behalf of God (the Father), fulfilling God's mission as the one belonging to God and sent from God (πνεῦμα θεοῦ, Rom 8.9b; cf. ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα, Gal 4.6b). In this capacity, the Spirit is the one who confirms the sonship of Paul's addressees (Rom 8.15) and at the behest of the Father will make alive their mortal bodies (Rom 8.11).<sup>228</sup>

### 4.3. Conclusion

The apostle Paul in his undisputed writings treats of the relation between his readers and God (the Father) via the metaphorical vehicle, *υιοθεσία*. Paul uses the term anomalously, creatively investing *υιοθεσία* with a theological tinge. Where other writers relate the term to adoption, Paul only minimally borrows from the domain of adoption (e.g., access to inheritance, second-handedness), preferring instead to relate the term to the sonship status of himself and his readers via acts of life-giving, thus engaging in the RT device of ad-hoc concept formation. Paul's readers derive their status as sons from the Israelites, since from this nation comes the Christ (Rom 9.5), who is the ultimate source of divine sonship for Paul and his readers. Through the life-giving language of 'calling', Paul argues that God (the Father) will in the future orchestrate Israel's transition of status back to sons of the living God. The status of Israel as sons thus becomes the paradigm that informs Paul's

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<sup>227</sup> If by the Spirit 'defining' the process, Dunn simply means that the Spirit characterises the process of transference, then I would concur that this is closer to the sense of the Spirit's role in Rom 8. However, the Spirit seems to play a larger role for Dunn in some of his other works. See the brief discussion and citations in n. 132, above.

<sup>228</sup> In Rom 8.15, this is the import of the genitive construction πνεῦμα υιοθεσίας—the Spirit who confirms sonship. That is to say, the Spirit is the primary evidence of the sonship of Paul and his addressees. Cf. Moo 2018: 524.

usage of *υιοθεσία* in Rom 8.

Grappling with the question of the identity of the ones justified (i.e., ‘the sons of God’), Paul embarks upon a characterisation of the new relation between God (the Father) and Paul’s Galatian readers in Gal 2–4 by way of the metaphorical use of *υιοθεσία*. In Gal 4, the *υιοθεσία* metaphor describes the specific filial relation (regardless of gender) of Paul and his Galatian readers to God the Father, creating a new spiritual descent for those in Jesus. Paul’s letter to the Galatians reveals the reception of *υιοθεσία* as the culmination of Jesus’ mission from God (the Father), wherein Jesus bestows upon Paul’s auditors a sonship like his. The sonship of Paul and his readers parallels Jesus’ own, but theirs is not congruent to his. The apostle notes Jesus’ placement within a particular human family, Israel, descended from Abraham. Jesus shares in a common humanity and assumes the same penalty that formerly overshadowed Paul and his Galatian readers, having become the curse ‘for us’ (Gal 3.13). Important differences obtain, however, between Jesus’ sonship and the sonship of Paul and his Galatians readers. Paul portrays Jesus as the conduit of the benefits of divine sonship to the apostle’s auditors: the blessing of Abraham, the promise of the Spirit, the inheritance—a nexus of entailments that points us back to the original question of the identity of the ‘sons of God’, justified by accompanying acts of life-giving. Finally, Paul represents (the reception of) the Spirit, not as the totality of sonship, but as the evidentiary and mediating agent of sonship, acting at the behest of God (the Father). The Spirit mediates the presence and power of the risen Jesus to Paul and his Galatian readers, imprinting Jesus’ character upon those hearts indwelt by the same Spirit.

In Rom 8, Paul carefully and (occasionally) at length develops several themes related to divine sonship first articulated in the seedbed of Gal 4. From the outset the

apostle infuses the text with the motif of life-giving. He writes of no condemnation for those ‘in Christ’, detailing the delivery from a death sentence of those who participate in the sonship of Jesus. As in Gal 4, Paul posits an asymmetrical correspondence between Jesus and those ‘in’ him. The preceding has largely underscored the differences between the sonship of Jesus and the sonship of Paul’s addressees. Jesus is simply ‘son’, while those ‘in’ him receive their sonship from him second-hand, a notion Paul describes by recourse to *υιοθεσία* language, which he modifies in use. The important introduction of the Spirit as an intermediate, life-giving agent provides Paul with another contrast between the two types of sonship: the Spirit is ‘in’ Jesus and ‘of’ Jesus in ways that Paul does not write about himself and his Roman auditors. The Spirit and Jesus are closely aligned on one side of a divide from Paul and his Roman readers. Jesus, too, is the Father’s ‘own’ Son, a designation not predicated of Paul and his auditors. Paul argues in Rom 8 that Jesus’ sonship is thus determinative for those ‘in’ him, i.e., those who derive their sonship from him. Paul likewise frames the relation between the life-giving Father and Jesus at some remove from those ‘in’ Jesus. Death for Paul is enmity with respect to the Father. To the identifying description of the Father from Gal 1 as the ‘one who raised [Jesus] from the dead’, Paul adds the indwelling Spirit through whom the Father gives secondary life to the apostle and his Roman readers: the Father directly raises Jesus (an act about which Paul is silent regarding the role of the Spirit), but at the resurrection to come the Father indirectly through the Spirit will raise Paul and his addressees. Paul then equates the future ‘sonship-in-power’ for himself and his auditors with the resurrection life that Paul describes by ‘the redemption of our body’ (Rom 8.23). In noting the transition from sonship-in-weakness to sonship-in-power, the apostle repeats the pattern established for Jesus in Rom 1.

## CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS

What began as a reaction against the modern judgement that Paul's reflections about God are imported by the apostle more or less wholesale from his Jewish forebears without due deliberation—i.e., Paul's theology proper may be characterised as a set of merely unreflected axioms—has developed into an argument that Paul presents a new identity for God as the life-giving Father in two significant ways. First, the thesis explored the relation of the Father to Jesus through the lens of the resurrection. Second, the thesis explored the relation of the Father to those 'in Christ' (ἐν Χριστῷ), where sonship is extended from the unique Son to many 'sons' in the context of life-giving acts. We may summarise the distinctive contributions of the thesis under three headings. I will end by suggesting a few avenues for further research.

### 5.1. Locating Paul's Discourse on Divine Fatherhood and Resurrection

Divine fatherhood and acts of life-giving (specifically, the act of raising Jesus from the dead) are uniquely intersected in Paul's reflections about God, revealing a new identity for God as Father. I have argued that this is a novel contribution to theology proper by the apostle, an instance of Paul renovating his theological foundations. However, Paul's new identification of God as the Father who raised Jesus from the dead is by no means composed in a vacuum, or untethered to any similar deliberations that preceded him. Rather, Paul bridges two vast streams of thought, which developed language and reflection about God in terms of fatherhood on the one hand, and about life after death (whether



that be resurrection, or something akin to it)—and especially the divine role in generating life after death—on the other.

Jewish reflection about divine fatherhood stretches back at least to the OT (specifically, the Torah), where God's paternity is interpreted within the related categories of authority, protection, and care, categories that were privileged over others by the authors developing the divine fatherhood metaphor. From these common cognitive domains, we traced the rich and varied development of generative divine fatherhood from OT texts through the deuterocanonical literature to other Second Temple sources. I proposed that the development of this particular line of thought impinges upon the analysis of the Pauline literature in two ways: the extension of the relation to God as Father from the nation of Israel corporately to individuals within it; and the exploration of the possibility of God restoring life at the point of death, or near-death, prefiguring the belief in bodily resurrection by the time Paul wrote his epistles. At key junctures in his letters, Paul could exploit this line of thought begun in the Second Temple period.

Greco-Roman authors, whose theological reflections followed different traditions, nevertheless trained their discussions of generative divine fatherhood upon one figure, Zeus, whom they cast as the author and cause of life. Missing from their accounts of the one paternal, generative deity are developed concepts of restored or resurrected life. From these two trajectories—one Jewish, the other Greco-Roman—Paul's theological reflections more closely align with those of his Jewish forebears, though he may have been aware of similar developments within those traditions beyond the Jewish milieu. To suggest the drafting of a straight line between these ancient authors and Paul is to draw a conclusion that is beyond the evidence. However, Paul's logic in the intersection of divine

fatherhood and resurrection can be better understood by recourse to the relevant Jewish and Greco-Roman literature and the trajectories of development they created.

Paul's intersection of the divine fatherhood metaphor and the resurrection of Jesus is an example of his theological creativity. Though he is representative of the theological ferment in both Greco-Roman and Jewish circles of the preceding centuries, he has something actually (though not scandalously) new to say about God. Therefore, the analysis of the relevant Jewish and Greco-Roman literature is not an attempt to deny Paul's creativity or to ignore his *Sondergut*. Rather, the analysis of those authors and texts that reflected on divine fatherhood and the generation of life prior to (or contemporary with) Paul demonstrates that his intersective imagination remains faithful to the theological developments of the cultures that informed and defined his own time.

## 5.2. Paul's New Identity for the Father in the Resurrection of Jesus

Neither entirely surprising nor outrageously inventive, Paul's theological reflections and their contexts are carefully situated by the apostle in continuity with the OT prophets. At least, this is Paul's claim: the gospel he preaches was promised before by the prophets in the Scriptures. There is a distinction between proclamation and promise. Though the gospel Paul preaches was promised beforehand, its specific content could not be proclaimed without the resurrection of Jesus from the dead. While he claims fidelity to the OT Scriptures, Paul simultaneously avoids the mere repetition of OT prophecy, offering instead a creative reinterpretation. In Rom 1.3–4, for example, Paul recasts Jesus as the resurrected Davidid who fulfils Nathan's prophecy (2 Sam 7.12).

Paul intersects divine fatherhood and the resurrection of Jesus at crucially important junctures. The intersection often occurs in the programmatic opening sections of his epistles, informing the agendas of major sections to come. Paul refers to the Father's raising of Jesus, for instance, in the beginning sections of the letters to the Galatians (Gal 1.1), the Romans (Rom 1.3–4), and the first epistle to the Thessalonians (1 Thess 1.9–10). Paul also raises the issue of identity in the intersection—not only the identity of Paul's readers, or the identity of Jesus (though Paul certainly discusses both), but also the identity of God as Father, whose self-revelation equates his being with his action in raising Jesus. Paul concludes that the Father reveals a new dimension to his identity by the definitive paternal act in the resurrection of Jesus, transferring his unique Son from one status (sonship-in-weakness) to another (sonship-in-power). In this instance, Paul's theology proper and his Christology are mutually interpretative. Where the resurrection reveals a new status for Jesus, so too in the resurrection of Jesus the life-giving Father decisively shows himself to be the Father-in-Power. Paul emphasises this new aspect of God's identity, thereby demonstrating interest in creative theologising about God as he is in himself.

An early stream of Pauline thought further relates the Father's act in the resurrection of Jesus to elements of life-giving as seen especially in the words that form the final part of the hymnic text in Col 1.18–20. Attaining a new status of sonship in the resurrection, Jesus now stands at the forefront of resurrection sonship-in-power. This early stream is linked textually and thematically to Paul's proclamation of the gospel he preaches, defined around Jesus the Son. Jesus as 'firstborn', a metaphorically emphatic term, undergirds Jesus' priority of rank and supremacy over those included in the schema

of divine sonship. In this early stream, these other divine sons are said to be ‘in Christ’, a description that aligns with Paul’s own language for derived, divine sonship.

Paul’s identification of the Father through an identifying description as the one who raised Jesus from the dead is therefore decisive (the resurrection of Jesus is seen by Paul as God’s primary paternal act), significant (the identifying description occurs in programmatic passages), and eschatologically-oriented (God’s newly-revealed identity is linked to the future resurrection of those ‘in Christ’). Paul builds upon the traditional portrayals of paternal creation and life-giving, while seeking to move his readers away from those traditional identifications in favour of the constitution of the Father’s identity in his act toward Jesus, a central piece to the apostle’s theology proper that is extended in an early stream of Pauline thought (Col 1). In this, Paul redefines God’s identity round the content of his gospel, ‘Jesus Christ our Lord’ (Rom 1.4).

### 5.3. Paul’s New Identity for the Father in Relation to Those ‘in Christ’

Paul’s new identification of the Father as the life-giver, most poignantly seen in the resurrection of Jesus, informs not only Paul’s Christological reflections, but also his conception of how God the Father relates to those who are in union with Jesus through the Spirit. Here, the apostle creatively and theologically uses a term he borrows from the domain of institutional adoption (and dependent upon the paradigm of Israel as sons), *υιοθεσία*. Contrary to prevailing views on the significance of this term, which approach Paul’s usage prescriptively, I have argued that Paul engages in ad-hoc concept formation, modifying in use certain nuances of the term to suit his own purposes. In the Pauline

letters, the language of *υιοθεσία* is concentrated in Gal 4 and Rom 8. Here, Paul's usage of the term is anomalous, highlighting not the legal act of adoption, but rather the transferral of status for himself and his readers to derived sonship via acts of life-giving.

Because Jesus has been raised to the status of Son-of-God-in-power, Paul regards the new sonship extended to those 'in' the Son—i.e., to those who participate in his sonship—as deriving from Jesus, the conduit of blessing, Spirit, and inheritance. Paul's logic establishes relation to Jesus (phrased as 'being in Christ') as a concomitant of the derived sonship that Jesus offers. That is, from the resurrection of Jesus the Father now powerfully imparts a sonship like Jesus' to those who are the 'justified' or 'righteous' (such as, Paul and his readers) through the Son, whose logically prior sonship is framed in the language of sending, gift, and mission. In this impartation, Paul conceives of a profound exchange: Jesus assumes humanity-in-weakness by becoming the 'curse for us' and in return bestows redemption (cf. the use of *ἐξαγοράζω* in Gal 4.5) as sonship-in-power, to be fully realised by the new sons in Jesus at the future resurrection.

Paul differentiates between the sonship of Jesus and the derivative sonship of those 'in Christ'. The apostle is careful to attribute to Jesus a sonship that is unique, where Paul characterises Jesus as God's 'beloved', God's 'own'. Relation to the Spirit also serves as a distinguishing mark for these two types of sonship. The Spirit is said to be 'of Jesus; Paul and his readers, however, are said to be 'in' the Spirit. The Father is intimately related to Jesus, serving as the agent of the Son's resurrection, but stands, in a sense, at one remove from those who are 'in Christ' by sending the Spirit as the intermediary of their resurrection. Paul devises a distinction, on the one side of which belong Jesus and the Spirit, and on the other, those who are 'in' them. He employs differing terminology to

describe the two types of sonship. For Jesus he reserves the epithet 'Son' (*υἱός*, used absolutely in the phrase 'the Son of God', *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*, Gal 2.20), and he occasionally characterises Jesus as God's 'own' son (Rom 8.3, 32), highlighting Jesus' uniqueness among many brethren. Only very sparingly applying this appellation to those who are 'in Christ', Paul can refer to himself and his auditors not uniquely, but with the plural 'sons' (*υἱοί*) or even 'children' (*τέκνα*), or especially the term *υιοθεσία*. We may speak of Jesus' sonship as inherent, while those on the other side of this Pauline divide are only sons derivatively through Jesus, the unique Son.

The life-giving qualities of the Father are subtly composed by a negatively-stated series of equations and another positively-stated identifying description as Paul turns his attention toward how the Father relates to those who derive their sonship from Jesus. In Rom 8, Paul creates a scenario that makes death equal to the state of enmity with God. Conversely, Paul portrays in the same passage the Father as the one who raised Jesus from the dead, signalling again the Father's generation and gift of life, not only to his own, beloved Son, but even to Paul and his readers, who will be raised by the Spirit in the future resurrection. Hostile toward death, the Father defines himself as death's opposite, the giver of life in the act of resurrection: directly, in the case of Jesus; mediately through the Spirit, in the case of Paul and his readers. Thus, the Father as life-giver culminates in the resurrection of Jesus, but also extends to those who are sons derivatively in Jesus and through the Spirit.

## 5.4. Avenues for Further Research

We have largely been preoccupied with the undisputed Pauline letters in an effort to follow the evidence of Paul's reflections about God and his creative theologising therein. We have encountered an engaging, albeit incomplete, picture of Paul's discourse on the subject, and much work remains to be done. The scope of the current investigation has been limited, and it is perhaps for others to explore the Pauline connection between divine fatherhood and acts of life-giving where our research has not endeavoured to tread. Further engagement could potentially come from several places, but I will mention two. The book of Acts could perhaps be fertile ground for filling in certain gaps regarding Paul's creative theologising about divine generative fatherhood. How does the portrayal of Paul in Acts vis-à-vis divine fatherhood and the resurrection accord with what the apostle writes in his undisputed letters? Two instances of Pauline preaching come readily to mind and could repay careful study: Paul's sermon at Pisidian Antioch recorded in Acts 13.16b–41 and his sermon on the Aeropagus in Athens recorded in Acts 17.22–31. How the Paul of Acts differs, expands, omits, or seconds the theologising of Romans and Galatians, for example, could round out the picture of the apostle's stated beliefs on God as both Father and life-giver. The disputed Pauline letters could also provide greater access to early streams of Pauline thought. In particular, more space is needed to delve deeply into the significance of Jesus as the 'firstborn of all creation' in Col 1, and especially how this phrase interplays with what we have found concerning Jesus as 'firstborn from the dead'.

How Paul was received by subsequent generations of interpreters may also provide a fruitful line of enquiry.<sup>1</sup> We witnessed in Col 1 certain clarifications and expansions upon Paul's writings. Perhaps in the writings of early Christianity after the NT, especially those writing from various perspectives about the miscellaneous beliefs now typically included under the umbrella of Gnostic literature—or later still, those writing in the midst of the Arian (or other Christological) controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries CE—the use of the Pauline texts we analysed may be of interest. Early examples include: texts (Valentinian or otherwise) on the resurrection of Jesus and divine motherhood and femininity (e.g., the role of God as female in creation and the giving of life) from the Nag Hammadi codices; the letters of *1 Clement*, of Ignatius to the Smyrnaeans, and of Polycarp to the Philippians; Irenaeus (esp. the *Adversus haereses*); Clement of Alexandria; Hippolytus of Rome; Origen; and Methodius of Olympus (esp. the *De resurrectione*). The reception of Paul's theological reflections by later writers such as Athanasius, Marcellus of Ancyra, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, and Theodoret may also merit sustained scholarly attention. What problems were these writers attempting to solve by appeal to the Pauline reflections about God as they scrutinised or clarified the texts of the apostle, or of those closely associated with him during his life and ministry? I wonder if serious appraisal of this next generation of authors might contribute to greater understanding of the dividing line between what came to be known as orthodoxy and those views that were rejected as heterodox? If we extend this line of enquiry even further, how did these Pauline texts, often composed in a liturgical style, function in the development of the later Christian creeds? Analysis of post-NT early

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zimmermann 2020: 106–13.



Christian texts could provide greater nuance about the degree of Paul's creative theologising in his reflections about God.

My interests in this thesis have skewed toward the divine fatherhood metaphor in the Pauline literature, to the neglect of what the apostle had to say about resurrection. Of course Paul expressed many thoughts, both about the resurrection of Jesus and about the future resurrection of those 'in Christ', but I have treated only those texts that have crossed Paul's statements on divine fatherhood. Discussion of Paul's reflections upon resurrection—in 1 Cor 15 and 1 Thess 4, for instance—could lead to greater insight into his theologising upon divine generative fatherhood. All too briefly have I suggested that Paul's readers could conjecture the apostle's ostensible transfer from the Father as Creator to the Father as the Resurrector of Jesus. This idea in particular could benefit from deeper investigation than I have been able to provide here. My sincere gratitude will be to those who travel down the avenues I have suggested here, to those intrepid researchers who bring to light the discoveries that await.

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