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Submit to Whom? An Exegetical Study of Romans 13:1-7

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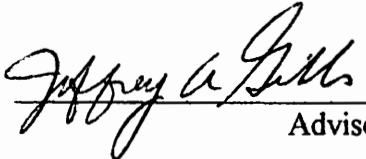
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An Exegetical Study of Romans 13:1-7

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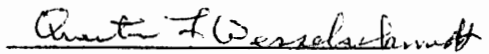for the Degree of
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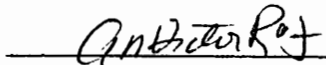
by

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May 2003

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To Judy

"A cord of three strands
is not quickly broken."

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Acknowledgments

Introduction

This thesis will address the question of referent, specifically, who or what is the referent of ἐξουσία and its parallels in Romans 13:1-7. This is a unique endeavor in recent scholarship on Rom. 13:1-7. For, although much has been written on Rom. 13:1-7, recent scholarship has been concerned with the pragmatic nature of the text. The nature and meaning of submission, the orders of creation in light of the holocaust, and concerns of unjust states are some of the issues driving the research into Rom. 13 in recent years.[1]

The question of the referent for ἐξουσία has a history within the 20th century. While here has been near unanimous agreement that ἐξουσία refers to the civil authorities, theological luminaries Oscar Cullmann and Karl Barth dissented from this view. Both saw a dual referent – angelic powers and political authorities – for ἐξουσία. A significant contribution to this position was offered by Clinton Morrison, a disciple of Cullmann. After a flurry of papers, the discussion ended without this position gaining widespread adherence.[2]

Mark Nanos, however, has recently addressed this issue from a new perspective. In his book, *The Mystery of Romans*,[3] Nanos argues that Romans is written to Christians who are still

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[1]John Howard Yoder, *The Politics of Jesus* 2nd ed., (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1994), 193-211; Winsome Munro, "Romans 13:1-7 – Apartheid's Last Biblical Refuge," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 20 (1990):161-8, and C. E. B. Cranfield, *Romans*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1974), 660-3 are examples of recent authors addressing these issues. Even the nature of submission which plays a major role in Yoder's and Cranfield's discussion takes on pragmatic concerns. Yoder prefaces his discussion of Romans 13:1-7 by stating, "Until the crisis of Nazism struck into the heartland of Protestant theological scholarship, there was little question about he centrality and adequacy of Romans 13:1-7 as the foundation of a Christian doctrine of the state" (193). His exegesis proceeds with this historical setting in the background.

[2]For one who does hold this position, however, see Walter Wink, *Naming the Powers* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984).

[3]*The Mystery of Romans* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1996).

part of the synagogue. Therefore, the ἐξουσία refers to the synagogue authorities. Nanos argues

for his position on the basis of exegetical, contextual, and historical insights. His position, if

accepted, offers a new perspective on Jewish-Christian relationships in the 1st century.

In order to examine the referent of ἐξουσία and its parallels, this study consists of three

chapters. Chapter 1 is an overview of the letter to the Romans. This provides the necessary

context for understanding Rom. 13:1-7. Additionally, this overview will show how Rom. 13 fits

both into Paul's concerns throughout the letter and how it is an integral part of the parenesis of

Rom. 12-15.

Chapter 2 is a detailed exegesis of Rom. 13:1-7. This chapter examines Paul's structure

and argument in this pericope. This analysis provides the context in which to evaluate the

arguments of Cullmann, Barth, and Nanos.

Chapter 3 looks at three different options for the referent of ἐξουσία. First the dual

referents of Barth, Cullmann, and Morrison are examined. The bulk of the chapter presents and

analyzes Nanos' unique position. Then the case for the traditional understanding ἐξουσία as the

government is examined. Finally, the chapter concludes with an evaluation of the evidence that

has been presented.

The paper ends with a brief conclusion and some thoughts on application issues.

I. The Semantics of Romans

To understand a portion of Romans entails understanding the whole.[4] While a perfect

reading may be difficult or even impossible when interpreting a document that is 1950 years old,[5]

this process of reading a part in light of the whole is essential. "Complete thoughts . . . are . . .

related to one another."[6] Thus concepts and meanings are understood not in isolation but in

interaction. This is key for the interpretive process of this study. Such critical concepts in Romans

13:1-7 as κρίμα, συνείδησις and ὀργή play roles in Paul's argumentation in other pericopes of

Romans. Therefore it is important to discuss, albeit briefly, these pericopes, the argument and the

flow of the argument before moving onto the parenesis and Rom. 13:1-7.

A. The "Doctrinal Section" of Romans.

Romans 1:1-17. This opening section is divided into three distinct subsections: verses 1-7 (the

greeting), verses 8-15 (the thanksgiving), and 16-17 (theme stated).[7]

This opening section is the longest recorded Pauline greeting.[8] Three major points are

stressed. First, his call as an apostle is stressed. "A called apostle," is a deviation (appearing

elsewhere only in 1 Corinthians) from his more usual self-designation of "an apostle of Christ

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[4]James. W. Voelz, *What Does This Mean?* 2nd ed. (St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1997), 120-38.

[5]This does not deny that an understanding of Romans is possible. Rather, this statement simply states that there are historical factors that cannot be fixed with relative certainty.

[6]Voelz, *What Does This Mean?* 134.

[7]Thomas R. Schreiner, *Romans* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1998), 28. The first two parts of Paul's introduction were common in Graeco-Roman society. See Stanley K Stowers, *Letter Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press: 1986), 20.

[8]C. E. B. Cranfield, *Romans* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1975), 1:47.

Jesus" (2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus). This calling set Paul apart

for the specific task of preaching the Gospel of God. In these simple verses Paul has set the tone

for the epistle. He is writing under the authority of God and about the action of God.[9] Second,

Paul takes great pains to explain the content of the Gospel of God: Jesus Christ, who was

descended from David, proclaimed the Son of God, who was spoken of in the Holy Writings.

Third, Paul stresses that the proclamation of this Gospel is to bring about the obedience of faith

among the Gentiles. The combination of "obedience" and "faith" stresses the inseparability of the

reception of the Gospel proclamation in faith and its results.[10] Thus this phrase serves to tie the

two major portions of Paul's letter together – the righteousness that is by faith alone (Rom. 1:18-

11:36) and the parenesis (Rom. 12:1-13).

In the second section, verses Rom. 1:8-15, Paul gives thanks for the Romans. This section

is again lengthy in comparison to Paul's other letters. However, as he is introducing himself to the

Romans, this extended thanksgiving further serves to built rapport with the Romans. Additionally,

Paul continues to develop the same themes from the prescript, most specifically, faith, Gentiles,

and evangelism.[11]

The introduction concludes by the concise introduction of the theme in Rom. 1: 16-17: his

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[9]Douglas Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1996), 42-3.

[10]εις ὑπακοὴν πίστεως is a highly debated phrase. James C. Miller in *The Obedience of Faith, the Eschatological People of God, and the Purpose of Romans* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 200), 42, lists 4 possible grammatical explanations for the use of πίστεως: Objective genitive, subjective genitive, genitive of apposition/epexegitical genitive, and adjectival genitive/genitive of quality. Apposition demonstrates the unity of the ὑποκοή and πίστις while still maintaining their own unique semantical domains. Moo writes, "Paul saw his task as calling men and women to submission to the lordship of Christ (cf. vv. 4b and 7b), a submission that began with conversion but which was to continue in a deepening, lifelong commitment" (52).

[11]James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8* (Dallas: Word Books, Publishers, 1988), 27.

Gospel is the power of God for salvation for all – Jew and Gentile[12] – who believe. The life of the

believer is nothing but faith (ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν).[13] The Christian exists only in the

sphere of faith.[14] Works of the Law do not have a place in Christian existence.

Romans 1:18-3:20. This section's exact connection with the preceding section is often debated.

Dunn[15] and Fitzmyer[16] believe that γάρ is used as an adversative. This would mean Paul intends to

draw a contrast between the righteousness of Rom. 1:17 and the wrath of Rom. 1:18. However,

this would be an unique use of γάρ.[17] It is possible that γάρ is nothing more than a transitional

particle, best left untranslated.[18] However, before discounting this option, it is better to examine

the possibilities for understanding γάρ as giving the cause or reason.

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[12]Some constructions appear awkward, especially those related to "Jew" and "Gentile" and "doing the Law." These and similar constructions reproduce Paul's Greek into English.

[13]Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:100.

[14]Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1980), 31.

[15]Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 54.

[16]Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 277.

[17]No example of γάρ as an adversative is cited by Blass and Debrunner, A. T. Robertson, or Daniel B. Wallace in their grammars. Neither Bauer nor Louw and Nida record an adversative use for γάρ in their lexicons.
F. Blass, and A. Debrunner *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament*, trans. and rev. Robert W. Funk (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961); henceforth abbreviated BDF.
A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1934).
Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1996).
Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature*, trans. and ed. Frederick William Danker, 3rd ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 189-90; henceforth abbreviated BDAG.
Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, eds., *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains*, 2nd ed., 2 volumes (New York: United Bible Societies: 1989), 780; henceforth abbreviated Louw/Nida.

[18]The New International Version takes this option. Schreiner credits Leitzmann with this position (77).

Paul has just finished stating the theme of Romans: δικαιοσύνη γάρ θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀποκαλύπτεται ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν. Paul explains the reason that faith brings about the state of δικαιοσύνη. For Paul, the alternative to faith is works of the Law. This way, however, leads to a knowledge of sin, not to a righteousness that exists before God (Rom. 3:20 – διότι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, διὰ γὰρ νόμου ἐπιγνωσις ἁμαρτίας). Paul introduces the reason that faith is a necessity with γάρ, and thus γαρ governs not just the statement of Rom. 1:18, but also the whole argument that continues through Rom. 3:20.

The connection between the two sections runs like this: God has revealed His righteousness, that is, the righteousness of faith, to the Jew first, then to the Greek. Such a faith-righteousness is necessary precisely because His wrath is being revealed against all – both the Greek and the Jew – who are unrighteous. Salvation is through faith because God's wrath condemns the unrighteous works of all.

Rom. 1:18-32 is written about the Gentile world from the perspective of the Hellenistic Jew.[19] The wrath (ὀργή) of God is revealed against Gentiles because of their foolish exchange of the creation for the Creator. Therefore God has handed over the Gentiles to their lusts (v. 24), to their dishonorable passions (v. 26), and to their worthless minds (v. 28). In this case, the wrath of God is revealed at the present time (ἀποκαλύπτεται) by the handing over to sin, not only held

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[19]Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 53.

for the future.[20] God does not need to wait to express His anger toward sin.[21]

Rom. 2:1-29 takes a sharp turn in tone. Having addressed the issue from a Hellenistic,

Jewish perspective, Paul turns on the imaginary Jew who would sit in judgment.[22] Interestingly,

the judgment of the Jewish interlocutor is confirmed. Paul does not debate the truth of the

judgment that a Jew would pronounce upon a Gentile. Rather Paul turns the argument of the Jew

against the Jew. The added surprise is the inexcusable behavior of the Jew. While possessing the

Scriptures (note the quote in verse 6 from Psalm 62 and the reference to the Law as possession of

the Jew over and against the lawless Gentile), his disobedience of that Law will condemn him.

Wrath is a reality for the Jew as well as the Gentiles. God's wrath is just as strong for the

Jew, as Paul stresses the eschatological wrath that awaits the unrepentant Jew (Rom. 2:5).

Indeed, the plight of the Jew is somewhat intensified. While the plight of the Gentiles was

evidenced from nature, Scriptures are used in addressing the situation of the Jew. The Jew's own

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[20]C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1957), 38; see also Moo, who writes, "Although God will inflict his wrath on sin finally and irrevocably at the end of time (2:5), there is an anticipatory working of God's wrath in the events of history" (101)

[21]Contra William Sanday and Rev. Arthur C. Headlam, who see this as a "mainly, if not altogether, eschatological" reference (*Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, International Critical Commentary [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1914], 41). The present tense of ἀποκαλύπτεται contradicts this understanding. Indeed, the aorist use of παραδίδωμι (vv. 24, 26, 28) would indicate this action has already taken place. Contra also A. T. Hansen, who writes: ". . . the wrath of God is wholly impersonal and does not describe an attitude of God but a condition of men; in its realized aspect it works generally through the moral or historical process, and even in its eschatological aspect is as much a revealing as an execution" (*The Wrath of the Lamb* [London: S.P.C.K., 1957], 110). The genitive θεοῦ attached to ὀργή functions most naturally as a genitive of source. Wrath may be caused by sin (per Hansen, 85), but it is most definitely related to God's displeasure. The thrice repeated active voice of παραδίδωμι with God as subject demonstrates that God is actively involved.

[22]Fitzmyer, 296. Stanley K. Stowers argues against this division. Instead, he argues that 1:18-2:16 address Gentile culture. Only at 2:17, when the Jew is addressed directly (σὺ Ἰουδαῖος) does Paul's argument turn against the Jew, using a "speech-in-character" technique (*A Rereading of Romans* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994], 83-175). A. Andrew Das adopts the same position. However, Das adds textual and structural reasons to the argument, citing the presence of chiasmus linking 1:18-20 with 2:5-10 (*Paul, the Law, and the Covenant* [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2001], 172).

Scripture testifies to God's impartiality (Rom. 2:6) in matters of judgment. Possession and knowledge of the Law are no safeguard, since they are standards for judgement (Rom. 2:12-24) for Jew and Gentile alike. Gentiles are also condemned under the Law because their consciences bears witness against them (Rom. 2:15).[23] Neither will circumcision help if one breaks the Law (Rom. 2:25-29). God's impartiality is maintained. Wrath is not circumvented by the possession of the Law or its outer fulfillment. The works that mankind produces apart from the work of the Spirit demonstrate hearts far from God.

Rom. 3 addresses the question that naturally follows from placing Jews and Gentiles together under the wrath of God: wherein lies the benefit of being Jewish? The one benefit mentioned now (more are related in Rom. 9:4-5) is that they are entrusted with the sayings of God (ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ τεοῦ). God is faithful, even when Israel has failed (Rom. 3:3-7). The chief benefit of possessing the sayings of God appears to be a more sure knowledge of one's own sin![24] Rom. 3:9-20 reaffirm the impartiality of God. The possession of the Law brings knowledge of sin. Jew and Gentile are still linked, though different means have been used to demonstrate the similar standing of each under God's wrath and judgment.

When one argues, as Dunn does, that the ἔργα νόμου (Rom. 3:20) are merely reliance upon the ethnic markers of Judaism – such as circumcision – the whole argument of Paul is

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[23]Fitzmyer notes that the use of συνείδησις is of Greek origin, not Jewish and "is the capacity of the human mind to judge one's actions either in retrospect (as right or wrong) or in prospect (as a guide for proper activity)" (311).

[24]However, as both the citation of Habakkuk 2:4 and Paul's words in 3:21-22 demonstrate, the sayings of God point to salvation as well.

missed.[25] The Jew is condemned precisely for violating the Law even as the Gentile is (Rom. 2:1).

The Gentile has knowledge through what is written on his heart, the Jew through the revealed

Law.[26] Indeed, the culpability of the Jew appears heightened. The Gentile possesses knowledge of

God's power and divinity through creation (Rom. 1:20; 2:15). The Jew, however, understands

God's nature more thoroughly than the Gentile. A God of kindness, tolerance, and patience

leading to repentance (Rom. 2:4) has been revealed to the Jew through the oracles of God (Rom.

3:2). Stubbornness and an unrepentant heart in these matters lead to the wrath of God and to

condemnation (Rom. 2:16).

Paul speaks of an impartial condemnation that comes from failing to do the Law. The

issue is not that Gentiles fail to keep moral aspects of the Law and the Jews depend on the ethnic

markers. Rather, Rom. 3:9-18 states that the Jew and the Gentile are condemned for failure to

keep all the Law. There is no mention of ethnic markers, only of failure to fulfill the Law![27] Each

group is judged on the basis of their doing or not doing the Law.

By ending Rom. 1:18-3:20 – the first major section in this manner – Paul has

demonstrated two important items. First, the wrath of God is present temporally. There is a

twofold demonstration of wrath: in time, as God hands over the sinner to his base desires, and at

the eschaton as the impenitent heart receives what has been stored up for it. This discussion helps

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[25]Dunn argues that ἔργων νόμου are the ethnic markers of Jews (*Romans 1-8*, 153-4). However, he ignores the significance of this verse as a summary for 1:18-3:19. For a concise rebuttal of this position see C.E.B. Cranfield, "'The Works of the Law' in the Epistle to the Romans," in *On Romans* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1998), 1-14.

[26]Das, 178-9.

[27]Thomas R. Schreiner, *The Law and Its Fulfillment* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1993), 56-7; Das, 190.

one sort through the discussion of ὀργή in Rom. 13:4 and clears the way to seeing God's wrath as

a temporal concern in Rom. 13:4. Second, συνείδησις is used as a criterion for judgment. That

is, the conscience accuses or defends the Gentile on the day of judgment. In this instance,

συνείδησις functions as a judge to behavior, looking upon past behavior. This will serve as a

basis for discussion when Rom. 13:5 is discussed.

3:21-4:25. Paul's introduction of the Jew's advantage in possessing the oracles of God in Rom.

3:2 does double duty. First the oracles of God served as a witness against the Jew and the Gentile.

Now the same Scriptures serve to demonstrate that righteousness is through faith, apart from

works of the Law (Rom. 3:21).

While human effort, failure, Law, wrath, and judgment were linked previously, the

righteousness through faith is connected with God's free work in and through Jesus Christ. The

vocabulary is clear in Rom. 3:24-25. The righteousness of faith in Jesus Christ is connected with

"freeness" (Rom. 3:24 – δωρεάν), grace, redemption through Jesus Christ, expiation, and the

passing over of sins. God's work is moved to the forefront of Paul's discussion.

Paul approaches the same topic from the idea of "boasting" (Rom. 3:27-31). In Rom. 1 he

showed that the Gentile falls short, exchanging the Creator for His creation. Then the pride of the

Jew was destroyed (Rom. 2:1-29) as he was portrayed as a breaker of the Law that was his

special possession. Paul is not thinking of circumcision and other such ethnic markings that

promote "Jewish national self-confidence."[28] Rather, Paul is again referring to the keeping of the

whole Law, building upon his argument in Rom. 2. The keeping of the Law was a boast among

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[28]Dunn agrees (*Romans 1-8*, 192).

Jews.[29] It was, however, an idle boast. For the Jew also failed to do the Law. There is no

boasting. Only the work of God that comes to the circumcised and uncircumcised through faith

matters. Thus, the role of the Law is strengthened. It does its job fully, accusing the unrighteous.[30]

In Rom. 4, Paul makes his point in the most dramatic manner: Abraham was justified while

he was still a Gentile![31] The blessing of the Lord (Rom. 4:7-8) comes upon those whose sins are

forgiven. Faith brings this blessing (Rom. 4:10). Circumcision only sealed the promise of God for

Abraham (Rom. 4:11). This move makes Abraham the father of all who believe, whether

circumcised or not (Rom. 4:11-12). To ascribe blessing to Abraham or anyone else on account of

Law-obedience is impossible. For, "the Law works wrath" (Rom. 4:15). The promise of God's

blessing comes through faith (Rom. 4:16). Thus, Abraham's faith was recorded in Scripture (τὰ

λόγια of Rom. 3:2) for future generations that they may learn of the righteousness of faith (Rom.

4:22-25). For Paul, the impartiality of God was a "built-in" truth within Scripture, not a new

innovation.

5:1-21. The placement of Rom. 5 within the argument of Romans is a matter of great debate.

Many commentators place Rom. 5 with what precedes it, as a conclusion to the discussion on

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[29]Schreiner notes, "The Jews of the Second Temple Period did not expect God's blessings solely for ethnic reasons. A purified people devoted to the law would the recipients of salvation. Thus, heritage and possession of the law were not the only reasons Jews felt superior to Gentiles. Jews typically thought their obedience to the law was superior to that of the Gentiles. The Gentiles deserved God's punishment precisely because they were not as morally righteous as Israel and did not keep God's law" (*The Law*, 102-3).

[30]Moo, 254, n. 42; also Martin H. Franzmann, *Romans* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1968), 73-4 and R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1961), 277.

[31]Hendrikus Boers, *The Justification of the Gentiles* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 1994), 108.

justification.[32] Others, however, see this as the beginning to a new section concluding with Rom.

8.[33] Boers has recently divided Rom. 5 into two sections: verses 1-11 serving as a transition and

verses 12-21 as a portion of the following section.[34]

The difficulties with the placement of Rom. 5 are acknowledged by all.[35] Perhaps the best

approach is to allow the chapter to be what it appears to be: a bridge or transition between Rom

1:18-4:25 and Rom. 6:1-8:39. Paul's entire argument turns on this chapter. The benefits of God's

action in Jesus are presented (Rom. 5:1-5). The basis for these gifts is reviewed in Rom. 5:6-11.

Rom. 5:12-21 prepare the way for the great themes of what follows: death and life, Law and

grace. Neil Elliott explains it thus:

> Thematic connections in 5.1-11 with what precedes and in 5.12-21 with
> what follows indicate that this is a transitional section of the letter.
> Correspondences on both sides of Romans 5 reinforce the impression:
> accountability to God's righteous requirement in the Law, 2.1-16, 6.15-8.4; the
> continuing validity of Israel's covenantal privileges, 2.24-3.8, 9.1-11.36; and the
> identity of Abraham's children, chs.4, 9.
> In fact, Romans 5 is the pivot on which the letter's argument turns. This
> chapter channels the force of the opposition generated in chs. 1-4 between divine
> righteousness and human boasting into an instance that Christians boast 'in God'
> (5.11), specifically in the mode of hope for 'the glory of God' (5.2). The
> reorientation of christology in 5.12-21 becomes the apocalyptic-theocentric anchor

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[32]Leon Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1988), 33; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1963), 67; Franzmann, 19; Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, viii.

[33]Moo, 33; Fitzmyer, 98; Cranfield, *Romans,* 1:28.

[34]Boers, 110.

[35]Dunn,, while supporting its inclusion with the preceding argument, demonstrates parallels with both with the preceding and the ensuing text, even arguing that chapter 5 provides a broad outline for chapters 6-11 (*Romans 1-8*, 242-4). Moo, while supporting its inclusion with chapters 6-8, stresses caution because "after all, [Paul] is writing a letter, not a systematic theology" and ". . . the progress of Paul's argument reveals a transition in topic at this point" (291).

for the extended qualification of the Christian 'boast' in Romans 6-11.[36]

Rom. 5 makes several clear connections to the preceding chapters. Rom. 5:2 picks up the idea of boasting from Rom. 3:17. Κρίνω (and its cognates) and ὀργή are reintroduced into the discussion after an almost complete absence in Rom. 4.[37] Salvation from wrath (ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς) is present in Rom. 5:9 and tied to the shedding of Christ's blood. This parallels Paul's earlier statements in Rom. 3:25 where redemption came "in Christ Jesus whom God appointed as a propitiation through faith in His blood . . . " (translation the author's). Rom. 5:16, 18 reintroduces judgment and condemnation as the outcomes of sin, which the grace of Christ overcomes.

Likewise, Rom. 5 begins to work with themes that will be discussed in Rom. 6-8. Rom. 5:20-21 makes explicit the interconnections between Law, sin, and grace. This interplay of themes directs the discussion for Rom. 6-8. In 6:1, Paul explores the relationship between the gift of grace and the power of sin in the Christian life. Beginning at Rom. 6:15, Paul addresses the question whether those who are under grace may sin. Finally, Rom. 7:1-8:4 speaks to the relationship between Law and grace.[38] Rom. 8:5-39 vividly pictures the interplay of all three elements until the eschaton.

6:1-8:39. Paul's primary concern in these chapters is the ability to "do" (ποιεῖν) the Law. Thus these chapters do not speak directly to the question of this paper, that is the identity of the

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[36]Neil Elliott, *The Rhetoric of Romans* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 226-7.

[37]ὀργή is used only in 4:15, while κρίνω and its cognates are not used at all in chapter 4. Chapter 4 functions as a 'case study,' designed to prove the centrality of faith in the oracles of God.

[38]Das, 223.

ἐξουσία. The cluster of concepts and vocables followed in Rom. 1:18-5:21 all but disappear in this section. Wrath (ὀργή)does not appear at all. Of the vocables of the κρίνω family, only κατάκριμα appears in this section, at Rom. 8:1 and 34. Since the Law cannot produce the required results, death follows (Rom. 1:32; 5:14, 17; 6:21, 23; 7:5, 9-11).[39] But the expected eschatological condemnation (κατάκριμα) does not come for those in Christ Jesus who brings the Spirit of life (Rom. 8:1-2), since Jesus Christ died for humanity, sits in power, and intercedes for God's people (Rom. 8:34).

9:1-11:36. These chapters also address themes and use vocables that do not aid in the concern of this thesis. These chapters deal with God's continued concern and relation to Israel. Johann D. Kim, writing on the assumption that "the audience inscribed and manifested in the text" is Gentile,[40] summarizes these chapters, "As we follow Paul's argumentation closely, we observe that the focus of that argument is concentrated on the refutation of the charges that God's word has failed, and therefore God is not faithful."[41] Paul's reason for his concern regarding Israel is provoked by a paradox: Gentiles who did not pursue righteousness received it; Israel, on the other hand, was zealous and did not receive righteousness. Faith is the key (Rom. 9:31-32). Does this make Israel the new object of God's wrath? No, for God's call is irrevocable (Rom. 11:28-32).

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[39]Moo writes, "Paul has been showing how *ego*, through, and despite, the law, has been brought into condemnation because of the reigning power of sin. . . . the condition from which deliverance is sought can be nothing but the condition Paul has depicted in these verses: the status of the person under sentence of spiritual death, condemned, bound for hell" (466).

[40]Johann D. Kim, *God, Israel, and the Gentiles* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 91-2.

[41]Kim, 147.

B. The Parenesis of Romans – The Renewal of the Mind

The Structure and Organization of Rom. 12:1-15:13

After his lengthy doctrinal discussion on God's impartiality toward Jew and Greek within His plan, Paul launches into a discussion on the practical implications which come as Jew and Greek live together. This movement from the theological to the practical is to be expected, as is seen in other Pauline Epistles.[42] Paul thus beseeches (παρακαλεῖν) the readers to behave in a manner that is fitting for people receiving the mercy of God. This instruction draws out the practical results of justification and connects the two sections of the letter.[43]

After establishing the theme of the parenesis in Rom. 12:1-2,[44] Paul launches into more specific applications. The organization is somewhat haphazard, moving quickly from one subject to the next.[45] The outline for this section is as follows:

12:1-2	The need for transformation by the renewing of the mind
12:3-8	The unity of the Body of Christ despite its diversity of gifts
12:9-21	The central demand of love
13:1-7	Submission to the ἐξουσία
13:8-10	Love as the fulfillment of the Law
13:11-14	The need for spiritual wakefulness in light of the Day of the Lord

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[42]James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 9-16* (Dallas: Word Books, Publishers, 1988), 715.

[43]Fitzmyer, 637.

[44]Franzmann, 217-8. Cranfield, *Romans*, 2:595; Moo, 748; Schreiner, 642.

[45]Sanday and Headlam write,"In the first section [12:1-13:14], the Apostle does not appear to follow any definite logical order, but touches on each subject as it suggests itself or is suggested by previous ideas . . ." (351). Sanday and Headlam see the same loose connection between their first and second parts of the parenesis (passim).

14:1-15:13   Reconciliation between 'weak' and 'strong' Christians over issues

of food.[46]

Romans 12:1-2 – The Need for Transformation by the Renewing of the Mind

Two important items are dealt within these verses: 1) Paul connects the parenesis with the

doctrinal section, demonstrating the unity of the letter, and 2) he establishes the overarching

theme of the parenetic section.

First, there are verbal parallels that link Rom. 12:1-2 with the earlier portions of the letter.

Dunn provides the following parallels and contrasts:

1:24 ἀτιμάζεσθαι σώματα	12:1 παραστῆσαι σώματα
1:25 ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει	12:1 τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν
1:28 ἀδόκιμον νοῦν	12:2 ἀνακαινώσει νοός
2:18 γινώσκεις το'θέλημα καὶ δοκιμάζεις	12:2 εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν τί το'θέλημα[47]

Additionally, the words παραστῆσαι (Rom. 6:13, 16, 19), σῶμα (Rom. 6:6, 12; 7:4, 24; 8:10,

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[46]Moo, 745-6. (Moo assumes ἐξουσία as government and in his outline translates it thus. Because it does not effect the outline and for the purposes of this study, however, I kept the term untranslated.) This division is followed by most commentators. Schreiner (*Romans*, 640-2) uniquely offers a much simpler three part outline. Dunn understands the last section to run from 14:1 to 15:6 (*Romans 9-16*, 706). However, 15:7-13 complete the thoughts of 14:1-15:6 and are not intended to address chapters 12-13. For the unity of verses 14:1-15:13, see John Murray, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 2 vol. in single edition (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1968), 203*. (The askterik – used by Eerdmans – indicates the page is found in the second volume.)

[47]Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 708. The Greek is reproduced as Dunn presents it, omitting words from the text as Dunn omitted them.

11,13, 23), and νοῦς (Rom. 7:23, 25) are present in both portions of the letter.[48] By the choice of these vocables, Paul is calling to mind the struggles of the renewed man in Rom. 6, 7, and 8 and connecting the two major portions of Romans.[49]

In addition, this choice of key words from the earlier discussion of Rom. 6-8 sets forth the concerns which run throughout the parenesis. Apart from the Spirit of life (Rom. 8:2), the σῶμα is marked by death. The νοῦς was handed over by God because of its depravity. Now, however, the σῶμα and νοῦς are presented (παραστῆσαι) to God, accepting as true (δοκιμάζειν)[50] His good, pleasing, and perfect will (Rom. 12:2). The whole existence of the Christian becomes spiritual worship: body and mind.[51] Thus, the Christian, made new in Baptism (Rom. 6:12-13), becomes God's conduit for action in the world.[52]

Romans 12:3-8 -- The unity of the Body of Christ despite its diversity of gifts

Paul introduces his first topic of self-centered views: λέγω μὴ ὑμῖν ὑπερφρονεῖν παρ° ὃ δεῖ φρονηεῖν. One is tempted to think too highly of himself, especially when one has very special

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[48]Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 708.

[49]Michael Paul Middendorf notes, "The 'doing' of evil is an ever present reality for these Christians who must strive to resist being conquered (νικάω) and completely enslaved once again (as in 6:17-18, 20; 7:5, 7-11)" (*The "I" in the Storm* [St. Louis: Concordia Academic Press, 1997], 130).

[50]BDAG, 255.

[51]H. P. Hamman, "The Christian Life According to Romans 12," *Lutheran Theological Journal* 19, 2 (1985): 73-4.

[52]Ulrich Wilkens states, "Mit παραστῆσαι wählt Paulus zweifellos mit Bedacht dasselbe Wort, das den Kontext in 6,12ff bestimmte: Christen sollen aus ihrer Taufe die Konsequenz ziehen und ihre Glieder bzw. sich selbst Gott zum Dienst der Gerechtigkeit >>zur Verfügung stellen<<. Das gleiche ist in 12, 1 gemeint: Die romischen Christen sollen ihre Leiber Gott >>zur Verfügung, in Dienst stellen<<" (*Der Brief an die Römer [Rom 12-16]*, vol. 3 [Neukerchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener-Verlag; Einsiedeln: Benziger: 1982], 3). Horace E. Stroessel writes, "Mind-renewal must lead to practical actions . . ." ("Notes on Romans 12:1-2," *Interpretation* 17, 2 [1963]: 167).

gifts. However, when the mind is renewed (12:2), there is a new frame of reference. Thus, Paul stresses the relationships between people of varying gifts and talents within the Body of Christ. The continuing temptation is to divide into the "haves" and the "have-nots"(Rom. 12:3).[53] Rather, one is to consider the matter wisely, to act sensibly,[54] since all have received their place in the Body from God (Rom. 12:3) and their function (Rom. 12:6) from God. "[Gifts] do seem to be personal, that is, a particular gift is given to a specific individual. Yet no gift is a private matter. It is not for the private use of the gifted individual, but for the benefit of the entire body."[55] Rather than lording one's position and abilities over another, each is to use his gift for the good of others, living in the sphere God has ordained.[56]

Romans 12:9-21 – The central demand of love

This series of exhortations balances the previous section in two ways. First, Rom. 12:9-21 states positively the results of a renewed mind. 12:3-8 is a negative command (μὴ ὑπερφρονεῖν), stressing behavior which was to be avoided, perhaps corresponding to the negative of Rom. 12:2 – μὴ συσχηματιζεσθε. Now, the positive counsel follows: ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκριτος,[57] love

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[53]Schreiner notes, "A warning against pride is scarcely surprising since it is native to the human condition" (*Romans*, 652). However, Schreiner's speculation that this may address Jew-Gentile relations seems unwarranted, at this point. The issue here is use of gifts, authority, prestige within the Body of Christ – issues which are not ethically determined.

[54]Louw/Nida define σωφρονεῖν as "to have understanding about practical matters and thus be able to act sensibly - `to have sound judgment, to be sensible, to use good sense, sound judgment'" (¶32.34).

[55]Bob E. Adams, "Responsible Living in Community Setting (Romans 12-16)," *Southwestern Journal of Theology* 19, 1 (Fall 1976): 59.

[56]Jeremy Moiser writes, "Spiritual renewal requires first and foremost the adoption of a particular mindset, viz. a determination actually to contribute tot he common good irrespective one's own wishes" ("Rethinking Romans 12-15," *New Testament Studies* 36 [1990]: 575).

[57]The expected imperative ἔστε is elided.

unfeignedly, perhaps corresponding to the positive command of verse 2 – μεταμορφοῦσθε τῇ

ἀνακαινώσει τῷ νοός. While negative commands occur in this section, they serve to

demonstrate (negatively) what love 'looks like.' Love serves and aids all, even those who curse

the Christian. God's calls him to love in concrete ways in the midst of trial.

Second, this section turns the view of the Christian outward toward others.[58] Rom. 12:3-8

deal primarily with one's attitude toward oneself and one's place within the body of Christ.[59]

Rom. 12:9-21 turns the Christian's attention toward others, both Christians and non-Christians.

The comand implied in ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκριτος demonstrates that the Christian life is lived for

the good of others, without distinction in regard to another's treatment of the Christian. (Rom.

12:16).

The first subsection[60] covers Rom. 12:9 -13 and addresses relations between Christians, as

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[58]Cranfield: "Whereas the different instructions contained in vv. 6-8 were addressed to the recipients of the different χαρίσματα respectively, those which follow apply equally to all the members of the church" (*Romans*, 2:628).

[59]The inclusion of ἑκάστῳ on a first level of reading, however, individualizes the application. Overhearing that others have uniquely God-given gifts and places in the body may also lead the reader to change his attitude toward them, leading the reader to give more regard to the place of others in the body of Christ.

[60]12:9-21 is divided into two sections, 9-13 and 14-21. Some, however, have rejected this division. Notable commentators are aligned on both sides of the battle. Cranfield *(Romans*, 2:629), Dunn *(Romans 9-16*, 738), and Fitzmyer (652) support this division, while Käsemann *(Romans*, 343-4) and Moo (773-4) oppose this division. Moo, particularly, highlights the supposed jumps between inner-Christian relations and non-Christian relations. According to Moo 12:9a (ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκριτος) introduces 12:9-21. Inner-Christian relations are understood in vv. 9b-13 and 15-16 (the exhortations to rejoice, mourn, and live in harmony). Relations with non-Christians are in view in vv. 14 and 17-21.

Moo's arrangement, however, is forced. While Moo's distinction of 12:14 from 12:9b-13 and 12:15-16 is based on the presence of the presence of imperatives (Εὐλογεῖτε) in v. 14, there is no grammatical clue – whether it be δέ, καί, or an imperative – to mark a break between 12:16 and 12:17. The lack of grammatical and literary indications to indicate a break between verses 16 and 17 and the difficulty in conceiving of a reader/hearer who could make such a so many mental adjustments quickly points away from this outline.

the use of φιλαδελφία[61] (Rom.12:10) and ἅγιος (Rom. 12:13) makes clear. The phrases of Rom.

12:9-13 have no finite verbs. They are verbless clauses (Rom. 12:9a; 10a; 11a) and clauses with

participles[62] (Rom. 12:9b, c; 10b; 11b, c; 12 a, b, c). The short pithy phrases following the theme

sentence of Rom. 12:9a stress hating evil (Rom. 12:9b), hanging on to what is good (Rom.

12:9c), devotion to one another (Rom. 12:10), spiritual (πνεῦμα) zeal (Rom. 12:11), hope

(Rom.12:12), prayer (Rom.12:12), and sharing with the saints (Rom. 12:13). As Barrett

comments, "These verses present a very interesting picture of early Christian life, but call for little

explanation. . . ."[63]

The second section stretching from Rom. 12:14 to Rom. 12: 21 deals with relationships

between Christians and others who may be non-Christians. Paul calls for the Christian to live at

peace with all who surround him. As Paul himself becomes "all things to all men" (1 Corinthians

9:22), so the Christian is to mourn with those who mourn and cry with those who cry.

Rom. 12:17-21 are a subsection of Rom. 12:14-21 and introduce the concept of ὀργή into

the realm of human relationships. Paul admonishes the Christian not to avenge (ἐκδικεῖν) the

wrongs done to him. Rather, God will care for the Christian and display wrath toward the one

who harms the Christian. The Christian is to demonstrate his renewed mind by giving good

(ἀγαθός) in return for the evil (τὸ κακόν) he receives and trusting in God to avenge. By doing

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[61]Louw/Nida state, "In the NT . . . φιλαδελφία . . . [has] acquired [a] highly specialized meanings which restrict the range of reference to fellow believers. In nonbiblical contexts these terms would refer to affection or love for persons belonging to a so-called `in-fined in terms of Christian faith" (¶25.34).

[62]J. H. Moulten notes, "The infin. [sic] for imper. [sic] was familar in Greek, especially in laws and in maxims" (A Grammar of New Testament Greek, v. I: Prolegomena [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908], 179).

[63]Barrett, 240.

so, the Christian heaps coals of fire upon his enemy's head.[64] The Christian gives way to God's

will rather than exerting his own in revenge. These vocables – ὀργή, ἐκδιδεῖν, κακός, and

ἀγαθός – prepare the reader for the next movement in Paul's discussion.

13:1-7 – Submission to the ἐξουσία

The exegesis of this verse is fully addressed in the following chapter of this paper. Here,

however, there is the opportunity to address the issue of its integrity within the structure of

Romans. The chief advocate who questions the integrity of Romans on the basis of 13:1-7 is J.

Kallas.[65]

Kallas outlines his reasons under the broad headings of general and textual concerns.

Under general concerns, Kallas notes the textual problems that arise in the latter chapters of

Romans. There are texts of Romans that close the epistle at Rom. 14:23. Along side of this fact,

Kallas cites four benedictions (Rom. 14:13, 33; 16:24, 27), which he considers as four separate

"closing benedictions."[66] Second, Kallas notes that Paul nowhere else addresses the question of

the Christian's relationship with the state.

Under specific textual issues, Kallas advances three arguments. First, he notes the

abruptness that marks this text as a separate unit. This has given rise to the many monographs that

have treated Rom. 13:1-7 in isolation from either its preceding or following context. In Kallas'

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[64]There are many different ways in which this passage may be understood. It is best to understand this not as a way to extract revenge, but to lead someone to repentance. For the differing options, see William Klassen, "Coals of Fire: Sign of Repentance or Revenge?" *New Testament Studies* 9 (1962-63): 337-350. Klassen notes, "He [the Christian] makes use of the interim to show the enemy that Christ has made it possible for him to love not only the neighbour [sic] but also the enemy" (346).

[65]J. Kallas, "Romans XIII. 1-7: An Interpolation," *New Testament Studies* 11 (1964-65):365-74.

[66]Kallas, 365.

view, these verses seem to have no logical connection with anything that surrounds it.[67]

Second, Kallas sees this pericope as interrupting the context of the rest of the parenesis.

Kallas sees a deliberate echoing of Jesus' Sermon on the Mount in Rom. 12-13. If Rom. 13:1-7 is

removed, this is clearly seen in what remains.

> In short, these sections of Rom. xii. and xii seem to be a deliberate development by
> Paul of synoptic-type teachings. There is a smooth flow of synoptic material, and
> into this homogenous material the envelope of xiii.1-7 is thrust. If that envelope
> were not there the two chapters would move forward much more normally than is
> now the case.[68]

Third, and finally, in connection with specific textual issues, Kallas views this section as

contradicting "basic Pauline ideas and basic Pauline forms of expression"[69] in four major ways.

First, Kallas sees a contradiction with Pauline eschatology which sees time as being short. This

view is expressed clearly in Rom. 13:12. The writer of Rom. 13:1-7, however, does not accept

this. The emphasis of Rom. 13:1-7 pushes the time of composition to a later date, according to

Kallas.

> There is a settling down in these verses, an attempt by the church to make peace
> with the world, a coming to terms, a recognition that the church may be obliged to
> live a long time in company with a continuing world. The world has not ended, as
> Paul assumed it would and thus the relationship between church and state must be
> defined.[70]

Second in the list of supposed differences is a grammatical argument. The plural form of

ἐξουσία refers only to spiritual powers in Paul. "But in these verses alone the reference is

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[67]Kallas, 465-6.

[68]Kallas, 366.

[69]Kallas, 367.

[70]Kallas, 367.

unmistakably to human figures, rulers of this world in a political sense."[71] This section differs from normal Pauline usage, in Kallas' view.

Third in the list of differences between this pericope and the rest of Romans follows the previous observation. When ἐξουσία is used elsewhere, it not only refers to spiritual powers, but to *demonic powers*. If Paul were the author of this pericope, Kallas argues, "an intolerable conclusion" would follow, one that Paul could not or would not make: "It is inconceivable that Paul would claim such an exalted position for Rome."[72] Paul views the world as estranged from God. Rom. 13:1-7, however, sees the world as an instrument of God.[73]

Finally, in his list of differences, Kallas notes that Paul, with Jesus, taught that it is the righteous and innocent who suffer at the world's hands. [74]Jesus saw the elect as suffering most of all, oppressed by the rich and powerful. Humans, acting under the impulse of Satan, opposed Paul (2 Corinthians 11:14-15). This was to be expected, for the world opposes God's people. According to Kallas, this is the polar opposite of the view of Rom. 13:1-7. Rom. 13:1-7 rather develops the "Pharisaic view of retribution."[75]

In response to Kallas' arguments, several observations may be made. First, there are many textual questions in the last two chapters of Romans. However, none of these touch on the question of the interpolation of Rom. 13:1-7. The textual questions of integrity only begin at

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[71]Kallas, 368.

[72]Kallas, 369.

[73]Kallas, 369-70.

[74]Kallas, 371-4.

[75]Kallas, 374.

Rom. 14:23.

Second, the lack of connecting words between Rom. 13:1-7 and the preceding text is used by Paul to emphasize a shift to a new section.[76] In Romans, Paul has already made shifts in thought without using a connective. A major shift takes place at Rom. 9:1, where Paul takes up the subject of God's faithfulness to the Jews. A minor shift occurs a few verses before Rom. 13:1. In Rom. 12:9 a new section begins, marked by a quick change of style.

Third, Paul often makes moves into new sections based on word associations.[77] There are a number of words which lead naturally into this section. The verb ἐκδικέω appears in Rom. 12:19, and the noun for ἔκδικος appears in Rom. 13:4. Wrath (ὀργή) appears in both Rom. 12:19 and Rom. 13:4. Both ἀγαθός and κακός (which also appears in Rom. 12:17) occur in Rom. 12:21 and reappear in Rom. 13:3-4. Likewise, Rom. 13:1-7 is connected verbally with Rom. 13:8-10. Rom. 13:7 uses the noun ὀφειλή, and Rom. 13:8 uses the verb ὀφείλω. Through the use of these words, Rom. 13:1-7 embeds itself into the context.

Still, Käsemann warns against the "premature connection made between passages which are externally juxtaposed."[78] De Kruijf, however, has demonstrated that there is a literary unity which stretches from Rom. 12:16-13:8.[79] A series of three correspondences ties the unit together: Rom. 12:21 is tied to Rom. 13:3-4 via κακός and ἀγαθός; Rom. 12:19 is tied to Rom. 13:4 by μὴ ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδικοῦντες . . . ἀλλὰ δότε τόπον τῇ ὀργῇ in verse 19 and θεοῦ . . . διάκονός

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[76]BDF, ¶463.

[77]Nigel Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek IV: Style* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1976), 85.

[78]Ernst Käsemann, *New Testament Questions Today*, trans. W. J. Montaque (London: SCM, 1969), 199.

[79]Th. C. De Kruijf, "The Literary Unity of Rom 12,16 - 13,8a: A Network of Inclusions," in *Bijdragen* 48 (1987): 319-26. De Kruijf's essay is the basis for the entire paragraph.

ἐστιν ἐκδικός εἰς ὀργὴν in Rom. 13:4; and Rom. 12:17 is tied to Rom. 13:7 by πᾶς. With this

series of inclusions, a natural movement is made from relationships within the community to

relationships with those outside of the community of believers. Words such as 'each other' and

'love' express the relationship within the community. Words such as 'no one' and 'repay' suggest

relationships with those outside of the community. Again, these observations tie Rom. 13:1-7 into

the web of Paul's concerns.

Finally, while this passage may be unique – judging by either the content or theology – in

the undisputed Pauline writings, one is not therefore forced to say that it is an interpolation. The

very nature of parenesis is to address the situations that may exist in a given church[80]. Likewise,

the fact that Paul is expecting the end to arrive soon does not make temporal affairs meaningless

to him, as Kallas assumes.[81]

Given the lack of textual critical evidence for its interpolation, the ties Rom. 13:1-7 has to

the rest of the text, and the Pauline characteristic of making moves on the basis of vocabulary and

– many times – without connectors, the text should be viewed as Pauline and integral to the

argument of Romans.

13:8-10 -- Love as the Fulfillment of the Law

Paul moves quickly to the next topic. There may not be a seamless tapestry of concepts

and exhortations, but there does exist a pattern of picking up key words and moving to new

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[80]Christopher A. Davies, *The Structure of Paul's Thought* (Lewiston NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 267.

[81]Daniel Kroger, "Paul and the Civil Authorities," *Asian Journal of Theology* 7,2 (Oct. 1993): 348. For reasonable comments that reminds us that Paul did not necessarily expect the end to come before his own demise, see Leon Morris, *New Testament Theology* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1986), 88-9.

topics.[82] Thus, picking up on the idea of "obligation" (Rom. 13: 7), Paul moves to the obligation

of love to the neighbor.[83] Sample commandments are given as demonstrations that love is the

fulfillment of the Law. Where the mind of the world may encourage or excuse adultery, murder,

theft, and coveting, the renewed mind finds in these commandments an opportunity to serve the

neighbor on God's behalf. "Love and the law of God are completely harmonious; law is, in effect,

the demand for love."[84] Thus, the antithesis to Romans 1 is shown: sin hurts and denigrates the

neighbor, but the renewed mind serves the neighbor in love. Paul is again preparing the reader for

what follows. "Paul's instruction here about love is indirectly preparing for what he will say in

[chapter 14]. In effect, he is now reassuring Roman Christians that the manifestation of love for

one another is already a form of fulfilling the law."[85]

13:11-14 -- The need for spiritual wakefulness in light of the Day of the Lord

"As 12:1 is the superscription for the general parenesis in Romans 12 and following,

13:11-14, correspondingly, is the 'subscription'. Both paragraphs highlight the eschatological

horizon of the admonitions for Christian conduct" (translation the author's).[86] In Rom. 13:11-14,

Paul reminds the Romans that they know the time of Christ's coming is near. Already (ἤδη) it is

time for them to wake from their sleep (ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγερθῆναι). Since the Roman Christians

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[82]This interplay of movements based on words and ideas is seen in Ephesians 5:21-33, where the question is whether Paul is talking about marriage of man and woman or the marriage of the Church to Christ.

[83]Moo, 810.

[84]Hamann, 75.

[85]Fitzmyer, 677.

[86]Wilckens: "Wie 12,1f die >Überschrift< zur allgemeinen Paränese Röm 12f ist, so 13,11-14 entsprechend die Unterschrift<. Beide Absätze stellen den eschatologischen Horizont aller Mahnungen zum christlichen >Wandel< heraus" (78).

understand the time of their salvation is near, their conduct should reflect the reality of the day of

salvation. "Time has great significance as do also the events that transpire in it. Believers should

be aware of opportunities, nnot only to avoid evil, but also to do good."[87] Verse 14 recalls the

Baptismal language of chapter 6 and the Romans' incorporation into Christ where sin is cast off

and Christ put on.[88] "The recognition that the decisive act of salvation has been accomplished and

that the end is impending motivates believers to live in a new way."[89]

14:1-15:13 -- Reconciliation between 'weak' and 'strong' Christians over issues of food

Although the commentators are basically agreed upon the meaning of Rom. 14:1-15:13,

there are a myriad of questions and understandings of its place within Romans. Mark Nanos

identifies this section as the chief point to which Paul had been working and the proper

identification of the weak and the strong as being key to unlocking the occasion of Paul's letter.[90]

Sanday and Headlam think that the section addresses "extreme, excessive scrupulousness" in

general terms, yet, without giving specifics.[91] On the other hand, Fitzmyer sees the contrast

between Rom. 12:1-13:4 and Rom. 14:1-15:13 differently. "Whereas part A of the hortatory

section of the epistle (Rom. 12:1-13:14) contained many generic counsels, this part becomes more

specific. It is immediately concerned with such questions as the eating of meat, drinking of wine,

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[87]Adams, 65.

[88]Moo, 825; Schreiner, 700.

[89]Schreiner, 701.

[90]Mark Nanos, *The Mystery of Romans* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 86.

[91]Sanday and Headlam, 384.

and observance of holy days."[92] Francis Watson sees two Christian congregations in Rome, not a debate within one.[93]

Whatever one's historical reconstruction may be, Paul's concern is for Christian brothers and sisters to demonstrate love to one another whether one adheres to Jewish traditions or not. Each person – whether weak or strong – must be completely convinced in his own mind of the propriety of his action (Rom. 14:5 – ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ νοῒ πληροφορείσθω). Paul deals with the issues at hand in a manner that is entirely consistent with the more general parenesis of Rom. 12:1-13:14. Love is the yardstick by which behavior is measured (Rom. 14:15). Righteousness, peace and joy in the Spirit (Rom. 14:17) mark the kingdom (Rom. 12:11-15). Concern for the other is the mark of the Christian (compare Rom. 14:15 and 13:8-10). Echos of Rom. 12:3-8 with its concern for understanding one's position in the body and 14:19 parallel each other.

C. Paul's Concluding Remarks

Paul's final remarks are divided into two sections: Paul's missionary plans and final greetings.[94]

The first section, running from Rom. 15:14-33, picks up on themes developed in the Introduction (Rom. 1:8-15). Paul reiterates that his mission is primarily directed toward the Gentiles (Rom. 15:18 parallels 1:13-14), that he has not previously worked among the Romans

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[92]Fitzmyer, 686.

[93]Francis Watson, "The Two Roman Congregations: Romans 14:1-15:13," in *The Romans Debate*, ed. Karl P. Donfried, 2nd ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 1991), 195-202.

[94]Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 854.

(Rom. 15:20-22 parallels 1:8), and that he has often been prevented from visiting the Romans (Rom. 15:22 parallels 1:13). Paul's Gentile missionary efforts are furthered emphasized by "naming names" in Rom. 15:19, 26. As Paul has often prayed for the Roman Christians (Rom. 1:9), now he requests prayers (Rom. 15:30-33).

Paul also establishes his travel plans in this first section. His ultimate goal is Spain (Rom. 15:24, 28). The expectation is that the Roman congregations will serve as a western base for his journey into Spain (Rom. 15:28-29). Paul, however, must first complete the prior plan of taking the contributions of Macedonia and Achaia to Jerusalem for the relief of the saints (Rom. 15:26).

The second section is Rom. 16:1-27. This latter section is a "catch-all" in many ways. Paul first commends Phoebe to their care (Rom. 16:1-2). Then Paul greets many people by name. This list – the longest of its kind in Pauline epistles – works as a commendation for himself. Because he is known by so many, Paul may find his way into the good graces of the Roman Christians more easily.[95]

Following his commendations, Paul then tacks on a final warning against those who teach "in opposition to the doctrine which you have been taught" (Rom. 16:17-19). Those who teach falsely should be rejected. The implication of verse 20 is that those false teachers will find their judgment with Satan at the hand of God.

The letter concludes simply enough. Final greetings from some of Paul's co-workers are added, and Paul closes his letter with a final doxology to the only wise God.

In summary the latter portion of Romans (Rom. 12:1-16:27) has several important items

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[95]Peter Lampe, "The Roman Christians of Romans 16" in *The Romans Debate*, ed. Karl P. Donfried, 2nd ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishing, 1991), 218.

that help one understand Rom. 13:1-7. First, Paul addresses the relationship of the believer to

those who are outside the community in Rom. 12:14-21. Paul is not only interested in the

`intercongregational' activities of Christians. This factor addresses the concerns of Nanos.

Second, Paul again introduces ὀργή into the discussion at Rom. 12:19. This prepares the reader

for Paul's discussion of the ἐξουσία as θεοῦ διάκονος, ἔκδικος εἰς ὀργήν in Rom. 13:4.

Finally, Paul uses a cluster of words that center on mental activity: νοῦς (Rom. 12:2; 14:5),

δοκιμάζειν (Rom. 12:2), (ὑπερ)φρονῶ (Rom. 12:3, 16; 14:6; 15:5), and προνοεῶ (Rom. 12:7).

This cluster of words helps determine the way συνείδησις is used in Rom. 13:5.

II. Romans 13:1-7 – Submission to the ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαι

A. Translation

{1} Let every person[96] submit[97] to the controlling[98] authorities.[99] For, there is no authority except by[100] God[101], so those which exist[102] have been established by God. {2} Therefore,[103] the one who opposes the authority is resisting the ordinance of God, and those who are resisting[104] will receive judgment on themselves.[105]

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[96]Barclay M Newman and Eugene A. Nida, understand ἡ ψυχή as a Hebraism (*A Handbook on Paul's Letter to the Romans* [New York: United Bible Societies, 1973], 244).

[97]The form ὑποτασσεσθῷ may be either perfect or middle 3rd person singular imperative. The entire section – as also the entire parenesis – deals with the Christian's acts of spiritual worship. The middle emphasizes the "vested interest" with which the subject acts (Wallace, 414-5). Here, following the imperatives, the Christian acts to submit himself (v. 1, 5) and to give all their due (v. 7).

[98]Louw/Nida, ¶37.13. Louw and Nida see two uses for ὑπερέχω: 1)relates to value, as in to be more valuable, and 2)the exercise of continuous control over something or someone. The first use does not fit the context, as there is neither an overt nor implied comparison in this text. The latter use better fits the context which includes the ideas of "ordering," "submission," the "sword," and the payment of what is "due."

[99]P[46] D* f g 629 945 and a few others have Πᾶσα ψυχή to πάσαις and changes the 3rd singular passive imperative to a 2nd plural passive imperative. This removes the Hebraism, clarifies the extent of subjection (there is no exception), and brings the imperative into line with those that precede. It seems to clean up the more fully attested reading and should be rejected.

[100]D* F G 629 945 and a few others have replaced ὑπό with ἀπό. BDF, ¶210, notes that this is a common substitution. The wide-ranging support is for the accepted reading.

[101]ℵ[c] Ψ 33 𝔐 all add the definite article before θεοῦ. The lateness of the addition speaks against its acceptance.

[102]D[2] Ψ 33 𝔐 and sy have added ἐξουσίαι. This does not change the sense and are late witnesses. Wallace understands τεταγμέναι as an intensive or resultative perfect, best translated as a present (575).

[103]BDAG designates either "for this reason" or "therefore" when ὥστε begins an independent clause (1107).

[104]Ανθεστηκότες denotes the abiding state of rebellion at the present. See BDF, ¶342 and BDAG's translation "those who resist" (80).

[105]The phrase ἑαυτοῖς κρίμα λήμψονται is rendered literally. BDAG suggests "will bring punishment upon themselves," which is a less literal translation, but more idiomatic (584 [10b]).

{3}For, the rulers are not a terror to the good work,[106] but rather *are a terror* to the bad *work*. Now you desire not to fear the authority. Do good, and you will have praise from it. {4} For it is God's servant to you,[107] for the[108] good[109]. But, if you do evil, fear! For it does not bear the[110] sword to no purpose. For God's servant is an avenger for wrath[111] to those worker of an evil *deed.* {5} Therefore, it *is*[112] necessary to submit[113], not only because of wrath, but also because of conscience. {6} So,[114] on account of this also, you are paying taxes. For, they are God's ministers, who are devoted to this very thing. {7} Give to all their due, to the one *due* tax, tax; to the one *due* custom, custom; to the one *due* fear, fear; to the one *due* honor, honor.

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[106]F* substitutes a substitive adjective – τῷ ἀγαθοεργῷ – for the adjective and noun, while D² Y 33 M (sy) make this and τῷ κακῷ plural. The evidence is again late.

[107]Dative of advantage; BDF, ¶188.

[108]F G bo^ms omit the dative singular pronoun. There is not enough evidence to accept this change.

[109]B and a few other manuscripts omit the definite article before ἀγαθον. There is little reason to accept the variant. Wallace argues The use of the article as a "substantiver,"that is, the article τό turns the adjective into a noun (233).

[110]The definite article is understood as a generic article; that is, μάχαιρα is not understood as one particular power, but as power (in this case punitive). See Wallace, 227-9.

[111]D* F G omit εἰς ὀργήν. This late omission does not carry enough weight to affect the accepted reading. Also, some texts, most prominently ℵ*, have ἔκδικος follow εἰς ὀργήν. This is offset by 𝔓⁴⁶ and others of 5th century origin. Thus, the accepted reading seems preferable. The sense would not be altered by accepting either reading.

[112]The omission of ἐστίν is common in constructions expressing necessity; BDF, ¶127.

[113]𝔓⁴⁶ D F G and others change the passive participle to the 2nd person plural passive. This matches the variant reading of the same verb in verse 1 from the same sources.

[114]BDAG states that γάρ may be used in self-evident conclusions (190). The Roman Christians submit, so they are paying taxes.

<u>Illustration</u>

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The Structure and Logic of Romans 13:1-7 According to Its Properties

1a	Let every person be subjected to the controlling authorities.
1b	For there is no authority except by God
1c	so those which are existing have been established by God.
2a	So the one who opposes the authority is setting himself against the ordinance of God
2b	and those who are resisting will bring judgment upon themselves.
3a	For the rulers are not a source of fear in respect to the good work.
3b	Now you desire not to fear the authority.
3c	Do good
3d	and you will have praise from it.
4a	For it is God's servant to you for good.
4b	If you do evil,
4c	fear!
4d	For it does not bear the sword to no purpose.
4e	For it is God's servant, an avenger for wrath to those workers of evil deeds.
5	Therefore, it is necessary to submit, not only because of wrath, but also on account of conscience.
6a	On account of this also, you are paying taxes.
6b	For they are God's ministers, being devoted to this very thing.
7a	Give to all their due:
7b	taxes,
7c	customs,
7d	fear,
7e	honor.

Key

G = ground for an earlier proposition

Id/Exp = idea and explanation

If/Th = conditional series of propositions

S = series of coordinate propositions

-/+ = negative/positive relationship between propositions

∴ = inference from previous proposition(s)

Rom. 13:1-7 forms a distinct rhetorical unit within the parenetic section of Romans. This

is generally accepted by scholars. Indeed, its distinctiveness as a unit is so marked that it has given

rise to the theories of interpolation and non-Pauline origin.[115]

Rom. 13:1 is the opening. It is marked by a quick change in subject. The relationship

between individuals (Rom. 12:9-21) has faded into the background. Paul now is discussing one's

relationship to those who are higher. The issue is not merely conduct as an individual, but conduct

as a member of a particular class. In this case, it is the conduct of the "underling" in relation to

those in position of power.[116]

While there is no particle present to signal a shift in subject, this change is highlighted by a

grammatical change. Paul begins the new section with an imperative in the third person (Πᾶσα

ψυχὴ . . . ὑποτασσέσθω), after concluding the previous section with two second person

imperatives. Paul has made similar moves already in the parenetic section. The same abrupt

change of subject *sans* particle is seen in Rom. 12:9. Likewise, the use of imperatives proper and

verbal nouns as imperatives highlights the division of Rom. 12:9-21.

Romans 13:1-7 consists of two sections. In verses 1-5, Paul commands every person to

submit to the authorities that have been placed over him. Paul provides motivations for such

conduct (e.g., the threat of ὀργη in verses 4 and 5 and συνειδησις in verse 5), instead of leaving

the reader to guess at his line of reasoning. Finally, in verses 6-7 Paul offers up a summary

statement of the conduct and attitudes that should be part of the "underling's" life. While this

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[115]See discussion in Chapter I.

[116]The words "underling" and "authority" or their clear equivalents will be used until the question of referent is addressed in Chapter 3.

pericope is short, it does exhibit the necessary components for analysis as a distinct section.[117]

B. Verse 1

This first clause is the thematic statement of the entire section. Paul will set out to defend this thesis through a variety of arguments. These arguments of defense will follow two themes: 1) the ἐξουσία is from the hand of God, and 2) there are benefits for the Christian in submitting to the ἐξουσία.

Paul begins with an emphatic placement[118] of "Πᾶσα ψυχή." Paul's command applies equally to every person without exception. The choice of words and their position call attention to the universality of Paul's command, even though it is only the Christian community of Rome that is being currently addressed (1:7-8).[119]

Paul's command to every person is ὑποτασσέσθω. While the command is easily understood, the very nature of submission has become a exegetical problem. There was a time, noted by modern interpreters, that submission was simply understood to be "obedience."[120] This understanding has been largely rejected in the aftershocks of the World War II and the Third

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[117]George A. Kennedy suggests that a five or six verse text would seem to be the minimum for rhetorical analysis. At seven verses, the text for this discussion "squeaks by" (*New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism.* [Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984], 34).

[118]Turner notes that the imperative is normally as close to the beginning as possible (347). Within Romans, the eleven instances of a 3rd person imperative are fairly evenly distributed. Six instances occur at the beginning of the sentence (3:4; 6:12; 11:9; 11:10; 14:16; 15:11), four at the end of the sentence (13:1; 14:3 [twice]; 14:5), and once in the middle of the sentence (15:2). Interestingly, Paul uses unusual constructions only within the parenesis. Only 14:16 follows the norm. (15:11 occurs within a slightly changed quotation of Ps. 116:1 [LXX, 117:1 English versions]. Paul, however has substituted the 3rd person imperative for the 2nd person imperative.)

[119]Schreiner, *Romans,* 682; Moo, 794-5. Contra C. E. B. Cranfield, "The Christian's Political Responsibility According to the New Testament," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 15 (1962): 177, and *Romans,* 656.

[120]Sanday and Headlam simply title this section "On Obedience to Rulers"(365). Barrett also seems to assume this equation (244).

Reich.[121] Submission as simple obedience has become impossible, in the minds of many, to

maintain at face value.

But does ὑποτάσσεσθαι simply equate with "obey"? Bauer-Danker-Arndt-Gingrich see

the possibility of 'obey' as being the lexical meaning.[122] Yet in light of Ephesians 5:21, Cranfield

contends that ὑποτάσσεσθαι is not accurately represented by the word 'obey.'[123] Yoder is

perhaps the most eloquent of all in arguing for the separation of subordination from obedience:

> It is not by accident that the imperative of 13:1 is not literally one of
> *obedience*. The Greek language has good words to denote obedience, in the sense
> of completely bending one's will and one's actions tot he desires of another. What
> Paul calls for, however is sub*ordi*nation. The verb is based on the same root as the
> *ordering* of the powers of God. Subordination is significantly different from
> obedience. The conscientious objector who refuses to do what government
> demands, but still remains under the sovereignty of that government and accepts
> the penalties which it imposes, or the Christian who refuses to worship Caesar but
> still permits Caesar to put him or her to death, is being subordinate even though
> not obeying.[124]

Yoder's confidence is stunning. The major New Testament lexicons support obedience as

a key component of ὑποτάσσεσθαι. BDAG understands 'obey' to be a valid option.[125] Likewise

Louw/Nida, whose lexicon is designed specifically to determine nuances of words within their

contexts, understand ὑποτάσσεσθαι as to submit to the orders or directives of someone - 'to

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[121]Yoder explicitly makes this connection (193).

[122]BDAG, 1043.

[123]Cranfield, *Romans*, 2:660-3; cf. C. E. B. Cranfield, "Preaching on Romans," in *On Romans* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1998), 77, and "Some Observations on Romans XIII. 1-7" in *New Testament Studies* 6 (1960), 242-3.

[124]Yoder, 208-9. See also Morris, 461 and Cranfield, "Preaching on Romans," 77.

[125]BDAG, 1042.

obey, to submit to."[126]

When one examines the Pauline uses of the middle and passive of ὑποτάσσειν, one finds

examples where the element of 'obedience' is present, as the lexicons indicate. The three uses of

ὑποτάσσεσθαι which precede Rom. 13:1 support this observation. Rom. 8:7 deals with

obedience to the Law. It is impossible for the φρόνημα τᾶη σαρκός to submit to the Law. Paul's

previous discussion of the Law in Rom. 7 dealt with obedience and doing of the Law, not merely

with recognition of its higher place.

Likewise, creation is completely controlled by futility in Rom. 8:20. In this metaphorical

use of ὑποτάσσεσθαι, creation's will is bent toward futility. It is certain that creation does what

futility decides. Creation goes where it is led.

Finally, Rom. 10:3 states that unbelieving Jews act in ignorance and seek to establish their

own righteousness. They act in ignorance, following their own mind rather than submitting to the

righteousness of God, that is, 'having' faith. Rom. 10:16 makes the connection between the act of

believing and obedience explicit – ἀλλ' οὐ πάντες ὑπήκουσαν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. Ἡσαΐας

γὰρ λέγει, Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν. Cranfield, who opposes understanding

ὑποτάσσεσθαι as obedience at Rom. 13:1,[127] sees this link as well: "And the act of disobedience

resulting from this ignorance is their refusal to submit to God's righteousness . . .."[128]

Other data from Paul's epistles also demonstrate 'obedience' as a component of

ὑποτάσσεσθαι. In Ephesians 6:5 slaves are expected to obey (ὑπακούετε) their masters. The

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[126]Louw/Nida, ¶36.18

[127]See p. 35, note 121.

[128]Cranfield, *Romans*, 2:515.

parallel to Ephesians 6:5 is Titus 2:9, where slaves receive the exhortation to be subject

(ὑποτάσσεσθε). It is difficult not to see 'obey' and 'be subject' as parallel.

Ephesians 5:24 seems to follow this understanding. Wives are to submit to their husbands

as the Church to Christ (ὡς ἐκκλησία ὑποτάσσεσται τῷ Χριστῷ). Submission to Christ

means submission to the righteousness of God, that is, to faith. Wives are to submit as they would

to the Lord.

In all of these examples, we see two common components. First, there is the element of

hierarchy, as all scholars who deal with the ὑποτάσσεσθαι understand. Second, the element of

obedience is also present. The will and the actions of one are bent to the other. Where the higher

leads, the lower follows. Sometimes obedience is clearly present (cf. Rom. 8:7); other times it is in

the background. But, 'obedience' is there.[129] "To obey or not to obey, with no emphasis, is a sign

of subjection or subordination."[130] The burden of proof lies with Yoder when he asserts

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[129]Even Ephesians 5:21 falls into this category. Often this seems to be understood as mutual subjection, even to the point of saying that kings are subject to the ruled in the realm of service. Recent studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls have found parallels to Paul's exhortation. Nathan Jastram's study of 1QS 5:23 ("Hierarchy at Qumran" in *Legal Texts & Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization of Qumran Studies* [Leiden: Brill, 1997]: 360-2) provides a Hebrew parallel to Paul's concern. Within the Qumran community, ordering was of importance, and language parallel to Paul's was used.

The Hebrew phrase is . . . 'They shall all be obedient to one another; the lower one (in rank being obedient) to the higher (in rank).' The identity of . . . 'to one another' is specified by . . . 'the lower one (in rank being obedient) to the higher one (in rank). This shows that when an entire community is exhorted to be subject or subordinate or obedient to one another, each member is to be subordinate to any other member who occupies a higher rank of authority.

The 'mutuality' of subordination, then, does not consist in the subordination of two members to each other, but rather in each member being subordinate to whoever is above him in authority. Though both the communal societies of Qumran and of the early Church promoted unity among their members by repudiating some common social distinctions, neither urged its members to disregard all traces of order.

[130]Gerhard Delling, "Τάσσω et. al." in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley, vol. 8 (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1972), 41.

otherwise.

Every indvidual should submit to ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις. The 'authorities' (ἐξουσίαι) refer to the bearers of ruling authority,[131] including responsibility, full authority to act or the right to act.[132] No limit on place or social setting is given. The foremost thought included in ἐξουσίαι in this context is the person or office.

'Controlling' (ὑπερεχούσαις)is used in a non-literal manner, referring to being in a controlling position, to having power.[133] Louw and Nida add the thought that continuous control is present.[134] Thus Paul is stressing ἐξουσίαι as those who hold power in a recognized position, not in some sort of ad hoc assumption of power.

Paul's phrasing is significant. Paul has both the person and the function in mind. The adjectival participle emphasizes the function of the authority. The choice of ὑερεχούσαις prepares the reader/hearer for what follows in verse 4b, where the ἐξουσία seeks to control the evil act. The substantive emphasizes the positions or individuals to whom one is to submit. Paul allows for no abstraction of ἐξουσίαι. The concrete ἐξουσίαι are discussed, whatever their flaws in historic or contemporary context. Thus Paul's first phrase is quite clear. Every person should place themselves obediently under the ones who possess continuing authority.

In verse 1b-c Paul begins to support (γάρ) his proposition that every person should submit

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[131]BDAG, 353.

[132]Louw and Nida, ¶37.38; Jan Botha, *Subject to Whose Authorities?* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1994), 42.

[133]BDAG, 1033.

[134]Louw/Nida, ¶ 37.17.

to the ἐξουσίαι. He offers two statements in support, the first negative, the second positive. Each describes the same reality, through from different perspectives.

First Paul gives support for his command in the negative. Paul states οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν ἐξουσία[135] εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ θεοῦ "for, there is no authority except by God."[136] The truth is simple: there is no authority except when God establishes it. Therefore, one must be subject to that authority.

In verse 1c, Paul makes a similar statement from the positive perspective: "so those which are existing have been established by God." A change in signifier, though not referent, has been made.[137] Paul uses αἱ οὖσαι as shorthand for αἱ οὖσαι ἐξουσία. The switch to the present participle οὖσαι stresses the "action in progress."[138] The authorities continue to exist.

The periphrastic perfect form τεταγμέναι εἰσίν also serves to demonstrate the sort of ἐξουσία Paul is concerned with. While "it is not always easy to see the force of the distinction between the simple and the periphrastic Perfect,"[139] Robertson understands that "the durative

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[135]Regarding the subject ἐξουσία in 1b, Paul has made a switch in number from plural to singular. In 1a, the plural would suggest that every conceivable authority was in mind. The switch to the anathrous singular brings into view the whole class, making Paul's statement a sweeping point applicable to every ἐξουσία. See Wallace, 244 and 253.

[136]This simple sentence actually has two "kernel sentences." The first stands complete – οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν ἐξουσία. The second completes the thought, though its form requires "filling in the blank." The preposition ὑπό plus the genitive implies that a passive verb is needed to fill in the blank. In the verse 1c, the verbal phrase τεταγμέναι εἰσίν completes the positive thought and gives the clue to what would fit into this phrase. The completed phrase would stand as εἰ μὴ ἐξουσία ἐστίν ὑπὸ θεοῦ.

[137]Robert H. Stein, "The Argument of Romans xiii 1-7" *Novum Testamentum* 31 (1989): 330.

[138]Ernest De Witt Burton, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in New Testament Greek* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1955), ¶54.

[139]C. F. D. Moule, *An Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 18.

aspect of the perfect is thus accented."[140] The ongoing nature of both αἱ οὖσαι and the

periphrastic perfect point to the timeless nature of Paul's command, though he may not have any

one "order" may be in mind. There is a degree of artistry present as well. Paul has just used αἱ

οὖσαι in place of ἐξουσίαι, also stressing this ongoing process.

But to what act of God does τεταγμέναι refer? The traditional view understands τάσσω

as signifying the origin of the ἐξουσία as God. As Morris simply says, "All authority comes in the

end from God."[141] In this view, those holding positions of authority are there because of God's

appointment. This view is also supported by Delling in his study of τάσσω and its derivatives.[142]

However Yoder, in his highly influential book *The Politics of Jesus*, takes issue with this

basic understanding. In Yoder's view, τάσσειν and its derivatives signify only an ordering

function, not an origin or an appointment from God.

> God is not said to *create* or *institute* or *ordain* the powers that be, but only
> to *order* them, sovereignly to tell them where they belong, what is their place. It is
> not as if there was a time when there was no government and then God made
> government through a new creative intervention; there has been hierarchy and
> authority and power since human society existed.[143]

This view does not hold up to the Biblical data, however. For, τάσσειν is used seven

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[140]Robertson, 910.

[141]Morris, 461. See also the commentators Barrett (245), Cranfield (*Romans*, 2:663), Fitzmyer (669), Moo (798), Schreiner (682). See also the articles by E. Bammel,. "Romans 13" in *Jesus and the Politics of His Day*, ed. E. Bammel and C. F. D. Moule (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984): 365-83 and James D. G. Dunn, "Romans 13.1-7 – A Charter for Political Quietism?" *Ex Auditu* 2 (1986): 55-68. Yoder's claim that "New Testament exegesis has long since abandoned such a concept of divine institution in the order of creation . . ." is difficult to maintain in the face of such a broad array of New Testament scholars writing since the publication of Yoder's book.

[142]Delling, "τάσσω,", 28-9.

[143]Yoder, 201. This perspective has influenced Nanos (298-300) and is part of his argument against the identity of ἐξουσία as government.

other times in the New Testament. Matthew 28:16 and Acts 28:23 pertain to the making of

arrangements with an assigned place or time. In both cases, the issue is one of meeting with

people. In Luke 7:8, a centurion recongnizes the authority of Jesus. The centurion was a man

placed under authority (ὑπο ἐξουσίαν τασσόμενος). Acts 13:48 states that those who were

appointed (τεταγμένοι) to eternal life believed. In Acts 15:2, Paul and Barnabas are appointed

(ἔταξεν) to represent the church at Antioch at the Jerusalem council. Significantly, Paul and

Barnabas were representing others and therefore given authority. Acts 22:10 is Paul's recounting

of his conversion, when he was appointed (τέτακται) by God to preach to the Gentiles. 1

Corinthians 16:15 is unique in that the household of Stephanas appointed (ἔταξαν ἑαυτούς)

themselves to service.[144] But even here, there is no previously existing condition. Yoder makes the

assumption that a preexisting condition or state – in this case government, as Yoder assumes –

moves from chaos to order. The overriding sense in the Biblical usage is that something new

comes into existence because of the act of `ordering.'

In Paul's presentation, a hierarchal structure is implied. Those who are submitting are at

the bottom of the pyramid in the position of weakness. These are the ones Paul is addressing.

Directly over those in the position of weakness are the ἐξουσίαι. But the ἐξουσίαι are not the

top of the structure. They do not rule on the basis of their own authority or nature. Rather, all

authority is given by God alone.[145]

In summary, Paul begins this verse with a command to submit to the ἐξουσίαι. In verse

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[144]Louw/Nida understands this use of τάσσω as "to do something with devotion with the possible implication of systematic, regular activity" (¶68.69).

[145]See Stein, p. 330. Fitzmyer states "[ἐξουσία] is not an arbitrary creation or invention of human beings. Recall the prayer of early Christians in Acts 4:24-28" (667). See also Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 770.

1b-c, Paul then gives the first reason to follow the command – all ἐξουσίαι exist only because

God has established them, setting them in their place beneath Him. This is the theological reason

for Paul's command.[146]

C. Verse 2

Verse 2 follows naturally from the argument of verse 1. Paul's argument is set within a

series of word plays centering on the root of τάσσειν and its opposite ἀντιτάσσεσθαι. The

consequence for those who rebel against God's order is introduced by ὥστε. If Paul's argument

in 1b-c is correct (and he assumes it is), then judgment is the natural result of rebellion. Since God

has set in place the ἐξουσίαι, to oppose the authorities is to place oneself against God who

stands behind them. This brings judgment.

The one who acts with a negative attitude is called ὁ ἀντιτασσόμενος.[147] It is not merely

a matter of thinking with disdain about the ἐξουσία, but of the individual acting on that attitude.

When the ἐξουσία acts, the underling opposes his action and activity. 'Opposing'

(ἀντιτάσσεσθαι) is the negative and opposite of ὑποτάσσομαι in verse 1. Likewise, the force

of the perfect (ἀνθέστηκεν) should not be ignored. The ὁ ἀντιτασσόμενος is standing in a state

of rebellion. Then the action of ὁ ἀντιτασσόμενος is described with ἀνθίστημι, a synonymous

verb with alliterative echos. This is stylistic change, without change in meaning.[148]

With the phrase τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ διαταγῇ Paul describes the ἐξουσία in another word play.

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[146]Stein, 329.

[147]Louw/Nida: "to oppose someone, involving not only a psychological attitude but also a corresponding behavior - 'to oppose, to be hostile toward, to show hostility'" (¶39.1)

[148]Louw/Nida understands these two signifiers as synonyms (¶39.1).

Such an 'ordinance' (διαταγή, which is related to τάσσω) is something specific that is ordered by God.[149] Order is established by God, the ἐξουσία put into their place. Thus Paul is not speaking of generalities, but of the concrete expression of ἐξουσία. Opposing the authority thus takes on a grave significance because its presence is a concrete expression of God's will and desire.

Judgment (κρίμα) will be received by οἱ ἀνθεστηκότες[150] for their continued opposition. Two intertwined questions surround κρίμα. First, there is the question of who executes κρίμα; second, the question arises of when this κρίμα occurs.[151] This κρίμα may be understood as divine judgment.[152] The other alternative is to understand κρίμα as the work of the ἐξουσίαι.[153] If the first view is adopted, the time element may be either in the present, eschatological, or some combination of both. In the second alternative, the time element is limited to the present.

Who executes κρίμα? The immediate context suggests the second alternative – the κρίμα comes from the ἐξουσίαι. The wrath (ὀργή) of the ἐξουσία is actually described in the next two verses, as well as the possession of the sword. However, the logical connection between Rom. 13:2a and 13:2b would also point to God as the source of κρίμα. Importantly, κρίμα and ὀργή

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[149]Louw/Nida, ¶33.326; Delling, "τάσσω," 36.

[150]The close relationship between ἀντιτάσσομαι and ἀνθίστημι is seen when Paul changes the signifier without a change in referent. The change in signifier does have importance, however. Paul carried over the perfect tense of the finite verb into the participle. The emphasis falls on the continuing state of the hostility and rebellion (See Robertson, 909).

[151]Stein, 331-2.

[152]Moo, 799; Stein, 331; Lenski, 788; Käsemann, 357; Fitzmyer, 667.

[153]Sanday and Headlam, 367; Schreiner, 683; Barrett, 245.

are used of God's activity throughout Romans.[154] Stein is correct, therefore, when he writes, "It is

therefore God's judgment that is being described."[155]

But how is this judgment expressed? In light of Paul's argumentation in verse Rom. 13:1b

- 2a, God's wrath is expressed through the action of the ἐξουσίαι. God is seen as standing

behind the ἐξουσία. The result is that when one rebels against the ἐξουσία, he rebels against

God. Rather than being an *either/or* decision, this turns into a *both/and* situation.[156] God is the

unseen ἐξουσία behind the appointed, visible ἐξουσίαι. The authorities (ἐξουσίαι) are present

at His διαταγή. Within the immediate context, κρίμα is understood as God working through the

ἐξουσίαι which He has established. God's κρίμα is demonstrated in time through the ἐξουσίαι

which have been established at His διαταγή.[157]

Does this human agency automatically eliminate any reference to an eschatological κρίμα,

as Sanday and Headlam assert?[158] It need not. Paul may have both times of judgment in view. He

is establishing the ἐξουσίαι as God's instruments or servants. This does not eliminate his earlier

argument that to violate God's decrees is to invite eschatological judgment and wrath (Rom.

5:15-19). Taking into account both the immediate context of the ἐξουσίαι and the wider co-text

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[154]Κρίμα also appears in 2:2, 3; 3:8; 5:16; 11:33; only in 3:8 is the actor not God. Ὀργή appears in 1:18; 2:5 (twice), 8; 3:5; 4:15; 5:9; 9:22 (twice); 12:19; 13:4. Κρίνω is used with men as the actor. When an individual judges another, however, the man who takes it upon himself to judged is rebuked (i.e., 14:13) or threatened with God's judgment (e.g., 2:1-3).

[155]Stein, 331.

[156]Käsemann, *Romans*, 188; Lenski, 357; Fitzmyer 667; Cranfield, *Romans*, 2:664; Morris, 462.

[157]Sanday and Headlam explain it thus: "[T]hose who resist will receive κρίμα – a judgement or condemnation which is human, for it comes through human instruments, but Divine as having its origin and source in God" (367). See also Morris, 462.

[158]Sanday and Headlam write, "There is no reference here to eternal punishment" (367).

of God's judgment, it is fairest to see κρίμα as coming both in time and eschatologically to the

one who persists (ἀνθεστηκότες) in his opposition to the θεοῦ διαταγή.[159] With this, Paul

concludes his discussion of the theological reason for ὑποτάσσειν.

D. Verse 3-4

Rom. 13:3a does double duty in Paul's argument. First, it clearly supports Paul's

argument in verses 1 and 2, as the γάρ demonstrates. It is building on Paul's assertion in verse 2

that the one who opposes the ἐξουσία will receive judgment. This judgment works fear and thus

encourages submission. At the same time, Rom. 13:3a is transitional. It introduces the idea of

φόβος – the source of fear. This concept - φόβος – and its implied opposite – ἔπαινος – link

verses 3b-4e.

Rom. 13:3b-4 are to be treated as a unit. Three factors support this understanding. First,

as noted above, Rom. 13:3b-4 develops the ideas of Rom. 13:3a.[160] Verses 3b through 4e

establish Paul's concern in regard to how the Christian should conduct himself in view of the two

major functions possessed by the ἐξουσία. Rom. 13:3b-4a addresses the capability to praise, 4b-

4e the capability to punish. Thus Paul moves from the theological to the daily implications. Paul

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[159]So Schreiner, 684. Moo, indeed, thinks that it is preferable to think of an eschatological κρίμα and not God's judgment present in the act of the ἐξουσίαι. He writes, "But, Paul's argument has not advanced this far. It is better to understand the judgment here to be the eschatological judgment of God: those who persistently oppose secular rulers, and hence the will of God, will suffer condemnation for that opposition" (Moo, 799; see also Stein, 331-2).

This line of argumentation, however, seems to miss the nature of a text. The writer can say only one thing at a time, although he may desire to say much more. While it is true that the reading context is what has come before (see Voelz, *What Does This Mean?* 317), the writer produces a text with the end in mind. When Paul returns to the theme of judgment, he does so via θεοῦ γάρ διάκονός ἐστιν ἔκδικος εἰς ὀργήν who uses τὴν μάχαιραν. While the reader may not yet have the full impact of Paul's argument, Paul certainly seems to have in mind a temporal κρίμα.

[160]Stein, 332.

questions whether the ἐξουσίαι should be considered a φόβος or a benefactor to the Christian. Should submission come because of fear of what may be done to the individual under the ἐξουσία or because the benefit which can be derived from the ἐξουσία?

Second, the language used throughout this section seems to have a common source. Strobel sees the source as the Roman political world.[161] As the earlier wording dealing with ὑποτάσσομαι and διαταγή finds parallels in profane literature, so too the Pauline exhortations to do good works, the readiness of those in authority to give praise, and the bearing of the sword combine to form a complete picture of political-judicial activity. Nanos, however, sees this as common synagogue language.[162] Whatever one's view of the source of the language, its tightly compacted use indicates that verses 3 and 4 are to be treated as a unit.

Finally, the structure embedded in these verses also demonstrates their unity.[163] Beginning in Rom. 13:3c, he outlines the positive role of the ἐξουσία. Do good and receive praise, for the ἐξουσία is the servant of God for good (4a). In Rom. 13:4b, Paul then outlines the negative, punishing function of the ἐξουσία. If you do evil, fear (since the ἐξουσία does not bear the sword in vain, Rom. 13:4d), for the ἐξουσία works wrath to the doers of evil (Rom. 13:4e). Set side by side, the parallel structure of these verses is easily seen:

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[161]August Strobel, "Zum Verstandnis von Rm 13" *Zeitschrift fur Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 47 (1956): 80-6.

[162]Nanos, 330-2.

[163]Stanley E. Porter, "Romans 13:1-7 as Pauline Political Rhetoric" *Filologia Neotestamentum* 3 (1990): 131; also Sanday and Headlam, 368 and Murray, 153*.

A θέλεις δὲ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι   A¹ ἐὰν δὲ τὸ κακὸν ποιῇς (4b)

   τὴν ἐξουσίαν (3b)

B τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποίει (3c)   B¹ φοβοῦ (4c)

C καὶ ἕξεις ἔπαινον ἐξ αὐτῆς (3d)   C¹ οὐ φὰρ εἰκῇ τὴν μάχαιραν

                                             φορεῖ (4c-d)

D θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονος ἐστιν σοὶ   D¹ θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονος ἐστιν ἔκδικος

   εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν. (4a)   εἰς ὀργὴν τῷ τὸ κακὸν πράσσοντι

                                          (4e)[164]

The new title given to the ἐξουσία by Paul is οἱ ἄρχοντες. The ἄρχων "denotes Roman and Jewish officials of all kinds, often without specifying the particular office."[165] The position is seen as an official office.[166] Submission is not commanded to the one who shows a strong, charismatic personality. Rather, Paul understands submission to be due to those having an official capacity.[167]

The ἄρχοντες are not a φόβος, that is they are not a source of fear[168] to the good work, but to the evil work. The ἐξουσία is not in itself the cause of fear. Rather, it is the κακῷ ἔργῳ

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[164]The A and B lines in this diagram are inverted, forming a chiasm within the overall structure. This chiasm follows the change of subject and ties to the two major subsections – 3b-4a and 4b-4e – even more tightly together.

[165]Gerhard Delling, "ἄρχω, et. al." *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. Gerhard Kittel, trans. Geoffrey w. Bromiley, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1964), 489.

[166]BDAG, 140.

[167]Paul's "defense" of his apostleship might be viewed within this framework, and especially his calls to be "imitated" by the saints.

[168]Louw/Nida, ¶25.251.

that brings wrath. The ἄχοντες are concerned with the behavior of the individual, and this is the

basis for judgment. The good work (τὸ ἀγαθόν) is to be praised by the ἄχοντες, the evil

(κακός) punished.

By τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖ[169] Paul demonstrates his assumption that the Roman Christians

desire not to have the ἄρχοντες as a φόβος. The 'good' (ἀγαθός) is a general term.[170] It has

been used repeatedly throughout Romans for behavior that is pleasing to God or in accordance

with His will.[171] When ἀγαθός is used of human activity in Romans, it is a general term whose

precise meaning is established by the context.[172] The good work that Paul commands are works

that the ἐξουσία desires,[173] allowing Paul's command in verse 1 to carry its full force throughout

the exegesis of this section.

The one who does good receives praise (καὶ ἕξεις ἔπαινον ἐξ αὐτῆς). The expected

result[174] is ἔπαινος from the ἐξουσία.[175] The noun ἔπαινος is used in the context of political

theory and benefaction. This usage brings public acknowledgment, not simply for submission and

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[169]The switch to the 2ⁿᵈ person from the impersonal 3ʳᵈ person in verse 1 is typical of the diatribe style that marks Romans as a whole. See Porter, 131.

[170]Porter, 129-30.

[171]See Romans 2:7-8, 9-10; 7:19; 9:11; 12:9, 21 as examples.

[172]The actual good work desired depends largely on the referent of ἐξουσία. The referent will be addressed in the next chapter, and the good work in the last chapter.

[173]Contra Karl Barth, *Epistle to the Romans*, trans. Edwyn C. Hoskyns. London: Oxford University Press, 1933, 487. Barth understands this as a reference to "the dissolution of the man of this world and the establishing of the individual in God."

[174]BDF, ¶442(2).

[175]Porter, 131.

a sort of 'passive obedience,' but for public performance of benefit.[176]

Paul further identifies the ἐξουσία as θεοῦ διάκονος in 4a and thereby strengthens the relationship between the ἐξουσίαι and God. 'Servant' (διάκονος) is a general term that does not necessarily refer to an ecclesiastical office at the time of this writing.[177] Paul, who defended his use of the title ἀπόστολος, would apply διάκονος to himself (cf. 1 Corinthians 3:5; 2 Corinthians 6:4; Colossians 1:23), without hesitation, which would be odd if it referred to a lesser office.[178] Even in 1 Timothy – where a more developed form of church governance is assumed by many[179] – Luke Timothy Johnson translates διάκονος simply as "helper" to remove it from the ideas of hierarchy and structure.[180] The context supplies the necessary connections. The ἐξουσίαι are agents commissioned by God,[181] working εἰς ἀγαθόν to those who do good.

What is the nature of τὸ ἀγαθόν bestowed by the servant of God (Rom. 13:4a)? Four

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[176]Philip H. Towner, "Romans 13:1-7 and Paul's Missiological Perspective: A Call to Political Quietism or Transformation?" in *Romans and the People of God*, ed. Sven K. Soderlund and N. T. Wright (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1999), 162. Interestingly, Nanos cites no evidence of this usage in connection with the synagogue.

[177]John N. Collins, *Diakonia: Reinterpreting the Ancient Sources* (New York: Oxford University Press: 1990): 225. Collins summarizes his discussion:
> The word is thus not an ecclesiastically determined term like the modern word "deacon"; indeed, given the alternative words used at Smyr. 11.2 and Pol. 7.2, we see that it is not even a technical term meaning "church delegate" but is applied by the writer ad hoc to an ecclesiastical situation because of its religious background in the area of the message. In this it resembles usage in regard to Tychicus who is courier "in the Lord" (Col. 4:7) although there for Paul and not for a community, and usage in regard to Phoebe (Rom. 16:1 [where she is understood as a courier]), although there its religious character is not so expressly indicated.

[178]James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998), 584, note 99.

[179]This position is discussed and summarized by Luke Timothy Johnson, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy*, The Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 74-6.

[180]Johnson, 226.

[181]Collins, 228.

possibilities[182] have been raised: 1) individual good, i.e., prosperity; 2) the promotion of God's

purpose for His people, that is, salvation; 3) a quiet, peaceful life so that God's people may serve

Him effectively; and 4) the individual may be allowed to do more good.

The context of parenesis rules out seeing τὸ ἀγαθόν as being salvation (#2 in the above

paragraph). Paul is arguing throughout the parenesis that one is to act in earthly relationships in

accordance with the will of God, that is to find out what is good and do it (Rom. 12:2). Thus

wealth, peace, and the opportunity to do more good are all equally viable. Within the context, the

more general the referent, the better. The context does not give an example nor does it clearly

limit what the reward will be. It is best to understand this as a general statement[183] of the function

and purpose of the θεοῦ διάκονος.

With 4a, Paul's first, positive, practical reason to submit to the authorities concludes. The

first practical reason to submit is that the ἐξουσίαι are present to praise τὸ ἀγαθόν. He

establishes this point by raising a situation assumed to be true (θέλεις δὲ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὴν

ἐξουσίαν). Then, beginning the first of two parallel statements regarding the function of the

ἐξουσία, Paul commandd the appropriate behavior (τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποίει), commenting that the

resulting response of the ἐξουσία is ἔπαινος. The reason why the ἐξουσία should respond in

this manner is simple – they are acting as agents of God.

Paul now leaves behind the positive reason and takes up the negative practical reason for

submitting with ἐὰν δὲ τὸ κακὸν ποιῇς (Rom. 13:4b). Paul's argumentation parallels that of his

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[182]Morris, 463-4.

[183]Following Porter (129-30), who understands ἀγαθός as one of number of general terms employed
throughout this pericope.

positive reason. Failure to submit to the ἐξουσία – that is, by doing evil – brings fear. Therefore, if one does evil, φοβοῦ. The διάκονος is again the agent of God, though this time for punishment, demonstrating his double duty.[184]

To emphasis the point, Paul inserts a parenthetical statement between φοβοῦ and θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονος ἐστιν ἔκδικος, namely – οὐ γὰρ εἰκῇ τὴν μάχαιραν φορεῖ. The referent to μάχαιραν is much debated. Some see it as simply a reference to the trappings and symbols of authority.[185] Others see a reference to capital punishment.[186] Others understand μάχαιραν to function metaphorically for the right and ability to punish.[187] Still others think that 'sword' refers to the right to use force.[188]

The vast range of ideas and contexts which the commentators use to support the various referents demonstrate the breadth of this term's semantic range. In this context, μάχαιρα is connected with ὀργή (Rom. 13:4e), linking it with actual punishment and φοβεῖσθαι (Rom. 13:4b). It is authority's ability to mete out punishment τῷ τὸ κακὸν πράσσοντι which produces φοβός. Since Paul now is exhorting submission on practical grounds, concrete reasons are given, rather than abstract references embedded in symbolism. Thus, if τὸ κακόν is done, there is real cause to fear because of actual capabilities possessed by the authority. For these reasons, μάχαιρα is best understood in a general way as the right and ability to punish.

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[184]Sanday and Headlam, 368.

[185]Suggested by Cranfield, *Romans,* 2:667.

[186]Stein, 33; Murray, 152-3*.

[187]Wilckens, 35; Sanday and Headlam, 367-8; Lenski, 792; Cranfield, "Some Observations," 246.

[188]Morris, 464; Yoder, 802.

The title ἔκδικος εἰς ὀργήν naturally follows as an explanation (γάρ), given this understanding of μάχαιρα. The term ἔκδικος is used in the LXX of those executing judgment (4 Maccabees 15:29; Sirach 30:6; Wisdom of Solomon 12:12). Paul uses it in 1 Thessalonians 4:6, where God is the avenger of the one who wrongs his brother. The purpose of the ἔκδικος is εἰς ὀργήν,[189] to bring wrath on the doer of evil. The connection between those violating the will of God and being punished through the work of the θεοῦ διάκονος comes through clearly. Just as κρίμα is from God but came through the means of the ἐξουσία, so also ὀργή at the hands of the θεοῦ διάκονος is of God.[190]

In verse 4e, ὀργή is not to be understood merely as a state or condition in which man finds himself.[191] Rather, God is moved by sin. An attitude underlies such statements as Romans 1:18 where "the wrath of God is revealed . . . against all ungodliness and unrighteousness." Wrath is attributed to God here. Likewise, in Romans 2:5, one finds righteous judgment on the day of wrath. Romans 2:8 specifically ties ὀργή with θυμός – the passionate longings of mankind.

Wrath (ὀργή) in 13:4 parallels the use of ὀργή in 1:18. This is not merely an anger without concrete expression; rather both are included with the expression of anger – punishment – being the focal point.[192] Wrath is revealed (ἀποκαλύπτεται) in the present. That which produces the

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[189]Moule, 70.

[190]Lenski, 793.

[191]Hansen offers the most articulate defense of this position. In just two examples, one finds, "God allows the wrath; he does not inflict it" (85); and, again, ". . . wrath in the New Testament is not an emotion or attribute of God, but the effects of sin" (85).

[192]Louw/Nida, ¶38.10. BDAG agrees, seeing ὀργή as "strong indignation directed at wrongdoing, w. focus on retribution" (720).

wrath of God in Romans 1 is portrayed largely – though not exclusively – on a social level.

> They were filled with all manner of wickedness, evil, covetousness, malice. Full of envy, murder, strife, deceit, malignity, they are gossips, slanderers, haters of God, insolent, haughty, boastful, inventors of evil, disobedient to parents, foolish, faithless, heartless, ruthless. (Romans 1:29-31)

Social sins, however, are merely the extension of the one's attitudes toward God (Rom. 1:28). Thus God can and does react to these social sins through His ἔκδικος. The prophet Isaiah understood Assyria as the rod or agent of God's ὀργή (Isaiah 10:5). Thus God's wrath may be revealed in history through His chosen agent.[193]

This use of ὀργή takes place in time, not at the eschaton. The same διάκονος θεοῦ who functions as ἔκδικος εἰς ὀργήν functions to bring praise to the one who does good (Rom. 13:3d). Wrath (ὀργή) is meted out through the ἐξουσία who is also called θεοῦ διακονος, ἔκδικος εἰς ὀργήν.

The discussion of ὀργή closes off the second subsection of verses Rom. 13:3b-4 The evil work brings wrath, punishment and fear from the θεοῦ διάκονος. One should submit to the ἐξουσία because of these possibilities.

Verses 1 and 2 established the first, theological reason for submission to the ἐξουσία – the ἐξουσία has a divine origin. In these verses, it logically follows that he who opposes the authorities will receive judgment, for 'rulers' cause fear when one does an evil work. Verses 3 and 4 then further describe the positive and negative roles played by the rulers. Submitting to them does not give reason to fear. Rather, the good work (τὸ ἀγαθόν) brings praise. The ἐξουσία is

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[193]Murray, 153*.

God's servant – emphasized twice to demonstrate the "double duty" it performs.[194] Thus, before

moving his exhortation to concrete discussion on submission, Paul gives two supporting reasons

for submission: the first theological – all ἐξουσίαι are from God – and the second practical –

there is a `payoff' in the reception of praise and the avoidance of wrath in this age.

E. Verse 5

Before making concrete application, Paul concludes his argument with an inclusio. He

began, "Πᾶσα ψυχὴ . . . ὑποτασσέσθω." Now, he ends, "Διὸ ἀνγκη ὑππατάσσεσθαι."

Whereas at the beginning the command was given through an imperative demonstrating the

necessity, now the use of ἀνάγκη demonstrates the immutability of Paul's desire.

The use of ἀνάγκη demonstrates that Paul's argument in and of itself should move the

hearer to action.[195] It is necessary - ἀνάγκη – that the every person submit to the ἐξουσία. This

subjection "is necessary or it must be,"[196] that is, "a necessity or constraint as inherent in the

nature of things."[197] Paul's argumentation is compelling enough for people to submit.[198]

The two grounds which make submission ἀνάγκη are summarized in two words: ὀργή

and συνείδησιν.[199] Paul summarizes his second, practical point (Rom. 13:3b-4) with ὀργή. Not

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[194]Sanday and Headlam, 368.

[195]Louw/Nida, ¶71.30.

[196]Walter Grundmann, "ἀναγκάζω, ἀναγκακαῖος, ἀνάγκψ," in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, Co., 1964), 347.

[197]BDAG, 61.

[198]Porter highlights that ἀνάγκη is neither deterministic nor tentative, "but rather the sense of moral and ethical responsibility, if one wants to participate in the theological and practical results described . . ." (133).

[199]In agreement with Stein, 337-8, and contra Barth, *Romans*, 490.

to submit, not to place yourself under the ἐξουσία which is God's servant, brings wrath. Wrath

(ὀργή) is really only a secondary, compelling reason for submission, as ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν

συνείδησιν indicates.

The more compelling reason for subordination is ʾconscience (συνείδησις).[200] This term

summarizes Paul's argument in verses 1 and 2 in a much different manner than did ʾwrath' (ὀργή).

Rather than picking up on a word from the actual argument, as was done with ὀργή, Paul

introduces a new vocable for his summary – συνείδησις.

Conscience (συνείδησις) may be understood in two manners. It may be understood as

conscience which may suffer pangs of guilt if it is not followed. This is followed by Stein among

others.[201] If one does not submit, conscience pangs arise, guilt is incurred, and judgment follows.

Second, one may understand συνείδησις as knowledge or the awareness of information

which leads to right action,[202] in this case, knowledge of the origin of the ἐξουσία. Webster and

others argue this position.[203] Voelz summarizes this position succinctly when he writes,

> The end of verse 5 . . . seems to pick up the theme of v. 1 again and may well be
> designed as a ʾcorrective' to the *Tendenz* of the last several verses, which have
> given practical reasons for obedience, picking up, as it does, the basic truth that

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[200]Porter, 133.

[201]Stein, 337; C. A. Pierce, *Conscience in the New Testament*, Studies in Biblical Theology 15 (London: SCM, 1955), 71; Heinrich Schlier, *The Relevance of the New Testament* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968), 49; William Stringfellow, *Conscience and Disobedience* (Waco, TX: Word Books, Publishers, 1977), 101.

[202]Fitzmyer, 311.

[203]Cranfield, "Some Observations," 246-7; Käsemann, 213; Alexander F. C. Webster, "St. Paul's Political Advice to the Haughty Gentile Christians in Rome: An Exegesis of Romans 13:1-7," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 25 (1981): 268; Victor Paul Furnish, *The Moral Teaching of Paul*, 2nd ed (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1985), 137; B. L. Emslie, "The Methodology of Proceeding from Exegesis to an Ethical Decision," *Neotestamentica* 19 (1985): 89; and Porter, 134.

actions *vis-a-vis* the government are actions *vis-a-vis* God himself.[204]

Several factors lead to understanding συνειδήσις as knowledge. First is the design of the argument. Paul is contrasting ὀργή and συνειδήσις, as ἀλλὰ καί clearly indicates. Paul's surface structure would make little sense if συνειδήσις was a reference to a desire to avoid conscience pangs, which is in itself a form of punishment. The contrast would be eliminated even though the agency of punishment may differ (the διάκονος in the case of ὀργή; the individual himself in the case of συνειδήσις). The contrast is maintained, however, when συνειδήσις is understood as knowledge and awareness.

Second, Paul is summarizing his argument of Rom. 13:1-2. In these verses, he gave a 'behind-the-scenes' of what was happening, an insider's view, as it were.[205] Additionally, the stress has been on relationships between the individual and the ἐξουσίαι, not on the relationship between the individual and God. Throughout the parenesis, Paul has been explaining how a believer should live with others. First, Paul shows how one should live with fellow believers; then, he addresses how one should live with those who persecute the believer. Now Paul explains the relationship between the believer and the authorities.

Third, the setting within the Roman parenesis leads to this conclusion. The stated point of the parenesis is quite clear: "be transformed by the renewal of your mind, that you may prove what is the will of God . . ." (Rom. 12:2b). Paul addresses the renewed νοῦς throughout the

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[204]James W. Voelz, "A Self-Conscious Reader-Response Interpretation of Romans 13:1-7," in *The Personal Voice in Biblical Interpretation*, ed. Ingrid Rosa Kilzberger (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 164.

[205]Webster notes that "[c]onscience here entails the obligation resulting from the specific knowledge that one shares with his fellow Christians in view of vv. 1-2 that the governing authorities are servants of God and executers of his divine will"(268).

parenesis. He is concerned, in the parenesis, that the Christian mind be renewed and find the will

of God and to receive it as true.[206] The θέλμα τοῦ θεοῦ (Rom. 12:2) is for the Christian to

submit (with his renewed νοῦς) to the ἐξουσίαι who exercise judgment and mete out wrath or

praise on behalf of God, acting as God's servants. Conscience (συνείδησις) is a basis for

submission. The renewed mind understands that God is standing behind the activity of the

ἐξουσία. Conscience (συνείδησις) as knowledge fits this entire line of argumentation. To

understand συνείδησις in any other way breaks the coherency of the parenesis.

What specifically has the renewed mind learned? First, God has established the whole

order of ἐξουσία. Second, it has learned that the activities of the ἐξουσίαι in giving praise and

acting as an agent of wrath are done as God's servant. This behavior is not an usurpation of

God's authority but an acting on behalf of God.[207]

Paul sees submission διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν as a superior reason for submission. It is

natural for one to act out of fear. The renewed mind, however, acts out of knowledge of the good

will of God. The believer has been blessed with special understanding and insight. This moves

submission from "the servile to the thoughtful, considered work."[208]

Verse 5 serves as an inclusio and a conclusion (διό) that closes the section of Paul's

argumentation (see page 32). As such, it first reiterates the command, stressing its necessity by

the use of ἀνάγκη and the position of the ὑποτάσσεσθαι. Second, Paul summarizes his reason

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[206]BDAG, 255.

[207]Contra Stein who understands ὀργή as referring specifically to verses 3 and 4 and συνείδησις to verses 1 and 2. There are issues of knowledge and judgment/wrath/anger in both sections (339).

[208]Porter, 134.

for submission in two parts: on account of wrath and on account of knowledge.

F. Verse 6

The nature of parenesis is to give practical advice, not simply to teach theoretical material. The theoretical material serves the application. Paul has given the command and the supporting arguments for submission and summarized them in verses Rom. 13:1-5. Now, in Rom. 13:6-7, he moves on to the practical matter of what it means to submit in everyday life. Thus, Rom. 13:6-7 follow as a climax to Paul's earlier discussion, not as an addendum.

With διὰ τοῦτο γάρ Paul is bridging the two major sections of this pericope.[209] He looks back upon what he has argued and points forward to 6b. The main statement of 6a is that the Roman Christians are already paying taxes. Though some would understand τελεῖν as imperative,[210] the presence of γάρ moves against this understanding. Rather Paul has, through the recognition that they are currently paying taxes, demonstrated that the Romans are already submitting and possess the same perspective which he has.[211]

The clause λειτουργοὶ γὰρ θεοῦ εισιν εἰς οὐτὸ τοῦτο προσκαρτεροῦντες has the markings of a parenthetical statement. The movement into verse 7 is smoother without its presence, and verse 7 picks up on themes that were established earlier. Three questions naturally follow: 1) what is the significance of the term λειτουργοί, 2) to what εἰς αὐτὸ refers, and 3) why the parenthetical statement is included.

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[209]Schreiner is representative of those who see διὰ τοῦτο as referring to what comes both before and after (685).

[210]George Stoeckhardt, *The Epistle to the Romans,* trans. Erwin W. Koehlinger (Ft. Wayne, IN: CTS Press, 1980), 179.

[211]Voelz, "Romans 13:1-7," 166.

First, the usage of λειτουργοί raises some issues. Some raise questions about the use of

such a liturgical word in this context. Some want to import its theological usage to one degree or

another.[212] However,

> the term applies to anyone who acts as a public servant in a public capacity: thus to
> a military servant, a royal servant, Paul himself a public servant for the Gentiles
> (15:16), Epaphroditus as officiating for the Philippians (Phil. 2:25), Christ himself
> in the most exalted capacity (Heb. 8:2).[213]

The term itself does not automatically have a priestly or cultic connotation.[214] In the context of the

political-civil vocabulary used throughout this pericope λειτουργοί is at home.[215]

This phraseology parallels Paul's earlier statements in Rom. 13:3-4. The switch from

διάκονος to λειτουργός makes the service of the ἐξουσία more specific[216] and adds to the

parenthetical explanation. While it does not add to Paul's argumentation, λειτουργοί defines it

more narrowly, as is needed in this circumstance.

Regarding the second question, three possibilities have been raised in regards to the

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[212]Dunn, "Romans 13:1-7," 66. See also Sanday and Headlam, 66.

[213]Barrett, 247.

[214]The LXX uses λειτουργός neutrally in several instances, i.e., 2 Samuel 13:18, Kings 10:5, and Sirach 10:2.

[215]Strobel, 86: "Rm 13₆ wird der Begriff λειτουργός auch in dem alltaglichen, politisch-burgerlichen Sinn verwendet." See also Frederick W. Danker for a complete listing of the related terms ("Benefactor," in Vol. 1 of *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, edited by David Noel Freeman [New York: Doublday, 1992], 669-70).

[216]Louw/Nida comments on διάκονος, "In rendering . . . διάκονοςᵃ in the sense of `servant,' it is important to avoid a term which would be too specific, for example, `one who serves meals' or `one who works around the house.' It may, in fact, be necessary to use an expression which means essentially `helper'" (¶35.20). Louw/Nida understand λειτουργός as "a person who renders special service" (¶35.23). Thus, διάκονος could serve as a `synonym' for λειτουργός but not vice-versa.

referent of εἰς αὐτὸ refers.[217] First, it may refer to the administration of wrath by the ἐξουσίαι

(Rom. 13:4e). Second, it may refer to the reception of taxes (Rom. 13:6a). Third it may refer to

the total duties of the ἐξουσίαι as appointed servants of God.

While the latter view has received approval in past years,[218] the second choice fits best.

The statement is surrounded by references to taxes and payments (φόρος and τέλος) of various

sorts. As a parenthetical statement, the statement serves as a brief supporting interlude concerning

Paul's approval of taxes. It does not serve to advance his entire argument, only this one concern.

Λειτουργοί are devoting themselves to this very task, that is collecting taxes.[219]

Third, why include this parenthetical statment? Paul argued in verses 3 and 4 that the

ἐξουσία are θεοῦ διάκονος in order to give praise and demonstrate wrath, but mentioned no

other function at that point. He is now defending the collection of taxes as a legitimate function of

the ἐξουσία.[220] Since Paul had not mentioned this specific function earlier, he now parenthetically

supports it,[221] to avoid any future misunderstanding and misinterpretation of his point. (One can

assume that in Rome, as in any society, taxes were not appreciated).

In summary verse 6 leaves behind the theoretical discussion of the ἐξουσίαι and

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[217]This list follows Stein, 342.

[218]See for example Stoeckhardt (179) and Lenksi (794).

[219]Paul in this context is arguing that the taxes are to be used for the proper administration of authority. However, this is not the primary concern. Rather, it is the legitimacy of the activity.

[220]Fitzmyer writes, "Although *eis auto touto* might seem to refer to all that has been mentioned in vv. 3-4 . . . it is preferably taken as referring to the collection of taxes." (669); so also Cranfield, *Romans*, 2:669. Contra Sanday and Headlam, 368; see also Lenski, 796.

[221]BDF: "The parenthesis . . . usually originates in a need which suddenly crops up to enlarge upon a concept or through where it appears in the sentence . . ." (¶465).

demonstrates that the Romans are already submitting to the authorities. As underlings, they are

paying their taxes, which is a legitimate function of the ἐξουσίαι – the specialized servants of

God.

G. Verse 7

After the brief parenthetical break, Paul continues with demonstrating what submission

means.[222] In the most general of terms, people are to give what is due to one (ἀπόδοτε πᾶσιν

τὰσ ὀφειλάς).[223] Paul has in mind a far reaching duty, more than simply paying taxes, as the

following accusatives indicate.

He begins, however, with payment of certain taxes. The direct tax is φόρος, such as the

property tax or poll tax.[224] Roman citizens in Rome would have been exempt from the payment of

these taxes.[225] The second tax listed is τέλος, the indirect tax.[226] These taxes varyied. They

included "revenue from rents on state property . . . customs duty, tax on slave sales and

manumissions, death duty."[227] Almost every other kind of tax would be included in τέλος.

Paul moves from external acts of submission to the inner attitude that promotes

submission. Thus Paul urges that φόβος – the inner disposition – be given to the one who is due

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[222]Arland J.Hultgren, "Reflections on Romans 13:1-7: Submission to Governing Authorities," *Dialog* 15 (1976), 269.

[223]BDAG, 743. Louw/Nida understand this as the "amount owed" (¶57.221). However, this seems to narrow, seeing that φοβός and τιμή are due, as well as τέλος and φόβος. Thus,¶71.24 (that which ought to be done as a matter of duty or social obligation) seems to be a better fit.

[224]Fitzmyer, 669.

[225]Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 668.

[226]Cranfield, *Romans,* 2:668.

[227]Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 766.

φόβος. What is the nature of φόβος? Commentators are agreed that this refers to the respectful awe which is felt for the one holding power.[228] Yet there is the concern that the usage of φόβος (and its related verb form) is different between verse 3 – where it was used for the source of fear – and verse 7.[229] We offer support for our understanding as follows.

In the New Testament, φόβος occurs in other contexts involving ordering and submission. 1 Peter 2:18 tells house servants to submit to their masters in all fear (ἐν παντὶ φόβῳ), not only the good and gentle, but also to the crooked. This φόβος is not 'being afraid.' Peter expects φόβος to be present toward the good and gentle master, even though there is no reason to be afraid of the gentle master. If φόβος was here equated with 'being afraid,' Peter's wording would be the exact opposite of what it is: Peter would tell the people not only to fear the crooked, but the good and gentle as well. Fear – φόβος – is being used here as 'respect' or 'awe'.

In Ephesians 5:33 the issue of ordering is again present – in this case, wives to husbands. Husbands are told to love their wives as themselves in order that the wife may fear or respect her husband (ἵνα φοβῆται τὸν ἄνδρα). Husbands loving their wives would not lead to 'being afraid,' but 'respect.'

In this instance, φόβος should also be taken in this way in Romans 13:7. In Romans 13, 1 Peter 2, and Ephesians 5 there are a number of common elements. First, each are set with in a discussion of submission. Second, each passage deals with hierarchal relationships. It is best to see φόβος as 'respectful awe' in Romans 13:7, just as it is in the other similar passages.

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[228]See as an example Sanday and Headlam, 368.

[229]Cranfield, *Romans*, 2:670.

The question also arises whether τὸν φόβον refers to God or to an earthly ἐξουσία. Several arguments have been advanced that see this as a reference to God. First, some assert that part of the external entailment[230] of φόβος is that it was directed toward God.[231] In order to defend this position, Cranfield argues that no other passage clearly states humans as the object of φόβος.

At first glance, several passages would seem to Cranfield wrong, including Ephesisans 6:6, 1 Peter 2:18 and 316, and 1 Peter 3:2. Ephesians 6:5 instructs slaves to obey their earthly masters (τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα κυρίοις) with fear and trembling. However, Cranfield argues this can only be understood in light of Ephesians 5:21 – ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐν φόβῳ Χριστοῦ. Likewise in 1 Peter 2:17 and 3:16, φόβος is directed toward masters and those to whom a defense of "the hope within us" is due. In 1 Peter 3:2, φόβος is a characteristic of a wife's life. Again, Cranfield argues that these are not clear cut cases, since 1 Peter 3:6 and 14 "forbid the fear of men."[232]

Second, Cranfield sees 1 Peter 2:17 – θεὸν φοβεῖσθε, τὸν Βασιλέα τιμᾶτα – as a direct parallel to Romans 13:7. 1 Peter 2:17 becomes significant for two reasons. First, φόβος is directed toward God. Second, Cranfield understands 1 Peter 2:17 to be a modified quote of Proverbs 24:21– φόβου τὸν θεόν, υἱέ, καὶ βασιλέα. If this is a true parallel, the change from φόβου . . . βασιλέα to τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶτε takes on significance when placed next to Rom.

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[230]See Voelz, *What Does This Mean?* 188-90, for a treatment of external entailment.

[231]Cranfield, *Romans*, 2:670-2. The remainder of the paragraph refers to arguments given by Cranfield in these pages. Louw/Nida also err here, mistakenly sees this usage of φόβος as referring to worship and directed only to God (¶53.59). This ignores the usages of φόβος directed to hierarchal authority given above.

[232]Cranfield, *Romans*, 2:672.

13:7. For "it suggests that there was in the early Church a feeling that φόβος was particularly due

to God and that τιμή rather than φόβος was due to the Emperor."[233] Thus he concludes that

nowhere else is there an exhortation to give φόβος to earthly (civil) authority.

However, there are several flaws with this argumentation. First, Cranfield disregards the

evidence that the external entailments of φόβος can differ in different contexts. His treatment of

the evidence from 1 Peter is a prime example of this. When Cranfield reads φόβος in 1 Peter 3:6,

he applies it to all situations. Peter is urging the Christian wife not to be afraid of what could

befall her! Likewise, in 3:14 Peter is urging Christians not to fear physical punishment that arises

from persecution. "In both 1 Pet 3:6c and 3:14, where all of the believers are addressed, *phobeō*

denotes not reverence for God (2:17, 18; 3:2) but fear of other *humans*."[234] Cranfield assumes

that each appearance of φόβος has the same meaning.

Second, it is a rather enterprise to make the jump from 1 Peter 2:17 to Romans 13:7.

Nowhere else does Paul have state and God so closely juxtaposed. It is difficult to assume, as

Cranfield does, that Paul would expect his readres to supply that θεός would or should be

provided in Rom. 13:7. With only two passages with which to work, the parallel becomes highly

speculative. Indeed, the use of 1 Peter 2:17 as the decisive context for interpreting Romans 13:7

seems invalid.

Third, there are several times (Ephesians 5:33; 6:5; 1 Peter 2:18) in which fear is to be

directed toward men. In each passage, the command is given within the same context as this one.

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[233]Cranfield, "Some Observations," 248. This argument is very important to Cranfield, for he understands 1 Peter 2:17 to be an allusion to Proverbs 24:21.

[234]John H. Elliot, *1 Peter* (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 574.

Each is found within a parenetic section; in each a hierarchal relationship is observed; and in each

the one in the position of authority has the potential to abuse the underling. It is true that these do

not all refer to civil authority (the dominant understanding of the referent for ἐξουσία in Rom.

13) but they are reflective of civil order (husbands and wives, slaves and masters).

Finally, throughout this text Paul has been discussing the ἐξουσία. Human arrangements

have been in the foreground. Throughout Rom. 13:1-6 God is pictured as working through these

human agencies – whether the ἐξουσία be understood as civil authority or some other authority.

The ἐξουσίαι receive φόβος because they are agents of God, working on His behest.

It is true that φόβος often finds its object in God. However, it is the context which

determines usage and meaning. While it would be convenient if Rom. 13:7 were directed to God

(allowing us to avoid the theological problems associated with the Holocaust and Nazi Germany),

neither the text nor related co-texts compel us to agree that φόβος in Rom. 13 is directed toward

God. Rather φόβος is directed toward the ἐξουσίαι discussed in the text.

The final debt owed to the ἐξουσίαι is honor (τιμή) to those who are due it. How does

τιμή differ from φόβος? "It is not easy to grasp the distinction Paul makes between them."[235]

Perhaps it is the distinction between attitude and activity. In that case, φόβος is the inner,

attitudinal stance of a person before the God-appointed ἐξουσίαι.[236] Then, τιμή would be a

general term involving whatever actions would be an appropriate show of φόβος.[237] Paul is asking

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[235]Morris, 466.

[236]BDAG, 1062.

[237]BDAG, 1005. Here, I understand τιμή in the active sense – the showing of honor. Danker, however, understands τιμή in the passive sense, that is as the possession of the ἐξουσία. However, Paul is commanding τιμή to be given – ἀπόδοτε. The active sense seems to fit the context better.

not only for taxes to be paid and a correct attitude maintained, but for Christians to give every sort of honor that is required.[238]

The exegesis of this chapter has attempted to lay bare the logic and theology of Romans 13:1-7. At the same time the question still remains: to what does ἐξουσία (and the related terms) refer? It is to this question, as it is raised in important contemporary literature, that we now turn.

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[238]The question often arises whether or not verse 7 is an allusion to the dominical saying of Mark 12:17. Jesus' words – τὰ Καίσαραρος ἀπόδοτε Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ – do find a certain structural and vocable parallel. The use of ἀπόδοτε and the similarity between "τὰς ὀφειλάς" and "τὰ . . ." leads one to seeing an allusion to Christ's words.

However, it is not uncommon to use δίδωμι or its derivatives in the sense of giving what is due, as Louw/Nida (¶57.152-4) demonstrate. One can also see δίδωμι used with φόρος in Luke 20:22 and 23:2. Both here and in 1 Corinthians 7:3 ἀποδίδωμι is used here and in 1 Corinthians 7:3 with ὀφειλή. This is a normal manner of speaking. Likewise, the construction is not unusual and is not unexpected when setting up a comparison or listing. While it is possible to see an allusion to the dominical saying, it is not highly probable. For a fuller discussion see Michael Thompson, Clothed with Christ (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 110-9.

III. The Referent of ἐξουσία and Its Related Terms

The question of the referent of ἐξουσία has had an interesting history over the course of the twentieth century.[239] The consensus by the commentators is almost unanimous: this is a reference to government. Historical reconstructions have been developed to explain its inclusion in the Roman parenesis. Most often the question of referent is mentioned in passing, especially in more recent commentaries, as it is assumed to be civil authority.

Twentieth century theological giants Karl Barth and Oscar Cullmann, however, have dissented from the accepted position that ἐξουσία refers to political powers. Barth thinks that Paul is referring to angelic powers.[240] Cullmann, in two separate books,[241] held a more nuanced position: ἐξουσία refers to both the governmental authorities *and* the spirit world. His position was refined by Clinton Morrison, a student of Cullmann, to refer to the Jewish concept of national angels and the government through which these angels worked.[242] Morrison's thesis and work are based on the earlier work and suggestions found in Cullmann's writings.

A new voice entered the exegetical discussion in 1996, turning the discussion in a completely new direction. Mark D. Nanos won the "National Jewish Award for Jewish-Christian

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[239]It is understood that ἐξουσία, ἐξουσίαι, ἄρχοντες, διάκονος, and λειτουργοί all have the same referent. Hence, unless one term deserves special attention, the vocable ἐξουσία or ἐξουσίαι will be used throughout this chapter.

[240]Karl Barth, *Church and State*, trans. G. Ronald Howe (Greenville, SC: Smyth & Helwys Publishing, Inc., 1991).

[241]*Christ and Time*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964); *The State in the New Testament* (New York: Scribners, 1956).

[242]*The Powers That Be* (Naperville, IL: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1960).

Relations" for his book *The Mystery of Romans*.[243] Nanos has produced a completely Jewish Paul

in a completely Jewish situation.

> This study finds the Paul behind the text of Romans to be a practicing Jew – 'a
> good Jew' – albeit a Jew shaped by his conviction in Jesus as Israel's Christ, who
> did not break with the essential truths of the Judaism(s) of his day, who was
> committed to the restoration of his people as his first and foremost responsibility in
> the tradition of Israel's Deuteronomic prophets. His dispute was not with
> righteous Torah-observant behavior as though Jews who pursued this course did
> so in order to win God's favor in the projected context of legalistic works
> righteousness.[244]

Thus, he understands the basic argument of Paul in Romans to be directed not against good Jews

or Jewish exclusivism, but against gentile exclusivism.[245]

In line with his basic movements, Nanos has proposed a new referent for ἐξουσία – the

Jewish synagogue and its leaders.[246] While scholarly discussion has begun to address Nanos'

proposals in general terms,[247] this particular issue has not been treated at length. The historical

and theological implications (and applications) this 'ecclesiastical' understanding can have

necessitate a fuller answer.

This chapter will be broken into four sections. First, the positions of Barth, Cullmann, and

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[243]Mark D. Nanos, *The Mystery of Romans* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1996). The significance of this book can be seen by the number of treatments it has received. Robert A. J. Gagnon notes that a panel discussion at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature was set aside for discussing the proposals of this book ("Why the 'Weak' at Rome Cannot be Non-Christian Jews," in *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 62 [2000]: 65). The Catholic Biblical Association devoted a session in 1998 to address the issues raised by Nanos.

[244]Nanos, 9.

[245]Nanos, 10.

[246]Nanos states, "Chapter 6 seeks to apply the historical and interpretive construct developed in the first five chapters to the topos of 13:1-7 addressing the issue of subordination to authorities" (18).

[247]See Charles Prebish, ed, *Critical Review of Books in Religion*, vol. 11 (Atlanta, GA, 1998). Within this work, Neil Elliot, E. Elizabeth Johnson, and Stanley K. Stowers review *The Mystery of Romans*.

Morrison will be addressed. Since the issues surrounding this position have been largely discussed, this position will be explained only briefly.

Second, the position of Nanos will be more thoroughly explored. First his position and argument will be outlined. Then the strengths of his argumentation and the problems with his theories will be discussed. Finally, conclusions regarding his 'ecclesiastical' understanding will be discussed.

Third, the traditional understanding of ἐξουσία and its related terms will be addressed. First the exegetical reasoning for such a position will be examined, followed by an examination of how the traditional understanding fits into the wider context. This will be followed by a brief examination of the historical setting.

Finally, the positions of Nanos and the traditional understanding of ἐξουσία will be evaluated using seven criteria.

A. Barth, Cullman, and Morrison's Fuller Understandings of ἐξουσία

Karl Barth understands the referent of ἐξουσία to be "the political angelic power."[248] This conclusion is reached by combining two different streams of thought. On the one hand, Barth draws on what appears to be the purely political citations of ἐξουσία. Titus 3:1, Luke's usage, John 19:10-11, and Romans 13:1 supply the adjective "political" for Barth's definition.[249] Here political authority is seen clearly as a rather neutral state. Power has been given to it by God. The use of this power can be for either good or evil. "[I]t is not inevitable that the State should

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[248]Karl Barth, *Church and State*, 29.

[249]Barth, *Church and State*, 15, 23. Barth lists no chapter and verse references for Luke. Barth appears to basing his information on G. Dehn, "Engel und Oberkeit," *Theologische Aufsätze*, 1936.

become a 'demonic' force."[250]

Barth applies the adjective "angelic" to ἐξουσία when it is used in the plural. This is also

true when a phrase occurs that indicates the existence of more than one ἐξουσία, as with the

phrase πᾶσα ἐξουσία. For Barth, ἐξουσία and its related terms "indicate a group of those

angelic powers which are so characteristic of the Biblical conception of the world and man."[251]

These created angelic powers maintain "a certain independence, and in this independence have a

certain superior dignity, task, and function, and exert a certain real influence."[252]

While formally stating that the ἐξουσία as government has a rather neutral quality,

Barth's exposition presents only a negative inclination of the ἐξουσία and its reluctantance to

serve God's purposes. When the ἐξουσίαι as angelic forces are present, the ἐξουσία as

government is inevitably portrayed as failing. Thus Pilate misuses his authority by not using it fully

to declare Jesus innocent (John 19).[253] This Satanic abuse occurs not because of exceeding the

bounds of given authority, but, rather, by failing to persevere in the divine God-given duty. "In

this encounter of Pilate and Jesus the 'demonic' State does not assert itself too much but too

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[250]Barth, *Church and State*, 30.

[251]Barth, *Church and State*, 23.

[252]Barth, *Church and State*, 24.

[253]Barth: "An angelic power may indeed become wild, degenerate, perverted, and so become a 'demonic' power. That, clearly, had happened with the Sate as represented by Pilate which crucified Jesus" (*Church and State*, 25). Here, one sees most clearly the change or maturation in Barth's thought concerning the ἐξουσία. His *Epistle to the Romans* (trans. Edwyn C. Hoskyns [London: Oxford University Press, 1933]), predating *Church and State* by eighteen years, simply assumes that the ἐξουσία are evil. See for example the comment in *Romans* that rebellion is not merely a conflict between "[the rebel] and the *existing ruling powers;* it is, rather, a conflict of evil with evil" (482).

little; it is a State which at the decisive moment fails to be true to itself."[254]

Still, however, the ἐξουσία functions as God's reluctant servant. The State functions as the conduit for justification. Pilate's murder of young Galileans served as a call to repentance, thus serving God's greater spiritual purpose.[255] Likewise, Pilate's failure to judge Jesus as innocent served God's purposes. "Certainly, in deflecting the course of justice he became the involuntary agent and herald of divine justification . . ."[256] Barth observes, "This is why the State cannot lose the honour that is its due. For that very reason the New Testament ordains that in all circumstances honour must be shown to its representatives. . . ."[257]

Thus, Barth understands ἐξουσία and its related terms to have two distinct but intertwined referents: first, there is the political referent, seen especially in the singular usage of ἐξουσία; second, there are the angelic powers, highlighted by the use of the plural – ἐξουσίαι. The relationship between the angelic powers and the political entities is never clearly defined. In some manner, angelic forces –generally understood as evil forces – operated in and through the government.

Barth's presentation has one major error. Barth assumes that every use of a signifier carries with it the whole range of potential meanings. Barth combines all of the potential meanings for ἐξουσία and ἐξουσίαι in his discussion. Thus at every use of ἐξουσία in both the singular and plural forms, the whole range of meanings is assume to be present. In essence, Barth has

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[254]Barth, *Church and Sate*, 21.

[255]Barth, *Church and State*, 17-8.

[256]Barth, *Church and State*, 21.

[257]Barth, *Church and State*, 18.

committed a type of illegitimate totality transfer.

Oscar Cullmann takes a similar tack. He understands ἐξουσίαι to refer to both the abstract authority – that is, the angelic world – and those who execute this authority – the particular governmental form that exists in a particular location.[258] This is not a case of ambiguity or of two references (as in Barth). Rather, the two are indivisibly united. Where there is "state," there are "angelic powers"; where there are "angelic powers," there the "state" exists. It is this "combined meaning" that Paul has in mind, according to Cullmann[259]. This is not truly a dual referent at all. Cullmann, in the linguistic terms, is setting up the terms of the external entailment of ἐξουσία.[260]

The weight of Cullmann's evidence is based on how ἐξουσία is used elsewhere by Paul. Romans 13:1 must be read in conjunction with 1 Corinthians 2:8 and 6:1ff. Cullmann's conclusions are simple: the plural and the "plurally-used singular πᾶσα ἐξουσία mean in every other instance *only* `invisible powers.'"[261] 1 Corinthians 2:8, it is assumed, refers to both visible and invisible powers.[262] 1 Corinthians 6:2-3 is see simply as proving that angelic powers stand

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[258]Cullmann, *State*, 110.

[259]Cullman, *Christ and Time*, 195-6.

[260]There is a verbal element in ἐξουσία. The verb form – ἐξουσιάζω – means to have the right of control; BDAG, 352. Of the seven individual entries for ἐξουσία listed in Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, eds., *(Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains*, 2nd ed, vol 2 [New York: United Bible Societies: 1989], 92) six refer to the exercise of one form of power or another, the place where power or authority may be exercised. The verbal element comes out in each.

[261]Cullman, *State*, 100 (emphasis original).

[262]Cullman, *Christ and Time*, 191.

behind the state.[263]

While not everyone would understand this fuller referent, this understanding is common to all to whom Paul is writing, according to Cullmann. Those who are purely secular – that is, not a part of Judaism or the Church – would not understand this full referent, since this manner of thinking was not a part of their thought world. However, Paul thinks and writes as a theologian to people who think in the same theological categories as Paul.[264] He is not writing to secular people, but to Christians.

Cullmann understands that nowhere else in the New Testament is anyone commanded to be subjected to angelic forces (either good or evil). To counter this argument, Cullmann resorts to Christology.[265] Christ has defeated the principalities and powers and placed them under His subjection.[266] These invisible powers have lost their evil character by their subjection to Christ. Thus "they . . . now stand under and within the Lordship of Christ, as long as they are subject to him and do not seek to become emancipated from their place in his service."[267]

Through this last comment one can quickly infer Cullmann's essential view of the State. He, like Yoder, sees the state as being "ordered" by God[268] but not an institution willed by God.[269]

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[263]Cullmann, *Christ and Time*, 193.

[264]Cullmann, *State*, 100-1.

[265]Indeed, Cullmann labels his understanding a "Christological grounding of the State," not a angelic or demonic interpretation (*Christ and Time*, 193).

[266]Cullmann, *Christ and Time*, 193.

[267]Cullmann, *Christ and Time*, 196.

[268]Cullmann: ". . . obedience is due to it, not by reason of its original nature, but only because it has been given its place in the divine 'order'" (*Christ and Time*, 200).

[269]Cullmann, *State*, 62.

It is only through this Christological subjection that the ἐξουσία can be given the dignity of obedience, fear, and honor, which Paul commands.

Cullmann has done a service in many regards. He has moved the discussion into a deeper look at the historical background, especially into the intertestamental and Judaic sources, though not using those terms himself. Cullmann's arguments prefigure many of the current discussions of referent and external entailment. Many of those who object have not addressed the terms of Cullmann's arguments. Thus, the manner in which his evidence is constructed leaves his thesis in the realm of possibility.

John Murray has responded negatively to Cullmann and his position offer a good summary of the argument from the Biblical text. I will largely follow Murray's evaluation.[270] First, Cullman ignores the evidence of singular usages of ἐξουσία. There are usages of ἐξουσία in the singular with a referent to suprahuman agency in both the Gospels and the Pauline writings,[271] demonstrating the nuanced use of this signifier.

The plural may be used without any allusion to angelic powers, Murray opines. Indeed, that is the case.. Titus 3:1 – though not offered as an example by Murray – uses ἐξουσίαι with referent to humans. Paul is speaking of human relationships, with subjection to ἐξουσίαι being listed first and other human, earthly relationships following. Paul's parallel term for ἐξουσία is ἄρχων. This is used also of human beings. In John 12:45 (again, not mentioned by Murray), leaders (ἄρχοντες) of the Jews believe in Jesus.

Second, the argument of 1 Corinthians 6:3 is *a fortiori*. Cullmann reaches his conclusion

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[270]Murray, *Romans*, 252-6*.

[271]For example, Matthew 3:9; 10:1 1 Corinthians 7:37, 8:9, 9:4, 11:10; II Thessalonians 3:9.

in a circular manner. His argument runs like this: Paul tells the Corinthians to avoid courts; they are to do this because they themselves will judge angels; this reasoning makes sense only if the invisible angelic powers stand behind the courts. This reasoning is used to support his identification of ἐξουσία as angelic forces in Romans 13. The argument is based on conclusions from an argument that has not been sufficiently demonstrated.

Third, 1 Corinthians 2:6 and 8 do not openly identify the 'rulers' as a part of the spirit world. On a surface reading, it is at least as persuasive to see human rulers as the ones Paul refers to who were behind the crucifixion.

Fourth, Paul teaches that Satan and the demonic powers – the only ones logically still needing to be brought into subjection to Christ – are still extremely active in opposition to Christ's kingdom (Eph. 6:12). By contrast, Paul represents the ἐξουσίαι in Rom. 13 as already in service to God.

Fifth, the parallel of 1 Peter 2:13-17 identifies the government as a human ordinance, not as an angelic or spiritual power. Peter does not understand the government to be composed of angelic forces, merely human beings.

Finally, human beings are referred to as ἐξουσίαι (as well as using synonyms of ἐξουσίαι). Luke 12:11 clearly refers to humans involved in synagogue leadership. Acts 3:17 (not mentioned by Murray) refers to leaders who acted not in a willful attempt to destroy God's plan but in *ignorance* when they crucified Christ.[272]

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[272]In fairness to Cullmann's position, Murray and those he represents do not quite get the direction of Cullmann's argument. Cullmann's thesis is not an either/or proposition, nor is it truly both/and. Cullmann is offering a wholistic approach. Cullmann would probably answer Murray's fifth point, "Yes, they are called ἐξουσία because of those standing behind the humans, namely the spiritual powers."

Morrison's understanding builds on Cullman's and attempts to answer some of the weightier objections. Morrison moves away from Cullmann's understanding of ἐξουσία as a referent to all sorts of spiritual authorities working through the government to an understanding of ἐξουσία as the government and *daimones*.[273] This conclusion is based upon research, not into the Jewish situation as such (though, that is included), but into the Graeco-Roman perspective of the state. This conception is based upon the confluence of "the popular acceptance of astrology, monotheism,[274] and a dynamic world order . . ."[275] Thus, he proposes that there is common ground between the world views of the Graeco-Romans, the Jews, and the early Christians.

For Morrison, the powers are opposed to Christ. His lordship is not, in the first place, over these powers. Rather, His lordship finds its locus among the community of believers. The change that came with Christ's death resurrection was a change within believers, not in Christ's relationship with the ἐξουσίαι. Now is the time of conflict between Christ and the ἐξουσίαι, as Morrison understands the situation, although Christ does have lordship over them.[276]

As Morrison sees it, the ἐξουσία has a somewhat positive role to play for Christians. While neither participating in the preaching of the Gospel nor being privy to God's revelation, the

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[273]Morrison defines a *daimon* as "a superhuman, generally divine being, frequently related to man in one way or other as his guardian . . . as a fource affecting his destiny directly or indirectly, or even as the 'divine part' of man" (83).

[274]Morrison understands the Graeco-Roman world to be essentially monotheistic, despite the appearance of many differing gods. Astrology with its "monotheistic" view of the universe is linked to the belief in a divine nature, distinct from individual gods. Thus, in contemporary terms, there were many paths to the one divine nature (81-2).

[275]Morrison, 99.

[276]Morrison, 115-9.

ἐξουσία still plays a vital role within *Heilsgeschichte*.[277] "The State exists to allow the Church to carry out its mission."[278] Thus, the Christian, understanding the role of the ἐξουσία in *Heilsgeschichte*, submits to the ἐξουσία. This understanding comes only through revelation.[279]

Morrison's position on the role of the ἐξουσία is somewhat confused. Is the ἐξουσία friend or foe? Is the ἐξουσία in need of redemption or outside of its purview? Is the ἐξουσία tied only to political order, or does it function also within the believing community, the locus of Christ's lordship? If ἐξουσία may be tied to a human being, why is Christ's victory only effective in a human being and not in the ordering of the cosmos?

The problem that exists for Morrison – as well as Barth and Cullmann – is the question of how a state controlled by satanic forces work for God. Morrison assumes that government is evil, opposed to God. It is this assumption that is imbedded in Morrison's question and that assumption creates the problem. This assumption creates a question that works against the surface of the text. Paul would not have this difficulty. Paul assumes the goodness of the ἐξουσία. If Paul would have a problem, it would have been how can an evil state exist.

B. Nanos' Answer to the Referent Question

Nanos' arguments for ἐξουσία as "synagogue authority" are applications of the argumentation he developed earlier in his book. He organizes his specific arguments regarding Romans 13:1-7, however, into three parts – "exegetical feasibility," "contextual feasibility," and Paul's example as an indication of feasibility. The arguments will be summarized in the same order

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[277]Morrison, 120-1.

[278]Morrison, 122.

[279]Morrison, 125.

that Nanos produced them. Commentary on each individual point will be avoided, but the argument as a whole will be discussed at the conclusion of the presentation of Nanos' position.

Exegetical Feasibility

First, the audience that Nanos projects for the letter to the Romans is gentile Christians who are newly attached to the synagogue and learning `proper behavior' in the congregation of the people of God . . ."[280] Because they are outsiders, not only ethnically but also in terms of length of time in the synagogue, they needed to be taught what is right and proper in behavior toward their new neighbors, and especially, as this pericope emphasizes, toward those governing the synagogue.[281] Thus the final break between Christian and Jew has not yet occurred. Christians exists as a subgroup of the synagogue. Nanos is suggesting that Paul's letter to the Gentile Christians is to encourage a degree of inculturation into the community which they have joined.

To support this historical setting, Nanos proposes a reading of Rom. 13:1-7 continuous with Rom. 12. This accounts for the lack of a conjunction at Rom. 13:1 to mark is as a new section.[282] Consequently, Nanos understands the `persecutors' (Rom. 12:14), `enemies' (Rom. 12:20), and `neighbors' (throughout Rom. 12) as being non-Christian Jews of the synagogue. The audience that Nanos perceives for Romans is struggling with a life of persecution by those with whom they are worshiping. These non-believers – or, as Nanos understands them, these `weak in faith' – neither recognize Jesus "as their Christ nor the legitimacy of the gentiles' claims to be

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[280]Nanos, 295.

[281]Nanos, 296.

[282]See chapter 1 on 13:1-7.

equal co-participants in the promised blessings without becoming Jews . . ."[283] Nanos understands

both groups to be addressed as ἀδελφός by Paul.

Second, Nanos has concluded that the Claudian edict had nothing to do with Jewish-

Christian relationships.[284] Extra-biblically, Nanos understandably appeals to the spelling problem

of reading "Chrestus" instead of "Christus." Tacitus was closer to the time of the events and only

introduced the term `Christians' at the time of Nero.[285] Since "Chrestus" was a common name,

Nanos thinks that it is better to assume that this "Chrestus" was a contemporary troublemaker in

Rome. He even offers the possibility that Chrestus was a messianic troublemaker![286]

Using Acts 28:21-22 as a Biblical starting point, Nanos points out the trouble with making

Jewish-Christian relationships the catalyst of the Claudian edict. Luke writes in Acts 28:21-22:

> And they said to him, "We have received no letters from Judea about you, and
> none of the brethren coming here has reported or spoken any evil about you. But
> we desire to hear from you what your views are; for with regard to this sect we
> know that everywhere it is spoken against."

Nanos draws the conclusion: if Claudius had evicted the Jews from Rome on account of an "intra-

Jewish" squabble concerning Jesus as the Christ, these Jewish leaders would have harbored

hostility toward Christians.[287] Paul, however, approaches the Jews who should have known and

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[283]Nanos, 296.

[284]Nanos' outline is broken only here in my presentation. Nanos places this discussion in an appendix. However, his historical decision on the Claudian edict plays a major role in determining the audience of Rom. 13, and consequently, it is appropriate to discuss it here. Nanos claims that he is not unique in his rejection of the Claudian edict being motivated by Jewish-Christian relations. One who takes the same position, though differing on details, is Marcus Borg, "A New Context for Romans XIII" *New Testament Studies* 19 (1972-73): 208-14. Borg ties his reconstruction with events occurring in Palestine. While not unique, Nanos' position is a minority position.

[285]Nanos, 378-81.

[286]Nanos, 382.

[287]Nanos, 372-3.

been the most upset by an expulsion edict triggered by Jewish-Christian relations and finds them only generally aware of the `sect' of Christians.

In support of this perspective, Nanos also notes that Luke in Acts 18:2 never explained the grounds for the Claudian expulsion, which fits with the reaction of the Jewish leaders in Acts 28. The leaders in Acts 28 seemed neither bitter against nor even to have first-hand knowledge of the sect Paul represented. To introduce the Gospel as the problem at 18:2 would be to introduce an internal contradiction into Acts.[288]

Luke elsewhere notes the Jewish rejection and persecution of the Gospel (Acts 5:40; 8:1-3; 13:49-51; 14:4-7, 19; 17:5, 13; 18:13; etc.). Luke would not have shied away from another opportunity to demonstrate hostility to the Gospel. If the problem in Rome had been the preaching of Christ, it would have been mentioned, says Nanos. In Nanos' mind, the only reasonable explanation is that Claudius' edict had nothing to do with the Gospel.

Third, Nanos notes that titles in Rom. 13:1-7 are used for synagogue authorities in the diaspora. Each title has its place within the nomenclature of the diaspora synagogue. For example, ἐξουσία is a title for one in charge of synagogue administration. Throughout Luke and Acts, ἐξουσία is used precisely in this manner (cf. Luke 12:11; Acts 9:14, 26:10-12). "The references take place . . . in the context of the role of their `authority' vis-a-vis enforcement of the confessional and behavioral requirements of the Jewish community . . ."[289]

Likewise ἄρχων (13:3) is used of both a political and religious leader. This is the chief officer of the synagogue. Again, this term is commonly used by Luke for synagogue leaders (Luke

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[288]Nanos, 376.

[289]Nanos, 304.

8:41, 12:11; Acts14:5), as well as for those of the Sanhedrin (Luke 14:1; 18:18; 23:13, 35;

24:20). Citing Käsemann, Nanos understands these leaders as being the disciplinarians of the

synagogue.[290]

Nanos does not, however, find synagogue antecedents for διάκονος.[291] Nanos follows

Beyer's[292] understanding of διάκονος as one who serves, specifically by waiting on tables. Thus it

is carried into religious understanding as one who does humble service. Despite the lack of

synagogue antecedents, Nanos finds it very difficult to understand why Paul would speak of

Imperial dignitaries as θεοῦ διάκονος. It would be inappropriate to understand civil authority as

serving God. Nanos, rather, feels the use of the genitive θεοῦ is easily understood if διάκονος is

applied to the synagogue authorities. Nanos is convinced that θεοῦ διάκονος refers to synagogue

authorities due the presence of μάχαιρα and ἔκδικος εἰς ὀργήν.[293]

There is a cultic emphasis to λειτουργός, according to Nanos. Whether it be in Greek

religious society, the Septuagint or rabbinic Judaism, λειτουργός applies to many differing

religious functions. Paul labels himself λειτουργὸν Χριστοῦ Ιησοῦ εἰς τὸ ἔθνη, a concept

Nanos understands as being linked to the offering that Paul is collecting for those in Jerusalem.

Developing this line of thought, Nanos notes the righteous gentiles' financial support for Paul's

work. The verb τελεῖν is linked to the mandatory temple payment in Matthew 17:24 as well.

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[290]Nanos, 304-5. The Käsemann citation is found in Käsemann, *Romans*, p. 356-7.

[291]Nanos, 305-7.

[292]Herman W. Beyer, "διακονέω, διακονία, διάκονος" in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley, vol. 2 (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1964): 81-93. Like Nanos, Beyer does not cite evidence of synagogue use of this title.

[293]These two concepts will be discussed below, following Nanos' outline.

Nanos comments:

> This suggests that the λειτουργοὶ θεοῦ are none other than those responsible for the collection, safekeeping, and annual distribution of the Temple tax within the Jewish community in Rome, and that Paul's concern is that the Christian gentiles in Rome would understand they are not only obligated to pay this tax by the interpretation of the Law as understood by those in authority (13:4-5: ὀργὴν [sic]: 'wrath'); they are further obligated by their responsibility . . . their claim of sharing in the "good things" promised to Israel is legitimate through their willing payment of the Temple tax . . .[294]

Nanos, again, finds it difficult to believe that Paul would unconditionally command payment of civil taxes. Only in special cases does Nanos, following Yoder, conceive of the civil authorities being λειτουργοὶ θεοῦ. These special cases involve the one area which also concerns the Christian: that the larger good be served and evil reprimanded.[295]

It is far more likely, Nanos thinks that tax collection refers to the collection of the temple tax within the synagogue. This tax among the Jews was not always appreciated and much debated. Thus, Paul's encouragement of submission to this tax would make sense, enabling the righteous Gentiles – in this case, the followers of Christ – to become fully integrated in and ingratiated to the synagogue.[296]

Thus Paul's choice of titles for the ἐξουσίαι (including that title itself) seems rather ambiguous if applied to secular authorities. Following J. Botha, Nanos stresses the personal nature of ἐξουσία. It is the relationship between people that is important, not the right or means

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[294]Nanos, 309-10.

[295]Nanos, 307-8, citing Yoder, 210.

[296]Nanos, 308-9.

of control.[297] The ordering that is stressed in Rom. 13:1-2 does not explain the need to be subordinate, for that is understood. Rather, Rom. 13:1-1 explains legitimacy of these rulers to whom Paul's addressees were to submit.[298] Paul is calling on Christians who are newly connected to the synagogue to willingly submit to its authorities with whom there is a personal relationship.

Fourth, Nanos addresses what could be perceived as the most problematic issue in his understanding: ἡ μάχαιρα (Rom. 13:4). That μάχαιρα is appropriate to the secular authorities is seldom questioned. By placing it in the context of the synagogue, however, Nanos demonstrates the possibility of hidden allusions.[299]

Μάχαιρα is used of the knife used in circumcision (Joshua 5:2), the dagger used by Abraham when he was to sacrifice Isaac (Genesis 22:6, 10), and the small sword that Ehud concealed in his clothes (Judges 3:16). It was used in various metaphorical ways in the Old Testament, from defining the effects of a harlot (Proverbs 5:4) to describing the servant's mouth as it was fashioned by the Lord (Isaiah 49:2). Additionally, μάχαιρα was used symbolically in Roman culture for the *ius gladii*, that is the authority to inflect the sentence of death.[300]

Through the matrixing of these secular and religious usages, Nanos sees the connection being made to the synagogue. Paul himself had been assigned to carry out discipline (Acts 9). He also had been the victim of such authority, suffering beatings, imprisonment, and stonings at the

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[297]Nanos, 29; Botha, 214.

[298]Nanos, 298.

[299]Nanos, 310.

[300]Nanos, 310. Most recent commentators reject the idea that μάχαιρα refers to the *ius gladii* in the sense of all authorities possessing the right to inflict the death penalty. In the first century, the Roman provincial governors held this power. Thus, a reference to the *ius gladii* would be obscure to the first readers/hearers of Romans. See Moo, 801-2, footnote 53.

hands of synagogue leaders. Nanos understands 'the sword' as the authority of the leaders to remove the Gentiles who would not pay their temple taxes. They had the authority to discipline. Thus, Paul sees it as necessary for these Gentiles to submit. 'Wrath' (ὀργή) at the hands of the synagogue leaders was a real possibility for Gentiles who did not pay the tax as expected.[301]

Nanos also weighs the possibility that μάχαιρα could refer to the word of God. The image was known in early Christianity (Hebrews 4:12). Additionally, Jesus Himself saw that synagogue authorities were on the "seat of Moses" and their teaching was to be considered binding.[302] This matrix further supports the view of μάχαιρα as a synagogue leader's authority to punish.

Fifth, Nanos presents his case on the basis of Rom. 13:7 and the debt that is owed to each. While the last two debts (φόβος and τιμή) owed are not particularly troubling in Nanos' interpretation, a longer defense is needed of the first two debts. Nanos sees φόρος as the temple tax which is collected annually.[303] On the other hand, he does not understand τέλος in terms of taxes or tribute. Rather, Paul means by this appropriate conduct, that is, the fulfilling of the Law that is necessary to be considered a righteous Gentile. "This is consistent with rendering 'customs' in the sense of Judaic customs of behavior, rather than the somewhat redundant rendering of τέλος as another statement of 'tribute' or 'taxes.'"[304]

In conclusion, Nanos sets up a chiasm between the individual offices and the debt

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[301]Nanos, 311-2.

[302]Nanos, 312-3.

[303]Nanos, 316.

[304]Nanos, 317.

that is owed to each.

1. ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις   4. τιμήν

2. ἄρχοντες   3. φόβος

3. διάκονος   2. τέλος

4. λειτουργοί   1. φόρον[305]

<u>Contextual Feasibility</u>

Nanos understands Romans to be a letter addressing the tensions that arose as Gentile Christians entered synagogues of non-Christian Jews. As a result, all references to enemies, neighbors, and brethren are understood to refer to those attending a local synagogue.[306] Even in the case of "brethren," Nanos sees a unity in Paul's thought between Christian Gentile and non-Christian Jew. There is a common confession of faith – the Shema. This confession is less a matter of "number" (that is, set against a concept of pantheon) than a statement of particularism (*our God*) and universalism (is *One*).[307] Gentiles Christians do not become Jews because to do so would deny the Oneness of God.[308] The Jew and the Christian Gentile are distinct entities with equal access to God. The particular privilege of Israel is election and Torah. Gentiles were descendants of Abraham through faith.

> In other words, rather than deny the special role of Israel and the Torah, he [Paul] affirmed both and turned the tables, as it were, on those of Israel who would seek to deny gentiles equal access to God's promised blessings because they were not part of Israel, for the God who demonstrated his faithfulness to Israel is the one

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[305]Nanos, 320.

[306]Nanos, 322.

[307]Nanos, 181.

[308]Nanos, 184.

and only God. He must also be the God of the gentiles who call on the One God through faith in Christ Jesus. To assert otherwise, Paul argued, would be to compromise God's oneness. They would be guilty of denying the righteousness of God as they asserted their own special place with no regard for God's worldwide intentions (the point of 10:3). It would amount to taking the position that God has not been faithful to his covenant through the Torah with Israel, or that he is not also the God of the rest of the nations, for they must become a part of Israel if he is to be their God (he is only the God of Israel; there are other gods for the nations).[309]

With this background, Nanos' other views may be more fully understood.

First, Nanos notes that some of the Gentile Christians found it difficult to accept the *halakhot* and the need to practice Judaic forms of righteousness. They had been saved by faith alone and did not see the need to be locked up in certain forms of piety pressed on them by non-Christian Jewish brothers. The relationship between faith and works of righteousness were repeatedly dealt with by Paul in Romans (see Rom. 3:8 and 6:1-23).[310]

According to Nanos, Paul's emphasis on peace in Rom. 12:9-21 and Rom. 13:8-14 needs to be understood in this light. The Gentile Christian who recently joined a synagogue which included both traditional Jews and followers of Christ had to balance a number of things to maintain peace and integrity. The Christian had to maintain 1) his faith in Christ, 2) his Christian way of life while interacting with Gentiles who were both non-Christian and non-participants in the synagogue, 3) his relationship with fellow Christians in the synagogue, and 4) with non-Christians in the synagogue. To break peace with non-Christian Jews would bring the legitimacy of the Christian's faith and his participation in the synagogue into question. It could also bring

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[309]Nanos, 182. Nanos seems to be advocating multiple ways to God: one for the Jews and one for Gentiles. Indeed, when discussing Paul's use of Isaiah 59:20, Nanos states that ἐκ Σιὼν ὁ ῥυόμενος need not be a Christological reference, but may just as well refer to God (281, note 118).

[310]Nanos, 322.

persecution upon the follower of Christ by the rulers of the synagogue. Thus the Christian should

not take revenge (Rom. 12:17-21) when he perceives injustice from the synagogue rulers. An act

of defiance would jeopardize the Christian's standing in the synagogue.[311]

Second, Paul also addresses concerns outside of the synagogue. The commands in Rom.

13:8-14 deal with turning away from pagan practices. Paul's concerns of Rom. 6:12ff are

explained here. By abandoning the life of the Gentile world around them, the Christians were

enabling a peaceful co-existence for themselves and other Christians with non-Christian Jews

within the synagogue. To owe love is to keep this bond of peace in the synagogue by giving up

Gentile practices.

Finally, Paul's admonitions to the strong vis-a-vis the weak in chapters fourteen and

fifteen also fit into this historical context according to Nanos. So the strong are told to welcome

the weak in regard to faith. Throughout Paul's exhortations in these chapters the strong are told

to give way to those who are weak. Their opinions should be accommodated, their practices

accepted. In Nanos' scheme, Paul does not want the weak non-Christian Jew to stumble and

blaspheme God on account of the freedom of the stronger Gentile Christian. Rather, the strong

should adjust their practices and concerns to those of the Jew who does not follow Christ.[312]

Nanos summarizes the contextual feasibility of his interpretation thus:

> The synagogue leaders had the "authority," and the power that necessarily
> accompanies such responsibility, to govern the behavior the Jewish community.
> This jurisdiction extended to many administrative areas such as the responsibility,
> both to the Jewish community and to the Roman authorities who granted them

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[311]Nanos, 322-3.

[312]Nanos, 325.

their rights, to collect taxes (Roman taxes [?][313] and the Jerusalem Temple tax) as well as to discipline improper behavior, whether religious, moral, or social, including the right to physical punishment.

The need for Paul's address in 13:1-7 becomes clear in this context. . . . these Christian gentiles, because of their new association with the synagogue, are obligated to subordinate themselves to the synagogue authorities and the demands ("wrath" or "praise") whether they like it or not . . . Paul considers the issue of Christian gentile obligation clear; they associated with the community and they are to subordinate themselves to the concomitant requirements, willingly and with the clear understanding that if they fail to comply they will be justly disciplined; however his preeminent concern is not with their institutional responsibility but with their conscientious commitment to the salvation of the house of Israel, for certainly "all Israel shall be saved" (11:26). [314]

Paul's Example as an Indication of Feasibility

Nanos does not truly offer evidence to support his conclusions in this section. Rather he

offers up examples. Paul lived in accordance with his own instructions, as understood by Nanos.

First there is the evidence of the extensive authority that the synagogue leaders possessed

in Paul's pre-Christian life.[315] Paul could not simply walk into a synagogue and carry out his

threats against the followers of the Way. Instead he carried letters of authority, giving him the

authority of the Jerusalem leaders to bring out the followers of the Way (Acts 9:1-2). There was a

clear line of authority that needed to be followed within the synagogue.

Second, Nanos offers the post-conversion example of Paul as support for his position.

Paul willingly submitted to the Jewish authorities when they punished him for his message (Acts

14:5, 19; 16:22-23; 2 Corinthians 11:23-26).[316] Paul is seen to submit to the same sort of

authority that he himself had in his pre-Christian days. He was willing to submit to beatings and

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[313]Question mark original.

[314]Nanos, 327-8.

[315]Nanos, 328-30.

[316]Nanos, 330.

other forms of punishment as the synagogue rulers sought to bring him back into line with Jewish ways.[317] Therefore, Christians should submit to the authorities – whether they are right or wrong – as Paul teaches by both his words and his example.

> [The synagogue authorities] were, whether right or wrong, working within their "ordering" (Rom. 13:2) as the legitimate interpreters of Torah ("good" and "evil") to nurture and protect the community of the people of God, and in this sense they must be respected, even feared. The Christian gentiles, if they "behaved properly" and did "good," had nothing to fear; even martyrdom was not a threat to "good" deeds done in love with no intent to offend, even if they were misunderstood as a threat.[318]

This is what Paul did, refusing even to speak ill of the high priest when Paul was persecuted by him (Acts 23:2-5).

A Critique of Nanos' Arguments[319]

Feasible is defined as "reasonable, likely."[320] Feasibility, therefore, is the quality of being 'likely.' Nanos' has claimed feasibility for his arguments. That aspect of Nanos' arguments – their feasibility – will now be explored area by area. The first area – exegetical feasibility – will receive the longest examination, both because of the length in which Nanos treated it and because his argument stands and falls with his exegesis.

First, in regard to exegetical feasibility, Nanos offers some very good and unique points. When he considers the issue of the titles listed in Rom. 13:1-7, he explores area that has been largely unexplored in Christian circles. While some have explored this titular evidence explored

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[317]Nanos, 331.

[318]Nanos, 331-2.

[319]In this and every section of the critique, Nanos will not be discussed point by point. Rather, individual points of concern will be addressed, as well as overarching thematic issues in Nanos' work.

[320]Philip Bobcock Gove, ed. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary - Unabridged* (Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster, Inc., 1981): 831.

for its impact on Christian self-understanding, the titular evidence has not been appliedto this pericope.[321] Nanos moves the debate into a new arena and opens up new avenues of exploration for the exegete. However, shared titles between synagogue and governmental titles only open possibilities. They are not proof in and of themselves.

Nanos also does an excellent job of arguing on the basis of Acts against understanding the Claudian edict as a dispute between Christians and Jews. While he is not unique in this argument,[322] he pushes the interpretation to an end that it has not reached previously and applies it to the exegesis and application of a text. Again, while the dispute of *Chrestus* versus *Christus* can be dealt with by pointing to the fluidity of spelling, Nanos raises questions which force different responses.

Major problems do exist, however, with his exegetical argument. This is especially seen in the historical reconstruction that Nanos offers. Nanos' historical reconstruction is foundational not only to Rom. 13:1-7, but to Nanos' whole enterprise.

The identification of "brothers" as referring to Jewish non-Christians as well as to Christians is seriously flawed. Nanos desires to demonstrate the reasonableness of a sort of peaceful coexistence in the Roman synagogue, an unity of faith which existed in the mid-1st century. If this view falls then Nanos faces insurmountable difficulties.

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[321]James Tunstead Burtchaell, *From Synagogue to Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). See especially pages 201-358. Burtchaell's concern is with community organization; he finds the synagogue structure to be supportive of an episcopal structure. For general citation of the synagogue evidence, see also Irina Levinskaya, *The Book of Acts in Its Diaspora Setting* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1996), 185-93.

[322]See Nanos, 373, note 3, for a fuller discussion of those who argue along the same lines.

Robert A. J. Gagnon recently dealt with the referent of the `brothers.'[323] Gagnon refutes Nanos' basic premise by taking each piece of evidence and examining or explaining it in a different way. His work was painstaking and complements the original research done here.

The identification of `brother' with the non-Christian Jew is not supported by the evidence, as can be shown under four headings. First, within Nanos' framework it is difficult to conceive of the Gentile Christians being in the position of superiority and strength within the synagogue. Yet this is the picture that is displayed in different points of Romans. The strong – who by Nanos' account would be considered the outsiders – are told to receive or welcome (προσλαμβάνεσθε) the weak in regards to faith (Rom. 14:1) even as the Lord does (Rom. 14:3), and to receive all who gather just as Christ welcomes us (Rom. 15:7). "To welcome" or "to receive" implies that the individual who does this is in the position of power. He is in the position to enact the behavior recommended. Nanos' own historical reconstruction works against this position.

Second, the use of ἀδελφός to refer to anyone besides a Christian is improbable. "Without exception, the 108 unqualified references to `brothers' in Pauline literature and the twenty in deutero-Pauline literature are references to *Christian brotherhood*."[324] This was the common greeting and understanding among Christian churches. "The readers would clearly understand `All the brothers greet you' (1 Cor. 16:20) to mean all their fellow believers, not all their fellow

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[323]Gagnon, 64-82. Gagnon's work was discovered after most of the independent research for this thesis was completed. The discussion on ἀδελφός is a summary of Gagnon's work.

[324]Gagnon, 67, emphasis original.

believers plus unbelieving Jews."[325] The term, taken over from Israel and appropriated by Christians, would indicate "co-religionists"[326]to those using it. It marks those who are in religious agreement with one another.

Third, Paul's approach to the "problem" of the weak is significant to the question. Paul's appeal to the strong are couched in terms of concern for the weak losing what little they have. The strong can be the cause of ruin for the weak (Rom. 14:15). The desire to eat anything can bring the work of God to nothing if the weaker brother takes offense and falls (Rom. 14:20). Yet, if the weak are non-Christian Jews, as in Nanos' hypothesis, what are they in danger of losing?

Fourth, the argument that the "weak in faith" are simply stumbling – that is, do not have faith in Christ[327] – and thus, still can be called brothers does not bear up under examination. Throughout Romans, those who are stumbling are non-Christian. Again, as in the previous point, Paul is warning the strong not to bring harm to the weak. As Gagnon has shown, ἀδελφός refers to those who are in Christ.[328] Nanos' understanding of αδελφός in Romans does not withstand scrutiny.

Other portions of Nanos' exegetical argument are also troubling. On the one hand, one may perhaps find his conclusion on the Claudian edict convincing, that is, that the edict was not a

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[325]Gagnon, 67.

[326]Hans Freiherr von Soden, "ἀδελφός" in *Theological Wordbook of the New Testament*, ed. by Gerhard Kittel, trans. and ed. by Geoffrey W. Bromiley, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, Co., 1964): 145.

[327]Nanos writes, "'Stumbling in faith' was Paul's phrase to describe the present anomaly of the faith of some of the non-Christian Jews in Rome. They were indeed 'brethren,' they were, however, in need of help to be 'able' to see . . ." (157).

[328]Gagnon continues with other critiques and concerns. The four points presented here are sufficient to demonstrate Nanos' misstep.

response to feuds between Jews and Christians. Yet, Nanos' own understanding of the edict does not offer any genuine positive support for the view of the synagogue that he himself portrays. The assumption that the Claudian edict was not motivated by Jewish-Christian quarrels does not prove that there was peaceful interaction between the two groups in Roman synagogues. Indeed, the historical data and Biblical evidence leads one away from a co-existence between Jews and Christian within Roman synagogues.

The historical data, indeed, points to a disruption of normal synagogue life. There may not even have been any Roman synagogues immediately following the lapse of the Claudian edict. While Jews reentered Rome after the death of Claudius,[329] they were not immediately allowed to gather together. Dio Cassius reports that the Jews lost their right to assemble. This loss of rights may be best understood as an interim stage, bridging the time return and that of full integration into Roman life.[330] This interim was a sort of "preventive medicine" by the Romans, warning the Jews against further misconduct. Synagogues may not have been meeting at the time Romans was written, making peaceful co-existence of non-believing Jews and Gentile Christians implausible.

Within this context the first house churches may have formed. Romans 16 points to the existence of several house churches. These appear around the names Prisca and Aquila (Rom.

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[329]F. F. Bruce, "The Romans Debate – Continued" in *The Romans Debate,* ed. Karl P. Donfried, 2nd ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991): 180.

[330]Wolfgang Wiefel, "The Jewish Community in Ancient Rome and the Origins of Roman Christianity" in *The Romans Debate,* ed. Karl P. Donfried (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishing, 1991): 93-4. There is an alternative to Wiefel's hypothesis. Dio Cassius (*Dio's Roman History, v. V. II,* trans. Earnest Cary, vol. 2, 383), writes, "As for the Jews, who had again increased so greatly that by reason of their multitude it would have ben hard without raising a tumult to bar them from the city, he did not drive them out, but ordered them, while continuing their traditional mode of life, not to hold meetings." Perhaps some Jews had begun to migrate back to Rome. Rather than re-expelling them, Claudius introduced this interim measure, designed as a "probation" to test for good behavior. This could also explain Claudius' prohibition of taverns and other privileges (Dio, 383).

16:3-5), the name Aristobulus (Rom. 16:10), the name Narcissus (Rom. 16:11), the names

Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermes, Patrobas, and Hermas (Rom. 16:14), and the names Philolugus,

Julia,Olympas, Nereus, and his sister (Rom. 16:15).[331] The number of house churches in Rome

has, as its minimum number, five. The number of worshiping Christians would be between 250

and 400.[332] More house churches may have existed, but were not mentioned. Paul may be

greeting only those in which he knows individuals.

Other Biblical evidence fits well with this suggested historical situation. Acts 28:21-22

concedes only one half of Nanos reconstruction: there was little strife between the Jews and the

Christians. It does not point to co-existence *in their worship life*. Indeed, the Jewish leaders

appear ignorant of the Christians present in Rome. What they did know was that Christians were

spoken against everywhere (Acts 28: 22 - περὶ . . . τῆς αἱρέσεως ταύτης γνωστὸν ἡμῖν

ἐστιν ὅτι πανηταχοῦ ἀντιλέγεται). Rather than asking the Christians who were in the midst

about their beliefs, the leaders wanted information from Paul. The Jewish leaders give the idea

that Christianity is not something with which they are personally familiar with, a necessity for

Nanos' position.

If peace existed between the two groups at this time in Rome, or at least ignorance on the

part of the Jews, a remarkable degree of healing and forgetfulness would have had to take place.

For even Nanos needs a level of conflict between Christ-followers and regular Jews for his

exegesis to work, even though the conflict may have been minor. If one places the writing of the

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[331]Lampe, 229-30. See also Cranfield, *Romans*, 2:786-95.

[332]Schreiner following Murphy-O'Connor, sees the largest house capable of holding around fifty people (797). Moo sets the maximum number at seventy or eighty (919).

letter to the Romans between A.D. 55 and 57[333] and Paul's imprisonment and transport to Rome in A.D. 60,[334] one is hard pressed to believe that any conflict between Jews and Christians would have dissipated to the degree that even the Jewish leaders would be unaware of Christians in their midst. There still would be watchful eyes and distrustful glances.

If one accepts this separation between Jew and Gentile in Rome (contrary to Nanos), a good fit can be made with the little that is known of early Roman Christianity. Christianity in Rome was largely Gentile and so these Gentiles were in a position of strength. This would indicate a large degree of separation and independence from Jewish association. The vast majority of those being greeted in chapter sixteen are Gentile.[335] Certainly it would be strange to find a deep-rooted association between Gentile Christians who had remained in Rome and the Jews immediately following the end of the Claudian edict. There was some Jewish background as evidenced by the familiarity with the Scriptures,[336] but a degree of separation would explain, at least somewhat, the implied ignorance of the Jewish leaders in Acts 28.

A ban on formal synagogue meetings would also explain two other textual points raised in Acts 28. First, this might explain the lack of correspondence from Jerusalem to Jewish leaders in Rome in Acts 28. Letters from Jerusalem to Rome would be expected regarding Paul's case, as it was highly important and pressing to Jerusalem. However, if Roman Jews did not have permission

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[333]Charles D. Myers, Jr., "Romans, Epistle to the," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 5 (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 817.

[334]Hans Dieter Betz, "Paul," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 5 (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 191.

[335]Lampe, 225.

[336]Rudolf Brandle and Ekkehard W. Stegemann, "The Formation of the First 'Christian Congregations' in Rome in the Context of the Jewish Congregations" in *Judaism and Christianity in First-Century Rome*, ed. Karl P. Donfried and Peter Richardson (Grand Rapids: William. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998), 124.

to meet formally, it would have been difficult for the Jews to know whom to address within the Jewish community in Rome would have been very real in Jerusalem.

Acts 28 raises another interesting issue in light of the ban on Jewish gatherings. The people whom Paul gathers together are referred to only as τοὺς ὄντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρώτους – the prominent among the Jews. The use of πρῶτος is ambiguous, signifying only prominence. It may or may not be tied to any official position. Women are called πρῶτων (Acts 17:4). The term is used of Philippi itself (Acts 16:2) and concerning an otherwise undefined group who stir up persecution in Acts 13:50. It (πρῶτος) appears to be used of the non-priestly element of the Sanhedrin in Acts 25:2, the only referent with unambiguously official connotations. Normally in Acts, the title ἀρχισυνάγωγος is applied to the ruler of the synagogue (Acts 13:15; 18:8, 17). Yet the men in Acts 28 are never explicitly linked with synagogues nor is the Lukan title applied. Given Luke's concern to demonstrate Paul's attempted association with the synagogues during his missionary journeys (see Acts 17:1-2, 10;18:4; 19:8 as examples), as Nanos points out, it is perhaps significant that an explicit reference to the synagogue is here missing. Additionally, the disuse of common titles and the use of one instead that is not cited in the inscriptions for synagogue leaders is significant.[337]

Another area of evidence provided by Nanos is Paul's use of titles that are used in the synagogue. But the fact that ἐξουσία, ἄρχων, and λειτρουργός were used in the synagogue, in the temple and in political rhetoric demonstrates the multiple use of words. Indeed, the use of these titles in the synagogues may actually serve to demonstrate the inculturation of the Jewish

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[337]Burtchaell, 228-59. Burtchaell's intention is to name the role and function of synagogue officers as they are given on inscriptions. Neither Burchaell nor Levinskaya provide evidence for πρῶτος as a synagogue term.

people and their synagogues.[338] The titles raise the possibility, but not probability or provability of Nanos' thesis. The chiasm that Nanos establishes between the titles (Rom. 13:1-6) and the debts owed (Rom. 13:7) is a nice observation, but the chiasm would exist whatever the referents may be. In conclusion, the exegetical elements offered by Nanos are interesting. They do not, however, bring his contention into the realm of feasibility, no matter what definition is used of feasibility.

Finally, in regards to exegetical feasibility, evidence outside of Romans does not support a command to be subject to religous leaders. In the Septuagint, people are subjected (ὑποτάσσεσθαι) to God (e.g., Ps. 61:2, 6 [LXX]) or to others (e.g. 1 Chron. 29:24 [LXX]). Paul's command to submit to religious authorities would be unique in light of the historical context.[339]

When one looks at Nanos' arguments for contextual feasibility, they, too, are lacking. For when the exegetical arguments fall, the contextual arguments also fall. Because Nanos' exegesis of ἀδελφός has been discredited, the contextual unity is automatically questioned. And once it becomes clear that ἀδελφός must refer to fellow Christians, there is no real evidence to support his views concerning the sociological context. Additionally, Nanos' argument that Rom. 13:1-7 is to be taken together with Rom. 12 due to the lack of a conjunction does not take into account that similar movements – though rare – do occur within Paul's writings.

Finally, regarding the feasibility provided by the evidence of Paul's life, there are questions

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[338]Burtchaell, 263-7.

[339]The evidence of the Qumran community, cited by Jastram (see p. 38, note 129), does not contradict this point. Qumran combined both the theological and the sociological elements within their *community*. The concerns of Qumran were as much sociological – an element that would be missing in mainstream Diaspora Judaism – as theological. Note Jastram's conclusion, " . . . the impression emerges from those writings is that the members of the society were drawn closer to each other and to God by the strict order of their society. They appear to have formed a close community with the help of, rather than in opposition to, a strict system of hierarchy" (375).

and problems here as well. The problems are not as deep-rooted as in the exegetical and historical evidence. Yet the problems which exist in this area only intensify the flaws in Nanos' thesis.

First, Nanos misreads the text when he cites Paul's intended persecution of Christians. The letters of authority which Paul carried were granted by the high priest (Acts 9:1-2). The council, not the synagogue, was executing punishment on those followers of Christ in the outlying synagogues. The evidence that Nanos offers is really evidence about the authority of Jerusalem, not the synagogue. This is evidence that the synagogue stands subordinate to Jerusalem, that is the high priest and council. The independence of the synagogues in these examples is not assumed, but rather their submission to Jerusalem. This same submission appears in the background of the πρῶτοι in Rome: "We have received no letters from *Judea* about you" (Acts 28:21)

Neither does Paul's personal example of "submitting" to the synagogue authorities by receiving their punishment offer clear support for Nanos' position. Rather than demonstrating Paul's submission to authority, these incidents may simply demonstrate the unruliness of Jewish mobs. For the three passages from Acts cited by Nanos do not demonstrate official Jewish action. Rather, they demonstrate that Jews worked with Gentiles (Acts 14:5) to drive Paul out of Iconium, and that the Jews persuaded Gentile idolaters to aid in the stoning of Paul and Barnabus in Lystra (Acts 14:8-19). In the final, passage Acts 16:22-23, the Jewish leaders have nothing to do with the persecution. Indeed, the accusation of the those inciting the mob is that Paul was a Jew! The evidence of Acts is that the beatings and so-called `discipline' that Paul received at the hands of Jews tended to be the result of mob action, not of orderly action by synagogue authorities.

The beatings at the hands of the synagogue authorities cited in 2 Corinthians 11:23-26 may indeed demonstrate Paul's submission to their authority. However, Paul does so willingly (an appeal to his Roman citizenship would have averted the beatings[340]) *for the sake of the Gospel* (2 Corinthians 6:3-10), *not* conceding the right of the synagogue. Paul's example is placing no restrictions upon the Christians of Corinth. It is part of the defense of his apostleship, not a responsibility placed upon all Christians.[341]

Nanos has raised an interesting and stimulating suggestion. In a time of pluralism, of concern for Jew-Christian relations, and of a re-evaluation of Paul's understanding of the Law and Judaism, it was an idea waiting to happen. The vocabulary of Romans 13:1-7 itself asks for the issue to be examined. However, the exegetical and historical evidence provided by Nanos, even when combined Pauline example, is weak. Nanos seems to see instinctively the weaknesses of his argument, never attempting to address the traditional approach. To use his own vocabulary, his argument that ἐξουσία in Romans 13:1-7 refers to synagogue authorities is not very feasible.

C. The Case for "Government" As Referent

The case for civil authorities or government as the referent of ἐξουσίαι is quite strong. Apart from the positions of Cullman, his followers and Nanos, there is agreement on this point. The case for this position will be summarized in the five following points.

First, the referent for ἐξουσία and its related terms as civil authority is common in secular literature. The use of such titles in the government in secular literature has been amply

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[340]Nanos,citing R. Longenecker (330, footnote 112).

[341]Nanos understands 2 Corinthians 6:1-10 as Paul's rationalization for this "phenomenon," discounting Paul's own words (330, footnote 112).

demonstrated in many different places. August Strobel addressed this issue in his 1956 article

"Zum Verstandnis von Rm 13." The terms ἀρχαι and ἐξουσίαι are the Greek equivelents of the

Latin *potestates* and *magistratus*.[342] Based on his extensive research of the ancient sources,

Strobel declares: "Wenn Paulus Rm 13₁ von ἐξουσίαι ὑπερέχουσαι spricht, dann is diese

Wendung nicht Ausdruck für den Staat und eine hinter ihm stehende Engelklasse, sondern ein

Hinweis auf die zahllosen obrigkeitlichen Amter des unfangreichen Staatsapparates des

Weltreiches."[343] Strobel's discussion of ἐκδικος as the "the office of *defensor* – as the Latin title

runs"[344] demonstrates strong connections to the Roman world. Strathmann also demonstrates that

λειτουργός, one of the parallel terms to ἐξουσίαι, refers to those who serve, with the context

determining the more particular circumstances.[345] In his research on τάσσω, Delling reaches the

same conclusion.[346]

Likewise, the verbs that accompany ἐξουσία and its related terms are found in secular

literature. Again, it is Strobel who points out that ὑποτάσσεσθαι and ἀποδιδόναι (from Rom.

13:6) are commonly linked with the concerns of authorities and citizens.[347] These links are

especially impressive as they are seen in the context of taxes (τέλος) and honor (τιμή).

Second, the political language of benefaction is prominent throughout this pericope.

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[342]Strobel, 77.

[343]Strobel, 79.

[344]Strobel, 89.

[345]H. Strathmann, "λειτουργός" in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. Gerhard Kittel, trans. Geoffrey Bromiley, vol. 4 (Grand Rapids: William B. Ecrdmans Publishing, Co., 1967), 229-31.

[346]Delling, "τάσσω," 29-30.

[347]Strobel, 87-8.

Terms such as τὸ ἀγαθόν and ἔπαινος all relate to benefaction and the welfare of the city.

> B. W. Winter has argued persuasively that Romans 13:3-4 commands the practice of "benefaction,"the social convention designed to ensure the welfare of the city through the contributions of well-to-do citizens. The term "the good work" (τὸ ἀγαθόν; vv. 3-4) and the command "to do the good work" (τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖν; v. 4) feature in descriptions of benefaction, and the term "praise" (ἔπαινος), as a reward from rulers to good citizens and one who does beneficent work, belongs within the semantic domain of this social convention.[348]

Thus the political-judicial themes that Strobel identified are stressed even more.

Third, Judaism understood civil government to be established by God and used by God. This was not merely the view of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds.[349] Canonically, Isaiah's portrayal of hostile nations as the instrument of God for the punishment of apostate Judah demonstrates a hostile government as a servant of God (see as examples Isaiah 7:20 and 45:1). These themes are rich in both canonical and non-canonical wisdom literature (see as examples Proverbs 8:15-16 and Wisdom of Solomon 6:3). The apocalyptic literature of the same periods (see as examples Daniel 2:21, 37-38; 4:17, 25, 32 and 1 Enoch 46:5) bear testimony to the universality of this insight. It is not out of place for the Jewish-Christian Paul to pick up the theme of God standing behind government.[350]

Fourth, these concerns of state are not alien to Paul's thought. Though it is often said that these thoughts would be unique in Paul to express, he articulates similar concerns in 1 Timothy 2 and Titus 3:1.[351] 1 Timothy 2 demonstrates a high regard for the place of earthly rulers. Prayers

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[348]Towner, 165.

[349]E. Bammel, 367.

[350]Günther Bornkamm, *Paul*, trans. by M. G. Stalker (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 211.

[351]Johnson notes, "For many contemporary scholars, indeed, the inauthenticity of the Pastorals is one of those scholarly dogmas first learned in college and in no need of further examination" (*Timothy*, 55). However,

should be offered up to God in order that peace and quiet may reign, leading to godliness and

piety. Paul echos the language of Rom. 13 in Titus 3:1.' Ὑπομίμνησκε αὐτοὺς ἀρχαῖς

ἐξουσίαις ὑποτάσσεσθαι. This fact seems to often be either ignored or overlooked.[352] Paul

expresses his concerns on this subject in more than one place, clearly referring to the civil

authorities.

Fifth, there is other evidence from the New Testament. 1 Peter 2:13-14 demonstrates the

same concerns. Peter, writing from Rome,[353] commands subjection to "every human creation"

(ὑποτάγητε πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει), and the apostle specifies these creations as 'kings'

(βασιλεῖ) and 'rulers' (ὑπερέχοντι). Additionally, Peter gives the human creation the duty of

"avenging" (ἐκδίκησιν) the evil doers (κακοποιῶν) and praising the "good doers"

(ἀγαθοποιῶν). This parallel set of ideas from another New Testament writer demonstrates the

universality of concerns of state for the early Christians.

The Synoptic Gospels each contain an account of Jesus dealing with the tax question

(Matthew 22:15-22; Mark 12:13-17; Luke 20:20-26). Pharisees and Herodians attempted to trap

Jesus using the question of the lawfulness – from a *Jewish perspective* – of paying taxes to

Caesar, that is Imperial Rome. Behind this issue was not only the presence of a foreign power in

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Johnson himself rejects this "dogma," accepting Pauline authorship of 1 and 2 Timothy (98). His discussion of Titus leads one to think that he would also accept Titus as genuine (95-6). For a full discussion of the debate from a scholar who accepts Pauline authorship, see Donald Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction* (Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity Press, 1970), 584-622.

[352]As part of the disputed Pauline corpus, they may not taken seriously as an expression of Paul's true perspective. Noting the parallel thought, Winsome Munro understands the material in Romans 13:1-7 to be inserted at a later date by a member of the Pauline school associated with the production of the Pastoral Epistles (*Authority in Paul and Peter* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983] 150).

[353]Guthrie, 802-3; also John H. Elliot, "Peter, First Epistle of" in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman, vol. 5 (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 276-8.

the promised land, but also the image of Caesar on the coin, which would be against Jewish

custom , including a claim to – at the very least – semi-divinity.[354] The question of paying taxes to

Rome is shown to be a pressing issue for the Jews. Significantly, some of the same vocabulary of

Rom. 13 is used, specifically ἀποδότε and φόρος. Thus it is not far far-fetched for Paul to be

raising the same issue. For, Paul was addressing Christians influenced by Judaism. This canonical

evidence shows the importance of the question to early Christians, and it may even be raised as a

counter argument to Nanos, who thinks that only the question of temple taxes was a concern.

The Gospel of John also demonstrates that the source of authority for the government is

found in God. When Jesus appeared before Pilate, he stood silent. In frustration or anger, Pilate

lashes out with a threat based on his power. Then, Jesus, answering with a mild rebuke, responds,

"You would have no power over me unless it had been given you from above" (John 19:11). Here

Jesus sees Pilate's authority as deriving from heaven, from God. The early church, having listened

to Jesus' teaching, understood that secular authority was established by God, finding its source in

Him. Paul was not be developing a new idea, alien to the thought world of Christians influenced

by Judaism, when he addressed the Romans. Rather, he was passing on a common heritage

among Christians.

Sixth, outside of Scripture there is the evidence of 1 Clement. Written in Rome at the end

of the first century or the beginning of the second century from Rome,[355] Clement likewise

understands the referent of ἐξουσίαι to be the secular authorities. From this pattern he draws the

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[354]Darrell L. Bock, *Luke 9:51-24:53* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1996), 1612; also William L. Lane, *The Gospel of Mark* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1974), 423-4.

[355]Laurence L. Welborn, "Clement, First Epistle of" in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman, vol. 1 (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 1061. A. Cleveland Coxe, sees it as written in 97, as the death of Clement was in 100 (*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, v. 1 [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994], 1).

conclusion that God "is also responsible for the structures of church order."[356] Caragounis

believes the lessons of Rom. 13:1-7 were well learned by the Roman Christians, as Clement points

to the harmonious relationship of Christians working in the government with their superiors.[357]

Finally, it would be natural for Paul to address such concerns for people living in a

tumultuous time and place. Paul was as much a pastor and missionary as a theologian. One might

even say that his theology was practical to the highest degree, being expressed in letters that were

pastoral at the core. It is natural – due both to his Jewish heritage and pastoral heart – for Paul to

express his concerns in a parenetic section.

D. An Evaluation of the Evidence

The debate between Nanos' understanding of the referent of ἐξουσία and the traditional

view may finally be viewed as a debate over source. Upon what sources did Paul draw to write

this pericope? Was Paul's source synagogue life or was it tradition, whether Roman or Scriptural?

Thomas W. Berkley has suggested seven criteria to determine Paul's uncited sources of

Old Testament exegesis.[358] The seven are: 1) common vocabulary, 2) vocabulary clusters, that is

common vocabulary found in the contexts, 3) links with other texts, 4) explication, 5) recurrence,

6) common themes, and 7) common linear development. It appears that these same criteria may

be used to offer a brief critique of each position on Romans 13.

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[356]William L. Lane, "Social Perspectives on Roman Christianity during the Formative Years from Nero to Nerva: Romans, Hebrews, *1 Clement,*" in *Judaism and Christianity in First-Century Rome,* ed. Karl P. Donfried and Peter Richardson (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998), 237.

[357]Chrys C. Caragounis, "From Obscurity to Prominence: The Development of the Roman Church between Romans and *1 Clement,*" in *Judaism and Christianity in First-Century Rome,* ed. Karl P. Donfried and Peter Richardson (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998), 277.

[358]Thomas W. Berkley, *From a Broken Covenant to Circumcision of the Heart: Pauline Intertextual Exegesis in Romans 2:17-29* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 60-4.

Regarding common vocabulary, both Nanos and the traditional view of the referent have much support The vocabulary supporting Nanos' position is evident throughout inscriptions, while those supporting the traditional view find their support throughout secular literature. One notable exception is the use of ἔκδικος. While it is used in the secular literature, it appears to be completely absent from any inscriptions or any rabbinic evidence used by Nanos.[359]

In regard to common vocabulary found in the contexts of key words there is really no context available for the synagogue inscriptions. There are simply titles given. However, the same cannot be said for the citations supporting the traditional understanding of ἐξουσία. The use of ὑποτάσσεσθαι and ἀποδιδόναι are commonly associated with concerns of the civil authority, and especially with taxes and honor, as Strobel pointed out.

These same links are found within the Scriptural references. The Synoptics portrayed Jesus as supportive of paying (ἀπόδοτε in Luke 20:25) taxes (φόρον in Luke 20:22) to Caesar. 1 Peter 2:13 used much of the same vocabulary where the references are undoubtedly to civil authority.

In regard to the third and fourth criteria, links with other texts and explication, Nanos again is limited to the inscriptions and his own unique internal reading of Romans. However, the traditional view can appeal to the writings of the secular world not only for common vocabulary, but for common concerns. The themes of taxes and honor, of "the good" and avenging the evil work find a home both in Paul and in secular literature.

Regarding the fifth criteria of recurrence, there is only one other Pauline reference: Titus

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[359]Nanos simply states that the ἔκδικος are the protectors of holiness among those assembling before God" (306).

3:1. This one short sentence contains no explanation, only a repeat of Paul's initial command in

Rom. 13:1. Nanos, however, supplies no other occurrence of his proposed reading.

The sixth criterion directs attention to common themes found in the sources. Within the

Old Testament, the intertestamental writings, and the New Testament there are many features that

support the traditional understanding of ἐξουσία. Notable are the Old Testament references in

Isaiah 7:20 and 45:1 and Daniel 2:21, 37-38 that demonstrate God's willingness to establish and

use pagan nations to serve His purposes for the good of His people (see p. 87 above for a fuller

listing of parallel themes in the Old Testament and intertestamental period). Paul's own

understanding of ἐξουσία follows this pattern. Although the τάσσειν vocables are not always

present, the idea of God establishing countries and leaders to become God's agents shapes Paul's

arguments. Again, Nanos cannot meet this criterion, having only an internal reading of Romans to

present with no supporting evidence.

Finally, in regards to the seventh criteria – common linear development – one does not

find evidence of parallel arguments for either the traditional reading or Nanos' reading. One

should not be surprised. Paul appears to be taking a pastoral situation – one that is general in

character – and 'theologizing' an answer to the problem. He appears to be using traditional

secular language and theologically validating that principle. This theological task would not find

parallels in the past.

Thus, the evidence of the political language in Rom. 13, the evidence of political rhetoric,

the concerns Judaism also expressed regarding the proper relationship with secular government,

the evidence of other Pauline material, and data from other canonical and extra-canonical sources

demonstrate both the feasibility and probability of understanding the referent of ἐξουσίαι as 'civil

authorities' or `government.'

Conclusion

The goal of this study was to determine the referent for ἐξουσία and its parallels in Rom. 13:1-7. In order to accomplish this, several steps were taken.

In Chapter I, we looked at Paul's argument in the entire letter to the Romans. Several important issues were uncovered. First, Rom. 13:1-7 was shown to be embedded in Romans and integral to Paul's argument. Paul used common vocabulary to embed Rom. 13:1-7 into the surrounding context. The work of de Kruijf[360] was especially beneficial at this point, as he demonstrated how Rom. 13:1-7 was embedded into the structure of the parenesis through a series of inclusions. Likewise, the sudden shift in subject at Rom. 13:1 does not indicate that an interpolation has occurred. Within Romans, Paul makes sudden shifts at both Rom. 9:1 and Rom. 12:9.

Second, we saw that early themes and ideas in the epistle help shape one's reading of Rom. 13:1-7. This, too, ties Rom. 13:1-7 into the letter as a whole. Chief among these are Paul's concern with ὀργή and συνείδησις. God's wrath was shown to be directed against social sins, not just religious sins (Rom. 1:18-31). It also was demonstrated that ὀργή was a temporal occurrence in Romans, not only eschatological.

Third, we saw that Paul's concerns in the parenetic section reach beyond issues within the congregation. Within Romans 12, Paul expresses concerns about those outside of the congregation. Since Paul deals with issues outside of the congregation in the whole of Romans and especially in the parenesis, Nanos' case is seriously weakened.

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[360]Th. C. de Kruijf, "The Literary Unity of Rom 12,16 - 13,8a: A Network of Inclusions," *Bijdragen* 48 (1987): 319-26.

In Chapter II, an exegesis of Paul's argument was given without specifically addressing

the issue of referent. Several issues were presented that help set the context for understanding the

referent of ἐξουσία. First Paul's language in Rom. 13:1-7 tied this discussion into his earlier

discussion in Rom. 1. Opposition to the God-ordained order brings wrath, through God's agents,

specifically the ἔκδικος. This reflects the Old Testament background seen in Isaiah 10:5 where

God would use nations even pagan nations to demonstrate His wrath.

Second, Paul used political language and the language of benefaction in writing this

pericope. Several important studies, notably those by Strobel[361] and Porter,[362] demonstrate Paul's

use of political language common in the Graeco-Roman world.

Third, the issue of paying taxes is emphasized. In Rom. 13:6-7, Paul discussed the

payment of taxes repeatedly. The Roman Christians were already paying taxes. They were

encouraged to continue to pay taxes in whatever from was proper.

There were two additional items unavoidedly highlighted in Chapter II that affect issues of

application. First, submission was shown to involve obedience. There are instances when

obedience is more prominent than in others, yet, it is always present with ὑποτάσσομαι. Second,

Paul implies there is a hierarchal structure at work. The underling is on the bottom, and above him

is the ἐξουσίαι. Above *him*, however, is God. This not only stresses the way which the underling

should submit, but also shows that ἐξουσίαι are themselves accountable to God.

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[361] August Strobel, "Zum Verstandnis von Rm 13," *Zeitschrift fur Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 47 (1956): 67-93.

[362] Stanley E. Porter, "Romans 13:1-7 as Pauline Political Rhetoric," *Filologia Neotestamentum* 3 (1990): 115-39.

Chapter III formed the heart of the study. The dual referent as championed by Barth, Cullmann, and Morrison was rejected. Their studies demonstrate a number of weaknesses, including illegitimate totality transfer, the failure to see other Pauline or biblical commands to submit to angelic forces, and the assumption that government is evil.

Nanos' position was presented, following his outline and using his words as fully as possible. Several major flaws were highlighted in Nanos' argument. First, Nanos errs seriously in his understanding of ἀδελφός as including Jews as well as Christians in Romans. Gagnon's analysis demonstrates this clearly. In several instances, Nanos fails to provide evidence that particular terms were used in the synagogue. Among those terms found in Rom. 13:1-7 are τέλος, διάκονος, and μάχαιρα. In these instances, Nanos fills the void with conjecture – at times interesting and intriguing, but still merely conjecture. Likewise, his contextual evidence and examples from Paul's life fail to convince, each having serious difficulties.

Finally, the traditional understanding of ἐξουσία was presented. Six pieces of evidence were presented. First is the presence of political language rhetoric. Second, the language of political benefaction is present. Third, Judaic antecedents are present from the Old Testament and the intertestamental period. Fourth, parallels with other Pauline words can be shown. Fifth, evidence from other New Testament documents exists. Sixth is the evidence of 1 Clement. Finally, the probability of this Paul showing such a concern for Christians living in Rome was is high.

To conclude this discussion, we applied Berkley's seven criteria for determining uncited background sources both to Nanos' position and to the traditional view. The case for the traditional reading was demonstrated as stronger and Nanos' position rejected.

In closing, however, we must still briefly address the question of application, especially in light of the findings on ὑποτάσσεσθαι and the referent of ἐξουσία as to secular governments. This very issue – submission to the government – has been pushing the recent discussion on Rom. 13:1-7. Several principles arise from the presentation of this paper

First, the intended audience of Rom. 13 is indeed Christians and not the civil authorities. The civil authorities are the receptors of the submission, the Christian the giver of the submission. As such, the primary concern of the text is the conduct of the citizen, not the conduct of those in authority.

Second, it follows from the above that Paul's intent was not to give a full-blown doctrine of the state or civil realm. Issues of just war, abuse of power, and "taking the place of God" are not addressed by this pericope. The limits of power and jurisdiction (they stand under God and serve the good of their citizens) may be implied in Rom. 13:1-7, but Paul does not openly state them.

Third, though a full-blown doctrine of civil authorities is not given, what Paul does establish on the basis of theological argument cannot be ignored or dismissed. Paul's statements in Rom. 13:1-2 affirm that civil authorities have a divine appointment and origin. These arguments are not formulated on the basis of Paul's treatment by the state, but on his religious belief and theological study. Rom. 13:3-4 demonstrates the function of the state as established by God, not Paul's experience. Paul does not use experience either to confirm or deny submission to the state.[363] Therefore modern concerns on Christian/Church-state relationships cannot simply dismiss

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[363]Paul's appeal to experience in verse 6 does not seek to prove anything, as much as it seeks to commend Paul and his theology to the Romans.

this passage as a product of Paul's experience. One must deal with this text in a serious,

theological manner and not simply dismiss it as a anachronistic element of the text.

Fourth, when seeking to apply this text, as modern Christians, we have a larger co-text:

the canon. For "the canon represents the signifiers and conceptual signifieds – the words and their

meanings/concepts – which are to be held together as a matrix and to mutually interpret one

another. . . ."[364] When this co-text is kept in mind, many of the problems (i.e., the problem of the

unjust state or commands that bring suffering for our neighbor) of taking Paul's command in

isolation will be erased. We are not limited to Rom. 13:1-7 when answering questions on the

Christian's conduct in the civil realm.

Even this wider co-text, however, does not ensure an answer to all our questions on a

given topic. Just as one text cannot answer every question we may pose, it is equally true that we

may not find a hard and fast answer even after investigating the wider co-text. Our questions on

resistance to the state or the issue of legitimate or illegitimate governments may not find clear

answers, if they are answered directly at all. In short, not every text or set of texts will answer the

questions we may want answered.

In the fifth place, what it means to submit to the civil authorities may appear differently in

our culture than in first century Rome. Paul does not endorse any single form of government or

civil authority. As such, a simple one-to-one correspondence of behavior in the first century to

behavior in the twenty-first century is impossible. Paul simply writes, "Those that exist have been

placed by God" (αἱ δὲ οὖσαι ὑπὸθεοῦ τεταγμέναι εἰσίν). Throughout the history of the

Church there have been differing civil orders – empires, monarchies, democracies, parliamentary

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[364]Voelz, *What Does This Mean?* 151.

systems, tribal rules. The "trick" is to submit in ways that are appropriate in each case.

Within the modern American tradition of civil authority full participation is expected. The right to vote, the right to change spheres from ordinary citizen to "ruler," the right to peacefully protest through letters, complaints, picketing or boycotts, the right to protest decisions made by the president, Congress, or the courts are all accepted and encouraged through a national ethos. Objections made on the ground of conscience are recognized. Submission to the civil authorities in twenty-first century America means participation in the *process* of decision making and choosing of leaders. C. E. B. Cranfield catches the sense well, though with an British flavor:

> The proper exposition of Paul's words involves for the Christian living in a democracy the translation of them into the terms of a different political order. Such a Christian can, and therefore must, do much more for the maintenance of the state as a just state. His ὑποτάσσεσθαι will include voting in parliamentary elections responsibly, in the fear of Christ and in love to his neighbour [sic], and, since such responsible voting is only possible on the basis of adequate knowledge, making sure that he is as fully and reliably informed as possible about political issues, and striving tirelessly in the ways constitutionally open to him to support just policies and to oppose unjust.[365]

When one considers applying this text to one's own context, there are several non-negotiable items. First, submission carries with it the idea of obedience. The godly person – the one whose body has become a living sacrifice (Rom. 12:1) – is expected to obey the commands, orders, and regulations of the governing authorities.

Second, since the source of secular authority is God, it is rebellion against the state that needs justification, not submission to the state. Deviation from the norm cust come only from consideration of the wider co-text, which in this case is the canon. Civil disobedience must be considered on theological grounds, not merely from differing philosophical or political

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[365]C. E. B. Cranfield, *Romans*, 2:663.

perspectives. For apart from clear theological reasoning, one risks violating the command to submit and finding himself in a state of rebellion against God's ordinance. Areas which appear to be open to civil disobedience include (but are not limited to) the protection of the innocent and issues surrounding just war, such as conscientious objections.

Finally, even where one may find adequate reason to dissent from governmental orders, laws, or directives, certain boundaries still exist. One must still consider the lifves, property, and reputation of others. The decision to protest abortion, for example, does not allow one to break the Seventh and the Fifth Commandments by bombing abortion clinics.

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